

Andrews University

Digital Commons @ Andrews University

Dissertations

Graduate Research

1993

An Investigation of the Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27

Brempong Owusu-Antwi

Andrews University, brempong@andrews.edu

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



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Owusu-Antwi, Brempong, "An Investigation of the Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27" (1993). *Dissertations*. 120.

<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/120>

<https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/dissertations/120/>

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



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

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

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

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

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

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

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

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313:761-4700 800:521-0600

Order Number 9428816

An investigation of the chronology of Daniel 9:24–27

Owusu-Antwi, Brempong, Ph.D.

Andrews University, 1993

Copyright ©1993 by Owusu-Antwi, Brempong. All rights reserved.

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

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY
OF DANIEL 9:24-27

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

by
Brempong Owusu-Antwi

October 1993

© Copyright by Brempong Owusu-Antwi 1993
All Rights Reserved


AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY
OF DANIEL 9:24-27

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

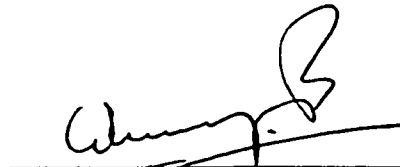
by

Brempong Owusu-Antwi

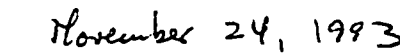
APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:



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

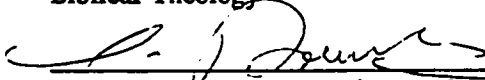


Werner Vyhmeister, Dean
SDA Theological Seminary

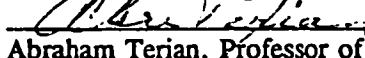


November 24, 1983


Date Approved



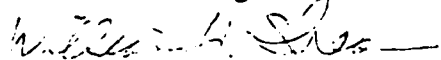
Jacques B. Doukhan, Professor of
Old Testament Interpretation



Abraham Terian, Professor of
Religion



Richard M. Davidson, Professor of
Old Testament Exegesis



William H. Shea, Associate Director of
Biblical Research Institute

ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY
OF DANIEL 9:24-27

by

Brempong Owusu-Antwi

Adviser: Gerhard F. Hasel

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF DANIEL 9:24-27

Name of researcher: Brempong Owusu-Antwi

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

Date completed: October 1993

This study attempted to investigate the chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27. Its main objective was to provide an interpretation based on textual, linguistic, literary, grammatical-syntactical, structural, and contextual study of the major terms and expressions in Dan 9:24-27.

Chapter 1 surveys the chronological interpretations of Dan 9:24-27. Four major schools of interpretation emerged (Historicist-Messianic Interpretation, Historical-Critical Interpretation, Futurist-Dispensational Interpretation, and Symbolic-Amillennialist Interpretation) under the main categories of continuous and noncontinuous interpretations. Major chronological issues emerged from these interpretations and set the stage for this study.

Chapter 2 examines major Hebrew expressions and terms that affect chronology (*sābu^c im sib^c im, nehtak, dābār, l'hāsīb w'libnōt, tāsūb w'nibn'tāh, r'hōb w'hārūs, māšīah, nāgīd, b'ri't*). The term *dābār*, determines the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks to be computed continuously and sequentially, and is itself contextually defined by three pairs of parallel terms, namely, (1) *l'hāsīb w'libnōt*, "to restore and to build," which designates political "restoration" and physical "rebuilding" of Jerusalem; (2) *tāsūb w'nibn'tāh*, "it shall be restored and be built," which provides comparative support for the first word pair, and (3) *r'hōb w'hārūs*, "square and decision-making," which stresses further that the "word" is about the restoration of Jerusalem as a religio-political self-governing entity with the rights to judicial decision-making. The three expressions, "Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25), "Messiah" (vs. 26a), and "Prince" (vs. 26b), refer contextually and structurally to the same personality.

Chapter 3 investigates the historical-chronological correlates of the events stipulated in Dan 9:24-27. The decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra is the only *terminus a quo* that fits the stipulations of the text of Dan 9:25 and the chronological outline of Dan 9:24-27. The events of the "seventieth week" relate to the Messiah and are properly fulfilled by Jesus Christ.

Finally, a summary and conclusions bring together the various chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27. This study has provided new evidence that shows that the Historicist-Messianic interpretation emerges from the text as the viable view for the chronology of the passage.

Dedicated to my wife,
Mabel.
To the glory of God.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xiv
INTRODUCTION	!
Introduction to the Problem	1
Statement of the Problem	5
Purpose and Scope of Research	8
Method	8
Definition and Limitation	9
 Chapter	
I. A SURVEY OF CHRONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN 9:24-27	11
Continuous Chronological Interpretations	12
Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times (Historicism)	13
Summary	21
Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times (Historical-Criticism)	23
Nonarithmetical Maccabean Times Interpretation	32
Summary	37
Chronological Interpretation Using Multiple Integers of Seven	39
Summary	42
Noncontinuous Chronological Interpretations	43
Chronological Interpretations Terminating in the Future (Futurism)	43
Summary	53

Chronological Interpretations Using	
Intercalary and Parallel Computations	55
Intercalary Computation	55
Parallel Computation	58
Summary	60
Nonchronological Interpretations	61
Symbolic Interpretations Terminating	
in Messianic Times and Beyond	61
Summary	66
Conclusion	67
II. CHRONOLOGICAL DATA IN DAN 9:24-27	69
Structure of Dan 9:1-27	69
General Considerations	70
Prayer	74
Confession of Sin	74
Effects of Sin	75
Intercession for Sinners (vss. 15-19)	76
Revelation	76
Key Chronological Data in Dan 9:24-27	81
The Expression "Seventy Weeks"	82
Semantic Considerations	82
Basic meaning	84
<i>šābūa</i> ^c in the Old Testament	91
<i>šābūa</i> ^c in Daniel	102
Septuagint rendering of <i>šābūa</i> ^c in Dan 9:24-27	105
Chronological Considerations	108
Contextual considerations	108
Time scale	117
"Prophetic year" hypothesis	124
Continuous versus discontinuous time period	133
Qumran and Rabbinic interpretations	139
The Expression "Cut off"	146
Semantic Considerations	146
Basic meaning	147
<i>hātaḵ</i> in ancient Near Eastern	
extra-biblical literature	148
<i>nehtaḵ</i> in the book of Daniel	150
Chronological Considerations	151
The Expression "Word"	158
Semantic Considerations	158
Basic meaning	159
<i>dābār</i> in the Old Testament	161

<i>dābār</i> in the book of Daniel	161
Chronological Considerations	165
"To restore and to build"	167
"It shall be restored and built"	196
"Square and Decision-making"	299
The Expression "Messiah the Prince"	225
Semantic Considerations	225
Basic meaning	226
<i>māšīah</i> and <i>nāgīd</i> in the Old Testament	227
<i>māšīah nāgīd</i> in the book of Danniell	228
Chronological Considerations	246
" Messiah" (vs. 26)	249
The Expression "Covenant"	258
Semantic Considerations	258
<i>bʿrīt</i> in the Old Testament	259
<i>bʿrīt</i> in the book of Daniel	265
Chronological Considerations	274
The Use of <i>Athnach</i> in Dan 9:25	276
General Functions of <i>Athnach</i> in the Old Testament	280
Specific Functions of <i>Athnach</i> with Regard to Numbers	283
The Use of <i>the Athnach</i> in the Book of Daniel	286
The <i>Athnach</i> in the Book of Daniel outside Dan 9:25	287
The <i>athnach</i> in Dan 9:25	288
The Antecedent of the "He" in Dan 9:27a	293
Summary	296
III. CHRONOLOGICAL ISSUES IN HISTORY	299
<i>The Terminus a Quo</i>	299
The Decrees	300
The "Word" of God	301
The Decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.)	304
The Decree of Artaxerxes I to Ezra (457 B.C.)	317
Restoration of governmental authority	321
Rebuilding of Jerusalem	324
The date of Ezra's return to Jerusalem	327
Sabbatical Years	335
The Permission of Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah (445/4 B.C.)	337
Interim Events	343
Seven Weeks	343
"Sixty-two Weeks"	345
<i>Terminus ad Quem</i>	346
The "Messiah, the Prince"	347
The Death of Messiah	357

The Covenant Prince	382
The Fall of Jerusalem	386
The Termination of the Seventy Weeks	396
Summary	399
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	403
Summary	403
Conclusions	403
BIBLIOGRAPHY	419

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Historicist Computation of the Seventy Weeks	20
2. Montgomery's Computation of the Seventy Weeks	27
3. Futurist-Dispensationalist Computation of the Seventy Weeks	48
4. Pierce's Intercalary Computation of the Seventy Weeks	57
5. Lacocque's Parallel Computation of the Seventy Weeks	59
6. The Seventy Weeks and Its Divisions	137
7. The Relationships among the Uses of "Jerusalem" in Dan 9	194
8. Thematic Correlations within vss. 25-27	253
9. Thematic correlations within vss. 25-27	254
10. Definite-Indefinite Relationships	255
11. Chronology of Dan 9:24-27	418

LIST OF TABLES

1. Occurrences of <i>šābūa</i> ^c in the Old Testament	92
2. Pleonastic Use of <i>yāmîm</i> in the Old Testament	103

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>AER</i>	<i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>
<i>AHCL</i>	Benjamin Davidson, <i>The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon</i>
<i>AH</i>	Friedrich Delitzsch, <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i>
<i>AHw</i>	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , J. Pritchard, ed.
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
ASV	American Standard Version
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BDB</i>	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, <i>The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>
<i>BHK</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i> , Rudolph Kittel, ed.
<i>BhS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> , K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>

<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>BZNTW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.</i> A. Oppenheim et al., eds.
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CHAL</i>	William L. Holladay, <i>A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>CSD</i>	<i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.</i> J. Payne Smith, ed.
<i>DISO</i>	Charles-F. Jean and Jacob Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i>
<i>DJD</i>	M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, eds., <i>Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan</i>
<i>DSB</i>	<i>Daily Study Bible</i>
<i>Eph Th L</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>GHCL</i>	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon,</i> Theodor H. Gaster, ed.
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>HAL</i>	Ludwig Koehler und Walter Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon.</i> Revised ed. by Johann Jakob Stamm.
<i>HAW</i>	Eduard König, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>

<i>HCL</i>	Fuerst, Julius. <i>A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon</i> , trans. Samuel Davidson.
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IB</i>	<i>The Interpreters Bible</i> , G. A. Buttrick, ed.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , G. A. Buttrick, ed.
<i>IEJS</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Quarterly Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
IOMS	International Organization for Masoretic Studies
<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> , G. W. Bromiley, ed.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JATS</i>	<i>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</i>
JB	Jerusalem Bible
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JPS</i>	<i>Jewish Publication Society</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i>
<i>KBL</i>	Ludwig Koehler and W. Baumgartner. <i>Lexicon Veteris Testamenti Libros</i>
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version
<i>LXX</i>	The Septuagint
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>NASB</i>	New American Standard Bible
<i>NEB</i>	New English Bible
<i>NICOT</i>	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIV</i>	New International Version
<i>NJB</i>	New Jerusalem Bible
<i>NKJV</i>	New King James Version
<i>NRSV</i>	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NRT</i>	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OTL</i>	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version
<i>SVT</i>	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>

- TDNT* *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds.
- TDOT* *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringrenn, eds.
- THAT* *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, eds.
- ThRu* *Theologische Rundschau*
- TrinJ* *Trinity Journal*
- TWAT* *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds.
- TWOT* *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer and Bruce K. Waltke, eds.
- TZ* *Theologische Zeitschrift*
- UT* Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*
- VT* *Vetus Testamentum*
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
- ZAW* *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZNW* *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people to whom I owe gratitude for the completion of this dissertation, such as the friends who one way or another contributed along the way. Yet, it is impossible to mention all their names. I want, however, to express my sincere appreciation to the chair of my doctoral committee, Dr. Gerhard F. Hasel, whose advice, constructive criticism and invaluable suggestions helped to shape the quality and standard of this dissertation.

The rest of the members of my committee, Drs. Jacques B. Doukhan and Abraham Terrian, also deserve my gratitude. Dr. Terrian, in spite of his transfer to another University, still found time for my dissertation. I am especially grateful to Dr. Richard M. Davidson, the chair of the Old Testament Department of the Andrews University Theological Seminary, for being my spiritual mentor and a source of encouragement when I needed it. Dr. Davidson's criticisms, comments and suggestions as the fourth reader were very helpful.

To the external examiner, Dr. William H. Shea, Associate Director of the Biblical Research Institute, Washington, D.C., I am much indebted for taking time out of his busy schedule to carefully read my dissertation and make pertinent comments and apropos recommendations.

I would like to thank Dr. Leona Running and Mrs. Bonnie Proctor, the Dissertation Secretary, for their painstaking editing of this dissertation.

The staff of the James White Library, especially Warren Johns, Mrs. Shirley Holmes, Mrs. Rebecca Twomley, Mrs. Doris Helm and Miss Peggy Tremble were very helpful. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Sandra White and Cynthia Helms for putting me in touch with libraries all over the world through interlibrary loans. I am also thankful to the staff of the Princeton Theological Seminary Library for not only allowing me to use their Library but also helping me find very rare books.

I am grateful to Dr. and Mrs. Arthur O. Coetzee whose friendship, encouragement and moral support sustained my morale and desire till the completion of this dissertation. I am also indebted to Drs. R. C. Connor and Paul Yeboah for the part they played in my coming to Andrews University and their initial financial contributions. My appreciation is expressed to the following institutions for providing the financial support for my doctoral study at one time or another: the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists for providing me a scholarship for the major part of my doctoral study, the West African Union for providing the partial financial support required by the General Conference Scholarship fund, and the Andrews University Theological Seminary.

I am grateful to Mabel, my wife, for standing by me through thick and thin, for her encouragement and endurance of the pressures of time, work and study which called for God-given strength and understanding.

Finally, I am most grateful to God who sustained and guided me through each step of my study. "To God be the glory, great things He has done!"

INTRODUCTION

The statement of James A. Montgomery concerning Dan 9:24-27 that "the history of the exegesis of the 70 Weeks is the Dismal Swamp of O.T. criticism"¹ has gained even more potency today. The text of Dan 9:24-27 is generally considered to be difficult, particularly its chronological aspects. This and other factors have contributed to an increasing multiplicity of interpretations.² It is, thus, not without cause that J. Barton Payne cautions that "interpreters should hesitate before entering afresh into the exegesis of Daniel's seventy weeks."³ Yet careful research is still called for.

Introduction to the Problem

A succinct survey of the different schools of interpretation of the chronology of Dan 9:24-27 reveals that there is no consensus of scholarly opinion

¹J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927), 400.

²Cf. Klaus Koch with Till Niewisch and Jürgen Tubach, *Das Buch Daniel* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 149, who have remarked that no other passage has been treated with so much controversy as Dan 9:24-27. Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study," *AUSS* 17 (1979): 1. James Philip, *By the Rivers of Babylon: Studies in the Book of Daniel* (Aberdeen: Didasko Press, 1972), 131, has observed that "a bewildering variety of interpretation has always surrounded this passage."

³J. Barton Payne, "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks," *JETS* 21 (1978): 97.

among, and to a degree even within, each school of interpretation. I have grouped the various interpretations of the time aspects of Dan 9:24-27 into three major categories, as is seen in chapter 1 on the survey of modern chronological interpretations.

Proponents within the Symbolic-Amillennial School,¹ while rejecting strict mathematical computation of the chronology of the Seventy Weeks, are not agreed on the application of the so-called symbolic divisions of the Seventy Weeks.² E. J. Young takes a different position from that of C. Keil and T. Kliefoth with regard to the "62 sevens." He posits that it is the period which follows the age of Ezra and Nehemiah to the time of Christ.³ H. C. Leupold, on the other hand, believes that it represents the period of the Church to the final consummation at end time.⁴

At present there are three major views among symbolic-amillennial

¹Gerhard F. Hasel, "Interpretations of the Chronology of the Seventy Weeks," in *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 10.

²Major proponents such as T. Kliefoth, *Das Buch Daniel* (Schwerin: A. V. Sandmeyer, 1869), 293-424; C. F. Keil, *The Book of Daniel: Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1872), 336-402; and H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1969), 375-440, agree on the Edict of Cyrus (538 B.C.) as the starting point of the 70 Weeks, yet they disagree on the details. For instance Keil, 351, asserts, "The supplementing of *am*, "people", to *hāšīḥ* (Wieseler, Kliefoth and others), is arbitrary." Keil's position, in contradistinction, is to "bring back, restore" the city. Also he does not agree with Kliefoth regarding "the prophecy of the seventy years duration of Jerusalem (v.2) as the commandment (in v.25) to restore Jerusalem."

³E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1949), 205, 206.

⁴Leupold, 421-26. Cf. Hasel, 9.

interpreters: they hold (1) that the present age represents the sixty two "sevens" (Leupold), or (2) that the sixty two weeks come up to Jesus and the seventy weeks end in A.D. 70 (Young), or that (3) the present age is the last half week (Ross). It is the understanding, then, that the Seventy Weeks end with the present age, if the last view is held.¹

The Dispensational-Futurist School seems to manifest a divergence of chronological computations that poses the question: Does the "Seventy Weeks Prophecy" have a definite and clear-cut chronology?² Scholars of this school

¹Cf. J. J. Ross, *Daniel's Half-Week New Closing* (New York: Revell, 1922), 39-54, 82, 92-98.

²Sir Robert Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 10th ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1977), 127, 128, starts the 70 Weeks from the 14th March of 445 B.C. and ends the 69th week on the 6th April of A.D. 32. He does this by taking the "69 weeks of years," (69 x 7), as 360 prophetic years. Thus 69 x 7 x 360 = 173880 days. Then he reduces it to 476 solar years. He then says "the intervening period (that is, from 14th. March, 445 B.C. to 6th. April, A.D. 32) was 476 years and 24 days.

But 476 x 365	=	173,740 days
Add (14 March to 6th April, both inclusive)	=	24 "
Add for leap years	=	116 "

173,880 days"

Although H. W. Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part VI: Daniel's Seventy Weeks and New Testament Chronology," *BSac* 132 (1975): 139, follows Anderson he starts from March 5, 444 B.C. and ends the 69th week on Nisan 10 (March 30, A.D. 33). As Hasel, "Interpretations," 17, points out, their reckonings leave a discrepancy of 25 days--that is, if one grants the 70th week to be in the future. Leon Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), 253, in his attempt to solve this problem puts the *terminus a quo* at 458 B.C., and thus ends the 69th week in A.D. 26. He still has a gap between the 69th and the 70th weeks, and the 458 B.C. starting point has been challenged. See Hasel, "Interpretations," 49. Wood has been followed by Glen Richard Goss, "The Chronological Problems of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1966), 122-130, who also posits 458 B.C. as the starting

respond affirmatively, but seem to diverge on various points of chronology.

The Historical-Critical School has not been spared these interpretational problems. Representatives of this school are divided not only on the starting point of the seventy weeks but also on whether the chronological computation should be continuous, or discontinuous. This raises again the question: "Does the 'Seventy-Weeks Prophecy' have a definite chronological intent?"¹ Associated with this are such issues as to whether a definite chronology is intended. If so, can there be any certainty regarding the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*? Do the prophetic time divisions fit into historical events?

The classical Historicist-Messianic School of interpretation has seen the year 457 B.C. as the *terminus a quo*. However, various matters relating to this historic

point and still sees a gap between the 69th and the 70th weeks.

¹Although all Historical-Critical scholars seek to terminate the 70 Weeks in the Maccabean period, they are not united on the *terminus a quo* of the period. Some of them such as Montgomery, 392; Klaus Koch, et al., 150; Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1965), 134, hold to 586/7 B.C. L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB, vol. 23 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 250, suggest 594 B.C. A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, trans. David Pellauer (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), 178, moves back to 605 B.C. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 29-46, who also lists weaknesses in the computations. Montgomery, 400-401, had concluded decades ago: "The difficulties that beset any rationalistic treatment of the figures are great enough, for the critics on this side of the fence do not agree among themselves; but the trackless wilderness of assumptions and theories in the efforts to obtain an exact chronology fitting into the history of Salvation, after these 2,000 years of infinitely varied interpretations, would seem to preclude any use of the 70 weeks for the determination of a definite prophetic chronology."

date seem neither to have unanimous support nor a firm base acceptable to scholars of other schools of interpretation.

The chronology of Dan 9:24-27 has produced in the last 150 years of study new schools of interpretation that attempt to fit the chronology into their systems. This is true particularly of the Dispensationalist-Futurist and the Historical-Critical schools. The classical Historicist-Messianic School is thereby no longer the major school, a place it has held for a long time. These developments call for careful textual and chronological investigations in order to determine and assess the bases and foundations of the respective interpretations and to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each.

Statement of the Problem

The question that poses itself in view of these schools of interpretations, and the variations within them, relates to how one can legitimize any interpretation. Ultimately the matter of the legitimization needs to involve in these schools the question of which of these computations is most tenable, if one assumes that the chronology refers to real time and that not all of them are correct. In order to make such an assessment, a careful textual, linguistic, grammatical-syntactical, and contextual analysis of the biblical text itself and of the various positions is called for. It is anticipated that such an investigation will illuminate the issues involved and will clarify the chronological matters under debate.

While some research has been done, the basic issues mentioned above deserve more careful attention than they have received heretofore. There is,

therefore, the urgent need to engage in further research on various points which are the determinants of the chronology of Dan 9:24-27:

1. The intent of the disputed expression *šābu^cīm šib^cīm*, "seventy weeks" (Dan 9:24), calls for further study. What is its contextual meaning in Dan 9:24 and how do the oldest versions relate/translate this expression?
2. The term *dābār* in Dan 9:25 is pivotal in an understanding of whether Dan 9:24-27 is to be based on a "word," "command," or "decree." Then the particular "decree," "command," or "word" in view has to be determined.
3. What is the meaning of *l'hāšīḥ w'libnōt*, usually rendered "to restore and build," in Dan 9:25,¹ and how are these verbs related to the correct translation of

¹The historic interpretation has been "to restore and build." Much emphasis has been placed on the physical rebuilding of the city. See E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions*, trans. Theod. Meyer and James Martin, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1956, reprint of the British ed., 1872-78), 3:115-18; William H. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27" in *Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Series, vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 84-86; Keil, 350-351; G. R. Driver, "Sacred Numbers and Round Figures," in *Promise and Fulfillment, Essays Presented to S. H. Hooke*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963), 62; Leupold, 416-421; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 13; Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing, 1897), 197-198; John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees, with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre*, Old Testament Message 16 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), 95; John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 225, 261; Lacocque, 187, has "for the Return and for the Reconstruction." It must be pointed out though that while Smith mentions the political restoration, much more is needed to bring out the textual link. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 15, has in a bracket: "It concerns the building of the Temple as well as of the political administrative city Jerusalem."

the nouns *ḥōḇ wḥārūs*?¹ The translation of the latter with "square/plaza and moat"² is historically related to *ḥāšīḇ wlibnōt*, "to restore and to build," in such a way that it lends itself to the enforcing of the tendency to emphasize the physical restoration of Jerusalem as against a political one. The latter option calls for analysis. Is there a contextual meaning that is yet to be investigated and elaborated?

4. The disputed person designated as "Messiah the Prince" in Dan 9:25 needs further contextual analysis. How is he related to the "Messiah" in vs. 26a, and the *nāgīd habbā*?³ "Prince who will come," in vs. 26b? Are they identical or different? What is the meaning of the term *nāgīd* here?

5. The destruction of "city and sanctuary" (Dan 9:26) is to be related to the "Seventy Weeks" and one needs to make a determination both textually and contextually whether it is within or outside the chronological framework.

6. The punctuation of the chronological elements of Dan 9:25 calls for analysis. Is there priority of the MT over the ancient Greek (LXX/Theodotion)

¹These two words have not had the desired attention except to translate them as "square and moat." E.g., Goldingay, 229, n. 25d, e, 261; Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees*, 91; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 254; Charles H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906), 220, 221; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 13; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 84; Smith, 197. C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares*, 2 vols. (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1981), 1:209, has "plaza and moat." Leupold, 426, correctly sums up the state of this phrase by saying: "Since the traditional rendering is not well established and makes poor sense, the expression must be re-evaluated."

²See RSV. NRSV reads, "streets and moat"; NIV has "streets and a trench;" and KJV and NKJV have "street . . . wall"; JB and NJB have "with squares and ramparts"; ASB has "street and moat"; NASB has "plaza and moat"; NEB and REB have "streets and conduits."

punctuation or vice versa? What textual considerations call for one or the other?

7. What are the interim chronological events? If there are any, are there historical correlates?

8. What event(s) marks the *terminus ad quem* of the "Seventy Weeks" according to the text and in history?

The issues just outlined are multifaceted. Thus, there is the need to study this disputed passage of Dan 9:24-27. This dissertation presents the chronology of the passage by means of careful textual, contextual-exegetical analysis of the major issues just referred to. It is evident that much more work needs to be done, as old questions persist and new questions are raised.

Purpose and Scope of the Research

The purpose of this investigation, therefore, is to provide an interpretation based on textual, linguistic, literary, grammatical-syntactical, structural, and contextual study of major terms and expressions in Dan 9:24-27 on the basis of which a better understanding of the chronology of the passage is expected to emerge. It is assumed at this point that this passage is not open to multiple chronological applications or interpretations, but that it points to a single chronological system that is self-contained and rooted in the text itself.

Method

In this quest to find solutions to the outlined problems and to establish an acceptable chronology that emerges from the text itself and that is contextually

harmonious with Dan 9:24-27, the following steps are taken:

1. A summary of what has been written on this topic and related materials is presented. Different texts (Masoretic, Septuagint, Vulgate, etc.) are studied to account for variances and to establish the text.
2. The text is analyzed linguistically. Terminological studies of relevant words and phrases which are variously interpreted are undertaken so as to establish correct translations and meanings. Attention is given also to grammatical forms and syntactical structures.
3. The literary context and structure are analyzed for key words and forms that have a bearing on the meaning of the text relevant to the chronology of the passage.
4. Chronological landmarks are delimited from the analysis of factors affecting chronology in the passage.
5. The chronology most relevant to the above analyses is presented.

Definition and Limitation

For the purposes of this dissertation the term chronology is defined as the computation of the prophetic events of Dan 9:24-27 according to their predicted order, and consequently assigning to these prophetic events their correlative historical dates.¹

¹*Baker's Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 1988 ed., s.v. "Old Testament Chronology," defines OT chronology as that "branch of biblical studies that attempts to assign dates and sequences to OT events." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, 1986 unabridged ed., s.v. "Chronology," defines "Chronology" as "the

While this document involves an investigation based on textual, linguistic, literary, grammatical-syntactical, structural, and contextual investigations of the chronological data in Dan 9:24-27, it is not possible to combine a full-fledged exegesis of the entire passage with the chronological investigations as outlined above. Terms and expressions analyzed are thus limited to those that have a bearing on the chronology of the passage under study. The emphasis on context means a careful concern for the relations of the chronological aspects to the literary context to which they belong.

science that treats of measuring or computing time by regular divisions or periods and that assigns to events or transactions their proper dates." Merrill F. Unger, "New Testament Chronology." *The New Unger's Bible Dictionary* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1988), 228, states, "When the chronology in mind is the scientific measurement of time according to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, it is said to be *astronomical*; when the chronology refers to particular events occurring among men on earth, it is called *historical*." The historical usage is employed in this investigation (contra Goldingay, 257, who regards the 70 Weeks as "not chronology but chronography: a stylized scheme of history used to interpret historical data rather than arising from them").

CHAPTER 1

A SURVEY OF MODERN CHRONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN 9:24-27

The chronological interpretation of Dan 9:24-27 is an issue that has generated a large body of literature in modern times with varied views. It is difficult to examine the numerous works¹ extensively without presenting them in an

¹Representative works include: B. Blaney, *A Dissertation by Way of Inquiry into the True Import and Application of the Vision Related Daniel ix. ver. 20. to the End* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1775); J. W. Bosanquet, *Daniel's Prophecy of the 70 Weeks* (London: Rivington, 1836); Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*, 3:83-221; John Nelson Darby, *Studies on the Book of Daniel*, 3d ed. (London: John B. Bateman, 1864); Joseph A. Seiss, *Voices from Babylon or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet* (Philadelphia, PA: Castle Press, 1879); John N. Andrews, *The Commandment to Restore and to Build Jerusalem* (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1865); Sir Robert Anderson, *The Coming Prince*; Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation*; H. G. Emeric de St. Dalmas, *The Time of the End and the "Weeks" of Daniel* (London: Chas. J. Thynne, 1917); James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*; David L. Cooper, *The 70 Weeks of Daniel* (Los Angeles, CA: Biblical Research Society, 1941); Robert Duncan Culver, "Basis for the Premillennial Interpretation of the Book of Daniel" (Th.D. dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1952); George W. Shunk, "The Seventieth Week of Daniel" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1953); E. J. Young, *The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1954); H. W. Hoehner, "Chronology of the Apostolic Age" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965); Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," *Ministry Insert* (May, 1976); idem, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 47-49; idem, "Interpretations," 3-63; J. Barton Payne, "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks."

organized fashion. For analytical purposes these variegated views of chronological interpretations are grouped into two main categories, namely, continuous and noncontinuous interpretations. These are considered first. Finally, nonchronological treatments of Dan 9:24-27 are considered.

Continuous Chronological Interpretations

Continuous chronological interpretations view the figures of Dan 9:24-27 as chronological and successive without a break, adding up to a period of seventy continuous weeks (7+62+1). However, the recognition of Dan 9:24-27 as portending Messianic signification, which translates into an applicable *terminus ad quem*, has been the major watershed that further classifies this group into the two major subgroups of: (1) chronological interpretations terminating in Messianic times and (2) chronological interpretations terminating in Maccabean times.

97-115; W. H. Shea, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25." *AUSS* 18 (1980): 59-63; idem, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assoc., 1982); John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees, with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre*; C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares*, vol. 1; Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study," 1-22; idem, *Drinking at the Sources* (Mountain View, CA.: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1981), 58-84; idem, *Daniel: The Vision of the End* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987); John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*; Michael Kalafian, "The Impact of the Book of Daniel on Christology: A Critical Review of the Prophecy of the 'Seventy Weeks' of the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1988); Michael Herbert Farris, "The Formative Interpretations of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto [Canada], 1990).

Chronological Interpretations Terminating in
Messianic Times (Historicism)

In early Christian tradition, Dan 9:24-27 was generally held to be a Messianic prophecy.¹ In an attempt to make certain chronological figures fit certain historical Messianic events and unique futuristic eschatological schemes, some Messianic interpreters argue for noncontinuous schemes.² The majority of Historical-Messianic interpreters of more recent times, however, have carried on the continuous interpretation of the early Church, reaching to the Messiah and the beginning of the Church, but with greater refinement. The latter interpreters belong to Historicism, a school of prophetic interpretation which takes the prophecies of Daniel as continuous, or sequential, without any break.³

¹For histories of interpretation, see Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1958), 95-110; Otto Zöckler, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, trans. James Strong, A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, vol 13 (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876), 205-17; F. Fraidl, *Die Exegese der siebenzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit* (Graz: Leuschner, 1883), 3-25; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 394-401; Hasel, "Interpretations of the Chronology," 47-49.

²Seiss, *Voices from Babylon*, 239, states: "The first and second sections, the forty-nine years and the four hundred and thirty-four years appear to be unmistakably continuous. . . . But this does not seem to be the case with the third section." Other Messianic interpreters who regard the Seventy Weeks as discontinuous include Arno C. Gaebelein, *The Prophet Daniel* (New York, NY: Publication Office "Our Hope," 1911), 119-51; Nathaniel West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy: Its Twelve Chapters Explained* (Toronto: A. Sims, n.d.), 60-71; Keith L. Brooks, *Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation* (Los Angeles, CA: Bible Institute of Los Angeles, 1927), 23-25; James A. Montgomery Boice, *Daniel: An Expository Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989), 109, 110.

³Cf. Gerhard Pfandl, "The Latter Days and the Time of the End in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1990), 4, 52.

Among Historical-Messianic interpreters,¹ the *athnach* under *šib^cāh* (i.e.,

¹Joseph Tanner, *Daniel and the Revelation* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), 4, in his identification of Historicism says: "One main feature of the *Historical* system of interpreting the apocalyptic visions of Daniel and John is *continuity*, that is to say, that the events prophetically foreshadowed in them are spread over a period reaching continuously from the time of the prophet down to the last event named in the prophecy." Among those who have used this system in their interpretation of Dan 9:24-27 in the last two centuries are: Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament*, 3:83-221; Irah Chase, *Remarks on the Book of Daniel* (Boston: Gould, Kindall and Lincoln, 1844), 73-76; John Cumming, *Prophetic Studies; or Lectures on the Book of Daniel* (London: Virtue, Hall and Virtue, 1851), 398-416; Carl August Auberlen, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1856), 91-167; W. R. A. Boyle, *The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel* (London: Rivingtons, 1863), 421-658; Samuel Sheffield Snow, *The Voice of Elias: Or Prophecy Restored* (New York: Baker & Godwin, 1863), 35-42; Chr. Wordsworth, *The Holy Bible in the Authorized Version: with Notes and Introductions*, vol. 2, *Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and Index* (London: Rivingtons, 1872), 45-47; E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), 184-229; Uriah Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation*, 187-217; Tanner, 21-67; Charles H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies*, 191-241; Philip Mauro, *The Chronology of the Bible* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1922), 99-120; John Vuilleumier, *Future Unrolled or Studies on the Prophecies of Daniel* (Boston, MA: Richard G. Badger, 1928), 151-55; Ethel Stout Jenkins, *The Time of the End* (Phoenix, AZ: E. S. Jenkins, 1939-44), 50-54; Cora Martin, *World History in Prophetic Outline* (Madison, WI: Beacon Press, 1941), 54-55; Roy Franklin Cottrell, *Tomorrow in Prophecy* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assoc., 1942), 26-32; Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, *A Commentary, Critical, Experimental and Practical on the Old and New Testaments*, 6 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1945), 4:434-37; Taylor B. Bunch, *The Book of Daniel* (mimeographed, 1950), 132-53; A. J. Ferris, *Daniel's Seventieth Week or the Years 1951 to 1958 in Prophetic Chronology* (London: Ferris, 1951), 29-59; J. Barton Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1962), 277-79; Charles Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1963), 168-211; Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27"; idem, "The Book of Daniel," 47-49; idem, "Interpretations of the Chronology of the Seventy Weeks," 3:3-63; Payne, "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks," 97-115; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 1-22; idem, *Drinking at the Sources*, 58-84; idem, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 31-44; Shea, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25, 59-63; idem, *Daniel and the Judgment* (mimeographed, 1980), 210, 232-69; idem, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, 43-44; Robert M. Gurney, *God in Control* (Worthing: H. E. Walter, 1980), 95-131; Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1:205-65.

after *seven weeks*), according to the Masoretic pointing, is usually not given a full disjunctive value¹ and thus is seen as not requiring a sentence break after the "seven weeks." Thus, "Messiah the Prince" is seen as coming after seven plus sixty-two weeks. The latter expression, as well as the designation "Messiah" in vs. 26, is understood to be fulfilled by Jesus Christ. It is generally maintained that it is that same person who "makes strong" a covenant with many in vs. 27.²

E. W. Hengstenberg,³ in contrast with other Historicists, posits a *terminus a quo* of 455 B.C. based on his understanding that this year was the twentieth year of Artaxerxes when Nehemiah was sent to go and repair the walls of Jerusalem. His assertion that the *terminus a quo* "must be assigned to that period of history at which the work was first taken in hand with vigor and success"⁴ stems from his interpretation of "word" in vs. 25 as being a decree of God which in itself is

¹See Hengstenberg, 122-123; Auberlen, 135; Desmond Ford, *Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assoc., 1978), 229; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks," 13; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 89-91; Hasel, "Interpretations," 52, 53, 61.

²See, for example, Tanner, 52, who states: "This Historical interpretation, namely, that it is the Messiah who is referred to in this verse, and not any Antichrist at all . . . is maintained by Pusey, Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Godet, Elliott, Murphy, Guinness, Ellicott's Commentary, and other high authorities." So Wright, 234-36; Cummings, 401; Gurney, 115, 119.

³Hengstenberg, 69-235. Hengstenberg is followed by Irah Chase, 73-77. Albert Barnes, *Daniel*, 2 vols., Notes on the Old Testament (London: Blackie & Son, 1853; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987), 2:160-175, fixes the *terminus a quo* in 454 B.C.

⁴Hengstenberg, 115.

invisible but comes with visible effect.¹ The first seven weeks, according to Hengstenberg, end in 406 B.C. with the completion of the restoration of Jerusalem. In this computation, the coming of the "Messiah the Prince" at the end of the sixty-two weeks is fulfilled in A.D. 29. Thus, if his computation is followed, the *terminus ad quem* would be in A.D. 36.²

While Hengstenberg's dates seem not to be too far from more recent dates of current Historicist interpreters, his assertion for the *terminus a quo* seems to be at variance with the text. Dan 9:25 specifies that the starting point is "from the going forth of the word," but not from its effect. If the "word" were invisible,³ it would be impossible to know the point at which it went forth. Besides, his emphasis on Nehemiah's mission as defining the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks is based on his making the term "square" the subject of "shall be restored and built." This, in a chain reaction, led him to the understanding of the phrase as "restored and built is

¹Ibid., 114, 115.

²Ibid, 191, 197; Boyle, 615, follows Hengstenberg's scheme but has offered what he claims to be corrected dates. His *terminus a quo* in this scheme is dated to 454 B.C., the Messiah is then manifested in A.D. 30, crucified in A.D. 33 (p. 633), and the Seventy Weeks come to an end in A.D. 37 (p. 656).

³Hengstenberg, 115, asserts that "the 'going forth of the word' is in itself an invisible event. But the effects come within the limits of the visible. . . . We must look to the effects to learn when the 'going forth of the word' took place." However, if the "going forth of the word" were invisible, not only would nobody know when it went forth but also nobody would be able to calculate the exact time lapse between the going forth of the "invisible" word and its "visible" effect. Thus, the determination of the *terminus a quo* would be left to subjective intuition.

the street, and firmly determined."¹ He, therefore, placed all the emphasis on the physical rebuilding of Jerusalem and its walls as the sole determinant of the *terminus a quo*.² However, this interpretation leaves much to be desired.³ Furthermore, the dating of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes has later been fixed at 445/4 B.C.⁴ The correction of the date of this event would significantly alter Hengstenberg's dates in his Messianic interpretation.

Carl August Auberlen perceptibly improves upon Hengstenberg's understanding of the phrase "from the going forth of the word" by positing that while it is a divine decree, "the command which went out from God was fulfilled in a command going out from the king."⁵ He sees the fulfillment of the command in

¹Ibid., 125, 128. Cf. M. M. Wilson, *Prophetical Suggestions: Being an Expository of the Books of Revelation and Daniel* (London: Digby, Long & Co., 1909), 413, n. 1, who, possibly following Hengstenberg, states: "Suppose, therefore, that we read the passage thus--'It shall be built again--broad place (or *street*) and that which is determined--in troublous times.' We then have the idea of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, with the broad places before the Temple as well as *whatever else is decided on* in spite of all the opposition of enemies. This is exactly what actually took place. The first thing which Nehemiah *decided* to build was *the wall*" (emphasis his).

²See Hengstenberg, 125-128. His basis for choosing the 20th year of Artaxerxes was that, according to him, "Nehemiah was the first to receive permission to build the city and its walls" (ibid., 180).

³The phrase *tāšūb w'nibn'tāh r'hôb w'hārûs*, its meaning, and interpretation are fully discussed in chapter 2 under the subtitle "Square and Decision-making."

⁴See Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75*, 2d ed. (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1956), 32. Cf. Pusey, 187-88, n. 2; Harold W. Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ: Part VI," 56-58; Bruce K. Waltke, "The Date of the Book of Daniel," *BSac* 133 (1976): 329.

⁵See Auberlen, 112. So also Boutflower, 187-88. Against this position, Hasel, "Interpretations," 50, says: "The issuing of 'the word' is hardly to be

the decree of King Artaxerxes which he gave in his seventh year to Ezra. He dates this fulfillment, which becomes his *terminus a quo*, to 457 B.C.¹ Auberlen rejects the edicts of both Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, with most Historicists,² by arguing that they concern solely the building of the temple.³ He argues in opposition to Hengstenberg and Havernick⁴ that the period of Ezra and Nehemiah is one continuous period of restoration and rebuilding which started with Ezra. Thus the

understood to refer to a decree from God." So Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 84; Doukhan, *Drinking at the Sources*, 68; Maxwell, 1:200.

¹Auberlen, 122. So also John Cummings, 408; Pusey, 189; Boutflower, 185; Uriah Smith, 198; Snow, 40; Tanner, 58; Wright, 230; Hasel, "Interpretations," 47-63; Doukhan, *Drinking at the Sources*, 66-69; idem, *Daniel*, 32-33; Maxwell, 1:202; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 84-88, 99-105. Payne, 276-77. Robert M. Gurney, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," *EvQ* 53 (1981): 32-36, and Wordsworth, 47, take the year 458 B.C.

²Taylor Bunch, 136, though a Historicist, sees the Edict of Cyrus as the "decree" mentioned in Dan 9:25. He claims that "the decree was first issued by Cyrus in 536 B.C. but it did not go forth in its complete fulfillment till 457 B.C." Mauro, 106, also concludes that "'the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem,' from which the prophetic period of Seventy Weeks began to run (Dan 9:25), was the decree of Cyrus the Great, referred to in Ezra 1:1-4."

³Auberlen, 117, states in defense of his rejection: "Both edicts, that of Cyrus and that of Darius, refer solely to the building of the temple." See also Arthur J. Ferch, "Commencement Date for the Seventy Week Prophecy," in *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 3:67-68.

⁴Auberlen, 118.

work of Nehemiah is not seen as separate from that of Ezra but a continuation of what Ezra had already set into motion.¹

The strength of Auberlen's argument, however, is his recognition that although the commission of Ezra was comprehensive enough to include the rebuilding of the city, the rebuilding of the city is not the sole criterion which the text calls for in terms of the determination of the *terminus a quo*.² Auberlen states:

And when the *terminus a quo* is described more fully (ver. 25) as "the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem," the latter expression suggests not only gates and walls, towers and houses, but the entire *polis* and *civitas*; and Jerusalem means, as it was expressed in the preceding verse, both people and city.³

Thus the *terminus a quo* is determined by both the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of the city. Auberlen suggests that the inward renovation of Jerusalem was the work of Ezra while "the 'building of streets and walls,' the outward restoration, was the calling of Nehemiah."⁴

The first seven weeks (49 years) are generally seen by Historicists to be the period of restoration and building of Jerusalem. This period ends in 408 B.C. or

¹See *ibid.*, 118, 119, where Auberlen states: "We have arrived at the conclusion that the time of Ezra and Nehemiah formed one continuous period of blessing for Israel," and that the time of Nehemiah is "but a second terminus from which nothing essentially new is dated, but only a further development of the work begun by Ezra." C. F. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 380, agrees with Auberlen that the edict of Artaxerxes given to Nehemiah was of secondary importance. He states: "Strictly speaking, there is no mention made of an edict relating to Nehemiah." So Cummings, 414.

²See Auberlen, 119.

³*Ibid.*, 120.

⁴*Ibid.*, 120, 121.

forty-nine years after the decree of Artaxerxes, given in 457 B.C. The next sixty-two weeks (434 years) merely show the length of time that elapses after the seven weeks and before the Messiah comes in A.D. 27 (see fig. #1).

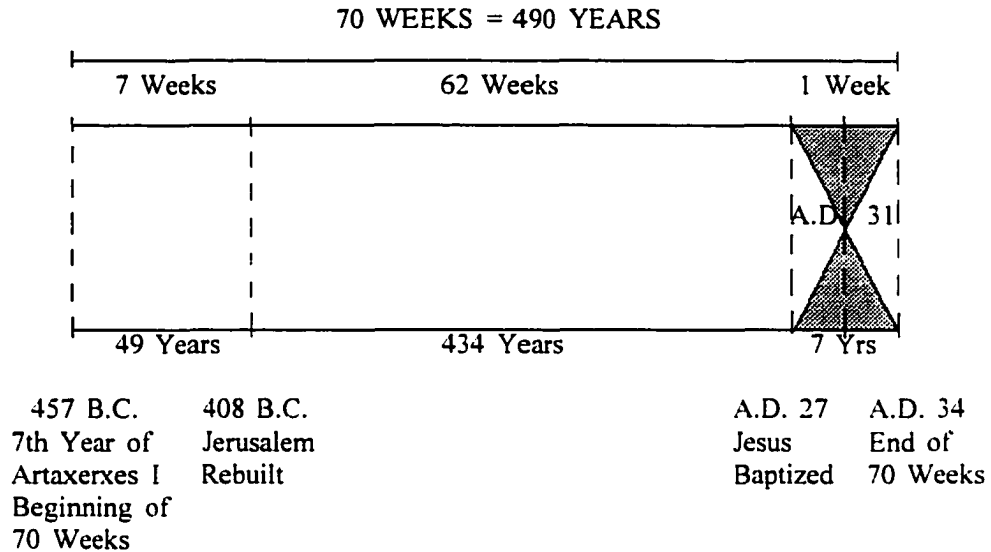


Fig. 1. Historicist computation of the Seventy Weeks.

It is typical for Historicist interpreters to see the historical fulfillment of the coming of the Messiah in the baptism of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ, the Messiah, is subsequently "cut off" in the middle of the last week (vs. 27), referring to his death and causing sacrifice and offering to cease. The *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks is, at present, dated to A.D. 34.¹

¹See Hasel, "Interpretations," 55; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel," 3; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 103-104; Maxwell, 1:202; Ford, 228-235. A few others like Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament*, 277-278, and Gurney,

Summary

The Historicist-Messianic interpreters (Historicists) agree on the following essentials:

1. The Seventy Weeks (490 years) are calculated continuously with normal calendar years.
2. The Seventy Weeks (490 years) are consecutive without any gaps or overlapping time elements.
3. The seventh year of Artaxerxes I is the common *terminus a quo*. The first sixty-nine years culminate in the baptism of Jesus, and the seventieth week ends three and a half normal calendar years after Christ's crucifixion.
4. Jesus is the "Messiah, the Prince" and he is the one who "makes strong" the covenant (vs. 27).
5. Dan 9:24-27 is a chronologically exact Messianic prophecy.

The major objection which the Historicist-Messianic interpretation has encountered is that the decree of Artaxerxes issued in his "seventh year" supposedly does not explicitly mention the building of the city.¹ This objection has received

God in Control, 110, support 458 B.C. as the *terminus a quo* and thus have the 70 Weeks ending in A.D. 33.

¹Hengstenberg, 179-80, rejects the decree given to Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes because he perceives it as not including the building of the city. He goes to the extent of saying that Ezra's mission was in reference to the temple which also is the central focus of his book. Boyle, 426, has also remarked: "This edict, then as well as that of Darius Hystaspis, treated of the temple only." Others who make the same objection include Hoehner, 55; Keil, 379; H. A. Ironside, *The Great Parenthesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943), 20; M. M. Wilson, 408; C. Ernest Tatham, *Daniel Speaks Today* (London: Pickering and

attention and deserves further consideration later on.¹

Other issues also deserve further attention. They include the following: (1) the view of the function of the *athnach* under *šib^cāh* (i.e., after *seven weeks*), (2) the expression "Prince who shall come."² (3) the pronoun often translated "he" in Dan 9:27 and its appropriate antecedent,³ and (4) whether all events specified in this prophecy need to come to their fulfillment within the span of time of the Seventy Weeks.⁴ This last point involves the question of the end of the sanctuary/temple and what it means.

English, 1948), 75.

¹See chap. 2 under "Restore and Build," and also chap. 3 under the "Decree of Artaxerxes I to Ezra."

²Auberlen, 101, argues that the "Prince who shall come" should refer to "Titus, the Roman prince who destroyed Jerusalem." Boutflower, 194-95, argues against this position and refers to it as Christ who uses the Roman soldiers as his instrument (his people) of judgment. Yet another position is that the term refers to Christ, but his people are the Jews who, by rejecting him, brought destruction upon themselves. See recently Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 92-94, who follows older exegetes.

³Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95-96, states: "Since the Prince of the previous passage (vs. 26) is not a Roman prince . . . the 'He' in this verse refers to the Messiah Prince, or Jesus Christ historically." The antecedent of the pronoun "he," then, according to this argument, is the "Messiah, the Prince" of vs. 25. On the other hand, Gurney, 114, says: "It is highly probable that the 'he' of verse 27 refers back to the 'anointed one,' since He is the principal character in verse 26."

⁴Samuel Lee, *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1849), 143, claims that "within the last, or *seventieth week* both the city and its sanctuary should fall." Moses Stuart, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850), 279, also asserts that all the events must happen "within the limits assigned by the angel." Gurney, *God in Control*, 124, on the other hand, asserts: "It may be objected that the Jewish War does not fall within the seventy weeks. But then Daniel does not specifically say that it does."

Chronological Interpretations Terminating in
Maccabean Times (Historical-Criticism)

Although Dan 9:24-27 was generally held to be a Messianic prophecy by early Christian interpreters, toward the latter part of the second century A.D. the pagan neo-Platonic philosopher Porphyry started the propagation of the non-Messianic view.¹ This interpretation has had hardly any influence on Christian interpreters until it has been adopted universally in the last century and a half by Historical-Critical scholars.² The supposition that the Seventy Weeks is a *vaticinia ex eventu* with the Maccabean age as its objective has been taken over from Porphyry in modern scholarship. A striking exception among Patristic exegetes is Julius Hilarianus (4th century).³ This view of *vaticinia ex eventu* was revived by some Deists and Rationalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ John

¹See Jerome, 15; Brian Croke, "Porphyry's Anti-Christian Chronology," *JTS* 34 (1983): 172; Farris, 205-15; Kalafian, "The Impact of Daniel on Christology," 90; idem, *The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of the Book of Daniel* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 61.

²Klaus Koch, et al., 127-154; Montgomery, 394, 396. Cf. M. V. Anastos, "Porphyry's Attack on the Bible," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of H. Caplan* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1966), 433-34; P. M. Casey, "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," *JTS* 27 (1976): 30-31, who states that "Porphyry's work now emerges as a creditable scholarly achievement. His main results, the Maccabean dating and the pseudepigraphic nature of Daniel, were correct."

³Julius Hilarianus, in his *De Mundi Duratione libellus* (PL 13, 110 passim.), refers to the Half-Week of the Abomination to Antiochus Ephiaphanes' sacrilege, and puts the *terminus ad quem* of the 70 Weeks in the year 148 B.C. See Montgomery, 396; Zöckler, 207, who describe Hilarianus as "the forerunner of the modern critical exposition."

⁴Montgomery, 400.

Marsham (1697) and A. Collins (1796), two Englishmen, are credited to be the first to choose this view in modern critical scholarship.¹ It has gained consistent support in the Historical-Critical school of interpretation.

The nonchristological, Historical-Critical interpretation of Dan 9:25-27 is consistent with its own understanding of the nature of prophecy² coupled with the suggestion of a Maccabean era *terminus ad quem*.³

The continuous Historical-Critical approach seeks to fit the figures of Dan 9:24-27 (7+62+1) into a single horizontal line of historical sequence in which seven weeks are followed by sixty-two weeks and then by one week. The Seventy Weeks or 490 years have a fixed *terminus ad quem* in the Maccabean era. I use here the

¹See *ibid.* Also J. O'Higgins, *Anthony Collins: The Man and His Works* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 155-99.

²E.g., John J. Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, vol. 20 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 11, 92, describes the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 as "*ex eventu* prophecy," which he defines as "the prediction of events which have already taken place." According to this view, prophecy is not a God-given prediction but a proclamation based on the ingenuity of the "prophet." Gerhard F. Hasel, "Israel in Bible Prophecy," *JATS* 3/1 (1992): 123, states with regard to this view: "The function of the prophet is not to predict (foretelling) but to proclaim (forthtelling) This view . . . allows at best a kind of prognostication that is based on the superior insights of a human writer. . . . There is no divinely given prophecy in the sense of a sure prediction about the near or distant future."

³See Daniel J. Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 30; Kalafian, "The Impact of Daniel on Christology," 243; *idem*, *The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of the Book of Daniel*, 174; Farris, 47; Carl Heinrich Cornill, "Die siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels." *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen* 2 (1889): 20, 21.

position of James A. Montgomery,¹ a prominent commentator, to present the continuous Historical-Critical approach.

Montgomery, while denying the use of "the 70 Weeks for the determination of a definite prophetic chronology,"² at the same time asserts: "Here with most recent scholars, it is held that with the Seventy Weeks a definite, not intentionally indefinite, datum of time is meant, for how else would the divine 'word' satisfy Dan.'s inquiry, vs. 2?"³

Montgomery takes the Seventy Weeks as literal. He states: "And that the present number is to be taken literally appears from its division, not into symbolical aliquot parts, e.g., 7 x 10, but into an irregular series, 7+62+1, a half year within the last year also being specified."⁴

The *terminus a quo*, according to Montgomery, is Jeremiah's word referred to in Dan 9:2, which he dates to 586 B.C.⁵ Montgomery, however, notes that the

¹Among those who use this approach are Aage Bentzen, *Daniel*, Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1952), 74-75; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 236-52; A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), 153-61; J. Dyneley Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1899), 158-161; W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1984), 127-46.

²Montgomery, 401.

³Ibid., 373.

⁴Ibid., 391.

⁵Ibid., 391. Others who follow 586 B.C. are: Karl Marti, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, 18 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), 69; Prince, 159; E. W. Heaton, *The Book of Daniel*, Torch Bible Commentaries

"dating is not exactly 'from the issue of the word,' i.e., the word of Jer 25:2 in year 1 of Neb."¹ The first division of forty-nine years reaches to Joshua, the High Priest, at 538 B.C. when the rites of the temple, according to Montgomery, were resumed.² The second division of time, the sixty-two weeks, covers the period between the return of the Jews and the period of the Maccabees, ending at the death of Onias III, which he dates to 171 B.C.³ The final week starts in 171 B.C. and terminates in 165 B.C. when the Jews recovered and purified the temple⁴ (see fig. #2).

(London: SCM Press, 1956), 210; Bentzen, 75; Charles, 244; Koch, 150, 151; Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, 134; Arthur Jeffrey, "The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Exegesis," *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 6:495. Yet others take 587 B.C. as the starting point: Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 141; D. S. Russell, *The Method and the Message of the Apocalyptic* (London: SCM Press, 1964), 251; idem, *Daniel*, Daily Study Bible (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1981), 187; idem, *Daniel: An Active Volcano* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1989), 109; Towner, 142; Lacocque, 178; James M. Efrid, *Daniel and Revelation* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978), 63. Bevan, 148, however, dates the destruction of Jerusalem at 588 B.C. Philip S. Desprez, *Daniel and John* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878), 100-101, prefers 606 B.C., the first pronouncement of the Babylonian captivity.

¹Montgomery, 392.

²Ibid., 379. Montgomery states: "The rites were suspended in 586, at the destruction of the temple, and were resumed 538 upon the Return, i.e., *circa* 49 years." This seems hardly a justifiable premise for referring the term "Messiah, the Prince" to Joshua, especially because the temple had not been restored yet in 538 B.C.

³Cf. Cornill, 15-17, who lists a succession of 12 high priests from the destruction of Jerusalem to Onias III.

⁴Ibid., 378-394.

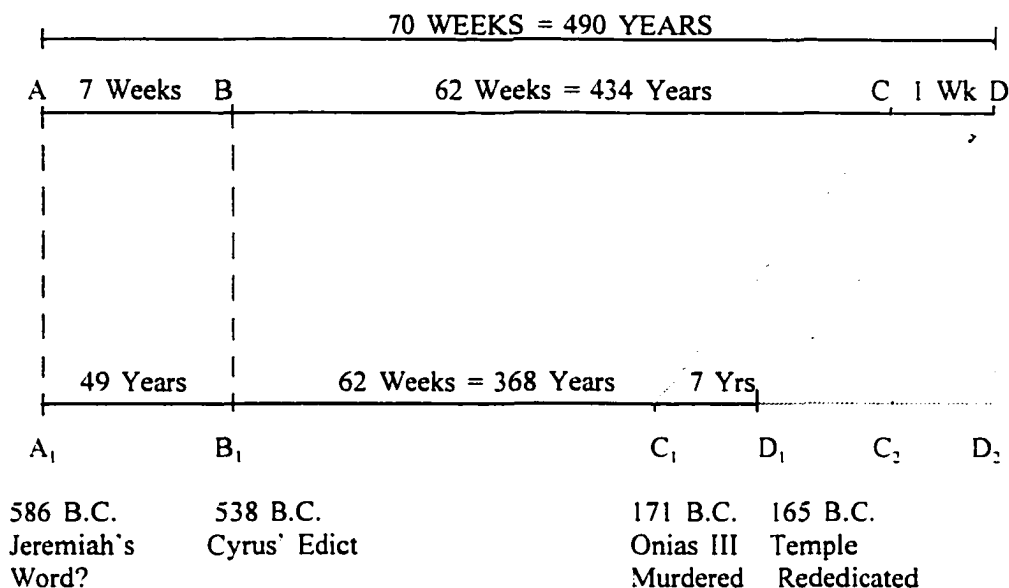


Fig. 2. Montgomery's computation of the Seventy Weeks.

The chronological sequence in Montgomery's scheme works for the first division of time (i.e., 586-538 = c. 49 or AB = A₁B₁). However, the starting point itself seems arbitrary. He states that "the *terminus a quo* is given explicitly, 'from the issue of the word,' i.e., the Jeremianic word."¹ His *terminus a quo*, as he admits, "is not exactly from the Jeremianic word."² His date of 586 B.C. is rather the date of the destruction of Jerusalem which happened *circa* twenty years after Jeremiah's prophecy in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 25:1). Therefore, if Jeremiah's prophecy recorded in Jer 25:2 is the event that marks the *terminus a quo*.

¹Ibid., 391.

²Ibid., 392.

Montgomery's 586 B.C. date is inconsistent and arbitrary.¹

Furthermore, his supposition of the Jeremianic word as the *terminus a quo* is preempted by his initial assumption that Daniel's Seventy Weeks are made up of a double interpretation of the Jeremianic word found in Jer 25:2. He states:

We have here a notable early instance of a double interpretation of prophecy: the one which regards Jer.'s prophecy of restoration as fulfilled in the Return in the Persian period and which calculates this period at 7 x 7 years (the 'first' sense of the prophecy); the other which interprets the explicit Jeremianic interpretation of the 70 years symbolically (the 'second, or mystical, sense') as 70 year-weeks.²

If we were to grant his supposition of double interpretation, and if his interpretation of the phrase "to restore and build" were to have the meaning "to build again"³ (an interpretation which has been seriously challenged by earlier interpreters),⁴ his *terminus a quo* would still remain problematical. The *Hiphil* and *Qal* infinitive construct forms with the preposition "l'" in the expression *l'hāšīḥ w'libnōt*, "to restore and build," seem to express purpose⁵ with Jerusalem as the object.⁶ Thus

¹Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 31, 32.

²Ibid., 378; cf. Farris, 21.

³Montgomery, 378, assigns the meaning "to build again" to the phrase, *l'hāšīḥ w'libnōt*, otherwise translated as "to restore and to build."

⁴See, for example, Keil, 350-51; Barnes, 149-150.

⁵See C. L. Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1987), 190. Cf. Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 466.

⁶Cf. Gerard van Groningen, *Messianic Revelation in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990), 830, who observes that "the object of restoration and rebuilding is Jerusalem." Also Stuart, 282, observes that "the sequel is designed to explain its object. It is to rebuild Jerusalem."

the purpose of the phrase seems to be "to build again" (to use his translation) Jerusalem. The text, therefore, should be expected to provide a word that informs about the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Jer 25:2, however, does not have such a word. On the contrary, it predicts the destruction of Jerusalem, how long the exiles will serve Babylon, the length of the desolation (Jer 25:3-11), and the subsequent punishment of Babylon (Jer 25:12-14) and the nations (vss. 15-38). Thus, it would be strange if Dan 9:25 had taken the Jeremianic "word" on the fall of Jerusalem, etc., mentioned in Dan 9:2 as the "word" which was supposed to express the purpose "to build again" Jerusalem.¹ Daniel was not seeking for the interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy but for its fulfillment.² It appears that the *terminus a quo* for the first seven weeks (49 years) is arbitrary.

Montgomery starts the last week in 171 B.C. (see fig. 2)³ in order to make the Seventy Weeks fit the Maccabean theory. However, he is faced with two problems. The first problem has to do with the length of the second division of time, the sixty-two weeks or 434 years. He begins the sixty-two weeks in 538 B.C.

¹Cf. Young, *The Messianic Prophecies*, 61, 62, who concludes that the "prophecy of Jeremiah cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a word to return and rebuild Jerusalem."

²Meredith G. Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," in *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. John H. Skilton (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1974), 454, in addition to the fact that "there was no need for perplexity over the plain words of Jeremiah," states: "Moreover, it is perfectly clear from the account of Gabriel's mission (Dan 9:20ff.) that his purpose was not to interpret or reinterpret Jeremiah's prophecy but to assure Daniel that the promise of restoration was about to be fulfilled."

³Montgomery, 393, 394.

and ends them in 171 B.C. (i.e., C_1D_1).¹ Nevertheless, the 434 years (i.e., 62 weeks) are thereby shortened to c. 368 years.² Therefore, to get in 434 years he needs to stretch beyond the *terminus a quo* of the last week by no less than sixty-five years.³ Since Montgomery could not find any textual or scientific explanation for the absence of chronological correlations between his figures and the time elements of the author, he surmised "a chronological miscalculation on the part of the writer."⁴

The second problem pertains to the date 171 B.C. chosen as the date of the death of Onias III. Recent studies date the death of Onias III to 170 B.C.⁵ If this

¹Ibid., 394.

²See fig. 2, $BC = B_1C_2 = 434$ years, where BC is the 62 weeks as outlined by the text and recognized by Montgomery (see pp. 392, 393). Yet Montgomery's representation of the 62 weeks is B_1C_1 . But $B_1C_1 = BC - C_1C_2 = c. 368$. Therefore $C_1C_2 = 434 - 368 = 66$. Thus Montgomery's 62 weeks ($B_1C_1 = 368$) are short of Daniel's 62 weeks ($BC = 434$) by $C_1C_2 = c. 66$ years. His 70 Weeks are thus short of the 490 years (i.e., AD) by an equal amount of $D_1D_2 = C_1C_2 = c. 66$ years.

³See Hasel, "Interpretations," 39-46, for a more extensive criticism of this position.

⁴Montgomery, 393, asserts that the writer had exact scriptural information for the first period (i.e., 7 weeks or 49 years), and was also "profoundly conscious of the epochal character of his own age." It is rather doubtful that this writer with such knowledge could not figure out the number of years between those two epochs, 587-538 and 171-165. So Russell, *Daniel*, 189; Bevan, 147-49; Charles, 245, follows Graf, Nöldeke, and Bevan to explain that "our author followed a wrong computation." Cf. Farris, 43, 44.

⁵See Klaus Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa: Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 124, 125; Hasel, "Interpretations," 35, follows Bringmann. Towner, 144, although he still dates the defilement and rededication of the temple to 167-164 B.C., dates the death of Onias III to 170 B.C.

is correct, the last week in Montgomery's scheme will also be short of the seven years mentioned by the Danielic text.

Louis F. Hartman, like Montgomery, posits that the author of Dan 9 did not have an accurate knowledge of the chronology of the period.¹ He claims that the Seventy Weeks are the *peshet* of Jeremiah's seventy years.² With this genre categorization, Hartman seeks to find a *terminus a quo* that may be better defended textually. Hartman therefore proposes 594 B.C., the year of Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks³ on the grounds that it should begin with "the utterance of the word regarding the rebuilding of Jerusalem."⁴

However, Hartman's proposition does not solve the problem textually or chronologically. As Gerhard F. Hasel correctly points out,⁵ textually, Jer 29:10, upon which Hartman bases his *terminus a quo* of 594 B.C., concerns bringing back exiles to Judah, whereas the "word" of Dan 9:25 concerns the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem. Chronologically, the first division of his scheme, 594-538, is fifty-six years in length instead of the forty-nine years (7 weeks) specified by the

¹Hartman and Di Lella, 250.

²Ibid., 250, 253-54. Although Hartman takes the passage as an interpretation of Jeremiah's 70 Weeks and also of Maccabean authorship, he does not take the whole "prophecy" as a *prophetia post eventum*. He takes the last 3½ years as "a genuine prediction which slightly overshoot its mark." The author must have written in 167 B.C.

³Ibid., 250. So Clyde T. Francisco, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel." *RevExp* 57 (1960): 136; Michael J. Gruenthaner, "The Seventy Weeks." *CBQ* 1 (1939): 48.

⁴Hartman and Di Lella, 250.

⁵See Hasel. "Interpretations." 3:36-37.

Danielic text.¹ This remains an unresolved chronological discrepancy.

Nonarithmetical Maccabean Times Interpretation

The inability of the continuous nonchristological Historical-Critical interpretation to achieve a textually sound chronological scheme terminating in Maccabean times seems to be inadvertently conceded by some proponents of the Historical-Critical School. Recently some adopted a nonarithmetical approach to the chronological interpretation of Dan 9:24-27. These proponents not only take Dan 9:24-27 as a *vaticinia ex eventu* but also take the position that the Seventy Weeks of Daniel were not meant to be seen in terms of correct arithmetic chronological calculation.

Among such interpreters is John J. Collins. He claims in his exposition of this passage that "Daniel's 70 weeks of years is not so much a calculation of actual time as a conventional schema for a set period."² His view of Daniel seems to stem from his conviction that the biblical books "must be seen as human constructions which attempt to articulate the meaning and purposes of life."³ To him, the book of

¹See Hartman and Di Lella, 250-51.

²Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees*, 95; cf. Farris, 22.

³*Ibid.*, 7.

Daniel is "historical fiction"¹ and the truth of the book "is not literal but symbolical."²

With this as the background, Collins sees the Seventy Weeks as the reinterpretation of the seventy years of Jer 25:11-19; 29:10.³ While he puts the beginning of the Seventy Weeks at the beginning of Daniel's prayer, the time of Daniel's prayer itself cannot be known because it is set in the reign of an "unhistorical" king Darius the Mede.⁴ The first seven weeks, however, end with the anointing of the first high priest Joshua. The last week then starts with the murder of the high priest Onias III.

By starting Daniel's Seventy Weeks with Daniel's prayer, Collins contradicts his position that Daniel's Seventy Weeks are the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's

¹Ibid., 13, 14.

²Ibid., 19.

³Ibid., 92-94.

⁴Ibid., 95. For a counterview see D. J. Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (London: Tyndale Press, 1965), 9-18. Wiseman is now also followed by William H. Shea, "Darius the Mede in His Persian-Babylonian Setting," *AUSS* 29 (1991): 235-257, in identifying Cyrus with Darius the Mede. This view abandons Shea's former position that identified Darius with Ugbaru in "Darius the Mede: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 229-247; idem, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period," *AUSS* 9 (1971): 51-67, 99-128; 10 (1972): 88-117; 147-178. See for other views, Hasel, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology," 45-47. Cf. Josh MacDowell, *Daniel in the Critics' Den* (San Bernardino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ International, 1979), 65-72; John C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede: A Study in Historical Identification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959), 1-79; R. O. Wilson, "Darius the Mede," *PTR* 20 (1922): 177-211; Sir Robert Anderson, *Daniel in the Critics' Den*, 3d ed. (London: J. Nisbet, 1909; reprint Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1960), 31-41 (page references are to reprint edition).

seventy years. If his reinterpretation theory were accepted, then the starting point should not be at the point which Daniel perceived to be the end of Jeremiah's seventy years (Dan 9:2) but at its beginning.

John E. Goldingay, as does Collins, states that the prophecy of Daniel's Seventy Weeks is not actual prophecy¹ and that the figures do not offer chronological information. He states that "it is not chronology but chronography: a stylized scheme of history used to interpret historical data rather than arising from them, comparable to cosmology, arithmology, and genealogy as these appear in writings such as the OT."²

Goldingay, however, points out, differently from Collins, that the "word" that goes forth in Dan 9:25 is a different proclamation from the "word" that came to Daniel (Dan 9:24-27) since that word (vs. 23) "does not focus on the building of a restored Jerusalem."³ He goes ahead to propose that neither the beginning nor the end of the Seventy Weeks can be identified with certainty. Yet he identifies the period as coming at "the beginning of the period from the exile to Antiochus."⁴ The last seven years begin in 171 B.C., the alleged death of Onias III.⁵ That puts

¹Goldingay, 267.

²Ibid., 257.

³Ibid., 260.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 262.

the end of the Seventy Weeks at 164 B.C.¹ Although it has been pointed out that the date 171 B.C. is problematical, yet it is still necessary to emphasize that the defilement and restoration of the Jewish temple during the Maccabean times has been dated recently to 168-165 B.C.² If the date of the death of Onias III is 170 B.C. and the date of the defilement and restoration is 168-165 B.C. and not 167-164 B.C. as previously supposed, then 170 B.C. is the *terminus a quo* and 165 B.C. is the *terminus ad quem*. In this case the last week of the Historical-Critical School³ would be only five years long and fall short of the expected "seven" years Dan 9:24-27 calls for.

Like Collins, Goldingay shows inconsistency by trying to tie the stipulations of Daniel to certain historical events which apparently make a chronological outline out of Dan 9:24-27. He is even tempted to give a date for the beginning of the last week, making it inevitable to know when the seventieth week ends. This seems to stand in contradiction to his own claim that the passage has no chronological value. Consequently, he seems to affirm the view that there is a chronological intent

¹It has already been pointed out that the 171 B.C. date of the death of Onias III is problematical. See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times" above.

²See Bringmann, 15-28; Lester J. Grabbe, "Maccabean Chronology: 167-164 or 168-165 BCE." *JBL* 110 (1991): 59-74, makes a strong case for 168-165 B.C. as the time when the Jerusalem temple was in pagan hands.

³So Hartman and Di Lella, 253; Bentzen, 69, 70. Both Towner, 144, and Russell, *Daniel*, 189, 192, date the death of Onias III to 170 B.C. yet reckon the rededication of the temple to 164 B.C. and thus choose 164 B.C. as the *terminus ad quem* of the 70th Week.

inherent in a part of the passage, to say the least.

Another problematical point in Goldingay's scheme is his starting point. He puts the beginning of the Seventy Weeks at the beginning of the exile. However, one finds that this is still inconsistent, for it is difficult to reconcile the "word" that was supposed to command the exiles to return to freedom and to restore the ruined Jerusalem with the beginning of that same exile and ruin. The same "word" can hardly effect two antagonistic commands.

The nonarithmetical Maccabean Times interpretations generally seem to tailor the chronological computations of the Continuous Maccabean interpretation. Yet they resort to symbolic description since the events of Dan 9:24-27, as placed in history by them, do not correlate with the chronological figures as presented by them. However, the inconsistencies that are inevitable with their position seem to project a need for clues arising from the passage that brings a correlation between historical events and Daniel's Seventy Weeks.

A. A. Bevan, a critical scholar also of the Maccabean-age hypothesis, has made a statement regarding "unknown periods" that is significant:

In reality, this theory is more obviously at variance with the text than any other that has been proposed. Verses 22, 23, and 25, certainly imply that the duration of the weeks was definitely known; indeed, save upon this assumption, the speech of the angel would be, from beginning to end, a piece of elaborate mockery.¹

Bevan, therefore, emphasizes, as one of the principles of interpreting this particular passage, that the revelation was intended to give Daniel understanding (vss. 22, 25).

¹Bevan, 142.

Thus he states: "We are therefore bound to suppose that the author of the chapter knew what was meant by a week, and knew from what point the 70 weeks were to be reckoned."¹

Summary

Historical-Critical interpretations typically terminate their chronological scheme in Maccabean times. They share the following essentials:

1. They follow a Maccabean era *terminus ad quem*, normally the year 164 B.C., while the *terminus a quo* is based on the Jeremianic word of either Jer 25:2 or 29:10.

2. The *athnach* under *šib^cāh* (i.e., after *seven weeks*) is taken as completely disjunctive, with the result that the "Messiah, the Prince" is restricted to the end of the first seven weeks.

3. They identify the "Prince who will come" with Antiochus IV Epiphanes who is said to make a covenant with the Jews.

4. They do not regard Dan 9:24-27 as Messianic in intention.

Historical-Critical interpreters have not succeeded in achieving chronological harmony based on the text of either Jeremiah or Daniel. Among the problems that have emerged from their Maccabean-based interpretations are the following:

1. The various *termini a quo* do not have the correct interval to fit a total of

¹Ibid., 145.

490 years.¹ Diverse dates used by the Historical-Critical School for the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks include 606, 605, 586, and 587 B.C. Recent studies place the desecration and rededication of the temple to the years 168 and 165 B.C. respectively, dating the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks to 165 B.C. This is short of the seven years belonging to the last week. The year 164 B.C. is beyond the rededication of the temple.² An appeal to supposed inaccuracies in the chronological data on the part of the writer of Dan 9:24-27 does not seem to solve the chronological problems.³

2. Textual issues affecting chronological determinations need careful elucidation. Among them are several: (a) the attachment of the person designated "Messiah, the Prince" to the first seven weeks and the rebuilding of Jerusalem over a period of sixty-two weeks (434 years) creates problems for the meaning of the text: (b) the attribution of the destruction of the city of Dan 9 to the period of Antiochus

¹Cf. Young, *Messianic Prophecies*, 63, who observes with regard to Historical-Critical determination of the *terminus a quo* that "they do not find a *terminus a quo* which satisfies the requirements of the text with respect to the issuance of a word to restore Jerusalem. Hence, if one is to take exegesis seriously, he cannot accept views such as those of Prince, Behrman or Montgomery."

²The *terminus ad quem* of the last week according to the Historical-Critical schemes is the rededication of the temple. See Montgomery, 386-87; Hartman and Di Lella, 252-53; Lacocque, 195-96; Russell, *Daniel*, 192; and others.

³See Antti Laato, "The Seventy Yearweeks in the Book of Daniel," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 215-16, who says "it is hardly possible to regard the author of the Book of Daniel as lacking in knowledge about the Persian period."

IV Epiphanes does not synchronize with history¹: finally, (c) the Seventy Weeks (vss. 26, 27) do not seem to end with a restoration and purification of the temple as suggested by the Historical-Critical interpretation.

Chronological Interpretation Using Multiple Integers of Seven

David H. Lurie² has recently made an ingenious attempt at a Continuous-Messianic scheme using multiple integers of seven in his computation. He claims to open up "a new perspective on the chronology of the seventy 'sevens'."³ His new scheme starts with 538 B.C. as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. He tries to find some means to make the sixty-nine weeks fit the appearance of the Messiah. Lurie bases his analysis of the Hebrew word *šābu^cīm* on Young's previous work in which the latter suggested that "the word [*šābu^cīm*] means divided into sevens" and that "the word 'sevens' is employed in an unusual sense."⁴ Lurie concludes from Young's statement that *šābu^cīm*, "weeks," are "periods divided into seven years, periods that are integer multiples of seven years. There is no reason to restrict the

¹Cf. Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentary (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1978), 171, who says: "Commentators who argue that Antiochus Epiphanes fulfilled this prophecy are at a loss to account for the fact that he destroyed neither Temple nor the city of Jerusalem."

²David H. Lurie, "A New Interpretation of Daniel's 'Sevens' and the Chronology of the Seventy 'Sevens,'" *JETS* 33 (1990): 303-09.

³Ibid., 303.

⁴Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 195.

'sevens' to just seven years as is usually done."¹ He, therefore, divides the seven and sixty-two into two variable groups and applies two different integer multiples of seven to the two groups. He multiplies the seven weeks by fourteen, and the sixty-two weeks by seven. Thus:

$$7 \text{ weeks} = 7 \times 14 = 98 \text{ years}$$

$$62 \text{ weeks} = 62 \times 7 = 434 \text{ years}$$

$$\text{Total of 69 weeks} = 532 \text{ years}$$

Then he deducts 532 years from 538 B.C. and comes to 6 B.C., which he assumes to be the birth of Christ. The last week, he states, "can be an integer multiple of seven years."² Although Lurie does not categorically state which integer multiple of seven should be applied to the seventieth week, he suggests that "one obvious possibility is that the seventieth 'seven' lasted seventy years and ended in A.D. 65."³ The midpoint of the last week then is A.D. 30.⁴

The scheme of Lurie, while exceptionally creative, raises questions such as "Who determines which integer multiple is to be used for each of the three divisions?" "What is the control for one's choice?"⁵ "How does this scheme help

¹Ibid., 306.

²Ibid., 306-309.

³Ibid., 309.

⁴Ibid.

⁵For example, if one took the integer multiple 21 instead of 14 for the first 7 weeks, one could come up with a *terminus a quo* of 588/587 B.C. which is the date advocated by some, for instance, Lacocque, 178.

us to find the *terminus ad quem*?" "Should the last week be multiplied by 70, 700, or 1400?"¹ Lurie's scheme seems arbitrary. He does not provide adequate support for his scheme and he lacks textual controls.²

Nathaniel West pointed out some time ago: "All the weeks are of equal chronological measurement, each consisting of seven literal years. . . . The sum is, therefore, 490 years."³ The point that each of the weeks is of the same integer value is nearly universally recognized by scholars of various schools of interpretation who interpret the Seventy Weeks as chronological in import. Furthermore, Lurie's dating of the birth of Christ is very doubtful.⁴ Dan 9:24-25

¹While Lurie, 309, mentions the possibility of the 70th "seven" being 70 years, his categorical statement is: "There is no *a priori* reason to suppose it to be just seven years long as is normally assumed. . . . It might be a higher integer of seven years."

²The only basis that Lurie, 303, mentions is that the wording of the prophecy implies a "distinction between the seven 'sevens' and the sixty-two 'sevens.' Had there been no distinction between these two groups of 'sevens' one would have expected the prophecy to simply refer to the total, sixty-nine 'sevens'. . . . The lengths of the 'sevens' in the two groups are different integer multiples of seven years: Those in the first group are fourteen years long, while those in the second group are the usual seven years long." Lurie adds that "*šābu^cim* are periods of time that are computed by sevens or, even more explicitly, divided into sevens. Something that is 'computed by sevens' or 'divided into sevens' is the same as something that is an integer multiple of seven--that is, seven, fourteen, twenty-one, twenty-eight, and so on." He does not show why the grouping of the weeks into 7, 62, and 1 weeks should call for different integers of 7, and on what basis a particular integer of 7 should be chosen.

³Nathaniel West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy: The Eastern Question, The Kingdom* (New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 1898), 112, 113. So Stuart, 265.

⁴Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1977), 27, dates the birth of Christ to 4 B.C. Douglas Johnson, "And They Went Eight Stades toward Herodeion," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity*

does not seem to point specifically to the birth of Christ but rather to his anointing as the *terminus ad quem* of the first sixty-nine weeks.¹

Summary

The distinctiveness of the multiple-integers scheme is that it allows the interpreter to select any combination of integers of seven and apply them to the various divisions of the Seventy Weeks. In addition to this main characteristic it holds the following determinations:

1. The *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is dated to 538 B.C.
2. The first sixty-nine weeks are reckoned to terminate in 6 B.C., which is viewed as the birth year of Jesus Christ.

Chronological interpretation using multiple integers of seven has not been able to establish textual, contextual or chronological consistency relevant to the Danielic text. Among the problems that have arisen from the use of multiple integers of seven are the following:

1. There seems to be no textual or contextual control for the choice of multiple

and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 93-99, dates it to "shortly before Herod's death in 4 B.C." Paul L. Maier, "The Date of the Nativity and the Chronology of Jesus' Life," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 113-130, dates the nativity to 5 B.C.

¹Hengstenberg, 122, points to the anointing of the Messiah. Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 124, says "the date of the nativity could not possibly have been the termination of the period, for then the sixty-nine weeks must have ended thirty-three years before the Messiah's death."

integers of seven for the computation of the Seventy Weeks. Which integer to be used seems to be the prerogative of the interpreter. Thus a consensus of chronological interpretation of Dan 9:24-27 seems virtually impossible.

2. It has not been able to establish a full chronological scheme to fit the whole Seventy Weeks. One does not know, by this scheme, when to fix the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks.

Noncontinuous Chronological Interpretations

The noncontinuous chronological interpretations are variants of the continuous chronological approaches. Noncontinuous interpretations are dictated mostly by either eschatological presuppositions that demand a lengthening of the 490 years, or the attempt to compress the Seventy Weeks (490 years) into a predefined space of time which imposes a shortening of Daniel's 490 years. These interpretations may be classified into two main groups: (1) chronological interpretations terminating in the distant future and (2) chronological interpretations using parallel and other computations.

Chronological Interpretations Terminating in the Future (Futurism)

The proponents of interpretations that terminate in the distant future may be called Futurists. They maintain a particular hermeneutic and eschatological understanding which demands a separation of the seventieth week from the sixty-nine weeks, in order to place it in the future. These interpretations of Dan 9:24-27.

which are basically represented by Futurist-Dispensationalists¹ in contemporary literature, usually have Sir Robert Anderson,² who presumably popularized this interpretation in the nineteenth century, as the reference point.³

Anderson follows Julius Africanus in fixing the *terminus a quo* in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes and also in positing a prophetic year interpretation of the Seventy Weeks.⁴ He states: "These seventy weeks represent seventy times seven prophetic years of 360 days."⁵ According to Anderson, the sixty-nine weeks

¹Goss, 7-8, lists the distinctive features of Dispensationalism as the presupposition of: (1) the literal fulfillment of OT prophecies, (2) the necessity of clear distinction between Israel and the church, (3) the pretribulation rapture, (4) literal character of hermeneutics, and (5) the future fulfillment of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Charles C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1965), 158-60; Hasel, "Israel in Bible Prophecy," 126, states, "In contrast to 'historicism' 'futurism' is based on the literalistic method of dispensationalist interpretation."

²Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 51-148.

³Goss, 158, describes Anderson as "the foundation for premillennial chronological interpretation."

⁴Julius Africanus, ANF, 6:134, 135; Jerome, 95-98. Goss, 119, says that "this decree was chosen because it is the only one which mentions the rebuilding of the walls." Cf. Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 51-66; Robert Duncan Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel* (Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 1980), 153; Keith L. Brooks, *The Certain End* (Los Angeles, CA: American Prophetic League, 1942), 41; Alva J. McClain, *Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1940), 19; S. P. Tregelles, *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel*, 6th ed. (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1883), 101; William Kelly, *Notes on the Book of Daniel*, 7th ed. (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1943), 179-80. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 52, chooses this *terminus a quo* on the basis that *r'hôb w'hârûs* means "square and moat," which (following Hengstenberg) he construes as signifying "a complete restoration."

⁵Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 121. Although he follows Julius Africanus, he takes a 360-day prophetic year as the basis of his calculation instead of the 354-day lunar year of Julius Africanus. See Zöckler, 209.

start on the first of Nisan of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, which is dated to March 14, 445 B.C. They ended with the triumphal entry of Jesus which he dated to the tenth of Nisan, or April 6, A.D. 32.¹ In order to fit the 483 years (69 x 7 years) into this space of time, Anderson engages in what Harold W. Hoehner calls "mathematical gymnastics"² to shorten the 483 years to 476 years or 173,880 days.³

The following quotes Anderson's mathematical computations:

The 1st Nisan in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (the edict to rebuild Jerusalem) was 14th March, B.C. 445.

The 10th Nisan in Passion Week (Christ's entry into Jerusalem) was 6th April, A.D. 32.

The intervening period was 476 years and 24 days (the days being reckoned inclusively, as required by the language of the prophecy, and in accordance with the Jewish practice).

But $476 \times 365 = \dots\dots\dots 173,740$ days.

Add (14 March to 6th April, both inclusive) $\dots\dots\dots 24$ days

Add for leap years $\dots\dots\dots 116$ days

Total $\dots\dots\dots 173,880$ days

Add 69 weeks of prophetic years of 360 days (or $69 \times 7 \times 360$) = 173,880 days.⁴

¹Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 124, 127. Among those who follow Anderson to start the 69 weeks in 445 are Gaebelein, 138-140; M. M. Wilson, 409; C. G. Ozanne, *The Fourth Gentile Kingdom* (Worthing, England: H. E. Walter, 1982), 42; John F. Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1971), 445, who asserts that "any date earlier than 445 B.C. for rebuilding the wall is based on insufficient evidence"; Geoffrey R. King, *Daniel: A Detailed Explanation of the Book* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1966), 179; Harry Bultema, *Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1988), 285; McClain, 24; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 153-55; Ironside, 20-21; Frederick A. Tatford, *Daniel and His Prophecy* (London: Oliphants, 1953; reprint n.p.: Klock and Klock in the U.S.A., 1980), 156.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 137; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. VI," 64; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 253, describes it as "remarkable mathematical calculations."

³See Hasel's criticism of this view, "Interpretations," 14-21.

⁴Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 128.

The four main pillars of Anderson's chronological scheme may be listed as follows: (1) the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 is Messianic; (2) a prophetic year of 360 days should be used in the calculation of the sixty-nine weeks (i.e., $69 \times 7 \times 360$)--this seems necessitated to shorten the normal 483 years (69×7) to 476 years; (3) the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, dated to begin on the first of Nisan or March 14, 445 B.C.; (4) the *terminus ad quem* of the sixty-nine weeks is the tenth of Nisan, or the sixth of April, A.D. 32.¹

Harold W. Hoehner, himself a Futurist-Dispensationalist, notes two problems in Anderson's computations. First, he faults him on his 445 B.C. date for the twentieth year of Artaxerxes in light of new evidence which puts it in 444 B.C.² Second, Anderson's date of A.D. 32 for Christ's crucifixion is, according to Hoehner, untenable.³

¹Paul Yonggi Cho, "The End of Time," *Charisma* 16/7 (1991): 59-66, follows Anderson to posit the same dates and chronological interpretation.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 137; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. VI," 64; cf. Goss, 53-62, who concludes on the basis of Tishri-to-Tishri method of calculation that Nisan 1 was April 13, 445 B.C. on Julian calendar instead of Anderson's March 1.

³Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 137; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. VI," 64. Hoehner notes that Anderson realized the problem with his calculation and had to "do 'mathematical gymnastics' to arrive at a Friday crucifixion." That observation seems interesting considering the statement of Anderson that "there can be no loose reckoning in Divine chronology; and if God has deigned to mark on human calendars the fulfillment of His purposes as foretold in prophecy, the strictest scrutiny shall fail to detect miscalculation or mistake." See Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 122; Ozanne, 44, who follows Anderson's scheme, admits "it is also true that A.D. 32 presents a problem of an astronomical nature in that 14th Nisan, according to majority view on the mechanics of the old Jewish calendar, should not have fallen

Hoehner attempts to improve on Anderson's futurist scheme of calculation by changing Anderson's calculation to the supposedly correct dates of 444 B.C. and 33 A.D. The difference between the two dates is 476 solar years which he multiplies by 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 45.975 seconds (or 365.24219879 days), to arrive at 173,855 days, 6 hours, 52 minutes, 44 seconds, or 173,855 days. This, however, brings him to March 5 (Nisan 1), A.D. 33. Thus he adds twenty-five more days to March 5 (Nisan 1), 444 B.C., to bring the date up to March 30 (or Nisan 10), 33 A.D., which he claims to be the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.¹ The standard computation of the Dispensational-Futurists follows the above trend (see fig. 3.). The sixty-nine weeks (A₁B₁), taken as 476 solar years, are regarded as continuous, but an indefinite gap (B₁B₂) is put between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks.²

on a Friday in that year." Cf. J. K. Fotheringham, "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the Date of the Crucifixion," *JTS* 35 (1934): 160-62, who believes that Anderson's date, April 15, was a Monday; Leslie P. Madison, "Problems of the Chronology in the Life of Christ" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1963), 163, concludes that "from the testimony of history, the evidence from astronomy, and the necessity for a harmonious chronology, it is concluded that only A.D. 30 meets all the requirements for the date of the death of Christ."

¹Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 135-138; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. IV," 64.

²The gap seems to follow Hippolytus. See Hippolytus, ANF 5:184, 247, 248.

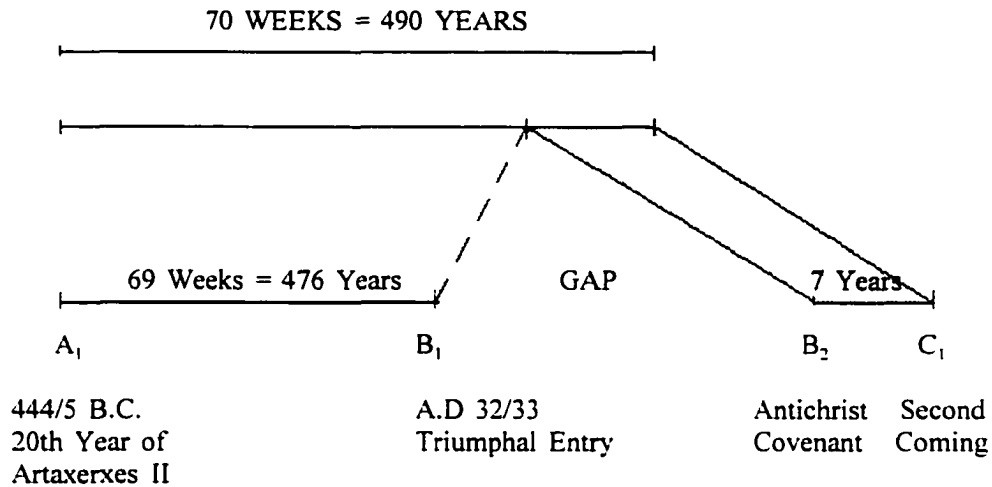


Fig. 3. Futurist-Dispensationalist computation of the Seventy Weeks.

Hoehner continues to build on the main pillars of Anderson's chronological scheme, changing only the dates of the *termini a quo* and *ad quem*. While this shortens Anderson's longer gap to reach 173,880 days, he still has a chronological problem of twenty-five days to account for within his revised system of computation.¹ Also, there is still the problem of making the appearance of the Messiah the Prince at the end of the sixty-ninth week refer to the triumphal entry of Jesus to Jerusalem.² The anointing, which is inherent in the prophecy of the

¹Hasel, "Interpretations," 17.

²R. M. Gurney, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 32, concludes that "this date does not fit in with the other details of the prophecy." M. M. Wilson, 414, recognizes that the triumphal entry date does not fulfill the requirements of the prophecy, and therefore proposed: "We might regard the following Friday as a probable alternative. On that day Pilate said to the Jews, 'Behold your king!' John xix.14." His proposal does not solve the problem.

Messiah (*the Anointed*) in Dan 9:25, is not fulfilled during the triumphal entry. Furthermore, the appearance of the Messiah and his cutting off is not perceived to be coincident by the prophecy (Dan 9:25-27). Besides these problems, the fundamental problems that impinge on the basic pillars are still unsolved. These problems have been discussed extensively by Glenn Richard Goss.¹

Goss disputes all the pillars of Anderson's interpretation of the sixty-nine weeks except the Messianic interpretation. He successfully challenges the assumption of the 360-day prophetic year calculation, showing that it never existed in Israel as a uniform method of calendation. He, therefore, concludes that "in the light of the evidence presented, it seems that it [i.e., whether to use 360-days prophetic year or the normal solar year in the 70 weeks computation] falls in favor of solar years."² Consistent with his evidence, he reckons the sixty-nine weeks as solar years.

Goss argues also against the traditional Futurist-Dispensationalist *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. He first disproves Anderson's date of the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, and also the date of the triumphal entry, which radically calls into question the date of Hoehner.³ Then he disputes the twentieth year of Artaxerxes as

¹Goss, 47-103.

²Goss, 100. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 21, who made observations in that direction independent of Goss.

³Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 138; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. IV," 64-65, dates the triumphal entry to Nisan 10 or March 30, 33 A.D.; Goss, 55-80, argues for April 3, 30 A.D.

the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks and posits the seventh year of Artaxerxes, which he dates to 458 B.C. as the *terminus a quo*.¹ He does this on the primary basis that, unlike the problem inherent in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the seventh year fits chronologically better than all other possible starting points.²

According to Goss, the sixty-nine weeks start in 458 B.C. and end in A.D. 26.³ Goss, however, follows standard Futurist-Dispensationalists in separating the seventieth week and placing it in the future, which is the time described as "the time of Jacob's trouble," ending with the second advent of Christ.⁴ The "Prince who shall come," that is, the "little horn," which is also the head of the revived Roman Empire, is to come at the beginning of the seventieth week and is to make a

¹Goss, 104-130, concludes that "this is the decree which is the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks. This decree, made by Artaxerxes I in April, 458 B.C., was published by Ezra 'beyond the river' in August, 458 B.C." So Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 253. It has been already mentioned that new evidence contradicts this date. See Hasel, "Interpretations," 49; Julia Neuffer, "The Accession Year of Artaxerxes I," *AUSS* 6 (1968): 60-87; Charles W. Slemming, *Bible Digest*, 3 vols. (London: Bible Testimony Fellowship, 1960), 2:149, though he detaches the last week and puts it in the future, calculates the 69 weeks from 457 B.C. to 26 A.D. as the year when Christ started His ministry; Gleason L. Archer, "Daniel," *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1985), 7:114-16, who correctly calculates 490 years (69 weeks) from 457 B.C. to 27 A.D.; Boice, 109.

²See Goss, 125, 128-30.

³Goss, 59. So Slemming, 149, apparently not taking into account that there was no zero year between B.C. and A.D.

⁴See Goss, 164; Sir Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 181-189; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 138; idem, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ, pt. VI," 61, concludes: "It is far better to see an intervening gap between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks than to view the seventieth as following the sixty-ninth. The seventieth week is yet to be fulfilled."

covenant with the people of Israel. The covenant is to be broken in the middle of the week, and in the last three and a half years, the Jews are to be persecuted. This is said to be the Great Tribulation which then culminates in the second coming of Christ.¹

It is appropriate at this point to mention Thomas Edward McComiskey, a futurist who resorts to symbolism as a solution to chronological problems encountered in futurism. In his work,² McComiskey remarks:

The sixty-nine weeks . . . do not yield to a literal interpretation unless a gap is somehow intruded into the structure. The weeks span the period from Cyrus to Antichrist. Since there is no clear exegetical warrant for positing a gap within the structure, we are warranted in asking whether the significance of "seven" and "seventy" may be found in apocalyptic symbolism rather than chronological exactitude.³

McComiskey, therefore, attempts to overcome the gap problem inherent in the futuristic scheme by lengthening the sixty-two weeks with an appeal to symbolism. He argues for a *terminus a quo* of 594 B.C., the date he gives for Jeremiah's letter (Jer 29). He puts the *terminus ad quem* of the seven weeks at 538 B.C. (the decree of Cyrus). The *terminus a quo* of the sixty-two weeks then is the appearance of the "Messiah the Prince," Cyrus, in 538 B.C. and stretches up to the Antichrist.

¹Cf. Shunk, 238-40; West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy: The Eastern Question*, 67-71; G. H. Lang, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1973, reprint, London: Paternoster Press, 1940), 134-140; Gaebelien, 143-150.

²Thomas E. McComiskey, "The Seventy 'Weeks' of Daniel against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Literature," *WTJ* 47 (1985): 18-45.

³McComiskey, 34.

terminating at the beginning of the seventieth week. By this lengthening, he eliminates the parenthesis that other futurists put between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks. No dates are given after 538 B.C., but the Antichrist is cut off in the middle of the seventieth week.¹

The first seven weeks, according to the scheme of McComiskey, span a period of "about fifty-six or fifty-seven years rather than forty-nine." To answer this discrepancy in his scheme, he asserts:

According to this view presented here the structure of Dan 9:24-27 is based on seventy *šābu^cîm* which span the period of time from Jeremiah's prophecy to the Antichrist. There is no apparent interruption in the sequence. The numerical concepts of seven and seventy are understood to have a symbolic significance.²

J. Barton Payne, at an earlier time, had already criticized the unequal (symbolic) weeks interpretation in his statement: "The very meaningfulness of the prophecy, however, seems to demand that they be of normal length, that they follow each other consecutively, from the first through the 490th."³ The unresolved problem of a symbolic continuous and consecutive reckoning of the Seventy Weeks (490 years) remains as a major stumbling stone. If "seven and seventy" were of "symbolic significance," should then the "symbolic significance" not be extended to forty-nine years (7 weeks) and to the half-weeks of the "one" week? Can we expect a symbolical element or meaning for part of the sequence and a literal, non-symbolic for another part? It would appear that the majority of non-symbolic time elements

¹Ibid., 25-41.

²Ibid., 41.

³Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament*, 278.

provide the clue for the meaning of the figures "seven" and "seventy" as also being non-symbolical.

Summary

Futurist-Dispensationalists usually agree on the following essentials:

1. The *terminus a quo* is fixed at the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, that is, 445 or 444 B.C., based on the understanding that the "word" that went out commanded the building of the walls and streets of Jerusalem.
2. Only the edict of Nehemiah has to do with the building of walls.
3. The "Messiah, the Prince" refers to Jesus Christ, who appears at the Triumphal Entry at the end of the sixty-two weeks which is dated to A.D. 30, 33, or 34.
4. The "Prince who shall come" is the little horn or Antichrist,¹ who comes at the beginning of the seventieth week, which is yet future.
5. The covenant (vs. 27) is accordingly likewise in the future.
6. The seventieth week ends with the second coming of Christ. There is thus a gap or parenthesis between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks.
7. The prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 is Messianic.

¹Gaebelein, 116-117, who initially applies it to Titus, still sees in that term a future prince. He states, "If, then, it was a ruler of the Roman people who was to destroy Jerusalem (viz., the event in A.D. 70), it would be reasonable to suppose that it will be a ruler of the Roman Empire . . . who will be involved in concluding this covenant with the people of God during the final seven years before Christ's return." Also Kelly, 185-186; William L. Pettingill, *History Foretold: Simple Studies in Daniel*, 3d ed. (Harrisburg: Fred Kelker, 1914), 96-99.

Goss's approach, although claiming to correct numbers 1 and 2 above, still leaves three questions unanswered even within his scheme:

1. The inaccurate dating of the seventh year of Artaxerxes I.
2. The problem of an inadequate response to the major criticism of Artaxerxes' decree given to Ezra.¹
3. The textual and chronological problems of putting a gap between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks² which breaks the totality of the Seventy Weeks time element.

With regard to the third problem, Philip Mauro states:

Or as it is sometimes expressed, this entire age over 1900 years, comes in as a 'parenthesis' between the 69th and the 70th week of the prophetic period. We deem this view to be erroneous, and believe we can show clearly that it is not supported by, but is contrary to, the testimony of Scripture.³

This matter of discontinuous reckoning remains as a major stumbling block of the Futurist-Dispensationalist interpretation of Dan 9:24-27.

Chronological Interpretations Using Intercalary and Parallel Computations

This group of interpreters which use intercalary or parallel computations are

¹The criticism that it does not include the rebuilding of the walls of the city.

²West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy. The Eastern Question*, 113-117, finds an additional gap within the first seven weeks, and exclaims: "Thus, by the discovery that the Interval of 57 years was really concealed in the breast of the 'Seven Weeks,' the perplexing problem, unsolved for 2,200 years is satisfied at last." What seems to be lacking in this two-gap intercalary scheme is textual support.

³Philip Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation* (Swengel, PA: Bible Truth Depot, 1944), 92. So Bunch, 139.

defined as "noncontinuous Maccabean interpreters." The "noncontinuous Maccabean interpreters" are those who, while regarding Dan 9:24-27 as chronological but nonmessianic, still try to fit the figures into actual history.

In their invariable attempt to improve on the schematic positions of the continuous Maccabean approaches and to make the chronological figures fit the Maccabean era, the "noncontinuous Maccabean interpreters" use two main computational approaches: intercalary or parallel.

Intercalary Computations

The intercalary computation attempts to fit the Seventy Weeks into history by interpolating intervals between the divisions, especially the sixty-two and the last weeks. C. von Lengerke, while regarding both the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks as running parallel from 588 B. C., inserts a gap between the sixty-two and the last weeks. He calculates the first seven weeks from 588 to 539 B.C. The sixty-two weeks also begin in 588 and extend to 175 B.C. The last week extends from 170-164 B.C.¹ Hitzig, also combining parallel and intercalary computation, reduces the gap between the sixty-two and the last week to 172-170 B.C.²

Recently, Ronald W. Pierce has appropriated the intercalary approach in his

¹Caesar von Lengerke, *Das Buch Daniel* (Königsberg: Bronträger, 1835), quoted in Zöckler, 210.

²F. Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1850), quoted in Zöckler, 210.

exposition of the "literal fulfillment"¹ of Dan 9:24-27 (see fig. #4).

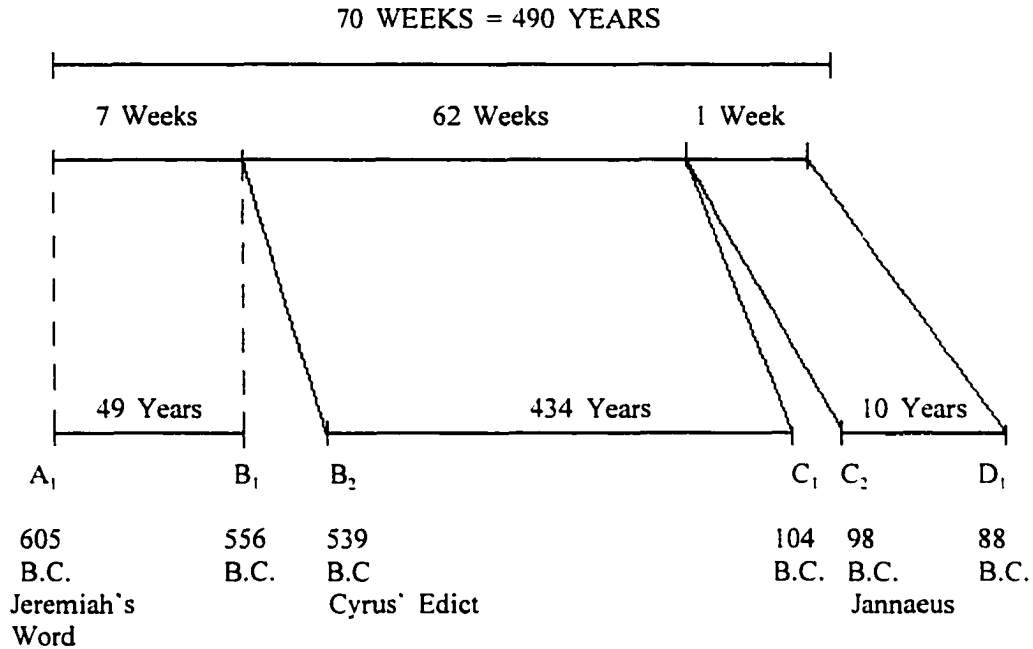


Fig. 4. Pierce's intercalary computation of the Seventy Weeks.

Pierce starts the first seven weeks (49 years, i.e., A₁B₁) from 605 B.C. (the going forth of the word of Jeremiah) and ends it in 556 B.C. Then he leaves a gap (B₁B₂) of seventeen years, and starts the sixty-two weeks (434 years, i.e., B₂C₁) in 539 B.C., the time when, according to him, Cyrus, who is "Messiah, the Prince," permitted the first return to Judah. He ends the sixty-two weeks in 104 B.C. Then he starts the seventieth week in 98 B.C. and ends it in 88 B.C. This last week

¹See Ronald W. Pierce, "Spiritual Failure, Postponement, and Daniel 9." *TrinJ* 10 (1989): 218.

focuses on a "coming prince," who is Alexander Jannaeus, the half brother of Aristobulus I, the "Messiah," of vs. 26.¹ The period from 98-88 B.C. is longer than the seven years mentioned in the text of Daniel.

Aside from the problem of intercalation, there does not seem to be any consistency in considering the "seven weeks" and the "sixty-two weeks" to be computed with "seven" each but the last "week" with "ten." The switch from "seven" to "ten" in Pierce's computation lacks any warrant from the text. It seems to be an arbitrary procedure.

D. S. Russell, while sticking to the 587 B.C. *terminus a quo* of the continuous Maccabean computation, calculates the first seven weeks (49 years) from 587 to 539 B.C., the sixty-two weeks from 538 to 170 B.C., and the last week from 170 to 164 B.C. Thus, his schema leaves a gap of one year between the first division of seven weeks and the beginning of the sixty-two weeks.² The period from 538 B.C. to 170 B.C. is too short by sixty-six years to fit the sixty-two weeks, or 434 years, into the space suggested.

Besides basic textual and chronological problems inherent in the *terminus a quo* and the choice of Messiahs and princes, the intercalary approach has yet to justify how gaps are determined, how long they should be, where they should be, and that there should be some gaps in the first place. These determinations, in this scheme, cannot be justifiably shown to come from an exegesis of the text. The

¹Ibid., 215-218.

²Russell, *Daniel: An Active Volcano*, 109.

underlying assumption seems to be that the text's figures can be stretched or shrunk at will to make them fit a chronological scheme.

Parallel Computations

Parallel computations were developed to solve the chronological problems inherent in the continuous and possibly earlier Intercalary Maccabean chronological hypotheses. J. G. Eichhorn figured the first seven weeks (49 years) in reverse from 536 B.C. (which he reckoned to be the date of the edict of Cyrus) to the destruction of Jerusalem. Then he calculated the sixty-two weeks forward from the fourth year of Jehoiakim (605 B. C.) to Antiochus Epiphanes, while starting the last week from the death of Onias III (171 B.C.) to the restoration of the temple services by Judas Maccabaeus (164 B.C.).¹ It is not surprising that Eichorn's unique approach did not attract any followers.

André Lacocque has a similar but still his own approach to the chronological impasse of the Maccabean thesis. The *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, according to Lacocque, is the beginning of the exile in 587 B.C. (i.e., at point A). The first seven weeks then extend from 587 B.C. to 538 B.C. (i.e., at point B). Nevertheless, instead of the sixty-two weeks continuing from 538 B.C. (i.e., from point B), the sixty-two weeks or 434 years are made to start from the date of Jeremiah's oracle in 605 B.C. (i.e., at point C), a date earlier than the *terminus a*

¹Eichhorn, *Allgem. Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, III, 761 et seq. quoted in Zöckler, 209, 210.

quo of the seven weeks which is supposed to be the starting point of the seventy weeks. (See fig. 5).

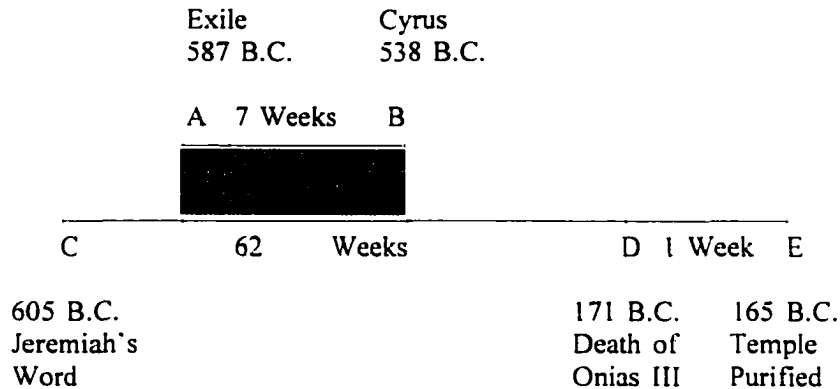


Fig. 5. Lacocques's parallel computation of the Seventy Weeks.

The sixty-two weeks then run from 605 B.C. to 171, the death of Onias III (i.e., CD). The last week then extends from 171 to 165 B.C. (i.e., DE).¹

The parallel computation, however, by running the seven and sixty-two weeks concurrently instead of sequentially, enters into textual and chronological problems: textual, since, as J. D. Prince has noted a long time ago, "it [parallel interpretation] does not seem permissible" because "this was certainly not the author's intention, as the whole passage shows very plainly that he meant seventy

¹Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178, 191-99. See the criticism by Hasel, "Interpretations," 34, 35.

consecutive weeks:"¹ and chronological, because the seventy weeks are then shortened to sixty-three.² Evidently, Lacocque recognizes the time limitation with the *terminus ad quem* being historically fixed to the year 164 B.C. If the year should be 165 B.C. as current scholarship holds, then none of the other dates would fit, because they would need to be pushed up by one year respectively and the schema would fail on every point.

Summary

The interpretations using parallel and intercalary computations are meant to solve the problems associated with the Continuous Maccabean approach. However, they do not seem to have succeeded in solving either the textual or the chronological problems in the Maccabean system. Instead, they have introduced their own distinctive problems: (1) the intercalary approach introduces gaps that cannot be textually or chronologically justified and leads to dates that are difficult to fit into the interpretation of Dan 9:24-27, and (2) the parallel computations shorten the 490 years to other predetermined lengths that chronologically cannot be found in the text of Dan 9:24-27.

¹Prince, 160. Cf. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament*, 278. Bevan, 148, describes the parallel approach as "highly artificial and scarcely reconcilable with the text."

²Because line CD (62 weeks) starts at an earlier point than line AB (the first 7 weeks) and is also parallel to it, AD (7 weeks) is automatically covered by CD (62 weeks) as shown by the shaded area. The seventy weeks are thus shortened by 7 weeks (shaded area which is the equivalent of 7 weeks).

Nonchronological Interpreters

There are a number of nonchronological systems of interpretations which are symbolical in nature. Symbolic interpretations, analytically, do not deal with the chronological aspects of Dan 9:24-27. However, in order that this survey may be complete, they are discussed in their own status as a category of their own in the survey of chronological interpretations.

Symbolic Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times and Beyond

Messianic Symbolic interpreters are those who accept the passage of Dan 9:24-27 as divine prophecy and regard the Seventy Weeks as representing some periods of time that are not limited to 490 precise years of chronology but refer to the Messiah. This type of interpretation goes back to Hippolytus (died ca. 236 A.D.), who adopted another method of enumeration by attributing to the Seventy Weeks periods of undefined length.¹ Hippolytus, who wrote the oldest Christian Bible commentary on Daniel,² fixed the *terminus a quo* of the first seven weeks (49 years) before the exiles returned to Jerusalem according to the command of Cyrus. The sixty-two weeks (i.e., 434 years in the Danielic text) then continued from the return of the exiles to Jerusalem until the coming of Christ³--a period of ca. 565

¹Zöckler, 209, also claims that they are mystical. But this interpretation is problematical.

²See Fraidl, 39-45.

³Hippolytus, ANF, 5:180; Fraidl, 41.

years.¹ While Hippolytus of Rome is a careful exegete in his day, he reinterprets dates to make them fit, but also lengthens years to a longer period. He is not a true symbolical interpreter but has been seen as a precursor for modern symbolic interpreters.

Among modern interpreters who use a symbolic interpretation are a number of amillennialists. Edward J. Young is one of them, asserting that the use of the masculine *šābu^cīm*, "weeks," is "for the deliberate purpose" of showing that the word "sevens" is employed in an unusual manner not lending itself to arithmetical calculation.² He then adds:

Keil, therefore, correctly, I believe, follows Kliefoth in the assumption that the reference is to an intentionally indefinite designation of a period of time measured by the number seven, whose chronological duration must be determined on other grounds.³

Th. Kliefoth figured the first seven weeks as extending from the edict of Cyrus (Ezra 1) in 538-537 B.C. to the first advent of Christ. The next division, sixty-two weeks, then extends from the first advent of Christ to the end time when there will be a great apostasy at the time of the Antichrist. At this time the Church (spiritual Jerusalem) will be built and restored. He then places the last week from

¹Cf. Jerome, 103, 104.

²Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 195.

³Ibid., 196. Cf. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 376, who states "The seventy *šābu^cīm* . . . cannot be year-weeks, or cycles of seven years, but only symbolically defined periods of measured duration." McComiskey, 18-45, a futurist, argues that the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 does not "yield to a literal interpretation, and that it has a symbolic significance."

the time of the apostasy to the second advent of Christ.¹

Kliefoth is followed very closely by C. F. Keil. Both of them identify the *athnach* after the first division, "seven weeks," as a full disjunctive² which functions to limit the appearance of the "Messiah the Prince," who is Christ,³ to the end of the first seven weeks. The "Messiah" of vs. 26 is also Christ, while the "Prince who shall come" of the same verse refers to the Antichrist.⁴ It is also the Antichrist who makes a covenant with the many (vs. 27).⁵ This typical position is basically also followed by H. C. Leupold.⁶

J. J. Ross, who shifted from the futurist view, also interprets the Seventy Weeks symbolically.⁷ He rejects Cyrus' decree, claiming that it had nothing "concerning the walls, gates, streets and moats of the city."⁸ He, on the other hand, chooses the twentieth year of Artaxerxes as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy

¹Kliefoth, *Das Buch Daniel*, 319-424.

²See Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 352.

³Ibid., 360, 361.

⁴Ibid., 362.

⁵Ibid., 365-68.

⁶Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 411-33.

⁷Ross, 26, cautions: "Keep in mind that this age is a prophetic period in history, and let it always be clearly held by us that the dates in such a period, on the human side are always indeterminate."

⁸Ibid., 28.

Weeks.¹ He sees the first seven weeks as ending at "the close of the Period of the Old Testament Prophecy and history."² The sixty-two weeks follow from there to the birth of Christ, which also marks the beginning of the seventieth week. The first half of the seventieth week terminates with the death of Christ, and the last half has been in progress since then and it is expected to continue until the second advent of Christ.³

Young basically agrees with Kliefoth and Keil in their symbolic interpretation of the "seven weeks" and their Messianic representation of the six infinitival phrases of vs. 24.⁴ While Young follows Calvin, Oecolampadius, Kleinert, Nägelsbach, Ebrard, Kliefoth, and Keil⁵ to posit that the edict of Cyrus (538/537 B.C.) is the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy sevens,"⁶ he disagrees with their separation between the seven and sixty-two weeks, arguing that such "violent separation of the two periods is out of harmony with the context."⁷ Young maintains, on the contrary, that the Masoretic pointing should not be taken as

¹Ibid., 29.

²Ibid., 30, 31.

³Ibid., 31-38.

⁴See Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 200, 201.

⁵See Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 352.

⁶Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 202.

⁷Ibid., 205.

indicating a principal division of the sentence.¹ He questions the view of Keil and Kliefoth that the seven weeks extend from Cyrus to Christ and charges that it contradicts the Messianic character of vs. 24.² Young argues that there are 7 + 62 "sevens" between the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy sevens" and the appearance of the "Messiah, the Prince," and that the subdivision into seven and sixty-two only shows the time interval between the going out of the word and the completion of the city and the temple. To him, therefore, the first "seven sevens" run to the end of the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. Then the "sixty-two sevens" follow up to the time of Christ. In contrast to Keil and Kliefoth, Young identifies the prince who is to come (vs. 26) with Titus Vespasianus.³ The "he who causes to prevail a covenant" is Christ, who is also cut off by crucifixion in the middle of the last "seven." The seventieth "seven," therefore, according to Young, ends three and a half years after the death of Christ.⁴

Thus, at present, there are three major views among symbolic interpreters:

1. The present age represents the sixty-two "sevens" (Kliefoth, Keil, Leupold).
2. The present age is the last half of the last "seven." This last half is thus

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 207.

⁴Ibid., 208-20. What 3½ years mean is another question; but it does not seem to have precise solar years in mind. According to Kliefoth and Keil, the cutting off of the Messiah really did not mean death as such but the "cut off" only meant "that He has lost His place and function as the *Mashiach*." See Keil, *The Book fo the Prophet Daniel*, 362. Thus He is cut off after the great apostasy at the end of the world's history.

stretched out to make the Seventy Weeks end with the present age (Ross).

3. The sixty-two "sevens" come up to Jesus and the seventieth "seven" ends in A.D. 70 (Young).

A common element of the Symbolic interpretations is the understanding that *šāḫu^cīm* is not to be rendered or understood as "weeks" but as "sevens." The rendering of "sevens" seems to remove the focus from the chronological element of the time sequences to a nonchronological, symbolical one. The origin, purpose and meaning of the noun *šāḫu^cīm* is discussed later in chapter 2.

The Symbolic interpretations largely lack exegetical justification. They are adopted as alternative solutions to the chronological problems encountered by others. Young acknowledges that "if the sevens be regarded merely as a symbolical number, the difficulty disappears."¹

Summary

The Symbolic schemes reviewed above arise from amiliennial eschatological presuppositions that seem to predefine how and when the Seventy Weeks should terminate. To operate within these eschatological preconditions, various *termini a quo* are chosen. Since these starting points neither solve the textual problems nor support the specific chronology of the text, symbolism is espoused as a means of handling chronological problems. This, however, is done at the risk of being at

¹Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 206.

variance with the objectives and stipulations of the text.¹

Conclusion

It has been observed that the noncontinuous interpretations seem to have unusual amounts of textual and chronological problems. The idea of discontinuity within the seventy-week period calls for textual support which is lacking. Likewise, the noncontinuous choice of historical events and personalities seems to be at variance with the specific demands of the biblical text. Chronologically, none of the schemes fits the figures and the sequential, nonoverlapping, specific historical outline required by Dan 9:24-27.

Among the Continuous schemes, the Continuous-Messianic interpretation apparently has the chronological advantage of correlating sequential and continuous chronological figures with historical events as demanded by the text. The bases for their *terminus a quo* (the seventh year of Artaxerxes), however, continues to be challenged on the grounds that the decree given to Ezra does not explicitly mention the reconstruction of Jerusalem. If the determinant of the decree that decides the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks (mentioned in Dan 9:25) is "the physical reconstruction" of the city, as held among the proponents of the Continuous-Messianic schemes, it is legitimate to expect the decree in question to be inclusive of this key characteristic of rebuilding. However, it is important to be reminded that Dan 9:24 refers to both the "people" and the "holy city." Therefore, the emphasis

¹See Bevan, 142, who concludes that "this theory is more obviously at variance with the text than any other that has been proposed."

cannot be limited only to the "holy city" Jerusalem in what follows. The determining characteristic of the "word" mentioned in Dan 9:25 needs further attention. The qualification of the decree to Ezra as the determinant of the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks in 457 B.C. must, therefore, be carefully investigated. Historical events and personalities involved in the chronology of the Seventy Weeks also need to be investigated further on exegetical grounds.

I have pointed to the weaknesses of the various positions and interpretations of modern times and do not need to repeat them again. It is clear that there is no unanimous consensus on any major line of interpretation. It was anticipated that there might be a larger degree of consensus in the interpretations having the *terminus ad quem* in Maccabean times, but this is not the case. This gave rise to more recent chronological interpretations with intercalary and parallel computations. On the other hand, it appears that a nonsymbolical, chronological interpretation seems to fit the text and demands of Dan 9:24-27 better than a symbolical interpretation. This is the present consensus.

It is my intention in chapter 2 to investigate chronological indicators and foundations of the passage in order to be able to evaluate various positions and to contribute to a resolution of major problems encountered.¹

¹Kalafian, "The Impact of the Book of Daniel," 317, who leans towards the Futurist-Dispensationalist view, after examining three interpretational positions, but completely leaving out the Historicist-Messianic position, has concluded that "it is difficult to see how any of these varied interpretations can be entirely satisfactory. They all have difficulties that would hinder one from making an unqualified endorsement of one particular interpretation." This evaluation suggests that the chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27 still deserve a comprehensive study.

CHAPTER 2

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA IN DAN 9:24-27

The determination of the chronological data, and especially their corresponding historical time elements and figures as delineated in Dan 9:24-27, is basically the function of the phrases and terms used in the text as well as the interpretations provided to the chronological data of the passage. In order to ascertain the chronology of this passage, the chronological data must be investigated within the specific and larger contextual settings that define the terms and thus determine the chronology of the passage. Thus, as a background to the investigation of chronological matters, the analysis of the structure of Dan 9 with a concentration on vss. 24-27 needs to be undertaken. The central part of this chapter deals with chronological data as expressed in terms and phrases. Issues relating to the *Athnach* in vs. 25 and the antecedent of the "he" in vs. 27a receive attention as well.

Structure of Dan 9:1-27

The structure of Dan 9 is analyzed on three levels: (1) general considerations, (2) prayer, and (3) revelation. The following outline of the chapter may serve as a starting point.

- 1-2: Introduction
 - 1-2a: Date of incident
 - 2b: Understanding of Jeremiah's prophecy (circumstance of incident)
- 3-4a: Introduction of prayer
 - 3: Understanding leads to a turn to God
 - 4a: Prayer and confession
- 4b-19: Words of prayer
 - 4b-11a: Confession of sin
 - 11b-14: Effects of sin
 - 15-19: Intercession
- 20-27: Revelation
 - 20-23: Introduction to angelic revelation
 - 20: Circumstance--praying and confessing of sin
 - 21: Angelic appearance
 - 22-23: Angelic instruction: "understand"
 - 24-27: Angelic revelation
 - 24: Summary of Seventy Weeks
 - 25-27: Details of Seventy Weeks

General Considerations

The broad outline of chap. 9 consists of a general introduction (vss. 1, 2) which gives the date (vs. 1) and the circumstances (vs. 2) of the incident recorded in chap. 9. The date is the first year of Darius the Mede and the circumstance is the understanding of the prophecy of Jeremiah which predicted that the "desolation of Jerusalem would last seventy years." This understanding was the motivation (vs. 3) for Daniel's prayer and petition (vss. 4-19). The result of the prayer was an angelic revelation (vss. 20-27) which is given by Gabriel (vss. 20-23), who starts with an introductory imperative to "understand the vision" (vs. 23). The theme of understanding is emphasized in the general introduction (vs. 2) and also in the angelic introduction (vs. 22, 23) to the content of the subsequent revelation. Thus, the theme of understanding forms an inclusio to the prayer (vss. 3-19) while at the

same time forming a bridge between the prayer and the revelation (vss. 24-27).

There are definite links between the prayer and the revelation.¹ The prayer

¹See Goldingay, 236. The hypothesis that the prayer is an interpolation was started by August Freiherr von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1895), 123-126. von Gall has been followed by Marti, *Das Buch Daniel*, 64-66; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 225-34; Walter Baumgartner, "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," *THRu* 11 (1939): 82; Martinus A. Beek, *Das Danielbuch* (Leiden: J. Ginsberg, 1935), 75; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969), 18; H. Louis Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948), 41; Julius A. Bewer, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955); Werner Kessler, *Zwischen Gott und Weltmacht: Der Prophet Daniel*, Botschaft des Alten Testament (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1961), 130. Klaus Koch, "Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdnken am Beispiel des Buches Daniel," *HZ* 193 (1961): 26. Charles, 226, 227, has enumerated the reasons for regarding the prayer as an interpolation as follows: (1) There "are unnecessary repetitions of 9³.²⁰ ³⁴." (2) The conclusion of the chapter *takes no account of the subject of the prayer* (italics his), which supplicates for forgiveness and deliverance." (3) The prayer "was written by one who consciously expressed himself as a resident in Palestine." (4) "The name Yahweh is found in these verses." Charles suggests that the "Yahweh" in vs. 2 is an interpolation and thus emends it to "Adonai." (5) "In 9⁴⁻¹⁹ there are no Aramaisms." (6) "The prayer asks for immediate advent of the kingdom." (7) The verses in Daniel's prayer agree word for word with Neh 1:5ff., 9:6ff., and 1 Baruch 1:15ff.

Among those who accept the authenticity of the prayer are Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, 135-39; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 362; Heaton, *The Book of Daniel, Torch Bible Commentaries*, 203-06 follows Montgomery. Arthur Jeffrey, "The Book of Daniel," 6:484; Porteous, *Daniel, A Commentary, The Old Testament Library*, 136. André Lacocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Dan 9," *HUCA* 47 (1976): 141, has concluded that (1) "it was therefore natural that the Hassidic author of the book of Daniel would adopt this prayer, for the community to which he belonged did in fact constitute itself as a penitential movement." Authenticity of the prayer has been posited *inter alia* on the grounds that there is a similarity between Dan 9 and the other chapters in the book of Daniel. The usual chapter starts with dream/vision followed by interpretation or peril followed by rescue. In Dan 9 the prayer replaces the dream/vision/peril which is then followed by interpretation in the form of revelation (see Plöger, 135). Porteous, 136, suggests that the author "desires to give in words of this prayer expression to the piety of those for whom he himself is speaking." Bruce William Jones, "The Prayer in Daniel IX," *VT* 18 (1968): 489-91, argues that (1) "throughout the book, the author uses the name for God that is appropriate to the context." (2)

ends with its main focus "your city and your people" (vss. 19, 20). The revelation also starts with "your people and your holy city" (vs. 23). Jerusalem in vs. 25 recalls the Jerusalem in the prayer (vss. 7, 12, 16). The desolations of the city and the sanctuary are found in both the prayer and the revelation (vss. 17, 18, 26). Goldingay points out that "the rebuilding and the restoring of the desolate city and the sanctuary correspond to motifs in the prayer (vv. 17, 18)."¹ Both the prayer and the revelation speak of God's overwhelming judgment.² The prayer began with rebellion, sin, wickedness (vss. 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16), the revelation promises to deal with those.³ The terminologies for "sin," *hattāʾt*, and "iniquity," *ʿāwōn*, are particularly used in the prayer (vss. 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 20) as well as in the revelation

"The repetitions may be deliberate for stylistic reasons, as is surely the case in vss. 1 f." (3) "Several words of the prayer are repeated in the conclusion of the chapter, or are recalled in some way." P. R. Davies, *Daniel*, Old Testament Guides (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 61, has observed that it has been argued (1) "that the prayer may not be from the author of ch. 9, but a traditional prayer which he incorporated," (2) "that the explanation of the text of Jeremiah may itself be divine action for which Daniel prays," and (3) "the repetition in vv. 20 and 21 does not have to be seen as clumsy, or, if it is clumsy, why should the clumsiness not be attributed to the author of the ch. in incorporating the prayer into his composition?"

¹Goldingay, 236.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

(vs. 24). The covenant mentioned in vs. 27 "recalls the covenant-keeping God of the prayer (vs. 4)."¹

Thus three main sections with three main themes which are closely connected together can be seen in chap. 9, namely, the seventy years (vss. 1, 2), the prayer (vss. 3-19), and the Seventy Weeks (vss. 24-27). This relationship depicts an ABA structure:

70 years	A
Prayer	B
70 Weeks	A ₁

The seventy years (A) are connected with the Seventy Weeks (A₁) by the common numeral "70," and the two themes, A and A₁, are linked together by the prayer (B).²

The implications that can be drawn from this relationship include: (1) this ABA₁ relationship establishes the unity of the chapter, and (2) A and A₁ are related in several ways, such as: A is the cause of the prayer and A₁ is the result; both are described with the numeral "70." These relationships suggest a similar signification between A and A₁. Thus, just as the seventy years (A), the cause of the prayer, are historical, so must the Seventy Weeks (A₁), the result of the prayer, also be historical.³

¹Ibid.

²See p. 71.

³Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9." 8.

Prayer

The prayer exhibits three main sections: confession of sin (vss. 4-11a), effects of sin (vss. 11b-14) and intercession for sinners (vss. 15-19). The structure of the prayer is examined under the three sections.

Confession of Sin (vss. 4b-11a)

- 4b: Faithfulness of God
- 5: We sinned, acted wickedly, rebelled
- 6: We have not listened
 - 7a: To the Lord (^ʿ*dōnāy*), righteousness belongs
 - 7b: To us belongs shame of face because of sin
 - 8a: Yahweh
 - 8b: We, our kings, princes and our fathers covered
With shame because we have sinned
- 9: The Lord (^ʿ*dōnāy*) is merciful and forgiving
- 10: We have not obeyed
- 11a: All Israel has transgressed

Daniel starts his prayer by first invoking the attributes of God. These attributes are the basis of his confession. He then launches into confession, which is arranged in a chiasmus pointing to Yahweh as the one against whom the people have sinned. The use of Yahweh at the climax of the chiasmus seems to emphasize the covenantal context of the sin of Israel.¹

¹For a different structure see Jacques Doukhan, *Le soupir de la terre* (Dammarie les Lys: Vie et Santé, 1993), 196, 197, 221.

Effects of Sin (vss. 11b-14)

11b-13a: Disaster

11b: The curse and the oath have been poured upon us

11c: Written in the Law of Moses

12: You have brought upon us great disaster--i.e., what has been done to Jerusalem

13a: As it is written in the Law of Moses

13b: All this disaster has come upon us

14: Stubbornness

a: Yet we have not sought the favor of the Lord

b: The Lord has brought the disaster upon us

c: Yet we have not obeyed him

This bichiasmic section may be divided into two subsections. The first subsection (11b-13) indicates that the result of the sin of the people is disaster. The chiasmus here shows that the disaster that comes upon the people is the same as the disaster that comes upon Jerusalem. Thus the people do not suffer outside of Jerusalem and vice versa.

The second subsection reveals the effect of sin on its subjects. Stubbornness that defies logical expectation characterizes the response of the people to the judgment of disaster that has come upon them.

Intercession for Sinners (vss. 15-19)

15: Acknowledgement of God's power and the sins of the people

16-19: Fourfold pleadings for God's mercy¹

16a: O Lord, turn away your anger from Jerusalem

16b: Our sin caused the scorn of Jerusalem and your people

17a: O God, cause your face to shine upon the sanctuary

17b: For your own sake

18a: O God, behold our desolations and the city called by your name

¹See Goldingay, 235.

- 18b: Not because of our righteousness but by your mercy
- 19a: O God, listen, hear and act
- 19b: Because your city and your people bear your name

The intercession begins with a twofold acknowledgement: the might of God and the sinfulness of the people (vs. 15). This twofold acknowledgement is followed in the fourfold pleadings (vss. 16-19) revealing an A:B structure in each of the pleadings. A denotes the pleading while B denotes the basis of the pleading. In all four cases, B shows the unworthiness of the people and that God should respond on the basis of his own attributes.

Revelation

- 20-23: Introduction to the revelation
 - 20: Circumstance--praying and confessing of sin
 - 21: Angelic appearance
 - 22-23: Angelic instruction: "understand"
- 24-27: Angelic revelation
 - 24: Summary of seventy weeks
 - 25-27: Details of seventy weeks
 - 25a: Beginning of seventy weeks
 - 25b: Appearance of Messiah the Prince = termination of sixty-nine weeks
 - 25c: Restored and rebuilt Jerusalem
 - 26a: Messiah cut off after sixty-two weeks
 - 26b: Destruction of city and sanctuary
 - 27a: He makes strong a covenant for one week
 - 27b: He causes sacrifice and offering to cease in middle of week
 - 27c: The coming of a desolator

The introduction to the revelation (vss. 20-23) refers back to vss. 2 and 3 by reiterating that the circumstance of the revelation was Daniel's prayer on behalf of the people and the city (vs. 20). Furthermore, the theme of understanding connects the introduction of the revelation (vss. 22, 23) to the main introduction of the chapter (vs. 2).

The revelation of the Seventy Weeks is then given in vss. 24-27. The summary of what would happen in the Seventy Weeks is given in vs. 24 by the use of six infinitival phrases:

Seventy Weeks are cut off upon your people and your holy city
 to finish the transgression
 to seal sins
 to atone for iniquity
 to bring in everlasting righteousness
 to seal vision and prophet
 to anoint a holy of holies

The structure of these six infinitival phrases may be seen in their parallelism:¹

Concerning your people	Concerning your holy city
(1) to finish the transgression	(1) to bring in everlasting righteousness
(2) to seal (<i>htm</i>) sins	(2) to seal (<i>htm</i>) both vision and prophet
(3) to atone for iniquity	(3) to anoint holy of holies

Although the two sets of three phrases are arranged in parallelism under the two headings, "people" and "city," a glance at the phrases themselves discloses an emphasis on the society as such. Even the items under "city," except "to anoint holy of holies," do not communicate any direct concern about physical walls and houses. While the expression "holy of holies" seems to relate to the sanctuary,² the

¹See Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 10.

²Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 83, observes: "Outside of Daniel this phrase occurs more than 40 times in the OT. In every instance it refers to the sanctuary or something connected with it."

phrase "to anoint holy of holies." seems to point to the inauguration of its services.¹ However, the services of the sanctuary aimed at the sanctification of the people. Thus, the emphasis here is on the re-establishment of the righteous society that the people of God, in their relationship to God as the elected nation, were meant to be.²

Another way to view the structure of the six infinitival phrases in Dan 9:24 is in terms of a chiasmus:³

- A. "To finish transgression"
- B. "To seal up sin"
- C. "To atone for iniquity"
- C₁. "To bring in everlasting righteousness"
- B₁. "To seal up vision and prophet"
- A₁. "To anoint a holy of holies"

In this arrangement the atonement for iniquity and the resulting everlasting righteousness are put at the center of the verse.⁴ Once again, therefore, the emphasis is on God's people. There is a societal emphasis on the people.⁵ Since

¹The sanctuary was anointed to consecrate it for services on behalf of the people. E.g., Exod 29:36, 37; 30:26; 40:9, 10; Lev 8:10; Num 7:1. Cf. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 83. "Temples were anointed to inaugurate their services (cf. Exod 40:9ff.)."

²Cf. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 83.

³See William H. Shea, "Unity of Daniel," *Symposium on Daniel*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 242.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Cf. the statement of Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 83, that the "six infinitival statements describe what was to be accomplished by and for God's people in Palestine by the end of 70 prophetic weeks or 490 calendar years. The first two statements describe what God's people were to accomplish: the development of a righteous society."

the emphasis in vs. 24 is on the religious society, the new people of God, with vs. 24 as the summary of the whole revelation, it should be expected that the emphasis of the following details of the revelation (vss. 25-27) should also be on the religious aspect of the society of God's people.

The structure of vss. 25-27 may be viewed in terms of the two main motifs of the passage: Messiah and Jerusalem.¹ I am heavily dependent on the study of J. Doukhan in this section.

Know therefore and understand

A₁: (25a) From the going forth of a decree to restore and to build Jerusalem until Messiah the Prince there shall be *seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks*

B₁: (25b) It shall be restored and built with "squares and moat"² but in troublous times

A₂: (26a) And after the *sixty-two weeks* Messiah shall be cut off and without any help³

B₂: (26b) and the people of the prince who shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. And its end shall come with a flood, and unto the end there shall be war; desolations are determined.

A₃: (27a) And he shall make strong a covenant with many for *one week*; and in the *middle of the week*, he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease

B₃: (27b) and upon the wing of abominations shall come one who makes desolate until the decreed end is poured out on the desolator.

The details of the prophecy are arranged in an A:B form with the two motifs of Messiah and Jerusalem alternating in all the verses.⁴ The time elements are consistently connected with the Messiah portions. For the purposes of

¹Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 14.

²The translation of this expression is dealt with under subsection "Word" of the section "Terminology." In the meantime, RSV is followed.

³"Without any help" follows Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13.

⁴See Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 14.

chronology, those portions that deal with the Messiah are the major concern of this paper.¹ Therefore, the terminology that is selected for investigation consists primarily of expressions and terms that are connected with time elements, and these generally come from the Messiah portions (i.e., "A" portions). The only exception are the expressions "it shall be restored and built" and "squares and moat"² in B₁ which are parallel to the expression "to restore and to build" in A₁, and then the expression "prince" (*nāgrīd*) which appears in vs. 26b. However, the following chiasmus gives the justification for the investigation of this "prince":

Messiah	Jerusalem
A ₁ : (25a) From the going forth of a <i>decree to restore and to build</i> <i>Jerusalem</i> until Messiah the Prince there shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks .	B ₁ : (25b) It shall be restored and built with "squares and moat" ³ but in troublous times
A ₂ : (26a) And after the sixty-two weeks Messiah shall be cut off and without any help	B ₂ : (26b) and the people of the <i>prince</i> who shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. And its end shall come with a flood, and unto the end there shall be war, desolations are determined

¹For another structure which is well argued and which shows that the Messiah is the central point of the passage (being the central point of two chiasms), see Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 108-11.

²RSV.

³The translation of this expression is dealt with under subsection "Word" of the section "Terminology." For now, I follow the RSV.

A₁ comes under Messiah because the thrust of that portion is to show when the Messiah comes. It shows the point from which to count the sixty-nine weeks until the Messiah comes and at the same time shows the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. However, the beginning point has to do with the restoration and building of Jerusalem. While Jerusalem here (A₁) comes under the Messiah section, the emphasis of vs. 25a seems to remain on the Messiah. Thus, Jerusalem is investigated in relationship to the *terminus a quo* of the time element.

Similarly, B₂, which is in a chiasmic relationship with A₁, has its major emphasis on the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet the "prince" seems to be related to the destruction of the city. Since this phenomenon¹ is very similar to that of A₁ with which B₂ is also in chiasmic relationship, it is necessary to investigate the relationship that the "prince" in B₂ (vs. 26b) has with the "Messiah, the Prince" in A₁ (vs. 25a).

Key Chronological Data in Dan 9:24-27

Major chronological expressions and terms of Dan 9:24-27 have received various definitions and interpretations which have consequently produced a variety of chronological schemes. The thrust of the passage makes it likely that this passage is meant to have a specific meaning. This is, of course, supported by the larger context of Dan 9:24-27. Daniel prays with regard to the desolations of Jerusalem

¹The phenomenon of Jerusalem appearing under a portion emphasizing Messiah in A₁ is repeated inversely in B₂--in this case "prince," which seems to relate to the Messiah, appears under a portion emphasizing Jerusalem.

(Dan 9:2) and the sins and exile of his people (Dan 9:5-7). He asks for restoration of the city and the people to their former relationship with Yahweh (Dan 9:17-19). While he is praying and confessing the sins of his people, Gabriel comes to give him understanding (Dan 9:20-23) concerning the future of the city and the people, even beyond the end of the exile and the restoration of the city (Dan 9:24-27).

Definite chronological data are provided regarding the people of Israel, their relation to God as God's people, and the consequential effect of their relationship to God within this probationary period on the ultimate fate of the city and the temple as the center of God's worship. These chronological figures and events are undoubtedly meant to be understood. Thus, a precise understanding of the contextual meaning of expressions and terms will result in a careful contextual interpretation of the chronology of the passage.

The Expression "Seventy Weeks"

Semantic Considerations

The expression "seventy weeks" appears in the statement "Seventy weeks are cut off for your people and your holy city" in Dan 9:24. The interpretation of "seventy weeks," being the translation of *šāḥu^cim šib^cim* (Dan 9:24), depends on the definition of the two Hebrew terms *šāḥu^cim* and *šib^cim*.

The LXX and the Theodotion render *šāḥu^cim* with *hebdomas*.¹ The

¹Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1949), 923; Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 189.

ancient Syriac¹ translation. *šb^cyn šbū^cyn*. "seventy weeks."² is analogous with the MT. The Vulgate has *hebdomades*.³

Three different translations of this expression of Dan 9:24 are adopted by the major English versions of the Bible. The KJV, NKJV, NEB, JB, NJB, ASV, and NASB⁴ have "seventy weeks." While the RSV has "seventy weeks of years." the NRSV drops "of years" and maintains "seventy weeks." On the other hand, the NIV translates *šābu^cīm ših^cīm* as "seventy sevens." While *ših^cīm* is indisputably translated as "seventy" by all English versions, differences are apparent in the translations of *šābu^cīm*. These differences call for a further study of the meaning of the expression *šābu^cīm ših^cīm*.

The need for a further study of the expression *šābu^cīm ših^cīm* is emphasized by the differences among various interpreters with regard to the meaning of this expression.⁵

¹Peshitta Institute, *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 36.

²CSD, 555, 557.

³*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Bonafatio Fischer et al., eds. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969), 2:1363. *Biblia Triglotta* (London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1907) has *hebdomades*.

⁴The New American Standard Bible, obviously influenced by recent interpretations, has a marginal reading of "units of seven" although it has "seventy weeks" in the main text.

⁵Among those who maintain that the meaning of *šābu^cīm ših^cīm* is "seventy weeks" are: Shea, *Selected Studies*, 77; Hasel, "Interpretations," 7. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, 186, points out Ezek 4:5, 6, as "key which God had given" for the understanding of the seventy weeks as 490 years. Also Hengstenberg, 88; Cumming, 399-40; others maintain that the translation of *šābu^cīm ših^cīm* either should be "seventy weeks of years" or "seventy year-weeks." Among the

Basic meaning

The term *šābu^cim* is the masculine plural form of the singular *šābūa^c*.¹

Lexicographers have defined the term with the basic meaning of "unit (period) of seven,"² or "a week."³ However, when these lexicographers list the concrete

proponents of this interpretation are: Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees Second Maccabees*, 93-95; Montgomery, 372-373; Bevan, 141-147; Zöckler, 194; Hartman and Di Lella, 244; Towner, 141. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178, 191, interprets it as "seventy sabbath years." Ben Zion Wacholder, "Chronomessianism: The Timing of Messianic Movements and the Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles," *HUCA* 46 (1975): 201-209, also uses "sabbatical cycles." Nevertheless, the problem with this interpretation is that the term *šābu^cim* never refers to either sabbaths or sabbath years in the Hebrew Bible.

Among the proponents of the interpretation of *šābu^cim šib^cim* as "seventy sevens" are: Plöger, 140; Tregelles, 97-98, followed by Edward Dennet, *Daniel the Prophet and the Times of the Gentiles* (London: G. Morrish, 1919), 144-147. Others who hold to the same interpretation include Goss, 29; Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part VI," 48-50; John C. Whitcomb, "Daniel's Great Seventy-Weeks Prophecy: An Exegetical Insight," *GTJ* 2 (1981): 259-263; Frederick Holtzman, "A Re-examination of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel" (Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1974), 33-34; David A. Harmon, "Problems of the Sixty-Nine Weeks of Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks" (Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1957), 9. Cooper, *The 70 Weeks of Daniel*, 19-21, argues for analogical identification with the English word "dozen." Also Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 247; McClain, 13; F. W. Farrar, *The Book of Daniel* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1900), 277; Moses Stuart, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850), 266, 267; Walvoord, 216-20; Sir, Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 67.

¹See *HAL*, 1288; *KBL*, 940; *BDB*, 988; *CHAL*, 358; *AHCL*, 717; *HCL*, 1331; Klein, 635.

²*KBL*, 940; *BDB*, 988; *CHAL*, 358. If it is correct that "there is no direct or indirect etymological derivation of the word "weeks" from the cardinal numeral 'seven'" as maintained by Hasel (see "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for 'Weeks' in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 111. Cf., Johann J. Stamm, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990], 1287, 1301) then this definition is questioned.

³*HAL*, 1287; *KBL*, 940; *BDB*, 988; *CHAL*, 358; *HCL*, 1331; Klein, 635; Gary G. Cohen, "sheba^c," *TWOT*, 2:899.

meanings of *šāḫūa*^c, the first meaning is "a period of seven days, week."¹ The second meaning listed is usually in reference to only Dan 9:24-27, which is seen as "seven periods of years."² This seems to indicate that a special meaning is being attached to the term in Dan 9:24-27 other than the ordinary primary meaning attached to the term at every other place in the Old Testament.³ Thus, this meaning, "seven periods of years," seems to be an interpretation of *šāḫūa*^c *īm* in Dan 9:24-27.

J. C. Whitcomb suggests that *šāḫūa*^c is literally "a unit of seven" and "has no reference to time periods at all, whether of days or years."⁴ He thus views the term as "a numerical measure."⁵ In support of this suggestion, Whitcomb cites the analogy of *āśōr*^c which he says has a basic meaning of "ten days" but three out of its sixteen occurrences in the Old Testament have the meaning of "ten strings" or "an instrument of ten strings" (Ps 33:2; 92:4 [Eng. 92:3]; 144:9).⁶ He concludes that the basic meaning of *šāḫūa*^c is "heptad" or "unit of seven."⁷

¹HAL, 1287, 1288; KBL, 940; BDB, 988; CHAL, 358; HCL, 1331; Klein, 635; Cohen, 2:899; GHCL, 800.

²See HAL, 1287, 1288; HCL, 1331; BDB, 989; Klein, 635.

³BDB, 989, suggest that the meaning "heptad or seven of years" is "late."

⁴Whitcomb, "Daniel's Great Seventy-Weeks Prophecy," 260. So Farris, 17.

⁵Whitcomb, "Daniel's Great Seventy-Weeks Prophecy," 260.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. So Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 117; Archer, "Daniel," 112, 119; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 219; Tatford, 151; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 150; Lang, 127; Gaebelein, 131. Tregelles, 117, 118, who

In the first place, if *šāḫūa*^c were to have that meaning of "a numerical measure" and thus "heptad" or "unit of seven," it would be based only on its usage in Dan 9:24-27 since in all other places in the Old Testament the term means "week."¹ The usage of *šāḫūa*^c in Dan 9:24-27, however, refutes the suggestion that it is used as a numeral since it is usually qualified by a number: "seventy," "seven," "sixty-two" or "one." Furthermore, if it were used like a number where *šāḫūa*^c means "seven", *šāḫūa*^c*īm* would mean "seventy" like *šib*^c*īm*, the plural of *šāḫūa*^c, means "seventy."

In the second place, the use of "heptad" or "hebdomad" as the meaning of *šāḫūa*^c is not supported by the Greek translations which consistently translate *šāḫūa*^c in Dan 9 with *hebdomas*, "week," and also make a difference between the use of *hebdomas* and *heptad*.²

In the third place, the analogy of *āšōr*^c that Whitcomb cites does not bear out the claims he makes. Among the sixteen occurrences of *āšōr*^c in the Old Testament,³ it is only in Gen 24:55 where it may be argued that it is used in the sense of "a group of ten" in the statement: "Let the young woman stay with us a few

also adds that "it bears the same grammatical relation to the numeral seven as one of the Hebrew words used for ten does to the other of similar meaning."

¹Bevan, 145; Porteus, 140.

²See under "Septuagint Rendering of *šāḫūa*^c in Dan 9:24-27" below for extensive discussion on the proposition that *šāḫūa*^c means a "heptad."

³Gen 24:55; Exod 12:3; Lev 16:29; 23:27; 25:9; Num 29:7; Josh 4:19; 2 Kgs 25:1; Ps 33:2; 92:4 (Eng. 3); 144:9; Jer 52:4, 12; Ezek 20:1; 24:1; 40:1.

days, at least ten."¹ Here [◌]*āsôr* is defined by *yāmîm*, "days," which is not in appositional relationship but connected by the conjunction [◌]*ô* which, being a particle of choice, here denotes preference.² Thus here [◌]*āsôr* is defined by "days." In twelve of the occurrences,³ it is used with the preposition *l'* usually followed by the noun *hōdeš*, "month," in the dating formula "the tenth of the month" or similar phrase. In these cases [◌]*āsôr* is defined by its relationship with "month." Thus it cannot mean "a group of ten" or "ten days" but "the tenth day." Thus in all these thirteen cases, the term is defined by the noun it is related with.

In all the remaining three cases of [◌]*āsôr*⁴ cited by Whitcomb, where the term may mean "ten strings" or "an instrument of ten strings," the term is, like the rest of the other occurrences, defined by the noun to which it is related.⁵ Thus in all cases of [◌]*āsôr* the term is defined by another noun. Furthermore, the term is never qualified by any numbers.

In contrast to [◌]*āsôr*, *šābūa*[◌] is usually used in the Old Testament as a technical term by itself without any defining noun either by conjunction or construct

¹NKJV.

²Cf. *BDB*, 14.

³Exod 12:3; Lev 16:29; 23:27; 25:9; Num 29:7; Josh 4:19; 2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 52:4, 12; Ezek 20:1; 24:1; 40:1.

⁴Ps 33:2; 92:4 (Eng. 3); 144:9.

⁵Even in Ps 92:4 (Eng. 3) where the term under consideration is not in direct construct relationship with the defining noun as in the other two cases found in the Psalms, it is sufficiently related by a conjunction to the musical instruments that it could be seen as being defined by them.

relationship where *šāḫūa^c* is at the first position.¹ The term *šāḫūa^c* is usually independently used in the form: "Fulfill her week."² or "she shall be unclean two weeks."³ Even in the case where it is used in the formula "Feast of Weeks"⁴ the term is assumed to be understood. This usage, unlike the usage of *āšōr^c*, would suggest that *šāḫūa^c* is known in the Old Testament as a technical term with a specific meaning "week" which, therefore, did not need any further definition. Furthermore, in Dan 9 the term *šāḫū^cim* is usually qualified by a numerical measure.⁵ In contrast, this numerical qualification is not true of *āšōr^c*. Therefore, upon the above considerations, the usages of the two terms are not analogous.

It must be noted at this point that the occurrences of *šāḫūa^c* in Gen 29:27, 28, are cited as examples of the use of this term in a numerical sense. This proposal seems, however, to be based on a misinterpretation of the passage.⁶

O. Plöger takes *šāḫūa^c* as "units of seven" on the basis of Lev 26:34, 35

¹For a discussion regarding the occurrences of *šāḫū^cim* which are followed by *yāmim* in appositional relationship, see under "*šāḫūa^c* in the Book of Daniel" below.

²Gen 29:27, NKJV.

³Lev 12:5, NKJV.

⁴Exod 34:22; Deut 16:10, 16; 2 Chr 8:13.

⁵The case of Dan 9:27 where we have "in the midst of the week" is focusing on a point in time instead of duration.

⁶See under "*šāḫūa^c* in the Old Testament" below where this subject is dealt with extensively.

and 2 Chr 36:21.¹ The basis of this suggestion is the "sabbath years." This identification of *šāḇu^cīm* with "sabbath years" is also given in support of the translation "year-weeks or weeks of years." Nevertheless, this suggestion first has to deal with the problem that the Danielic text does not use "sabbath years."² Second, the "sabbath years" in the context of Lev 26:34, 35 and 2 Chr 36:21 relate to the period of desolation whereas the "seventy weeks" relate to the period of restoration. There is no intimation that the land will be resting during the "seventy weeks." Thus, the view that takes *šāḇu^cīm* of Dan 9:24 as "sabbath years," "year-weeks" or "units of seven" on the basis of Lev 26:34, 35 and 2 Chr 30:21 is not justified.³

D. L. Cooper, in support of the proposition that *šāḇūa^c* means "seven," has suggested that "the word *šāḇu^cīm* is derived from the verbal form *šāḇa^c*, the meaning of which is 'to swear, to confirm with an oath'." The verb *šāḇa^c*, the noun of which is the feminine *šāḇu^cah/šāḇu^cah*, "oath," appearing in Ezek 21:28 and Hab 3:9, seems to be a different word from the masculine *šāḇūa^c*, "week."⁴

D. H. Lurie has suggested that the term *šāḇūa^c* has the same root as *šēḇu^c* "seven."⁵ Nevertheless, the likelihood may be that *šēḇa^c*, "seven," and *šāḇūa^c*.

¹Plöger, 134; cf. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 191; Montgomery, 373.

²Cf. Leupold, 408.

³Against Culver, *Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 150.

⁴See *HAL*, 1288.

⁵Lurie, 306. Cf. *HAL*, 1287; *HCL*, 1331; Klein, 635; Cohen, 2:899; E. König, "The 'Weeks' of Daniel," *ExpTim* 13 (October 1901-September 1902): 469, 470.

"week." may have derived from a common root.¹ This term, *šāḫūa*^c, is a primary noun of the *qatūl/qatūl* formation.² G. F. Hasel maintains that "there is no direct or indirect etymological derivation of the word 'weeks' from the cardinal numeral 'seven' as had been surmised a long time ago when the study of Hebrew language was not far advanced."³

E. J. Young's suggestion that "the form is really a participle meaning *besevened*, i.e., computed by sevens" (italics his)⁴ is "not supported in any lexicon or grammar."⁵ It has been observed that *šāḫūim*, "week," is a primary noun not derived from *šēḫa*^c, "seven."⁶ Thus, *šāḫūim* cannot be taken as "besevened" on the supposition that it is a passive participle.

Another view that we have hinted at above is the proposal that *šāḫūim*

¹See Stamm, 1287. Stamm is followed by Gerhard F. Hasel in his paper, "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for 'Weeks' in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24," 111.

²H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (first printing 1922; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962), 539; Rudolph Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969), 2:58; HAL, 1287; Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 110.

³Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 111.

⁴Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 195, follows Stuart and Hengstenberg. Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 247, also takes this view.

⁵Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 107, n. 1.

⁶Stamm, 1287, 1301; Rudolph Meyer, 2:58; Bauer and Leander, 539; Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 110, 111.

means "year-weeks"¹ or "weeks of years."² In addition to arguments based on "sabbath years" (Lev 25; 26:34, 35; 2 Chr 36:21)³ and *yamîm* in Dan 10:2, 3, both of which have been disputed.⁴ O. Plöger appeals to the appearance of the term in Mishna Sanh. 5.1. Baba Metzia 9.10. to support the view that *šāḥū^cîm* means "weeks of years."⁵ However, as Plöger himself acknowledges, those writings are late and thus may as well be interpretations of the Danielic revelation.

The analysis of the various views with regard to the meaning of *šāḥū^cîm* has shown that the views that translate *šāḥū^cîm* with "sevens," "year-weeks," "weeks of years," "heptads" or "hebdomads" have insurmountable problems. How does the Old Testament usage of the term help to fix its meaning?

šāḥū^câ in the Old Testament

There are nineteen occurrences of the various forms of *šāḥū^câ* in the Hebrew Bible (see table 1) In table 1, the second column shows the nineteen

¹E.g., Klaus Koch, "Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdnken am Beispiel des Buches Daniel," 20; Jürgen-Christian Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, Zürcher Bibelkommentare (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 108; Maier, 337; Pierre Grelot, "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bib* 50 (1969): 169, 170. Montgomery, 372.

²See e.g., Porteous, 140; Hartman and Di Lella, 244; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 191.

³See Maier, 341; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178, 191; Bevan, 145, 146; Montgomery, 373.

⁴See chap. 2, pp. 89 and 102.

⁵Plöger, 140. So Porteous, 140; Hartman and Di Lella, 250; Charles, 240; Montgomery, 373.

TABLE 1

OCCURRENCES OF *šāḫua^c* IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

FORM		OCCURRENCE
Singular	<i>šāḫua^c</i>	Dan 9:27
	<i>haššāḫua^c</i>	Dan 9:27
sg. const.	<i>š^hḫua^c</i>	Gen 29:27
		Gen 29:28
dual	<i>š^hḫu^cayim</i>	Lev 12:5
Fem. plural	<i>šāḫu^cōt</i>	Deut 16:9
		Deut 16:10
		Deut 16:16
		2 Chron 8:13
	<i>šāḫu^cot</i>	Exod 34:22
		Deut 16:9
Masc. plural	<i>šāḫu^cim</i>	Dan 9:24
		Dan 9:25
		Dan 9:25
		Dan 9:26
		Dan 10:2
		Dan 10:3
Fem. const.	<i>š^hḫu^cot</i>	Jer 5:24
Fem. const. with suffix	<i>b'šāḫu^cotēkem</i>	Num 28:26

occurrences of the various forms of *šāḥūa*^c in the Old Testament.¹ Eleven of the nineteen occurrences are outside the book of Daniel. These are investigated according to their forms.

Two occurrences in the singular construct form, *š^hūa*^c, are found in Gen 29:27-28:

"Fulfill her week, and we will give you this one also for the service which you will serve with me still another seven years." Then Jacob did so and fulfilled her week. So he gave him his daughter Rachel as wife also.

It has been argued that these two occurrences of *šāḥūa*^c refer to years.² However, the context of Gen 29:27-28 is that Jacob had served Laban seven years for Rachel. On the wedding night, Laban gives Leah instead of Rachel to Jacob. Consequently, Jacob queries Laban in the morning for his deception. In order to appease Jacob, Laban gives him the concession recorded in Gen 29:27: "Fulfill her week, and we will give you this one also for the service which you will serve with me still another seven years."³

¹Cf. Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (Berlin: Apud F. Margolin, 1925), 1143; Gerhard Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958), 1395; Abraham Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sefer" Publishing House, 1989), 1103. The twentieth occurrence (Ezek 45:21), which is disputed, is discussed below.

²For example, Ferris, 31, has stated that "we have a Biblical example of a 'week' which stands for 'seven years' in the story of Jacob's serving for his two wives"; M. R. DeHaan, *Daniel the Prophet* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1947), 254, says, "Here we have a striking example of the fact that a period of seven years is called a week." So Brooks, 21; Gurney, *God in Control*, 100.

³NKJV.

In Gen 29:27, "fulfill her week" was meant for the festivities that were conjoint with the marriage ceremony.¹

The expression *mallē*², "fulfill," here is a *Piel* imperative of the *Qal malē*², "be full."² In the first place, the *Piel* in this instance gives a causative and transitive meaning "fulfill" to the stative *Qal* form "be full."³ According to Walter C. Kaiser, "This term is also used of God's ability to finish a work begun or to accomplish a word promised. The *Piel* form of *ml*² seems to emphasize the fulfillment of utterances."⁴ The transitive meaning of the *Piel* form "fulfill" coupled with the imperative mood of this *Piel* form would suggest that the action of fulfilling the week was supposed to be complied with immediately.

In the second place, following after "fulfill her week" is *w'nitt'nāh*, "and we will surely give," which is a *Qal* imperfect cohortative in dependence on the imperative "fulfill her week."⁵ While the imperfect cohortative in itself would show

¹See *KBL*, 940.

²*KBL*, 523, 524; *BDB*, 569, 570; *CHAL*, 195; *HCL*, 811; M. Delcor, "*ml*²," *THAT*, 1:897.

³See Gesenius, 141, "The fundamental idea of *Piel*, to which all various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem." Also Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 396, 397.

⁴Walter C. Kaiser, "*malē*²," *TWOT*, 1:505.

⁵Cf. Gesenius, 320.

a future action.¹ the dependence of the clause "and we will give" on the imperative "fulfill her week" makes the statement "and we will give you this one also" dependent on the fulfillment of "her week." Thus, the giving of Rachel comes after the fulfillment of the literal week of festivities by Jacob.

This is clearly attested by Gen 29:28 which shows that Jacob starts to serve Laban "yet another seven years" (vs. 30) after the fulfillment of the week of festivities and Laban had given Rachel to Jacob as a wife. Therefore, the periods of time, "week" and "seven years," are both literal in this passage and speak of time periods which are not identical. While "fulfill her week" referred to the regular week, seven days of bridal festivities, the "seven years" of service was in lieu of the bridal price that was to follow the week of bridal festivities.²

¹See Gesenius, 319. "The cohortative . . . represents in general an endeavor directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it." Also Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Subsidia Biblica, vol. 14 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991), 1:125.

²Among those who support this position are Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 287; John Skinner, *Genesis*, International Critical Commentary, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), 385; James G. Murphy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Andover, IL: Warren F. Draper, 1866), 393. Montgomery, 373, refers "week" here to "the honeymoon week." H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Genesis*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1956), 2:798, remarks: "'The week' mentioned is the bridal week, which the Syrians still term the 'king's week,' the time during which bridegroom and bride are respectively addressed as king and queen"; Julian Morgenstern, *The Book of Genesis: A Jewish Interpretation*, 2d ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), 243. Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 205, states: "Literally, 'the week of this one,' that is, the seven days of feasting in celebration of marriage, also mentioned in Judges 14:12, 17 in connection with Samson's wedding.

This view is further reinforced by the customary feast made by Samson "as was customary for bridegrooms."¹ Judg 14:1 stipulates that the customary wedding festivities lasted seven literal days.

Thus the context of Gen 29:26, 27, with the comparative advantage that wedding festivities found elsewhere also lasted seven days,² would require that both of the construct forms of *šābūa*^c found in Gen 29:27, 28 be translated with the meaning of the regular seven-day week.³

In addition to these two construct forms found in Gen 29:27-28, there are other forms outside the book of Daniel. There is one dual form (Lev 12:5), there are six feminine plural forms (Exod 34:22; Deut 16:9 [2x], 10, 16; 2 Chr 8:13), there is one plural construct (Jer 5:24), and one plural with suffix (Num 28:26).⁴

The one dual form (Lev 12:5) describes the time duration of the uncleanness of a mother who bears a female child. Lev 12 prescribes the purification rites after childbirth. The rites are prescribed with regard to the birth of male and female in a style that reveals a parallelism between the two:

This practice retained its popularity into Second Temple times (Tob 11:18) and beyond (Mish Neg 3:2) and has continued in practice among Jews down to the present. It is popularly known as *sheva' berakhot* because seven benedictions are recited each day over a cup of wine at grace after the festive meal when a fresh guest is present among a *minyan* (quorum of ten men)."

¹Judg 14:10.

²Judg 14:10-12. Cf. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), 1:189.

³Cf. HAL, 1288.

⁴See table 1, supra, 92.

Male child:	(vs. 2) A: Time of uncleanness	= seven days
	(vs. 4) B: Time of purification	= thirty-three days
Female child	(vs. 5) A ₁ : Time of uncleanness	= two weeks
	(vs. 5) B ₁ : Time of purification	= sixty-six days

The relationship between B and B₁ is 1:2. The time required for purification for the mother who gives birth to a female child is sixty-six days, which is twice as many days as required for a male child, thirty-three. Just as the ratio between B:B₁ is 1:2, by parallelism, the ratio between A:A₁ would be the same. In this case, A is specified as "seven days" while A₁ is specified as "two weeks." Since A₁ is by parallelism twice "seven days,"¹ the dual, "weeks," in Lev 12:5, must be fourteen days, which are two regular seven-day weeks.² Furthermore, A (7 days) is shorter than B (33 days), and thus A₁ (2 weeks) should be expected to be shorter than B₁ (66 days). Thus "two weeks" here cannot be "two weeks of years" (i.e., 14 years). Conceptually, also, it has to be regular weeks since the mother could not be ceremonially unclean for fourteen years while the purification process lasts for sixty-six regular days.

All the six plural forms that occur outside of Daniel have a feminine ending.³ Four⁴ of the six appear in the phrase "Feast of Weeks." The Feast of Weeks is one of the three feasts for which all the men of Israel were supposed to

¹Seven days equal 1 week. See de Vaux, 1:186, 187.

²See *HAL*, 1288.

³See fig. 1. Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 271, cite *šābhūa*^c as one of the "masculine substantives with *ōt̄*" ending.

⁴Exod 34:22; Deut 16:10, 16; 2 Chr 8:13.

appear before the Lord in a year.¹ That would mean that the Feast of Weeks was yearly and was celebrated at a certain period within the year. Therefore, the expression "Feast of Weeks" cannot be construed to mean a feast of week of years, in which case the feast must occur every seven years. Thus the *sāḥūa*^c that occurs in the expression "Feast of Weeks" must have the meaning of the regular seven-day week.²

The last two of the six plural forms are both found in Deut 16:9, showing that "seven weeks" must be counted "from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain" before the celebration of the Feast of Weeks.³ Since the Feast of Weeks is yearly and the "seven weeks" lead to the celebration of the feast, the "seven weeks" must be part of the year. Thus these two plural forms must also mean regular seven-day weeks. It should be pointed out that the plural construct with suffix, *b'sāḥu*^c *otēkem*, "at your Feasts of Weeks," found in Num 28:26, also appears in the expression "Feast of Weeks" and thus, like the others that occur in the same expression, must refer to the regular seven-day weeks.⁴

The feminine plural construct *s'ḥu*^c *ot* found in Jer 5:24 appears in the phrase "the weeks appointed for the harvest" in the context of Yahweh giving "the early rain and the latter rain in its season." The two phrases "the weeks appointed

¹See Deut 16:16.

²See *HAL*, 1288.

³See Deut 16:9, 10.

⁴See *HAL*, 1288.

for the harvest" and "the early rain and the latter rain" are parallel: the weeks of harvest must be in connection with the yearly harvest that comes with the early rain and latter rain. Thus the "weeks" in this context must refer to the regular seven-day weeks.

In all the nineteen cases the meaning of *šāḥūa*^c is "week" in the sense of a regular, literal seven-day period. Outside the book of Daniel each occurrence of *šāḥūa*^c, "week," has the meaning of a regular week, a period of seven days, and in the cases where the Hebrew term is employed, it is never used to designate the numeral seven. One will thus have to produce some concrete evidence to the contrary if *šāḥūa*^c in the book of Daniel alone were to have a different semantic meaning.¹ When the period of time is designated as "seven days" as in mourning rites (Gen 50:10), expression of condolences (Job 2:13), length of banquets (Esth 1:5), a long march (Gen 31:23; 2 Kgs 3:9, etc.), the term *šāḥūa*^c is not used. There were thus two ways to designate a "week" in the sense of a "seven-day" period: one was to use *šāḥūa*^c, "week," and the other was to refer to it as "seven days."

An occurrence that has not been included in the nineteen examples mentioned above is the feminine plural construct form *šāḥūot*^c which appears in Ezek 45:21. There are four similar occurrences of the plural construct form with

¹Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 407, observes: "The word involved is *šāḥūa*^c, which usually means 'week.' Those commentators who advocate the idea of *year-weeks* do so because they cannot use *ordinary* weeks in their interpretation of this passage."

feminine ending.¹ Two of these (Ezek 21:28 and Hab 3:9) derive from another noun, *š̄bū^cah/š̄bu^cah*, "oath."² The third, Jer 5:24, is a noun, masculine plural construct of *šābū^ca*, "week."³ The fourth, Ezek 45:21, is admittedly a difficult text.⁴

The context of Ezek 45:21 seems to rule out that the term *š̄bū^cot* in the phrase *hag š̄bū^cot yāmim* refers to an oath. The meaning of the phrase, however, remains problematical, if *š̄bū^cot* is the plural construct form of *šābū^ca*. Since *šābū^ca*, as has been shown above, means "a period of seven days" or "a week," the phrase has to be literally translated: "a feast of weeks of days."⁵ In this translation,

¹Jer 5:24; Ezek 21:28; 45:21; Hab 3:9. Cf. Gérard E. Weil, *Masorah Gedolah*, 2 vols. (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1971), 1:279, no. 2477.

²See HAL, 1288.

³See table 1, supra, 92. Here the meaning is the regular week.

⁴Nevertheless, Hoehner's, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 117, conclusion that the term *šābū^ca* means "a unit of seven" and that context determines its denomination actually is based mainly on this one text. Hoehner's assertion that "three times it means a unit of seven and is followed by *yāmim* 'days' (Ezek 45:21; Dan 10:2, 3)," and "six times it is used as a 'unit of seven' without reference to days (Dan 9:24, 25 *his*, 26, 27 *his*)" is circular reasoning since it is the occurrences in Dan 9 that he is trying to define. Thus the only one of the occurrences outside of Dan 9 that could be used is Ezek 45:21 (and incorrectly Dan 10:2, 3, see "*šābū^ca* in Daniel" below). Of the same opinion as Hoehner are: Whitcomb, "Daniel's Great Seventy Weeks Prophecy," 260; Tregelles, 118, who has stated, "In Ezek xlv. 21, it is used almost entirely like a numeral . . . and this passage is important as showing its use."

⁵If it were used as a numeral in the same sense as seven as conjectured by Tregelles, 118, that "it bears the same grammatical relation to the numeral *seven*. . . . In Ezek xlv. 21, it is used almost entirely like a numeral," the translation would be "seventy of days" as *šib^cim*, the plural of seven, is translated "*seventy*." This seems unlikely. At any rate, Tregelles, to be consistent, will have to admit that if *š̄bū^cot* in Ezek 45:21 were to be taken as the plural construct of *šābū^ca*, it should not be

the plural "weeks" will seem to contradict the specification, "and seven days of the feast," of vs. 23, which refers back to the phrase *hag šḥu^cot yāmim* in vs. 21.

Evidently, "seven days" is only a week but not "weeks."¹ Therefore, if *šḥu^cot* is a construct form of *šāḥūa^c* it would be expected to be in the singular form in order to synchronize with vss. 23-24, where the feast has been specified to be seven days.

The critical apparatus of the BHS on Ezek 45:21 notes that other MSS and all versions have *ših^cat*, "seven," instead of *šḥu^cot*, "weeks." In the light of the problematical nature of this occurrence in Ezek 45:21, it does not seem sound to base one's definition of other occurrences of *šāḥūa^cim* on this problematic text. Thus its problematic nature seems to count out its usefulness as an argument towards the definition of *šāḥūa^cim* in Dan 9:24-27.²

considered as a numeral but must be translated with "weeks" (and not "sevens") since it is feminine. He has stated as a rule that "in this sense (i.e., when it is used of week), however, it more commonly takes the feminine plural termination." Ibid.

¹Cf. C. F. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel*, trans. James Martin, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952), 2:336.

²See HAL, 1288, "Ezek 45:21. read *ših^cat* instead of *šḥu^cot*; the preceding *hāg* is to be omitted." Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, Hermeneia, 2 vols., trans. James D. Martin and Ronald E. Clements (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979, 1983), 2:481, observes: "In the spelling of M both the absolute form of *hg* and the construct form of *šh^cot* are strange. In any event *ših^cat* should be read." So Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 29 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), 247-48; Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel*, 337; G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), 503; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, trans. Cosslett Quin (London: SCM Press, 1970), 573-74; Wilhelm Julius Schröder, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, trans. Patrick Fairbairn and William Findlay (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 428; Julius A. Bewer, *The Book of Ezekiel*, 2 vols., Harper Annotated Bible Series (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1954), 2:74.

šāḥūa^c in the book of Daniel

The term *šāḥūa^c* occurs eight times in the book of Daniel.¹ Two occurrences are outside Dan 9:24-27. They are present in Dan 10:2, 3. It has been argued that these occurrences, because they are followed by *yāmīm*, "days," show that the author wanted to imply that these "weeks" are weeks of days whereas those in Dan 9:24-27 which are not followed by "days" are literally "weeks of years."²

The analysis of the expression *šāḥū^cīm yāmīm* in Dan 10:2 and 3 shows that this argument may be faulted on two grounds:

1. The term *yāmīm* is attached to *šāḥū^cīm* as an accusative of apposition rather than in construct relationship. Since *šāḥū^cīm yāmīm* is not in construct relationship, it does not translate as "weeks of days."
2. *yāmīm* is usually used in the accusative of apposition as an idiom to mean

¹See table 1, p. 92.

²Whitcomb, 260-61; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 118, asserts regarding the use of *yāmīm*: "The very fact that Daniel adds *yāmīm* indicates that he did not want his readers to think of the unit of seven the same way it was used in chapter nine. . . . The fact that he inserted *yāmīm* "days" in 10:2, 3 when it was not necessary would seem to indicate that he *would* have used *yāmīm* in 9:24-27 if there he meant 490 "days"; see also Tregelles, 118, 119. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 408, contrary to the view that bases on the "days" in Dan 10:2, 3 to posit that the 70 Weeks in Dan 9:24 are years, argues that since neither the word "days" nor the word "years" is appended to *šāḥū^cīm* in Dan 9:24-27, the only safe translation would be "seventy sevens." In this case, "sevens" are not calculated in years but as undefined lengths of time. This interpretation of *šāḥū^cīm* would make the time element of the revelation meaningless. Nevertheless, Leupold takes this view because it is not possible to fit 490 years into his Messianic scheme which dates the *terminus a quo* to 538 B.C.

that something lasted the whole time specified.¹ Examples are shown in table 2.

TABLE 2
PLEONASTIC USE OF *yāmîm* IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Text	Idiom	Literal Translation	Meaning
Gen 41:1	<i>š^cnāṭayim yāmîm</i>	two years of days	= two full years
2 Sam 13:23	<i>lišnāṭayim yāmîm</i>	after two years of days	= after two full years
2 Sam 14:28	<i>š^cnāṭayim yāmîm</i>	two years of days	= two full years
Jer 28:3, 11	<i>š^cnāṭayim yāmîm</i>	two years of days	= two full years
Gen 29:14	<i>hodes̄ yāmîm</i>	a month of days	= a full month
Num 11:20	<i>hodes̄ yāmîm</i>	a month of days	= a full month
Deut 21:13	<i>yerah yāmîm</i>	a month of days	= a full month
2 Kgs 15:13	<i>yerah yāmîm</i>	a month of days	= a full month
Dan 10:2, 3	<i>šāḥu^cîm yāmîm</i>	weeks of days	= full weeks

¹See M. Saebø, "yôm," *TDOT*, 6:20; *BDB*, 399b; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 76; KBL, 373a; Gesenius, 342a. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 224, observes: "The word *days* is added, not to indicate that these were weeks of ordinary days, as distinguished from the weeks of Dan 9:24-27, but to bring out the idea of duration, *three weeks long, three entire weeks.*" Already Hengstenberg, 89, observed: "This must not be rendered 'three weeks of days,' but 'three weeks long,' --*yāmîm* being added in apposition, as it frequently is when periods of time are referred to, to show that the time is accurately given, even to a single day." Keil, *Biblical Commentary*, 338, concurred: "*yāmîm* is in these verses added to *šāḥu^cîm*, not for the purpose of designating these as day-weeks, but simply as full weeks (three weeks long)."

When *yāmîm* is used pleonastically after terms denoting time, as in the examples cited below, it does not have the regular meaning of "day" (table 2). In these cases *yāmîm* refers to the full space of time indicated by the previous term that indicates a space of time. It follows, therefore, that *šāḅu^cîm yāmîm* in Dan 10:2, 3 is to be translated as "full weeks."¹

This Hebrew matter of syntax and idiomatic use makes untenable the supposition that the *yāmîm* that follows *šāḅu^cîm* in Dan 10:2 and 3 makes it "weeks of days" in differentiation to *šāḅu^cîm* of Dan 9:24-27, where *šāḅu^cîm* is not followed by *yāmîm* and thus supposed to mean "weeks of years." If there is any contrast, it may be in the sense that *šāḅu^cîm yāmîm* emphasizes full weeks from the point of view that the event (here fasting) took place each day of the week; whereas the masculine plural *šāḅu^cîm* without *yāmîm* emphasizes the totality of time without the understanding that the event(s) involved in the "weeks" took place on each day in the "weeks" (seventy weeks in this case).² In the Hebrew Bible, therefore, *šāḅu^cîm* is consistently used in a temporal sense to signify a week of seven literal days. Thus, Dan 10:2, 3 does not support any notion of "weeks of years." "sevens."

¹Cf. Charles, 255, who takes *šāḅu^cîm yāmîm* in Dan 10:2, 3 as "full weeks" and observes that "for this pleonastic use of *yāmîm* cf. Deut 21¹³; 2 Sam 13²³; 14²⁸; Jer 28^{3, 11}; and Ges-Kautzsch § 131d." Thus *šāḅu^cîm yāmîm* in Dan 10:2, 3 is taken pleonastically just as the examples cited. So Bevan, 165. For further study of this idiom, see Gesenius, 424 (page references are to reprint edition); Paul Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1947), 383; Joüon and Muraoka, 461; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 75-77.

²See under "The significance of the plural *šāḅu^cîm*," p. 108.

or period of "seven" for Dan 9:24-27. It supports uniquely the meaning of "weeks" for *šābu^cīm*.

*Septuagint rendering of šābūa^c in
Dan 9:24-27*

Both LXX and Theodotion render the Hebrew term *šābūa^c* in Dan 9:24-27 with the Greek term *hebdomas*.¹ Lexicographers define *hebdomas* as: (1) "week," (2) "period of seven days," (3) "a number of seven," and (4) "period of seven years."²

The term *hebdomas* occurs ten times in the LXX outside of the book of

¹It must be pointed out that the LXX renders the term *šābūa^c* in Gen 29:27, 28 with the Greek term *ta hebdoma* which comes from *hebdomos*. *Hebdomos* is an adjectival term which means "seventh." While this LXX rendition is problematic, our interest is in the meaning of the term *hebdomas* used by the LXX in Dan 9:24-27. The use of *hebdomas* to translate *šābūa^c* in Dan 9:24-27 demonstrates that the translators understood *šābūa^c* in this instance to mean *hebdomas*. Therefore, it is the meaning of *hebdomas* that will shed light on the LXX translators' understanding of the term *šābūa^c* in Dan 9:24-27. Since the two words, *hebdomas* and *hebdomos*, are different, the latter is not considered any further.

²Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 466. Liddell and Scott cite the use of definitions (2) and (3) as from extrabiblical sources whereas definition (1) is cited as used by the LXX among others. Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and adaptation by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 212, defines *hebdomas* as "week." The Latin term *hebdomas* used by the Vulgate is defined as "a group of seven, terminal point of a seven-day period, each seventh day in the moon's cycle." See P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 788.

Daniel.¹ Out of these ten cases, it is used three times to translate the Hebrew term *šabbāṭ*.² It is used seven times to translate a form of *šāḥūa*^c. Five of these cases are used in the phrase "Feast of Weeks."³ to designate the regular seven-day week. The other two instances⁴ occur in the context of counting the weeks that lead to the Feast of Weeks. In these two instances, *hebdomas* appears with *hepta* in the expression "seven weeks." *Hebdomas* means the regular week here and cannot be viewed as a numeral because it is qualified by the numeral "seven."

The Greek versions, therefore, consistently uses the term *hebdomas* outside the book of Daniel to designate the regular week. In the book of Daniel, *hebdomas* occurs twice outside Dan 9 in the Greek versions of the LXX and Theodotion.⁵ In these two instances the Greek versions translate the Hebrew expression *šāḥu*^c *īm yāmīm* literally as "weeks of days." We have seen that this expression means "full

¹Exod 34:22; Lev 23:15, 16; 25:8; Num 28:26; Deut 16:9 (2x), 10, 16; 2 Chr 8:13.

²Lev 23:15, 16; 25:8. In Lev 23:15, the LXX understood the expression "seven full *šabbāṭōṭ*" to mean "seven full weeks." Thus the plural of *hebdomas* appears in the phrase "seven full weeks" in this LXX text obviously meaning regular seven-day weeks. The same understanding is found in vs. 16 where it is used in the phrase "after the last week." In Lev 25:8 where *hebdomas* in the phrase "seven weeks of years" is affiliated with years, a genitive of description, *etōn*, is used to ascribe the quality of years to *hebdomas*. Thus, in this case, too, the basic meaning of *hebdomas* is the regular seven-day week.

³Exod 34:22; Num 28:26; Deut 16:10, 16; 2 Chr 8:13.

⁴Deut 16:9 (2x).

⁵Dan 10:2, 3.

weeks."¹ Therefore, the term *hebdomas* in Dan 10:2, 3 also means regular weeks of seven full days.

Based on the above research in the Greek versions of the LXX and Theodotion the rendering of *šāḥūa*^c in Dan 9:24-27 means "seventy weeks." Thus the meaning of the term in Dan 9:24-26, based upon biblical and Greek usage, is the regular "week" or "a period of seven days." Translations which use "sevens,"² "besevened"³ and "weeks of years"⁴ or the like are, therefore, not supported by either the LXX or Theodotion. They are also not supported on the basis of the Hebrew text.

The study of the comparative usage of *šāḥūa*^c in the Old Testament and in the book of Daniel, as well as the interpretation of the Greek versions, shows that the biblical usage is consistently in reference to the regular seven-day week, and never used for the numeral seven, neither is it used to refer to "weeks of years."⁵

¹See the investigation of "*šāḥūa*^c in Daniel" above. Cf. Joüon and Muraoka, 499.

²Tregelles, 118, cannot find support in the LXX for his use of "*heptads of years*" as the translation of *šāḥūa*^c *im šib*^c *im*. This observation is also true of NIV.

³Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 195; Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 247.

⁴RSV. NRSV has dropped "of years," and thus has only "weeks." A long time ago Keil, *Biblical Commentary*, 339, had as well concluded, "Thus the idea of year-weeks has no exegetical foundation." So Leupold, *Exposition on Daniel*, 407, who remarks: "The word involved is *shabḥūa*^c, which usually means 'week.' Those commentators who advocate the idea of *year-weeks* do so because they cannot use *ordinary* weeks in their interpretation of this passage."

⁵Bevan, 153, admits that "elsewhere in the Old Testament *šāḥūa*^c always means "a week of days." So also Charles, 240.

Therefore, based on the meaning attributed to *šāḫūa^c* by the biblical usage, comparative usage demands that the meaning of *šāḫu^cīm* in Dan 9:24-27 be "weeks" or "a period of seven days." not "sevens." "besevened" "yearweeks." "weeks of years." "heptads" or "hebdomads."

Chronological Considerations

This part of the study attempts to give careful attention to and investigate the chronological meaning of the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27. The issue is the way one arrives from Seventy Weeks to 490 years.

Contextual considerations

The first part of this investigation of contextual considerations is devoted to a study of the masculine plural form *šāḫu^cīm* in the phrase *šāḫu^cīm ših^cīm*. Subsequently, the contextual implication that a day means a year is investigated.

The significance of the plural šāḫu^cīm. The biblical usage of *šāḫūa^c* demands the meaning "week": its chronological intent has been challenged because of the masculine form of the plural in Dan 9:24-27. Some interpreters see in the expression *šāḫu^cīm ših^cīm* a symbolic figure of "seventy heptads" (i.e., 7 x 7 x 10).¹ C. F. Keil believes that the "week" involved in the *šāḫu^cīm* in Dan 9:24 is

¹E.g., Leupold, *Exposition on Daniel*, 410. This is purported to have come from the LXX translation of *šāḫu^cīm ših^cāh* as *hebdomekonta hebdomades*. This translation is also followed by Theodotion. However, the translation "seventy heptads" cannot be sustained by the LXX translation since *hebdomades* is technically not the same as *heptad*. See discussion on the LXX interpretation above.

the common "week."¹ but does not accept the view that "week" can be arithmetically computed.² As Young remarks, the masculine use of the term is deliberate to show that it cannot be calculated.³ Consequently, the interpreters of this persuasion use the masculinity of *šāḇu^cim* to posit that the expression has no definite chronological value.⁴

However, studies that have been done on the gender of the Hebrew noun have shown that the phenomenon of double gender as found in the case of *šāḇū^ac* in Dan 9 is common in the Old Testament.⁵

Mordechai Ben-Asher has studied 117 Hebrew nouns which have double gender in the singular in biblical Hebrew. Of these nouns which have both

¹Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 338, emphasizes that "in that form *šāḇu^cim* there is no intimation that it is not common weeks that are meant."

²Ibid., 339.

³Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 195, 196.

⁴Ibid. Young states: "What led Dan. to employ the m. instead of the f. however, is not clear unless it was for the deliberate purpose of calling attention to the fact that the word *sevens* is employed in an unusual sense." Among those who espouse the symbolic theory are: Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 339; Keil and Th. Kliefoth, who are followed by Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 205, 206; idem, *The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1954), 56. Other symbolic interpreters include P. Grelot, "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bib* 50 (1969): 169-86; J. Philip, *By the Rivers of Babylon: Studies in the Book of Daniel* (Aberdeen: Didasko Press, 1972), 134; Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 409.

⁵For a detailed study see Mordechai Ben-Asher, "The Gender of Nouns in Biblical Hebrew," in *Semitics*, vol. 6, Miscellanea 12 (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1978), 1-14; Diethelm Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 1:34-39; Shea, "Daniel and the Judgment," 1980, 240-247; Rudolph Meyer, 2:45.

masculine and feminine forms. sixty-one are abstract nouns while fifty-six are concrete.¹ In this study, Ben-Asher has concluded: "Maybe in Ancient Hebrew (like in other Semitic languages) it was possible to form every word with the masculine suffix without any difference of meaning at all."² If Ben-Asher's conclusions hold, then the masculine ending as compared to the feminine would be immaterial.

While the meaning of double-gender nouns does not change with gender endings, do the gender endings indicate any shades of meaning? Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor have observed that "some non-animate nouns may have both masculine and feminine forms. Although these so-called *doublets* may have different connotations, it is best not to rely too heavily on their distinctions: both forms mean essentially the same thing."³ Waltke and O'Connor recognize the possibility of "different connotations" in double-gender nouns and thus go beyond Ben-Asher on whom they rely for their general views.

In his recent study,⁴ G. F. Hasel has pointed out that double gender plurals

¹Cf. Waltke and O'Connor. 106.

²Ben-Asher. 9. So Hasel, "Interpretations," 11.

³Waltke and O'Connor, 106. Joüon and Muraoka, 272, 273, has the opinion that one of the two plural endings is "reserved for special or poetic usages." Michel, 45, however, stresses the difference between gender and gender endings and suggests that when different endings are used there is the wish to express different implications. See Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 115.

⁴Hasel, "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for Weeks in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24," 107-20.

are not employed in arbitrary fashion but serve a particular purpose.¹ The idea of "different connotations" had been recognized by grammarians previously. P. Joüon-T. Muraoka have pointed out that certain double-gender plurals function decidedly differently.² It is, therefore, important for us to pay special attention to the plurals of *šāḥūā*^c, since as has been seen, two different plurals are employed for this noun.

The major study of double gender in our century is that of Diethelm Michel.³ He has studied comprehensively the genders and numbers of Hebrew nouns, going beyond any previous investigation.⁴ For this paper there is an important conclusion Michel has reached which needs to be explored and applied. According to Hasel, his conclusion, based on a detailed and comprehensive study of all nouns of the class to which *šāḥūā*^c belongs, is: "It is typical of nouns with plural endings in *-īm* and *-ōt* that the plural of *-īm* is to be understood as a plural of quantity or a plural of groups, whereas *-ōt* indicates an entity or grouping which is made up of individual parts'."⁵

An example of a noun which refers to a time unit is *šānāh*. It occurs about

¹Ibid., 115-17, 119.

²Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 272.

³Diethelm Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*.

⁴Unfortunately his research was not used by Waltke and O'Connor, but was used by Stamm in *HAL*.

⁵Hasel, "The Hebrew Masculine Plural, 114, 115, quoting Michel, 49; cf. Michel, 34-39; W. G. E. Watson, "Gender-Matched Synonyms Parallelism in the Old Testament," *JBL* (1980): 321--41.

874 times¹ in the Hebrew Bible. While the construct forms are in the feminine form, all the plurals occur in masculine form except nine which appear in the feminine form.² While all nine usages of the feminine form appear in poetic sections, they still have the meaning "years." For example:³

Deut 32:7: "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations."

Job 16:22: "For when a few years are finished, I shall go the way of no return."

Ps 77:5: "I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times."

Prov 4:10: "Hear, my son, and receive my sayings, and the years of your life will be many."

Although, as the word for "weeks," the word for "years" also has double gender but still maintains its regular meaning,⁴ a study of the occurrences of the masculine plural in poetic sections (Ps 90:4, 9) in relationship to the feminine plural occurrences (e.g., Ps 90:10, 15; Job 10:5; 16:22) discloses that the feminine plural "is used analagous to the other plurals with *-ôṭ* in expressions in which the majority is perceived as being made up of individual years, while the plural with *-îm* summarizes the years as a group."⁵ This is an important clue from the time word for "years." The group idea of totality is expressed with the masculine plural.

Hasel has concluded with regard to the masculine usage of the noun

¹See Even-Shoshan, 1189.

²Deut 32:7; Job 16:22; Ps 77:6 [Eng. 5], 11 [10]; 90:15; Prov 3:2; 4:10; 9:11; 10:27.

³Quotations are from NKJV.

⁴See Shea, "Daniel and the Judgment," 235.

⁵Michel, 45, quoted in Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 117. For further discussion see Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 115-18; Michel, 43-45.

šābu^cīm in Dan 9: 24, 25 that the masculine plural form here is intentional, placing emphasis on the totality and the sum total of the 'seventy weeks' as a whole time unit without wishing to stress the individual weeks of which the whole time period is made up.¹ This usage applies to the use of *šābu^cīm* for the major divisions of the "seven weeks." Hasel argues that the masculine ending of *šābu^cīm* does not change the meaning of the noun away from "weeks." The masculine endings show a "plural of quantity, the plural of group."² It emphasizes the "totality and entirety" of the time element. Thus, in the case of *šābu^cīm* in Dan 9:24, the Seventy Weeks are seen as a unit, one group of weeks. Linked with the intentionality of the singular verb *hāṭak* the unity and continuity of the Seventy Weeks are intentionally emphasized.

A day equals a year. The noun *šābu^cīm* in Dan 9:24-27 means regular "weeks," as has been established, yet the events outlined in Dan 9:24-27 cannot chronologically fit seventy regular weeks, as given in the passage. For instance: first, Messianic-Historicists as well as Futurist-Dispensationalists generally agree that the first seven weeks of the Seventy Weeks were delineated for the rebuilding of the city.³ Yet it is evident seven weeks of forty-nine regular days for the rebuilding of

¹Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 117, 119.

²Ibid., 115, 116.

³See Hasel, "Interpretations," 52; Gurney, *God in Control*, 113; Newman, 232; Archer, 113; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 227; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195.

Jerusalem cannot be what is intended.¹ Even if we assume for argument's sake that it took the literal seventy weeks (one year, four months and two weeks) to restore Jerusalem, it is inconceivable to expect Daniel to have been consoled by a prophecy that would have predicted that, after its seventy years of desolation, Jerusalem would be rebuilt in one year, four months and two weeks only to be destroyed thereafter.²

Second, there is also no historical evidence of any Messiah appearing within sixty-nine literal weeks of any of the dates posited as *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks by the various schools of interpretation. All schools of interpretation put the appearance of the Messiah the Prince years from their *termini a quo*.³

Third, if the last week is the week that the Messiah "makes strong" a covenant, as posited by Messianic-Historicists, then three and a half literal days (vs. 27) do not seem to represent a probable time within which the Messiah could have done his work since he was to be cut off in the middle of the week.⁴

These contextual pointers have, therefore, caused interpreters to concede

¹The Futurist-Dispensationalist scholar, Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 247, states that "a total of only 490 days (seventy such weeks) would be meaningless in the context. In contrast, a week of years does fit the context."

²Hengstenberg, 89; Barnes, 140.

³Cf. Goss, 29. Forty-nine years for the Historical-Critics and 483 for the Messianic-Historicists, and 476 plus some days for most Futurists-Dispensationalists.

⁴It must be noted that both Historical-Critics and Dispensational-Futurists interpret the last week to be the time when a covenant is made by someone other than the Messiah of vs. 25. While the Historical-Critics put the last week in the Macabbean era (Antiochus IV Epiphanes making the covenant) and the Futurist-Dispensationalists put it in the future (the Antichrist making the covenant), it is conceptually improbable, within those interpretations, that such a covenant would be made for 7 literal days and broken within 3½ literal days.

unanimously that the events outlined in Dan 9:24-27 cannot be fulfilled within seventy regular weeks.¹ Accordingly, scholars across the full spectrum of schools of interpretation have advanced contextual arguments to show that the "weeks" must be chronologically interpreted in terms of years.

Jacques B. Doukhan argues on the basis of a chiasmus that the seventy years in vs. 2, by allusion, determine that the Seventy Weeks in vss. 24-27 be seen in terms of years.² Doukhan observes that "the two expressions, *šib^c im šānāh* in vs. 2 and *šābu^c im šib^c im* in vs. 24, point to each other by the means of the following chiasmus:"

<i>šib^c im (70)</i>	<i>šānāh (year)</i>
<i>šābu^c im (weeks)</i>	<i>šib^c im (70)</i>

Doukhan points to the chiasmus and suggests that it defines the nature of the

¹Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 196, states: "The brief period of 490 days would not serve to meet the needs of the prophecy, upon any view. Hence, as far as the present writer knows, this view is almost universally rejected." Cf. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 247, 248.

²Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 34; idem, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel," 17. So Shea, *Selected Studies*, 77, 78. Barnes, 140b, had earlier stated: "Daniel had been making inquiry respecting the seventy *years*, and it is natural to suppose that the answer of the angel would have respect to *years* also." So Tregelles, 98, who also states: "The denomination here is to be taken from the subject of Daniel's prayer; he prayed about years, he is answered about periods of seven years"; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 218. Hengstenberg, 89, states: "The most forcible argument is founded upon the seventy years of Jeremiah." See also Zöckler, 194; Goss, 29.

"weeks" on the support that "as *šib^cim* is equivalent to *šib^cim*, so *šābu^cim* is equivalent to *šānāh*."¹

The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27 have thus been generally interpreted by scholars of all schools of interpretation to be chronologically 490 regular years.²

However, it has been established³ that the biblical usage of *šābu^cā* is consistently in reference to the regular seven-day week. If *šābu^cā* in every other place in the Old Testament, even in Dan 10:2-3, means a regular seven-day week chronologically except in Dan 9:24-27,⁴ where the meaning is different from the normal chronological meaning, then the regular chronological relationship of "week" must be operating on a scale different from the normal. Specifically, the relationship of the regular to chronological meaning portrays a scale of:

¹Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 17.

²Hasel, "Interpretations," 6, remarks: "There is virtually unanimous agreement among interpreters of all schools of thought that the phrase 'seventy weeks' (*šābu^cim šib^cim*) means 490 years." See also Montgomery, 373; Zöckler, 194. Stuart, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 266, concludes, "We must regard the meaning as = 7 x 70 = 490 years." Lurie, 305, states: "That the context requires the 'sevens' to be 'sevens' of years is universally recognized by all writers on Daniel." It must be noted that even those who argue for "sevens" skip "month" which is the next step from "weeks" on the temporal scale (day, week, month, and year) and move directly to "years" which is the last on the scale. For example: Goldingay, 257, states that "'seventy sevens' presumably denotes 'seventy times seven years,' as the original 'seventy' of Jeremiah was explicitly a period of years (v 2)."

³See the discussion of Semantic Considerations above.

⁴Montgomery, 373, observes that "the term is not used absolutely of years elsewhere in the Bible." So Bevan, 153, who emphasizes that "elsewhere in the Old Testament *šābu^cā* always means 'a week of days,' here only 'a week of years.'"

490 (70 x 7) days :: 490 years
 Hence, 1 day :: 1 year.

In this relationship, it is clear that since *šābu*^ċ*îm* cannot, by biblical definition, mean "sevens," "year-weeks," or "weeks of years," a day is symbolically being used to represent a year. Thus:

One actual day *symbolically represents* one actual year.

While the contextual analysis of the relationship of Dan 9:2 with Dan 9:24 makes this clear, the legitimacy of the chronological scale of "a day for a year scale" is corroborated by biblical evidence elsewhere.¹

Time scale

Ezekiel (Ezek 4) is instructed to perform a symbolic action to portray the sins of Israel and Judah (vss. 4-6), the consequent siege of Jerusalem (vss. 1-8), and the exile of its people (vs. 13). Vss. 4-6 particularly show Ezekiel being asked to bear the iniquity of the people. Ezekiel is addressed as "son of man," a title that is used later only of Jesus in the Bible. The use of this title and the relationship of Ezekiel to Israel in the symbolism of Ezek 4:4-6 suggest a Messianic typology. The typological nature of Ezekiel's relationship to Israel is strengthened by the instruction to bear the ^ċ*āwon* of the people. This vicarious bearing of sin is the main function of the Messiah, as seen in the Prophets.²

¹Cf. Doukhan, *Daniel*, 34, 35.

²In Isaiah, for example, "The LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all" (53:6 RSV). The same word *nāšā*^ċ, "bear," that is used of Ezekiel appears in Isa 53:4, 12. See also 1 Pet 2:24.

It is also necessary to note that in Ezekiel's symbolic bearing of Israel's iniquity, one actual day equals one actual year (vss. 4-6). This means that one actual day symbolically represents one actual year.

The importance of the symbolic prophecy of Ezek 4:1-6 is that it uses symbols to show (1) by typology, the Messianic function of the vicarious bearing of sin, (2) the future destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of its people, and (3) that one actual day of a symbolic action *equals* one actual year in apocalyptic chronology. These themes seem to be echoed in Dan 9:24-27.

The Messiah's work is summarized in Dan 9:24 where the Messiah brings everlasting righteousness, and in subsequent verses he is "cut off." His cutting off has been shown to refer to his death, which is described in Isa 53:1-12 where the Messiah-Servant engages in a vicarious bearing of human iniquities.¹

The destruction of Jerusalem in the future is also predicted in Dan 9:26, and in the chronological time scale in Dan 9:24-26, as shown above, one actual day (of the week) *symbolically translates into* one actual year. The chronological scale in Dan 9:24-27 is, therefore, the same as that in Ezek 4:5-6. In Ezek 4:5-6, the scale is given in the following manner:

vs. 5a- A: *I have assigned to you the years . . . according to the number of days*
 B: three hundred and ninety days
 C: and you shall bear the iniquity of the house of Israel

¹See chap. 3 under "Death of Messiah." The word used in Isa 53:8 to describe his death, *gāzar*, "cut off," is a synonym of *kārat*, "cut off," used in Dan 9:26. See Gerhard F. Hasel, "*kārat*," *TWAT*, 4:359; James E. Smith, "*gāzar*," *TWOT*, 1:158; William Wilson, *New Wilson's Old Testament Word Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1987), 106b.

C₁: and you shall bear the iniquity of the house of Judah
 B₁: forty days
 vs. 6c- A₁: *a day for a year, a day for a year I have assigned to you.*

There is an ABC :: C₁B₁A₁ chiastic relationship between the first part (vs. 5) and the second part (vs. 6). The juxtaposition shows that the instruction of vs. 5a "I have assigned to you years . . . according to the number of days" (A) bears a direct relationship to that of vs. 6c, "a day for a year, a day for a year I have assigned to you" (A₁). Ezekiel was thus supposed to bear the iniquity of Israel, *symbolically*, three hundred and ninety days for the *actual* three hundred and ninety years of their iniquity. Here the chronological scale is the equation of "a day for a year." In the same manner Ezekiel was actually to bear the sins of Judah *symbolically* forty days for their *actual* forty years of sinning. This chronological scale reveals that one actual day of symbolic bearing of sin *equals* one actual year of real time. This symbolic correlation of time corroborates the chronological scale of Dan 9:24-26.

The derivation of this chronological scale of one actual day of symbolic activity *equals* one actual year of real time adopted by the apocalyptic prophecies is traced to historical prophecies. Commenting on the chronological scale used in Num 14:34, Jacob Milgrom has stated: "The same scale is adopted by Ezekiel whose forty days lying on his side represent forty years of Judah's sin (Ezek 4:6)."¹ The linkage between Ezek 4:4-6 and Num 14:34 is noted also by Moshe Greenberg.²

¹Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 115.

²Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel, 1-20*, AB, vol. 22 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 104.

In Num 14:34, twelve spies had been sent to spy out the land of Canaan. Ten of the spies brought a bad report which caused the children of Israel to rebel against God. As a result of the rebellion God gave a prophetic judgment in which the number of days that the spies spent in spying the land of Canaan became the symbolic representation of the punishment that the whole nation was to suffer in future. This symbolic representation is considerably emphasized not only in the thought but also in the parallel structure of the text:

A: *According to the number of the days*
 B: *which you spied out the land, forty days*
 A₁: *a day for a year, a day for a year*
 B₁: *you shall bear your iniquity forty years*

The structure of the verse depicts an AB :: A₁B₁. A, "the number of days," is to A₁, "a day for a year" as B, "forty days" is to B₁, "forty years." This structural relationship articulates the actual day of symbolic action representing the actual year of history. Like Ezek 4:5-6 and Dan 9:24-27, the chronological scale in Num 14:34 is one day *symbolically equals* one actual year.

Roy L. Aldrich, following Tregelles,¹ has asserted that "it should be noted that the forty days and the forty years of this Scripture (i.e., Num 14:34) are literal days and literal years. . . . To extract from this passage the formula 'each day for a year' and understand it to say a day really means a year is to misunderstand the meaning."² It is true that the "forty years" and "the forty days" happened

¹Tregelles, 116-119.

²Roy L. Aldrich, "Can the End of the Age Be Computed by the Year-Day Theory?" *BSac* 115 (1958): 163; also Leupold, *Exposition on Daniel*, 407-408.

historically but in his argument, Aldrich seems to overlook the fact that there is a symbolic representation. The significance of the forty days in this passage is its use as a symbol to prophesy about real time in the future.¹ The statement "a day for a year" implies a chronological scale with the "day" as the basis for reckoning the years. The "day for a year chronological scale" is misunderstood, as Aldrich says, if it is seen as depicting a scenario where "a day" semantically means "a year."

Aldrich also says of Ezek 4:1-6 that "this gives a year-day relationship which is the reverse of that found in Numbers 14:33-34."² On the face of it his remark may seem correct. However, the point is quite different. As far as the chronological scale is concerned, it would have been in reverse if it had been stated as one actual year *symbolizes* one actual day instead of the opposite. In Num 14:34 the symbol is that the actual days of spying are symbolic of the actual historical years of wandering. In Ezek 4:5-6, the actual days of lying down are symbolic of the actual years of iniquity. In the same way, the "actual" which is symbolized in Num 14:34 is the forty years of wandering, and the "actual" which is symbolized in Ezek 4:5-6 is the years of iniquity committed by Israel and Judah. Since the symbol is expressed in the correlation of actual "days" which are equal to the actual in

¹Samuel Davidson, *Introduction to the New Testament*, (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1862), 3:513, observes, "It is a simple historical prophecy, in which God ordained that as the spies had wandered forty days, so the Israelites should wander forty years in the wilderness because of their sins." In this simple prophecy, however, it cannot be denied that there is a symbolic representation of days for years.

²Aldrich, 162.

"years." the scale works in the same way in Ezek 4:5-6 as in Num 14:34.

The linguistic parallels emphasize the affinity between the two passages.

In Ezek 4:5-6, the principle is expressed by:

A: *according to the number of days*
 A₁: *a day for a year, a day for a year.*

In Num 14:34, the principle is also expressed by:

A: *according to the number of the days*
 A₁: *a day for a year, a day for a year.*

The form of the linguistic relationship in A and A₁ in Ezek 4:5-6 is identical with that of A and A₁ in Num 14:34. This common linguistic identity clearly supports the position that the same scale is being used in both passages. Thus, there is "a day for a year" chronological scale in Ezek 4:5-6 and Num 14:34 just as we find in Dan 9:24-27. These three passages are also linked by the aspect of prophetic prediction and by their subject matter, Israel.

The same time scale in which a day symbolically represents a year is also found in Dan 8. In Dan 8, Daniel has a *hāzōn* which covers the periods of the ram (Medo-Persia),¹ the goat (Greece),² and the subsequent "little horn"³ to "the time of the end."⁴ The period of time that expires from the ram to "the time of the end" (8:17, 19) is covered by "2,300 evening[s and] morning[s]" (8:13, 14). Here the

¹Dan 8:3, 5, 20.

²Dan 8:5-8, 21, 22.

³Dan 8:9-12, 23-25.

⁴Dan 8:17, 19.

expression "evening [and] morning" cannot be a literal twenty-four-hour day, because six and a third (6⅓) years is too short if the 2,300 "evening[s] and] morning[s]" were a substitute for "days." Instead "evening[s] and] morning[s]" equal "days" which symbolically stand for "years" of real time. Thus, there is a time scale conversion in Dan 8 in which "days" symbolically represent "years" of real historical time, corresponding to the time scale found in Dan 9:24-27. This time scale conversion from the symbolic time expression "evening[s] and] morning[s]" which stands for "days" which are to be converted to "years" is important for Dan 9:24-27 because the latter completes the unexplained portion of the time element of Dan 8 (see vss. 26, 27).

It is not difficult to visualize the use of "a day for a year" in these symbolic time prophecies if it is realized that the Hebrew mind had been prepared to conceptualize the "day for year" scale by the "idiomatic usage" of *yāmim*, "days," to depict "years" in various sections of the Bible.¹ A few examples may suffice to demonstrate this usage:

Exod 13:10; 1 Sam 1:3	<i>miyyāmim yāmimāh</i>	from year to year
1 Sam 2:19; Judg 11:40	<i>miyyāmim yāmimāh</i>	from year to year
Judg 17:10	<i>layyāmim</i>	a year
1 Sam 27:7	<i>yāmim w^r arbā^c āh</i> <i>h^r dāsīm</i>	a year and four months

Although the term *yāmim* in this usage is always in plural, the Hebrew reader would

¹See E. Jenni, "jôm," *THAT*, 1:722b; M. Sæbø, "yôm," *TDOT*, 6:21; Leonard J. Coppes, "yôm," *TWOT*, 1:370, 371; William Wilson, *Wilson's Old Testament Word Studies* (McLean, VA: McDonald Publishing Co., n.d.), 109; Klein, 256b; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 66, 67; *KBL*, 373; *HAL*, 383. For a contrary view, see Francis Sparling North, "Four-month Seasons of the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 11 (1961): 446-48.

be familiar with this idiomatic usage with the meaning of "days" for actual "years" on a chronological scale.¹

"Prophetic year" hypothesis

While it has been widely accepted by scholars that the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27 must be interpreted as 490 years, most Futurist-Dispensationalists² follow Sir Anderson³ to posit that the year is a "prophetic year of 360 days" each. Hoehner makes an important statement:

If one multiplies the sixty-nine weeks by seven solar years, the total is 483 years. Subtracting this from 444 B.C. gives the date of A.D. 38, five years after Christ's crucifixion. So it is obvious that a calculation using the solar year does not work.⁴

The solar year reckoning is rejected because it does not work with their *terminus a quo* date of 444 B.C. The use of a 360-day year has insurmountable problems. First, it has been shown that the 360-day year does not work even with the 444 B.C. *terminus a quo* computation.⁵ After the analysis of Hoehner's computation, which claims superiority to Anderson's original calculation, Hasel has concluded:

¹For a further study on the "day for a year" principle, see Shea, *Selected Studies*, 56-93; idem, "Daniel and the Judgment," 232-50.

²The few exceptions include Goss, 85-101; Archer, *Daniel*, 445; Newman, 230.

³Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 75.

⁴Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 134.

⁵See Hasel, "Interpretations," 19, 20.

To this one must add that it is equally obvious that a calculation using the "prophetic year" does not work either, unless missing days are supplied arbitrarily. But such a subjective procedure runs counter to the obvious precision of 9:24-27.¹

Second, the choice of Nisan 1 as their starting point for Dan 9:24-27 also seems arbitrary and hypothetical.² Neh 2:1 does not mention the day of the commencement of the decree. If a day were to be put on the expression "in the month of Nisan" found in Neh 2:1, a day within the month would seem to be more appropriate a conjecture than Nisan 1, since it would have been easier for the author to have said "on the first day of Nisan" if it had been that day. Besides the hypothetical day of Nisan 1 for the *terminus a quo*, the date of the triumphal entry of Christ to Jerusalem, which Sir Anderson and his followers have chosen for the *terminus ad quem* of the sixty-nine weeks, does not seem to fit the known data of the New Testament.³

Third, it is inconsistent to use a "360-day switch" if "a day for a year" chronological scale is rejected.⁴ If one insists on the view that *šābū^cīm ših^cīm* means "seventy sevens of years" against clear evidence of biblical usage as shown

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 19.

³See Goss, 66-81; Newman, 230. Goss, 99, 100, notes: "The calculations based on the prophetic year do not end at any time when Christ was manifested as Messiah. Daniel 9:25 is quite clear in stating that the sixty-nine weeks shall terminate with Messiah, the Prince. But if sixty-nine weeks of prophetic years are calculated from the decree of Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah in 445 B.C., they terminate in A.D. 32, two years after Christ died." Emphasis his.

⁴Tregelles, 112-27, rejects the day for a year scale but uses the 360-day year switch. So Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 134-38.

above, it will follow that "seventy sevens of years" must mean 70×7 years (i.e., 490 years). "Years," doubtless, means years in whatever system of calendar is used. Computing from days to years becomes meaningful only when one is using a "day for a year" scale. Nevertheless, the use of any "day for a year" scale undermines the basic presupposition of the "seventy sevens of years" translation.

Furthermore, if the "360-day switch" is used on the premise that the Seventy Weeks (i.e., 490 days) must be converted to days before it is converted to years, an admission that presupposes some "day to year" conversion scale, then the biblical precedence in Num 14:34 and Ezek 4:5-6 must be taken into account. In Sir Anderson's (and his followers') usage, however, the basic principle justifying the use of any "day for a year" interpretation is ignored. It reduces the specified equation of one day :: one year to one day :: .986 year (i.e., $360 \div 365.25$) only. An application of such a conversion scale to Num 4:34 would result in $(40 \times .986)$ 39.43 years instead of the 40 years specified. The 390 years of iniquity mentioned in Ezek 4:5 would be reduced to $(390 \times .986)$ 384.54 years. Then the 490 years of Dan 9:24-27 would also be shortened to $(490 \times .986)$ 483.14 years. It is clear that the "prophetic year" hypothesis is invented because of the adoption of the decree given in 444 B.C. which causes insurmountable computational problems.

Fourth, it is interesting to observe that Futurist-Dispensationalists maintain that the last week as seven years is seven solar years instead of $(7 \times .986)$ 6.902 years (i.e., 7 "prophetic years" multiplied by 360 prophetic days divided by 365.25 solar days). This is an inconsistency in the method of reckoning. The Hebrew text

gives no support to two kinds of reckoning systems based on *šābu^cīm*. However, if these interpreters attempted to be consistent in their application of the solar conversion to all years it would throw off their scheme in their futurist system of apocalyptic interpretation.

Fifth, the Hebrew calendar, like the present Jewish calendar, seems to have been lunisolar, by which the months may have been determined according to the moon while the year was determined according to the sun.¹

Num 28:11 seems to indicate that the month was lunar. The word usually translated "month"² in the expression "And at the beginnings of your months" is

¹See C. E. J. Whitting, "Calendar," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), 5:43. Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7*, 2d ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1970), 54, remark with regard to the calendar used in Mosaic times that "the Jews must have had a system of intercalation by which the lunar calendar was brought into harmony with the natural solar year." S. J. De Vries, "Calendar," *IDB* (1962), 1:484, holds that "the Hebrews probably always had a lunar-solar calendar." The proposition that the Hebrews had a pentecontad calendar (so Julius and Hildegard Lewey, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* 17 [1942-43]: 1-152; followed by Julian Morgenstern, "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, Its Origin and Its Character," *VT* 5 [1955]: 37-76) has been rejected by John P. U. Lilley, "Calendar," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (1975), 691. De Vries, "Calendar," 485, believes that "Arguments for a year of seven 50-day periods (the so-called pentecontad calendar) are even more precarious." J. B. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," *VT* 7 (1957): 251, 252, has remarked that "this hypothetical pentacontad calendar bears no relation to natural phenomena, for the seasons of nature in Palestine do not regularly fall into exact cycles of fifty days." Segal, 254, maintains that "the Hebrew Calendar was based upon the moon. Nevertheless, the Israelites cannot have been content, even before the Exile, with a simple lunar calendar, for their principal festivals are connected with the tropic, or seasonal, year. There is a further reason for maintaining that their calendar was not lunar, but luni-solar."

²See, for example, Gen 7:11 where the "month" in Noah's age is expressed by *hōdeš*.

hōdeš which also means "new moon." Thus the phrase can be literally translated "At the beginnings of your new moons," indicating that the month began with the first appearance of the new moon (Exod 23:15; 34:18).¹ This shows a direct connection between the "moon" and the "month." This lunar month phenomenon is clearly seen also in 1 Sam 20:18, 24, 27, where the first and the second days of the new moon

¹See *BDB*, 294a. Lilley, 1:689, observes: "*Hōdeš*, from *hādāsh*, new, meaning the crescent or the day of its appearance, hence the reference for dating within a month; found throughout the OT as a common synonym for *yerah*." De Vries, "Calendar," 485, has noted: "Very important in this connection is the fact that both the Hebrew words for "month" are associated with the moon." James C. Vanderkam, "Calendars," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), has remarked that "it does not follow, however, that these months were lunar simply because this Hebrew word is etymologically related to 'moon'." While Vanderkam's remark relates to *yerah* and also does not take into account *hōdeš* and passages like 1 Sam 20:5, 18, 27, his position seems to be supported by the translations of Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 10 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 202, who follows the LXX to translate 1 Sam 20:27a as "the next day of the new moon festival, the second day, the place of David was still vacant"; and Peter R. Ackroyd, *The First Book of Samuel*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971), 165, also has "But on the second day, the day after the new moon, David's place was still empty." However, these translations do not alter the point that the first and second days of the New Moon festival were also the first and the second days of the month. See Num 10:10; 28:11. Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 5 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 316, commenting on the New Moon festival as commanded in Num 28:11, says: "There is early evidence of celebrations on the first day of the month in 1 Sam 20:5; 2 Kgs 4:23; Isa 1:13; Amos 8:5; Hos 13." The New Moon festival mentioned in 1 Sam 20 is elsewhere commanded to be celebrated on the first day of the month. Cf. George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), 404; John Sturdy, *Numbers*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 202; D. F. Morgan, "Calendar," *ISBE* (1979), 575.

are also the first and second days of the month (vs. 27).¹ In 1 Kgs 6:1 *hōdeš* is used to describe the month of Ziv.

Another word that is also used for "month" in Hebrew is *yerah*, which is a derivative from *yārēah*, "moon."² The two words *yerah* and *hōdeš* are used synonymously in 1 Kgs 6:37, 38: 8:2. Thus the two words used to describe "month" are directly related to the "moon," providing a strong indication that the month must have been lunar.³ However, if the year was also just lunar, it would be less than 360 days.⁴ If the year was solar, it would be more than 360 days, namely 365.2422 days in length.

Ps 104:19 suggests that the moon must have been very significant in the Hebrew reckoning of time. The statement: "He made the moon for the seasons: the sun knows the place of its setting,"⁵ echoes Gen 1:14. The word for seasons (*mō^cā^dīm*) occurs in the two passages. In Gen 1:14, God made "lights" (*m^cō^rō^t*) to

¹Cf. Horn and Wood, 54.

²See *BDB*, 437a; R. E. Clements, "yārēah," *TDOT*, 6:356; Wilson, *New Wilson's Old Testament Studies*, 278b. Lilley, 1:689, states: "*Yerah* (Akkad.) from *yārēah*, the moon (as a visible object) is used (a) for a lunation; (b) for a specific month; (c) in counting months."

³Cf. Morgan, 1:575, "The two words commonly used to designate 'month' in Hebrew both have lunar referents and etymologies. *Yerah* is derived from 'moon' (compare other Semitic languages where this root and its lunar referents are common). *Hōdeš* may be used to refer to either the month proper (Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Dt. 16:11) or the day of the new moon (Nu. 28:11; Hos 2:13; Am. 8:5)."

⁴Parker and Dubberstein, 1, state: "The lunar year was about eleven days shorter than the solar year."

⁵Ps 104:19, NASB.

be "for signs and for seasons and for days and years." The "moon" and "sun" replace "lights" in Ps 104:19.¹ The connection between Ps 104:19 and Gen 1:14 has led interpreters² to see in Ps 104:19 a correlation between the moon and the sun and the Hebrew month and year. While the moon determines the seasonal festivals, the sun governs the day and eventually the year,³ thus making it possible for the festivals to be in season. Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood have observed:

Because of their annual festivals, which must come always in the same seasons.

¹Cf. Gen 1:16-18.

²J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms 101-150*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 31, commenting on Ps 104:19, state that "the year was a lunar year in ancient Israel, periodically corrected to accord with the position of the sun." Charles Augustus Briggs and Emilie G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), 2:335, have also commented that the the moon and the sun are "to distinguish the seasons of the month and the year, as Gn. 1¹⁴." Artur Weiser, *The Psalms*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 668, 669, has observed: "How could life be possible unless in addition to *space* (vv. 2-18), *time*, too, is subject to a wise control! For this purpose God in his wisdom created the sun and the moon to serve as the world's great time-pieces. From their position and shape man, living close to nature and not yet knowing mechanical clocks and printed calendars, directly gathers the chronological order as willed and 'taught' by God (v. 19; cf. Gen. 1.14)." Other interpreters who view Ps 104:19 with calendrical implications include: W. Stewart McCullough, "The Book of Psalms," *IB* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1955), 4:555; Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 21 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 33; Donald M. Williams, *Psalms 73-150*, The Communicator's Commentary, vol. 14 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 247; Willem A. VanGemeren, "Psalms," *The Expositors Bible Commentary*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 662.

³The Hebrew word for "year," *šānāh*, is said to have come from the verb *šānāh*, "to change," and must have acquired its name from the changing seasons of the solar cycle. Klein, 669a, states that it "prob. meant orig. 'change; period of seasons.'" Also *BDB*, 1039b. *HAL*, 1478, on the other hand, considers this noun to be a "Primarnomen" which does not derive from a verb.

ancient Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hebrews, like most ancient nations that used lunar calendars, had to insert extra months periodically to keep the lunar year in harmony with the solar year, which is about 11 days longer."¹

In his analysis of the Jewish calendar during biblical times, Cyrus Adler had concluded years before: "It thus seems plain that the Jewish year was not a simple lunar year: for while the Jewish festivals no doubt were fixed on given days of lunar months, they also had a dependence on the position of the sun."² Since twelve lunar months would be shorter than the solar year, which determined the temporal position of the seasons, if the year had been simply lunar, the festivals would have eventually been celebrated out of season. For instance, Passover which was supposed to be celebrated in spring, could have occurred in winter.³ Some correction of the lunar year, then, had to be made in the form of intercalation to bring it up to the solar year.⁴ If they went by leap years and nonleap years as

¹Horn and Wood, 35. The statement of Vanderkam, 1:817, that "there is no statement in the Bible about how long a year lasted" is true. Yet one can deduce from the biblical evidence on festivals and their appointed times that the year could not have been just lunar.

²Cyrus Adler, "History of Calendar," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1903), 3:499.

³Cf. Whitting, 43.

⁴Horn and Wood, 54, have concluded that "the calendar was probably corrected by the insertion of embolismic months whenever needed to let the Passover occur at the beginning of barley harvest. This would automatically result in an average of seven embolismic months in nineteen years." Cf. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," 274. Charles F. Pfeiffer, "Hebrew Calendar," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (1969), 2:254, however, asserts that "the Hebrews used basically lunar year which normally comprises 354 days. The difference between this and the solar year of 365¼ days is made up by adding a full month at the end of the year in the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th year of the 19 year cycle." Adler, 499, on the other hand, says "there is no mention of an

claimed by some scholars, then the nonleap years may have been 353, 354, or 355 days long while the leap years may have had 383, 384, or 385 days.¹ On the other hand, if it was done yearly, the addition of ten or eleven days would bring the year up to the measure of the solar year. At any rate, one can be sure that there was some kind of intercalation, and that the year seems never to have had 360 days. The point here is that even if a thirty-day month was used in approximation,² it could not have been used as meaning an actual month in the calculation of literal years

intercalary month in the Bible, and it is not known whether the correction was applied in ancient times by the addition of 1 month in 3 years or by the adding of 10 or 11 days at the end of each year." De Vries, "Calendar," 486, states: "Direct evidence of intercalation in the Bible is scarce, even though we may be quite positive that the Hebrews did employ it. Num. 9:11; II Chr. 30:2-3 seem to imply intercalation."

¹See Pfeiffer, 254; Whitting, 43.

²Goss, 98, claims this might have been used as in the case of Rev 12:6, 14, which Anderson quotes to support his 360-day prophetic year theory. While Goss states that 360 days "is the general way of reckoning a few years, it is not necessarily used to determine the length of many years," it would be more plausible to add that even the "few years" for which the "360 general number" was used were not supposed to be reckoned as .986 (i.e., $360 \div 365.25$) literal years but in terms of a "day for a year" chronological scale. Horn and Wood, 52, 53, however, suggest that the 30-day months as seen in Gen 7:11, 24, and 8:4, as well as in Rev 12:7, 14, might have been the same as the theoretical month of the Babylonian schematic calendar used for business purposes. This 30-day month making a 360-day business year, which was used to standardize the irregular sequence of 29- and 30-day lunar months, existed side by side with the lunar calendar. Nevertheless, it was not used as a means of counting or dating real time but "was used merely as a uniform system of expressing future dates approximately. When the time came for fulfilling the contract, naturally an adjustment was made to the actual lunar-calendar date. . . . It is possible that the practical Jews also had such an ideal business year. However, no evidence of the existence of such a year among the Jews has come to light, unless the prophetic 360-day year is taken as evidence for the existence of such a year." Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," 252, has also stated that "the formula of thirty days and twelve months does not, in fact, constitute a calendar in the strict sense, but a convenient system of reckoning for a limited term of months and years."

since there was never a 360-day literal year in the Jewish economy.¹ This fact would seem to emphasize that in chronological stipulations of apocalyptic literature, the day must have been the basic unit in focus, and that the "day for a year" conversion scale may have been intended. This seems to be the case in Rev 11.2-3: 12:6, 14.

Continuous versus discontinuous time period

The next parameter that needs to be defined is whether the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24 must be seen as continuous or discontinuous. The Seventy weeks are divided into three main sections: seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. A close reading of the text depicts the Seventy Weeks as successive and continuous.²

This view is substantiated first of all by the continuous nature of all other time periods in the book of Daniel. Futurist-Dispensationalists usually take the other time periods in the book of Daniel as continuous. In Dan 4:16, 25, 34, the time period described as "seven times" is a continuous period which "passed over" Nebuchadnezzar in one continuous punishment (Dan 4:25, 34).³ The time element

¹Cf. Goss, 97; De Vries, "Calendar," 485.

²Cf. Stuart, 285, who admits that "it must certainly be natural to regard the three periods both as *successive* and *continuous*"; Hengstenberg, 3:854, 855. Hasel, "Interpretations," 22, observes that a gap breaks the "natural continuity of the prophecy."

³Archer, *Daniel*, 61, 63, 64, 66; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 103, "This may refer to seven years or merely to a long period of time. Probably the most common interpretation is to consider it seven years as in the Septuagint. It is certain that the period is specific and not more than seven years." Tregelles, 30; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 110. Although Dan 4 is not considered an apocalyptic prophecy and thus the time period here cannot, strictly speaking, be compared with

in Dan 7:25 is also continuous although, similar to the time element of Dan 9:24-27, it has three subdivisions, "time, times [dual] and half a time."¹ The time period of the 2,300 evenings-mornings in Dan 8:14² is also continuous just like the time periods of Dan 12.³

Second, Jeremiah's "seventy years" are continuous. The connection between the "seventy years" and the Seventy Weeks also supports the view that the Seventy Weeks are continuous. Interpreters across the spectrum of chronological interpretational schools appeal to parallelism between Jeremiah's "seventy years" (Dan 9:2) and the Seventy Weeks as one of the main contextual determinants that justify the interpretation of the Seventy Weeks as 490 regular years.⁴ To be

that of the apocalyptic section of Daniel, even here in the historical section, the time period is still continuous.

¹Archer, *Daniel*, 94. "It also significant that this radical phase of the rule of the beast is to endure for 'a time, times and half a time,' or three and a half years (for ^c*iddān* ['time' as *kairos*] seems to be used as a term for 'year' in the prophetic portions of Dan; cf. 4:16, where the seven ^c*iddānīn* are clearly seven years)." So Walvoord, *Daniel*, 176; Tregelles, 42, 43, "This period has been commonly taken (and I have no doubt rightly so) as signifying three years and a half:-now, we know that it must mean a period exactly defined": Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 202, 203.

²Walvoord, *Daniel*, 189, 190; Tregelles, 89, 90; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 217, 218. Archer, *Daniel*, 103, though he takes the "2300 evening-mornings" as 1150 literal days, still views the period as continuous.

³Archer, *Daniel*, 156; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 295, 296; Tregelles, 163; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 327, 328.

⁴This appeal to the parallelism between Jeremiah's "seventy years" and Daniel's Seventy Weeks is prominent also in the interpretation of the Dispensationalists. For example, see Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 117-18; Bulterma, 281; Tregelles, 97. McClain, 19, also states: "In the first place, the prophet Daniel had been thinking not only in terms of years rather than

consistent in this interpretation, then, the Seventy Weeks should also be taken as continuous, just as the "seventy years" of captivity are continuous.

Third, the unity of the Seventy Weeks is fortified by the usage of a singular form of the verb *nehtak*, "determined, cut off," which is used with subject which is the plural noun *šāḫu^cīm*. This indicates that the Seventy Weeks are to be regarded as one unitary element of time of a continuous and uninterrupted nature. If the Seventy Weeks were to be regarded as three distinct and separate units which may be separated by gaps of various lengths or may overlap with each other, then the usage of a singular verb to qualify such a collection of units would be out of place.¹ In other words, the singular form of the verb qualifying the plural "weeks" makes the latter term a cohesive unit that must not be separated.

days, but also in a definite multiple of "sevens" (10 x 7) of years (Dan 9:1-2)."

¹See Gesenius, 463. Cf. Keil, *Biblical Commentary*, 339, who while rebutting the explanation of the singular *nehtak* by the supposition that the author had a definite noun, such as *ēl* "time," in mind (Hengstenberg), or that it was the usual inexact manner of writing of the later authors (Ewald), remarks: "The sing. is simply explained by this, that *šāḫu^cīm šib^cīm* is conceived of as the absolute idea, and then is taken up by the passive verb impersonal, to mark that the seventy sevenths are to be viewed as a whole, as a continued period of seventy seven times following each other." Keil also points out that by using the singular verb the author "regarded the seventy weeks not as an abstract notion . . . but had a particular noun in his mind." He states that the use of the singular "may be explained from the fact that the seventy hebdomads were not considered individually, but as a whole: *a period of seventy hebdomads is determined.*" Moses Stuart, 268, also concludes, "As to the *sing.* number of the verb, . . . the seventy weeks are a definite period here generically presented; and as such they are *one*. The *sing.* number of the verb, therefore, is a mere case of *constructio ad sensum.*" Also Montgomery, 376, "Sing. vb. with a pl. subj., which itself represents a single idea." Charles, 240, explains: "The singular verb after the plural subject is to be explained on the ground that the seventy weeks are regarded as a unit of time."

Fourth, it has been shown that nouns with dual gender endings (-*ôṭ* and -*îm*) are used with different semantic purposes, although maintaining the same basic meaning.¹ The feminine plural ending, -*ôṭ*, is often used to stress single units in a plural while the masculine ending, -*îm*, is used for the same noun when the unitary or group aspect of the item is emphasized.² Based on this syntactical analysis, the use of the masculine plural ending in the term *šābū^cîm* in Dan 9:24 depicts an intentional use, emphasizing the unitary and continuous nature of the Seventy Weeks.³

Fifth, the unity of the Seventy Weeks is taken to be without gaps in the first two subunits (7 and 62 weeks) by Futurist-Dispensationalists. This is appropriate. It will thus be consistent to regard the third subunit (the last week) also to be of an uninterrupted and continuous nature as are the first two parts.⁴

Sixth, the events cited in Dan 9:24-27 have reference to the Seventy Weeks. The sequence of the events relative to the specified parts of the Seventy Weeks would seem to attribute a culminating characteristic to the seventieth week. The first two divisions, seven and sixty-two weeks, lead to the Messiah. All other events happen in the seventieth week. If the first seven weeks are delineated for the

¹See Michel, 45; Gesenius, 243; Joüon, 1:271; Waltke and O'Connor, 106; Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 107-20.

²See Michel, 34-39; Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 114-15; cf. Watson, 321-41.

³See Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 115-20.

⁴See Hasel, "Interpretations," 22.

rebuilding of the city, the sixty-two weeks would have no significance except to lead to the Messiah's appearance and the beginning of events connected with the Messiah. Since these events which the sixty-nine weeks lead to are the landmarks of the seventieth week, the seventieth week must successively follow the sixty-ninth without a break.¹ The Seventy Weeks may, therefore, be graphically represented as in Fig. 6.

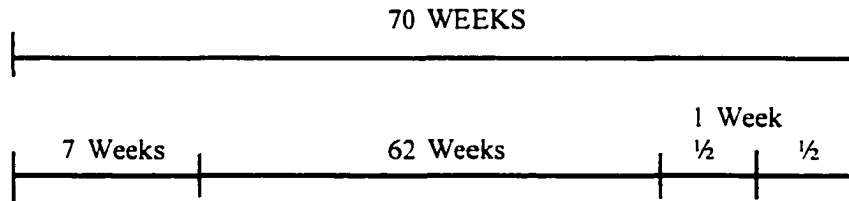


Fig. 6. The Seventy Weeks and its divisions.

The above reasons would indicate that the text of Dan 9:24-27 demands a continuous and successive chronological computation of the Seventy Weeks. However, Futurist-Dispensationalists put a "gap" or "parenthesis" that lasted over 1,900 years between the sixty-nine weeks and the seventieth week with the latter

¹Cf. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 92-100. Vitringa is quoted by Hengstenberg, 143, to have "laid it down as one of the fundamental rules to be observed in the interpretation of this prophecy, 'That the period of seventy hebdomads, or 490 years, is here predicted as one that will continue uninterruptedly from its commencement to its close, or completion, both with regard to the entire period of seventy hebdomads, and also as to the several parts (7, 62, and 1) into which the seventy are divided.'"

being yet in the future.¹ Their reasons as presented by Hoehner, a recent exponent,² are examined here.

The major reason for the justification of a "gap" or "parenthesis" between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks as put forth by Hoehner is that "to view the six things in Daniel 9:24 . . . as having been fulfilled in Christ is impossible."³ According to Hoehner, the six infinitival stipulations in Dan 9:24 should be fulfilled for "the nation of Israel" in order to indicate that the Seventy Weeks are continuous.⁴ The analysis of Dan 9:24, however, manifests that the time limit appended to "the six things in Dan 9:24" demands not only a fulfillment of the stipulations of Dan 9:24 within the Seventy Weeks for the nation of Israel but also a delineation of a probationary injunction. Within this period of probation, the fulfillment of the stipulations for Israel was conditional upon Israel's fulfillment of the first two stipulations: "to bring to an end the rebellion" and "to seal up the sins."⁵ Thus they did not experience "the everlasting righteousness promised her"⁶

¹See e.g., Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 131-33; Archer, "Daniel," 113; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 232; Cooper, 58; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 154-58.

²See Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 131-133.

³Ibid., 131.

⁴Ibid.

⁵See Shea, "Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks," 78, 79, 115-118.

⁶Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 131.

because they did not fulfill their part of the prophetic stipulations.¹

In response, it is to be noted that the time of probation did not stop the Seventy Weeks from running their course. Neither is there any intimation in the passage that part of the seventy-week period was going to be postponed until Israel fulfilled its responsibilities. If that were possible, the Seventy Weeks would have no reckoning boundaries and would therefore not make sense. In such a case, it would have been better to say, "An unlimited time has been cut off for your people."

Qumran and Rabbinic interpretations

The usage of the chronological scale of one symbolic day :: one symbolic year seems to underlie the interpretations of Qumran and Rabbinic writers who understood that the Seventy Weeks must be equivalent to 490 years.² In the *Damascus Document*,³ the author mentions a period of 390 years after they had been given into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. S. Schechter suggests that "we should

¹Cf. the Jewish commentator Hersh Goldwurm, *Daniel*, 2d ed. (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1980), 261, who emphasizes the same view by stating: "Had the Jews not sinned again during this period, the complete redemption would have occurred upon its completion." Also see Payne, "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks," 97-115.

²See Roger T. Beckwith, "The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 172-81; idem, "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming in Essene, Hellenistic, Pharasaic, Zealot and Early Christian Computation," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 523, 524; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 89-93; Doukhan, *Daniel*, 34; Newman, 229, 230.

³*Damascus Document*, Text A. 1.5-10. See Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 2d ed. (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970), 63, 118; Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 3, 4; Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, JSOT (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 232-34.

read $\supset rb^c$ instead of $\dot{s}lw\dot{s}$ (490) corresponding with the seventy weeks of years in Dan 9."¹ This then will make the figure of 390 years read 490 years. Evidently, scholars have seen connections between the chronological information in the "Exhortation" (Text A) section of the *Damascus Document* and the Danielic chronology (Dan 9:24).² The *Melchizedek Document* (11 Q Melch. 1.7, 8; 2.18)³ seems to be working with a period of ten jubilees, the last of which is the tenth (line 7)⁴ which is also the time when a figure, called Melchizedek, "proclaims release" (line 6), makes atonement (line 8) and exacts judgment (line 13). Line 18 seems to refer to Daniel. J. A. Fitzmyer restores line 8 of the fragmentary text as: *whmbšr hw[²h hm]šyh hw²[h] ²šr ²mr dn[y²l]*. "And the herald is that Anointed One (about)

¹Schechter, 63. There is also the possibility that the figure of 390 could come from Ezek 4:5; see e.g., Rabin, 3.

²See e.g., Schechter, 63; Beckwith, "The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology," 171; Wacholder, 210; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 12; Farris, 86, 87.

³See A. S. van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösungsgestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354-73; A. S. van der Woude and M. de Jonge, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1965/1966): 301-26; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," *JBL* 86 (1967): 25-41; J. T. Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95-144; P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa^c*, CBQ Monograph Series 10 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981), 8, 9. The expression "seventy weeks" is also mentioned in the *Testament of Levi*, 16, 1; 17, 1. However, this expression, while it may derive from Dan 9:24, is used in a different way.

⁴Fitzmyer, 29.

whom Daniel said. . . ."¹ If this reconstruction is correct² it would seem as if the author of the *Melchizedek Document* may have been influenced by the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27, in which case the Seventy Weeks of Daniel has been calculated to be 490 years in the *Melchizedek Document*.³

J. T. Milik, contrary to the view that the Qumran texts are interpretations of the Danielic text, suggests, based on his reconstructions, that the division of sacred history into seven ages in the Greek Testament of Levi "echoes the Apocalypse of Weeks in the Epistle of Enoch (5th section of the Ethiopic Enoch) where the Biblical history is distributed among seven Weeks, whilst the three following Weeks already belong to the eschatological era."⁴ Milik proposes that "the theme of the seventy Weeks was taken up on his own account by the author of the Book of Daniel (Dan. 9:24-27), who concerned to give it a Biblical reference, linked it up

¹Ibid. Cf. Milik, 98, 100: "Et 'le Héraut' c'e[st] l'Oint par l'Espri[t], do[nt] a parlé Dan[iel]: 'Jusqu'(à l'avènement) d'un Oint, d'un Prince, sept semaines (passeront)' (*Dan 9, 25*). Et 'celui qui se fait annoncer la paix]." Thus Milik goes beyond Fitzmyer by quoting from Dan 9:25.

²Fitzmyer's reconstruction seems fairly probable given the fact that three of the four letters needed to read *mšyh* are present (here he follows van der Woude: see Fitzmyer, 30) and the first two consonants of *Daniy³el* also appear in line 18 of the fragment. For a discussion on the reconstruction of this passage see Kobelski, 21.

³A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits Esséniens Découverts près de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Payot, 1959), 137.

⁴J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 253.

with a prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 25:11-12 and 29:10)."¹

Klaus Koch dates Milik's reconstructed text of the Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch 93:1-10 and 91:11-17 to the late third or beginning of the second century B.C.² Koch translates the Aramaic term *šbw*^c with "Siebent" (sevens) and interprets each "Siebent" as 490 years³ instead of the traditional translation of "week" and interpretation of 700 years.⁴ 1 Enoch 93:15-17 determines the last (the tenth) "week"⁵ or "sevens"⁶ to culminate in the end of the world. Koch claims that this last "sevens" is paralleled by Dan 9:24 which states, to use the translation of Hasel quoting Koch, that "490 years of doom are decreed about the people of God and the city of God."⁷ "Koch suggests that Dan 9:24-27 and the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks, both texts 'are dependent on a rather extended oral tradition'."⁸

¹Ibid. Farris, 36, has, however, suggested that in the Apocalypse of Weeks, "the chronology, if it may be called one, is not aiming at calculation," like that of Daniel.

²Klaus Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte. Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93:1-10; 91:11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum," *ZAW* 95 (1983): 403.

³Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," 411, 412.

⁴Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 258, 266, 267.

⁵Ibid., 267.

⁶Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," 411.

⁷Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," 418, quoted by G. F. Hasel, "The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27 and the Enoch Fragments from Qumran Relating to the Apocalypse of Weeks: A Reconsideration," (paper to be published), 3.

⁸Hasel, "The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27 and the Enoch Fragments," 3, quoting Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," 420.

Hasel has made the following observations regarding the views of Koch that may also be applicable to Milik's view of Dan 9:24-27:¹

1. The Danielic text may have given rise to later apocalyptic speculations and that the view that the Enoch material is prior to Dan 9:24-27 will not be universally accepted.
2. Koch has not been able to prove that the Aramaic singular noun *šbw*^c means "sevens" ("Siebent") instead of the traditional meaning "week."²
3. Koch's comparison of Hebrew plural usage of "weeks" in the Danielic text with the singular Aramaic usage in the Qumran fragments and his usage of an equivalent translation for "week" instead of its normal meaning in each language seem contrived.
4. The editorial reconstruction which Koch accepts may or may not be correct. Therefore "it is methodologically precarious to base a new interpretation on fragment of texts that do not even in one instance employ the key term on which the argument is based."³
5. Hasel has concluded that Koch's "case is not only hypothetical but highly

¹Hasel, "The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27 and the Enoch Fragments." 3. 4.

²Cf. Klaus Berger, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 701. Also major translations that use "week." Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 267, 268; E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 72-75; M. A. Knibb, "1 Enoch," *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 291-95.

³Hasel, "The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27 and the Enoch Fragments." 4.

manipulative as regards the chronology of the texts as they stand at present."¹

Seder Olam Rabbah chap. 28, the oldest source of Rabbinic interpretation² of the chronology of Dan 9:24-27, which most other Rabbinic sources and Medieval Jewish commentators follow, does view the Seventy Weeks as chronologically equal to 490 years.³ It has also been pointed out that in Rabbinic traditions the *locus classicus* of Messianic prophecy is the book of Daniel.⁴ Saadia ben Joseph (A.D. 892-942), Gaon of Sura, regarded the prophetic days in Daniel as years.⁵ According to Joseph Sarachek, "Yomim, (days), Saadia translates 'years' as in Lev. 25:29, where 'yom' means year."⁶ Solomon ben Isaac (alias Rashi) also follows the

¹Ibid.

²See Jay Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978), 107.

³*Seder Olam* 28. 52-54: Rabbi Yosef is quoted to have said, "Seventy weeks of years from when the first Temple was destroyed until the second Temple was destroyed, seventy years in its destroyed state, and four hundred and twenty years in its built state." Cf. Bravermann, 108. Goldwurm, 259, states: "*Seder Olam* (ch. 28) and all the commentators, especially *Ibn Ezra*, interpret the expression to mean 490 years."

⁴See Abba Hillel Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), 3; Wacholder, "Chronomessianism," 201, specifically pointing to Dan 9:24-27.

⁵Gaon Saadia, "Redemption," *The Books of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. S. Rosenblatt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 296-98; also Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature*, 2d ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1968), 40.

⁶Sarachek, 40.

interpretation that equates the Seventy Weeks with 490 years.¹ To Moses ben Nahman also, "Days stand for years" in Daniel.²

There seems, therefore, to have been Jewish pre-Christian interpretations of the Seventy Weeks which consider this time element to cover years. Subsequently Rabbinic sources take the "weeks" to be "years" (*Seder Olam Rabbah*). This equation assumes the transference of weeks into "days" which symbolically stand for years. It is possible that Christian commentators may have followed their Jewish antecedent interpreters. It is also possible that Christian interpreters came to recognize on their own the inherent time scale which makes the Seventy Weeks into 490 years. In any case, both Jewish and Christian interpreters are agreed that on the time conversion scale the "seventy weeks" are to be reckoned as actual years.

Thus, interpreters regardless whether they are Christians or Jews convert the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24 into 490 years. The time scale of conversion is that a "day" of each "week" stands symbolically for a "year."

¹Ibid., 56-57. This interpretation is also followed in *Yoma*, Talmud, 54a; *Nazir*, Talmud, 23b; *Lamentations Rabbah*, 34.

²Saracheck, 174-75, 181-82. Others who employ the "day for a year" scale include Don Isaac Abrabanel and Abraham bar Hiyya, *ibid.*, 258, 323. See also LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1948), 2:184-202, for listings.

The Expression "Cut off"

Semantic Considerations

The verb *nehtak*, traditionally rendered with "determined, decreed, cut off" appears in Dan 9:24: "Seventy weeks *nehtak* upon your people and your holy city." I investigate its meaning in this section.

The LXX renders *nehtak* with *ekrithēsan*, "determined," while Theodotion has *sunetmēthēsan*, "abbreviated, shortened." The rendering of the Vulgate, *abbreviatae sunt*, seems to have followed Theodotion.¹

The expression has been translated by the major English translations of the Bible in three different ways. The KJV and the NKJV translate *nehtak* with "determined." The majority of the English translations such as RSV, NRSV, JB, NJB, ASV, NASB, NIV, and NJPS use the word "decreed." The NEB and the REB, on the other hand, translate *nehtak* with the expression "marked out." Although these three renderings are closely related, they have different shades of meanings that express different significations.

The different significations of these renderings of the English translations of *nehtak* in themselves call for the investigation of the meaning of the term *nehtak*. Yet the chronological significance of the relationship of *nehtak* to the Seventy Weeks in 9:24 makes it even more necessary to investigate this term.

¹Cf. Hengstenberg, 92; Montgomery, 373, 374.

Basic meaning

The term *nehtak*, which occurs only in Dan 9:24 in the Old Testament, is the *Niphal* perfect of *hātak*. Lexicographers define *htk* as "determine, decide."¹ "cut."² "decree, ordain"³ and "divide."⁴

In post-biblical Hebrew, the basic meaning of *htk* is "cut."⁵ In *Hullin* 32a, for example, we find the *Qal* perfect *htk* with the meaning of "cut." and also the *Niphal* perfect *nhtk* with the meaning of "it was cut."⁶ *htk* is also used with the extended meaning of "decide or determine."⁷ Evidently the basic, concrete meaning of the Hebrew term *htk* is "to cut."

¹*HAL*, 349: "*bestimmt, verhängt.*" *KBL*, 343: "determined upon." *BDB*, 367: "determined."

²*HAW*, 131, "*abgeschnitten, metaph.: bestimmt.*" *HCL*, 505, "to cut, to divide"; the *Niphal* form, *nehtak*, is defined as "to be determined, decreed." Klein, 237, "to cut, decide." Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1943), 1:513, "to cut, dissect; to sever."

³*CHAL*, 120.

⁴*BDB*, 367; *HCL*, 505.

⁵See Jastrow, 1:513; Alden, 1:778.

⁶This meaning is attested in other passages as well, e.g., *Hullin*, Talmud, 33a, 48b, 98b; *Betsah*, Talmud, 32b; *Megillah*, Palestinian Talmud, IV, 75a ("the reader cuts the verse into two"); Targum Y'rushalmi, Lev IV, 30, Num XII, 12.

⁷For example, *Sh'buoth*, Talmud, 30b; *Megillah*, Talmud, 15a; *Sanhedrin*, Talmud, 15a.

hātak in ancient Near Eastern extrabiblical literature

In the Hebrew Bible the word *hātak* is a *hapax legomenon*,¹ which appears only in the *Niphal* form in Dan 9:24.² In the postbiblical Hebrew, it means "cut"³ while in the Medieval Hebrew it means "decide, determine."⁴

The root *htk* is attested in Aramaic with the meaning "he cut."⁵ and in the Arabic (*hataka*) with the meaning "tear apart."⁶

The only attested verbal form in Ugaritic appears in connection with an action that Shapsh (Hebrew Shemesh) took toward Baal and Mot during a battle between these gods. However, that form cannot be clearly interpreted because the preceding line which shows the context of the verb is broken away.⁷

¹Cf. Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 74 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 184, who lists *htk* as an absolute *hapax legomenon*. Also Robert Alden, "hātak," *TWOT*, 1:334. The proposition of Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II*, AB, vol. 17 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1968), 14-15, that *yahr'kā* in Ps 52:7 comes from the root *htk* has been rejected by Shea, "The Relations between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 241. Shea derives *yahr'kā* from *hatāh* "to take away" with the pronominal suffix *kā* "you."

²See Even-Shoshan, 407; Lisowsky, 540; *HAL*, 349; *KBL*, 343; *BDB*, 367; *CHAL*, 120; Alden, 1:334.

³Klein, 237; Jastrow, 1:513.

⁴*HAL*, 349; "schneiden." *KBL*, 343; *BDB*, 367; Klein, 237; Jastrow, 1:513.

⁵*BDB*, 367; Klein, 237.

⁶*HAL*, 349; "zerreißen" (tear to pieces). *HAW*, 131; Klein, 237.

⁷See Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, *Analecta Orientalia*, no. 38 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 177; H. Louis Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends," in ANET, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 141; Shea, "Relations between the Prophecies," 244.

Two main proposals have been made with regard to the meaning of the noun form of *htk* in Ugaritic texts.¹ The first proposal is the meaning of either "father" or "son."² The second proposal is to take the Ugaritic noun *htk* as having "a more specialized sense where Hebrew would generally use the technical term *mwl* or *mhl* 'to circumcise.'³ In this second proposal, "thy father" of proposal one is translated as "thy circumciser" and "thy son" becomes "thy circumcised."⁴ In support of this proposal is the use of *htk* in the context of circumcision in *Mishna Shabbath* 18.3.⁵

Shea has suggested a new interpretation of the "father" and "son" proposal.

He has pointed out that

in three passages of the Mishna a passive form of this verb is used to refer to a body, a head, and a hand of a fetus that are already recognizable as well-shaped (or not) because of the features that were "incised" into them. From this one could suggest that it is the recognizable features common to father and son that have been impressed or incised upon the appearance of the latter that have led to the use of this word that basically means cut.⁶

If Shea's suggestion is right, then both proposals of the meaning of the

¹Cf. Shea, "Relations between the Prophecies," 244.

²See Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, Analecta Orientalia, no. 35 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), 265; Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths," 141; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths*, 138.

³Edward Ullendorff, "Ugaritic Marginalia II," *JSS* 7 (1962): 341.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.* Cf. Shea, "Relations between the Prophecies," 244.

⁶Shea, "Relations between the Prophecies," 244, 245.

noun form of *htk* in Ugaritic texts would point to a basic root meaning of "cut" for the term *htk*.

nehtak in the book of Daniel

The study of the ancient Near Eastern extrabiblical sources and languages points to "cut" as the basic meaning of *htk*. The other meanings are extended ones.¹ However, the necessity to use the primary meaning in the translation of the *Niphal* form *nehtak* found in Dan 9:24 is based mainly on the contextual relations and the chronological implications of this word.² Thus, Dan 9:24 literally translates, "Seventy weeks are cut off." The usage of this verb emphasizes the unity of the seventy weeks as one piece of uninterrupted chronological time which is cut off from a larger whole.³

¹Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 248, has observed that "the word for 'are determined' (root *hatak*), used in the *niphal* (passive), appears only here in the Old Testament and means basically (on the ground of comparison with the Aramaic) 'to cut off,' and from this 'to decide, determine'." Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel," 107, argues on the basis of a "recognized principle of Semitic philology that the extended meanings of Semitic verbs develop from concrete meanings in the direction of abstract concepts," that "to cut off" is the primary meaning and that the other meanings are extended. Greenspahn, 118, observes: "There is no dispute as to the interpretation of this word which exemplifies the evolution of a meaning 'decide' from 'cut.'" J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen insbesondere zum Hebräischen Lexicon* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1893), 23, quoted in Greenspahn, 118. Hartman and Di Lella, 244, "The root *htk*, primarily meaning 'to cut' and then 'to decide, to decree.'" Bultema, 282, admits: "The word translated as 'determined' actually means cut off." Montgomery, 376, "The root in O.T., = 'cut off' and so 'determine.'"

²See the discussion of "Chronological Considerations" in the next section.

³Cf. Tatham, 74, who observes: "The expression is literally 'cut off,' which simply means 490 years are cut out from the entire period of time." So Ironside,

Chronological Considerations

Chronologically, the meaning of the term *nehtaḳ* in Dan 9:24, whether the primary meaning "cut" or the extended meaning "decreed" or "determined," must be decided on the basis of the context of the expression.

The context of *nehtaḳ* in Dan 9:24 is best seen when the relationships between Dan 8 and 9 are considered. Dan 8 contains the prior vision to the revelation of Dan 9:24-27. In Dan 8 the author describes his "vision" (*hāzōn*) of a ram, a goat, and a horn that came forth of littleness and became exceedingly great (vss. 3-12). In vss. 13-14 there is an intravision audition of two holy ones speaking among other things about the time element of the vision. After Daniel had seen the vision, he wanted to understand (vs. 15) the "vision" (*hāzōn*). Gabriel, under instructions (vs. 16), came to give Daniel understanding (vs. 17). Gabriel starts his interpretation with the statement: "Understand, son of man, that the vision (*hāzōn*) concerns the time of the end." What follows (vss. 18-26), then, is the interpretation of the whole vision described with the expression *hāzōn*.¹

However, when Gabriel, in his interpretation, comes to the time element of the vision (vs. 26a), he does not explain it. He makes only a statement about it:

"But the vision (*mar²ēh*) of the evenings and the mornings which has been told is

163. While "cut off" correctly connotes that the 70 Weeks are cut off from a longer period of time, the context of the statement rules out "the entire period of time" as the longer period from which the 70 Weeks are cut off (see discussion below).

¹See Dan 8:1, 2, 13, 15, 17, 26b.

true."¹ Notably, Gabriel uses another Hebrew expression here, *mar²ēh*, which is also rendered vision in vs. 26a. It describes the time element and not the entire *hāzôn*, which is the regular expression used for the complete vision of Dan 8. This change of expression seems to be intentionally used to identify the portion of the total "vision" (*hāzôn*) which has so far not been explained by Gabriel. Daniel also refers to the same unexplained portion with the expression *mar²ēh*, and remarks: "But I was astounded by the vision (*mar²ēh*) and there was none to make me understand" (vs. 27). Thus Dan 8 ends with Daniel wanting but not able to understand the time element (2,300 evening[s and] morning[s]) of the vision. In short, in Dan 8 the designation *hāzôn* is used for the vision in its entirety (vss. 1, 2 [2 usages], 13, 15, 17, 26b), and the designation *mar²ēh* seems to be employed for the time element of the vision (vss. 16, 26a, 27). It is the latter that remains unexplained by Gabriel and thus the entirety of the *hāzôn* is not yet clear.

Therefore, it is not coincidental that in the next chapter, Dan 9, Gabriel appears the second time and is introduced by name.² He introduces his mission

¹Dan 8:26.

²Ziony Zevit, "The Exegetical Implications of Dan VIII, IX 21," *VT* 28 (1978): 489, argues that "the vision at the beginning . . . must be sought in the material before ch. VIII." Thus to him, the mention of Gabriel in Dan 9:21 refers back to the "one like a son of man" in Dan 7:13. Zevit identifies the "one like a son of man" (Dan 7:13) with Gabriel. For those who refer the expression "one like a son of man" messianically, see Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 192; Dexinger, 55-67; N. Schmidt, "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 19 (1900): 22-28. U. Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung Johannes* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972), 28, applies the expression to Michael. John J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 93 (1974): 66, 74, argues that it symbolizes the angelic host

with the statement: "I have *now*¹ come to give you wisdom and understanding. . . . Therefore, consider the word and understand (*hābēn*) the vision (*mar²ēh*)."² It is also not coincidental that the same *Hiphil* imperative, *hābēn*, which was used in Dan 8:16, 17, is also used in Dan 9:23. So also is the use of the same expression, *mar²ēh*, to describe the Seventy Weeks of chap. 9 as is used to describe the time element in chap. 8.³

and their leader Michael and secondarily the faithful Jews in their eschatological association with the heavenly host. Others who refer to it as angels include Otto Procksch, "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn," *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927): 429; J. Coppens, "Le Fils d'homme daniélique et les relectures de Dan VII. 13, dans les apocryphes et les écrits du Nouveau Testament," *Eph Th L* 37 (1961): 5-42; idem, "La vision daniélique du Fils d'homme," *VT* (1969): 171-82. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 350, views "the one like a son of man" as a symbol of the people of Israel. Zevit refers Gabriel in Dan 9:21 back to Dan 7:13 because he takes *bthlh* (at the beginning) as indicating "a first or initial time." The initial vision that this term refers to, according to Zevit, then, is the vision of Dan 7. Those who take *bthlh* in Dan 9:21 as connoting a "prior" or "previous" event, in which case the phrase in Dan 9:21 could refer back to the vision of Dan 8, include: Bentzen, 66; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 133; Montgomery, 370; Charles, 235, 236; and Jeffrey, 492, among many others.

¹The adverb *attāh*, "now" (Dan 9:22), seems to emphasize the present as against the previous appearance (Dan 8:15-17). This adverb often introduces a conclusion or a verdict (cf. Gen 12:19). In Dan 9:22, however, it seems to mean "the present moment." While in Josh 5:13 where the same adverb is used, there seems to have been no previous appearance, yet in the context of Dan 8 and 9, the adverb seems to be emphatically demonstrative of that which was not done at the first appearance but is going to be done at the present moment.

²Dan 9:22, 23.

³The next expression that follows "understand the vision (*mar²ēh*)" in 9:23, is "Seventy weeks are cut off. . . ." Shea, "Relations between the Prophecies," 232-36, has pointed out that the technical terminology, *mar²ēh*, has been applied to the time elements of chaps. 8 and 9 because they are associated with the appearance of personal beings who give the time elements. The time elements themselves are heard but not seen.

Daniel makes an explicit reference to the *angelus interpretes* by naming him (Dan 9:21) and stating that he had seen him "in the vision (*hāzōn*) previously" (vs. 21). The term "vision" is *hāzōn* and appropriately refers to the entirety of the "vision" of Dan 8 in which Daniel had seen (visionary experience, vss. 3-12), heard (auditory experience, vss. 13, 14), and also experienced the visit of the *angelus interpretes* Gabriel who spoke to him (vss. 20-26). In Dan 9:21 the term *hāzōn* includes all of this. In Dan 9:23, however, the term *mar²ēh*, "vision," refers to the time element of the *hāzōn*, the entire vision of Dan 8, which remained without an interpretation. It was this time element aspect, the *mar²ēh*, which is now the subject of Gabriel's interpretation.

The use of (1) a definite article which presupposes a previous knowledge of the "vision" in point,¹ (2) the same designation (*mar²ēh*) as that of the vision of the 2,300 evenings and mornings² and, (3) the same imperative (*hābēn*) just as he used during his previous visit,³ strongly suggest that the angel is picking up from where he left off at Dan 8:26. The *mar²ēh* in Dan 9:23, then, would in the context of Dan 8 and 9 fit only the vision of 2,300 evenings and mornings. Thus, it can be seen that the Seventy Weeks prophecy is directly related to, and chronologically cut off from, the 2300 evenings and mornings. This relationship between the Seventy

¹See Dan 8:26, 27.

²See Dan 8:26, 27 and 9:23-24.

³See 8:16, 17 and 9:23.

Weeks revelation and the 2,300 evenings and mornings is corroborated by other motifs.

First, both Dan 8:13-14 (2,300 evenings and mornings) and Dan 9:24-27 (70 weeks) are auditory revelations which deal with time elements. The beginning point of the time element is given in Dan 9:24-27,¹ where the Seventy Weeks are "cut off" from a larger time element mentioned in Dan 8:14.

Second, the anointing of the sanctuary (*qōdeš qodāšīm*) in Dan 9:24 has a conceptual link with the cleansing of the sanctuary of Dan 8:14 (*qōdeš*).² This indicates that Dan 9:24-27 needs to be cut off from the beginning of the 2,300 evenings and mornings, because the anointing of the sanctuary comes before its cleansing.

Third, the Prince (*šar*) who is opposed in Dan 8:11, 25, corresponds to the Messiah, the Prince (*nāgīd*) who is cut off in Dan 9:26.³

The thematic parallelisms between Dan 8 and 9 lend credence to the linkage of the chronological meaning of *nehtaḳ* in the sense of "cut off." In this case, the expression *nehtaḳ* is used to emphasize "the idea that the 490 days (70 weeks) were

¹Gerhard F. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14," in *Symposium on Daniel*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Series, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 438.

²Ibid.

³See Shea, "Relationship between the Prophecies," 249. The difference in terminology in Hebrew has its own significance.

understood to be cut off from the 2,300 evenings and mornings mentioned in the preceding prophecy."¹

In addition to thematic links, there are linguistic links that also emphasize the relationships between Dan 8 and 9 and thereby the chronological relationships between the Seventy Weeks and the 2,300 evenings and mornings.

Linguistically, Dan 8 and 9 are connected by the same words: *bîn*. "understand" (see Dan 8:16, 27 and Dan 9:2, 22), *šōmēm* "desolation" (see Dan 8:13 and 9:17, 27), and *mar²ēh*, "vision" (see Dan 8:16, 17 and Dan 9:23).² Doukhan points out that *hābēn*, the *Hiphil* imperative form of *bîn*, forms a bridge between the Seventy Weeks and Dan 8.³ This imperative form which occurs only in Daniel is seen for the first time in Dan 8:16 and reappears in Dan 9:23, connecting the two passages together.⁴

Moreover, *hā²iš*, "the man," of Dan 9:21 echoes *geber*, "a man," in Dan 8:15. The "man Gabriel" in the phrase "the man Gabriel whom I had seen at the first" which occurs in Dan 9:21 is, therefore, pointing back to the vision of Dan 8

¹Snow, 36; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 107. Cf. Doukhan, *Daniel*, 32, who concludes: "The fact that the 70 weeks of Daniel 9 are said to be "cut off" implies that they must belong to a longer and already known period of time, i.e. the 2300 evenings and mornings of Daniel 8."

²Cf. Plöger, 134; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 33; Hasel, "Little Horn," 437; Doukhan, *Vision of the End*, 31-32; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel," 108.

³Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 5.

⁴The whole expression *hābēn et hammar²eh* found only in 8:16 and 9:23 support the connection between Dan 8 and 9. See Doukhan, *Vision of the End*, 32. For more information on this, see idem, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 4-6; Shea, "The Relations between the Prophecies," 228-250.

(vs. 15).¹ The expression *bat'hillāh*, "at the first," is the usual way the author expresses a vision that immediately precedes, and is related to, a current vision.²

Rashi holds that the vision that Daniel had seen "at the first" as mentioned in Dan 9:21 referred to the vision of Dan 8.³

These linguistic relations between Dan 8 and 9 give further support for a chronological link between the Seventy Weeks and the 2,300 evenings and mornings, suggesting that the former are cut off from the latter.

One may conclude that the multiple thematic and linguistic relations between Dan 8 and 9 support strongly a chronological link between both chapters

¹The phrase in 8:15 reads "and behold standing before me one having the appearance of a man." The being is then referred to as Gabriel in 8:16. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 190, supports the position that the statement in 9:21 refers to the vision and the "man" in 8:15-16. He states: "Gabriel is here called 'the man' (*hā'īš*), that is, not just the one who appeared in human form in 8:15-16 ('the one whom I had seen earlier in my vision'), but also the one who constitutes a transcendent link between Man and man." Abarbanel holds that the prayer and fasting of Daniel (Dan 9) were consequential to the vision he had from Gabriel (Dan 8), and, therefore, fitting that Gabriel himself had to return to clarify matters for him. See Goldwurm, 256; Hasel, "Little Horn," 438: "The angel-interpreter Gabriel is first introduced in 8:16 and charged to interpret the vision to Daniel (vss. 17, 19). In 9:21-23 the same angel returns to complete his commission." Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 335, states: "the man Gabriel, refers, by the use of the definite article, back to ch. viii. 15, where Gabriel appeared to him in the form of a man."

²See Dan 8:1. Cf. Goldingay, 196. The suggestion of Montgomery, 370, that "the angel 'came forth at the beginning' of the prayer" seems very unlikely. The statement is specifically "whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning" (according to Montgomery's own translation). In order to take this position, Montgomery had to first change "the angel whom I had seen" to "the angel came forth" in his interpretation. Second, he is forced to posit that it took a long time for the angel to fly to the earth. Therefore "the prayer was dramatically introduced to fill up the interim."

³See Rashi's commentary on Dan 9:21 in *Miqra'ot Gedolot* (New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1951).

which demonstrates a partitive relationship between the Seventy Weeks and the 2,300 evenings and mornings, indicating that the contextual meaning of *nehtak* is best perceived with the meaning "cut off."¹

The Expression "Word"

Semantic Considerations

The expression *dābār* occurs in the statement, "From the going forth of the word (*dābār*) to restore and build Jerusalem until Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks" (Dan 9:25). The LXX does not translate *dābār*. However, Theodotion has *logou*, "word," and the Vulgate has *sermonis* "words, speech, talk." The Syriac has the meaning of "word, precept, command."²

¹Tregelles, 99, states: "In verse 24, the expression 'are determined' is more strictly 'are divided': this may relate to the seventy weeks being a period of time divided out, as it were, from the whole course of ages, for God to deal with the Jews and Jerusalem." Lang, 127, apparently following Tregelles, states that *nehtak* "means divided or severed off from the whole period of world-empire in the hands of Gentiles, as to which Daniel was already well informed. It points to a fixed and limited period, of definite duration, forming part of a longer period the duration of which is not fixed, or at least not declared." Lang is in turn followed by Philip R. Newell, *Daniel: The Man Greatly Beloved and His Prophecies* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1962), 137. While these scholars definitely support the position that *nehtak* connotes chronologically that the seventy-week period is cut out of a longer period, they seem to flounder, due to their eschatological presuppositions, in establishing the longer period. To characterize the longer period as "the whole period of world-empire" (Lang) or "the whole course of ages" (Tregelles) is to remove Dan 9:24-27 from its immediate context, and thus its connection with Dan 8. André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 190, attests: "Chapter 9 presupposes at least vv. 15-16 of chapter 8 which is a weighty argument in favour of a single Author for these two chapters." Cf. Goldingay, 238, who states: "The implication might be that Dan 9 was intended to clarify issues raised in chap. 8; it takes up the question of the fate of the temple and seeks light from Scripture on what dream and vision left opaque."

²*Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, 36.

The KJV translates *dābār* as "commandment,"¹ the RSV, NRSV, and NJPS render it with "word."² while the NIV, REB, NASB, and the ASV have "decree." While some interpreters may have used the translation "word" because that is the dominant usage of *dābār* in the Old Testament,³ others have followed one or the other translation depending on their own interpretations of the prophecy.⁴ Nevertheless, it is necessary to ascertain which meaning fits the context best as a step towards a definition of the chronological intention of the expression.

Basic meaning

The substantive *dābār* derives from the root *dbr*. However, there has not been, so far, a convincing etymology found for the expression *dbr*.⁵ Two different roots are proposed for the word *dbr*.⁶ In addition to the root that has the meaning of "speak, word, thing" and their various derivatives, there are other words with

¹So NKJV.

²So also NEB. The JB and the NJB have "message."

³See *HAL*, 203; *KBL*, 201, 202; *BDB*, 182.

⁴Montgomery, 378, prefers to use "word" because to him "the 'word' here refers to 'the word of YHWH to Jeremiah,' v. 2." So Charles, 244. Bevan, 155, understands the "word" in terms of "the divine promise uttered by Jeremiah." But as Goldingay, 260, correctly states, "v 25 surely refers to a different proclamation: the word v 23 introduces--the whole of vv 24-27--does not focus on the building of a restored Jerusalem." *dābār* in vs. 25 must be different in focus from the occurrence of that word in both vs. 2 and vs. 23.

⁵See G. Gerleman, "*dābār*," *THAT*, 1:433; Werner H. Schmidt, "*dābhar*," *TDOT*, 3:94.

⁶Gerleman, 1:433.

other meanings like *dʿbīr*, "back room, most holy place," from the root *dbr* with the basic meaning "to be behind."¹ While some scholars see a connection between the two apparent roots,² there is, generally, no agreement among scholars on this issue.³

However, the root that concerns this passage, Dan 9:25, is the one with the basic meaning of "speak, word, matter." G. Gerleman argues that an original radical *dbr* was assimilated into *ʿmr*, "to say." The two, according to him, are related and are partly synonymous.⁴ W. H. Schmidt has, on hypothetical grounds, posited "an original two-radical root *db*, which could be expanded in different ways."⁵

Lexicographers define the substantive *dābhār* with various meanings like "word, speech, matter, thing, affair, cause."⁶ The basic definition is usually "word." The other definitions used by the English Bible translations, namely, "command" and "decree," are discussed under "word." Thus both "command" and "decree" are

¹Schmidt, 3:94; *HAL*, 201; *KBL*, 199; Gerleman, 1:433; *KAI*, 173, 6; 2:158.

²E.g., J. T. Milik, "Deux Documents inédits du Désert de Juda (Pl. I-IV)," *Bib* 38 (1957), 252, n. 2; Otto Procksch, "lego," *TDNT*, 4:90; O. Grether, "Name und Wort Gottes im AT," *BZAW* 64 (1934): 60-62; F. Buhl, *W. Gesenius' Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1949), 153.

³Schmidt, 3:94.

⁴Gerleman, 1:434.

⁵Schmidt, "dābhār," 3:95.

⁶See *HAL*, 202-203; *KBL*, 201-202; *BDB*, 182-184; *CHAL*, 67; *AHCL*, 144; *HCL*, 187; Klein, 114; Gerleman, 1:434-443; Schmidt, 3:103-125; Earl S. Kalland, "dābhār," *TWOT*, 1:180.

viewed by lexicographers as derivatives of "word."¹

dābār in the Old Testament

In the Old Testament, the substantive *dābār* is used, *inter alia*, to designate "word, command, royal decree, matter, thing" and in a few cases "cause." Although the most frequent use of the expression is its designation for "word,"² different contexts may demand usages that have a lower frequency.³ The designation for "command" is attested in the Old Testament,⁴ even being used to refer to the Ten Commandments.⁵ While the reference of the expression to "royal decree" is not frequent, it is attested in the Old Testament.⁶ Thus MT usage of the expression *dābār* can be cited in support of the various English renditions.

dābār in the book of Daniel

In the book of Daniel the expression *dābār* occurs seven times in the

¹See *HAL*, 203; *KBL*, 201; *BDB*, 182; *CHAL*, 67; *HCL*, 187; *AHCL*, 144; Jastrow, 278.

²See Even-Shoshan, 251-56. Cf. George V. Wigram, *The New Englishman's Hebrew Concordance* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1984), 325-34.

³The statement of Kalland, 1:399, is germane to the variety of usages of *dābār* in the Old Testament: "This noun is translated in eighty-five different ways in the KJV! This is due to the necessity of rendering such a fertile word by the sense it has in varying contexts."

⁴See, for example, Exod 34:28; 35:1; Lev 9:6; Deut 12:32 (13:1); 1 Chr 21:4, 6; Esth 1:12; 1:19; Ps 105:8; Jer 7:23.

⁵See Exod 34:28; Deut 4:13; 10:14. Cf., *TDOT*, 116-17.

⁶Esth 1:9.

singular¹ and ten times in the plural.² These occurrences are examined in order to determine the meaning of *dābār* in Dan 9:25.

The first occurrence is found in Dan 1:20 where *dābār* is part of a construct chain with "wisdom and understanding." Here the subject is the king who consults in matters demanding wisdom and understanding. The relation of *dābār* with "wisdom and understanding" and the clause "which the king inquired of them" suggests that *dābār* is used in the sense of "matter."

The next two occurrences in the singular are in Dan 9:23. The first is a "word" that goes forth (*yāšā*³) to command the *angelus interpretes* to come to Daniel. In this instance *dābār* is modified by the verb *yāšā*³ (went forth) and is issued from deity, the implied subject. The "word" is a divine command. It was complied with immediately. Thus the *dābār* in vs. 23a is used in the sense of command.³ This is in harmony with the usage of *yāšā*³ with *dābār* in the Old Testament which reveals that when deity is the subject the "word" has the force of a command which must either be fulfilled⁴ or complied with,⁵ and when it is a king speaking the "word" it has the force of a royal decree⁶ or a command.⁷

¹Dan 1:20; 9:23 (2x), 25; 10:1 (3x).

²Dan 9:12; 10:6, 9 (2x), 11, 12 (2x), 15, 12:4, 9.

³Cf. NASB; NKJV.

⁴E.g., Isa 45:23.

⁵E.g., Gen 24:50; Isa 55:11; Ezek 33:30.

⁶E.g., Esth 1:19, where *dābār* is in a construct relationship with *malkūt*, and *dābār* is to be written in the laws/decrees (*dāt*) of the Persians.

The second occurrence of *dāḥār* (vs. 23b) is modified by the imperative *bîn*. The subject is Daniel who is told by the angel to consider the substance of the vision and thus to understand the vision. In vs. 23b, therefore, *dāḥār* is used to describe the substance contained in the vision. Thus, while the first "word" (vs. 23a) is a command, the second "word" (vs. 23b) is used with the meaning of a "matter"¹ or "message."²

The three occurrences in Dan 10:1 are all used to describe the same thing. The *dāḥār* was revealed, it was true, and it was understood by Daniel. Here *dāḥār* is used in the sense of the substance or message of a vision.³

The plural form of *dāḥār* in Dan 9:12⁴ is associated with the verb "to speak:" it is not the speaking as such which is emphasized but the contents of the speech. The "words" here in Dan 9:12 are those of Yawheh. Those words have the effect of calamity.

On the other hand, the plural form of *dāḥār* is used in the sense of spoken words in Dan 10:6; 10:9 (2x) where *dāḥār* is connected in a construct relationship with "the sound of" in the statement "I heard the sound of his words." The other occurrences in chap. 10 are also related with the verb "to speak." Yet *dāḥār* in vs.

¹E.g., Esth 7:8.

¹NKJV.

²NASB.

³Cf. NASB; NKJV.

⁴Plöger, 131, 132, suggests that the *Qere* which is singular should be read instead of the *Kethib* which is plural.

11a is used in the sense of "message" while those of vss. 11b and 15 are used in the sense of being spoken either currently or in the immediate past. The speaker is the angel.

The two occurrences in Dan 12:4, 9 are related with the verb "shut up." The term *dābār* is used in both cases in the sense of "message" contained in a vision.

Thus in the book of Daniel (i.e., outside 9:25) *dābār* is used in the singular with the meaning of a matter for consultation (1:20a), message, or content of a vision (9:23b; 10:1 [2x]), and a word of command of deity (9:23a). The plural form of the term is used with the meaning of the content of a speech (9:12), spoken word (10:6; 10:9 [2x]), and content of a vision (12:4, 9).

In Dan 9:25, the expression appears in the statement "From the going forth of *dābār* to restore and build Jerusalem until the coming of Messiah, the Prince shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks." Here *dābār* is in construct relationship with the noun *mōsā*^ᵇ (usually spelled *mōsā*^ᵇ). Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, *mōsā*^ᵇ is used in connection with *sāpāh*, "lip," in which cases some form of *dābār* is implied. For example, in Num 30:13 [13] and Deut 23:24 [23], what goes out of the lip is a vow. There is a human subject in both cases just as we find in Jer 17:16. However, the implied subject in Ps 89:35 [34], where the subject is covenant, is deity.

The usage of *dābār* in Dan 9:25 seems similar to that of Dan 9:23 where

dābār is modified by the verb *yāsā*¹ from which *mōsā*² seems to derive.¹ However, the *dābār* in Dan 9:23 is at the vertical level, whereas the *dābār* of Dan 9:25 comes from and finds its meaning at the horizontal level.² The context of the expression in Dan 9:25 involves a proclamation that would change the political and physical status of Jerusalem. Goldingay states, "The term is one for a solemn royal proclamation (e.g., Esth 1:19)."³ In harmony with the usages where a king is the subject from whom the word comes, it may be best to render the *dābār* in Dan 9:25 with "word" in the sense of a formal pronouncement which can include a "decree" or "command" that has a binding force.

Chronological Considerations

Chronologically, the context of Dan 9:24-27 definitely makes the expression "from the going forth of the word" the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. Therefore, as the *terminus a quo*, it must have a definite and concrete time relation from which point the Seventy Weeks can be reckoned. This requirement then eliminates, as an option, the supposition of Hengstenberg that "the word which goes forth can only be a decree from God."⁴

¹See *HAL*, 408; *KBL*, 394, 505; H. D. Preuss, "*yāsā*²," *TDOT*, 6:227; Paul R. Gilchrist, "*yāsā*²," *TWOT*, 1:393.

²Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 15.

³Goldingay, 260.

⁴Although Hengstenberg, 114, argues that *dābār* "signifies the issue of the decree," he believes that "the decree must be from God, or the heavenly council." Hengstenberg bases his argument on (1) that *dābār* must be qualified to be the word of an earthly potentate; and (2) that the expression *mōsā*² *dābār* is the same

Can this "word" be the prophecy of the seventy-year captivity of Jeremiah?

The Jeremianic word of Dan 9:2 is a divine word which is predicted regarding the desolation of Jerusalem and its duration (Jer 25:9-11). The "word" of Dan 9:25 announces the restoration and the rebuilding of Jerusalem.¹ It is unlikely that the Jeremianic "word of the Lord" regarding the "desolations of Jerusalem" (Dan 9:2) will fit the restoration and rebuilding theme of Dan 9:25.

Thus *dāḥār* makes sense chronologically in the context of Dan 9:24-27 when it is regarded as a historical "word," that is, a pronouncement, command, or the like, which can be concretely marked out in a historical situation from which it goes forth.² The specificity of the "word" can be known for chronological

expression as *yāsā*³ *dāḥār* which refers to the command of God in vs. 23. However, the type of decree in vs. 25 is qualified by "to restore and to build," making it necessary to expect the earthly potentate who has the direct power over the exiles to make such a decree. Also, the "word" in vs. 23 is not identical with the "word" in vs. 25 according to the context (see Goldingay, 260); neither is the verb *yāsā*³ the same as the noun masculine singular *mōsā*³ (see *HAL*, 530; *KBL*, 505; *BDB*, 425), although the latter could have derived from the former (see *HAL*, 408; *KBL*, 394). Thus while the expression seems the same, one cannot claim identity either with regard to the decrees or the ones who issue them. To further expound on his view, Hengstenberg says "The 'going forth of the word' is in itself an invisible event" (Hengstenberg, 115). If that were true, the Seventy Weeks would be meaningless chronologically since it would not be possible to locate the *terminus a quo* because it could not be known when the decree was issued in heaven and how long it took for the effects of the heavenly decree to be felt.

¹Cf. Goldingay, 260.

²J. E. H. Thomson, *Daniel, Hosea & Joel*, The Pulpit Commentary, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1983), 269, with regard to the difficulty of Hengstenberg's view relative to the definite *terminus a quo* given in the passage, has remarked that "a decree of God has no visible time-relation. . . . It must be then a human decree." Cf. Wright, 229, "This cannot be a Divine command, which, as some moderns maintain, the writer imagined had "gone forth" before the walls of

purposes. if the contents of the "word" are established within the context of Dan 9:24-27. Contextually, the content of the "word" is established by such phrases as "to restore and to build," "it shall be restored and built," and "square and moat." to use traditional renderings. These phrases receive attention in what follows.

"To restore and to build"

The *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is described in the statement: "From the going forth of the 'word' to restore and to build Jerusalem until Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" (Dan 9:25). The two infinitives *l'hāšīḥ w'libnōt* traditionally translated "to restore and to build" express the purpose of the "word." The first term of the pair, *l'hāšīḥ*, is a *Hiphil* infinitive of the verb *šūb*.¹ The English versions translate the expression *l'hāšīḥ* (Dan 9:25)

Jerusalem had been destroyed by the Babylonian conqueror."

¹HAL, 1329; KBL, 952; CHAL, 362. William L. Holladay, *The Root šūbh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 53, after studying 659 *Qal* forms, defines the basic meaning of the *Qal* form as: "The verb *šūbh*, in the *qal*, means: *having moved in a particular direction, to move thereupon in the opposite direction, the implication being (unless there is evidence to the contrary) that one will arrive again at the initial point of departure*" (italics his). The *Hiphil* perfect *hšb* appears in Letter V, line 6 of the Lachish Letters, and has been translated with the meaning of "returned the letter." See Harry Torczyner, *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 94, 97. The cognate Ugaritic verb *twb* appears frequently in the ground form (the equivalent of *Qal*) with the meanings: (1) "come back, go back," (2) "do again," and (3) "declare answer"; and in the *šaphel* (i.e., causative) form with the meanings (1) "send back" and (2) "return" (an answer). See G. Douglas Young, *Concordance of Ugaritic* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1956), 70, no. 2013; Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 335; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 152; John C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 160; Holladay, *The Root šūbh*, 10. The verb also occurs in line 12 (*w²šb*, "and I brought back") on the Moabite Stone. See G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon

with "to restore."¹ The only exception among the major English versions is the JB with the NJB which renders the expression with "return." There are two problems with this translation. First, it creates its own object for the infinitive *l'hāšīḥ* instead of Jerusalem, which is the object provided by the text for *l'hāšīḥ*. Second, *l'hāšīḥ* is of the *Hiphil* stem and is the causative and transitivizing form of *šūḥ* "return." Thus the right translation should be "cause to return, bring back" or, in this instance,

Press, 1903), 11; Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926-27), 1:441; W. F. Albright, "Palestinian Inscriptions," *ANET*, ed. James B. Pritchard, 3d ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 320. Cooke, 11, and Edward Ullendorff, "The Moabite Stone," *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958), 198, suggest that *yšbh* may be "restored it" instead of "dwelt there" (Albright, "Palestinian Inscriptions," 321) or "dwelt in it" (Gressmann, 441). In the Aramaic, the term occurs in *Haphel* (line 11) and *Peal* (line 12) forms in the Asshur ostrakon (A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'Ostrakon Araméen d'Assour," *Syria* 24 [1944-45]: 31). It is found also in other Aramaic documents: see A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 315; G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 104.

¹So KJV, NKJV, RSV, NRSV, NEB, REB, ASB, NASB, NIV. The translation of LXX of this passage seems obscure. However, the rendition of LXX is *apokrithēnai* just as Theodotion. The Vulgate renders *l'hāšīḥ w'liḥnōt* with *iterum aedificetur*, "to build again," treating it adverbially. The critical apparatus of the BHS indicates a proposition to emend the *Hiphil* infinitive to the *Qal* infinitive *lāšūḥ*. This seems to have been followed by Hartman (Hartman and Di Lella, 240, 244) who while translating the phrase "the word regarding rebuilding of Jerusalem" admits that the literal sense is "the restoring and building of Jerusalem." Hartman's translation takes *l'hāšīḥ* adverbially as a *Qal* form instead of a *Hiphil* infinitive. Also Montgomery, 378, "to build again Jerusalem." Lacocque, *Book of Daniel*, 187, 188, translates "for the Return and for the Reconstruction of Jerusalem." This interpretation treats the *Hiphil* infinitive as nominal. Bevan, 155, emends *l'hāšīḥ* to *l'hōšīḥ*, "to people." S. R. Driver, 138, remarks that Bevan's emendation is plausible. On the other hand, Marti, 68, has "to bring back Jerusalem and to build." Judah J. Slotki, *Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah*, Soncino Books of the Bible (London: Soncino Press, 1951), 78, translates "to restore and to build."

"restore."¹ The translation "to restore" seems the best because this *Hiphil* infinitive *l'hāšīḥ* should not be taken as an adverbial infinitive. If the latter were the case, a *Qal* infinitive would normally be expected. The *Hiphil* form of this ^c*ayin waw* verb *šūḥ* is not used in that way, although *šūḥ* could be used as an adverbial infinitive in the *Qal* stem.²

The other infinitive, *libnōt*, is of the *Qal* stem and is from the verb *bānāh*. There is no textual difficulty here. *libnōt* is correctly translated with "to build."³

The *Hiphil* infinitive *l'hāšīḥ* and the *Qal* infinitive *libnōt* represent two different ideas in the context of Dan 9:25 and apply to different aspects of Jerusalem. Therefore, the two infinitives cannot be regarded as hendiadys. The phrase *l'hāšīḥ w'libnōt* in Dan 9:25 should, therefore, be translated as "to restore and to build."

The two infinitives are both important. The first infinitive "to restore" in relationship to the infinitive "to build" seems to put the restoration prior to the building. That restoration comes before rebuilding seems to be implied in Gabriel's putting of "to restore" before "to build."⁴ Charles remarks, concerning the

¹See *HAL*, 1331; *KBL*, 953; *BDB*, 998, 999; *CHAL*, 363.

²See Waltke and O'Connor, 75, 656. Cf. Keil, *Biblical Commentary*, 350.

³Cf. *HAL*, 133; *KBL*, 134; *BDB*, 124; *CHAL*, 42.

⁴Cf. Bevan, 155, who emends "to restore" to "to people" has stated: "If it be asked why the author says 'to people and to build' rather than 'to build and to people,' the obvious answer is that the *repopulation* of Jerusalem necessarily preceded the *rebuilding*." (Cf. S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138.) While Bevan grasps the basic understanding of the use of *l'hāšīḥ* in Dan 9:25, one wonders whether there is

restoration preceding the building, that "in itself the idea is so obvious as not to call for expression. It is a case of *cela va sans dire*."¹ I suggest that the infinitive "to restore" refers to the political restoration of the Jerusalem population which subsequently is able "to build" the city.

The infinitive "to build" clearly refers to the rebuilding of the physical city. Therefore, "to restore," which has the prior emphasis of the phrase "to restore and to build" and which comes before the rebuilding, must refer to some aspect of Jerusalem other than the building of physical entities, if the two infinitives express different ideas. In order to discover the semantic intent of the infinitive "to restore" in relation to Jerusalem, I want to examine three levels: Old Testament usage, historical background, and thematic relations.

Old Testament usage. The verb *šūh* occurs in the *Hiphil* infinitive form about fifty-one times in the Old Testament.² Seven out of the fifty-one occurrences are infinitives absolute. The forty-four occurrences of infinitives construct as well as

a necessity for his emendation to *ʿhōšīḥ*, "to people." LXX and Theodotion have *apokriḥēnai*, supporting the pointing of the MT against Bevan. Restoration would include "repopulation" yet extends beyond repopulation. That seems to be the import of the use of *ʿhāšīḥ* which is from *šūh* "return" instead of *ʿhōšīḥ*, a different word from *yāšab* "to dwell." Furthermore, *ʿhāšīḥ* as used here with Jerusalem as its object would rather refer to the restoration of Jerusalem as a repopulated entity.

¹Charles, 243.

²See Even-Shoshan, 1121; Wigram, 1243, 1244. Mandelkern, 1155, lists a total of 51 *Hiphil* infinitives, but repeats Judg 19:3 and misses one infinitive absolute (Job 9:18).

the seven infinitives absolute never apply to the reconstruction of the physical structures of a city.¹

The *Hiphil* infinitive² of *šūb* and especially the perfect³ may be used of exiles. However, in all cases where a *Hiphil* form is used in the sense of bringing back exiles (or causing exiles to return), "Israel" (you or them), or "the people" involved,⁴ stands in a direct object position while land, where applicable,⁵ is usually directional with the preposition *ʔl*. In such cases the return of the exiles to the specified direction is in focus. The case in Dan 9:25, however, is different because the direct object of the infinitive *ʔhāšīḥ* is "Jerusalem" instead of "people." If Daniel had the return of the exiles per se in focus, he would have put "people" in the direct object position. If "to restore Jerusalem" (direct object = Jerusalem) does not indicate the return of the exiles per se, does it refer to the reconstruction of the physical structures of the city? What does "restore" mean when it applies to "land," "city," or "kingdom"?

Generally, *šūb* in the *Hiphil* stem never refers to the rebuilding of physical

¹Cf. the statement of S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138, that *ʔhāšīḥ* means literally "to cause to return or bring back," often used of exiles (as Jer. xii. 15), but not used elsewhere of *restoring* (i. e. rebuilding) a city" (italics his). See also the study of Holladay, 87-105.

²E.g., Jer 28:6; 29:10.

³E.g., 1 Kgs 8:34; Jer 12:15; 16:15; 23:3; 24:6, 14; 30:3; 32:37; Zech 10:10; 2 Chr 6:25. Cf. Holladay, 88.

⁴Jer 12:15 where foreign nations are involved.

⁵In Jer 23:3, they are returned into their fold.

structures.¹ In the cases where land,² city,³ or kingdom⁴ is the object of "restore," the implication is the restoration of the governance or ownership to the indirect object. An example is found in the case of "land" in Judg 11:13: "And the king of the Ammonites answered the messengers of Jephthah. 'Because Israel on coming from Egypt took away my land, from the Arnon to the Jabbok and to the Jordan: now therefore restore it peaceably'."⁵ In this instance the king of the Ammonites is demanding that the control or ownership of the specified land be given to him or else there would be war. Here the development of the territory is not an issue. The same meaning is found in 2 Sam 9:7 where "land" is again the direct object of "restore." In this particular case David told Mephibosheth: "I will restore to you all the land of Saul your father; and you shall eat at my table always."⁶ In this case also, it is the ownership and control of the land that David is going to restore to Mephibosheth. Thus when "land" or "territory" is the direct object of "restore" (*Hiphil*) the meaning is to give back the control or ownership of the direct object.⁷

¹Cf. S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138. Waltke and O'Connor, 437, commenting on the *Hiphil* usage of *šûb* and other verbs of motion, remark that "the *Hiphil* is often associated with personal or human objects, since humans are more readily able to serve as objects of verbal causation."

²Judg 11:13; 2 Sam 9:7.

³1 Kgs 20:34; 2 Kgs 14:22, 25, 28; 2 Chr 26:2.

⁴E.g., 2 Sam 16:3; 1 Kgs 12:21; 2 Chr 11:1; 2 Sam 8:3.

⁵RSV.

⁶RSV.

⁷Cf. Holladay, 94.

How is *šûb* in the *Hiphil* used when it comes to cities? When the *Hiphil* form of *šûb* has city as its direct object, it refers to the control or the governance of the city involved. For example, in 1 Kgs 20:34, after the defeat of Syria (Aram) by Israel, Ben-Hadad, the king of Syria, offered to relinquish his control over cities Syria had taken from Israel: "And he (Ben-Hadad) said: 'I will restore the cities my father took from your father. You may set up market areas for yourself in Damascus just as he (my father) set up in Samaria'."¹ The restoration means a return to its former governance, and in this case the subsequent establishment of commercial market places, that is, its place as an economic center.

The same example of reference to governance is found also in 2 Kgs 13:25: "Then Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again from Ben-hadad the son of Hazael the cities which he had taken from Jehoahaz his father in war. Three times Joash defeated him and recovered the cities of Israel."²

A parallel in the use of the *Hiphil* of *šûb* and the *Qal* of *bānāh* in close proximity as found in Dan 9:25 is also found in 2 Kgs 14:22: "He built Elath and restored it to Judah, after the king slept with his fathers."³ Both "restore" (*Hiphil* of *šûb*) and "build" (*Qal* of *bānāh*) appear in this passage with a city as their direct object just like Dan 9:25. Azariah is recorded to have reestablished the Israelite

¹1 Kgs 20:34a.

²RSV. Here the *Hiphil wayyāšeh* is translated "recovered" emphasizing the idea that Joash restored by himself the control of the cities to himself as leader of Israel. The same sense is found in 2 Kgs 14:28.

³RSV.

control over the city of Elath. The city of Elath is the direct object of "restored." and it is very clear that "restored" here does not include the connotation of building but that the building of the city is a different activity from the restoration of its control and governance.¹ The restoration is just the restoration of the control and governance of the city.

In 2 Kgs 16:6, the control over Elath is regained by the king of Aram and the word used is *hēšīb* (the *Hiphil* of *šûb*): "At that time the king of Syria recovered Elath for Syria, and cleared the Judeans out of Elath entirely; and the Syrians came to Elath, and have lived there to this day."² In this passage, there is the notion of a return of people. However, it was after the control over the city had been restored that the Syrians moved in to settle there. Thus in this passage also where the idea of resettlement is present, restoration means the regaining of control over the city and is not synonymous with either the returning or the resettlement of the Syrians.

In the cases where "city" is the direct object of the *Hiphil* of *šûb*, even where "restore" is associated with "build" or return or resettlement, "restore" consistently implies the restoration of control or governance of the city (2 Kgs 14:22, 25 and 2 Chr 26:2). Thus, when city is the object of "restore" in the Old Testament, it usually refers to the control or governance of the city.

When "kingdom," like "city," is the direct object of "restore," it refers to the restoration of the control or governance of the kingdom to the indirect object.

¹Cf. 2 Chr 26:2.

²2 Kgs 16:6 NASB.

For example, 1 Kgs 12:21:

When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered the whole house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin--a hundred and eighty thousand fighting men--to make war against the house of Israel and to restore the kingdom for Rehoboam son of Solomon.¹

Here the restoration (*Hiphil* infinitive *ʾhāšīb*) intended had nothing to do with the restoration of a physical entity (i.e., a city, buildings, and the like), but with the governance. The same motif is found in 2 Sam 8:3: "And David fought Hadadezer son of Rehob, king of Zobah, when he went to him to restore (*ʾhāšīb*) his control along River Euphrates." "Restore" with kingdom as its object therefore refers to the governance of the kingdom.²

All *Hiphil* forms of *šūb* with "land," "city," or "kingdom" as the direct object, which we have surveyed, give evidence for a meaning of restoration of ownership or control (i.e., governance). Therefore, based on the analogy of the usage of *Hiphil* forms of *šūb* surveyed in the Old Testament, I would suggest that the *Hiphil* infinitive "to restore" in Dan 9:25 refers to the restoration of the control and governance of Jerusalem, before the rebuilding of physical structures can take place.³

¹NIV. Same as 2 Chr 11:1. Cf. 2 Sam 8:3; 16:3;

²Cf. Holladay, 94.

³Since the *Hiphil* of *šūb* never refers to a physical reconstruction in the Hebrew Bible, the possibility of the conjunction between "to restore" and "to build" being expegetic does not arise. It seems that the *waw* is in this instance used in a conjunctive-sequential way (see Waltke and O'Connor, 650) where the second infinitive is temporally and logically posterior or later to the first infinitive.

Historical relations. The reference of "to restore" Jerusalem with the meaning to reestablish the governance of Jerusalem also finds support in the historical relations of the expression. The restoration and building of Jerusalem has a direct remedial relation to the desolation of Jerusalem mentioned in Dan 9:2: "In the first year of his reign, I Daniel, understood from the Scriptures, according to the word of the Lord given to Jeremiah the prophet, that the desolation of Jerusalem would last seventy years."¹ Daniel understood from the writings of the prophet Jeremiah that "the desolation of Jerusalem" was going to last seventy years. It would seem from the context that Daniel believed that the seventy years were either fulfilled or about to be fulfilled. It was time then to pray for the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise of freedom. Thus his prayer is precipitated by his understanding of the prediction of Jeremiah. Therefore, the historical background of Dan 9:2 is the prediction of the seventy years' desolation by Jeremiah.

The expression "seventy years" appears three times in the book of Jeremiah. All three occurrences of "seventy years" are related directly to Babylon's absolute rule (and thus the servitude) of the exiles.²

The first occurrence is found in Jer 25:11: "This whole land will become a desolate wasteland, and these nations will serve the king of Babylon seventy

¹NIV.

²Ross E. Winkle, "Jeremiah's Seventy Years for Babylon: A Re-assessment. Part I: The Scriptural Data." *AUSS* 25 (1987): 214, has concluded that "the seventy years dealt primarily with Babylon (especially in the MT of Jeremiah), and the return from exile was understood to be contingent on its fulfillment."

years."¹ This is not only the first occasion but also the first mention of the "seventy years" in connection with desolation and Babylon. In this context, however, the "seventy years" are related to the servitude of the nations² under the absolute servitude under the governance of the king of Babylon.³

Historically, the end of the independent political status of Jerusalem (i.e., the loss of full self-governance) among the other nations comes first. It happened in 605 B.C. Nearly two decades later comes the physical destruction of the city (586 B.C.).⁴ The emphasis here, relative to the "seventy years," is on the servitude ("and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years").

The second occurrence of "seventy years" in the book of Jeremiah is found

¹NIV.

²The LXX of Jer 25:11 reads: "And all the land shall be a desolation: and they shall serve among the Gentiles seventy years." This rendition does not have "these nations will serve" but rather "they shall serve among the Gentiles." In this case, those who serve for 70 years are the people of Judah.

³Winkle, 205, observes that "thus, according to this tradition (MT), the seventy years refer to the servitude of 'these nations,' which were the nations 'round about' Judah (vs. 9)."

⁴See Dan 1:1, 2a, 3: "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with some of the articles of the house of God. . . . Then the king instructed Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, to bring in some of the children of Israel and some of the king's descendants and some of the nobles" (NKJV). Cf. 2 Kgs 24:1. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556)* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), 36, states: "According to both the Old Testament and Josephus, Nebuchadrezzar took all Syria from the Euphrates to the Egyptian border without entering the hilly terrain of Judah itself. The effect on Judah was that the king Jehoiakim, a vassal of Necho, submitted voluntarily to Nebuchadrezzar, and some of Jews, including the prophet Daniel, were taken as captives or hostages to Babylon." See also Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, X. 86.

in Jer 25:12-14:

"Then it will happen when seventy years are completed I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation." declares the LORD, "for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans; and I will make it an everlasting desolation. And I will bring upon that land all My words which I have pronounced against it, all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah has prophesied against all the nations. (For many nations and great kings shall make slaves of them, even them; and I will recompense them according to the work of their deeds and according to the work of their hands.)"¹

This passage outlines what would happen to the king of Babylon and his nation

when the "seventy years" of their absolute rule over the exiles are fulfilled.

Incidentally, the punishment prominently predicted features of enslavement. While

"desolation" usually goes with enslavement, like the punishment meted out to the

Judeans, the loss of governance seems to be the central issue here as indicated by

the details of the punishment:

And I will bring upon that land all My words which I have pronounced against it, all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah has prophesied against all the nations. (For many nations and great kings shall make slaves of them, even them).²

All the things that have been prophesied against Babylon come upon it through the medium of enslavement. Thus, in this case also, the loss of independent governance is by implication the major element around which all the other elements in the matrix of punishment revolve.

The third mention of the "seventy years" occurs in Jer 29:10: "For thus says the Lord, `When seventy years have been completed for Babylon, I will visit you

¹NASB.

²Jer 25:13, 14a (NASB). LXX does not have vss. 13b-14.

and fulfill My good word to you, to bring you back to this place'.¹ This word of the Lord appears in a letter written by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon after the second group of exiles had been taken from Jerusalem in 597 B.C. The admonishment not to listen to the optimistic deceptions of prophets and diviners in Babylon or pay any attention to their own false dreams (vs. 8) indicates that the exiles at that time had the hope of gaining their freedom in the very near future.

The internal revolt that shook Babylon in December 595-January 594 B.C.² might have given the exiles cause for the expectation of immediate freedom.³ Jeremiah's letter, however, contradicts the popular expectation among the exiles. They would continue to be in servitude until the "seventy years are completed for Babylon." Here the "seventy years" are expressed in terms of the absolute rule of Babylon⁴ instead of the wasteland of Jerusalem. The emphasis of this third occurrence, like the other two, is on the governance: Babylon is ruling over the exiles.

Thus, the three occurrences of the "seventy years" in Jeremiah (25:11; 25:12-14; 29:10) are all emphatic on the absolute rule of the king of Babylon over

¹NASB.

²B.M. 21946 Reverse, Line 21. See D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556)*, 69. Also, *ibid.*, 36, records that "in the tenth year of Akkad (he was) in his own land; from the month of Kislev to the month of Tebet there was rebellion in Akkad." Wiseman dates the rebellion to December 595-January 594 B.C.

³Cf. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, Hermeneia, ed. Paul D. Hanson (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989), 2:140.

⁴Cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 139.

the enslaved people of Judah. This will not only include the destruction of Jerusalem as a political community but it will also make it the point of emphasis in the "desolation" of Jerusalem. Thus a reversal of the "desolation" would have to start with the return of individual freedom from exile and the restoration of the political community in Jerusalem and Judah. The question then is why Daniel refers to this event as "I Daniel, perceived in the books the number of years which, according to the word of the LORD to Jeremiah the prophet, must pass before the end of the desolations of Jerusalem, namely, seventy years"?¹ It appears that in this statement, Daniel is echoing the use of "desolation" in Jeremiah. The meaning of "desolation" needs further attention.

The meaning of desolation in the books of Daniel and Jeremiah. The word used in Dan 9:2 for "desolation" is *horbāh*. This feminine noun derives from the verbal root *hārah* "be dried up, be desolate, be wasted."² The Hebrew root is related to the Akkadian *harābu*, "to become or lie waste";³ the Ugaritic *hrb*, "dry out";⁴ and the Arabic *haraba*, "destroy, lay waste."⁵

The Hebrew noun *horbāh* means "waste, desolation, ruin,"⁶ and is also

¹RSV.

²*HAL*, 335; *KBL*, 329; *BDB*, 351; *CHAL*, 115. O. Kaiser, "*hārah* I." *TDOT*, 5:150; Edwin M. Yamauchi, "*hārēb*," *TWOT*, 1:318.

³*AHW*, 1:322; *CAD*, 6:87; *AH*, 288.

⁴Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 268.

⁵*DISO*, 95.

⁶*BDB*, 352.

defined as "Trümmerstätte."¹ "desolate place. ruin."² "place of ruin & rubble. waste."³ The LXX rendition of *oneidismou* is usually the LXX rendition of *hrp'*⁴ "reproach."⁵ Theodotion, however, has *erēmōseōs*, "desolation."

O. Kaiser has stated with regard to what can become *horbāh* the following:

The causative hiphil with the meaning "lay waste, devastate" (Jgs. 16:24; 2 K. 19:17 par. Isa 37:18; Isa. 49:17; Ezk. 19:7; Zeph. 3:6) and the equivalent passive hophal, "be laid waste, be devastated" (Ezk. 26:2; 29:12) round out the usage. The objects include not only structures, buildings, cities, and lands, but also populations, in whole or in part (cf. 2 K. 19:17; Isa. 60:12; Sir. 16:4).⁶

Thus *horbāh* should be seen as applicable to the destruction of not only physical structures but also organized societies.

The feminine noun *horbāh* occurs forty-two times in the Hebrew Bible.⁷ In the book of Daniel, it is used only once.⁸ However, it is evident that Daniel's understanding of *horbāh* with regard to Jerusalem and the "seventy years" is

¹HAL, 336.

²KBL, 330.

³CHAL, 115.

⁴E.g., 9:16; 11:8; 12:2. Sharon Pace Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 19 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988), 73, suggests that "the *hēt* of *lhrbwt* was confused with *pēh*."

⁵BDB, 357.

⁶Kaiser, "*hārab* I," 5:152-53.

⁷Even-Shoshan, 398, has 41 occurrences, missing Isa 48:21; Wigram, 461-462. Cf. Yamauchi, "*hārēb*," 1:319. The occurrences are concentrated mostly in the Prophets: 9x in Isaiah, 10x in Jeremiah, and 14x in Ezekiel.

⁸Dan 9:2.

significantly informed by the book of Jeremiah.¹

The noun *horbāh* is used ten times in the book of Jeremiah.² Of these occurrences, the one that comes closest to referring the meaning of *horbāh* to the destruction of Jerusalem is Jer 27:17: "Do not listen to them, serve the king of Babylon and live. Why should this city become a desolation?"³ Here, desolation would seem, after casual reading, to refer only to the physical destruction of the city, because Judah was already under the bondage of Babylon and two contingents of exiles from Judah were already in Babylon. It would thus seem that what was left was the destruction of the physical city.

However, the context of this verse is a message that Jeremiah gave to King Zedekiah (vss. 12-22) after Yahweh had given him the word (vss. 2-11) with regard to their serving of Babylon. Any nation or kingdom which refused to bow its neck under the yoke of Babylon was to be punished "with the sword, famine and plague" (vss. 8, 13). The message to Zedekiah, therefore, was to serve the king of Babylon in order to avoid the predicted punishment. Vs. 17 is a repetition of vss. 12 and 13a:

vs. 17
A: Serve the king of Babylon
B: and you will live

vss. 12, 13a.
A₁: serve him and his people
B₁: and you will live

¹See Dan 9:2.

²Jer 7:34; 22:5; 25:9, 11, 18; 27:17; 44:2, 6, 22; 49:13. In addition to these there are 2 adjectives, *hārēb*, in 33:10, 12; 1 *Qal* imperative, *horbū*, in 2:12; and 1 *Qal* imperfect, *teh'rah*, in 26:9.

³RSV.

C: Why should this city become a desolation?

C₁: Why will you and your people die by sword, famine and plague?

When put side by side, it can be seen that the city becomes a desolation because of the predicted punishment--"sword, famine and plague." All the three terms are directed at the community. "Sword" kills warriors, "famine and plague" kill sons and daughters.¹ Thus the community dries up.² Such a destruction of the community necessitates the destruction of physical entities of the city. Thus, *horbāh*, even in this context, stresses the destruction of the people of the community with sword, famine, and plague. This in effect "dries up" the place--a complete loss of individual and corporate freedom, no king, no community, and no physical structures, the destruction of which is consequential to the destruction of the society.

All the other occurrences of *horbāh* include more than physical destruction in their references. The first occurrence in the book of Jeremiah is in 7:34: "I will bring an end to the sounds of joy and gladness and to the voices of bride and bridegroom in the towns of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem, for the land will be desolate."³

The context is that of a flagrant idolatry by the people of Judah (vss. 30-

¹See Jer 11:22; 14:12, 16; 16:1-4; 18:21. Cf. Ezek 5:16, 17.

²Cf. J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1980), 533: "The consequence of rejecting Jeremiah's advice, which was really a rejection of Yahweh's word, was judgment by sword, famine, and plague--all pictures of a military invasion and its aftermath, well known and well understood since all these small states had suffered over the years from the Assyrians."

³NIV.

31). This idolatry calls for punishment. They would be slain to fill the Valley of Slaughter until there is no more room (vs. 31-33). This slaying is climaxed with the termination of sounds of joy and signs of the renewal of community life.¹ "for the land will become desolate."² The destruction of physical structures is implied in this desolation, yet the emphasis is on the destruction of the rebellious people and the normal life of the community.³ The emphasis put on the destruction of the people and the normal life of the community suggests that the primary motive of the punishment is the destruction of the rebellious people which then necessitates the destruction of physical structures. The same motif prevails in Jer 44:2, 6, 22, and 49:13.⁴

In Jer 22:5: "If you do not obey these commands, I swear by myself," says Yahweh, "that this house shall become a desolation." The "desolation" here covers

¹Cf. William McKane, *Jeremiah*, ICC, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 1:180: "Weddings are not only occasions of joy, but are signs that the life of the community is always being renewed. They are acts of faith in its future and a promise that there will be new families and new generations to carry on its life."

²Jer 7:34.

³Thompson, 295, n. 14, in an attempt to explain *horbāh* in Jer 7:34, compares it to "Horeb in the Exodus story, Exod 3:1; 17:6; Deut 1:6, 4:10; 5:2; 9:8; etc. In these passages the reference is to a place without settled inhabitants or agricultural or urban activities. The picture is not of a desert waste. In fact, there were nomadic peoples in the area." The desolation of the land in this context may thus be more of the destruction of the people and the society than the whole land. McKane, 1:180, also states: "But this is a land which has no future continuous with the old conditions of its existence."

⁴Jer 49:13 relates to Edom. However, the pronouncements against Edom are similar to those against Judah. While towns are desolated physically (vs. 13), the desolation includes "children, relatives and neighbors" (vs. 10).

the destruction of the palace of the king (vs. 7). However, the context of the passage is a warning to the Davidic king and his officials (vs. 2) to uphold justice (vss. 3, 4), else there would be no more place for them (vs. 5). The dynasty itself would suffer punishment which would also be manifested in the physical representation of the kingship, the palace of the king. Thus the "desolation" includes the Davidic kingship itself.¹

The passage that, as a background, has the greatest affinity with Dan 9:2 is Jer 25.² There are common expressions like "seventy years" (Jer 25:11, 12; Dan

¹See Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 582: "If the royal house is obedient to the covenant, the royal line will continue, but if not, the house (both palace and dynasty) will be destroyed." McKane, 1:517: "There is a place for the Davidic king only if he defends a community which conforms to Yahweh's standards of social justice." J. A. Thompson, 474: "The continuance of the royal house depended on a wholehearted acceptance of the commission Jeremiah laid before the king." Cf. Charles L. Feinberg, "Jeremiah," *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986), 6:511; Robert Davidson, *Jeremiah*, 2 vols. The Daily Study Bible (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1985), 2:16. For a contrary view see Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 182.

²Winkle, 212, suggests that the "source" of Dan 9:2 is Jer 29:10 on the basis that (1) the text was part of the letter sent to the exiles, and (2) "Daniel's exile during the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan 1:1-6) would seem to have denied him the opportunity to have heard Jeremiah's first mention of the seventy years, for this occurred during the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer 25:1)." Jer 46:2, however, states that Pharaoh Neco was defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Since that was the same year and just before Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and sent Daniel into exile, Jeremiah's fourth year of Jehoiakim is the same year as Daniel's third year of Jehoiakim (Dan 1:1). It appears Daniel was using the Babylonian accession year calendar while Jeremiah was using the Judean non-accession year calendar. See Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," 16-18; idem, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings*, 63, 67, 69; Edwin R. Thiele, *The Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1977), 68-69; idem, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983), 183; Gerhard F. Hasel, "Establishing a

9:2), "desolation (*horbāh*)" (Jer 25:9, 11, 18; Dan 9:2), "cities of Judah, her kings and her officials" (Jer 25:18): "men of Judah . . . our kings and our officials" (Dan 9:7, 8), "city called by my name" (Jer 25:29); "city called by your name" Dan 9:19: and common themes like city and people becoming objects of scorn (Jer 25:29; Dan 9:19) and the bringing of disaster upon people and city (Jer 25:29; Dan 9:12). With these parallels between the two passages (Jer 25 and Dan 9), and Daniel's acknowledgement that Jeremiah's prediction was the background of his prayer and the subsequent revelation (Jer 25),¹ Daniel's use of *horbāh* is likely to have been influenced by this passage (Jer 25).

The expression *horbāh* appears three times in Jer 25.² The three occurrences, vss. 9, 11, 18, are closely connected. In vs. 9, the Babylonians are to be brought "against this land and its inhabitants and against all the surrounding nations." Yahweh will, thus, "completely destroy them and make them an object of horror and scorn, and an everlasting desolation." The destruction that results in "desolation" involves the complete destruction of both the inhabitants and the land.

J. A. Thompson has explained:

They would be devoted to wholesale destruction (Heb. *heh'rīm*). The verb is related to the noun *hērem*. It occurs frequently in early narratives dealing with

Date for the Book of Daniel," in *Symposium on Daniel*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 118-21.

¹Jer 25 is more likely to be the background since "desolation" (*horbāh*) does not appear in Jer 29.

²Vss. 9, 11, 18.

the holy war especially in Joshua (Num. 2:2-3; Deut. 2:34; 3:6; 7:2; 20:17; Josh. 2:10; 6:18, 21; 8:26; 10:1, 28, 35, 37, 39-40; 11:11-12, 20-21; Judg. 1: 17; 21:11; etc.). In continuance of the ancient holy war symbolism those who opposed Yahweh in the fulfillment of his purposes were put to the ban, and totally (or partially) destroyed.¹

In vs. 10, the functions of a living community are banished.² The picture is that of a destroyed society. That leads to vs. 11: "This whole land will become a desolation, a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." This verse presupposes and summarizes vss. 9-10. The land becomes desolate because the inhabitants have been destroyed, the functions of a living community have ceased, and the whole land has become a wasteland. Thus *horbāh* in this context includes the destruction of the organized society.

That *horbāh* in this passage includes the destruction of the community as an organized society is explicit in its use in vs. 18: "Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, its kings and its officials to make them a desolation and a waste and a scorn and a curse as at this day." In this usage, "desolation" is in reference to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah as a politically organized society. The destruction of the politically organized society would definitely necessitate the destruction of the physical structures in the cities. Thus the reversal of desolation would require the repopulation and reorganization of the political society which in turn would require the rebuilding of the physical structures.

The survey of the usages of *horbāh* in the book of Jeremiah shows that in

¹Thompson, 513.

²Cf. 7:34.

that book the expression not only includes the destruction of physical structures as well as organized societies, but that it is the latter that necessitates the former.

horbāh in Dan 9:2 which presupposes the Jeremianic usage must be seen as having the same meaning as in the book of Jeremiah.

Therefore, the historical background in relation to the usages of the expressions "seventy years" and "desolation" (*horbāh*) in both the books of Jeremiah and of Daniel suggests that "to restore" in Dan 9:25 refers to the restoration of Jerusalem as a politically organized society. Of course, the exiles are given freedom as individuals after Jeremiah's seventy years have been fulfilled.¹ Yet the restoration of the corporate society as a political entity with rights of governance is a separate and subsequent event.

Thematic relations. First, the summary of the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 is found in vs. 24. The theme that is emphasized in this summary verse is the

¹For the chronological aspects of Jeremiah's 70 years, see Winkle, 201-14, 289-99, who takes the 70 years as literal from 609-539 B.C.; C. F. Whitley, "The Term Seventy Years' Captivity," *VT* 4 (1954): 60-72, reckons from the destruction of the temple 586 B.C. to the "restoration" in 516 B.C.; idem, "The Seventy Years' Desolation--A Rejoinder," *VT* 7 (1957): 416-18. Avigdor Orr, "The Seventy Years of Babylon," *VT* 6 (1956): 304-06, takes the period to be the time of Babylonian Sovereignty over Judah, 605-539 B.C. Peter R. Ackroyd, "Two Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period," *JNES* 17 (1958): 3-27, takes the 70 years as a round figure representing a considerable length of time. Ackroyd is supported by R. Borger, "An Additional Remark on P. R. Ackroyd, *JNES*, XVII, 23-27," *JNES* 18 (1959): 74. Gerhard Larsson, "When Did the Babylonian Captivity Begin?" *JTS* 18 (1967): 417-23, would put the *terminus a quo* of the 70 years at the first carrying away of the exiles.

establishment of a righteous society.¹ It should, therefore, be expected that the detailed section would be emphatic on the restoration of the society. Thus the natural expectation would be to refer "to restore Jerusalem." as distinct from "to build Jerusalem." to Jerusalem as an organized society.

Second, the theme of Jerusalem in relation to desolation (*horbāh*) is usually emphatic on the city as a politically organized society. The first mention of Jerusalem in the book of Daniel is in Dan 1:1, where the siege of the city by Nebuchadnezzar is recorded. In vs. 2, the siege results in Jehoiakim, king of Judah, being delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus the first thing that happens when Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem is the loss of governance. As a result, some people, with a notable mention of the royalty and the nobility, are exiled to Babylon. In the opening chapter of the book of Daniel, Jerusalem is mentioned as a political entity with reference to its loss of governance.

In the prayer section (Dan 9:4-19), Daniel points to the organized society as the cause of the desolation: "our kings, our officials and our fathers and to all the people of the land" (vs. 6); "we and our kings, our officials and our fathers" (vs. 8). The emphasis is on the community as a political entity. In vs. 12, Jerusalem parallels "us and our rulers":

12a: "And He has confirmed His words, which He spoke against us and against our judges who judged us, by bringing upon us disaster."²

¹See "Revelation" under "Structure," p. 76.

²NKJV, NASB, RSV, and NIV translate *šōptēnū* as "our rulers" instead of "our judges" as rendered by NKJV. This is significant in the sense that "judging"

12b: For under the whole heaven such never has been as what has been done to Jerusalem.¹

What has been done to Jerusalem is the great disaster that has been brought upon the people and their rulers. The stress of the disaster is on Jerusalem as a political entity. This is understandable since they are the cause of the disaster and the disaster is primarily aimed at the people (vss. 13, 14). Any restoration, therefore, would have to start with Jerusalem as a political entity.

Third, the reference of the expression "to restore Jerusalem" to Jerusalem as a politically organized society is supported by the use of the political entity motif of Jerusalem during biblical times.

The use of Jerusalem to represent its political organization is very common in the Old Testament.² For example, in 2 Kgs 24:14, Jerusalem is carried into captivity in Babylon. This certainly could not mean the physical city. Vss. 14-15 clearly shows that what is meant here is Jerusalem as a political entity, since those listed as carried off to Babylon are: the king, his officials, officers, fighting men, and craftsmen. In the context of 2 Kgs 24:14, therefore, the restoration of Jerusalem would be the restoration of its former political governmental status.

This is also the case in Isa 1:21 where the faithful city is said to have

was so important a part of ruling that here "judges" is synonymous with "rulers."

¹NKJV.

²See, for example, 2 Kgs 16:5; 18:22; 19:31; 1 Chr 12:7, 8; 32:12; Isa 39:2; Jer 2:2; 8:5; Ezra 4:6-8; Mic 1:9. This is where Hengstenberg, 115-117, seems to have missed the mark in his rejection of the restoration as applicable to the people of Jerusalem. He believes that since Jerusalem is the object of restoration, "it denotes a perfect *restitutio in integrum*" of the physical city.

become a harlot. The harlotry, in this case, does not only include but also stresses injustice which was an attribute of the governing body.¹ Thus, in vs. 26, YHWH restores the city to its first status by the restoration of the judges of the city.

Jerusalem, the name of the city, is used to represent its people as a politically organized society² which was carried away to Babylon. It is also used to describe the character of the society.³ Thus restoration of Jerusalem as a politically organized society would be a natural expectation.

On the basis of (1) Old Testament usage of the *Hiphil* form of *sūh*, (2) the historical background of Dan 9 and the thematic relations of Jerusalem as a political entity, and (3) coupled with the pairing of "to restore" with "to build" (which indicates that "to restore" refers to an aspect of Jerusalem other than building), "to restore" must be viewed as referring to the restoration of Jerusalem as a political entity. This political organization is theocentric.⁴ The emphasis of the phrase "to restore" Jerusalem is on the restoration of Jerusalem as an organized society, a

¹Cf. E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1965), 1:80: "Her infidelity is basically one of the heart and can express itself in various ways. Barnes thinks that the reference is primarily to idolatry, and Gesenius takes the word *zona* as the equivalent of idolatress (cf. Ezek. 16:22). On the other hand Marti thinks the infidelity consists in the thwarting of justice and the failure to fulfill the ethical demands of the Lord. Possibly both of these are included, although the latter is stressed in the text."

²Cf. Auberlen, 121.

³Cf. Matt 23:37.

⁴See Dan 1:2, where the kingship and the articles in the temple are the items mentioned as given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. Also in Dan 9:6 kings were supposed to listen to prophets; 9:16, 20, Jerusalem, the seat of government, is also "your holy hill"; 9:18, 19, both city and people bear the name of Yahweh.

political entity. In other words, the restoration of political Jerusalem to its theocentric status is the prime focus.¹

Thus, the expression *l'hāšīb w'libnōt* should be understood as signifying the process of first restoring Jerusalem politically and then rebuilding the physical structures of the city.² Therefore, the decree "to restore and to build Jerusalem" that determines the *terminus a quo* is a decree which restores Jerusalem politically and authorizes the rebuilding of its physical entities. At this point it is necessary to investigate the significance of Jerusalem as it is used in chap. 9 of the book of Daniel. How does Jerusalem fit into this prophecy?

Jerusalem. The name Jerusalem is used in the Old Testament about 660 times.³ It is used to refer to the actual city.⁴ However, it is also used as a reference to the epitomy of the presence of Yahweh on earth. Yahweh dwells in Jerusalem.⁵ As the religious and political capital it is sometimes used to represent

¹Cf. Isa 1:21-26.

²Goldingay, 260, referring to Lacocque, states: "'To restore and build' is a rich and suggestive phrase that combines reference to the restoring of the community and the rebuilding of the city." The observation of Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 351, is also germane to this view: "*hānāh* as distinguished from *hēšīh* denotes the building after restoring."

³Helmer Ringgren and M. Tsevat, "*y'rūšālēm/y'rūšālayim*." *TDOT*, 6:348; Georg Fohrer and E. Lohse, "*Siōn, Ierusalēm, Ierosoluma, Ierosolomitēs*." *TDNT*, 7:295. Even-Shoshan, 495-496, has 667 occurrences. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), 2: "about 600 times."

⁴E.g., Judg 1:7, 21; 2 Sam 8:7, 15:37; Jer 14:16.

⁵1 Kgs 12:27; 2 Kgs 21:4, 7; 1 Chr 6:32; 2 Chr 3:1; 6:34; Ps 102:21.

the state--the people of God as an organized religio-political community.¹

In the book of Daniel, it occurs ten times.² Four³ out of the ten occurrences appear outside of Dan 9. The first occurrence in the book of Daniel is found in Dan 1:1: "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it."⁴ Jerusalem, in this case, seems to have been used in the sense of the actual city, the capital and king's residence. It was besieged. However, the context seems to imply more than just the concrete city composed of physical structures. It is the king of Babylon who comes to besiege Jerusalem, and it is the king of Judah and some articles from the house of God that are given into the hand of the king of Babylon. Thus Jerusalem is besieged as the political and religious headquarters of the nation. This is further supported by the fact that the resultant loss suffered by Jerusalem from the siege is basically political.

The next two occurrences are found in Dan 5:2, 3, where it is used in the sense of the physical city in the phrases "the temple which had been in Jerusalem" and "the temple of the house of God which had been in Jerusalem" respectively.⁵

¹E.g., 2 Kgs 21:16; 1 Chr 21:15-17; Ezra 4:20; Isa 3:1, 2; 3:8; Jer 2:2; 15:5; Ezek 5:5; 14:21; Zech 1:14, 15. Cf. Ringgren and Tsevat, 6:349; Fohrer and Lohse, 308, 309.

²Dan 1:1; 5:2, 3; 6:11 [Eng. 10]; 9:2, 7, 12, 16 (2x), 25.

³Dan 1:1; 5:2, 3; 6:11 [Eng. 10].

⁴NKJV.

⁵NKJV.

The preposition *b'* (in) is locative, thus presenting Jerusalem as a location. The occurrence in Dan 6:11 [Eng. 10] in the phrase "with his windows open toward Jerusalem" is also used in the sense of the physical city. In this case also the Aramaic preposition *neged* (in front of, facing) which is found only in this passage shows direction. Thus the phrase shows the geographical direction of Jerusalem.¹

The occurrences of "Jerusalem" in chap. 9 reveal an interesting relationship that may be depicted by fig. 7. These usages of "Jerusalem" portray three high points (Dan 9:2, 7, 16). Dan 9:2 starts with the desolation of Jerusalem, whereas

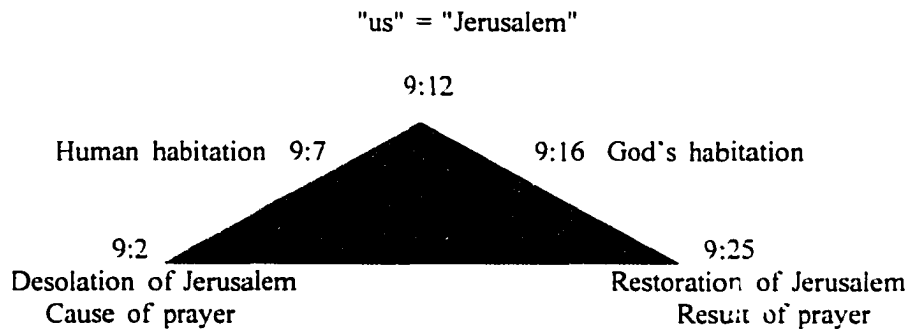


Fig. 7. The relationships among the uses of "Jerusalem" in Dan 9.

Dan 9:25, the last occurrence of Jerusalem in Dan 9 and in the book of Daniel, ends with the restoration of Jerusalem. Thus the first relationship between Dan 9:2 and 9:25, the first and the last occurrences of Jerusalem in the chapter, is that the former

¹It could be argued that Daniel's windows were opened towards Jerusalem to make the point that it is the religious center and the dwelling place of God (1 Kgs 8:29, although the temple had been broken down at that time) in contradiction to petitioning King Darius (Dan 6:7).

(9:2) concerns the desolation of Jerusalem while the latter (9:25) concerns the restoration of Jerusalem. The second relationship is that Dan 9:2 is the cause of Daniel's prayer while Dan 9:25 is the result of the prayer. Between the beginning (9:2) and the ending (9:25) points is Dan 9:12, the culmination of the confession (9:4-11) and the turning point from confession to intercession.

The section between 9:2 and 9:12 records the confession of the sins of the kings, the princes, the fathers, and all the people of the land (vss. 6, 7). This confession culminates in the disaster (vss. 12-14a) which results from their sin. In this section, the emphasis is on the sinfulness of the people. All references to people are dissociated from God--it is usually "we," "our kings," "our princes," "the men of Judah," or "the inhabitants of Jerusalem." After 9:12(-14a), the point of culmination, there is a shift from confession to intercession, from man's sinfulness (vs. 11) to God's righteousness (vs. 14b), from "us/our" to "your." Thus instead of our people (kings, princes, fathers, etc.), there is "your people," "your city Jerusalem" and "your holy mountain." Jerusalem the habitation of "us" (9:7) becomes "your holy mountain" (9:16). Thus, in the confession section (9:4-11), "Jerusalem" which appears in the phrase "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (9:7) emphasizes those who dwell there--the king, officials, all the other people; while in the intercession section (9:14b-19), Jerusalem appears as the holy city of Yahweh (9:16), the habitation of Yahweh.

The three focal points (Dan 9:2, 12, 25), however, are connected by the desolation/disaster of Jerusalem. In Dan 9:2 Jerusalem suffers desolation, in Dan

9:12 desolation (called disaster) comes upon Jerusalem, and in Dan 9:25 the desolation/disaster is remedied by the restoration of Jerusalem. This common relationship points to a common understanding of the meaning of Jerusalem in the three usages. In Dan 9:2, Jerusalem is not used in the sense of physical infrastructure but as a community with political governance.¹ The same sense is found in the use of Jerusalem in Dan 9:12 where Jerusalem parallels "us" and "our judges who judged us."² Based upon the common relationship among all the three usages, the usage of Dan 9:25 would be expected to be in the same sense as the other two, namely, a community with political governance. In other words, Jerusalem is used in Dan 9:25 in the sense of a people with political governance and a place to live.

"It shall be restored and built"

The expression *tāšûb w'nihn'tāh*, "it shall be restored and built," is parallel to *l'hāšīh w'libnôt*, "to restore and to build." However, the form of *šûb* in the former expression, "it shall be restored," is a *Qal* form which has been understood adverbially³ to express a repetitive action of the second verb. Thus this expression

¹See "Historical Relations," p. 176, 180, 188; "The Meaning of Desolation in the Books of Daniel and Jeremiah," p. 176, 180, 188; "Thematic Relations," p. 176, 180, 188.

²"Thematic Relations," p. 189.

³See Gesenius, §120c.

has often been translated "to build again"¹ instead of the full "it shall be restored and built." However, the parallelism between *l'hāsīḥ w'libnōt* and *tāsūḥ w'nibn'tāh* would suggest that the meaning of the latter should incorporate the basic issues of restoration and rebuilding.

A <i>l'hāsīḥ</i> (to restore)	B <i>w'libnōt</i> (to build)
A ₁ <i>tāsūḥ</i> (it shall be restored)	B ₁ <i>w'nibn'tāh</i> (and be built)

With this parallelism as the basis for interpreting *tāsūḥ w'nibn'tāh*,² one can posit a nonadverbial use of *tāsūḥ* here in this expression.³

Furthermore, the analogy of the Old Testament usage of the *Qal* form of *śūḥ* in a causative sense allows the translation of *tāsūḥ* in Dan 9:25 with the meaning of "restore." For example, in 1 Kgs 13:6 the *Qal* jussive *w'tāsōḥ*, and the *Qal* imperfect with *waw* consecutive, *wattāsōḥ*, are used in a causative sense like

¹E.g., KJV, NKJV, RSV, NRSV, ASV, NASB, NIV and NEB have "rebuilt."

²It is the controlling effect of the parallelism between the expressions *l'hāsīḥ w'libnōt* and *tāsūḥ w'nibn'tāh* that compelled Bevan, 155, to emend the text in order to put both *l'hāsīḥ* and *tāsūḥ* in *Hiphil* to bring out the causative effect. However, as quoted above, Charles, 243, believes that the meaning of "to restore and build" is so compelling that irrespective of the way the expression is put, *tāsūḥ w'nibn'tāh* should have the same meaning as its parallel *l'hāsīḥ w'libnōt*.

³Hengstenberg, 126, states correctly, "that *tāsūḥ* is not used adverbially as many suppose, but denotes the restoration of the city to its former condition, may be inferred from the evident reference to *l'hāsīḥ* in a previous clause."

Hiphil to mean "restore."¹ A *Qal* usage similar to the causative sense is also found in Deut 28:31 where the *Qal* imperfect *yāšûb* is used with the meaning of "restore" in the statement: "Your donkey shall be torn away from you, and shall not be restored to you."² In 1 Sam 7:14, a *Qal* imperfect is applied to cities just like Dan 9:25. In this case also it is used in the causative sense to mean "restore"³ in the statement: "And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even to Gath."⁴ Just as the *Qal* imperfect is used many times in the Old Testament with the meaning of "restored," so the *Qal* imperfect of the same verb is to be rendered "restored" in Dan 9:25. Thus like its parallel expression, *tāšûb w'nibr'tāh* may be translated "it shall be restored and built."⁵

Since the parallelism with *ʔhāšîb w'libnôt* is determinative with regard to the meaning of *tāšûb w'nibr'tāh*, the latter expression also underscores the view that the "word" that establishes the *terminus a quo* must emphasize the restoration of Jerusalem as a political entity and at the same time be extensive enough to

¹See also Ps 85:5 (Eng. 4); Nah 2:3 (Eng. 2); Job 39:12 (Q. impf.--bring); Jer 33:26 (here the *Kethib* is *Qal* impf. while the Masoretes suggest a *Qere* of *Hiphil*). So Joel 4:1 (3:1). Cf. NIV and RSV translations of these passages.

²NASB. Cf. Holladay, *The Root šûbh*, 74.

³Cf. Holladay, *The Root šûbh*, 74.

⁴NASB.

⁵See JB; NJB.

incorporate the rebuilding of the physical city.¹

"Square and decision-making"

The expression *r'hôb w'hārūs* provides further information, in addition to *l'hāšīb w'libnôt* and *tāšūb w'nibn'tāh*, as to what seems to be involved in the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem.² However, the translation of this expression has baffled interpreters for ages. In order to ascertain the most likely meaning in context, this expression calls for careful analysis.

The first noun *r'hôb* has been translated in major English versions with "street(s),"³ "square,"⁴ or "plaza."⁵ Lexicographers define this term in a general sense as a "broad open space in a town or village,"⁶ "an open place (of town).

¹An insightful characterization of the political implication of the restoration in Dan 9:25 has been made by Danna Nolan Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, JSOT Series, no. 72 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1988), 155, by stating: "The only vision in the latter half of the book that is set during the reign of Darius is Daniel's petition and vision in ch. 9 concerning the religious (9:24) and political (9:25) restoration of Jerusalem" (emphasis hers).

²Goldingay, 261, has remarked that "'square and moat' makes clear that the restoration Gabriel speaks of is a quite material one." While his definition "square and moat" (*r'hôb w'hārūs*) is, at best, discussible, the implication of his statement that the expression translated "square and moat" assists in defining the content of "to restore" is correct. Cf. Hengstenberg, 115, 125, 128.

³KJV; NKJV; NIV; NEB; REB; NRSV.

⁴RSV; JB; NJB; NJT.

⁵NASB.

⁶*HAL*, 1131; *HCL*, 764. R. Bartelmus, "*rāhāb*," *TWAT*, 7:452; William White, "*rāhab*," *TWOT*, 2:841; *KAI*, 23; cf. *DISO*, 276.

village)."¹ and the like.² This noun is said to have derived from the root *rhb* which means "be/become broad" or "wide."³

In the Bible the noun *r'hôb* (also written *r'hōb*) is used as the designation of an open space where citizens met for various public activities in every village, town, or city.⁴ A few examples of such usages may suffice to illustrate this matter. In Deut 13:17 (Eng. 16) *r'hōb* is the open space where all the spoil from a city was gathered and burnt along with the city itself. That gives the impression that the place was big enough for the spoil of the city to be gathered. In 2 Chr 29:4, King Hezekiah gathers the priests and the Levites in the open space (*r'hōb*) at the east to meet with them. In 2 Chr 32:6, King Hezekiah gathers military officers in the open space (*r'hōb*). In Neh 8:1, *r'hōb* is the open square in front of the Water Gate where all the people, apparently all who dwell in Jerusalem and its surrounding area, gather for Ezra to meet with them. In this particular instance, Ezra read from the Book of Law to them.

Since streets were usually narrow in ancient cities in Palestine, it was apparently necessary to leave an open space (or spaces) for public activities which made a gathering of people, cultic leaders, and military officers possible. Thus

¹*KBL*, 884; cf. *BDB*, 932.

²See *HCL*, 764.

³Bartelmus, 7:449, 450; *HAL*, 1131; *KBL*, 834.

⁴See, e.g., Gen 19:2; Deut 13:17 (Eng. 16); 2 Chr 29:4; 32:6; Neh 8:1; Esth 4:6; Job 29:7; Isa 15:3; 59:14; Jer 5:1; Ezek 16:24. Cf. White, 2:841, who states: "The term is always used of a square, market place, or pasture within a town or village (Neh 8:1)."

biblical usage favors the meaning of a "broad and open space." and thus the translation "square"¹ or "plaza" seems warranted.

Theodotion renders *ῥῥῥῥ* with *plateia*² which comes from *platus* meaning "wide" or "broad." The derivative feminine form *plateia* may be translated "street." However, the biblical usage, as seen above, indicates a preference of "square" over "street." as is also attested by the Syriac's rendition of "an open space."³

If *ῥῥῥῥ* means public "square," then it may be assumed that it may have a

¹Against Hengstenberg, 126, and English versions which prefer "street." Words that are used for street are *hūs* (Isa 15:3; Jer 5:1; 9:20; in these passages *hūs* and *ῥῥῥῥ* appear together); *pānīm* (Job 18:17); *šūq* (Eccl 12:4, 5; Cant 3:2). Cf. Montgomery, 380, who is followed by Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 119, 120. The statement of White, 2:841, that "these 'squares' were public areas and were unfortunately used for idol shrines in the time of Israel's apostasy (Ezk 16:24, 31) but they are to be distinguished from the broad area at the city gates where public business was done and courts operated" does not seem justified for the following reasons: (1) he cites the occurrence of *ῥῥῥῥ* in Neh 8:1 as an example of the "square" which should be distinguished from the broad area at the city gate. Yet the "square" as found in Neh 8:1 is at the Water Gate. (2) Ezek 16:24, 31 does not make any distinction between "public square" and "broad area at the gate." It simply states that shrines were built in all public squares and also in streets. (3) Various passages give the impression that squares are open areas where public business was done and court sessions were held, usually near the gate. E.g., Job 29:7-10, where the old men sat, and the princes spoke and the voice of the nobles were heard. This was the place where Job saw to it that justice was done to the needy. Cf. Gen 19:2; 2 Chr 32:6.

²The LXX is missing *ῥῥῥῥ ῥῥῥῥ* in Dan 9:25. However, the missing clause may find its equivalence in a clause in vs. 27: *kai palin epistrepsei kai anoikodomēthēsetai eis platos kai mēkos kai kata suneteleian kairōn*, "and again it will return and be built up in breadth and length but at the end of times." LXX's *platos kai mēkos* would be the equivalent of the MT's *ῥῥῥῥ ῥῥῥῥ* of vs. 25.

³*Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, 36; CSD, 568, definition includes: "a) an open space; b) a street, square, market-place, market, bazaar; c) forum, place of assembly, court."

special significance in this "word" regarding restoration and building. Why should the "square," an open space, be referred to as part of the restoration and building of a city? There may be two basic reasons that one can suggest: first, it was the center of city life. Montgomery has observed: "By 'street' (*r'hôb*), properly 'broadway, plaza,' are meant the broad spaces, generally just inside the city gates, the centre of city life, and by synecdoche standing for the city."¹ The "square" was the place of gathering for various activities and thus the place where the life of the city took place.

Second, the "square" may be seen as an expression involving political governance. Some passages depict the "square" as being near the gate of the city.² In Hezekiah's day there was a "square at the city gate" in Jerusalem (2 Chr 32:6). It was the place where people and/or cultic and military officials assembled to hear official proclamations as well as a place where the elders met to make decisions

¹Montgomery, 380.

²See Job 29:7; Gen 19:2; 2 Chr 32:6. Ludwig Köhler, *Hebrew Man*, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 130. Hanoch Reviv, *The Elders in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 67, has an enlightening statement: "In several excavations at archaeological sites in Israel, benches have been found near city gates." Thus, sometimes the open space (square) near the gate is sometimes referred to by the expression "at the gate." Hans Jochen Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the Old Testament and Ancient East*, trans. Jeremy Moiser (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980), 31: "The place of law frequently mentioned in the OT is the 'gate' (Deut 21:19; 25:7; Amos 5:10; Ruth 4:1, 11). By this was meant the open space immediately behind the city gates, and also the inner recesses of the passageway where there was some seating accommodation." However, a "square" is mentioned to have been in front of the king's gate (Est 4:6), and another before the house of the Lord (Ezra 10:9).

regarding administration and court cases, using theocentric laws.¹

King Hezekiah assembled priests and the Levites in the "square on the east" in Jerusalem to give them his instruction of religious and worship reform (2 Chr 29:4). According to 2 Chr 32:6 he appointed military officers and assembled them in the "square at the city gate" of Jerusalem to encourage them while defining their military duties. We may think also of Ruth 4:1-11 where Boaz is depicted as having gone up "to the gate" to assemble the elders of the town. It is possible that the place they were seated at the gate to decide a court case involving kinsman redemption, was a public square near the gate. Thus, the "square" was a symbol of the people's freedom in using the laws of their God, in judging, in military preparations--in short, in the administration and governance of the people.

It is, therefore, noteworthy that the first general assembly after the exiles had returned from Babylon took place in "the open square before the house of God," where Ezra deliberated on their lifestyles in harmony with God's law.² Furthermore, the first general assembly after the wall was completed happened in the square in front of the Water Gate, where Ezra read to them from the Law.³

Thus, to "restore and to build" Jerusalem with the emphasis on a public "square" depicts the reestablishment of the physical representation of the politico-religious privileges associated with square in general which had been taken away

¹Boecker, 31: "The place of law frequently mentioned in the OT is the 'gate' (Deut 21:19; 25:7; Amos 5:10; Ruth 4:1, 11)."

²Ezra 10:9-10.

³Neh 8:1-4.

from them by the Babylonians. The physical representation of "square" communicates also the power to decide court cases and to govern themselves by the laws of their God.

How does the term *hārūs* contribute to the meaning of this passage? *hārūs* is translated as "wall,"¹ "trench,"² "moat,"³ "rampart,"⁴ and "conduit."⁵ The rendering using "wall" seems to follow Theodotion's use of the Greek term *teichos*, "wall." This translation is also followed by the Vulgate which has the term *muri*. The translation "wall" is possibly influenced by Isa 26:1 and the fact that Nehemiah's work was dominated by the building of the wall. But is it really supported either by Isa 26:1 or the book of Nehemiah? The term used in Isa 26:1 and throughout Nehemiah is *hômāh*.⁶ Aside from the translation in Dan 9:25 *hārūs* is never used in the Old Testament with the meaning of "wall."⁷ The rendering of *hārūs* with the term "wall," therefore, does not seem to have a strong linguistic basis.

¹So KJV; NKJV.

²NIV.

³So RSV; NRSV; NASB; and NJT.

⁴So JB and NJB.

⁵So NEB and REB.

⁶See Neh 6:1; 12:27, 30, etc. Cf. Walvoord, *Daniel*, 227.

⁷Montgomery, 380, has observed that "the VSS did not know the word." Barnes, 153, has categorically stated: "The word does not properly mean *wall*, and it is never elsewhere so used."

Other translations used by English versions are "moat" or "trench." One reason for using "moat" to translate *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 is that a trench has been found on the northern side of Jerusalem.¹ This trench supposedly was created as a result of the building of the wall.² However, this proposal raises several questions.

The first question is chronological. Which wall resulted in that trench? Was it a previous wall or the wall of Nehemiah? If it was the result of a previous wall, the trench might have been there before the return of the exiles and thus cannot be reckoned with the restoration of Jerusalem. On the other hand, if it was not there before the exile, how could it be restored?

Montgomery has proposed that "as 'street' stands for the interior of the city, so moat for the line of circumvallation, and the two items present a graphic picture of the complete restoration."³ That raises further questions: Why would a trench that does not go around even half of the city stand for the line of circumvallation? Would the wall not be a better graphic representation?⁴ Why would a trench that is

¹Montgomery, 380, has proposed that the expression refers to "the great cutting in the natural rock along the northern wall of Jerusalem."

²Montgomery's (380) proposal that the expression refers to "the great cutting in the natural rock along the northern wall of Jerusalem" is followed by Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 120, 121, who, quoting Montgomery, has added that the cutting "which is still visible" was "for the purpose of building a defence wall."

³Montgomery, 380. So Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 206. Hartman and Di Lella, 245, remark that "by referring to the city's 'streets and moat,' our author means to say 'everything inside and outside the city walls.'" Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 254, suggests: "a possible aspect of Jerusalem's fortification."

⁴Montgomery, 380, describes the Theodotion and the Vulgate rendition of *hārūs* with "wall" as guesswork.

the result of building a wall be cited as a sign of restoration instead of the wall that is consciously built for defense? The opponents of Jerusalem were intimidated by the wall rather than a trench. If Gabriel had defenses in mind, the natural symbol would have been the wall.

Another reason for the rendition "moat" is that there is an Aramaic inscription, the Zakir Inscription (8th cent. B.C.), in which *hrs* is used with the meaning "moat or trench."¹ It is on the basis of this inscription that J. A. Montgomery proposes that *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 should be taken as "moat."² A. Bentzen, on the same basis, posits "Stadtgraben."³ E. J. Young maintains "the word 'moat' means a trench."⁴ N. W. Porteous prefers "conduit."⁵ A. Lacoque, on the basis of the same inscription, proposes "entrenchment"⁶ while L. Hartman and A. Di

¹See *KAI*, 202.A 10; Charles C. Torrey, "The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions," *JAOS* 35 (1915): 354-56. Both the BHK and the BHS suggest that the meaning of *hārūs* may be *fossa*, "ditch or trench," according to this Aramaic inscription. The BHS adds the suggestion that it may be taken as *hūs* like Jer 5:1 and 9:20. This means "space outside the house" and by derivation may refer to "street." Montgomery, 380, prefers "moat" on the same basis that "the word is known also from the Zakar Inscription." So Slotki, 78. Montgomery and Slotki are followed by Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 120.

²Montgomery, 380.

³Bentzen, 68.

⁴Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 206.

⁵Porteous, 142, in addition to the term being "known" in Phoenician and Accadian with the meaning of 'moat,' refers to "the meaning 'conduit' in the Dead Sea Copper Scroll," and on that basis prefers to translate *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 with "conduit." So Towner, 143.

⁶Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 188.

Lella maintain "moat."¹ These interpreters base their preference for "moat," "trench," "conduit" (at least in part), "entrenchment," and the like, on the use of the root *hrs* in the Zakir Inscription to mean "moat" or "trench." The inscription reads:

Text: *whrmw šr mn šr hzrk whš^cmqw hrs mn hr[sh]*²

C. C. Torrey's translation: "and raised a wall higher than the wall of Hazrek, and dug a trench deeper than [its] moat."³

H. Donner and W. Röllig's translation: "und richteten eine Mauer auf, höher als die Mauer von Hazrak, und hoben einen Graben aus, tiefer als [sein] Gra[ben]."⁴

J. C. L. Gibson's translation: "They put up a rampart higher than the wall of Hadrach, and dug a trench deeper than its moat."⁵

The text has three consonants (*hrs*), rendered by Torrey with "trench:"⁶ Donner and Röllig with "Graben:"⁷ and Gibson with "trench."⁸ The last word in line 10 has only two consonants, *hr* with *sh* supplied. Thus, one cannot be very

¹Hartman and Di Lella, 244, 245. So Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1982), 337; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 254; Cornill, 5.

²*KAI*, 202.A 10; Torrey, 354.

³Torrey, 356.

⁴*KAI*, 205.

⁵John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 2:9.

⁶Torrey, 356.

⁷*KAI*, 205.

⁸Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 9.

certain about its reconstructions,¹ although its association with the root *hrs* seems certain. Montgomery says it could be "*harūs* or *harīs*."² Gibson suggests *hrīs*.³ and Donner and Röllig suggest "Wurzel *hrs*, akkad. *harāsu*."⁴

The Zakir Inscription is from the eighth century B.C. and is written in Aramaic. The question of an early Aramaic terminological link to the Hebrew of Dan 9:25 remains hypothetical.⁵ Furthermore this is not the only ancient inscription with the word *hrs*. Neither is "moat" the only meaning of the root *hrs* as used in other ancient inscriptions as is shown below.

¹Cf. the statement of A. van Selms, "The Origin of the Name Tyropoeon in Jerusalem," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 172. that "the word for 'moat' is *hrs*, the vocalisation of which is uncertain."

²Montgomery, 380.

³Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 15.

⁴*KAI*, 208.

⁵For further study of the Zakir Inscription, see Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 2:6-17; *KAI*, 1:203; 2:202-11; Franz Rosenthal, "Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions," in *ANET*, ed. James B. Pritchard, 3d ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 655-656; J. Friedrich, "Zu der altaramäischen Stele des ZKR von Hamat," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21 (1966): 83; Matthew Black, "The Zakir Stele," in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958), 242-250; Martin Noth, "La'asch und Hazrak," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 52 (1929): 124-41; S. Gervitz, "West Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *VT* 11 (1961): 137-58; W. F. Albright, "Notes on Early Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphy," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 6 (1926): 85, 86; Torrey, 353-369; James A. Montgomery, "Some Gleanings from Pognon's ZKR Inscription," *JBL* 28 (1909): 57-70; H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1907-8) who first published the inscription; J. Halévy, "Inscription de Zakir roi de Hamat," *Revue sémitique* 16 (1908), 243-358.

The word *hrs* occurs in Phoenician with the meaning of "gold."¹ This meaning of *hrs* appears in line 4 of an old inscription found in Phoenician itself.² the Inscription of Yehaw-milk, King of Gebal, found in Byblos (the Greeks changed Gebal to Byblos).³ The root also appears in line 12 of the Kilamuwa inscription, dated to the second half of the ninth century B.C..⁴ with the meaning of "gold."⁵ Later inscriptions also attest the root *hrs* with the meaning of gold.⁶

¹*KAI*, 3:9; *DISO*, 96.

²*NSI*, 19; *KAI*, vol. 2, p. 11.

³*KAI*, 10.4.5.12 (see especially vol. 2, pp. 13, 14, 15); *CIS*, 1:1; *NE*, 416; *NSI*, 3; *KI*, 5; *NSI*, 3. (see especially pp. 18, 20 and 23); *ANET*, 656; Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 3:94-98; G. Garbani, "L'iscrizione de Yehawmilk," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 37 (1977): 403-08; S. Yevin, "עֵדוּת," *IEJ* 24 (1974): 17-20; J. Friedrich, "Kleinigkeiten zum Phönizischen, Punischen und Numidischen," *ZDMG* 114 (1964): 225, 226; A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'inscription de Yehawmilk, roi de Byblos," 3 (1950): 35-44; N. Slouschz, *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions* (Tel Aviv: Bailik Foundation, 1942), 12; M. Dunand, "Encore la stèle de Yehavmilk roi de Byblos," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 5 (1941): 57-85.

⁴Rosenthal, 654.

⁵*KAI*, 24.12; *DISO*, 96. For further study of this inscription, see M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *BASOR* 226 (1977): 16-29, who disputes that the inscription is a poem, a proposition made by T. Collins, "The Kilamuwa Inscription--A Phoenician Poem," *Welt des Orients* 6 (1971): 183-88. Others include Rosenthal, 654, 655; Torrey, 353-69; H. Bauer, "Nachtrag zu meinem Aufsatz über die *Klmw*-Inschrift," *Zeitschrift für deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft* (1914): 227, 228; idem, "Die *Klmw* Inschrift aus Sendschirli," *Zeitschrift für deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft* 67 (1913): 648-91; H. Gressmann, "Inschrift des Kilamu aus Zendschirli," in *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1912), 442, 443; J. Halévy, "Les inscriptions du roi Kalumu," *Revue sémitique* 20 (1912): 19-30.

⁶E.g., the inscriptions of (1) the king of Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, line 1, found in Idalion and dated to 391 B.C. (see *NSI*, 24; *KAI*, 38; Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 132); (2) Tabnith, line 5, found in

A Phoenician inscription, Piraeus,¹ describing a crowning ceremony, dated to 96 B.C. and found at Piraeus, has the root *hrs* in line 5 which has been viewed as having the meaning of "gold."² "Gravierung, Inzision."³ and "decision."⁴

The word *hrs* is also found in a Neo-Punic inscription, Maktar. A line 10.⁵ While the meaning "gold" is generally ascribed to *hrs* in A line 10, it is also acknowledged that the context is obscure.⁶

In Ugaritic, the term *hrs* appears with the meaning "gold" two times in a text dealing with ritual for sacrifices and for offerings of precious metals.⁷ and six

Sidon and dated to 300 B.C. (see *NSI*, 26; *KAI*, 13.5; *DISO*, 96; *ANET*, 662; Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 101-05).

¹*KAI*, 60; *NSI*, 33; *NE*, 425; *KI*, 52; *RÉS*, 1215; P. Magnanini, *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell' oriente* (Roma: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1976), 138, 139.

²*NSI*, 98.

³*KAI*, 60 (see vol. 2, p. 74); Magnanini, 39; Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 150, says: "It is simpler to translate *hrs* in 5 not as 'gold' but as 'something sculpted, chiselled' (in apposition)."

⁴Georg Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1889), 4, 10, 11. In his argument against the translations that use "gold" and "engraving," Hoffmann (p. 11) argues that "usually, it is a stone stele and not a golden stele [that] is mentioned anywhere, if *hrs* would be allowed at all to be translated this way. Furthermore, *hrs* = *charassein* (engrave, inscribe) is not possible from the Hebrew: this has beside, *hqq* (cut in, inscribe, decree) instead of *hrs* (graver, artificer), *hrt* (*hrt*) (grave, engrave). Therefore, *hrs* is decision."

⁵*KAI*, 145, II, line 10; *CIS*, 1:327, line 5; *NSI*, 59, A, line 10; *DISO*, 96.

⁶*KAI*, vol. 2, p. 143; *DISO*, 96; *NSI*, 59 (especially pp. 151, 152, 159); J. G. Février, "La grande inscription dédicatoire de Mactar," *Semitica* 6 (1956): 26.

⁷Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 257, and Texts: 5:10, 13.

times in the "Ba^cl and ^cAnat Cycle."¹ Elsewhere, *hrs* is found with the same meaning, "gold," once in an inventory text dealing with "royal war chariots, some gilded, with equipment,"² and in purchases and statements of cost or value texts, once each in two texts dealing with two men who "get a *mihd* for 400 shekels of gold on the new moon in the month of *Pgrm*."³ and once in a text that states that "the queen's *mšq* (=drinking bowl?) made of(?) 260 shekels of silver, cost(?) 80 shekels of gold."⁴

The term *hrs* in Akkadian has the basic meaning of (1) "to cut down, to cut off,"⁵ (2) "to set, determine,"⁶ (3) "to incise, to cut in deeply,"⁷ (4) "to make clear,

¹See *UT*, 259, Texts: 51:I:27, 28, 33, 38, II:28, IV:37. Also H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends," 131-142, Text II AB. Cf. Theodor H. Gaster, "A King without a Castle--Baal's Appeal to Asherat," *BASOR* 101 (1946): 29, where all the three occurrences in 51:27-38 are translated with "gold." Idem, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology," *BASOR* 93 (1944): 20-23, which discusses Albright's article (next). W. F. Albright, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology," *BASOR* 91 (1943): 40, 41; Umberto Cassuto, "The Palace of Baal," *JBL* 61 (1942): 54, 55; idem, "Il palazzo di Ba'al nella tavola II AB di Ras Shamra," *Orientalia* 7 (1938): 274, 275; Albrecht Goetze, "The Tenses of Ugaritic," *JAOS* 58 (1938): 269, 283; James A. Montgomery, "Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra," *JAOS* 53 (1933): 119.

²*UT*, 275, Text: 1122:2.

³*UT*, 277, Texts: 1155:8 and 1156:7.

⁴*UT*, 277, Text: 1157:6.

⁵*CAD*, 92:

⁶*CAD*, 92; *AHw*, 324, "genau bestimmen"; *HAL*, 342, "bestimmen"; *KBL*, 336, "decide." Cf. O. R. Gurney, "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu," *Iraq* 11 (1949): 141, where the root (reconstructed, "r" supplied) appears with the meaning "reckoned" (?) in line 12 of a fragment which is a part of a letter of 14 short lines addressed to Kadashman-Enlil, king of Karduniash.

to clarify."¹ (5) "to adjust."² and (6) "to cut off."³ The basic meaning of "cutting" seems to underline all other meanings. Z. W. Falk maintains that there is "a semantic relation between cutting, dividing and rendering legal decision."⁴ He states that "Akkadian *parāsu* and *harāsu*, as well as Latin *decidere* and Arabic *qadā* describe both the acts of cutting and deciding."⁵ The derivative *harīsu* is used as a substantive with the meaning "moat"⁶ and as an adjective with the decisions made with regard to fixing a purchase price and during contracts.⁷ The substantive *hurāsu* has the meaning "gold."⁸

⁷CAD, 92; AHw, 324. "einschneiden."

¹CAD, 94; AHw, 324. "klären, genau feststellen." cf. defn. 2.

²CAD, 92, 94.

³CAD, 92, 94; KBL, 336. "cut off"; HAL, 342.

⁴Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms: III." *JSS* 14 (1969): 39.

⁵Ibid. Cf. KBL, 336; HAL, 342; the Greek *kritēs* and Demotic *wptj.w* which also mean "judge, separator between the contestants." A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926), 1:298.

⁶AHw, 326; CAD, 103.

⁷AH, 292; CAD, 327. Cf. J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889), 635, 5; 756, 9. Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *AH* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896), 292, who also points out that it is used "often in contracts" (ibid). These usages are very pertinent considering the fact that *r'hôb* was also a place where contracts and purchase prices were decided. An incisive example is Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah and the contract of possession which were reached at the gate (Gen 23:9-19).

⁸AHw, 358; CAD, 245. H. Zimmern, "Assyrische chemisch-technische Rezepte, insbesondere für Herstellung farbiger glasierter Ziegel, in Umschrift und Übersetzung," *ZA* 36 (1925): 194, 195, has the translation "gelb." This meaning

The study of the root *hrs* has shown that in the various cognate languages and ancient inscriptions this term has various meanings.¹ While the various meanings of the root *hrs* found in the various cognate languages and ancient inscriptions give us information about the semantic range of the root *hrs*,² none of them, including the meaning "moat," can *a priori* be chosen to be the meaning of *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 just because it happens to be the meaning of an occurrence of *hrs* in one of the ancient inscriptions or texts.³

The Hebrew term *hārūs* derives from the verbal root *hrs* (Akkadian

probably developed from the color of gold.

¹In Ancient Aramaic it appears with the meaning "trench" or "moat" (*DISO*, 96), and in biblical Aramaic with the meaning "hip" (Dan 5:6). Cf. *CHAL*, 406. It appears with the meanings of "gold" in Phoenician (*DISO*, 96), "decision" (Hoffmann, 5, 11); "gold," "sculpture," and "engraving" in Punic (*DISO*, 96); "gold" (*UT*, 1014), and seems to mean "hoariness" (*hrs*, 1 Aqht: 8, *UT*, 900) and listed among military supplies (*UT*, 900; Text, 1121:8; 1123:4, 8) in Ugaritic. In the East Semitic, attested meanings include: "cut," "decide," "clarify," and "exact," "gold," "moat" and "yellow" (*AHW*, 323, 324, 326; *CAD*, 95, 96, 103).

²*hrys* appears in Col. V line 8 of the Copper Scroll found in Qumran Cave III (3Q) (see J. T. Milik, 3Q15 in *DJD* 3). The statement of J. T. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran, Translation and Commentary," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities*, 4-5 (1960): 140, 147, that "the term *hrys* of V 8, does not mean "moat" but any kind of 'canal, drain, or ditch" implies that *hrys* may either be different from *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 or that the root has a wide semantic range.

³Contrary to the basis of Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 380; Slotki, 78; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 120; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 206; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 188; Hartman and Di Lella, 244, 245; G. Maier, 337; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 254.

ḥarāsu).¹ The Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon lists three main meanings of the verbal root: (1) "cut, mutilate," (2) "sharpen," and (3) "decide."² L. J. Coppes defines the verb *hāras* with "bestir oneself, decide, decree, determine, maim, move."³ The root *hrs*, however, seems to have the basic meaning "cut."⁴

In the Old Testament, the use of *hrs* for "cut" in its concrete sense is found only in Lev 22:22, where it is used to refer to a "maimed or mutilated" animal which is not to be presented for an offering.⁵ In comparison, its use with the extended meaning "decide" is frequent in the Old Testament as indicated by the occurrences of the various verbal forms:⁶

Exod 11:7 *yeh'ras*

Josh 10:21 *hāras*

¹*HAL*, 336; *KBL*, 336; *AHw*, 323, 324; *CAD* 6:92-95. D. N. Freedman and J. R. Lundbom, "*hāras, hārūs, hārīs*," *TDOT*, 5:216, state that "the verb *hāras* has a range of meanings closely comparable to those of its Akkadian cognate *harāsu*." Cf. Bentzen, 68.

²*BDB* 358; *HAL*, 342, (1) gives the figurative meaning of "sharpen the tongue" as "bedrohen," (2) "festsetzen, beschliessen"; *KBL*, 336, (1) "sharpen" i.e., the tongue = fig. "bedrohen," (2) "decide, fix"; *HCL*, 308, (a) "to cut, to cut into," (b) "to sharpen, to bring to a point," (3) "to decide, to determine," (4) "to be sharp," and (5) "to be eager." The last definition is listed separately by *KBL*, 336, *hrs* II; *HAL*, 342, *hrs* II; *CHAL*, 117, (1) "threaten," (2) "settle, determine," and *hrs* II as "eager for s. thg, pay attention."

³Leonard J. Coppes, "*hāras*," *TWOT*, 1:326. Coppes adds that "basic to the meaning of *hārūs* are the concepts "to cut or sharpen" and "to decide."

⁴Freedman and Lundbom, 5:216.

⁵Freedman and Lundbom, 5:217; Coppes, "*hāras*," 326.

⁶Cf. Freedman and Lundbom, 5:217: "In fact, the secondary meaning 'decide, determine' is more common in the OT."

Lev 22:22	<i>hārūs</i>
2 Sam 5:24	<i>teh^rrās</i>
1 Kgs 20:40	<i>hārāstā</i>
Job 14:5	<i>h^rrūsīm</i>
Isa 10:22	<i>hārūs</i>
Isa 10:23	<i>w^rneh^rrāsāh</i>
Isa 28:22	<i>w^rneh^rrāsāh</i>
Dan 9:26	<i>neh^rreset</i>
Dan 9:27	<i>w^rneh^rrāsāh</i>
Dan 11:36	<i>neh^rrāsāh</i>

The first two entries (Exod 11:7 and Josh 10:21) are used in the idiomatic expressions "show (sharpen) tongue against" (Exod 11:7) and "move a tongue against" (Josh 10:21). The expressions portray speeches that come from a specific decision by the speaker to act. Freedman and Lundbom compare these idiomatic uses to (1) Talmudic usage, (2) Akkadian usage, and (3) the Egyptian idiom *dm rn*. "pronounce (lit., 'cut')." proposing that the expressions must have the meaning of "decisive speaking."¹

In Lev 22:22 we have the only use of the verb with the basic meaning "cut," applied to a mutilated animal. The *Qal* imperfect in 2 Sam 5:24 also has the extended meaning to "act with decision."² The two *Qal* passive participles (Job

¹Freedman and Lundbom, 5:217. Cf. Coppes, "*hāras*," 326.

²See *BDB*, 358.

14:5 and Isa 10:22) are used with the extended meaning of "decide." The remaining usages (Isa 10:23; 28:22; Dan 9:26, 27; 11:36) are all *Nifal* participles, also employed in the sense of "something that is decided" or "decision."¹ The participle in Isa 28:22 is used substantively in the clause "for I have heard a *strict decision* of destruction from the Lord."² Thus the verbal forms, almost without exception, employ the signification of "decide."

The term *hārūs*, as a substantive,³ is used four times to refer to "threshing sledge"⁴ apparently deriving from the meaning of *hāras*, "to sharpen." It is also used five times in Proverbs to refer to the "sharp" or "diligent" person.⁵ Freedman and Lundbom have suggested that the noun of the same form,⁶ "meaning 'gold' is a different root."⁷ There is even one occurrence, 2 Kgs 21:19, which refers to a personal name. However, more in line with the verbal usage are the two

¹CHAL, 117; KBL, 336; HAL, 342.

²Cf. the NRSV translation which is dynamic: "for I have heard a decree of destruction."

³Waltke and O'Connor, 88, in their analysis of noun patterns have stated that "the *qātūl/qātūl* pattern is, like the *qōtēl* a participial form, designating the object of the verbal action, for example, *kātūb*, 'what is written': like the *qōtēl*, the *qātūl* has many other uses, many lacking a passive sense. The pattern is used for both adjectives and substantives." *hārūs* may have developed from the substantival use of the *Qal* passive participle. Freedman and Lundbom suggest that *hārūs* may have been originally an adjective (TDOT 5:217).

⁴See Job 41:22 (Eng. 41:30); Isa 28:27; 41:15; Amos 1:3.

⁵See Prov 10:4; 12:24, 27; 13:4; 21:5.

⁶See Ps 68:14; Prov 3:14; 8:10, 19; 16:16; Zech 9:3.

⁷Freedman and Lundbom, 5:217. Cf. Coppes, "*hāras*," 326.

substantives found in the expression *b^cēmeq hehārūs*. "in the valley of decision." which appears twice in Joel 4:14 (Eng. 3:14). Here *hārūs* means "decision."¹

Freedman and Lundbom observe that "with the exception of Lev. 22:22, all usages of the verb and substantives that are in any way theological occur in the contexts of judgment and war."² Accordingly, *hārūs* is used with the designation of threshing sledge "in the Isaiah tradition as a metaphor of divine punishment."³ Yet the usage of *hārūs* with the meaning of "decide" is still dominant even in the contexts of war and judgment.

Where *hārūs* is associated with war, it involves the decision-making aspect. David is told to "act decisively" (2 Sam 5:24) to attack when he hears "the sound of marching at the tops of the balsam trees."⁴ The enemies of Israel will be decisively unable to oppose Israel.⁵ Thus, in the cases where *hārūs* is in the context of war, it has to do with the act of decision-making involved in the war.

When *hārūs* appears in the context of judgment, it is used in connection with the decision-making that is involved in the judgment activity. In Job 14:5, God has firmly decided (determined) the days of man. The judgment motif here seems to

¹*HAL*, 338, assigns this to *hārūs* V; *BDB*, 358; *CHAL*, 116; Freedman and Lundbom, 5:217.

²Freedman and Lundbom, 5:219.

³*Ibid.*

⁴2 Sam 5:24. Cf. Freedman and Lundbom, 5:219.

⁵Exod 11:7; Josh 10:21. Cf. Freedman and Lundbom, 5:219.

echo the initial judgment that was pronounced by the heavenly court on humanity after the fall.¹

Isa 10:22, 23 seems even closer to the use of the word in Dan 9:25. It is used against the background of the return of a remnant, and a firmly decided (determined) destruction, just as in Dan 9:26, 27. Again the same form of *hāras* (*Niphal* pass. ptc.) is used in Isa 10:23 just like Dan 9:26 and 27. In both passages the meaning of "decide" is used with reference to decisions of judgment made at the heavenly court with relevance to the breach of the covenant stipulations by Israel. One can, therefore, envisage a court scene here and the decision that is rendered in court.

The court scene motif is aptly described in Joel 4:1-17 (Eng. 3:1-17). Here, the nations are gathered in the valley of Jehoshaphat where God enters into judgment with them (4[3]:2, 12).² They are all brought into an open space like the public square, and there decisions are made with regard to their judgment. The term *hārūs* is here used to mean "decision" in the phrase "valley of decision."³ It should be noticed that *hārūs* is paired here with a place of judgment, and thus, the decision made at the place of judgment. This parallels the decisions made at public courts

¹Gen 3:19; 6:3.

²Cf. the threshing of the other nations in Isa 28:27.

³Joel 4[3]:14. See *HAL*, 338; *CHAL*, 336.

held in public squares. In 1 Kgs 20:40 also, *hāras* is used for the act of deciding or passing judgment.¹

The dominant usage of *hāras* and its derivative forms in the Old Testament, therefore, is its designation for "decision-making" and more specifically decisions pertaining to judgment. This usage with other considerations may assist in finding a better meaning of *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 than the single concrete meaning "moat" or the like which has no Hebrew parallel.

This usage of *hāras* with the meaning of "decision-making" is found twice in Dan 9:26, 27. Since this passage is part of Dan 9:24-27, the passage under discussion, the usage found here impacts very strongly on the meaning of *hārūs* in Dan 9:25. In Dan 9:26, the *Niphal* participle *neh'reset* is used with the extended meaning of "firmly decided" in the phrase "desolations are determined."² This same extended meaning of "firmly decided" is found in the other *Niphal* participle usage of the root *hrs* in Dan 9:27.³ These usages of *hāras* with the sphere of meaning of

¹HAL, 342; KBL, 336.

²This meaning of "firm decision" is acknowledged by interpreters. E.g., Maier, 337, 349: "beschlossen sind Verwüstungen"; Marti, 70; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 187, "devastations are decreed"; Charles, 248: "that which is determined of desolations"; Goldwurm, 264, 265: "desolation is decreed"; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 256: "desolations are determined." Goldingay, 230, takes the participle in a construct sense, and reads: "a decree of desolation." Cf. Peshitta, "and until the end of the war, decrees of destruction."

³Hartman and Di Lella, 245, observe: "Literally, 'ruin and decision.'" Charles, 252: "A consumation and strict decision." Goldwurm, 266, follows Rashi and translates, "decreed," remarking that "*hrws, cut off*, is used in the sense of *decreed* as in *mišpātekā* ²"*tāh hārastā, you decreed laws*, in 1 Kings 20:40." Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 263, states that "the word for 'what has been determined'

"decision" in the context of Dan 9:24-27 seem to provide a distinct contextual clue for the meaning of *hārūs* in Dan 9:25.

There are four considerations in favor of viewing *hārūs* in Dan 9:25 as having the meaning of "decision-making." First, the dominant meaning of the verb *hrs* according to the Old Testament usage is the extended meaning "to decide."¹ While this is a contributive argument, it suggests the direction toward the meaning of "decision-making" for the term *hārūs* in Dan 9:25.

Second, the context favors "decision-making" because:

1. The root appears two more times (Dan 9:26, 27) in the passage with the idea of the making of a "decision." It seems natural to use the same extended meaning in all three usages, unless there should be a specific reason which would demand another meaning.

2. The context is that of rebuilding Jerusalem as a city with the restoration of a people with the autonomy of political governance. That would include "decision-making" with regard to judging--governing the people by members of the people.

3. The pairing of *hārūs* with *r^hhōb*, "square," as a place of judgment, is

is a niph'al (passive) participle (root, *harats*, 'to cut' or 'to determine'), signifying here 'something determined.'

¹Zöckler, 199, records that Dathe interprets *hārūs* in terms "of the Divine 'Judgment,' and several others take *w^hhārūs* as a parenthetic supplement, signifying 'and it is determined' (decided), or, 'as it is determined' (Hitzig, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, Hengstenb., Hävernick, Von Lengerke, Wiesler, Kranichfeld)."

contextually meaningful if *hārūs* is taken as "decision-making" and not as "moat" or "trench."

The pairing of *hārūs* and *ṛhōb* becomes contextually most meaningful when it is viewed as designating the "decision-making" pertaining to the affairs of governance, including judgments made at the "public square." In this case, the pairing of *ṛhōb* and *hārūs* would signify that political privileges of autonomy will be granted which would enable the returned Judeans to make decisions at the proper place, the "square," with regard to settling their own court cases and engaging in the the affairs of self-governance.

The privileges of "decision-making" associated with the "square" are emphasized when the activities of the exiles are observed. Among the first things done after the exiles returned home with Ezra was to have a meeting at the "square" (Ezra 10:9-14) where serious decisions affecting the future of the families were made.¹ Furthermore, after the building of the wall of Jerusalem had been completed (Neh 6:15; 7:1), during the time of Nehemiah, the people assembled in the "square" before the Water Gate (Neh 8:13) where Ezra read to them from the Book of the Law (vss. 5-8). It is also significant to note that the resettlement record specifically shows that the leaders of the people settled in Jerusalem.² Elders would meet in the "square" to make decisions on cases and direct affairs that affected the people.

Third, the right of the elders to "decision-making" was singularly prominent

¹See Ezra 10:9-11.

²See Neh 11:1-24.

in the restoration of Jerusalem.¹ Donald A. Mckenzie has stated:

It is generally acknowledged, on the basis of various laws and narratives contained in the Old Testament, that the typical town in ancient Israel was governed by a council of elders, and that one of the most important responsibilities of this council of elders was its judicial responsibility . . . at the town gate.²

To the Hebrews, the right to decide cases according to their own laws was the single supreme act of restored citizenship.³ This is reflected in the fact that in Dan 9:12 "judges" are referred to with the meaning of "rulers."⁴ The synonymous usage of

¹The punishment to be inflicted on Jerusalem specifically included the Babylonian "authority to execute judgments, and they will judge you according to their laws" Ezek 23:24. See Zimmerli, 475, 482, 483; Eichrodt, 328, 329; Ronald M. Hals, *Ezekiel, The Forms of Old Testament Literature*, vol. 19 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1989), 164. Cf. Lam 5:14; Dan 9:12.

²Donald A. Mackenzie, "Judicial Procedure at the Town Gate," VT 14 (1964): 100; Reviv, 67, has observed that the city elders "were involved in decision-making and implementation of judgments."

³Prov 31:23; Ps 127:5; Job 29:7-9. B. S. Easton, "Gate," ISBE, 2:408, has remarked that "the seat 'among the elders' 'in the gate' (Prov 31:23) was a high honor, while 'oppression in the gates' was a synonym for judicial corruption (Prov 22:22; Isa 29:21; Amos 5:10; cf. 2 Sam 3:27)."

⁴Goldingay, 227, remarks that "the noun can denote leaders other than *the* 'judges'." Jeffrey, 488, 489, states: "The word is probably being used here in a general sense to cover all the classes or rulers mentioned in vss. 6, 8. *Shōphēt* both in Hebrew and Phoenician sometimes means 'ruler' rather than the narrower office of 'judge'." Hartman and Di Lella, 242, observe that "the term 'judges' is used here in the sense of 'magistrates' in general, thus including the various classes of rulers mentioned in vss. 6, 8." Bevan, 150, "In v. 12, 'judges' is apparently a general term for rulers." So Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 239; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 187; Charles, 231. In Mic 3:11, it is the leaders of Jerusalem who pronounce judgment. Cf. Ps 2:10; Amos 2:3; Prov 8:16. Briggs and Briggs, 1:17, translate the *Qal* participle *šōpētē* in Ps 2:10 with "'governors' of the earth." Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 315, commenting on Amos 2:3, states: "The word ruler (*šwpt*) is used merely as a synonym for 'king'." Shalom M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), 74, views the word as "alternating with other nouns signifying

these two words in this passage is apparent in the translations of the English versions. The NKJV's translation of Dan 9:12 as: "And He has confirmed His words, which He spoke against us and against our judges who judged us, by bringing upon us disaster" renders *šōptēnū* with "our judges." (So KJV.) The NASB, RSV, and NIV render *šōptēnū* as "our rulers" instead of the KJV and NKJV's rendition of "our judges." Evidently "judging" is viewed to include "ruling."¹ This seems to be in harmony with the tradition that a man viewed himself as participating in the act of governance by being part of the process of decision-making and judgment.² According to Ludwig Köhler, "The supreme right, in which are experienced the pride and worth of a healthy man, who is of age, has his own property, and is recognized by his fellows, is the right to take part and to

political leadership." See also W. Richter, "Zu den 'Richtern Israels.'" *ZAW* 77 (1965): 40-72; J. Alberto Soggin, "Osservazioni sulla radice *špt* e sul termine *šōp'tīm* in ebraico biblico," *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980): 57-59; William R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905), 42.

¹E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1964), 134, states that "the basic sense of the stem *špt* is 'to exercise authority' in various matters, hence 'govern, decide,' and the like." Cf. Werner H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*, BZAW 80 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1961), 27-34. Paul, 51, 52, views *šōpēt* as analogous with the terms *yōšēh* and *šārīm*. In Hos 13:10, the judges are the rulers (king and princes), and in 1 Chr 17:6, 7, 10, David is called *nāgīd* (vs. 7) parallel to *šōptē* (vs. 6) and *šōptīm* (vs. 10). These references echo 1 Sam 8:5, 6, where the people asked to be given "a king to judge us." In Exod 2:14; Mic 7:3; Zeph 3:3; Ps 148:11; Prov 8:16, *šōpēt* is paired with *šar*. In the Phoenician inscription, Ahiiram, line 2, *htr mšpṯh*, "the scepter of his rule" parallels *ks³ mlkh* "the throne of his kingdom." See Gibson, *Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 1:2; cf. Dahood, 13.

²Cf. J. L. McKenzie, 525-28; Köhler, 130; Boecker, 32; de Vaux, 1:69, 138.

speak in the legal assembly. It is the meeting place of those who really matter."¹

The right of decision-making and of executive judgment by the officials of the city at the public square before the exile is demonstrated by the trial of Jeremiah (Jer 26:8-24). This right to "decision-making" had to be restored in its governmental sense. For the restoration to be meaningful and adequate, it had to include the right to "decision-making" on the part of the people and its members.

The lamentations, traditionally attributed to Jeremiah, emphasize the view that the restoration had much to do with an autonomous political organization. In Lam 5:14, a lamentation over the loss of freedom in Jerusalem specifies that "the elders have ceased from the city-gate." This tragedy of the loss of their freedom as regarding the legal process of decision-making seems to cap the desolation of Jerusalem. It is understandable, therefore, that the lamentations end with a plea for restoration² using a *Hiphil* form of *šûb*³ as is used also in Dan 9:25. The lamenter, thus, seems to imply, among other things, that the restoration of the people must necessarily include the right to "decision-making" with regard to judgment.

Fourth, the probationary nature of Dan 9:24 could be meaningful only under the circumstances where there was some political autonomy that permitted

¹Köhler, 130. That the right to decision-making was the mark of a "free person" is the fact that aliens were excluded from any active participation in the legal trials. See Boecker, 32; Köhler, 130.

²Lam 5:21.

³Here the form is a *Hiphil* imperative meaning "restore us." All the same, it is interesting to note that the *Hiphil* imperative is paralleled with a *Qal* imperative like Dan 9:25 where *Hiphil* is also paralleled with *Qal*. This reveals a stylistic similarity.

theocentric polity. The "people" (Dan 9:24) could then be held responsible as a national entity if they misused the stipulations of the covenant during this period of renewed grace.

The above considerations, therefore, lead us to render *w'hārūs* with "decision-making." The pairing of the public "square" with "decision-making" in conjunction with the contextual meaning of "to restore and to build" define the content of the "word" of Dan 9:25. The chronological meaning of "word" then is that the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is determined by a "word" that will restore Jerusalem to political autonomy and self-governance, giving to the people their former freedom to decide court cases and to govern themselves on the basis of their theocentric laws and, thereby, giving them the freedom to build the city.

To sum up, I hope to have shown that each term in each pair has its own meaning. The first term of each pair refers to the rights and privileges of the people as a self-governing entity and the second one of each pair expresses the reconstruction of Jerusalem, the "holy" city (Dan 9:24), as the physical entity where this people has their center.

The Expression "Messiah the Prince"

Semantic Considerations

The expression *māšīah nāgīd* appears in Dan 9:25a: "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the command to restore and build Jerusalem

until Messiah the Prince, there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks."¹ The NKJV translation, "Messiah the Prince," is also the translation of KJV and NASB. Another translation found in the English versions is "an anointed one, a prince" which is adopted by RSV. The NRSV has "an anointed prince," while NEB and REB have "one anointed, a prince." ASV has "the anointed one, the prince." NIV has "the Anointed One, the ruler," and NJPS, "the anointed leader." This variety of renderings reveals something regarding the complexity of the expression.

Basic meaning

The noun *māšīah* comes from *msh* which means "to smear, anoint."² *māšīah* is a noun of the *qatīl* formation. It is assigned the same meaning as the *Qal* passive participle.³ "anointed," except that when it is used as a noun it is assigned the meaning "anointed one."⁴

The expression *nāgīd* comes from the root *ngd*, "to be high, to be lifted up.

¹NKJV.

²HAL, 608; KBL, 573; BDB, 602; Klein, 390, cf. 391; K. Seybold, "māšah." TWAT, 5:48. GHCL, 515, has "to spread over, to anoint"; CHAL, 218, "spread a liquid (oil, paint) over, anoint"; J. A. Soggin, "mælæk, König." THAT, 1:913. "anointed": Victor P. Hamilton, "māshah," TWOT, 1:530, "anoint, spread oil."

³Cf. Franz Hesse, "msh and māšīah in the Old Testament." TDNT, 9:501. "The noun *māšīah*, which means the same as the part. pass. q *māšūah* 'anointed,' is felt to be stronger than the part. when used as an independent noun 'the anointed'. It occurs in the OT 38 times, always with ref. to a person, whereas the part. can be used of both persons, Nu. 3:3 and also things, Ex. 29:2; Lv. 2:4; 7:12; Nu. 6:15." Cf. Waltke and O'Connor, 88.

⁴See HAL, 609; KBL, 574; BDB, 603; GHCL, 516; Klein, 390. Seybold, 5:48; Soggin, "mælæk, König." 1:913; Hamilton, 1:530.

to be elevated."¹ The expression *nāgīd* has been traditionally defined to mean "leader, prince, ruler, chief."² According to G. F. Hasel, "the form *nāgīd*, derived as a *qatīl* formation from the root *ngd*, has the original basic meaning of 'exalted one, high one'.³ It is a designation for a function which is assigned to persons who carry this designation of highness upon their commissioning.⁴ Among persons designated as *nāgīd* are Saul, especially David, Solomon, Abijah, Jeroboam, Basha, and Hezekiah. To be *nāgīd* means to be so chosen by God, and the *nāgīd* is a person that supports, upholds, and lives within the framework of the covenant.⁵

māšīah and nāgīd in the Old Testament

The masculine noun *māšīah* means "anointed one."⁶ This noun is used thirty-eight times in the Old Testament for different persons.⁷ The term is used mostly (thirty times) in the Old Testament for kings (Saul, David, Cyrus, and others)

¹Gerhard F. Hasel, "*nāgīd*," *TWAT*, 5:212: "hoch sein, erhoben sein, erhaben sein."

²*HAL*, 630, 631; *KBL* 592; *GHCL*, 531; Klein, 403; *BDB*, 617-18; *CHAL*, 226; S. D. Goitein, "The Title and the Office of the Nagid: A Re-examination," *JQR* 53 (1962): 116.

³Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:212: "Erhöhter, Hoher."

⁴*Ibid*.

⁵*Ibid.*, 5:215, 216.

⁶*HAL*, 609; *KBL*, 574; *CHAL*, 218; Klein, 391; Soggin, "*mælæk. König*," 1:914.

⁷See Even-Shoshan, 717; Hesse, 9:502. Soggin, "*mælæk. König*," 1:914, has 39 times. The difference between 38 and 39 usages is 2 Sam 1:21 where it may refer to a shield.

who are respectively "the Anointed." It is also used six times to refer to a High Priest,¹ and twice with reference to fathers (that is, the patriarchs).²

The masculine noun *nāgīd* has the literal meaning of "exalted one, high one."³ The substantive *nāgīd* is found in fourteen of the Old Testament books.⁴ The greatest concentration is found in the Historical Books with thirty-three occurrences;⁵ then there are four in the Wisdom literature,⁶ three in the Major Prophets,⁷ three in the Apocalyptic literature,⁸ and one in the Psalms (76:13).⁹

māšīah and nāgīd in the book of Daniel

In the book of Daniel, the term *māšīah* appears only twice,¹⁰ and *nāgīd* three times.¹¹ The two terms appear together, and once each separately in Dan

¹HAL, 610; KBL, 574. Franz Hesse has pointed out that "in four passages (Lv. 4:3, 5, 16; 6:15) which use *māšīah* for the high-priest the term is not as elsewhere meant as a noun or title but is used attributively." See TDNT, 9:505.

²1 Chr 16:22; Ps 105:15.

³See Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:212.

⁴See *ibid.*, 5:208.

⁵Twenty-one in 1-2 Chronicles; 7 in 1-2 Samuel, 4 in 1-2 Kings and 1 in Neh 11:11.

⁶Job 29:10; 31:37; Prov 8:6; 28:16.

⁷Isa 55:4; Jer 20:1; Ezek 28:2.

⁸Dan 9:25, 26; 11:22.

⁹See Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:207.

¹⁰Dan 9:25, 26.

¹¹Dan 9:25, 26; 11:22.

9:25, 26. Theodotion renders the expression in Dan 9:25 with *christou hēgoumenou* which is the equivalent of *māšīah nāgīd*. One wonders, however, whether the LXX rendition of *kuriō* should be applied to *māšīah* or *nāgīd*. The Syriac has *mšwhh mlkh*¹ and the Vulgate reads *ad Christum ducem*.

Scholars have translated the expression *māšīah nāgīd* variously. O. Plöger suggests "biz zu einen Gesalbten (als) Oberhaupt."² A. Lacocque has "the Messiah-chief."³ J. E. Goldingay prefers "an anointed, a leader."⁴ N. W. Porteous takes the rendition "an anointed one, a prince."⁵ G. L. Archer, translates "the Anointed One, the ruler,"⁶ while J. F. Walvoord has "Messiah the Prince."⁷ and C. Boutflower, "Prince Messiah" in a similar sense as "'Nebuchadnezzar the king' = 'king Nebuchadnezzar'."⁸

¹*Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, 36.

²Plöger, 132.

³Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 194. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 378, also makes both nouns into a single hyphenated word, "an Anointed-Prince."

⁴Goldingay, 261. Hartman and Di Lella, 244, however, propose that "an anointed one, a leader" must be hendiadys and thus propose the translation "an anointed leader." However, while the two expressions are in the same state (absolute state), they do not express a single concept. Cf. Williams, 16.

⁵Porteous, 141, 142. So Heaton, 213; Slotki, 78; Bevan, 155; Towner, 143. S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138, has "anointed one, the prince," referring it to Cyrus; while Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 251, has "an Anointed One, a Prince," referring to Jesus Christ. So Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 203.

⁶Archer, 113.

⁷Walvoord, *Daniel*, 229. Cf. Jerome, 94, "Christ the prince."

⁸Boutflower, 191.

In Dan 9:25 and 26, however, we find the only absolute use of *māšīah* in the Old Testament.¹ Here it is a noun without any article or suffix. It is used as a proper name, even a *terminus technicus*.² In vs. 25, it is placed in juxtaposition with the noun *nāgīd*; the latter also used in the absolute sense. The two nouns are in the same state and are best understood as two titles. Dan 9:26 presents the second usage of *māšīah* and it may be seen as identifying the first usage more exactly.³ Nevertheless, the expression *māšīah nāgīd* does not seem to be a hendiadys⁴ and the two nouns do not stand (reversed) in an adjectival relationship, in which case the translation could also be "an anointed prince."⁵ (An attributive adjective normally follows its noun.⁶) This is not the case here. Since the two terms are in the same

¹Cf. Marinus de Jonge, "Messiah," *ABD* (1992), 4:779.

²Seybold, 5:52.53. Cf. Boutflower, 191, "This is the only place in the Old Testament where 'Messiah' is used as a title or a proper name of the Coming One."

³Gesenius, §131.a; Waltke and O'Connor, 229.

⁴So correctly Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:218, who notes the lack of a *waw* needed for a hendiadys.

⁵Contra Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 378, who translates the expression as "an Anointed-Prince." Cf. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 194, "Messiah-Chief."

⁶Cf. Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 16. Attributive adjectives that sometimes precede their nouns are more of those with probable affinity with "numerals, which may precede their noun." See Waltke and O'Connor, 258, 259. Joüon and Muraoka, 2:521, state: "The only exception is the adjective *rah* 'many' (not in the sense of 'great'), which sometimes precedes the noun." Moses Stuart, 282, states that it should be taken as "*an anointed one, a prince not an anointed prince*, for then *māšīah* must take its place behind *nāgīd*, according to the laws of the language. In its present position, moreover, standing after ^c*ad*, it cannot be a predicate, for this it could be only in case ^c*ad* were omitted, and then the assertion might be: *Anointed*

state, it seems syntactically proper to take them as two titles¹ with the same referent.

The two terms are both used in an absolute sense as would be proper for titles.² Therefore, the phrase ^c*ad māšīah nāgīd* may be properly translated "until the Messiah, the Exalted One."³ This then would refer to a person who is the Messiah as well as the Exalted One.

Four main interpretations are proposed for the identity of the *māšīah nāgīd*. Various scholars⁴ suggest Cyrus as the referent based on Isa 45:1.⁵ However, the reference of the term *m'šīhō* to Cyrus in Isa 45:1 is rather the exception and the two terms *māšīah* and *nāgīd* would probably not have been used for a heathen king in

[is] a prince."

¹Cf. Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:218.

²Cf. Jonge, 4:779.

³Hasel, "*nāgīd*," 5:218, 219. In Isa 55:4 *nāgīd* is used in reference to the expected Messiah. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, 1972), 377-78, argues on the basis that the introductory *hēn* (Behold!) usually refers to the future, and that it is "the introduction of the spiritual seed of David." Young proposes that the "sure mercies of David" (vs. 3) are "the mercies that were promised to David, namely, that his seed should ever be upon his throne." Cf. Acts 13:34; Isa 9:6; Luke 1:32, 33. Young has concluded that "the context requires that in this verse the suffix refers to the seed of David, the Messiah." Also Hengstenberg, 119.

⁴E.g., Plöger, 134; Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 345; S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138; Goldwurm, 262; E. W. Faulstich, *History, Harmony and Daniel: A New Computerized Evaluation* (Spencer, IA: Chronology Books, 1988), 106. This view was supported in the last century also by von Lengerke, Hitzig, Schürer, Cornill, and Meinhold; see Marti, 69.

⁵E.g., Francisco, 136; Pierce, 217; McComiskey, 28, 29; Gruenthaner, 48.

Daniel where the usual term is *melek* instead of *nāgīd*.¹

A second interpretation is based upon the recognition that *māšīah nāgīd* "is more likely an Israelite figure." J. Goldingay proposes that "if the seventy sevens commence about the time when the exile begins, and the anointed ruler appears after the first seven sevens, then the term likely refers either to Zerubbabel or Joshua."²

A third interpretation prefers Joshua, the high priest,³ as the person that is meant by "the Messiah, the Exalted One." The last two identifications have problems with chronology and do not seem to qualify.

The fourth interpretation is the one that has been held longer than any of the others. "The Messiah, the Exalted One" is in this view identified with Jesus Christ.⁴ The designation "Messiah" in Dan 9:25 and 26 in its absolute usage

¹Goldingay, 261. Cf. Hartman and Di Lella. Bevan, 155, maintains that the term cannot refer to Cyrus for the author would have indicated "that this Anointed One was the liberator of the Jewish exiles."

²Goldingay, 261.

³E.g., Marti, 69; Hartman and Di Lella, 251; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195; Porteous, 142; Heaton, 213; Towner, 143; Bevan, 156; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379. J. Coppens, "Le messianisme royal," *NRT* 90 (1968): 35-36, observes an exaltation of the priesthood as against the royal power.

⁴E.g., Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 251; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 203; Archer, 113; Boutflower, 191; Felix Zimmermann, *Daniel in Babylon*, re. ed. (Broadview, IL: Gibbs Publishing Co., 1974), 137; John C. Jeske, *Daniel* (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1985), 181; Bultema, 286; Gurney, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 31; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 89.

without the article seems to imply that "the Messiah" must be known.¹ This absolute usage of the Messianic title, coupled with the Messianic nature of Dan 9:24-27,² seems to fit the Old Testament Messianic expectation and appropriately points to Jesus Christ as the referent in Dan 9:25.³

"Messiah" (vs. 26). The title "Messiah" appears by itself without *nāgiđ* in Dan 9:26: "And after the sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off" (vs. 26). Interpreters are generally agreed that the *Niphal* imperfect *yikkārēṭ* in the phrase "the Messiah shall be cut off" designates a violent death of the Messiah, specifically by

¹Against the Messianic interpretation of the passage, Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379, says: "Unless we interpret such a case as 'my Anointed' in Ps. 2 as directly Messianic, it is never an O.T. name of Messiah." While Ps 2 may be applied to David and ultimately to Christ, one wonders whether David was destined to rule the whole earth and whether "the ends of the earth" were ever his possession, as it is said of the Lord's Messiah in Ps 2. One also questions whether it is an OT teaching ever to ask people to take refuge in an earthly king, as is said in vs. 12. Vs. 7 seems to capture the statement of the voice from heaven: "This is my Son" (Matt 3:17), uttered on the day of his anointing by baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit on him. Considering these verses, the inclination is to apply the anointed in Ps 2 to Christ just as it is done in Acts 4:25-27 and 13:32-33. See also Heb 1:1-5; 5:5; 2 Pet 1:16, 17. Cf. Boutflower, 191-92.

²Concerning the messianic nature of vs. 24, Hengstenberg, 119, remarks relative to vs. 25 that "the blessings promised in the previous verse (i.e. vs. 24), viz., the forgiveness of sins, the introduction of eternal righteousness, and so forth, were among the characteristics commonly held up by the prophets as those which would distinguish the Messianic era." Cf. Auberlen, 97. This view that vs. 24 is messianic is supported by the Jewish interpreter, Goldwurm, 261, who interprets "to bring everlasting righteousness" (vs. 24) to mean the 70 weeks "will usher in the epoch of the Messianic king."

³It is significant that Bertholdt has admitted "that at the words 'Messiah the Prince' we should be led to think of the Messiah, Jesus, and at those, ver. 26 'shall be cut off but not for himself,' of his crucifixion, though not absolutely necessary, is still very natural." Quoted in Hengstenberg, 119.

the hand(s) of a second party.¹ The Syriac rendition, *neteqtel*, "will be killed," correctly interprets the Hebrew *yikkārēl*.

Several Historical-Critical scholars propose that *māšīah* of vs. 26 be viewed as another one different from the one of vs. 25.² Yet the proposition of two different persons does not seem to be necessary, for several reasons. First, the punctuation of the MT that seemingly makes the *athnach* put 434 years between "the Messiah, the Prince" of vs. 25 and "the Messiah" of vs. 26 should not be taken as indicating a full disjunctive.³ The clause may be taken with the old versions (and other scholars) in a nondisjunctive way. It should be translated as follows:

From the going forth of a decree to restore and to build Jerusalem until the Messiah, the Exalted One [Prince], shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks (vs. 25). . . . and after the sixty-two weeks, the Messiah shall be cut off (vs. 26).

The natural meaning according to this rendering, then, is that "the Messiah" of vs.

¹Cf. Gen 9:11; Deut 20:20; Jer 11:19; Ps 37:9; Prov 2:22. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 381, says "The vb. 'cut off' is used of destruction of persons, e.g., Gen 9:11, and technically of death penalty, Lev. 7:20, etc." Also Zöckler, 198; Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 196; Towner, 144; Marti, 70; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 229; Bultema, 286; Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 255; Baldwin, 171; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 206.

²See Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178, 195, 196; Hartman and Di Lella, 251, 252; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 381; Charles, 246. Zöckler, 199, argues that "the event here predicted must fall into the *last* of the seventy weeks in v. 24, as the next verse expressly states. . . . Hence the *māšīah* who is cut off during that final year-week cannot possibly be identified with the *māšīah nāgīd* whom the preceding verse introduced already on the expiration of the *seventh* of the seventy weeks of years." This presupposes that the *athnach* in the MT of vs. 25 should be construed as a full disjunctive. This, however, does not seem to be the case. (See discussion under "Accent" below, p. 276.)

³See discussion on *athnach* below under "The Use of *Athnach* in Dan 9:25" (p. 276).

26 is the same as that of vs. 25. The structure of the passage as analyzed by J. Doukhan¹ and W. H. Shea² indicate that the same Messiah is meant in vss. 25 and 26.³

Doukhan analyzes the structure of Dan 9:25-27 and shows that the "two motifs of *Messiah* and *Jerusalem* are used alternatively."⁴

A₁ (vs. 25a) Messiah

B₁ (vs. 25b) Jerusalem

A₂ (vs. 26a) Messiah

B₂ (vs. 26b) Jerusalem

The contents of A₁, A₂, pertain to "the Messiah" while B₁, B₂, pertain to Jerusalem. The two motifs are interwoven in an alternating pattern of Messiah-Jerusalem-Messiah-Jerusalem (A₁B₁A₂B₂). In this literary relationship, just as Jerusalem is the same city in B₁ and B₂, the same personality is meant by "the Messiah" in A₁ and A₂.⁵ "The Messiah is consistently associated with 'weeks' (vss. 25a, 26a) while Jerusalem, the alternative motif on the B side, is associated with *hrs.*"⁶

Shea has reached a similar conclusion in his poetic analysis of Dan 9:25.

¹See Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9." 13.

²See Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel." 90-92.

³Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 12, has concluded: "There are strong reasons, therefore, to think that the original break between the number segments in the text was after the expression '62 weeks,' not before it. Thus, the death of the Messiah would follow closely upon his appearance."

⁴Ibid., 13, 14.

⁵Ibid., 18.

⁶Ibid.

26. He suggests that the passage is written in poetry and analyzes the poetic units of the passage.¹ Shea demonstrates that the passage "produces an A:B: :A:B: :A:B arrangement in which the same lettered items deal with the same subject."² He summarizes his findings as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| A. To restore and to build Jerusalem | |
| B. Unto Messiah the Prince | in the tricolon of vs. 25b |
| | |
| A. Seven weeks | |
| B. Sixty-two weeks | in the bicolon of vs. 25c |
| | |
| A. (Seven weeks for the) Rebuilding of Jerusalem | in the tricolon of vs. 25d |
| B. Sixty-two weeks to the Messiah | in the bicolon of vs. 26a |

In this analysis, all the items lettered B deal with the Messiah who is viewed as the same person.³

Second, the Old Testament concept of a future figure, the Suffering Servant, includes the death of that figure by the hand(s) of a second party. In the famous Servant Poem in the book of Isaiah, this picture is graphically depicted:

He was cut off⁴ from the land of the living;
 For the transgression of my people He was stricken,
 And they made His grave with the wicked.⁵

¹For details see Shea, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25." 59-63.

²Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 90.

³Ibid.

⁴The word used here is *gāzar*, "cut, divide." Its use is synonymous with *kārat* meaning "cut off." i.e., "destroy, exterminate" (see *BDB*, 160).

⁵Isa 53:8c-9a, NKJV.

This passage in the book of Isaiah (52:13-53:12) has several themes in common with Dan 9: (1) the "cutting off" of a future figure (Isa 53:8; Dan 9:26), (2) the transgression of the people (Isa 53:8; Dan 9:11) and (3) the atoning death (Isa 53:6, 8, 12; Dan 9:24, 27). In addition to these common themes between Isa 53 and Dan 9, there are also terminological connections: (1) *peša*^c, "transgression" (Isa 53:5, 8, 12; Dan 9:24), (2) *āwōn*, "iniquity" (Isa 53:5, 6; Dan 9:24), (3) *hatā*^ʔ_ʔ, "sin" (Isa 53:12; Dan 9:5, 8, 11, 15, 20, 24), (4) *am*, "people" (Isa 53:8; Dan 9:6, 24, 26), (5) *sedeq*, "righteousness" (Isa 53:11; Dan 9:7, 14, 18, 24), (6) *nāsā*^ʔ (Isa 53:4) and *sābal* (Isa 53:12), "bear (sin)," are synonymous with *kipper*, "atone" (Dan 9:24),¹ and (7) *gāzar*, "cut" (Isa 53:8), is synonymous with *kārat*, "cut" (Dan 9:26).

The link between the two passages is suggested thematically and terminologically. The implication is that the concept of "the Messiah" atoning for the sins of His people (Dan 9:24, 27) demands that "the Messiah" who is "cut off" in vs. 26 is the same as "the Messiah" in vs. 25.

Third, an extensive and special use of the word *kārat* in the Old Testament is its designation "to cut" a covenant.² The word was used of covenants because in the process of making a covenant, an animal was cut off or cut in two and the

¹Cf. Robert B. Girdlestone, *Synonyms of the Old Testament*, 3d ed., ed. D. R. White (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1983), 145, 155.

²E.g., Gen 15:18. For a more detailed study on the meaning of *kārat* and its theological use, see Gerhard F. Hasel, "*kārat*," *TWAT*, 4:355-367. Cf. Elmer B. Smick, "*kārat*," *TWOT*, 1:457.

parties passed between, as a ratification of the covenant.¹ In Dan 9:24-27 the verb *kāraṭ* has connotations relating to atonement (vs. 24), the ceasing of the sacrificial system (vs. 27), and the covenant (vs. 27). There is ample reason to suggest that "cut off" is used in Dan 9:26 in a cultic sense indicating covenantal connotations that include atoning and sacrificial aspects as well as covenant-making and covenant-ratifying overtones.²

"Prince" (vs. 26). Dan 9:26 uses not only "the Messiah" alone without "the Prince" as in vs. 25, but also uses "the Prince" alone without "the Messiah":

Then after the sixty-two weeks the Messiah will be cut off and have nothing, and the people of the prince who is to come will destroy the city and the sanctuary. And its end will come with a flood; even to the end there will be war; desolations are determined.³

¹See Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Gen 15." *JSOT* 19 (1981): 61-78; Speiser, 112; Abraham Malamat, "Mari," *BA* 34 (1971): 18.

²Jewish records also indicate that the Messiah would be cut off. Qumran on Isa 11:1, 4, listed as 4Q285 "proves that the Qumran community and primitive Christianity had a common belief in a slain *Messiah* since the fragment refers to the Isaianic 'Shoot of Jesse' (Is. 11:1), the 'Branch of David'." See Gerza Vermes, "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 19 (1992): 86-90. According to *The Jerusalem Post* (International ed.) dated 16 November 1991, "A newly released text from the DSS mentions the execution of a Messiah-like leader, suggesting that some ancient Jews held the . . . belief in the slaying of a Messiah." Robert Eisenman, a professor of Middle Eastern religions at California University, Long Beach, who helped translate the fragments, stated that one fragment contains five lines of text that describe the "piercings" and the death, using Messiah-related terms such as "the staff," "the Branch of David" and "the Root of Jesse." *The Jerusalem Post* expressed that Michael Wise, a University of Chicago professor of Aramaic, who also helped translate the fragments, has added that "the newly released text shows that the Jewish scroll writers had the idea of a Messiah who would suffer and die." See also *Pesiqtu Rabbati*, 37; *Bereshit Rabbati de Moshe Hadarshan*, 24:67.

³Dan 9:26 (NASB).

We need to note that vs. 26a has *māšīah* as the subject of the clause while in vs. 26b the subject is "people."

It has been posited that "the prince" of vs. 26 is different from "the Messiah, the Prince" of vs. 25,¹ although most of the proponents who argue for a different "prince" in vs. 26 agree that "the Messiah" of the same verse (vs. 26) must be viewed as identical with "the Messiah, the Prince."² In view of the fact that

¹E.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 252, who apply the *nāgīd* in vs. 26 to Antiochus Epiphanes IV. So Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178; G. R. Driver, "Sacred Numbers and Round Figures," 62, 63; Toni Craven, *Ezekiel, Daniel*, Collegeville Bible Commentary, Old Testament 16 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), 127. Pierce, 218, sees three "anointed rulers," Cyrus (seven weeks), Aristobulus I (sixty-two weeks), and Alexander Jannaeus (the final week)," who is both the *nāgīd* of vs. 26b and the "he" "who succeeds in confirming a covenant with the great ones (or, many) for one week" (Dan 9:27). A Berkeley Mickelson, *Daniel and Revelation: Riddles or Realities?* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984), 200, 201, applies "anointed one, a prince" (vs. 25) to Nehemiah, *māšīah* (vs. 26a) to Christ and *nāgīd* (vs. 26b) to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. In order to apply the titles to these three different personages, Mickelson has to regard the 70 Weeks as "epochal years" by which he calculates the first 7 weeks of Dan 9:25 to be 94 actual years (539-445 B.C.) instead of 7 x 7 (49) years; the next 62 weeks, 474 actual years instead of 62 x 7 (434) years; and the last week (vs. 27), 44 actual years instead of 1 x 7 (7) years. The last week applies to both the activities of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (174-164 B.C.) and the conquest of Titus and the Roman soldiers (A.D. 66-73). Apart from the problem of a lack of uniformity in the computation of the weeks which thus appears to be arbitrary, it is hard to reconcile the proposition that the last week, which he figures to be 44 actual years, could represent, at the same time, two different activities separated by an interval of over 200 years (164 B.C.- A.D. 66, according to his dates).

²E.g., Walvoord, *Daniel*, 229, 234, 235; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 139; Jeske, 181; Felix Zimmermann, 137, 138, 139; Bultema, 286; Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 251, 258; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 44, 56, 71, 74; Pusey, 200; Hengstenberg, 130; Gurney, *God in Control*, 110, 123; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 203, 207.

many scholars¹ see the "the prince of the covenant" in Dan 11:22 as identical with "the Messiah" of Dan 9:26, the possibility that "the prince" of Dan 9:26 (the same verse) is identical with this same "Messiah" (Dan 9:26) should not be ruled out.

Another proposal holds that the *nāgīd* of Dan 9:25 is the same figure as that of Dan 9:26b.²

In his analysis of the structure of the passage, W. H. Shea³ argues that in Dan 9:26 there is a breakup of the dyad or word pair of vs. 25. According to Shea, the arrangement is as follows:

1. vs. 25	Messiah	Prince	A + B
2. vs. 26a	Messiah	---	A --
3. vs. 26b	---	Prince	-- B

¹E.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 252, 295; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 226; Porteous, 142, 166; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 381, 451.

²Among those who view the *nāgīd* in vs. 26 to be the same as Messiah in vs. 26 are: Plöger, 134, 141; Marti, 70; H. Graetz, "Berträge zur Sach- und Wörtererklärung des Buches Daniel." MGWJ 20 (1871): 339-52; 385-406; 433-49; Charles, 247, 248. These scholars, though, with one manuscript and some ancient versions (LXX, Theodotion, Peshitta, Vulgate, and Aquila) re-point ^cam "people" to ^cim, "with." This may, however, be unnecessary as demonstrated by Shea, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 92-94. Scholars who view the *nāgīd* in vs. 26 to be of the same class (specifically, high priest) as Messiah, the Prince in vs. 25 include: Goidingay, 262; Bevan, 158. In this case, *nāgīd* in vs. 26 is not the enemy of that of vs. 25, but the continuation. Among those who view the three titles as referring to Christ are: G. W. West, *Daniel the Greatly Beloved* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, n.d.), 88; Shea, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 92-94; Hasel, "Interpretations," 25. Kline, 463, n. #31: "Actually this *nāgīd* is in all likelihood the Messiah."

³See Shea, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 92-94. For an alternative structure supporting the two-princes proposition, see Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13, 14, 16. Doukhan is followed by Frank Wilton Hardy, "An Historicist Perspective on Daniel 11" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1983), 86, 88.

This arrangement portrays that the two titles "Messiah" and "Prince," which are joined together to describe the same person in vs. 25, are separated in vs. 26 so that each of the two titles stands on its own. Yet they still describe the same person. Since the first of these two titles, "Messiah" (vs. 26), is applied to "the Messiah, the Prince" of vs. 25, it seems natural to apply the second one also to him.¹

G. F. Hasel has observed with regard to the literary structure of the passage that "the literary arrangement supports the idea that the three titles--Messiah Prince

Messiah

Jerusalem

A₁: (25a) From the going forth of the word *to restore and build Jerusalem* until the Messiah, the Prince, there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks;

B₁: (25b) It shall be restored and built with square and decision-making, even in times of trouble.

A₂: (26a) And after the sixty-two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for Himself;

B₂: (26b) and the people of the *prince* who is coming shall destroy the city and the sanctuary.

(vs. 25), the Messiah (vs. 26a), and the Prince (vs. 26b)--refer to the same person

¹Cf. Kline, 463, n. 31: "Actually this *nāgīd* is in all likelihood the Messiah. After referring to Messiah as *māšī'h nāgīd* in verse 25, Gaōriel divides the expression in the description of the two stages of his career in verse 26. There certainly would have been no need to confuse the matter by using this same title, *nāgīd*, rather than a different, more common title, if some foreign king had been intended."

who is cut off in the middle of the last week."¹

It has already been pointed out that the literary structure of the passage shows a relationship between *māšīah nāgīd* (vs. 25) and *nāgīd* (vs. 26).² A₁ corresponds with B₂. Under A₁, the emphasis of which is "the Messiah, the Prince." is found the mention of Jerusalem. This phenomenon is repeated in B₂ where, although the emphasis is on "the city," "the prince" is mentioned. Since the city here is the same as Jerusalem of vs. 25a, it would seem that "the prince" here is also the same as "the Messiah, the Prince" of vs. 25a.³

This view is further strengthened by the fact that although the physical destruction of "the Messiah" is undertaken by Roman soldiers with Pilate as their leader, the New Testament points to members of the people of Jerusalem as causing His death.⁴ In fact members of the people of Jerusalem are actually accused of

¹Hasel, "Interpretations," 25.

²See chap. 2, "Structure of Dan 9:1-27," p. 81.

³The statement of Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 18, that "the way this expression [*māšīah nāgīd*] passes from the definite (*māšīah nāgīd*) to the indefinite (*māšīah*) has a symmetrical correspondence regarding the city of Jerusalem: In vs. 25, in connection with *māšīah nāgīd*, we find the city explicitly designated as 'Jerusalem'; but in vs. 26, in connection with *māšīah*, we find it simply referred to as 'the city.' Thus, for the city as well as for the Messiah we pass from the definite to the indefinite. As it is the same city Jerusalem, we would conclude that it must be also the same Messiah." The deduction which has been made from the structure with regard to *māšīah nāgīd* and *nāgīd* seems to be the corollary of this statement regarding *māšīah nāgīd* and Jerusalem.

⁴See Acts 3:14, 15; cf. 7:52.

crucifying the Messiah.¹ The causing agents were members of the people of Jerusalem and the actual agents of execution of the Messiah were pagans. This is parallel to that of the destruction of Jerusalem--in both cases, the causing agents consisted of members of the people of Jerusalem² while the executing agents were members of a pagan army.³

Thus, there is a parallel between the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians and the later destruction by the Romans. Both are caused by the transgressions of the disobedient people of Jerusalem.⁴ Similar to the way the death of the Messiah comes, so the disobedient and unfaithful ones of Jerusalem may be seen as the destroyers of the city in the sense that they are the cause of the destruction but not the agents executing the destruction.

Pusey, among others,⁵ has suggested, contrary to the interpretation advanced above, that "the Prince" in vs. 26 is different from "the Messiah the Prince," because he is described as "the Prince who is coming." He asserts that "Daniel habitually used the word *come*, of an *invading* power which comes into a

¹Acts 2:22, 23: "Men of Israel, . . . you nailed [Jesus the Nazarene] to the cross by the hands of godless men and put Him to death" (NASB).

²See Matt 27:23:37, 38.

³See Matt 27:27-38.

⁴See Dan 9:7, 11; Matt 22: 7; 23: 37-38. Cf. Zech 7:14 where desolation is the subject.

⁵For a modern interpretation which argues that *habbā*³ in Dan 9:26 must be understood as describing an army in aggression," see Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13 n. #5.

land. to conquer it."¹ Therefore, since the word "come" is associated with the "Prince" of vs. 26, the "Prince" must be an invading prince.

Pusey's argumentation is in my view not persuasive. Surely Dan 11 uses the word "come" many times of an invading army, but here in Dan 9:26, the Hebrew term *habbā*², "who is coming," is not used of the people who destroy but of their *nāgīd*.² Since *habbā*² refers to "the Prince" as one "who is coming," the "people" are understood to exist, while their "Prince" is, from the point of view of the writer still "coming" some time in the future.

The Psalmist once described "the coming one" with *habbā*², "he who comes."³ The significance of this usage is that "the one who comes" comes in the name of Yahweh. It is also significant that Jesus applied the Psalmist's use of *habbā*² to himself.⁴ Furthermore, the crowds in Jerusalem during the triumphal

¹Pusey, 200.

²Moreover, in Dan 8 and 9, the word is used of the angel Gabriel (see Dan 8:17; 9:23). Yet he did not come to attack. In Dan 10, it is used of Michael, the chief prince (see Dan 10:13), as well as of Gabriel and the prince of Greece. The two uses (of Gabriel and the prince of Greece) appear in the same verse, vs. 20. Gabriel definitely comes to help Daniel rather than attack him. This seems to emphasize that while association of words may help in ascertaining the meaning of an expression, it is never conclusive because the meaning of a verb, as in this case, does not always depend on the noun it qualifies. "Come" is always come whether the one coming is an enemy or a friend. In this context it is used more as descriptive of expectation than of character.

³Ps 118:26a: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."

⁴See his quotation of this passage in Luke 13:35; Matt 23:39.

entry used Ps 118:26, referring to Jesus as "he who comes" (*habbā*¹).¹ This passage becomes even more important when Ps 118:26 is connected with vs. 22 which describes "he who comes" as *rō*² *š pinnāh*, "head of the corner" (cornerstone). Jesus also applies Ps 118:22 to himself.² Several points emerge. In the first place, *habbā*³ appears in Ps 118:22-26 much as in Dan 9:26, and the Psalm passage (Ps 118:22-26) seems to have a Messianic import.³ Second, the term *pinnāh* is used elsewhere in the Old Testament in the sense of "leader, ruler."⁴ The use of *pinnāh* by the Psalmist seems to be comparable to the use of *nāgīd* by the author of the book of Daniel in Dan 9:26. Third, the idea of a rejection of the *māšīah*, which seems to be the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem in Dan 9:26 is also made explicit in Ps 118:22.⁵

The connection of Dan 9:26 with Ps 118:26 reveals that it will be more appropriate to consider the participle *habbā*⁶, "who is coming," in Dan 9:26 with "the Prince," as indicative of a future coming. This view is more appropriate because the "one who comes" comes "in the name of the Lord." He does not come to make war. He comes to bring about the beneficent purposes of Yahweh.

¹See Matt 21:9; Mark 11:9; Luke 19:38; John 12:13. Cf. Matt 11:3; John 11:27.

²Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 29:17. Cf. Acts 4:11; Eph 2:20; 1 Pet 2:7.

³Cf. Isa 28:16. Victor P. Hamilton, "*pnn*," *TWOT*, 2:728; Briggs and Briggs, Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, 3 vols., trans. Francis Bolton (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959), 229, 230.

⁴See, e.g., Isa 19:13; Judg 20:2; 1 Sam 14:38.

⁵Cf. Rom 9:31-33.

Chronological Considerations

In Dan 9:25, *māšīah nāgīd* is related to the Seventy Weeks by the following statement: "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem until the Messiah, the Prince, there will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks."¹ The temporal preposition "until" (^c*ad*) is terminative and would seem to indicate that a time period is given that runs up to the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd*. However, the chronological interpretation of the time period given, "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks," to a large extent, has depended on whether the *athnach* after the first seven weeks (i.e., under ^c*ših* ^c*āh*) is taken as a full disjunctive or otherwise.

The Historical-Critical scholars usually regard the *athnach* as a full disjunctive, putting a period between seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.² Thus the interval between the "word to restore and build Jerusalem" and the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd* terminates after the first seven weeks. The individual designated as

¹ Author's translation.

² See for example, Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 337; Marti, 68, 69; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Hartman and Di Lella, 240; Porteous, 132, 141, 142. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 187, uses a comma to mark the *athnach* of Dan 9:25, yet his translation portrays an implication of a full disjunctive: "From the time a word went forth for the Return and for the Reconstruction of Jerusalem until a messiah-chief, there will be seven weeks, during sixty-two weeks will occur the Return and Reconstruction, with squares and moats but in times of distress." See the discussion under the title "The Use of the *Athnach* in Dan 9:25" below (p. 276).

māšīah nāgīd is, therefore, seen as appearing at the end of the first seven weeks.¹

Among the difficulties of this interpretation are the following: (1) the Christological understanding of the passage seems precluded;² (2) the sixty-two weeks (434 years), a period which seems too long for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, has to be viewed as the period for the rebuilding of Jerusalem;³ and (3) there is the problem of finding a *terminus ad quem* in history for the sixty-two weeks that can be supported by the text.

Among Messianic interpreters, some Symbolic-Amillennialists link the first "seven weeks" with the coming of *māšīah nāgīd* (Dan 9:25).⁴ In order to justify their Messianic interpretation, however, they are compelled to argue that the Seventy Weeks are symbolic and thus do not really represent 490 literal years.⁵ With this assumption, the "seven weeks" can be stretched to cover any length of literal time required to reach from the decree of Cyrus to the coming Messiah. This interpretation regards the "sixty-two weeks" as starting with the coming of *māšīah*

¹Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 339; Lacocque, 195; Hartman and Di Lella, 247; Marti, 68, 69; Montgomery, 378; Robert Andrew Anderson, *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on Daniel*, International Theological Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 115; Towner, 143; Russell, *Daniel*, 188; Bevan, 156; Charles, 244; Porteous, 141, 142.

²See chap. 2, p. 233.

³Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178; Hartman and Di Lella, 251; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 380; Robert Andrew Anderson, *Sings and Wonders*, 115.

⁴E.g., Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 354-58; Leupold, *Daniel*, 417, 421; Kliefoth, 329-32.

⁵Leupold, *Daniel*, 421; Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 339.

nāgīd to the end of the present age.¹ They also, like Historical-Critical interpreters, have a problem marking the *terminus ad quem* of the "sixty-two weeks."

E. J. Young, a Symbolic-Amillennialist interpreter, argues against the linking of the first "seven weeks" with the coming of *māšīah nāgīd* and proposes that the coming of *māšīah nāgīd* be connected with "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" (i.e., 69 weeks from the *terminus a quo* of the 70 Weeks).² In this case, the *terminus ad quem* of the "sixty-two weeks" is naturally the coming of *māšīah nāgīd*. Nevertheless, since Young dates the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks' prophecy to the first year of Cyrus, he is also forced to adopt the nonchronological (symbolic) view of the weeks because "sixty-nine weeks" (483 years) from the first year of Cyrus would be too short to reach the time of Jesus Christ.³

Futurist-Dispensationalists view the period "seven and sixty-two weeks" as a continuous period from the *terminus a quo* to the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd*. Most of them date the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks prophecy to the permission given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes I (445/4 B.C.).⁴ These interpreters

¹For Leupold, *Daniel*, 428, it is the time for the building of "the visible institution called the church." Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 359, also sees the period as the time for "the spiritual building of the City of God."

²Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 205.

³Ibid., 206.

⁴Neh 2:1, 6-8. See, e.g., Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 124, 127; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 226; Ozanne, 42; Bultema, 285; Cho, 62; M. M. Wilson, 409; King, 179; McClain, 24; Ironside, 20-21; Tatford, 156; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 153-55. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 137. A few interpreters of this school prefer the 7th year of Artaxerxes I instead of

face the problem of fitting the 483 years (69 weeks) into the interval between the *terminus a quo* (20th year of Artaxerxes I) and the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd*. They, therefore, are forced to shorten the regular years by positing a 360-day prophetic year as the basis of their calculation. However, this "mathematical gymnastics," as it is described by H. W. Hoehner,¹ has not been able to solve the chronological problem of this school of interpretation.² Moreover, the use of the "360-day prophetic year" for calculating the "seventy weeks" does not seem to be warranted.³

Historicist-Messianic interpreters generally do not regard the *athnach* of Dan 9:25 as a full disjunctive and thus view, in their chronological computation, the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" as representing the interval between the *terminus a quo* and the coming of *māšīah nāgīd*. Chronologically, the 483 years (69 weeks) fit exactly the period between their *terminus a quo* (457 B.C.) and the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd* which they date to A.D. 27.

Messiah (vs. 26)

In Dan 9:26a, *māšīah* is connected with the "sixty-two weeks" in the following statement: "And after the sixty-two weeks the Messiah will be cut off, but

the 20th year--e.g., Archer, 114; Goss, 59; Slemming, 149. Cooper, 43, prefers the decree of Cyrus which he dates to 536 B.C.

¹Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 137. See also Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 253.

²See Goss, 100; Hasel, "Interpretations," 21.

³See "Prophetic Year Hypothesis," chap. 2, p. 124.

without any help; and the people of the Prince who is coming shall destroy the city and the sanctuary."¹

The question is: When is "the Messiah" cut off? A. Lacocque,² as well as other Historical-Critical scholars³ and some Symbolic-Amillennialist interpreters,⁴ see the cutting off of *māšīah* as terminating the "sixty-two weeks." This interpretation obviously arises from the separation between the first "seven weeks" and the "sixty-two weeks." This separation makes the appearance of *māšīah nāgīd* the *terminus ad quem* of the first "seven weeks" and leaves no event to mark the *terminus ad quem* of the "sixty-two weeks." Thus the cutting off of *māšīah* is proposed to end the "sixty-two weeks." However, this proposition seems not to take account of the temporal preposition "after" which is not terminative.⁵ This preposition here seems to indicate that the "Messiah" is cut off sometime after the "sixty-two weeks."

Most Futurist-Dispensationalists, while recognizing that the cutting off of the "Messiah" comes "after" the termination of the sixty-two weeks (69 weeks from

¹Author's translation.

²Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195, 197.

³E.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 253; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Robert Andrew Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 116; Towner, 144; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178.

⁴Keil, *Book of Daniel*, 357, 358, states: "That event which brings the close of the sixty-two weeks is spoken of in ver. 26 in the words *māšīah yikkārēl*, 'Messiah shall be cut off'."

⁵See R. J. Williams, 60, 61.

the beginning of the 70 Weeks). usually put within the same literal week the appearance of the "the Messiah, the Prince" (Dan 9:25),¹ who is the same as "the Messiah" who is cut off (Dan 9:26).²

Historicist-Messianic interpreters generally place the cutting off of "the Messiah" three and a half years after the termination of the sixty-two weeks (69 weeks from the beginning of the 70 weeks) which they view as the appearance of "the Messiah, the Prince."³

When "after the sixty-two weeks" is "the Messiah" to be cut off? Dan 9:26 specifies that the Messiah is to be "cut off" after the sixty-ninth week.⁴ This means that the event of the Messiah's death must take place in the seventieth week. However, Dan 9:26 only stipulates that "after the sixty-two weeks, Messiah shall be cut off." Dan 9:26, then, although specifying that "the Messiah" shall be killed, does not situate the event at a particular point in the seventieth week. The specific point of the event in time is projected in vs. 27. The analysis of the structure of vss. 25-27 shows that the weeks are characteristically associated with the Messiah, as is

¹Usually the appearance of "the Messiah, the Prince" is put at the triumphal entry.

²See e.g., Walvoord, *Daniel*, 179; Culver, 153-55; Ironside, 20, 21; McClain, 24; M. M. Wilson, 409; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 135-138.

³E.g., Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13; Hasel, "Interpretations," 53, 54; Gurney, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 34; Boutflower, 199. Cf. Shea, "The Prophecy of Dan 9:24-27," 102, 103.

⁴See Dan 9:26.

shown by italicized and non-italicized sentences:¹

A: 25a: *From the going forth of the word to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be*

B: 25b: *seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks.*

25c: It [Jerusalem] shall be restored and built

25d: with square and decision-making, in troublous times.

B: 26a: *And after sixty-two weeks*

A: 26b: *the Messiah shall be cut off, no one for him.*

26c: And the city and the sanctuary, the people of the Prince who is coming shall destroy.

26d: Its end shall be with a flood

26e: And unto the end war, desolations are determined.

A: 27a: *And he shall make strong a covenant with the many*

B: 27b: *for one week.*

B: 27c: *And in the middle of the week*

A: 27d: *he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease.*

27e: and upon the wing of abomination (shall come) one who makes desolate.

27f: and until the determined end is poured on the one who makes desolate.

Two things stand out from this structure. First, the weeks (B) are usually mentioned relative to the Messiah (A). In vs. 25b, the weeks are introduced to show the time of the appearance of the Messiah. In vs. 26, the weeks again are mentioned in connection with the death of the Messiah. It is, thus, legitimate to expect that the weeks in vs. 27, as pointed out before, must be associated with Messianic-related activities.²

Second, the structure reveals that vs. 27 encapsulates and expounds on the

¹Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 12, 13; Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1:216, 217; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 108-10.

²Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 14.

activities relating to the Messiah as outlined in vss. 25 and 26. The encapsulating nature of vs. 27 is very vivid when the structure of Messiah-Weeks portions of the passage is considered:

- A: 25a: From the going forth of the decree to restore and build
 Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be
 B: 25b: *seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks*
 B₁: 26a: *And after sixty-two weeks*
 A₁: 26b: the Messiah shall be cut off, no one for him
- A₂: 27a: And he shall make strong a covenant with the many
 B₂: 27b: *for one week*
 B₃: 27c: *And in the middle of the week*
 A₃: 27d: he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease

There are not only linguistic parallels between the time elements of vss. 25, 26, and vs. 27 but also strong thematic correlations that suggest that Messianic activities found in vss. 25, 26 are contained and illumined in vs. 27 (see fig 8). B (i.e., vs. 25b) leads us to the point where the Messiah is revealed.

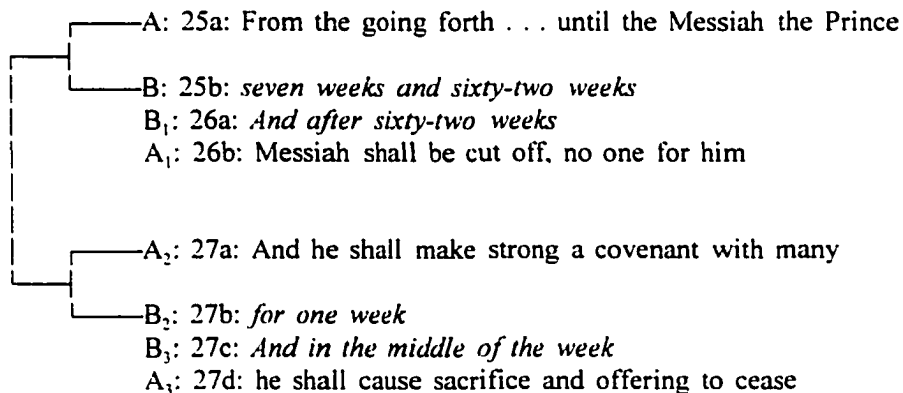


Fig. 8. Thematic correlations within vss. 25-27.

That point in time when the Messiah is revealed is the end of the sixty-nine weeks and, at the same time, the beginning of the seventieth week. Since the seventieth week is the subject addressed by B_2 , then B and B_2 have in common the point in time when the Messiah appeared, the commonality being that B_2 takes off from the same point where B cuts off. Beyond that common theme of the appearance of the Messiah, B_2 is associated with the expansion of the activity of *māšīah* when he comes (A_2).

In a similar way, the structure associates B_1 with B_3 (see fig. 9).

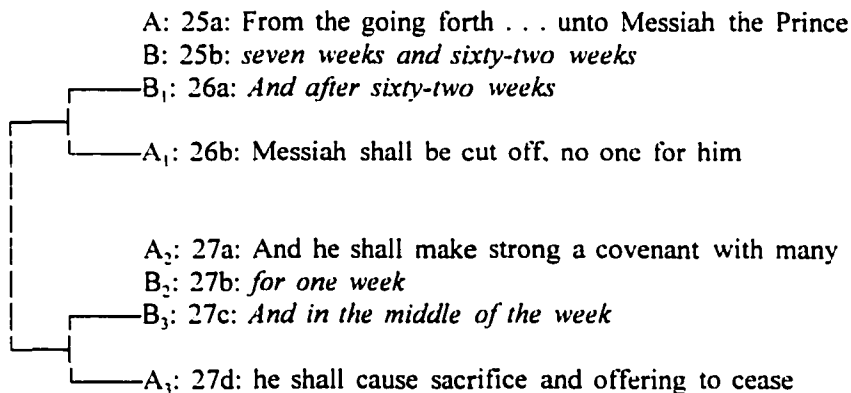


Fig. 9. Thematic correlations within vss. 25-27.

B_1 (vs. 26a) specifies a time period which comes after the sixty-two weeks but which is within the seventieth week. So also does B_3 stipulate a time period after the sixty-nine weeks but within the seventieth week. This common relationship between B_1 and B_3 suggests that: (1) the cut-off point of the time element mentioned

in B₁ (vs. 26a) is, like B and B₂, the same as the take-off point of B₃ (vs. 27c) and.
 (2) the event (A₃) mentioned in connection with B₃ indicates what would happen when the Messiah is cut off (A₁), just as A₂ connected with B₂ indicates what would happen when the Messiah comes at the end of "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" (B). These two points are further explicated by the parallelism found in the definite-indefinite relationship of the passage's structure (see fig. 10).

In fig. 10 the letters DII₁D₁ combine the stichs of time and events in vss. 25-27. D combines vs. 25a and vs. 25b, relating the event of the appearance of the Messiah (vs. 25a) to the time "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" (vs. 25b). At D

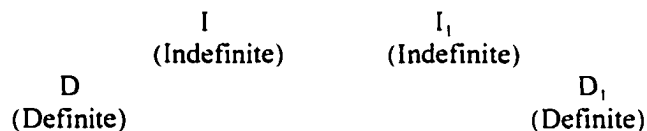
D	A: 25a	Definite
	B: 25b	
I	B ₁ : 26a	Indefinite
	A ₁ : 26b	
I ₁	A ₂ : 27a	Indefinite
	B ₂ : 27b	
D ₁	B ₃ : 27c	Definite
	A ₃ : 27d	

Fig. 10. Definite-indefinite relationships.

the time element is a definite point in time--the Messiah appears at the end of (i.e., until) sixty-nine weeks. I₁ combines vs. 27a and vs. 27b, relating the event of the

Messiah's ministry to the time "one week." In contrast to D, then, the time element of I₁ is not a point in time but a relatively "indefinite"¹ stretch of time, one week. Thus D and I₁ have a definite-indefinite relationship, the definite specifying the point in time at which an event occurs and the indefinite showing, in this case, how long the event continues.

I combines vs. 26a and vs. 26b relating the event of the Messiah's death to the time of "after sixty-two weeks." At I the time element is indefinite, since the Messiah is said to be cut off after the sixty-ninth week. D₁ combines vs. 27c and vs. 27d, relating the event "he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease" to the time "in the middle of the week." The time element at D₁, in contrast to I, then, is definite. There is thus an indefinite-definite relationship between I and D₁. Once again, the relationship demonstrates that the event of the Messiah's death of the indefinite time element, "after sixty-two weeks" (I), is specified by the corresponding definite time element of D₁ as occurring "in the middle of the week." Thus there is a parallelism arranged in the form:



This structural arrangement of the time-event relationships within the passage, therefore, implies that the Messiah would be cut off in the middle of the seventieth week. If the Messiah is cut off in the middle of the seventieth week,

¹"Indefinite" is used here in contrast to a specific point in time.

then, the expounding function of vs. 27 on the Messianic themes in vss. 25 and 26 stands out. Beyond the cutting off of the Messiah, vs. 27 points out that there will also be the ceasing of sacrifice and offering which occurs when the Messiah is cut off.

If the time-event structural analysis presented above is correct, then Messiah is cut off in the middle of the seventieth week. The implication of the structure which relates the cutting off of "Messiah" to "the middle of the week" is that "the middle of the week" must be a point in time just as the cutting off is done at a particular point in time.¹ Furthermore, the term *h'sit* used in the statement: "Then he shall confirm a covenant with many for one week; but in the middle of the week he shall bring an end to sacrifice and offering,"² denotes a point in time. The term *h'sit* has been used in the Old Testament in the sense of "half" when used with units of measure like cubits³ or acre.⁴ It is mostly used in the sense of "half" with people,⁵ especially when it describes half of a tribe.⁶ However, when it is used with a

¹Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13.

²Dan 9:27a, NKJV.

³E.g., Exod 25:10; 1 Kgs 7:31.

⁴1 Sam 14:14.

⁵1 Sam 19:41 [40].

⁶Num 32:33; 34:13, 14, 15; Josh 1:12; 4:12; 1 Chr 5:26.

period of time, it is usually used in the sense of the midpoint of the time period given.¹

It follows that interpretations which place the death of "the Messiah" (Dan 9:26) at the *terminus a quo* of the "sixty-two weeks," or a few days after the sixty-ninth week, or takes the expression "middle of the week" as a duration of time, lack linguistic and contextual support.

The Expression "Covenant"

Semantic Considerations

The expression *b'riṭ* appears in Dan 9:27a in the statement: "Then he shall confirm a covenant with many for one week; but in the middle of the week he shall bring an end to sacrifice and offering."² Both the LXX and Theodotion render *b'riṭ* with *diathēkēn*, "will or testament."³ while the Vulgate has *pactum*. Almost all the major English versions translate *b'riṭ* with "covenant."⁴ Some recent English versions translate *b'riṭ* with "league" (NEB, REB) or "alliance" (NJB) moving the meaning into the political or military sphere. These dynamic translations engage in

¹E.g., Exod 12:29; Judg 16:3 (2x); Ruth 3:8; Ps 102:25 [24]. Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 13, who states that "when *h'sī* ('midst') is in *status constructus* with a period of time (here weeks), it means always 'midst' and not 'half'."

²NKJV.

³On the use of *diathēkē*, see J. Swetnam, *Diathēkē in the Septuagint Account of Sinai: A Suggestion*, "Biblica" 47 (1966): 438-44.

⁴KJV; NKJV; RSV; NRSV; JB; NIV.

greater interpretations within the translation process than other English versions.

Scholars generally translate *b'rit* with "covenant."¹

b'rit in the Old Testament

It is important as a background for Dan 9 to consider briefly the covenant concept in the Old Testament. The expression *b'rit* appears 283 times in the Old Testament.² It is used in connection with a treaty or agreement between equal

¹So Goldingay, 230; Porteous, 143; Russell, *Daniel*, 190; S. R. Driver, *Book of Daniel*, 141; Towner, 144; Bevan, 160; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 385; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 187; Slotki, 79; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 231, 234; Mickelson, 122; Archer, 177; Leupold, *Daniel*, 431; Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 209; Oswald T. Allis, *Prophecy and the Church* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1945), 121; Baldwin, 171; Mauro, *Seventy Weeks*, 86; Gurney, *God in Control*, 114; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95. Hartman and Di Lella, 252, translate "alliance." E. Kutsch argues for "obligation" instead of the traditional translation of "covenant." See E. Kutsch, "Gesetz und Gnade. Probleme des alttestamentlichen Bundesbegriffs," *ZAW* 79 (1967): 18-35; idem, "Der Begriff *bryt* in vordeuteronomischer Zeit," *Das Ferne und nahe Wort, Festschrift Leonhard Rost*, BZAW 105 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), 133-43; idem, "Von *bryt* zu 'Bund'," *Kerygma and Dogma* 14 (1968): 159-182; idem, "*b'rit*," *THAT*, 1:339-52; cf. M. Weinfeld, "*b'rit*," *TDOT*, 2:255, who remarks that "*b'rit* implies first and foremost the notion of 'imposition', 'liability', or 'obligation'." In another work, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and Its Influence on the West," *JAOS* 93 (1973): 190 [190-99], Weinfeld observes that "any settlement between two parties must be based on: (1) some kind of mutual understanding which enables the conclusion of an agreement, (2) a pledge or formal commitment to keep the agreement." A. Jepsen, "*berith*. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilzeit," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift für W. Rudolph*, ed. Arnulf Kuschke (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961), 161-80, refers *b'rit* to the act itself which results in, but not, the relationship. George E. Mendenhall and Gary A. Herion, "Covenant," *ABD* (1992), 1:1179, define *b'rit* as: "A 'Covenant' is an agreement enacted between two parties in which one or both make promises under oath to perform or refrain from certain actions stipulated in advance."

²See Even-Shoshan, 205, 206.

parties like Abraham and the Amorites,¹ unequal parties like Israel and the Gibeonites,² between states and their representatives,³ kings and their subjects,⁴ two households like Jacob's and Laban's,⁵ and individuals like David and Jonathan.⁶ These forms of covenant are described by McCarthy as "secular" in that they do not have God as a party, although they usually have a religious coloration since deity is usually the authoritative witness of final appeal.⁷

There is covenant between God and his people.⁸ It has been suggested that

¹Gen 14:13.

²Josh 9.

³1 Kgs 5:26 [Eng. 12]; 15:19; 20:34.

⁴2 Sam 5:3; 2 Kgs 11:17.

⁵Gen 31:44-47.

⁶1 Sam 18:3; 20:8.

⁷Dennis J. McCarthy, "*B'rit* and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History," *Supplements to VT* 23 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 66; cf. Mendenhall and Herion, 1:1181; Elmer B. Smick, "*brh*" *TWOT*, 1:128. J. Begrich, "*b'rit*. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform," *ZAW* 60 (1944): 1-11, has used the "secular" background to argue that *b'rit* originally meant "Rechtsgemeinschaft" (legal union) between two unequal parties in which the more powerful party only was bound by obligations towards the weaker party who has no binding obligations. This monergistic view has been rejected by D. J. McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of Inquiry," *CBQ* 27 (1965), 218; idem, "*B'rit* and Covenant," 84.

⁸E.g., Gen 6:18; 9:8-17; 15:18; 17:1-14; Exod 19:5; 24:7; Deut 7:1-8; 2 Sam 7:12-16; 23:5. See Smick, "*brh*," 1:128, 129; Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament*, 79-82. Gerhard F. Hasel, *Covenant in Blood* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1982), 17, observes that in the instances of covenantal relationship between God and man "covenant is neither mutually negotiated, or agreed-upon contract or bond or treaty alliance, or divinely imposed obligation." He takes the position that "in the divine-human situation, covenant is

the covenant between God and his people is similar to that of the suzerainty-treaty of the Hittites.¹

The first occurrence of the term "covenant" is found in Gen 6:18 where God established a covenantal relationship with Noah.² The objective of this

divinely initiated and sovereign-ordained relationship between God and man. God as superior Lord graciously discloses, confirms and fulfills the covenant promise. Man as the beneficiary of the divine covenant gifts freely accepts the enduring relationship and renders obedience to the divine obligations (commandments, statutes, laws and ordinances) by the assisting enabling grace provided by God."

¹See George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *BA* 17 (1954): 27-46, 49-76; idem, "Covenant," *IDB* 1:714-21; Mendenhall and Herion, 1:1183; Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, Analecta Biblica 21 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 22-48; Meredith G. Kline, "Dynastic Covenant," *WTJ* 23 (1960): 13; idem, *Treaty of the Great King* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963), 14, 28; D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958) 1-99; M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 90 (1970): 184-203; idem, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East," 197, 198; idem, *b'rit*," 266-69, 271; Erhard Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," *JBL* 84 (1965): 38-46. David N. Freedman, "Divine Commitment and Human Obligation," *Int* 18 (1964): 420, however, while recognizing that one series of covenantal relationship corresponds generally to the pattern of the Hittite suzerainty treaties, remarks that "the biblical series of covenants between God and man is unique. There are no convincing parallels in the pagan world, whether in the more typical case of God as suzerain binding Israel to serve him or in its more unusual position of God binding himself by oath to the service of his own servants."

²For an analysis of "secular" covenants, see McCarthy, "*B'rit* and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History," 65-85. McCarthy concludes that *kt b'rit* originally referred to a specific act, but it came to mean a solemn commitment in general. The reports concerning such commitments normally start from a relationship. They normally include a record of negotiations, formulation of terms, and a statement that the act of making *b'rit* was actually performed. Thus the negotiations end with a solemn ratification of the terms. The terms normally apply to both parties, and the act is commonly the work of both. Indeed, even unilateral terms (i.e., they empower or tie one party, e.g., 2 Sam 5:3; Ezek 17:11-21) could depend on a common act. In these circumstances it seems impossible that *b'rit* not acquire an association with ideas of relationship. It is tied up with a complex of recognized relationships, active

covenant initiated by God is the redemption of Noah and those who would enter the ark with him according to the directions of God.

In Gen 9:8-17, the Noachic covenant is expanded by God after the deluge to become the first and only covenant in the Bible totally universal in scope.¹ The focus of the expanded Noachic covenant is still redemptive and thus involves bilateral obligations.²

In Gen 15:18 God makes a covenant with Abraham. This covenant is also mentioned in Gen 17. Like the Noachic covenant, the Abrahamic covenant is initiated by God. The Abrahamic covenant seems to have bilateral obligations.³ Abraham and his descendants had to "keep" (*šāmar*) the covenant (Gen 17:9). The

relations (negotiations), terms which relate one party to another, and a common act. The word *b'rît* carries these overtones. It is relational.

¹See Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 32.

²Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 32, suggests that this expanded covenant is related to the instructions in the preceding verses (Gen 9:1-7). He further states that "in any case, even if no explicit obligations are readily observable, it is assumed that they must be implicit since they are part of all covenants." Cf. McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament," 218; idem, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), 3, states: "All covenants, all contracts, have their conditions. They must be defined somehow or the other. These definitions are their conditions or stipulations which may often be assumed, things which are simply so well known in a culture that they need not be stated explicitly."

³McCarthy, "*B'rît* and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History," 84; G. Jacob, "Der Abraham-Bund (Eine Bibelarbeit zu 1. Mose 15)," *Communio Viatorum* (1964): 250-54; Meredith G. Kline, "Abram's Amen," *WTJ* 31 (1968): 2-3. Also Walther Eichrodt, "Covenant and Law," *Interpretation* 20 (1966): 302-21; J. van der Ploeg, "Studies in Hebrew Law," *CBQ* 12 (1950): 259 [248-259]; John J. Mitchell, "Abraham's Understanding of the Lord's Covenant," *WTJ* 32 (1969): 25, 26. Freedman, "Divine Commitment and Human Obligation," 425, regards the Abrahamic covenant as unconditional.

term *šāmar* when used in connection with covenant usually denotes the keeping of the conditions (or stipulations, commands, etc.) of the covenantal relationship.¹ Furthermore, the covenant can be broken (*pārar*).² The term *pārar* implies that the covenant must have obligations that must be fulfilled by the human counterparts and the failure of which results in the breaking of the covenant.³ Finally, Gen 18:18, 19 requires that Abraham and his household be faithful for Yahweh (covenant name) to fulfill the covenantal promises.⁴ Yahweh knows that they will "keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice, in order that the LORD may bring upon Abraham what He has spoken about him."⁵ The conditionality in regard to the human parties is emphasized again in Gen 22:18 and 26:5.

F. C. Fensham has concluded in his study "Covenant, Promise and Expectation in the Bible," that the "author of Exodus directly connects the covenant

¹Cf. Exod 20:6; Lev 18:26; Deut 4:2; 26:16; 29:9; Ezek 11:20. Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 39; *BDB*, 1036, 1037. John E. Hartley, "*shāmar*," *TWOT*, 2:939, states with regard to the term that "it expresses the careful attention to be paid to the obligations of a covenant, to laws, statutes, etc. This is one of the most frequent uses of the verb."

²See Gen 17:14. This Hebrew term is the typical word for covenant-breaking in the Old Testament.

³Lev 26:15, where breaking the covenant is synonymous with not keeping the commandments or stipulations of the covenant; Deut 31:16, 20, where it is used of the Mosaic covenant; Jer 11:10; 31:22; Isa 24:5. Victor P. Hamilton, "*pārar*," *TWOT*, 2:738, observes that the term is usually used with moral overtones in the sense of "to violate or renege on revealed truth. . . . This is borne out by the fact that of the fifty-three uses of *pārar*, in twenty-three the direct object is 'covenant' *h'rit*. Of course usually man is responsible for 'breaking' the covenant."

⁴Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 39.

⁵Gen 18:19b, NASB. Cf. Gen 12:1-3; 15:18; 17:1-9.

of Abraham with that of Sinai. He regards the covenant of Sinai in a sense as the continuation of that of Abraham (cf. especially Ex. 33:1).¹ The Sinaitic covenant is directly connected with the redemptive act of God by bringing his people out of Egyptian bondage.² This saving activity of God is in turn rooted in the Abrahamic covenant.³ The connection between the redemptive acts of God in both the Abrahamic and the Sinaitic covenants (Exod 2:24; 6:2-5, 7, 8; Ps 105:42-45) coupled with the direct relationship between the Abrahamic and the Sinaitic covenants (Deut 29:12-15; Ps 105:8-12) points to the view that the Sinaitic covenant may be considered as the continuation and enlargement of the Abrahamic covenant.⁴

The violation of the stipulations of the covenant seems to be the major basis for the indictments of the people by the prophets of the Old Testament.⁵ These

¹Fensham, "Covenant, Promise and Expectation in the Bible," 311.

²See Exod 19:1-6; 20:1, 2.

³Exod 2:24; 6:2-5, 7, 8; Ps 105:42-45.

⁴Smick, 1:129, states that "Deuteronomy 29:13-14 shows the Sinaitic Covenant was an extension of the Abrahamic Covenant, both of which are called here 'sworn covenant'. The Sinai renewal merely stressed man's responsibility where the Abrahamic Covenant emphasized God's promise." Cf. Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 63, 68.

⁵Cf. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 35-37; idem, "Covenant in the Old Testament," 232; Freedman, "Divine Commitment and Human Obligation," 421; W. Brueggemann, "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship," *VT* 15 (1965): 1-15; M. Tsevat, "The Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Oaths and the Prophet Ezekiel," *JBL* 78 (1959): 199-204.

indictments are made by a resort to covenant lawsuits (*rib*).¹ The prophets blame the exile and the destruction of the cities of God's people on the breaking of the covenant.² Thus the author of Dan 9:4-14 points to unfaithfulness to the covenant stipulations as the cause of the exile to Babylon and the faithfulness of Yahweh to the covenant as the basis for his petition (Dan 9:4, 15, 16).

Jeremiah, however, predicts a new covenant that will renew the heart and instill the stipulations in the heart making it easier to keep.³ This new covenant which was promised to come into effect after the exile⁴ would find its fulfillment in the ministry of a person.⁵

b'riṭ in the book of Daniel

The expression *b'riṭ* occurs seven times in the book of Daniel. All seven

¹Isa 1:10-20; Jer 2:4-12; Mic 6:1-8; Smick, 1:129; J. Harvey, "Le `rib-Pattern', réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Bib* 43 (1962): 172-96; D. R. Hillers, *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), 129-31; H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit and the Prophets," *JBL* 78 (1959): 286-95; Edwin M. Good, "Hosea 5:8-6:6: An Alternative to Alt," *JBL* 85 (1966): 284, 285.

²E.g., Jer 11:6-12; 16:5-12.

³Jer 31:31-34. Cf. Ezek 36:26-28. The "new covenant" itself is a renewal and a culmination of the Abrahamic, the Sinaitic and the Davidic (2 Sam 7:1-7) covenants with additional promises. See Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 107; Fensham, "Covenant, Promise and Expectation in the Bible," 317.

⁴Jer 32:36-40; Ezek 11:17-20; 36:24-28.

⁵Isa 42:6; Heb 8:6-12. Cf. Smick, 1:129; Fensham, "Covenant, Promise and Expectation," 317-322; Freedman, 429.

occurrences are concentrated in chaps. 9 and 11.¹ In Dan 11:22 there is mention of a "prince of the covenant."² The king of the North sets his heart against the "holy covenant" (vs. 28), vents his fury against the "holy covenant" (vs. 30), shows favor to those who violate the "holy covenant" (vs. 30) and corrupts those who violate the "covenant" (vs. 32). In Dan 11:32, those who resist the flattery and corruption that come upon the violators of the covenant are those who "know their God." Since those who "know their God" are the antithesis of those who violate the covenant, the antithesis suggests that the covenant that is violated is the covenant between God and his people. The adjective "holy" that defines the covenant (vss. 28, 30[2x]) makes this identification certain.

The "covenant" in Dan 11:22 and that of Dan 11:32 form an *inclusio* with three occurrences of "holy covenant" (vss. 28, 30 [2x]) between them. This structure of the occurrences of "covenant" in chap. 11 suggests that the covenant in vs. 22 refers to the same covenant as vs. 32.³ "Covenant" in both vss. 32 and 22 does not have the adjective "holy" that the three references in between these verses have, and since "covenant" in vs. 32 designates the covenant between God and his people, then "covenant" in vs. 22 would be expected to denote covenant between

¹Dan 9:4, 27; 11:22, 28, 30 (2x), 32.

²Scholars generally identify "the prince of the covenant" here in Dan 11:22 with the "Messiah" who is cut off in Dan 9:26 (e.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 252, 295; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 226; Porteous, 142, 166; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 381, 451). This identification is to be supported since the term rendered "prince" is *nāgīd*, the very term used in Dan 9:26.

³Cf. Charles, 249, who views all the occurrences of "covenant" in chap. 11 as identical.

God and his people.¹ Furthermore, all the other occurrences of "covenant" seem not to be secular, therefore, "covenant" in vs. 22 would be expected not to be "secular" as well.

In Dan 9:4, where the expression *b'riṭ* first appears in the book of Daniel, the "covenant" is definitely the covenant of God with His people, for Daniel states in his prayer: "O Lord, the great and awesome God, who keeps his covenant of love with all who love him and obey his commands." The passage containing the prayer of Daniel is filled with covenant terminology. For example, Dan 9 is the only chapter in the book of Daniel where the covenant name Yahweh appears.²

Meredith G. Kline has observed:

Equally appropriate to the covenantal context is the repeated use of ²*dōnāy*, "Lord," characteristic designation of the dominant party in the covenant. The usage here is more significant since this is again the only chapter in the book (except for Dan 1:2) where the term appears.³

There are other covenant terms such as ²*āhab* (vs. 4), *hesed* (vs. 4), *šāmar* (vs. 4).

¹Cf. Leupold, *Daniel*, 495, who commenting on "covenant" in Dan 11:32 states: "'Covenant' applies only to the holy covenant of God's people, cf. v. 28, 30, 32." Walvoord, *Daniel*, 265, applies the term to the "theocracy at that time" (i.e., the time of Onias III). Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 226, refers to it as "the community." Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 451, remarks that "the word 'covenant' *bryt*, also vv.^{30, 32} (equally anarthrous) is used almost concretely, as of the covenant church." Even if these commentators associate "covenant" with the "high priest," the covenant in vs. 22 cannot be considered "secular."

²Vss. 2, 4, 10, 13, 14, 20. Cf. Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 456.

³Ibid.

miswāh (vss. 4, 5), *šūb* (vss. 13, 16), and *hāā*² (vss. 5, 8, 11, 15).¹ The covenantal language here includes the keeping of God's commandments which are the stipulations of the covenant.² Thus, the covenant that is mentioned in the prayer of Dan 9 is suggestive of the Sinaitic covenant.³

In Dan 9:27, the subject "he"⁴ is used for the one who is to "make strong a covenant" for one week. The NEB and REB render the phrase with "he shall make a firm league," while NJB has "he will make a firm alliance."⁵ In the first place, these renderings put the verb *higbîr* and the *b'rîl* in an adjectival relationship. However, *higbîr* is a *Hiphil* perfect used in the regular verb position. Since the *Hiphil waw* consecutive verb *higbîr* is causative, it is the verb that is modified by the causative *Hiphil* and not the noun. The *Hiphil waw* consecutive verb *higbîr* then must be translated "and he shall make strong." While the object, "covenant," receives the action of the verb, the verb cannot be split into half adjective and half

¹Cf. *ibid*; McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis." *CBQ* 26 (1964): 188; Weinfeld, "*b'rîth*," 2:258.

²See "*b'rîl* in the Old Testament," chap. 2, p. 263.

³See vss. 11, 13. Cf. Exod 19:5; Deut 4:13.

⁴See a discussion on the identity of this "he" under "The Antecedent of the 'He' in Dan 9:27" below (p. 293).

⁵The JB has "he will make a firm covenant." See also the translation of Hartman and Di Lella, 240: "he will make a strong alliance."

verb. Thus, the proper translation should be "and he shall make strong a covenant."¹

The root *gbr* of the *Hiphil* verb *higbîr* and its derivatives appear 328 times in the Old Testament.² The verb occurs about twenty-five times.³ The verb has been defined with the basic meaning of "be strong, mighty,"⁴ "to be strong,"⁵ "prevail, be mighty, have strength, be great":⁶ "be superior, prevail, succeed increase":⁷ "überlegen, stark sein":⁸ The *Hiphil* form which denotes "be strong,"⁹ "make strong, cause to prevail,"¹⁰ "stark zeigen,"¹¹ "prevail," occurs in only one

¹Contrary to Hartman and Di Lella, 240, and the interpretation of Porteous, 143. Cf. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95: "The translation sometimes given--"he shall make a strong covenant"--would have been more naturally expressed by an adjectival construction."

²John N. Oswalt, "*gābhar*," *TWOT*, 1:148.

³J. Kühlewein, "*gbr* überlegen sein," *THAT*, 1:398; Even-Shoshan, 221. Oswalt, 1:148 has 26 times. H. Kosmala, "*gābhar*," *TDOT*, 2:367, has 24.

⁴*BDB*, 149.

⁵Kosmala, 2:368.

⁶Oswalt, 148.

⁷*KBL*, 167.

⁸Kühlewein, 1:398; *HAL*, 1:168.

⁹*CHAL*, 54.

¹⁰Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 465; cf. Kosmala, 2:368; idem, "The Term *geber* in the Old Testament and in the Scrolls," *Congress Volume, Rome, 1968*, SVT, 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 159-169.

¹¹*HAL*, 1:168; Kühlewein, 1:399.

place. Ps 12:5[4], in the Old Testament apart from Dan 9:27.¹ In Dan 9:27, the term stands in contrast to the unfaithfulness to the stipulations of, and, thus, the breaking of the covenant of Yahweh with his people. Thus the term in Dan 9:27 designates the making strong of the covenant through the fulfillment of the stipulations and the promised blessings in the ancient covenant which culminates in the "new covenant" (Jer 31:31-33).

Kline has observed that "the force of this verb *higbîr* excludes the notion that the covenant referred to in Daniel 9:27a is some arrangement imposed by a future antichrist, whether conceived of within a dispensational or eschatological framework."² The verb also rules out the possibility of Antiochus Epiphanes being the one who makes strong a covenant. Both Futurist-Dispensationlists who propose the Antichrist³ and Historical-Critics who refer the covenant-making to Antiochus IV Epiphanes⁴ claim the referent makes a covenant supposed to be for one week with some of the Jews. The covenant stands for half of the week at which time it is broken by the particular referent. However, *higbîr*, "to make strong," cannot be

¹Cf. Kühlewein, 1:398, 399; Kosmala, "*gābhar*," 2:368; Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 465; Even-Shoshan, 221.

²Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 465.

³See e.g., Walvoord, *Daniel*, 233-35; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 136; Archer, 117; Cooper, 60-62; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 157.

⁴See e.g., Porteous, 143; Towner, 144; Hartman and Di Lella, 252. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 198, prefers, contrary to the support of all versions, to reconstruct this phrase, "and he shall make strong a covenant for the many," to mean "Antiochus will proclaim a harsh law against the multitude."

construed to be synonymous with "to break."¹

In the first place, "to make strong a covenant" presupposes an already existing covenant. Furthermore, the phrase expresses the fulfillment of the old covenant in the life and ministry of the Messiah which reached a culmination with the death of the Messiah. This death was the shifting point where the "old" was renewed in the "new" "for the many."²

Who are "the many"? In the book of Daniel *rabbîm*, "many," occurs about thirteen times.³ It is always used in the book of Daniel with reference to people, except in Dan 9:18 where it has reference to the mercy of God ("thy great mercy," literally plural). It always functions as a partitive term precluding the inclusive meaning of "all." For instance, in Dan 8:25, "many," not all, are destroyed by the "little horn."⁴ In Dan 12:2: "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt."⁵ the many is partitive from "those who sleep in the dust of the earth." In Dan 9:27,

¹BDB, 149. Cf. Ps 12:4.

²Cf. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 212-13; Allis, 121-23; Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 463-67.

³Dan 8:25; 9:18, 27; 11:10, 14, 18, 26, 33, 39; 12:2, 3, 4, 10.

⁴Cf. Dan 11:26, where not everybody but "many fall down slain" (NASB). Also Dan 11:14. In Dan 11:18, 39, the implication seems to be great numbers. Even here there is a partitive connotation.

⁵NKJV. NASB rendition of "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the ground will awake, these to everlasting life, but the others to disgrace and everlasting contempt" makes "many" indicate only those who shall have everlasting life while the rest who do not awake at the time in focus here, and are not included in the "many," shall have disgrace and everlasting contempt.

"the many" is more definitive and seems to have been used in contrast to those who do not benefit from the "making strong of the covenant." The parallel of this usage can be found in Dan 12:10: "Many will be purged, purified and refined: but the wicked will act wickedly, and none of the wicked will understand, but those who have insight will understand."¹ Here "many" is used in contradistinction to "the wicked." The same meaning is found in Isa 53:11: "As a result of the anguish of His soul, He will see it and be satisfied; by His knowledge the Righteous One, My Servant will justify the many, as He will bear their iniquities."² Connections between the two passages (Dan 9 and Isa 53) have already been established.³ In this particular case, the same term and the same form, *lārabbi'm*, is used in Isa 53:11 as it is used in Dan 9:27. In Isa 53:11 *lārabbi'm* is definitive specifying those who are "justified" through the ministry and death of the Suffering Servant. The partitive nature of "the many" in Dan 9:27, the Messianic nature of the passage, the significance of the term *higbîr*, and the covenantal implications of the passage point to the meaning of "the many" in Dan 9:27 as it is found in Isa 53:11.⁴ Thus "the

¹NASB. Cf. Dan 11:33; 12:3.

²NASB.

³See p. 236.

⁴Cf. Archer, 117: "This is a technical term referring to the true believers among the people of God. . . . In the Qumran *Rule of the Congregation*, *hārabbi'm* often occurs in reference to the sectarian community of 'true believers'; therefore, G. Vermes (*The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [London: Harmsworth, 1962]) often renders it "the Congregation."

many" in Dan 9:27 refers to the faithful ones of Israel for whom "the Messiah" fulfilled the covenant.¹

The covenantal orientation of Daniel's prayer in Dan 9, which calls for the restitution of the broken covenant (vss. 5, 7, 10, 16-19), connects the "making strong of a covenant" in vs. 27 to the covenant of God in vs. 4.² Moreover, the connection between "the prince of the covenant" (Dan 11:22) and "the Messiah" of Dan 9:26, points to the covenantal functions of "the Messiah" (Dan 9:26). The covenantal functions are further emphasized by the relationship between the death of "the Messiah" (vs. 26) and the ceasing of the sacrificial system (vs. 27) which directly relates the "covenant" of the same verse. Finally, the cultic sense of "cut off" used

¹Against Walvoord, *Daniel*, 235, who refers the term to "the detriment of the people of Israel." It suffices for now to point out that the universalistic implication of the term *lārabbīm* envisions the shift from the particularistic focus of this prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 to the universalistic setting to include the faithful ones of all nations. Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 21.

²Those who support this view include, Allis, 122; Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 209, 214; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 87; Gurney, *God in Control*, 114; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95. Scholars who take "covenant" here (Dan 9:27a) as referring to an alliance between Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Hellenizing Jews include S. R. Driver, *Book of Daniel*, 141; Russell, *Daniel*, 190; Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Slotki, 79; Mickelson, 3, 83, 122; Towner, 144. This view has been questioned by Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 210, who points out that Antiochus did not make any covenant with the Jews as presumed according to 1 Macc 1:11-14. Others who refer the covenant to a "covenant" that will be made by a future "Roman" ruler or the Antichrist include Archer, 117; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 234, 235; Leupold, *Daniel*, 431. These interpreters base their view on two assumptions: (1) that the covenant is still future, and/or (2) that the reference is to the making of a "covenant." These two assumptions do not seem to be supported by the text. See "Continuous versus Discontinuous Time Periods," p. 133; and under "Chronological Considerations" below. Cf. Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 209, 210.

in connection with the death of "Messiah" (vs. 26) indicates covenantal connotations which can only have divine relations.¹

Chronological Considerations

The statement, "And he shall make strong a covenant with many for one week" (Dan 9:27a), specifies that the making strong of a covenant is coterminous with the last week of the Seventy Weeks. Thus, "he" starts making strong a covenant as soon as the sixty-nine weeks terminate at the appearance of "the Messiah the Prince."

The expression *higbîr*, which is applied to the covenant, suggests that the covenant to be made strong was already in existence.² The typical word used for the making of new covenants is *kārat*.³ However, *higbîr* is used instead of *kārat*. Kline suggests that the idea expressed by *higbîr* "might have been expressed by the

¹See discussion on *kārat* in chap. 2, p. 237, 238.

²Cf. Shea, "Daniel and the Judgment," 85; idem, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95.

³See under "Messiah," chap. 2, p. 237, 238. Cf. Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East," 196; Smick, 1:128; W. F. Albright, "The Hebrew Expression for 'Making a Covenant' in Pre-Israelite Documents," *BASOR* 121 (1951): 21, 22; Weinfeld, "*b'rîth*," 2:259. Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 463, remarks: "*kārat*, the verb regularly employed for the act of ratifying a covenant by cutting ritual which portrayed the curse of the covenant oath." Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 209, states: "The ordinary idiom to express such a thought is 'to cut a covenant,' and this idiom is not used here. Now, if the writer had wished to state that a covenant would be *made*, why did he not employ the ordinary Hebrew idiom for expressing such a thought? . . . The reference, therefore, is not to the making of a covenant but to a covenant which has already been made."

verb *hēqīm*, 'cause to stand','¹ which has been used for the confirmation of the covenant (Deut 8:18; Lev 26:9; Ezek 16:60, 62).²

The import of the expression *higbîr* which presupposes an existing covenant, the connection between the covenant in Daniel's prayer (vs. 4) and that of the prophecy (vs. 27), and the view that the Messiah starts making strong a covenant from the beginning of the seventieth week would, strongly point to the Sinaitic covenant as the one in focus in vs. 27.³ While the "new covenant" is universal,⁴ this covenant which starts at the beginning of the Messiah's appearance seems to focus on Daniel's people. However, with the Sinaitic covenant confirmed for Daniel's people, the "new covenant" would have been to them a renewal of the old with new privileges.⁵

¹Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 464.

²Ibid., 464, nn. 33 and 34.

³See Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95. Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 465, observes that "the evidence on the usage of *higbîr* indicates that verse 27 has in view the enforcing of the terms of a covenant previously granted. If so, it can only refer to God's faithful fulfillment of the covenant He has given to His people." Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 209, has also stated: "The reference, therefore, is not to the making of a covenant but to a covenant which has already been made." So also Allis, 121-23.

⁴Hasel, *Covenant in Blood*, 103, has stated: "The members of the 'new covenant' community are not every physical or blood descendant of Abraham, but every person who allows God to write His law inwardly, making it part of the total will of the believer so that the believer may obey God by faith."

⁵Ibid., 107. After the analysis of the meaning of *h"qāsāh*, translated "new" in Jer 31:31 where the "new covenant" is first announced, Hasel has concluded: "The new covenant is simply a 'renewed' or 'restored' covenant plus one now having characteristics not present in the same way or quality as before."

Chronologically, the making strong of a covenant (vs. 27) starts after the sixty-nine weeks and at the beginning of the seventieth week when the Messiah the Prince appears. It ends at the termination of the seventieth week.

The Use of *Athnach* in Dan 9:25

The right rendering of Dan 9:25 has been a cause for sharp division between the renderings of the KJV, ASB, NASB, JB, NJB, and NIV on one side, and the RSV, NRSV, NEB, REB, and JPSV on the other. The basic cause of this division has been the Masoretic pointing which puts an *athnach* after the first seven weeks and thus some kind of pause between the seven weeks and the following sixty-two weeks. The contention is whether the *athnach* should be taken as a full disjunctive, thereby making "the Messiah, the Prince" come at the end of the seven weeks:¹ or not taking it as a full disjunctive and thus putting the seven and sixty-two weeks together and expecting "the Messiah, the Prince" to come at the end of

¹Proponents along these lines include Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 337, 339; Russell, *Daniel*, 186-88; Towner, 142; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 187, 194; Hartman and Di Lella, 240; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Porteous, 132, 141; Slotki, 78; S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138, 139; McComisky, 19-25; Leupold, *Daniel*, 417-24; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 356, 357.

the sixty-nine weeks.¹ This is evidently of great importance for the chronology of Dan 9:24-27.

Historical-Critical scholars² and some Symbolic-Amillennial scholars³ invariably take the *athnach* as a full disjunctive. These scholars seem to give the impression of placing a very high authority in the Masoretic pointing of the *athnach* and that whenever it occurs it should automatically be taken as indicating a full disjunctive. However, this viewpoint of *athnach* always indicating a full disjunctive is profoundly negated by the use of *athnach* under *ʿōlāmim*, "everlasting," in the previous verse (Dan 9:24) and the viewing of this *athnach* (vs. 24) as nondisjunctive by these same scholars. If the viewpoint that *athnach* always indicates a full disjunctive were true, then, consistency would demand that Dan 9:24 be translated as follows:

Seventy weeks are decreed upon your people and your holy city
to finish transgression and to put an end to sin and to atone for wickedness and
to bring in everlasting righteousness.[*athnach*]

¹See e.g., Doukhan, "'Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9.'" 17, 18; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 89-91; idem, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25," 59-63; Hasel, "Interpretations," 60, 61; Gurney, *God in Control*, 113; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 55; Boutflower, 190, 191; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 128-31; Kendall K. Down, *Daniel* (Grantham: Stanborough Press, 1991), 79; Baldwin, 170; Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 204, 205; Sinclair B. Ferguson, *Daniel*, The Communicator's Commentary (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988), 202; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 223-27.

²E.g., Russell, *Daniel*, 186-88; Towner, 142; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 187, 194; Hartman and Di Lella, 240; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Porteous, 132, 141; etc.

³E.g., Leupold, *Daniel*, 417-24; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 356, 357.

And to seal up vision and prophet and to anoint a holy of holies.

It seems, however, that the *athnach* which separates the fourth infinitival clause from the fifth and the sixth (Dan 9:24) is not meant to have a separation value of full disjunctive. This is understandable because the last two clauses, being infinitival in nature, cannot give a complete meaning if they stand alone as a sentence without the subject. That is indicative of the fact that the *athnach* here in vs. 24 does not have a full disjunctive value. This usage of *athnach* found in Dan 9:24 seems to be regarded by interpreters as not anything outside the possible functions of *athnach*.¹ Thus Montgomery translates the clause without even any comment or indication of any pause after "everlasting rightness:"

*For finishing transgression
and completing sin
and absolving iniquity:
And bringing in everlasting rightness*

¹The same scholars who argue for a dogmatic view of full disjunctive for the Masoretic *athnach* in Dan 9:25 view it as not having a full disjunctive value in Dan 9:24. See e.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 239, 244; S. R. Driver, 135, 136; Slotki, 77; Towner, 141; Russell, *Daniel*, 183-85. The only remark that Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 373-77, makes with regard to vs. 24 is that "Bevan criticises MT's punctuation, but the clause is to be connected with what precedes." Montgomery's comment is probably apropos to the *zāqēph qātōn* on the previous clause, since Bevan's comment has to do with that. See Bevan, 154: "The next clause 'to atone for wickedness,' is, according to the accents, connected with what precedes (i.e., to put an end to sin), but it should rather be coupled with 'to bring in everlasting righteousness,' for the six acts here enumerated naturally fall into three parts."

*and sealing vision and prophet
and anointing the Most Holy.*¹

It can be seen that Montgomery puts a colon after iniquity although the MT has no indication of that. In this case Montgomery is inventing an "appropriate" punctuation in spite of the MT's nonpunctuation. In case he moved the *athnach* to the previous clause (which he does not say) there are two problems:

1. It is not according to the MT punctuation, and that would do irreparable damage to their view of the MT punctuation in the following verse (vs. 25).

2. If he took the *athnach* as a colon here in vs. 24, then he was not regarding it as a full disjunctive, which in effect again makes it difficult to argue dogmatically for a full disjunctive for the *athnach* in vs. 25.

However, it seems as if Montgomery is just disregarding the *athnach* of vs. 24, which is the Masoretic pointing, and giving it no disjunctive value at all. Goldingay, while he takes the *athnach* in vs. 25 as a full disjunctive, however, observes that "MT punctuation divides v 24 after 'lasting vindication,' but more likely we should divide the infinitive clauses between the three negatives (all two-word cls) and the three positives (all three-word)."²

The point here is that if an *athnach* in vs. 24 could be ignored and not

¹Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 373. RSV strangely uses a comma instead of a period, treating it as nondisjunctive. Commenting on the RSV translation, Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin," 117, states: "No other examples occur in the text of Daniel 9 in which an ³*athnach* is represented with a period. Further, there are four cases in which the RSV does not represent even a *soph pasuq* with a period."

²Goldingay, 229.

given any disjunctive value at all, or could be moved to a "proper" place and not taken as full disjunctive, then there is the possibility that the *athnach* in the next verse could be treated as being in the same category.¹

General Functions of *Athnach* in the Old Testament

It is a distinguishing feature that the Hebrew verse is divided into two parts, termed "dichotomy," for the purposes of chanting.² The *athnach* is generally employed to mark the caesura of the dichotomy.³ Although *athnach* is the principal divider within the verse,⁴ "the accentuators did not hesitate to make the strict rules for logical (or syntactical) division give way, when they wished to express *emphasis*, or otherwise give effect to the reading."⁵

¹Hengstenberg, 122, has stated a long time ago: "But the theory on which this assertion is based, that *Athnach* always stands where we should place one of the leading stops, is incorrect."

²E. J. Revell, "Masoretic Accents," ABD (1992), 4:595; Israel Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*, trans. and ed. E. J. Revell, SBL Masoretic Studies 5 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980), 158, notes with regard to the functions of the accents that "their primary function . . . is to represent the musical motifs to which the Biblical text was chanted in the public reading." Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), 68, has also observed that "at the outset, the accentuation was probably intended to indicate the melodic pattern of the reading."

³William Wickes, *Two Treatises on the Accentuation of the Old Testament* (New York: Ktav Publications, 1970), parts I:24; II:29, "In some cases other accents are allowable, or even necessary from the influence of musical laws." Cf. Yeivin, 172.

⁴Gesenius, §15.f.

⁵Wickes, II:4; Revell, 4:595, has observed that "the accent clauses do not correspond to any particular syntactic structures, nor are they used to divide the verse into units more or less equal in length. They divide the verse into sense units

Among the uses of the *athnach* in the Old Testament, therefore, is its use to clearly mark emphasis.¹ An example is found in Gen 1:1 where the *athnach* divides after God. In Gen 1:1, the emphatic use of *athnach* will require the translation:

In the beginning God created [athnach] the heavens and the earth.

Here the *athnach* emphasizes God as the Creator, and divides between the Creator and the object of His creation. Yet if it is taken as a full disjunctive it will destroy the meaning of the sentence, for it will read: "In the beginning God created. The heaven and the earth." Apart from the fact that "the heaven and the earth" cannot be viewed without any subject or verb as a sentence, one would not know what interpretation to associate with it. Here then, we find the first example of the usage of *athnach* just for emphasis and not needing any disjunctive value at all in its translation and interpretation. This emphatic application is also very lucid in Gen 22:10:

And Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife [athnach] to slay his son.²

It is very apparent that the *athnach* after knife cannot be taken as a full disjunctive.

related to the chant."

¹See Wickes, 1:32-35.

²Other examples of this nature include Gen 1:21; 4:15; 41:47; Exod 25:22; Deut 28:32.

This application is seen also in Dan 9:2 and 24.¹

The second example where *athnach* indicates a pause other than a full disjunctive is its application which demands a comma. This is usually used to emphasize the speech itself, command, or show where the weight of the meaning is. Included in this category is Gen 35:9:

*And God appeared to Jacob again when he returned from Padan Aram, [athnach] and he blessed him."*²

The third example is the application of the *athnach* to a pause equivalent to a colon or semicolon. These instances are used in the citation of various items, and also to feature the main theme of the sentence. For example, Gen 6:15:

*This is how you are to build the ark: [athnach] the length of the ark, three hundred cubits, its width, fifty cubits and its length, thirty cubits.*³

The fourth application of the *athnach* is its parenthetical purpose. For example, 1 Kgs 8:42:

*For they will hear your great name and your mighty hand and your outstretched arm--[athnach] when he comes and prays toward this temple.*⁴

¹In the Aramaic section examples include Dan 2:12; 6:10 (Eng. 9); 12 (Eng. 11). Revell, 4:595, commenting on the emphatic nature of the *athnach* and its relation to the chant, observes: "Thus in Gen 3:3, the main division of the verse (marked by *athnach*) comes almost at its end, showing the close relationship of the two prohibitions and emphasizing the warning of penalty for transgression given in the last clause." ("From the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden" said God, "You shall not eat of it and you shall not touch it [*athnach*] lest you die." Gen 3:3.)

²See also Gen 34:7; 35:9, 21; 41:53; Exod 12:23; 24:4; Num 20:13; 28:26; 1 Sam 14: 27; Isa 27:13.

³See also Gen 9:10; Exod 3:12; Isa 28:16; Jer 2:23.

⁴See also Gen 19:20; Deut 3:19; 1 Sam 3:3; 2 Sam 14:26; Jer 20:1.

Finally, it has been recognized that some of the *athnachs* are not at the logical or syntactical positions. In this connection, Wickes has observed: "Occasionally (it must be allowed) the accentuators have been led into fanciful extremes by the Midrash-teaching of the Schools. Thus in Gen. i. 21 the Athnach is with *hatannînim hagdôlîm*, instead of at its proper place before *w'yyar² 2'lôhîm kî tób.*"¹ It is, therefore, not inconceivable to come across a misplaced *athnach*.²

Generally, the applications of the *athnach* in the Old Testament are not limited to the full disjunctive function, but functions ranging from full disjunctive to nondisjunctive are delineated. Interpretations that limit the function of the *athnach* to only one usage are thus ignoring the full spectrum of *athnach* functions.

Specific Functions of *Athnach* with Regard to Numbers

The functions of *athnach* in verses containing numbers³ follow the same pattern as seen in the discussion above. The main function of the *athnach* as a principal divider within a verse is attested in its full disjunctive value as in Gen 1:5.

¹Wickes, I:33.

²See Wickes, I:51-53; II:59-60, for a proposed list of examples of accents that need to be corrected.

³In this section, I am indebted to Alfredo Ordoñez, who allowed me to use some of the material from his unpublished paper, "The 'Seven Weeks and Sixty Two Weeks' of Daniel 9:25," written for a seminar conducted by Prof. G. F. Hasel.

However, beyond the full disjunctive value, other functions portraying lesser emphasis on pausal effects down to no disjunctive significance and even with conjunctive characteristics are also attested.

First, there is the use of the *athnach* that exhibits a pausal effect similar to a colon or semicolon.¹ This function is also used when an explanation follows a list of items.²

In 1 Chr 7:9, the *athnach* divides before the numbers:

Their enrollment by their genealogies, according to their generations, heads of their fathers' houses, mighty warriors: [athnach] twenty thousand and two hundred.

Although the *athnach* is employed as a divider before the numbers, the numerical phrase, "twenty thousand and two hundred" (which follows the *athnach*), must be connected with the previous phrase, "mighty warriors" (which stands before the *athnach*). The relationship between the two phrases becomes more obvious when the verb "were" is supplied: "mighty warriors *were* twenty thousand and two hundred." The intention seems to be appositional in the sense that one could even translate dynamically: "mighty warriors, that is, twenty thousand and two hundred (in number)." In this instance the *athnach* seems closer to conjunctive and explanatory than disjunctive. This example illustrates that the occurrence of the *athnach* does not necessarily demand that the clause after the *athnach* cannot be

¹See, e.g., Gen 6:15; 1 Chr 15:5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; Ezek 2:36, 40, 41.

²See, e.g., Gen 10:10; 13:14; 1 Chr 7:8; 12:31 (Eng. 30); 29:27.

connected to the previous clause that comes before the *athnach*.¹ Indeed, it reveals that they belong together.

Second, the function of the *athnach* that requires a pause similar to a comma is also found in verses that involve numbers. For example, Exod 38:29:

And the bronze from the wave offering was seventy talents, [athnach] and two thousand and four hundred shekels.

In this case, the measure of units (talents and shekels) which are divided by the *athnach* describes the same entity--"the bronze from the wave offering." While the *athnach* here distinguishes between the higher unit (talents) and the lower unit (shekels), it does not seem to have a full disjunctive value. If the *athnach* were to be taken as a full disjunctive, the first part of seventy talents would have to be referred to the bronze while the "two thousand and four hundred shekels" would then have to stand by itself or be connected with the following clause (vs. 30). Neither is possible. The phrase "and two thousand and four hundred shekels" cannot stand by itself as a sentence and it cannot be connected with the next clause since they are separated by a *sillūq*. Thus, the *athnach* in vs. 39 cannot be taken as a full disjunctive. It is to be rendered as a comma.

Third, there is the function of *athnach* that could be considered as having no disjunctive value at all. Such a case is observed in the enumeration of the children of Benjamin in Gen 46:21:

And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Beker, Ashbel and Gera, Ehi and Naaman, Rosh [athnach] and Muppim, and Huppim and Ard.

¹See also Neh 7:11, 45, 66; Num 1:21, 23.

The *athnach* here is put in the middle of one of the five pairs of names listed. Unless the *athnach* is regarded as nondisjunctive, the parallelism in the citation of the names would be destroyed. Furthermore, the names that come after the *athnach* cannot be connected alone with the subsequent clause (vs. 22).

Another example of this case is found in Num 1:46:

And they were a total number of six hundred and three thousand, [athnach] and five hundred and fifty.

In Num 1:46, the *athnach* is placed into one figure of 603.550, just as in English a comma marks thousands from hundreds. It cannot be taken as disjunctive, putting a period, colon, or semicolon within the number.

The foregoing examples demonstrate that the *athnach* is not used merely as a full disjunctive accent in the Hebrew Bible. It is instead used with a wide range of functions that in some instances are closer to conjunctive¹ than disjunctive. Thus it cannot be argued that the occurrence of an *athnach* as in Dan 9:25 is a *de facto* determination of a full disjunctive.²

The Use of the *Athnach* in the Book of Daniel

The book of Daniel not only mirrors the Old Testament in the full

¹E.g., Num 1:46; Gen 46:21; 1 Chr 7:9.

²Contrary to Goldingay, 261; Plöger, 140, 141; Bentzen, 74, 75; Montgomery, 379; Leupold, *Daniel*, 417-24, and many others.

disjunctive¹ application of the *athnach*, but it also exhibits the other known applications already discussed. The functions of the *athnach* outside Dan 9 are first surveyed.

The *Athnach* in the Book of Daniel
outside Dan 9:25

First there is the use of *athnach* for a pause similar to the colon or semicolon. For example, Dan 1:6:

And there was among them from the sons of Judah: [athnach] Daniel, Hananiah and Azariah.

Second, there is the use of the *athnach* which may be described as nondisjunctive as in Dan 8:20:²

The ram which you saw with two horns [athnach] the kings of Media and Persia.

In this example, the *athnach* cannot demand a period (full disjunctive). If the *athnach* is taken as a period (full disjunctive), the two clauses that it divides would neither be able to stand by themselves as sentences nor would each of them be meaningful by itself. Instead, the two clauses must be connected with a connecting verb. Thus, the proper translation is: "the ram which you saw with two horns is (or represents) the kings of Media and Persia."

Third, there is the use of the *athnach* for a pause equivalent to a comma.

¹The full disjunctive function of the *athnach* has the highest frequency in Daniel.

²See also Dan 1: 9, 15.

This usage is attested, for example, in Dan 9:2:¹

In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by the books [athnach] the number of the years which came by the word of God to Jeremiah the prophet that He would accomplish for the desolations of Jerusalem seventy years.

The *athnach* in this example also does not seem to require a full disjunctive. If the latter were the case then the object of the verb "understood" would be missing, making it an incomplete sentence.

The examples discussed above suffice to show that in the book of Daniel, as in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, the *athnach* does not always function as a full disjunctive. It has a variety of functions. With this background we may gain a better understanding of the use of the *athnach* in Dan 9:25.

The *athnach* in Dan 9:25

The analysis of the functions of the *athnach* in the book of Daniel and in the Old Testament shows that the *athnach* may function as a full disjunctive or simply without disjunctive value. With this background, how should the *athnach* in Dan 9:25 be interpreted?

First, the MT uses a *waw* as a co-ordinative to which the meaning "and" is to be assigned, suggesting a co-ordinative conjunction between the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." The *waw* conjoins the numbers,² showing a close bond between the two divisions of the weeks.

¹See also Dan 1:5, 20; 2:1, 3, 12; 6:10 (Eng. 9), 12 (Eng. 11); 8:14, 15, 22, 23, 24.

²Waltke and O'Connor, 648, 649.

Second, there is a parallelism between Jerusalem and Messiah on the one hand and the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" on the other in Dan 9:25:

A: Jerusalem	B: <i>until</i> the Messiah, the Prince
A ₁ : seven weeks	B ₁ : <i>and</i> sixty-two weeks

The temporal use of ^c*ad*, "until," has the effect of conjunction between the two nouns, namely, Jerusalem and Messiah. At the second level, A₁ and B₁, the coordinative conjunction *waw*, "and," joins "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" together, thus completing the parallelism between AB and A₁B₁ in a relationship of AB::A₁B₁. This relationship ties "Jerusalem" to the "seven weeks" and "until Messiah the Prince" to the subsequent "sixty-two weeks." In other words, the restoration and building of Jerusalem takes "seven weeks;" but "until Messiah the Prince" shall be "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." The "until" will demand the total time from the time the "word" goes forth "until" the coming of "the Messiah, the Prince."

This is even more clearly demonstrated by the literary structure of the whole verse:

A: Restore and build
B: Jerusalem
C: until the Messiah, the Prince
C ₁ : seven weeks and sixty-two weeks
B ₁ : Jerusalem (will be)
A ₁ : Restored and rebuilt

A splitting up of the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" will leave the "sixty-two weeks" hanging without a connection. One could consider attaching the "sixty-two weeks" to Jerusalem (B₁). This option will also bring some incongruity into the

structure, since A_1 will either be left hanging or be attached also to Jerusalem (B_1). In that case, Jerusalem (B_1) will have two items, becoming lopsided and destroying the parallelism of the text.¹

A serious chronological problem that will result from attaching the sixty-two weeks to Jerusalem, however, is that the restoration and building of Jerusalem would then have to be done over a four-hundred-and-thirty-four year period.² Even Goldingay, who suggests that the "MT's division of the verse seems more natural,"³ realizes that to have the building go on for four hundred and thirty-four years "would be odd."⁴ In fact, there is no historical support for it. Thus, the best option would be to follow according to the literary structure and the demands of the context on the basis of which the *athnach* here cannot have a full disjunctive value.

Third, the function of the *athnach* after the "seven weeks" is to emphasize the seven-week period for the restoration and building of Jerusalem, and thereby project the coming of the long-expected Messiah further into the future. Therefore, the *athnach* in Dan 9:25, when observed with the right pause during the chanting of the passage, will represent a bi-emphatic purpose like the examples above instead of a full disjunctive purpose.

¹Cf. Shea, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25." *AUSS* 18 (1980): 59-63; Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9." 13.

²So among others Goldingay, 261; Plöger, 140, 141; Hartman and Di Lella, 251; S. R. Driver, *Daniel*, 138, 139; Slotki, 78; and so forth.

³Goldingay, 229.

⁴Ibid.

Fourth, none of the ancient versions--LXX, Theodotion, Syriac, or Vulgate--puts a full disjunctive between the "seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks" of Dan 9:25. The fact that the ancient versions make connection between the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" suggests that they did not recognize a syntactical division between the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." The MT accentuation, which is later than the Greek versions does not seem to have an intended syntactical break but an emphasis between the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks."¹ Hasel has observed that "punctuation marks in the Hebrew manuscript did not come into general use before a flowering of Masoretic activity between A.D. 600 and A.D. 930."²

Fifth, the Qumran texts that relate to Dan 9:24-27, and Rabbinic interpretations, support a nondisjunctive value of the *athnach* in Dan 9:25.³ That the Jews before Christianity may have interpreted the prophecy of Dan 9:25 without putting a break between "seven weeks" and "sixty-two weeks" is depicted in the

¹The emphatic function of the *athnach* does not always coincide with the syntatic division. See Revell, "Masoretic Accents," 4:595.

²Hasel, "Interpretations," 53. Cf. Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973), 29, who concludes from his historical survey on the Masoretic Text that the present accents must have been done during the 9th and 10th centuries. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 130; Keil, *Daniel*, 356; Baldwin, 170; E. Werner, "Masoretic Accents," *IDB* (1962), 2:297; David N. Freedman and M. B. Cohen, "The Masoretic as Exegetes: Selected Examples," *1972 and 1973 Proceedings, IOMS. Masoretic Studies 1* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), 35.

³See Beckwith, "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming," 522.

statement of J. E. Hartley:

Furthermore, the reference to Jubilee in the scene at Nazareth establishes a tie with the vision of Daniel [9:24-27] about the great Jubilee that will inaugurate the messianic age. [A.] Strobel (BZNW 40 [1973] 44-46, 49-50) demonstrates that in the time of Jesus there was the expectation that the final, tenth Jubilee [49 x 10 = 490 years] prophesied by Daniel was about to take place. Luke builds on that expectation . . . when Jesus himself inaugurated the eschatological age at the time set by Yahweh in the prophecy of Daniel.¹

The idea of early Jewish interpretations keeping "seven weeks" and "sixty-two weeks" together and expecting the Messiah during the seventieth week according to the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 underscores the view that the *athnach* in Dan 9:25 need not be taken as a full disjunctive.

Considering the various applications of the *athnach* in the Old Testament and in the book of Daniel as well as the witness of the ancient versions,² it will be better contextually, structurally, and chronologically to regard the *athnach* division in Dan 9:25 as not a full disjunctive,³ separating "seven weeks" from "sixty-two

¹John E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1992), 447. While the connection of the Jubilee with the 70 weeks is a matter of debate, the view that there is no break between the first seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks is important. Beckwith, "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming," 522, suggests that the Masoretic pointing may have been anti-Messianic. Pusey, 190, n. #1, also quotes Rashi to say that the putting of *athnach* under the *šibcāh* was done 'on account of the heretics,' i.e. Christians." I have not found support for this in Rashi. At any rate, this study has established that the Masoretic pointing does not have a syntactical but an emphatic value. Thus, germane to the present discussion is the evidence that early Jewish interpreters did not identify a syntactical break between "seven weeks" and "sixty-two weeks."

²Yeivin, 169.

³Cf. Young, *Messianic Prophecies*, 60; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 131; Boutflower, 185, 186.

weeks" syntactically and chronologically. Thus, while the emphatic nature of *athnach* of Dan 9:25 must be recognized, the seven and sixty-two weeks must be seen as one period of sixty-nine weeks (483 years) starting from the "word to restore and build Jerusalem" to the appearance of "the Messiah, the Prince."

The Antecedent of the "He" in Dan 9:27a

The first clause of Dan 9:27 has been translated in three major ways. One of them is, "And one week shall confirm a covenant."¹ This translation which makes "one week" the subject of the clause seems very unlikely since the *Hiphil* form *higbîr*, translated as "confirm," is causative and requires a subject that causes or actively does the confirmation. Thus, since "one week" cannot be said to actively cause the confirmation, it cannot be considered to be the subject of the clause.²

A second translation is provided in Goldingay's commentary: "A covenant will prevail for the multitude for one seven."³ For the same reason as above, it

¹Hengstenberg, 142. Cf. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 87, "The sense of this passage then is this: That the one remaining week would witness the confirming of the covenant." However, Mauro sees Christ, not week, or half or middle of the week, as causing the entire system of sacrifices appointed by the law to cease.

²Cf. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 365.

³Goldingay, 226. Another translation which makes "covenant" the subject is that of Bevan, 160. Bevan emends *higbîr* to *hûpar* and thus translates "and the covenant shall be annulled for the many." "Covenant" here is a passive subject. To be consistent, he also emends *yašbîṭ* to *yîšbōṭ* and thus translates "sacrifice and oblation cease." Marti, 71, considers Bevan's emendation of *higbîr* to *hûpar* as a difficult construction with *l'*. He therefore proposes the *Qal w'ta^chōr* and translates: "and religion shall come to an end for the many." Charles, 249, 250, however, supposes that the Danielic text was originally in Aramaic and that this particular sentence (vs. 27a) was mistranslated. He, therefore, proposes the

would be awkward for an inanimate concept to be the subject of the *Hiphil* verbal form. Here a definite person must be the subject.¹ Another problem with this second translation is that "covenant" is a feminine noun and, therefore, unlikely that it would be used as the subject of a masculine verb. Goldingay cites² as an example of a *Hiphil* verb without an animate subject in the Old Testament, Ps 12:5 (Eng. 4): "Who have said, 'With our tongue we will prevail.'"³ In this example, *nagbîr*, however, has a subject "we" which represents the people speaking. Besides, the support of Gesenius (§ 145c) that he sought does not justify his position.⁴

The third translation is supported by the syntax of the clause⁵:

*"And he shall confirm (make strong) a covenant with the many for one week."*⁶

The verb, *w'higbîr*, "and He shall make strong," contains the subject, "He," as well as the verb, "shall make strong." The direct object accusative *b'riṭ*, "covenant."

translation: "And a stringent statute shall be issued against the many." Charles presupposes a new figure (Antiochus Epiphanes) not mentioned before in the passage as the subject of vs. 27. But the MT's "he" must have an antecedent. Thus the MT text is considered corrupt here.

¹Cf. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 365.

²Goldingay, 230.

³NASB.

⁴Goldingay, 230.

⁵*w'higbîr* is a *Hiphil* perfect, third masculine singular form which therefore contains the subject as well as the verb. *b'riṭ* is a noun, feminine singular, and the direct object of the verb. *lārabbîm* is a prepositional phrase which acts as the indirect object. *šābhūa*^c *ehād* is an adverbial phrase showing the time for the confirmation process.

⁶KJV.

receives the action of the transitive verb *higbîr*.

The next question, then, is: Who is the antecedent of the pronoun 'he' who confirms a covenant? There are three antecedents that have been suggested, namely, "the Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25),¹ "Messiah" (vs. 26),² and "Prince" (vs. 26).³ Syntactically, the nearest antecedent usually is the subject. However, the Prince of vs. 26b cannot be the antecedent because it is neither the subject nor the object of the preceding clause, "And the people of the prince who shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary." The "Prince" is subordinated to the active subject of the clause "the people." Nevertheless, "the people" is plural in sense, though grammatically singular in Hebrew, and thus does not seem a good candidate for the antecedent of the "He" in vs. 27.

"The Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25) is farther away from the "he" (vs. 27) than the "Messiah" in the previous verse (vs. 26b). Therefore, taking into consideration the syntax of the passage, the "Messiah" (vs. 26b) is most naturally the antecedent of the "he" in vs. 27.⁴ Thus, it is "the Messiah" of vs. 26 which is cut off "in the middle of the week" which is the subject of the chronological time chart.

¹Among those who see the antecedent of "he" as "the Messiah, the Prince" are Gurney, *God in Control*, 114; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 95.

²E.g., Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 209; Allis, 122.

³Russell, *Daniel*, 190; S. R. Driver, *Book of Daniel*, 141; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 197, 198; Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Slotki, 79; Archer, 117; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 233, 234; Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 257; Towner, 144; Baldwin, 171; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 365, 366.

⁴Cf. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 208; Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," 463, n. 31.

Summary

The terminological analysis of the term *šābu^cim* has established that its meaning is to be taken as "weeks" in accordance with the attested usage of the Old Testament which is also in harmony with the usage in the book of Daniel. It can be shown that the masculine form in Dan 9 has the significance of the unitary and totality aspect which is prevalent in the Old Testament in double-gender nouns. Thus, the Seventy Weeks consist of a single chronological time unit which is continuous and unbroken with the three subunits of time, the seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week forming a single unbroken totality of seventy weeks. The chronological meaning, however, is explicated by the "day for a year" conversion scale as contextually demanding that a "week" represents "seven" of prophetic-symbolic time which translate into years of actual time. Thus, the Seventy Weeks represent a period of 490 solar years and must be, according to the context, computed continuously without any break or overlap.

The Seventy Weeks, by virtue of the linguistic, conceptual, and theological connections between Dan 8 and 9, and the chronological import of *nehtak*, "cut off" (Dan 9:24), are predicated to be the first part of the 2,300 prophetic "evening[s and] morning[s]," or actual years.

The "word" (Dan 9:25) which determines the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is in itself defined and clarified by the expressions "to restore and to build." "it shall be restored and built" and "square and decision-making." While the infinitive "to build" refers to the physical rebuilding of Jerusalem, the infinitive "to

restore" refers to the restoration of the political autonomy of Jerusalem. The emphasis on restoration in the first part of the phrase "to restore and to build" points to an emphasis of the "word" on the political self-governing restoration of Jerusalem which necessitates the rebuilding of the city as an entity of government and public life.

The emphasis of the "word" on the restoration of political Jerusalem is further emphasized by the phrase *ʾhōḇ wḥārūs*, "square and decision-making." The public "square" (*ʾhōḇ*) was the place of various social activities, most importantly where leaders instructed the people and the elders met to decide court cases pertaining to governance and judgment using the laws of God. The "square," therefore, was the physical entity in which their freedom of self-governance is manifested.

The coupling of the "square" (*ʾhōḇ*) with "decision-making" (*hārūs*), which is used in the Old Testament more often than any other term for "decision-making" especially with regard to judgment, would definitely draw the attention of the recipients of the prophecy to a "word" or decree that would emphasize the restoration of Jerusalem to a political status of full self-governance and the right to decision-making based on the divine laws of the God of Israel.

Thus the expressions "to restore and to build" and "square and decision-making" together define the contents of the decree of Dan 9:25 as emphasizing the political restoration of Jerusalem, involving subsequently the rebuilding of physical Jerusalem. Such a "word" would restore the theocentric

identity of Jerusalem. Thus, a Jerusalem with that degree of political-freedom and responsibility could function appropriately for the seventy-week probationary period cut off for her.

Towards the end of the Seventy Weeks, the long-expected Messiah would come. He is the referent, as evidenced by the context, of the three expressions: "the Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25), "the Messiah" (vs. 26b), and "the Prince" (vs. 26c). This "Messiah" is the "He" of vs. 27a who shall make strong a covenant for "the many."

"The Messiah, the Prince" comes at the end of the sixty-nine weeks and not at the end of the first "seven weeks" as was established by a study of context, pointing of the MT, literary structure, and the like.

The contextual settings, terminological matters, and major chronological issues have thus been defined and established. The historical correlates of the events stipulated in Dan 9:24-27 are established in chapter 3 on the basis of the detailed discussions presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

CHRONOLOGICAL ISSUES IN HISTORY

The chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27 involve events and persons that are set in history. The delimitation of the historical landmarks of these historical events and persons in Dan 9:25-27, as it were, charts the chronological outline of the passage. These historical concerns are evaluated on three levels, namely, the *terminus a quo*, the interim events, and the *terminus ad quem*. The events of Dan 9:25-27 are then fitted into their historical connections in this chapter in order that a chronology that is based upon the textual, literary, structural, and contextual stipulations provided in Dan 9:24-27 can be constructed.

The *Terminus a Quo*

It has been established in chapter 2 that the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks" (490 years) is determined by a "word" that would grant the exiles of Jerusalem political autonomy that conferred on them the freedom to govern themselves by their own theocentric laws and to rebuild Jerusalem. Historically, various dates have been chosen by interpreters as the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks," depending on which decree they view as the "word" (*dābār*) of Dan 9:25. The Historical-Critical School usually refers to the word of Jeremiah (Jer 29:11)

mentioned in Dan 9:2¹ as the *terminus a quo*, the Symbolic-Amillennial School prefers the decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.),² the Futurist-Dispensationalist School takes the permission of Artaxerxes I given in his twentieth year (either 445 or 444 B.C.) to Nehemiah,³ and the Historicist-Messianic School takes the decree of Artaxerxes I given in his seventh year (457 B.C.) to Ezra.⁴ These "decrees" are here examined.

The Decrees

The determination of the specific historical event that fulfills the key expression "word" that defines the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks has been the subject of vigorous debate. Five major events have been proposed as the historical correlate of the "word" of Dan 9:25: the "word" of God, the decree of Cyrus, the decree of Darius, the decree of Artaxerxes I to Ezra, and the permission of Artaxerxes to Nehemiah.⁵ The "word" of God to Jeremiah (Jer 25:11; 29:10) and the "word" of God to Gabriel (Dan 9:23) are both discussed under the next part of this study; "The 'Word' of God," and the decree of Darius are discussed under

¹See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times." chap. 1, p. 25.

²See under "Symbolic Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times and Beyond." chap. 1, pp. 62, 63.

³See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in the Future." chap. 1, pp. 44-46.

⁴See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times." pp. 17-19.

⁵Cf. Kalafian, *Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel*, 78; idem, "The Impact of the Book of Daniel on Chronology," 114, 115.

"The Decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.)," the second part of this chapter.

The "Word" of God

Some interpreters have submitted that Jeremiah's "word of the LORD" mentioned in Dan 9:2¹ is the "word" of Dan 9:25. The "word" of Dan 9:2 is the "word of the LORD" given through Jeremiah (Jer 25:11; 29:10). Interpreters who view the Jeremianic "word" of prophecy of the "seventy years" as marking the *terminus a quo* usually date the *terminus a quo* to 587/6 B.C.,² the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians.

The Jeremianic "word of the LORD" predicts the length of the exile and thus the time period during which Israel would be in servitude. Thus, the subject matter of the Jeremianic "word of the LORD" cannot be said to authorize a restoration and building of Jerusalem.³ It should be noted that Dan 9:2 explicitly defines the "word" (*dāḇār*) as "the word of the LORD" (*d'ḇar-YHWH*), meaning a "word" which derives from YHWH. It is a prophetic word of divine origin. In Dan 9:25, the "word" is not so defined in a construct relation to YHWH. If it were

¹For example, E. König, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: C. Belser, 1925), 323; Montgomery, 391; Hartman and Di Lella, 250; Baumgartner, 224; Plöger, 134.

²E.g., Plöger, 134; Marti, 69; Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 150, 151; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 391; Jeffery, 6:495; Porteous, 141; Bevan, 148; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178; Russell, *Daniel*, 187.

³The "word of the LORD" to Jeremiah was a prophetic word that predicted the exile and desolation of Jerusalem rather than a decree that authorized the restoration of Jerusalem. Hartman and Di Lella, 250, admit with regard to Jer 25:11-12 that it "really does not speak of the rebuilding at all."

meant to be so, one would expect the identical construction. The fact that "word" in Dan 9:25 stands by itself points in another direction.

There is also a chronological problem. The date of 587/6 B.C. as *terminus a quo* does not fit chronologically either the nonchristological Maccabean theory or the Messianic systems. It is too long by 67/66 years to fit the Maccabean termination and too short by 130/131 years to reach the Messianic fulfillment.¹ Thus the "word of the LORD" of Jeremiah mentioned in Dan 9:2 does not fit the defined stipulations of historical time for identifying the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks" (Dan 9:24-27).

There are other interpreters who claim that the "word" of God issued to Gabriel² referred to in Dan 9:23 marks the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. These interpreters choose different dates for the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy

¹Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178, starts the 70 weeks from 605 B.C., runs the first 7 weeks concurrently with the 62 weeks, and ends up with 63 weeks instead of 70 weeks. Pierce, likewise, puts the beginning point of the 70 weeks at 605 B.C. but puts gaps between the divisions. Thus, he dates the *terminus ad quem* to 88 B.C., a date too late to fit the Maccabean times, termination schemes, but too early to reach the Messianic age.

²For example, Auberlen, 112; Hengstenberg, 829-30; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 351-52. Although Keil rejects the proposal that the decree of Dan 9:25 is fulfilled by either the word of 9:2 (i.e., the Jeremianic word) or the word of God in 9:23, he still views the "decree" of 9:25 to be "a word of God whose going forth was somewhere determined." Boutflower, 187, states: "The 'word,' *dabhar*, there (vs. 23) spoken of, as the context shows, is the divine command to Gabriel to reveal the vision to Daniel. Here (vs. 25) it is a mandate from the throne of the Divine Majesty for the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem." Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 201, follows Hengstenberg and Keil.

Weeks.¹ Nevertheless, there is no contextual reason to use the command of God to Gabriel (9:23)² to give Daniel the message of the "seventy weeks" as the "word" on the basis of which the time is to commence mentioned in Dan 9:25 and which determines the *terminus a quo*.³ The *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks" could not even be a word of God in the future⁴ since the decree had to be made by an earthly king with political authority over the exiles.⁵

Thus, neither the "word of the LORD" to Jeremiah (Dan 9:2; cf. Jer 25:11 or Jer 29:10) nor the "word" of God to Gabriel (Dan 9:23) can be viewed as fulfilling the "word" specified in Dan 9:25 with the stipulation "to restore" God's "people" and to "build" the "holy city" (Dan 9:24).

¹E.g., Auberlen, 116-20, chooses the 7th year of Artaxerxes I and thus dates the *terminus a quo* to 457 B.C. So also Boutflower, 185. Hengstenberg, 185-91, prefers the 20th year of Artaxerxes I and dates the *terminus a quo* of the 70 weeks to 455 B.C. Chase, 73-77, follows Hengstenberg. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 351, 352, posits the decree of Cyrus and dates the *terminus a quo* to 538 B.C. So also Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 202, 203. As illustrated by the varying dates chosen for the going forth of "the invisible word of God" which is supposed to determine the *terminus a quo* of the seventy weeks, the going forth of the "word" must be expected to be at a concrete point in time and must be concretely visible so that that point in time could be marked.

²See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times" in chap. 1, p. 15. Cf. Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 118, 119.

³Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 119, has concluded: "Thus the 'word' of vs 25 is neither the word of the Lord to Jeremiah in vs 2 nor the word of the Lord through Gabriel to Daniel in vs 23. It is something to be fulfilled in the future."

⁴See under "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times" in chap. 1, pp. 26-29. Also Hasel, "Interpretations," 39, 40; Doukhan, *Drinking at the Sources*, 68; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 84; Maxwell, 1:200.

⁵Cf. Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 15.

It is important here to note that the "seventy weeks" which are "cut off" are assigned to "your people" and to "your holy city" (Dan 9:24).¹ Both "people" and "holy city" are in view in Dan 9:24-27. In vs. 25 the "word" (*dābār*) is "to restore and to build" and the object here is "Jerusalem." We have seen in chapter 2² that "restore" refers to the return and restoration of the exiles and that "build" means the physical rebuilding of the city. I have made the suggestion throughout this study that one term of each pair of expressions in all three phrases, that is, "to restore and to build," "it shall be restored and built," "square and decision-making," refers to the people aspect (in regard to self-governance, autonomy, judging, etc.) and the other term to the physical construction and rebuilding of the city itself. From this consistent emphasis it seems to follow that the designation "Jerusalem" in vs. 25 (its only use in Dan 9:24-27) is inclusive of both "your people and your holy city" in vs. 24. Thus "Jerusalem" is not simply the city as such, but it is the entity of the people with their city. It is an inclusive term.

The Decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.)

The decree of Cyrus issued in his first year (ca. 538 B.C.)³ has been

¹NASB.

²See "To Restore and to Build," chap. 2, pp. 167-199.

³John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1972), 361, dates the decree of Cyrus to 538 B.C.

viewed by some interpreters as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks.¹ This decree has been recorded in Ezra 1:2-4. The decree is actually a royal "proclamation" which permitted exiles to return to Jerusalem to "build the house of the Lord God of Israel" (vs. 2). The purpose of the return was the building of the temple. A group of 42,360 (Ezra 2: 64)² returned to Jerusalem under the leadership of Zerubbabel, and started work on the house of God in Jerusalem.

However, the work on the temple came to a stop due to the interference of the people of the land³ until the second year of Darius I (520 B.C.).⁴ In reply to a letter of Tattenai (Ezra 5:6-17), which was intended to probe the authorization of the construction of the temple, Darius I made another decree (Ezra 6:3-12) in 520 B.C. to confirm the authorization of the rebuilding of the temple.⁵ The building of the

¹For example, Leupold, *Daniel*, 420; Keil, *The Book of Daniel*, 352; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 202. Baldwin, 176, criticizing the view that the permission of Artaxerxes to Nehemiah should mark the *terminus a quo* of the 70 Weeks, has stated in favor of Cyrus' decree: "Artaxerxes did not make any decree about the rebuilding of Jerusalem, whereas Cyrus did (Ezra 1:2, 539 B.C.)." However, Ezra 1:2 mentions only the temple. Others who hold the decree of Cyrus include Groningen, 835; Cooper, 37; Martin Anstey, *The Romance of Biblical Chronology*, 2 vols. (New York: Marshall Brothers, 1913), 1:20. Anstey, however, proposes that the chronological figures of Daniel are 82 years too long and that the *terminus a quo* may be adjusted to 454 B.C.

²Or 49,897 including male and female servants, and singers. See Ezra 2:64-65.

³See Ezra 4:1-5, 24.

⁴See Parker and Dubberstein, 30.

⁵Since the decree of Darius I given in 520 B.C. is only a confirmation of the decree of Cyrus (Ezra 6:3), it is usually not taken as a separate decree but a continuation of the decree of Cyrus. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 50; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 119-20. Wright, 230, observes, "That latter decree.

temple was then continued and it was completed in 516/5 B.C. (Ezra 6:15).¹

The decree of Cyrus with its complementary decree of Darius I is usually rejected as the *terminus a quo* for Dan 9:24, 25 because it does not mention the rebuilding of Jerusalem.² Yet the proponents, who hold that this decree is the *terminus a quo*, argue that the exiles who returned at the time of Cyrus built Jerusalem to the extent that they were dwelling in ceiled houses (Hag 1:2-4).³ The

however, was simply a repetition of that of Cyrus, and only mentioned the rebuilding of the temple." Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 35, states regarding Darius' decree, "that of Darius being merely a re-affirmation of the decree of Cyrus."

¹See Parker and Dubberstein, 30. Hasel, "Interpretations," 58, dates it to March, 515 B.C.

²See James F. Matheny, *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel: An Exposition on Dan 9:24-27* (Brevard, NC: Jay & Associates, 1990), 55: "The actual decree of Cyrus, as a careful reading of the above text demonstrates, was limited to the Temple alone and did not include the city." Paul D. Feinberg, "An Exegetical and Theological Study of Daniel 9:24-27," in *Tradition and Testament: Essays in Honor of Charles Lee Feinberg*, ed. John S. Feinberg and Paul D. Feinberg (Chicago: Moody Press, 1981), 192: "The edict related to the Temple and not to the city." Auberlen, 117; Hengstenberg, 179; Boutflower, 187; Andrews, 6; Hasel, "Interpretations," 50. Ferch, 67: "In this decree, issued around 538/537 B.C., no order is recorded to authorize the rebuilding of Jerusalem. . . . It would appear that the decree of Cyrus does not qualify as the starting point for the 70-week prediction"; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 226; Roger Hines, "The Persian Decrees Pertaining to the Rebuilding of Jerusalem" (Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965), 46; Boice, 109; Cumming, 403; Ferris, 33; Gurney, *God in Control*, 102, 104-05; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 122-23. Boyle, 424, has concluded: "It appears that 'no commandment' was ever issued by Cyrus 'to restore and to build Jerusalem.'"

³Cf. Matheny, 55; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 202; Leupold, *Daniel*, 419. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 34, asserts: "That the building of Jerusalem *did actually proceed* under the decree of Cyrus, appears from the fact that, *at a time when only the foundation of the temple had been laid*, the adversaries complained that the Jews were 'rebuilding the rebellious and bad city, and have set up walls thereof, and have joined the foundations' (Ezra 4:12)." While some rebuilding activity with regard to the construction of houses could have been undertaken by the

key of the arguments of the proponents of Cyrus' decree hangs on the prophecy of Isa 44 and 45.¹ In Isa 44:28, Cyrus is described as "he declares of Jerusalem. 'She will be built.' And of the temple. 'Your foundations will be laid.'"² Also in Isa 45:13, the Lord Almighty says concerning Cyrus: "He will build My city, and will set My exiles free."³

Mauro interprets this text (Isa 45:13) to say the following:

Here are two things which God distinctly foretold were to be done by Cyrus (and this was 200 years before he came to the throne): *first* he was to *rebuild* the city, and *second* he was to *restore* the captive Jews to their home. These are the very things mentioned by the angel to Daniel; for he said, "from *the*

exiles who returned under the decree of Cyrus, the application of Ezra 4:12-16 by Mauro to those exiles who returned under Cyrus seems overstretched. Ezra 4:11 specifically mentions that the letter was written to Artaxerxes. If the complaint was made to Artaxerxes I, it would definitely point to exiles who returned under Artaxerxes. Also Cooper, 33-35; idem, *Messiah: His First Coming Scheduled* (Los Angeles, CA: Biblical Research Society, 1939), 379-81.

¹See Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 202; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 25-29; Lurie, 307; Cooper, *The 70 Weeks of Daniel*, 33; idem, *Messiah: His First Coming Scheduled*, 379.

²NASB.

³NASB. The view that Cyrus' decree fulfills the requirements of the *terminus a quo* as stipulated in Dan 9:25 is supported by Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, 6, who says of Cyrus in his first year that "summoning the most distinguished of the Jews in Babylon, he told them that he gave them leave to journey to their native land to rebuild the city of Jerusalem and the temple of God." This differs from the biblical account. Josephus' account, granted the king's decree included the building of the city, still confirms that Cyrus' decree lacked the major ingredient of the stipulations of Dan 9:25, the political restoration of Jerusalem. (See "To Restore and to Build," in chap. 2, p. 167-199.) E. J. Bickerman, "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1," *JBL* 65 (1946): 275, in his examination of the edict of Cyrus as recorded in Ezra 1, has concluded: "The results of our investigation may be summarized as follows. Ezra 1 preserves a genuine edict of Cyrus." No historical evidence has been found that reveals any major projects of city building by the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel and Joshua, the high priest.

commandment to *restore* and to *build* Jerusalem." And the Scriptures make it plain that Cyrus *made haste* to fulfil this Word of God.¹

Mauro argues that the prediction of Isaiah concerning Cyrus is identical with the restoration and building of Jerusalem prophesied in Dan 9:25. He is here identifying "will build" (Isa 45:13) with "to build" (Dan 9:25) and "to let go" or "set exiles free" (Isa 45:13) with "to restore" in Dan 9:25. The term "shall build" (*yibneh*), the *Qal* imperfect of *bānāh*, may be identified with the same verb in Dan 9:25. However, "to let go" (*y'sallēah*) in Isa 45:13 and "to restore" (*l'hāsīb*) in Dan 9:25 are different expressions, each having its own meaning.

The term *y'sallēah* in Isa 45:13 is translated "let (captives) go" (KJV), "let (exiles) go free" (NKJV, NASB, NEB), "set (exiles) free" (RSV, NRSV, REB, NIV), "bring (exiles) back" (JB), "bring (exiles) home" (NJB).

The verbal form *y'sallēah* is the *Piel* imperfect of *šālah* which is defined as "to send,"² "to send, send away, let go,"³ "let loose, stretch out, send, let go,"⁴ "ausstrecken, loslassen, senden."⁵ All these definitions are attested in the Old

¹Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 28.

²*BDB*, 1018; *AHCL*, 371; M. Delcor and E. Jenni, "*šlh*," *THAT*, 2:909.

³Hermann J. Austel, "*shālah*," *TWOT*, 2:927.

⁴*KBL*, 975.

⁵*HAL*, 4:1400, 1401.

Testament.¹ However, the basic meaning that concerns this contextual analysis is "send."

The verb *sālah* is used with a human subject in the sense of sending another from one location to the other. For example, Isaac sends Jacob to Padan-aram (Gen 28:5) and Jacob sends Joseph to find his brothers (Gen 37:13).² It is used with God as the subject of sending persons (Gen 45:5; 1 Sam 15:18), prophets (Isa 6:8; Jer 1:7; 25:4; Ezek 2:3, 4),³ and angels (Gen 24:7; Exod 23:20; 33:2).⁴ In all these cases the implication of "send" is the movement from one site to the other. Of course this implication is found in the other meanings of "letting loose" of the hair (Ezek 44:20 cf. Ps 50:19) or cattle (Exod 22:4) and "stretching out" of the hand (Gen 3:22; Prov 6:14).

"The meaning of 'send away' is generally found in the *Piel*,"⁵ as in Gen 18:16 where Abraham sends off angels on their way to Sodom. The intensification attribute of the *Piel* stem is seen where the term is used in the sense of expulsion as in Gen 3:23 where Adam is expelled from the garden,⁶ and also in the case of divorce (Deut 21: 14; 22:19, 29; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8).

¹See *HAL*, 4:1400-05; *KBL*, 975, 976; Delcor and Jenni, 2:909-16; Austel, 2:927, 928.

²Cf. Gen 42:4; 43:8; 2 Sam 11:3, 6.

³Cf. *HAL*, 1401; *KBL*, 975; Delcor and Jenni, 2:914; Austel, 928.

⁴*HAL*, 1401; Delcor and Jenni, 913.

⁵Austel, 2:928.

⁶Cf. Gen 12:20.

The meaning "to let go, set free" is also found in *Piel* and used in the sense of letting captives, exiles, or prisoners go. This meaning is found in the case of Israel in Egypt (Exod 4:21) and setting prisoners free from the waterless pit (Zech 9:11). Again in these cases the emphasis is on the movement, the departure, the going away from the place where the person or persons had been held. This is also the case in Isa 45:13. In Isa 45:13, the object of *y'sallēah* is "my exiles," and in the context of Isa 45:13, it means to set the exiles free, to let them go "without any payment or reward."¹ How does this fit in the proclamation of Cyrus?

The proclamation of Cyrus as found in Ezra 1:2-4 reads:

Thus says Cyrus king of Persia, "The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He has appointed me to build a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever there is among you of all His people, may his God be with him! Let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of the LORD, the God of Israel; He is the God who is in Jerusalem. And every survivor, at whatever place he may live, let the men of that place support him with silver and gold, with goods and cattle, together with a freewill offering for the house of God which is in Jerusalem."²

Three main points made in this proclamation (Ezra 1:2-4) are: (1) that Cyrus has been appointed by God to build "Him a house in Jerusalem and that all willing Jews were free to go to Jerusalem in order to build the house of God in

¹Isa 45:13, NASB. Cf. John Skinner, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1930, 1940), 69; J. Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, trans. John Vriend, Bible Students Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985), 411.

²NASB.

Jerusalem (Ezra 1:2, 3),¹ (2) by this proclamation, individual freedom was assured (Ezra 1:3),² and (3) material provision for the building of the temple was made by the proclamation (Ezra 1:4).³

The first problem is that the proclamation does mention the building of the "house of God" but not the rebuilding of Jerusalem as stated in Isa 45:13. In addition, historically, no major project of city building is known to have been undertaken by the group that came as a result of Cyrus' proclamation.⁴ It thus seems that the group did not understand the proclamation to include the rebuilding of the city. E. J. Young suggests regarding Ezra 1:1-4 fulfilling the prophecy of Isa 45:13 that "when Cyrus gave permission to the Jews to return from Babylon (Ezra 1:1-4) he was indirectly responsible for the rebuilding of Jerusalem."⁵ If Young is correct, Cyrus is not expected by the prophecy to be the one who directly issues the proclamation for the rebuilding of the city. He is to be the one who starts the process that leads to the future "word" that would permit the rebuilding of the city.

¹Cf. Derek Kidner, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, TOTC (Madison, WI: InterVarsity Press, 1979), 33; Walter F. Adeney, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Minneapolis, MN: Klock and Klock, 1980), 26.

²Cf. Kidner, 32, 33; Adeney, 27; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1988), 39.

³Kidner, 33; Adeney, 29.

⁴Cf. Goss, 114-16.

⁵Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, 206. Cf. Matheny, 54: "It is, instead, the decree that ended the Babylonian captivity and made the restoration possible." F. C. Jennings, *Studies in Isaiah* (New York: Loizeaux Bros., n.d.), 534.

"He declares of Jerusalem, 'She will be built'"¹ but the actual rebuilding is still in future.² The "word" in Dan 9:25, however, goes "forth to restore and build Jerusalem" and thus authorizes the recipients to start building.

Second, there is no doubt that Cyrus did set the exiles free or let them go. Some went with Zerubbabel and Joshua,³ others preferred to live in Babylon or moved to wherever they chose.⁴ This letting go involves freedom at the individual level. Nevertheless, it does not go far enough to bestow corporate freedom in the form of an organized political entity with rights of self-governance.⁵ Thus while the exiles could go to what used to be Jerusalem to live there, build the temple and even some houses, they had to live under the direct governance of Persia and were not able to use their theocentric laws to judge their own cases. Jerusalem had not

¹Isa 44:28.

²Cf. Adeney, 28: "The object of the return, as it is distinctly specified, is simply to rebuild the temple, not--at all events in the first instance--to build and fortify a city on the ruins of Jerusalem."

³Ezra 2:2-70.

⁴Ezra 1:3, 4. That some exiles still remained after Zerubbabel is clear from the fact that there were still some who left Babylon with Ezra in the 7th year of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 8:1), and Nehemiah was still in Babylon in the 20th year of Artaxerxes I (Neh 2:1). The book of Esther, chap. 3, shows that some were still in Babylon and in the provinces well after Zerubbabel. Cf. Kenneth G. Hanna, "A History of the Restoration of Judah, 539-430 B.C." (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964), 122, 123.

⁵Cf. J. Liver, "The Return from Babylon, Its Time and Scope." *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958): 114-19; Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, AB, vol. 14 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1965), 7, commenting on the decree of Cyrus, observes that "the status of Judah did not change after the Persian conquest of Babylon." Adeney, 28, remarks that "the end in view [of the proclamation of Cyrus] was neither social nor political, but purely religious."

been recreated as a "state" with administrative powers and thus was not restored as a politically organized community. That in all probability explains why this group could not embark on any major city-rebuilding projects such as building the walls. They had no state to protect.

On the other hand, *ʿhāšīḥ* in Dan 9:25 has Jerusalem as its object--that is, the exiles as an organized political community. What is in focus is the re-creation of Jerusalem as a "state" with restored rights of self-governance.¹ Thus, the "word" that is mentioned in Dan 9:25 has to do with the restoration of Jerusalem and is much more than the establishment of the temple. As we saw previously, *ʿhāšīḥ* is the *Hifil* infinitive construct of *šūḥ*, "return," which in the context of Dan 9:25 signifies the restoration of the political organization of Jerusalem,² whereas *ʿšallēah*, the *Piel* imperfect of *šālah*, signifies the letting go of exiles not necessarily as an organized society with the legal authority of political self-governance. The two expressions are, therefore, not synonymous.³

The closest that an expression in the prophecies of Isa 44-45 concerning Cyrus comes to the restoration of Jerusalem is *tūšāḥ*, "she shall be inhabited," a *Hofal* imperfect of *yāšāḥ*, "dwell," found in Isa 44:26. In context, Jerusalem would

¹See "To Restore and to Build" in chap. 2.

²Whenever this form of *šūḥ* applies to a city, the transfer of governance to the former owner is meant. See "To Restore and to Build" in chap. 2.

³Cf. Harmon, 27.

be inhabited again. Nevertheless, this expression does not mean that the political status of Jerusalem would be restored.¹

Furthermore, the last verb of the phrase of Isa 44:26, which NIV, NEB, and REB translate as "I will restore [her ruins]," is ²*ʔqômēm*, a *Polel* imperfect of *qim*, "arise, stand up," which must be translated "I will raise up"² as is done by NASB, RSV, NRSV, and KJV.

Beside these linguistic dissimilarities, in Isa 44:24-27 where *tūšāḥ* and ²*ʔqômēm* appear and are statements of what YHWH will accomplish, in vs. 28 YHWH speaks of Cyrus to say that "he will say of Jerusalem, 'Let it be rebuilt,' and of the temple, 'Let its foundations be laid'."³ While the proclamation of Cyrus effected the rebuilding of the temple and the "word" that would effect the rebuilding of the city was to follow in the process in future, his task seems not to have been "to restore" Jerusalem as contextually defined in Dan 9:25.⁴

The prophecies of Isaiah, therefore, do not seem to predict that Cyrus was to restore an autonomous political status of Jerusalem. It is thus not surprising that the decree of Cyrus did not deal with the restoration of Jerusalem as understood in Dan 9:25. As J. F. Matheny observes, "There is no prevailing textual reason for

¹A fair illustration is the return of exiles under the decree of Cyrus. While they returned to Jerusalem, and possibly dwelt there, they were not given any political concessions until the time when Artaxerxes I gave them political autonomy.

²*BDB*, 878; *CHAL*, 316.

³NASB.

⁴See pp. 167-199.

assuming that this decree is the one to which Gabriel was referring. It is, instead, the decree that ended the Babylonian captivity and made the restoration possible."¹ The decree of Cyrus must, therefore, be rejected because it does not address the main determinant of the decree that establishes the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks--the restoration of Jerusalem defined in terms of its theocentric political organization, as stipulated in Dan 9:25, and then the building of the city.

The observations made with regard to the edict of Cyrus also apply to the "decree" of Darius. In Ezra 5, Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak "began to rebuild the house of God which is in Jerusalem"² in accordance with the edict of Cyrus. However, Tattenai, the governor of the province Beyond the River, wanted to verify the validity of the claim of the Jews to build the temple and also wanted to know the king's decision concerning the rebuilding of the temple.³ Thus Tattenai and his colleagues sent a letter to King Darius requesting: "If it pleases the king let a search be conducted in the king's treasure house, which is there in Babylon, if it be that a decree was issued by King Cyrus to rebuild this house of God at Jerusalem: and let the king send to us his decision concerning this matter."⁴

In response to this letter, Darius commanded for a search to be conducted (Ezra 6:1) and a record (*dikrónāh*) was found of Cyrus' decree. On the basis of

¹Matheny, 55.

²Ezra 5:2, NASB.

³Ezra 5:17.

⁴Ezra 5:17, NASB.

Cyrus' decree (Ezra 6:3-5), Darius issued another decree (Ezra 6:6-12). The decree of Darius (1) asked Tattenai and his colleagues to "leave this work on the house of God alone" (Ezra 6:6, 7);¹ (2) to pay for the full cost of the rebuilding from the royal treasury (vss. 8, 9); and (3) commanded that anyone violating the edict should be impaled and the house of such a one "be made a refuse heap" (vs. 11).²

The only new element found in the decree of Darius is the enforcement--commanding Tattenai and his colleagues to leave the project alone and specifying the punishment for violating the decree.³ The decree of Darius has therefore been seen as the confirmation of the decree of Cyrus.⁴ Since the decree of Cyrus is a confirmation of that of Cyrus and does not bring out any new elements in the direction of the "word" "to restore and to build" in Dan 9:25, it is, like the original

¹NASB.

²NASB.

³Cf. Ezra 6:3-5 with Ezra 6:6-12; Kalafian, *The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of the Book of Daniel*, 78; Matheny, 55: "The decree of Darius in 520 B.C. confirmed the decree of Cyrus (Ezra 6:6-12)."; Hines, 48; Goss, 118.

⁴E.g., Pusey, 188; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 16 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), 1985, 81: "Darius, who in many ways was a much truer successor of Cyrus than was Cambyses (cf. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982], 124-28), endorses the former's decree and adds further details and warnings of his own." Blenkinsopp, 127, describes the edict of Cyrus as "a confirmation of the Cyrus rescript issued during the reign of Darius." Others who hold the same view include J. G. McConville, *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, DSB (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 38; Fensham, *The Book of Ezra*, 88: "The edict of Cyrus was discovered and Darius honored it"; Myers, 51: "Darius felt himself obliged to honor the decisions of the past."

decree (Cyrus'), not qualified to be the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks."¹

Finally, both decrees are rejected on chronological grounds. Neither 538 B.C. nor 520 B.C. as *terminus a quo* makes it possible for the 483 years (69 weeks) to reach the appearance of the Messiah, the Prince.²

The Decree of Artaxerxes I to Ezra (457 B.C.)

In the "seventh year" of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7), Artaxerxes gave a decree that urged "any of the people of Israel, their priests and their Levites" (Ezra 7:13) who were in the kingdom ruled by Artaxerxes I to go back to Jerusalem. This group was led by Ezra the Priest (Ezra 7:28) and arrived in Jerusalem in the "seventh year" of Artaxerxes I. The "seventh year" of Artaxerxes, the time when the decree was given, has been determined to be the year 457 B.C.³

¹Cf. Matheny, 66.

²Cf. M. McNamara, "Seventy Weeks of Years," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), 8:142; Goss, 117; L. Knowles, "The Interpretation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel in the Early Fathers," *WTJ* 7 (1945): 140.

³See Horn and Wood, *Chronology of Ezra 7*, 89-106, who in a detailed discussion of the Persian, Egyptian, and Jewish calendars firmly establish the date of 457 B.C. for the 7th year of Artaxerxes I; Parker and Dubberstein, 32, who have compiled the dates for the Babylonian kings from the Babylonian cuneiform tablets. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 99-101, has determined the date based upon the cross references of the Olympiad Dates, Ptolemy's Canon, Elephantine Papyri, and the Babylonian cuneiform tablets. The author of Ezra was using the Tishri-to-Tishri (i.e., fall-to-fall) calendar instead of the Babylonian Nisan-to-Nisan (i.e., spring-to-spring) calendar. For a more detailed study on this, see idem, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 126-37. See also Siegfried H. Horn, "Did Sennacherib Campaign Once or Twice against Hezekiah?" *AUSS* 5 (1967): 11-28; Ferch, 69. The claim of Dewey M. Beegle, *Prophecy and Prediction* (Ann Arbor: Pryor Pettingill, 1978), 119, that "there is not a bit of solid evidence to show that in 457 B.C. there was a royal decree, or even one from God, ordering the rebuilding of Jerusalem."

The "decree" recorded in Ezra 7:12-26 reads:

Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, the scribe, of the law of God of heaven, perfect peace. And now I have issued a decree that any of the people of Israel and their priests and the Levites in my kingdom who are willing to go to Jerusalem, may go with you. For as much as you are sent by the king and his seven counselors to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem according to the law of your God which is in your hand, and to bring the silver and gold, which the king and his counselors have freely offered to the God of Israel, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem, with all the silver and gold, which you shall find in the whole province of Babylon, along with freewill offering of the people and of the priests, who offered willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem; with this money, therefore, you shall diligently buy bulls, rams, and lambs, with their grain offerings and their libations and offer them on the altar of the house of God which is in Jerusalem. And whatever seems good to you and to your brothers to do with the rest of the silver and gold you may do according to the will of your God. Also the utensils which are given to you for the service of the house of your God, deliver in full before the God of Jerusalem. And the rest of the needs for the house of your God, for which you may have occasion to provide, provide for it from the royal treasury. And I, even I King Artaxerxes, issue a decree to all the treasurers who are in the provinces beyond the River, that whatever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, may require of you, it shall be done diligently, even up to 100 talents of silver, 100 kors of wheat, 100 baths of wine, 100 baths of oil, and salt as needed. Whatever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be done with zeal for the house of the God of heaven, lest there be wrath against the kingdom of the king and his sons. We also inform you that it is not allowed to impose tax, tribute or toll on any of the priests, Levites, singers, doorkeepers, Nethinim, or servants of this house of God. And you, Ezra, according to the wisdom of your God which is in your hand, appoint magistrates and judges that they may judge all the people who are in the province beyond the River, even all those who know the laws of your god: and

was based on insufficient information. See Hasel, "Interpretations," 57-58. It should also be noted that the argument of the Belgian scholar A. van Hoonacker (1890) that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem before Ezra seems to be laid at rest with the discovery of the Elephantine papyri (AP 30 and 31) which combined with biblical data (e.g., Neh 12:22, 23 and Ezra 10:6; Neh 3:1; 5:14; 8:9; 12:36; Ezra 7:7-9) confirm Nehemiah's coming to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes I and after Ezra, the Priest. See Horn and Wood, *Chronology of Ezra 7*, 89-93. Also H. H. Rowley, "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), 131-59, for discussion and bibliography on both sides.

you may teach anyone who is ignorant of them. And whoever will not observe the law of your God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed upon him strictly, whether for death or for banishment or for confiscation of goods or for imprisonment.¹

The author of Ezra describes the document as *hanniš'wān* (Ezra 7:11) which is translated as "decree,"² "letter,"³ "royal letter,"⁴ and "document."⁵ The Aramaic term *niš'wān* is defined as "official document, decree,"⁶ "letter,"⁷ "written order."⁸ The term is used in the sense of an official written report from a subordinate (government official) to the superior (the king) (Ezra 4:7, 18). Whenever it is used of the king, however, it is used in the sense of a written order or command which demands compliance as in Ezra 4:23; 5:5. The occurrence in Ezra 7:11 which is used of a king is, thus, used in the sense of a "written order."⁹

The contents of *hanniš'wān* is *r'ēḿ* (Ezra 7:13, 21). The term *r'ēḿ* has

¹NASB.

²NASB.

³KJV; NKJV; RSV; NRSV; NRSV; NIV.

⁴NEB.

⁵JB; NJB.

⁶*HAL*, 1102.

⁷*BDB*, 677; *CHAL*, 248.

⁸Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), 59, 90.

⁹Cf. Rosenthal, *A Grammar*, 58, 59.

been translated as "decree,"¹ "order,"² "command,"³ "instructions."⁴ The Aramaic term *ṣēḇ* is used twenty-six times in the Aramaic sections of the Old Testament.⁵ Lexicographers define the term as "sense, command, advice, report";⁶ "taste, judgment, command";⁷ "understanding, good sense, command, report."⁸ However, when it is used with *šîm* as it is used in Ezra 7:13, 21, it is in the sense of giving "a command,"⁹ "an order,"¹⁰ or "a decree."¹¹ The order of a Persian king carried the authority that made it a decree¹² as in Dan 3:29 where whoever did not comply

¹NASB; RSV; NRSV; KJV; NKJV.

²JB for the occurrence in Ezra 7:13. NEB and REB render the first *ṣēḇ* (Ezra 7:13) with "decree" but render the second occurrence (vs. 21) with "an order."

³JB renders *ṣēḇ* in Ezra 7:13 with "orders" but that of vs. 21 with "command."

⁴NJB has the rendition of "orders" in Ezra 7:13 and "instructions" in vs. 21 for the same term.

⁵Mandelkern, 1326.

⁶*KBL*, 1079.

⁷*BDB*, 1094.

⁸*CHAL*, 406.

⁹*CHAL*, 406; *BDB*, 1094; cf. Bauer and Leander, 288, "Befehl gegeben."

¹⁰*KBL*, 1078.

¹¹*BDB*, 1094.

¹²*New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Lexicon Publications, 1989), 250, defines decree as "an order made by a ruling body or other authority."

with the order was to be "torn limb by limb and their houses laid in ruins."¹ Thus *r^cēm* in Ezra 7:13, 21 is an order in the sense of "to make a decree." The use of *r^cēm* in Ezra 7:13 thus parallels the use of *dābār* in Esth 1:19 where the "word" of the king is an order in the sense of a decree. This seems to be the case in Dan 9:25 where the "word" of the king changes the political status of the Jewish community.

The "decree" recorded in Ezra 7:11-26 fulfills the "word" of Dan 9:25 for two major reasons: Dan 9:25, as we have shown in the previous chapter, reveals that the "word," or decree, that determines the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks" is the one in which (a) the restoration to governmental rule and (b) the rebuilding of the city Jerusalem are envisioned.² In the "decree" of Ezra 7 both of these aspects of the "word" of Dan 9:25 are met.³ We need to point out both connections in more detail.

Restoration of governmental authority

While the decree of Ezra 7 is in Aramaic and Dan 9 in Hebrew, there are still some linguistic and thematic traits common to both passages. For example, as has been pointed out, the use of "word" in Dan 9:25 parallels the use of *r^cēm* in

¹Cf. Dan 3:10; 4:23; 6:14, 27; Ezra 4:19, 21; 5:3, 9, 13; 5:17; 6:3, 8, 11.

²See pp. 167-199.

³Hasel, "Interpretations," 58, has stated that "the service of God which the decree of Artaxerxes in 457 B.C. effected was to restore the national autonomy under Persia and to have the city rebuilt." Ferch, 69, also emphasizes that the decree "does provide for a measure of civil autonomy unknown since the Babylonian desolation of Jerusalem and Judea (vss 25-26)." Cf. Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 5.

Ezra 7:13. Both point to a royal order in the sense of a decree.¹

Furthermore, in Dan 9 the effects of sin come to a climax in vs. 12:² "And He has confirmed His words, which He spoke against us and against our judges who judged us, by bringing upon us disaster: for under the whole heaven such never has been done as what has been done to Jerusalem."³ In vs. 12, the cause of the loss of governance and the destruction of Jerusalem is summed up in the disobedience of the various levels of rulers who are collectively called *sōptēnū*, "our judges," in Dan 9:12.⁴ The Aramaic equivalent of this Hebrew term is used in the decree of Ezra 7 when Ezra the priest is authorized to appoint *sāptīn*, "judges." Again, in Dan 9 judges (or rulers) break the stipulations of the covenant and consequently lose their privileges of judging as well as their city. In Ezra 7, the judging (or ruling) functions are restored again with their city.

In addition, the emphasis on the Law of God found in Dan 9 (especially vss. 10, 11) is also found in Ezra 7 (especially vss. 25, 26). While in Dan 9 (vss. 11-13) the laws of God as the stipulations of the covenant are violated, in Ezra 7 (vss. 25, 26) they are restored. Decisions with regard to governance are once again to be based on the laws of God.

Thus Jerusalem is recreated as a "state" with a restored political concession

¹See p. 321.

²See chap. 2, "Structure of Dan 9:1-27," pp. 69-81.

³NKJV.

⁴See chap. 2, "Square and Decision-making," pp. 199-225.

of self-governance. Ezra is given the religious and political authority to appoint "magistrates and judges" (vs. 25). They are allowed to execute judgment even to the extent of death penalty (vs. 26). These powers of government granted them are indicative of the powers of decision-making that the elders exercised in the public square during the times of previous independence.¹ Jerusalem, by this decree, was restored as a religious and political capital governed "according to the laws of your God" (vs. 26a). Charles H. H. Wright recognized years ago that

On account of Ezra's investment with such quasi-regal authority, and the restoration he effected of the Jewish state and religion, and the care afterwards bestowed upon the sacred books of the nation, Ezra has ever been viewed as a second Moses.²

Doukhan has also pointed out that after the decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra, the priest and the "blessing and praise" that followed, "the text passes from the Aramaic language to the Hebrew language. The decree of Artaxerxes has generated this shift, suggesting that only from here began the national restoration."³

The above considerations corroborate that the symbolic representations of "square and decision-making" (*ʾhōb wʾhārūs*) are fulfilled in a practical religious and political empowerment in the "decree" of the seventh year of Artaxerxes I.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Wright, 230.

³Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 16; cf. Matheny, 60.

⁴In support of this decree Goss, 123, has stated: "That this decree is of importance is without doubt, for it at once combines the word of the king to beautify the temple and restore the worship, and to establish a political organization in Jerusalem. It is the only decree which deals with both aspects."

Rebuilding of Jerusalem

The "decree" given to Ezra is comprehensive enough also to permit the rebuilding of Jerusalem.¹ This seems to have been the case because Ezra and his companions started to build the city and the walls when they returned to Jerusalem.

The expectation of those in Judah, as reflected by Hanani, was that the returnees were supposed to build the wall of Jerusalem. Thus the returnees were in "distress and reproach" because of the broken-down walls and the burnt gates (Neh 1:3).

Nehemiah also, by weeping, seemed to have confirmed that Ezra and his companions were supposed to have built the city.

However, the greatest case for the view that Ezra and his companions understood the decree to include the authorization to rebuild Jerusalem was the fact

¹The critics of the decree of Artaxerxes to Ezra have based their criticism on the argument that it does not directly mention the rebuilding of the city. Such critics include Hengstenberg, 180; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 379; Tatham, 75; Boyle, 426; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 125; Gruenthaner, 51. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 36, charges that the decree to Ezra "had nothing, whatever, to do with the rebuilding of either the city or the temple." Also Feinberg, "An Exegetical and Theological Study of Daniel 9:24-27," 194. Relevant to the answer of this criticism is Pusey's statement, "The little colony which he took with him . . . involved a rebuilding of Jerusalem. This rebuilding of the city and the reorganization of the polity begun by Ezra and carried on and perfected by Nehemiah, corresponds with the words in Daniel, *From the going forth of a command to restore and to build Jerusalem.*" See *Daniel the Prophet*, 189. Cf. Auberlen, 119, "The commission of Ezra . . . is so extensive as essentially to include the rebuilding of the city." Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1:252, states: "His decree implied, of course, the construction of buildings to house the government officials and their offices and courts, and the construction of city walls"; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 120, 121; Goss, 123.

that they started to rebuild the city and its walls.¹

Ezra 4 gives the cumulative account of the opposition that was encountered during the rebuilding of the temple and the city. The opposition that was encountered during the temple building starts from vss. 1-5. Then there is a digression (vss. 6-23) to recount the opposition they experienced when they started to build the city and the wall. F. Charles Fensham points out correctly that "Ezra 4:6-23 must be regarded as parenthetical"² within the context of Ezra 4 since it speaks about matters relating to king Artaxerxes I.

This rebuilding could not have been undertaken by the group that returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua³ because the letter is written to Artaxerxes I, and the letter states that the Jews have recently come from Artaxerxes (vs. 12).⁴

The project in question could not have referred to the building activities of

¹See Ezra 4:7-23; Boutflower, 188, 189; Hasel, "Interpretations," 50, 51; Ferch, 69-71, notes that "it is unlikely that such a large scale building activity would have proceeded without authorization"; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 121-125; Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* 73; Loring W. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), 378.

²Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, 77.

³Against Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 34.

⁴Cf. J. Stafford Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem* (London: Tyndale Press, 1946), 18: "It is now commonly agreed amongst scholars that Ezra iv. 7-23 refers to events in the reign of Artaxerxes I. . . . The letter certainly carries the date of Artaxerxes, and the contents show that this can only be Artaxerxes I." Loring W. Batten, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), 2, states: "Ezr. 4^{7-24a} is made up chiefly of two letters which belong to the reign of Artaxerxes, and before his 20th year, therefore is dated somewhere in the period 464-444 B.C."

Nehemiah either¹ because the record in the book of Nehemiah gives no impression to that effect. Furthermore, vs. 12 implies that the Jews who "came up from you [Artaxerxes]" were many. This circumstance seems to describe the return of Jews in the time of Artaxerxes before Nehemiah returned. Nehemiah was the only Jew who returned at his time (Neh 1:1-3). The report that reached Nehemiah about the broken walls seems even to have been that the walls had been broken down recently instead of referring to the ruins left by Nebuchadnezzar.²

Thus, it appears that the conclusion that the letter from Rehum and Shimshai (Ezra 4:11-16) reported on the rebuilding activities started by Ezra and his returnees is sound.³ If the king perceived them to have acted *ultra vires* by engaging in the rebuilding of the city, he would have indicated that in his letter (Ezra 4:17-22). Yet he seems to have acted in a way concomitant to taking a fresh action to limit the original powers given to Ezra and his companions.⁴ It seems that the book of Ezra and particularly the "decree" of Ezra 7--given by Artaxerxes I in his "seventh year" in connection with the events related in Ezra 4:6-23 pertaining to Jews having returned under Artaxerxes I, who had started to build the city of

¹Cf. Batten, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, 2: J. S. Wright, 18.

²Cf. Boutflower, 189.

³Cf. Matheny, 60.

⁴Cf. Ferch, 71. "There is not the slightest hint, either in the accusation or the royal response, that the city and its walls were being erected in contravention of the law or without royal consent."

Jerusalem--matches the specifications of Dan 9:25 and the "word" to restore and build Jerusalem.

The date of Ezra's return to Jerusalem

L. W. Batten has concluded that Ezra's mission to Jerusalem was after Nehemiah and that chaps. 7 to 10 of the book of Ezra should follow Nehemiah.¹ Actually, Maurice Vernes is credited with being the first to have suggested this idea in 1889 in a footnote of his work *Précis d'histoire juive*.² However, the idea was systematically developed by Albin Van Hoonacker,³ whose arguments have been followed by later scholars, dating the mission of Ezra to Jerusalem to 398 B.C. during the reign of Artaxerxes II.⁴ The arguments in support of the reversing of the traditional order of Ezra before Nehemiah to Nehemiah before Ezra have been

¹Batten, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, 28.

²See Carl G. Tuland, "Ezra-Nehemiah or Nehemiah-Ezra?" *AUSS* 12 (1974): 47; H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord: Essays on the Old Testament* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), 132.

³Tuland, 47; Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, 132. Cf. J. S. Wright, 9. For the list of Van Hoonacker's works see Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, 133, n. #1.

⁴See e.g., K. Gallig, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), 149-84; H. Cazelles, "La mission d'Esdras," *VT* 4 (1954): 113-40; J. A. Emerton, "Did Ezra Go to Jerusalem in 428 B.C.?" *JTS* 17 (1966): 1-19; Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, 131-59. For more of the followers of Van Hoonacker, see *ibid.*, 133-34. Other scholars have proposed, with emendations of the text of Ezra 7:7, 8, a date of 428 B.C. for Ezra's return. In this case, Ezra is supposed to have returned in the 32nd, 37th, or 27th year instead of the 7th year of Artaxerxes I. Representatives of these scholars include: W. Rudolph, *Ezra und Nehemiah* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949), 25, 27, 165-67; H. L. Ellison, "The Importance of Ezra," *EvQ* 53 (1981): 48; V. Pavlovsky, "Die Chronologie der Tätigkeit Esdras. Versuch einer neuen Lösung," *Bib* 38 (1975): 275-305, 428-56; Bright, 391-402. This proposal has been rejected by Emerton, 1-19.

analyzed and sufficiently repudiated by C. G. Tuland and recently by W. G. M. Williamson and others, so that I do not need to repeat them here.¹ At the present state of research, the traditional order of Ezra before Nehemiah as stated in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is still the best option.²

In Ezra 7:7, 8, the return of Ezra to Jerusalem is dated to the seventh year of Artaxerxes. The identity of Artaxerxes has been determined, in the traditional order of Ezra before Nehemiah, to be Artaxerxes I Longimanus.³ Scholars have proposed two dates for the return of Ezra to Jerusalem in the seventh year of

¹For a detailed analysis of the arguments against the Nehemia-Ezra reversal see Tuland, 47-62; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra and Nehemiah*. OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 55-69; Edwin M. Yamauchi, "The Reverse Order of Ezra/Nehemiah Reconsidered," *Themelios* 5/3 (1980): 7-13; idem, "The Archaeological Background of Nehemiah," *BSac* 137 (1980): 291-309; Julian Morgenstern, "The Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JJS* 7 (1962): 1-11; J. S. Wright, 5-30; W. M. F. Scott, "Nehemiah-Ezra?" *ExpTimes* 58 (1947): 263-67; U. Kellermann, "Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung," *ZAW* 80 (1968): 55-87. While Kellermann argues for the traditional order of Ezra before Nehemiah, he suggests that Ezra's mission be dated shortly before 448 B.C.

²Scott, 267. "the objecting to his (the Chronicler's) dating of Ezra and Nehemiah will not bear detailed examination, while it is supported by a number of considerations, and should therefore be accepted unless fresh evidence is forthcoming."

³See Mark A. Throntveit, *Ezra-Nehemiah*. Interpretation (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1992), 1, 2, 12; Blenkinsopp, 144; Fensham, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 6, 7, 9; McConville, 2, 3; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Word Biblical Commentary, xxxix-xliv.

Artaxerxes I. Some posit 458 B.C.¹ while others support 457 B.C.² Which of these two dates should be adopted?

The fixing of the date for the return of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I starts with the determination of the first regnal year of Artaxerxes I. This may be done by reference to various ancient sources. The first is the famous Ptolemy's Canon.

In the second century A.D., the Greek-Egyptian astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolomy) in his astronomical work, *Mathematike Syntax*, commonly known by its Arabic title *Almagest*, using the Egyptian Calendar, dated several eclipses and celestial phenomena to the year, day, and hour.³ Appendixed to the main work of *Mathematike Syntax* is a list of kings, Ptolemy's Canon, showing the lengths of the reigns of Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman kings.⁴ Ptolomey's Canon, using the Egyptian calendar, dates the beginning of the first year of Artaxerxes I to December 17 (Thoth 1), 465 (that is, Ptolemy's year 283 in the

¹E.g., Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, xlv; Blenkinsopp, 144; Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, 101; McConville, 2, 3; Throntveit, 1, 2, 12.

²E.g., Tuland, 49; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24 Begin?" 127-36; Hoehner, *The Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 124; *SDABC*, 3:100-10; Scott, 263, 266.

³For English translations, see Claudius Ptolemaeus, "The Almagest," trans. R. Catesby Taliaferro, in *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. R. Maynard Hutchins, (Chicago, IL: William Benton, 1952), 1-478; idem, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, trans. and annotated by G. J. Toomer (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984).

⁴See Ptolemaeus, "The Almagest," 466; idem, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, 11. Cf. *SDABC*, 2:152, 153.

era of Nabonassar).¹ This would mean that Xerxes must have died on or before December 17, 465 B.C.² If Xerxes died before December 17, 465 B.C. then the first year of Artaxerxes I according to the Egyptian calendar must be December 465-December 464 B.C. An Ur tablet written in the thirteenth year of Artaxerxes I and published in the *Ur Excavations: Texts IV* also dates the death of Xerxes to around the same period. This tablet dates the death of Xerxes to after Kislimu 1, 465 B.C.³ Kislimu 1 in 465 B.C. began about December 17.⁴

The records of Saros Cycles found on cuneiform tablets from the Hellenistic period date the eighteen years' interval between the ninth year of Xerxes

¹Cf. Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 128; *SDABC*, 3:101; Neuffer, 68. G. J. Toomer, in his translation *The Almagest*, 11, calculates Julian date equivalent of the first day of Artaxerxes I to be December 17, 464. This is because he starts the date of Nabonassar, the first king on Ptolemy's list, with the date of February 26, 746, probably because in Ptolemy's list "a year is counted from Thot 1 preceding the beginning of the king's reign"; see *The Almagest*, 466. Neuffer, 61, however, suggests that "a detailed checking of the source data has shown that the Canon uses two methods," the accession-year method for the Babylonian and early Persian kings and the non-accession year method for the Seleucids and the Roman emperors. Cf. Neuffer, 68, who has February 26, 747; so *SDABC*, 2:154.

²A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire (Achaemenid Period)* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), 289, states: "Near the end of 465, Xerxes was assassinated in his bedchamber."

³H. H. Figulla, ed., *Ur Excavations: Texts IV* (London: By Order of the Trustees of the Two Museums, 1949), 15, No. 193.

⁴Neuffer, 63. It must be noted that an eclipse text, BM 32234, also known as *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts (LBART)*, No. *1419, dates the death of Xerxes to Aug. 4?-8?, 465 B.C. See A. J. Sachs, ed., *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, copied by T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1955), No. *1419; Parker and Dubberstein, 17. For a detailed discussion of this text in relation to AP 6, see Neuffer, 63-87.

and the sixth year of Artaxerxes I to 477 B.C. and 459 B.C. This establishes that Xerxes must have died in 465 B.C. and also that the accession year of Artaxerxes I must have been in 465 B.C.¹

The above sources do not firmly fix the first regnal year of Artaxerxes I; however, the Elephantine Aramaic Papyrus, Aramaic Papyri No. 6 (AP 6) in A. Cowley,² provides for a firmer date. The document is dated by reference to the twenty-first year of Xerxes and the "beginning of the reign"³ of King Artaxerxes. That indicates that at this point Xerxes is still being used for dating purposes and that Artaxerxes has not yet reached dating status. That would be understandable if "the beginning of reign" is used in the sense of the accession period. In fact, S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, argue that,

(1) the phrase *rʾs mlwktʾ*, "beginning of reign," is the exact Aramaic equivalent of the Akkadian accession-year formula *rēš šarrūti*, designating the time of reign.⁴ (2) for "year 1" a different phrase in Aramaic is used, *šnt 1* (with the

¹For a detailed study, see J. N. Strassmaier, "Einige chronologische Daten aus astronomischen Rechnungen," *ZA* 7 (1892): 197-204; idem, "Zur Chronologie der Seleuciden," *ZA* 8 (1893): 106-13; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 128.

²Cowley, 15-18.

³Translation of Cowley. See *ibid.*, 16.

⁴See R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, Heft 1 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1963), 76.

king's name) as in *Kraeling* 9,¹ which is also the exact equivalent of the Akkadian date formula used in Babylonian texts.²

If *rēš šarrūti* is used in the sense of accession year, the period under discussion is the accession year of Artaxerxes I and the first regnal year begins at the next Nisanu for Persian reckoning and next Tishri (or Fall) for Jewish reckoning.

In addition to the names of the two kings, two days are given as corresponding to each other in the twenty-first year of Xerxes. The first is Kislev 18³ and the other is Thoth 7⁴ or Thoth 17.⁵ If Thoth 7 is chosen, the date is December 23/24, 465 B.C. and if Thoth 17 is preferred, the resulting date is January 2/3, 464 B.C.⁶ Whatever the choice, the implication is that in Persian reckoning, the first regnal year of Artaxerxes I begins from Nisanu 464 to Addaru 463 B.C.

¹See Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), 237, Papyrus 9, line 1.

²Horn and Wood, 137, n. 20. Also Neuffer, 78.

³Neuffer, 79, 80, believes this date is Jewish although it could be either Jewish or Persian.

⁴The number for the Egyptian day is broken off. However, Cowley, 16, reconstructs it to Thoth 7.

⁵Cowley, 17, remarks that "Gutesmann and Hontheim calculate that it should be 17, but there is hardly room for" the characters representing 17. Horn and Wood, 137, 139, though admitting "that the figure looks rather crowded" yet prefer 17 because only Thoth 17 can be made astronomically to agree with Kislev 18" since Thoth in 465 B.C. "began Dec. 17, 465, and ended Jan. 15, 464 B.C."

⁶Horn and Wood, 139.

This seems to be the case because in the Babylonian calendar the first year of Artaxerxes I starts from Nisanu 464 B.C.¹

This contemporary Aramaic Papyrus (AP 6) under discussion gives an indication that in the Jewish reckoning the first regnal year of Artaxerxes I is in 464 B.C. Another Aramaic Papyrus (Kraeling 6) with a possible date in 420 B.C. indicates a fall-to-fall reckoning.² Kraeling 6, line 1, dates the document "on the 8th of Pharmuthi, that is the 8th day of Tammuz, the 3rd year of Darius the king."³ Kraeling suggests that the year be read "the 4th" instead of "the 3rd" since the two days, Pharmuthi 8 and Tammuz 8, cannot be synchronized with the third year by either Egyptian or Babylonian calendar.⁴ However, when it is realized that the Elephantine Jews were still⁵ using the fall-to-fall calendar, then the two days synchronize. In this case, the date fell on July 11/12, 420 B.C., which is the third year of Darius in the Jewish Calendar, but the fourth in both the Persian

¹See Parker and Dubberstein, 32; Kraeling, 235; J. S. Wright, 6; Yamauchi, "The Archaeological Background of Nehemiah," has observed that "his first regnal year is reckoned from April 13, 464." Neuffer, 81.

²Kraeling, 191-94; Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," *JNES* 13 (1954): 14.

³Kraeling, 193.

⁴*Ibid.*, 194.

⁵Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 44-54, has shown that Judah used the Tishri-to-Tishri year for the reckoning of the regnal years of its kings.

spring-to-spring calendar and the Egyptian December-to-December calendar.¹ Thus it seems that the Jews at Elephantine were using the fall-to-fall year calendar for the regnal years. The evidence from AP 6 then indicates that in the Jewish Tishri-to-Tishri calendar, the first regnal year of Artaxerxes I starts in the fall of 464 B.C.² The seventh year of Artaxerxes I in this reckoning then starts from fall, 457 B.C., some months later than that of the Persian spring-to-spring calendar and the Egyptian December-to-December calendar.

The Tishri-to-Tishri year underlies the regnal years of kings in Ezra-Nehemiah, as shown in Neh 1:1 and 2:1. In Neh 1:1, Nehemiah receives information about the broken wall of Jerusalem from his brother Hanani in the month of Kislev in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I. Then in Neh 2:1, Artaxerxes' permission given to Nehemiah to go and to rebuild the wall is dated to Nisan in the same twentieth year of Artaxerxes I. If the spring-to-spring year was being used, the permission would have been in Nisan, the twenty-first year. As these two passages stand, Kislev comes before Nisan in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I. The only explanation is that the fall-to-fall calendar in which Kislev comes before Nisan of the same year is in use. It is very reasonable then to expect Ezra to be using the

¹Horn and Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," 14. For a detailed study on the fall-to-fall calendar of the Jews from Elephantine, see *ibid.*, 1-20.

²Horn and Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra* 7, 135-39; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 129; Neuffer, 81.

same Jewish fall-to-fall regnal year reckoning.¹ This view is strengthened by the testimony of Ezek 1:2; 8:1; 40:1, which shows that "the fall calendar continued in use among the Jews in exile in Babylon."² The implication is that the seventh year of Artaxerxes I in the reckoning of Ezra is dated to 457 B.C.

Sabbatical years

It has been suggested that the Seventy Weeks may have a sabbatical-year calendrical background.³ In support of this suggestion scholars have invoked the Chronicler's⁴ connection between the "sabbaths"⁵ and Jeremiah's "seventy years"⁶ regarding the captivity in Babylon. It must be pointed out that the author of Daniel does not make any mention of a sabbatical year or jubilee,⁷ although it could be viewed that he was aware of them⁸ had he wanted to use them. The investigation

¹Cf. Horn and Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine." 14; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 133, 134.

²Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 132, 133.

³Newman, 231; Wacholder, "Chronomessianism," 203-07; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 77-79.

⁴2 Chr 36:21; cf. Lev 26:32-35.

⁵2 Chr 33:4; cf. Exod 23:10, 11; Lev 25:8-12.

⁶Jer 25:11, 29:10; cf. 2 Chr 36:21.

⁷Cf. Goldingay, 232: "The seven sevens of Dan 9:25 are insufficient to indicate that Dan 9 reflects jubilee thinking, given that it does not describe the 490 years in these terms."

⁸Cf. Dan 9:2, where Daniel is portrayed as being aware of "books" that dealt with the servitude.

of the term *sābu^cīm*, "weeks," in Dan 9:24-27 leads one to conclude that it means "weeks" in the sense of a unitary and complete whole and thus does not mean "sabbatical years."¹ Nevertheless, the Seventy Weeks seem to begin exactly at the point of the ancient sabbatical cycle transition. The sabbatical cycle calendar had the year 457 B.C. as the beginning of a new sabbatical cycle. The Seventy Weeks have their chronological starting point, the *terminus a quo*, in the year 457 B.C. It follows accordingly that the dates of A.D. 27 and A.D. 34 are all also dates of the sabbatical cycle of sabbatical years.²

It has been argued in this section that the historical, exegetical, chronological, and contextual picture of Dan 9:24-27 and Ezra 7 (in conjunction with Ezra 4) provides consistent support for the "decree" given to Ezra by Artaxerxes I, in his seventh year, and dated to 457 B.C., as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks prophecy of Dan 9:24-27.³

¹See pp. 83-108; contra Newman, 231.

²See Wacholder, "Chronomessianism," 218; idem, "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period," *HUC*:1 44 (1973): 185, 190; Newman, 233, 234; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 79.

³So Pusey, 189; Matheny 60; Gurney, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 32-36; C. H. H. Wright, 230; Boutflower, 185; Cumming, 408; Basil F. C. Aitkinson, *The Times of the Gentiles* (London: Protestant Truth Society, n.d.), 67; Slemming, 2:149; Archer, 7:114-16; Boice, 109; George N. H. Peters, *The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884), 2:650.

The Permission of Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah (445/4 B.C.)

In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I (445/4 B.C.), Nehemiah learned from Hanani, one of his brothers, that "the wall of Jerusalem is broken down, and its gates are burned with fire" (Neh 1:1-4).¹ Nehemiah, therefore, formally requested of Artaxerxes I permission to go to Jerusalem to rebuild it (Neh 2:3-6). The king granted him the permission to go to Jerusalem, providing him with letters to the governors of the province Beyond the River Euphrates to permit him to pass through their region and also to Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, to supply him with timber for his work (Neh 2:7-9).

The permission of Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah has been perceived by Futurist-Dispensationalist interpreters as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks.²

¹NASB.

²Among those who view the permission of Artaxerxes I during his 20th year to Nehemiah as the *terminus a quo* for the 70 Weeks are included: Robert Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 124, 127; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 135-38; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 225; McClain, 19; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 153; Brooks, 41; Tregelles, 101; M. M. Wilson, 409; Kalafian, *The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of the Book of Daniel*, 226; Renald E. Showers, "New Testament Chronology and the Decree of Daniel 9," *GTJ* 11 (1970): 30; Hines, 58-60; Gaebelein, 135; Kelly, 179, 180; Bulterma, 285; Ironside, 20, 21; Tatford, 156; W. H. Broom, *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel (Daniel (IX))* (London: W. H. Broom, 1861), 14. Goss, 120, in his analysis of Dispensationalist arguments for "this decree," has concluded: "Thus, the basic arguments for the support of this decree are found in its relation to (1) the rebuilding of the walls and the city, (2) the rebuilding in the midst of trouble, (3) the fact that no further decrees concerning the city were given, (4) the fact that the rebuilding was really begun with zeal in the days of Nehemiah, and (5) the insistence that the very existence of Jerusalem as a political city depended upon this decree." The last argument (apparently by Tregelles, 101), which is the only one that is essentially not claimed by Hoehner, is effectively answered by Goss, 121: "The decree to Nehemiah does deal with the

Hoehner epitomizes this position with his four arguments.¹

First, Hoehner asserts that "there is a direct reference to the restoration of the city (2:3, 5) and of the city gates and walls (2:3, 8)."² While Neh 2:3, 5, 8 refers to the building of the city, gates and walls, it does not refer to the "restoration of Jerusalem" which, properly interpreted, relates to the political restoration of Jerusalem. Else, why would "an open space" which does not need to be built be used to represent the building of a city? It seems that the view that equates Nehemiah's building of the walls of Jerusalem with the restoration of the city mentioned in Dan 9:25 arises from the misapplication of the double expression *ḥōḥ wḥārūs*, often rendered "plaza and moat" (NASB),³ to the building of the physical walls of Jerusalem.⁴ In connection with this, Hoehner has stated:

Commentators are divided on how to apply the two words, *ḥōḥ wḥārūs*, to Daniel 9:25, but it is best to take the first word *plaza* as referring to the interior of the city and the second word *trench* as referring to a moat going around the outside of the city.⁵

Hoehner refers to the moat as "a great cutting in the rock along the northern wall.

physical rebuilding of the city, but it says nothing about the political structure of it. Tregelles is wrong when he claims that the decree to Nehemiah is the only one which gives political existence to Jerusalem. This was done by the same king thirteen years before Nehemiah."

¹Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 120-26.

²Ibid., 126.

³See pp. 53, 205, 206; cf. Matheny, 59.

⁴For the proper contextual translation and application of *ḥōḥ wḥārūs*, see "Square and Decision-making" in chap. 2, pp. 200-27.

⁵Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 120.

which is still visible, for the purpose of building a defense wall."¹ However, if the cutting in the rock was for the purpose of building a wall, then the cutting was not an end in itself and, therefore, could not be viewed as representing a complete restoration, as asserted by Hoehner.² It is doubtful that the angel would refer to such a means-to-an-end measure as the restoration of Jerusalem. On the other hand, if the "trench" meant wall, why would Gabriel call the wall around Jerusalem *a trench*? Thus the translation of *hārūs* as "moat" or "trench" does not fit the context of Dan 9:25, neither does its interpretation in the sense of natural or constructed defenses bring out the contextual meaning of the text. We are forced to conclude that the "word" in view here (Dan 9:25) does not anticipate an emphasis on "city gates and walls."

Hoehner's second argument for choosing the permission given to Nehemiah as the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is that "Artaxerxes wrote a letter to Asaph to give materials to be used specifically for the walls (2:8)."³ This argument is seriously weakened by the consideration that the "word" demanded in Dan 9:25 is not determined by the building of walls but by its emphasis on the autonomy of political governance and the rebuilding of the city.⁴ Nehemiah's so-called "decree"

¹Ibid., 120-21. Cf. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 380; Slotki, 78.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 119, 121.

³Ibid., 126.

⁴See Ferch, 69-72.

is not comprehensive enough to fit Dan 9:25-27.¹

Hoehner's third point is that "the Book of Nehemiah and Ezra 4:7-23 indicate that certainly the restoration of the walls was done in the most distressing circumstances, as predicted by Daniel (Dan 9:25)."² The distressing circumstances, per se, do not point to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes as the *terminus a quo*. The building of the temple encountered distressing circumstances (Ezra 4:1-6).³ Besides, Ezra 4:7-23 has been shown to be in reference to the time of Ezra earlier in the reign of Artaxerxes I and would rather point to the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7) as the *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks."⁴

Hoehner's final argument in support of the permission given to Nehemiah is that "no later decrees were given by the Persian kings pertaining to the rebuilding of Jerusalem."⁵ If this argument should be taken seriously, then the "decree" of Artaxerxes I to Ezra should be regarded as the *terminus a quo*, since that is the last event declared to be a "decree."⁶ The fact is that the edicts of Cyrus (538 B.C.) (Ezra 1:1, "proclamation" which was written and thus a "decree," Ezra 6:3), Darius

¹Cf. Matheny, 59.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 126.

³Cf. Goss, 121.

⁴See p. 325. Cf. Fensham, *Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, 73; Batten, 378; Pusey, 189; Auberlen, 119; Boutflower, 188, 189; Hasel, "Interpretations," 50, 51; Ferch, 69-71; Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 121-25.

⁵Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 127.

⁶Cf. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 15, 16.

(520 B.C.),¹ and Artaxerxes I to Ezra (457 B.C.)² are specifically described as decrees,³ but the permission of Artaxerxes given to Nehemiah (444 B.C.) is nowhere described as a decree. The permission itself, unlike the edicts, seems to have been only a verbal assent to Nehemiah's request.⁴ Is a verbal assent ever the equivalent of a formal, written edict or decree?

Furthermore, the permission given to Nehemiah, like the decree of Darius which confirmed that of Cyrus, was secondary and supplementary to the decree of Artaxerxes to Ezra.⁵ With regard to the two events, Shea has stated: "The relation between the two communications was that of initial authorization and supplementary authorization. What Ezra started was taken up and carried to partial completion by Nehemiah."⁶

Finally, Hasel proposes the following two reasons why the permission of

¹Ezra 6:8. "decree."

²Ezra 7:13. "decree."

³See Ezra 6:3, 8; 7:13, using NASB rendition "decree" for the Aramaic term *r^cē^m* in all these cases.

⁴Cf. Keil, *Commentary on Daniel*, 380. Charles H. H. Wright, 231, states that "the Book of Nehemiah speaks only of a verbal permission granted to Nehemiah to see that the former edicts were carried into effect."

⁵Cf. Auberlen, 120. Pusey, 188, 189, observes, "But further, of these four, two only are principal and leading decrees; that of Cyrus, and that in the *seventh* year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. For that of the 20th year of Artaxerxes is but an enlargement and renewal of his first decree; as the decree of Darius confirmed that of Cyrus."

⁶Shea, "When Did the Seventy Weeks Begin?" 135. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 51-52, 58-59.

Artaxerxes to Nehemiah could not be the decree to restore and build Jerusalem:

(1) The rebuilding of Jerusalem was under way already in the time of Ezra. This is evident from Ezra 9:9 as well as from Ezra 4:7-23. (2) The computation of the 490 years with a beginning (*terminus a quo*) in 444 B.C. extends the 69 weeks (7 + 62) or 483 years to A.D. 39 after which the Messiah was cut off.¹

From a chronological point of view it is apparent that the *terminus a quo* based on the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I and dated to 445/4 B.C., apart from not fulfilling the conditions of the "word" mentioned in Dan 9:25, does not fit the chronological specifications of Dan 9:24-27.

I have considered the permission given to Nehemiah as the possible *terminus a quo* of Dan 9:25 as suggested by some scholars. It became evident that the date of 445 or 444 B.C. is too late to fit the chronological specifications of the text, even to the cutting off of the Messiah, not to speak of the last "week" which by lack of chronological continuity is separated, against the intent of the expression Seventy Weeks. The development of the "gap" or "parenthesis" hypothesis which sees the last "week" yet to be future gives further evidence to the problems surrounding the date of 445 or 444 B.C. and the alleged "decree" given to Nehemiah to be the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks" prophecy. One has to conclude that despite the best efforts of past and present supporters of this date, it falls far short

¹Hasel, "Interpretations," 59. The Futurist-Dispensationalist, Goss, 122, has concluded that "the final objection to the decree of Nehemiah is chronological. Even if the sixty-nine weeks are reckoned by the prophetic year, they would expire, according to the best chronological sources, in A.D. 32, two years after the death of Christ. And should regular solar years be used, which is more probable in the light of ancient chronology, 483 years would expire in A.D. 38, and no one suggests that was the year that Messiah the Prince was manifested. The chronological objection to this decree, then, is quite substantial." See also Archer, 115; Matheny, 58.

chronologically, exegetically, historically, and contextually.

Interim Events

The Seventy Weeks, as outlined in Dan 9:25-27, are divided into three main periods: seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. The question that arises is: What events occur in the first two subdivisions of the Seventy Weeks, namely, the "seven weeks" and "sixty-two" weeks?

"Seven Weeks"

The initial "seven weeks" are very important for the chronology of the Seventy Weeks period because they mark the beginning point of the Seventy Weeks of 490 years. A. Lacocque has the "seven weeks" start from the beginning of the Babylonian exile which he dates to 587 B.C.¹ He suggests that the "word" that went forth was that of Jeremiah's oracle of "seventy years" which he places at the "beginning of the Exile, 587 B.C."² The "seven weeks" or forty-nine years terminate at the enthronement of Joshua which he dates to 538 B.C.³ This period fits the forty-nine years neatly. While Lacocque interprets "to restore and build Jerusalem" to mean "the return of the exiles and the reconstruction of Jerusalem."⁴ it seems enigmatic to consider the beginning of the exile to be the time when a legal

¹Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 178.

²Ibid., 195.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 187.

decree is issued for the exiles "to return and to build Jerusalem." The plain historical fact is that there is no decree or "word" that was issued in 587 B.C. (more correctly, 586 B.C.) when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians. The suggested year of 587 B.C. does not fit the specifications of Dan 9:25. In addition, the reckoning of the "seven weeks" (49 years) from 587 B.C. to 538 B.C. cannot be harmonized with the chronology of the passage. From 587 to 538 B.C. leaves 441 years to be fitted into the 490-year chronology. Adding the 441 years to 538 B.C. would bring the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks (490 years) to 97 B.C. which would be far beyond the alleged Maccabean period termination. The importance of the initial subdivision of "seven weeks" (49 years) is that it starts the Seventy Weeks period. Thus it has the same *terminus a quo* of 457 B.C. as the Seventy Weeks themselves.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the initial subdivision of "seven weeks" is designated for the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem.¹ The division between the "seven weeks" and the "sixty-two weeks" seems to support the suggestion that the rebuilding of the city was to be within the first seven weeks, while "the Messiah, the Prince" does not come until the end of the "sixty-two

¹For example, Archer, 113; Pusey, 191, "We know that the restoration was completed in the latter part of the 7th week of years, and it is probable that it was not closed until the end of it."; Boutflower, 186; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 101. Barnes, 152, proposes that "since it is said that 'the commandment would go forth to restore, and to build Jerusalem,' and since, as the whole subsequent period is divided into three portions, it may be presumed that the thing that would characterize the first portion, or that which would first be done, would be to execute the commandment--that is, to restore and build the city."

weeks." that is, at the termination of the "sixty-nine weeks" reckoned from the beginning of the Seventy Weeks. The proposal that the "seven weeks" were allotted for the rebuilding of Jerusalem seems to be the best-fitting event for this period, especially because the restoration and building of Jerusalem were completed within this period.¹ If the beginning point of 457 B.C. is correct, the initial sub-division terminates in 408 B.C.

"Sixty-two Weeks"

The function of the second subdivision of "sixty-two weeks" is to lead to the appearance of "the Messiah the Prince." No event is specified to occur within the "sixty-two weeks." This time period is the chronological connecting link between the time of the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem and the final Messianic week.² If the "sixty-two weeks" function as the space of chronological

¹Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 65, states that "in the first portion (7 weeks), the rebuilding of the city and the temple took place."

²Boutflower, 62, observes that after the first seven weeks, "the following sixty-two are left a blank, there being nothing particular to record with respect to them." So Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 65, "Then follows a long stretch of 62 weeks, which period was uneventful, so far as *this* prophecy is concerned." Cf. Robert Andrew Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 116. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195, sees this period of 434 years "as a time of restoration." So Hartman and Di Lella, 251; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 380; Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 357, 358. This position seems difficult with the text pointing to the first seven weeks as the period of rebuilding. Second, it seems more doubtful that 434 years would be allocated for the rebuilding of the city. In the case of Lacocque, the period of restoration starts (i.e., in 605 B.C.) before the "word" for the "Return and Restoration" goes forth in 587 B.C. This is problematic. Again it has been proposed that the *terminus ad quem* of the 62 weeks is the cutting off of *māšīah* of vs. 26. (E.g., Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195, 197; Hartman and Di Lella, 253; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Towner, 144; Anderson, *The Coming Prince*.)

time between the initial "seven weeks" and the final "seventieth week," and if the appearance of the Messiah and the events relating to him were not to happen in the week immediately following the sixty-ninth week in an uninterrupted fashion, then the "sixty-two weeks" would be non-functional and be conceived as a misfit within the context of the totality of the Seventy Weeks. In order for the "sixty-two weeks" to be meaningful in this context, the "seventieth week" must of necessity start where the sixty-ninth week ends. If the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is dated to 457 B.C. and the initial "seven weeks" terminate in 408 B.C., it follows that the "sixty-two weeks" need to terminate in A.D. 27.

Terminus ad Quem

The end of the seventieth week provides the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks. This final week of the uninterrupted Seventy Weeks contains the events that relate to the Messiah. For this reason it could be called the Messianic week. "The Messiah, the Prince" comes at the end of the sixty-ninth week, the very time when the seventieth week begins. The Messiah is "cut off"¹ in "the middle"²

116.) This interpretation, however, ignores the temporal preposition ²*ah'rê*, "after," which is not terminative (see R. J. Williams, 60, 61). ²*ah'rê*, "after," here seems to indicate that the Messiah is cut off sometime after the 62 weeks. While Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 255, acknowledges the function of "after" here in Dan 9:26, he did not realize the link between "after sixty-two weeks" in vs. 26 and "in the middle of the week" in vs. 27.

¹See pp. 233, 236, 238.

²See pp. 249-58.

of the seventieth week. As the covenant Prince he makes strong a covenant¹ for "the many" and causes sacrifice and oblation to cease in the middle of the same week. The historical landmarks of the events of the final Messianic week are now to be examined.

"The Messiah, the Prince"

Interpreters have identified "the Messiah, the Prince" with various historical figures. Interpreters who view Dan 9:24-27 in nonmessianic terms usually see a high-priestly figure in this term.² These interpreters generally regard "the Messiah, the Prince" to appear at the end of the initial "seven weeks" of the Seventy Weeks. Those who identify him with Joshua, son of Jozadak (Ezra 3:2),³ have to start the Seventy Weeks from either 605 B.C., 594 B.C., or 587/6 B.C., an approach which is hardly justifiable, because of (1) the chronological incongruity with the total time period or (2) the lack of correspondence with the going forth of the "word" (Dan 9:25).

The basis for putting "the Messiah, the Prince" at the end of the initial "seven weeks" has been seriously challenged by the conclusion that the *athnach* in

¹See pp. 259-76, 293-95.

²E.g., Coppens, 35-36; Mowinckel, 6; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 194; Charles, 244; Bevan, 155; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 378; and others.

³See, e.g., Marti, 69; Hartman and Di Lella, 244; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 379; Bevan, 156; Porteous, 142; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 194; Towner, 143; Heaton, 213; and others.

the MT of Dan 9:25 should not be taken as a full disjunctive.¹ If "the Messiah, the Prince" appears after sixty-nine weeks when *athnach* is not taken as a full disjunctive, then those interpretations do not fit chronologically because of the respective dates assigned to the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks.² These approaches face a second major problem of having to find two messiahs³ separated by a period of 434 years. The proponents of the two-different-messiahs interpretation mostly refer "the Messiah, the Prince" to Joshua, dating his appearance to 538/7 B.C., and "Messiah" who is cut off to Onias III, dating his murder to 171/70.⁴ The span of time between the *terminus a quo* of these interpretations and the 171 B.C. date of the murder of Onias III is too short to reach the expected 434

¹See "The Use of *Athnach* in Dan 9:25" in chap. 2, supra, pp. 277-94. Also Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9," 17, 18; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 89-91; idem, "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25," 59-63; Hasel, "Interpretations," 60, 61; Gurney, *God in Control*, 113; Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 55; Boutflower, 190, 191; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 128-31; Down, 79; Baldwin, 170; Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 204, 205; Ferguson, 202; Walvoord, *Daniel*, 223-27.

²A strong support is given to the position that the time of the appearing of "the Messiah, the Prince" should be 69 weeks from the *terminus a quo* of the 70 weeks by LXX, Theodotion, Peshitta, Symmachus, and Aquila. For Symmachus and Aquila, see Fredericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), 2:926. Beckwith, "Daniel 9 and Messiah's Coming," 522.

³See e.g., Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 195; Hartman and Di Lella, 251, 252; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 378, 379; Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 115, 116; Towner, 143, 144; Goldingay, 262.

⁴See e.g., Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 378, 379; Hartman and Di Lella, 251, 252; Goldingay, 262; Porteous, 142; Marti, 69, 142; Bevan 156, 157. Beckwith, "Daniel and Messiah's Coming," 522, rejects this view. He states that "the only known non-Messianic interpretation which dates from pre-Christian times has likewise a single anointed one, at the end of the 69 weeks." This statement is in reference to *Seder Olam Rabbah* (see Beckwith, 532).

years. Moreover, the supposed 171 B.C. date of Onias' death seems to be the year 170 B.C., which further complicates the chronological problem.¹

Some interpreters identify "the Messiah, the Prince" with the Persian king Cyrus.² This interpretation has to deal with the problem of identifying "the Messiah, the Prince" with a heathen king.³ Although Cyrus is called YHWH's "anointed" (*m'sīhō*, Isa 45:1), he is not called *nāgīd*. Furthermore, in order to apply the title to Cyrus, the *terminus a quo* has to be dated "seven weeks" (49 years) before Cyrus actually frees the exiles⁴ in 538 B.C. and there is no "word," decree, or edict that is known to have been issued at that time to begin the political restoration and physical rebuilding of Jerusalem.

Messianic interpreters over the centuries identify "the Messiah, the Prince"

¹See Bringmann, 124, 125.

²E.g., McComiskey, 28, 29; S. R. Driver, 138; Craven, 127; Francisco, 136; Pierce, 217; Gruenthaner, 48; Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1868). English trans: *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, 5 vols., trans. J. F. Smith (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875-1881), 5:280.

³Goldingay, 261; Bevan 251; Feinberg, "An Exegetical and Theological Study of Daniel 9:24-27," 201; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 205. Hartman and Di Lella, 251, have recognized this problem and have rejected Cyrus as the referent of "the Messiah, the Prince."

⁴E.g., McComiskey, 25, 26, identifies the *terminus a quo* of the "seven weeks" with the Jeremianic word. So also Francisco, 136; Gruenthaner, 48.

with Jesus Christ.¹ This interpretation agrees with the Messianic import of the passage which has been discussed above.²

According to the chronology of the Danielic text,³ "the Messiah, the Prince" should arrive at the end of the sixty-ninth week. The temporal preposition *ad*, "until," that governs the time of "the Messiah, the Prince" in Dan 9:25, is both temporal and terminative. Thus, from the beginning point in time from the going forth of the "word" "to restore and to build Jerusalem *until* the Messiah, the Prince" consists of sixty-nine weeks.⁴ The preposition "until" is the temporal link from the *terminus a quo* to the coming of "the Messiah, the Prince." Since the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks, which is by the same token the beginning point of the sixty-nine weeks, is to be dated to 457 B.C., the chronology puts the coming of "the Messiah, the Prince" in the year A.D. 27.⁵ Thus, if the chronology runs

¹Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 203, 204; Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 251; Archer, 113; Boutflower, 191; Felix Zimmermann, 137; Jeske, 181; Goss, 134; Bultema, 286; Gurney, "Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27," 31; Shea, "Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 89; Doukhan, *Drinking at the Sources*, 69-73; Cooper, *The 70 Weeks of Daniel*, 43, 44; idem, *Messiah: His First Coming Scheduled*, 389-91.

²See pp. 225-45.

³See Dan 9:25.

⁴This is also the position of not only the ancient versions but also the early Jewish pre-Christian interpreters. E.g., *Damascus Document*, 12:23, 24; 14, 19; 15, 7; *Melchizedek Document* (11Q Melch), 1.7, 8; 2.18; *Testament of Levi*, 16, 1; 17, 1; 4Q 384-90, all of which see Messiah coming at the last week of the 70 weeks. Cf. Beckwith, "Calendar, Chronology and Eschatology," 171-81.

⁵That is, $69 \times 7 = 483$ years added to 457 B.C. Since there was never a year "0" between the transition point between B.C. and A.D., 457 B.C. + 483 years comes up to 27 A.D.

successively in history, then "the Messiah, the Prince" has to appear in A.D. 27 and neither before nor later.

The historical event that took place in A.D. 27 was the baptism of Jesus. According to Luke 3:1-3, 21. John started baptizing in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar. At this time Jesus was baptized (Luke 3:21).

We need to consider briefly the date of A.D. 27 as the date of the baptism of Jesus Christ. Luke 3:1-3 states with regard to the preaching and baptizing ministry of John, the son of Zacharias, that

Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, and Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip was tetrarch of the region of Iturea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene, in the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the district around the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for forgiveness of sins.¹

This statement of Luke puts the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist within the administrative period of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26-36),² Herod Antipas (4 B.C.-A.D. 39),³ Philip (4B.C.-A.D. 33/34),⁴ and the priesthood of Annas (c. A.D. 6-14)⁵

¹NASB.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 98; *SDABC*, 5:243; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, rev. and ed. Gerza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973), 1:388; *Baker's Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 1988 ed., s.v. "Chronology, New Testament."

³*SDABC*, 243; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18.7.1-2 § 240-56.

⁴*SDABC*, 243; cf. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 30; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18.4.6 § 106; Schürer, 1:340.

and Caiaphas (c. A.D. 18-36).¹ The exact dates of the period of Lysanias are not really known. Since Pilate, mentioned as being the governor of Judea at that time, governed Judea from A.D. 26 to A.D. 36, the beginning point of John's ministry must be within the period A.D. 26-36.² The fifteenth year of Tiberius, which is the only specific time period in this regard, must, therefore, be a specific year between A.D. 26 and A.D. 36.

Tiberius became the sole ruler after the death of Augustus in August A.D. 14, from which time his regnal years must be reckoned.³ The fifteenth year of Tiberius, reckoned according to the Roman calendar, would run from August 19, A.D. 28, to August 18, A.D. 29."⁴ This period (August 19, A.D. 28-August 18, A.D. 29) would lie within the range of chronological parameters (A.D. 26-36) given

⁵*SDABC*, 243. Annas is mentioned because he was an influential force during the high-priesthood of Caiaphas, his son-in-law.

¹Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 97; *SDABC*, 243; Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, trans. F. H. Cave and C. H. Cave (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 195.

²Cf. Madison, 153.

³Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 102; *SDABC*, 244-45; Thomas Lewin, *Fasti Sacri or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1865), 53. The proposal that the reign of Tiberius should be reckoned from his coregency with Augustus is without evidence or support. Proponents of this view include: Madison, 64-70; Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1913), 183-88; W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 2d ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), 195-96, 200, 211.

⁴G. B. Caird, "Chronology of the NT," *IDB* (1962), 1:601; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 36.

by Luke 3:1.¹ But is Luke using the Roman reckoning?

Hoehner takes the Roman reckoning for two main reasons: (1) Luke was writing to a Roman official and would thus use Roman reckoning; and (2) the period from August 19, A.D. 28 to August 18, A.D. 29 fits the date of Christ's death which he figures to be A.D. 33.²

Hoehner's arguments do not seem strong enough to be conclusive. In the first place, Luke is not using the official language of the Roman official. Besides, it is more natural to date a document or event according to the dating system of the locality from which the writer is writing or the writer's indigenous system. Luke, therefore, it is suggested, used either the Jewish reckoning (locality) or the Syrian system (indigenous). In this particular case, both systems produce the same results which also fit the chronological parameters of Luke 3:1-3.

In the second place, the date of the death of Christ which Hoehner uses as a determinant of Luke's reckoning system seems not to have been in A.D. 33 as proposed by him.³ If the death is not dated to A.D. 33, Hoehner's claims for the Roman reckoning break down since that reckoning then does not satisfy the requirements of the biblical narratives.

The Roman system, which results in August 19, A.D. 28-August 18, A.D. 29, puts the fifteenth year beyond A.D. 27. Caird observes:

¹See p. 352.

²Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 36, 37.

³See under "Death of Messiah" below, pp. 370-382.

This normal system of dating puts the baptism of Jesus so late that many scholars have adopted the suggestion, originally made by Ussher, that Luke was counting from the decree by which Augustus took Tiberius into partnership as co-emperor.¹

No evidence has come forth either from coinage or elsewhere that the regnal years have ever been computed this way.² Therefore, Caird has proposed that "there remains the possibility that Luke was using the Jewish system for dating the reigns of foreign kings."³ According to this view, the regnal years of foreign kings were reckoned from Tishri to Tishri using the nonaccession-year method.⁴ Thus the first year of Tiberius would be August 19 to September-October, A.D. 14, with his second year starting on Tishri 1, (October) A.D. 14. The Jewish reckoning, thus, dates the fifteenth year of Tiberius to Tishri 1, A.D. 27-Tishri 1, A.D. 28.⁵ If according to Jewish practice the nonaccession-year method of reckoning for regnal years of foreign kings was used by Luke, then the baptism of Jesus (which came

¹Caird, 1:601.

²Caird, 1:601; *SDABC*, 5:244: "If, as some have argued, Luke's word for "reign" (*hēgemonia*) was intended to mean Tiberius' coregency as contrasted with sole reign, there is no evidence to support such a usage." Also George Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1940), 173-83.

³Caird, 1:601. Also Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1:224.

⁴Baylonian Talmud: *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 3a-b, 8a; Caird, 1:601; *SDABC*, 5:246; Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 88-91. Ogg, 196-200, proposes that the dating should start from Nisan 1. However, his proposal is not supported by evidence.

⁵Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Chronology of the Last Days of Jesus*, trans. Victor J. Drapela (New York: Desclee Co., 1965), 6, dates the fifteenth year of Tiberius as October 1, A.D. 27 to September 30, A.D. 28.

early in the ministry of John) occurred in A.D. 27, the exact date specified in the prophecy of Dan 9:25 for the appearance of the Messiah.¹

The Lukan record reports that after the baptism of Jesus, the Holy Spirit descended upon Him, and a voice from heaven announced, "You are my Son" (Luke 3:22). This announcement of the voice from heaven echoes Ps 2:7 with the descent of the Holy Spirit signifying anointing. After the baptism, Jesus could say, "The Spirit of the Lord is on me because He has anointed me."² The application of the Messianic passage Isa 61:1, 2 by Jesus to Himself, just after He had returned from the baptism to Nazareth, and the particular timing of this proclamation seem to announce the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies. Confirming that it was time to start His ministry, He added, "Today this scripture is fulfilled in your hearing" (Luke 4:21).

John the Baptist testified that "in order that He might be manifested to Israel, I came baptizing in water" (John 1:31).³ Thus it was by the baptism that the Messiah was to be announced to Israel as Messiah (Anointed One).⁴

¹Caird, 1:603, dates the baptism of Jesus to late A.D. 27 or early A.D. 28. So *Baker's Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 444. *SDABC*, 5:247, "If Luke 3:1 refers to A.D. 27/28 as the year in which John the Baptist came out of the wilderness and in which he baptized Jesus, this agrees perfectly with the interpretation of the chronology of Christ's ministry that puts His baptism at some time soon after Tishri 1, in the autumn of A.D. 27 or 483 years after 'the going forth of the commandment' in the autumn of 457 B.C." Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1:225.

²See Luke 4:18; cf. Isa 61:1, 2.

³NASB.

⁴Cf. Goss, 144; Matheny, 66; Mauro, *Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation*, 109; Boutflower, 207. Contra Robert Anderson, *Coming Prince*, 127.

It was this understanding of John the Baptist that led him to announce, "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world." The expression "the Lamb of God" alludes to the sacrificial death of the Messiah as predicted in Dan 9:26.¹

The reaction of John the Baptist's two disciples to the Baptist's announcement, "Behold, the Lamb of God," indicates that the people understood his announcement to be the introduction of the Messiah to them. Following this announcement, Andrew, one of the two disciples of John the Baptist, found his brother and told him, "We have found the Messiah."² Here is further evidence that the Messiah was revealed at His baptism.

The apostle Peter also referred to the baptism event as the anointing of Jesus by God:

You yourselves know the thing which took place throughout all Judea, starting from Galilee, after the baptism which John proclaimed. You know of Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit and with power and how He went about doing good, and healing all who were oppressed by the devil: for God was with Him.³

At the time of Jesus' baptism He was anointed and introduced as the Anointed One, the Prince (*māšīah nāgīd*).⁴ Based on this evidence it is natural to take the event of

¹See Isa 53:7-9, 12. The offering of a lamb was traditionally associated with the Passover. The sacrificial offering offered at the time of Passover typified the substitutionary death of the Messiah (1 Cor 5:7; Exod 12:3-6, 21).

²See John 1:35-41.

³Acts 10:37, 38, NASB.

⁴Cf. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation*, 55-61.

Jesus' baptism as the end of the sixty-nine weeks, fulfilling the specification of Dan 9 regarding the appearance of the Messiah and the beginning of the seventieth week.¹

Jesus Christ, in addition to being the historical fulfillment of "*māšīah*," also fulfills the title *nāgīd* of Dan 9:25.² David, among other kings, was called *nāgīd* because he was especially chosen and commissioned by God. His line became the royal line for the combined kingdom and later for Judah. The genealogies of the New Testament³ and various texts indicate that Jesus is of the royal Davidic line, fulfilling the functions of the expected Messiah who is also King of the Davidic royal line.⁴

The Death of Messiah

Dan 9:26 specifies that the Messiah was to be "cut off" after the sixty-ninth week.⁵ This means that the event of the Messiah's death must have happened in the

¹Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation*, 61, states: "It is clear, therefore, in the light of Scripture, that the 483 years 'unto the Messiah' terminated at the Lord's baptism, when His ministry as 'the Messiah' began."

²On who qualifies to be a *nāgīd*, see above, pp. 225, 226, 230-32. Cf. Matheny, 66, 67.

³See Matt 1:1-17; Luke 3:23-31.

⁴See Matt 9:27, especially 12:22, 23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15; 22:41-43; Luke 1:30-33; cf. 2 Sam 7:12-16; Isa 9:6, 7; 11:1; Jer 23:5, 6.

⁵See Dan 9:26; also pp. 249-58.

seventieth week.¹ While Dan 9:26 is not definite in fixing the specific point when Messiah shall be cut off in the seventieth week, this point in time is specifically fixed in vs. 27 as "the middle of the week."² The temporal expression "in the middle" means a specific point (i.e., midpoint) in the last week--that is three and a half years from the beginning of the Messianic week and three and a half years before its termination. The Messiah is, therefore, cut off three and a half years from the beginning of the seventieth week, dated to A.D. 27.³

The Historical-Critical interpretations which refer the term "Messiah" to the high priest Onias III do not fit the chronological stipulation regarding the Messiah's being cut off "in the middle of the week." In this scheme, the Messiah is cut off at the beginning of the seventieth week which is claimed to be in 170/171.⁴

The Futurist-Dispensationalist interpretation that locates the cutting off of the Messiah within five days from the appearance (i.e., the termination of the 69th week = the Triumphal Entry) is also too short to fulfill the chronological specification that put the death of the Messiah "in the middle of the week." or at

¹Contrary to Cooper, *The 70 Weeks of Daniel*, 45. Cooper holds that "the terminal date of the 69 weeks, or 483 years, is the year of Messiah's execution." Also, *idem*, *Messiah: His First Coming Scheduled*, 391.

²Contrary to Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, 255, who does not see any specification beyond "after sixty-two weeks" in Dan 9:26. See discussion in chap. 2 under "Messiah, the Prince: Chronological Considerations," pp. 249-58.

³483 years added to the *terminus a quo* of 457 B.C. reaches to A.D. 27. See discussion on p. 355.

⁴E.g., Goldingay, 262; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 394; Marti, 70; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 196; Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Towner, 144; Porteous, 142; and others.

three and a half years after His appearance.¹

Both Futurist-Dispensationalist and Historical-Critical interpreters regard the "middle of the week" of Dan 9:27 as the time when a covenant is broken instead of being the time of the death of "Messiah." This supposition has several problems. First, in order to posit that interpretation, one has to regard the Hebrew term *h'si* as durative instead of terminative. However, *h'si* in the context of Dan 9:24-27 is terminative.² Since it is terminative, one cannot assume that a covenant goes on for a duration of three and a half years (or half a week).

Second, the text specifically states what is to happen in the middle of the week: "In the middle of the week, he shall bring an end to sacrifice and offering."³ What is in view here is not the breaking of a covenant but the rendering of the "sacrifice and offering" as nonefficacious. This is accomplished by the death of Messiah. The death of Messiah, while it surely has theological connections with covenant (through the use of *kārat*, etc.),⁴ a connection that is not negative in the sense of breaking a covenant which has been existing for three and a half years, has instead the positive connotation of the renewal and establishment of covenant.⁵

¹See Sir Anderson, *Coming Prince*, 121-27; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 135-38; Cho, 59-66; and others.

²See chap. 2 under "Messiah, the Prince: Chronological Considerations." pp. 257, 258.

³Dan 9:27, NKJV.

⁴See chap. 2, under "*māšīah nāgīd* in the Book of Daniel." pp. 237, 238.

⁵See chap. 2, under "*b'riṭ* in the Book of Daniel." pp. 265-74.

The wording of Dan 9:27b, "and in the middle of the week, he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease," affirms the view that it is the death of the Messiah "in the middle" of the seventieth week that causes sacrifice and offering to cease. The word *zebah* denotes animal sacrifice in general¹ while *minhāh* represents the other offerings.²

J. J. Donohue has stated with regard to the intention of sacrifices that

the result of the sacrifice in each case (sin or guilt offering) is that the priest (makes) atonement for him before the Lord and he (is) forgiven. This atonement or expiation expressed by the Hebrew word *kipper* is not an action exercised on God. Rather is directed to the person or to the object which has become impure and is thus cut off from union with God. What the sacrifice accomplishes is the removal of the impurity and the restoration of union with God.³

The Israelite who violated any of the covenant stipulations given to the people at Sinai after their redemption from Egypt committed a crime against God who gave the Law.⁴ Such an individual was, thus, in "a state of guilt, liable to punishment and already in the realm of death."⁵ The solution to this problem was that the individual was allowed to bring a sacrifice which was offered and its blood

¹See J. Bergmann, "*zābhach*," *TDOT*, 4:12; Herbert Wolf, *zebah*," *TWOT*, 1:233; Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel," 96.

²See Barnes, 186: "The words 'sacrifice' and 'oblation' refer to the offerings made in the temple. The former word more properly denotes *bloody* offerings; the latter *offerings* of any kind--whether of flour, fruits, grain, &c."

³John J. Donohue, "Sin and Sacrifices: Reflections on Leviticus," *AER* 141 (1959): 8.

⁴Angel Manuel Rodríguez, "Salvation by Substitution," *JATS* 3/2 (1992): 51.

⁵*Ibid.*, 53.

ministered as a substitute for the individual's punishment. The individual was then forgiven. The substitutionary and atoning nature of the sacrifice is implicit in Lev 17:11: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life."¹ Rodriguez argues that the preposition *beth* attached to the word *bannephes* is a *beth* of price and thus the last statement must be translated, "For it is the blood that makes atonement in exchange for the person."² This emphasizes the reality of the sacrificial victim's bearing the sin and the punishment (death) of the sinner who is then forgiven, reconciled to God, and put back in covenantal relationship.

The prophet Isaiah brings the atoning and substitutionary value of sacrifices to a focus by showing that the atoning sacrifice is crystallized in a person. In Isa 53 the Servant of Yahweh suffers vicariously and is made an offering for sin (vs. 10). The word used here is ³*āšām*, "guilt offering."³ In Isa 53 the sacrifices find their fulfillment in the Servant of Yahweh.⁴

¹RSV.

²Rodríguez, 53, 54. Cf. Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 115, 116.

³*BDB*, 79; *CHAL*, 29, 30.

⁴Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, trans. James Martin (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867), 333-34, commenting on ³*āšām*, has pointed out that "every species of sacrifice [burnt-offering, peace-offering, meal offering, sin offering, guilt-offering] had its own primary idea. . . . The self-sacrifice of the Servant of Jehovah may be presented under all these points of view. It is the complete antitype, the truth, the object, and the end of all the sacrifices."

The substitutionary nature of the sacrifice of the Servant of Yahweh is emphasized in Isa 53:5: "But He was pierced through for our transgressions. He was crushed for our iniquities; the chastening for our well-being fell upon Him, and by His scourging we are healed."¹ Hasel has pointed out that the last clause must on the basis of the original text be rendered: "In exchange for² his stripes [Hebrew *bchbrtw*] we were healed."³ Here as in vss. 6 and 10, we are to understand that the Servant of Yahweh would bear the sins and the consequent punishment of sinners.⁴

In Isa 53 the animal sacrifice is replaced by the ultimate sacrifice of the Servant of Yahweh who bears the sins and the punishment of sin for humankind. He is "stricken" and "afflicted" (vs. 4), "pierced through for our transgressions" and "crushed for our iniquities" (vs. 5), "led to slaughter like a lamb" (vs. 7), "cut off" (vs. 8), and "assigned a grave to be with wicked men" (vs. 9).

Jesus applied the prophecy of Isa 53 to Himself and by so doing declared His death as the antitypical fulfillment of Israelitish sacrifices. In Mark 10:45, Jesus says: "Even the Son of Man came . . . to give his life (*psuchē*) as a ransom (*lutron*) for (*anti*) many (*polloi*)." As pointed out by Helmer Ringgren, "there is here a clear

¹NASB.

²In the Hebrew language we have here a *beth pretii*, i.e., a *beth* which governs an exchange (cf. Waltke and O'Connor, 197).

³Gerhard F. Hasel, "Salvation in Scripture," *JATS* 3/2 (1992): 31, follows W. Zimmerli, "Zur Vorgeschichte von Jes. LIII," *Congress Volume Rome 1968* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 238.

⁴Cf. Hans K. LaRondelle, "Salvation and the Atonement: A Biblical-Exegetical Approach," *JATS* 3/1 (1992): 25.

allusion to the Servant of the Lord, who 'made himself an offering for sin' and 'bore the sins of *many*' (Isa 53:11, 12)."¹ Scholars generally agree that Mark 10:45 is based upon the Old Testament passage Isa 53:11, 12.²

The two passages are connected by common expressions, as is evident in the LXX of Isa 53 and the Greek of Mark 10:45: *(para)didonai*, "to give," *psuchē autou*, "his life/soul," and *polloi*, "many." That suggests that Jesus evidently is alluding to the prophecy of Isaiah.³ Furthermore, the substitutionary theme that pervades Isa 53 is also evident in Mark 10:45 by the use of the preposition *anti*, "for," which has the meaning of "in place of."⁴ Again, the concept of ransom (*lutron*), which denotes the price that Christ pays on behalf of many,⁵ also refers back to Isa 53. It is clear that by laying down His life for many, Christ fulfills the role of "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29).

Other sayings of Jesus that allude to Isa 53 and depict Jesus' understanding

¹Ringgren, 75.

²See Joachim Jeremias, *Neutestamentliche Theologie. Erster Teil: Die Verkündigung Jesu* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973), 277-79; R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965), 153; Hasel, "Salvation in Scripture," 32; Rodriguez, 62; LaRondelle, 24, 25.

³See Rodriguez, 62; Ringgren, 75; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Reconciliation. Law, and Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology*, trans. Everett R. Kalin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 19.

⁴See F. Büchsel, "lutron," *TDNT*, 4:342; "*anti* means 'for' in the sense of 'in place of' rather than 'to the advantage of.'" Cf. Leon Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986), 111; idem, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1955), 30-32.

⁵Büchsel, 4:340-43.

of Himself as the sacrificial lamb are the Last Supper sayings recorded in Matt 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20.¹ In these sayings Jesus makes the statement: "This is My blood of the covenant, which is to be shed on behalf of many for forgiveness of sins."² Jesus' blood is shed, like the Old Testament sacrifices, for the forgiveness of sins and thus the restoration of the covenant relationship. H. LaRondelle has stated with regard to this saying that

when Jesus on this occasion calls the Passover bread "His body" and the Passover wine "His blood of the new covenant," then He replaces Israel's sacrificial lamb and its blood by His own sacrificial blood as the source of redemption for "the many."³

In John 17:19, Jesus, in the statement "And for their sakes, I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified," applied to Himself the expression "sanctify" which is "often used with reference to the preparation of a sacrifice."⁴

Randolf O. Yeager, commenting on John 17:19, has remarked:

What is this self-sanctification of Jesus upon which the sanctification of the saints depends? It is His complete dedication of will to go to Calvary. From this point on Jesus has a single purpose. It is to go to the cross and die in order that God's eternal purpose in redemption may be accomplished.⁵

¹See R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), 121, 122; Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 51-82; H. T. Page, "The Suffering Servant Between the Testaments," *NTS* 31 (1985): 481-97; Rodríguez, 57.

²Matt 26:28, NASB; cf. Mark 14:24; Luke 22:19..

³LaRondelle, 26.

⁴Ibid. Also Otto Procksch, "*hagiasmos*," *TDNT*, 1:113.

⁵Randolph O. Yeager, *The Renaissance New Testament*, vol. 8 (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 1982), 225.

Thus utterances of Jesus Christ lead us to believe that He saw Himself as dying to fulfill the requirements of the Old Testament sacrifices and offerings.

Paul also understood the death of Christ in terms of the Israelitish sacrificial system. Paul refers to the sacrifice of Christ as *peri hamartias*, "a sin-offering." In 1 Cor 5:7, Paul identifies the crucifixion of Christ with the Passover (*to pascha*) sacrifice. In Eph 5:2 Paul refers to the death of Christ with terminology reminiscent of accepted sacrifice in the Old Testament.¹ Christ "gave up himself on our behalf as an offering (*prophoran*) and a sacrifice (*thusian*)" which he describes as "an odor of sweet smell" (*osmēn euōdias*). Thus Paul also understands the death of Christ in terms of the Israelitish sacrifice, in actual sense replacing the old system (1 Cor 5:7).

The book of Hebrews, to a greater extent, addresses the typological nature of the Old Testament sacrifices and offerings which meet their antitype in the sacrifice of Jesus. In chap. 9:13, 14, the blood of the animal sacrifices is contrasted with the blood of Christ and He is presented as the unblemished and sufficient sacrifice.² In chap. 10, the old sacrifices are characterized as the shadow of the

¹In the Old Testament, an accepted burnt offering was often described as having a smell of sweet aroma. E.g., see Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18, 25, 41; Lev 1:9, 13, 17; 2:9; 4:31; Num 15:3, 7.

²Commenting on Heb 9:13, Donohue, 6, states: "And St. Paul would not tire of preaching the new sacrifice: Christ crucified; for redemption was in 'Christ Jesus whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood.' The blood of goats and heifers purified the flesh; the blood of Christ purifies the conscience."

antitypical sacrifice of Christ which, as such, caused the old sacrifices to cease.¹ Ps 40:6-8 is quoted in vss. 5-7 to show in the subsequent verses that Christ has fulfilled the Old Testament sacrifices "once for all" (vs. 10) and therefore no more sacrifices are needed. F. F. Bruce states with respect to the quotation of Ps 40:6-8 in Heb 10:5-7:

It is probable that the four terms [sacrifice, offering, burnt offering and sin offerings] which the psalmist uses for sacrifice are intended to cover all the main types of offering prescribed in the Levitical ritual. . . . The spiritual principles which underlay these types of sacrifice are fulfilled and transcended in the perfect self-offering of Christ.²

The apostle Paul, particularly, interpreted the Passover also as a type of the death of Jesus Christ. In 1 Cor 5:7, Paul states: "For Christ our Passover Lamb has been sacrificed."³ This statement underscores John the Baptist's introduction of Jesus as "the Lamb of God," definitely alluding to the Passover sacrifice. Since the Old Testament anticipated the sacrifice of the Servant of Yahweh to be vicarious and final (Isa 53), and the New Testament interprets only the death of Christ as ending the Old Testament sacrifices (Heb 10), then the event of Christ's death must be the event that would cause sacrifices and offerings to cease as mentioned in Dan 9:27.

¹Ringgren, 78, has remarked with reference to Heb 10:1 that "the sacrifices of the Old Testament were not yet the real sacrifice through which the sins of the world were to be effected; they were given in order to teach mankind something of the reality that God was going to reveal in Christ. Therefore, when this revelation had taken place, the sacrifices were superfluous. The final sacrifice had been offered."

²F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990), 240-41.

³NIV.

It is tenable then to conclude that the event that would happen in the midst of the seventieth week to cause the ceasing of sacrifice and offering was the cutting off of the Messiah mentioned in Dan 9:26b. Hasel has observed with regard to the ceasing of sacrifices at the death of the Messiah that "although the Jewish sacrifices did not cease with the death of Jesus Christ, the sacrifices offered after His death could no longer be regarded as legitimate and valid in God's sight (Heb 7:11-12; 8:13; 9:25: 10:8-9)."¹ Thus, once the Messiah was cut off, the sacrifices ceased to be efficacious and meaningful.

Chronologically, the Messiah is cut off specifically three and a half years after His baptism in A.D. 27, which takes us to the year A.D. 31.

The death of Jesus Christ has been dated variously to, among others,² even earlier than A.D. 27,³ and as late as A.D. 35⁴ and A.D. 36.⁵ Between these

¹Hasel, "Interpretations," 62.

²John Stewart, *When Did Our Lord Actually Live?* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1935), v, even posits A.D. 24.

³E.g., Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1921-3), 3:171; Charles King, "The Outlines of the New Testament Chronology," *CQR* 278 (1945): 145-47, 153.

⁴Kirsopp Lake, "Date of Herod's Marriage with Herodias and the Chronology of the Gospels," *Expositor* 4 (1912): 462-77.

⁵Nikos Kokkinos, "Crucifixion in A.D. 36: The Keystone for Dating the Birth of Jesus," *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 133-63.

extremes various dates that are defended by scholars include: A.D. 28.¹ A.D. 29.² A.D. 30.³ A.D. 31.⁴ A.D. 32.⁵ A.D. 33.⁶ and

The baptism of Jesus has been dated to A.D. 27.⁷ Thus the first line of investigation as the various dates for His death are considered is the length of His ministry. In this regard, the Gospel of John gives us a more complete chronology than the synoptics. The chronology of Jesus' ministry according to the Gospel of John is therefore followed. In John, three passover celebrations are mentioned after the baptism of Jesus (John 2:13; 6:4; 12:1). Since the baptism of Jesus is soon after the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist in the fall of A.D. 27.⁸ this

¹Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, Studia Judaica, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961), 175, n. 5.

²Alfred Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques* (Ceffonds: Loisy, 1907-8), 1:386-89; 2:490.

³Mauro, *The Chronology of the Bible* 119, 120; Madison, 149-63; Ruckstuhl, 6; Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. A. Ehrhardt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 11-13; A. T. Olmstead, *Jesus in the Light of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 278-81.

⁴*SDABC*, 5:252-54; Hasel, "Interpretations," 54.

⁵Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, 121-28; Ernst Bammel, "Philos tou Kaisaros." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1952): 205-10.

⁶Ogg, 244-77; Fotheringham, 142-62; Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 3-13; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 97-114.

⁷See p. 355.

⁸See p. 355.

indicates a duration of at least two and a half years.¹

However, John 4:35 and 5:1 seem to indicate that there is more than one year between the passover of John 2:13 and 6:4. In John 4:35, Jesus says: "Do you not say, 'There are yet four months, and *then* comes the harvest'? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white for harvest." This statement seems to be a comment by Jesus on an actual observation of His disciples regarding the harvest.² If this is true, then Jesus must have been in Samaria in January or February since "harvest in the plain of Mahneh, east of Shechem, would run from mid-May (barley) to mid-June (wheat)."³ If John 4:35 refers to an incident in January or February, then the feast mentioned in John 5:1 "would probably be Passover occurring in late March or early April."⁴ G. Ogg argues for

¹There are scholars who view Jesus' ministry as having a duration of one year, e.g., Johannes Belser, "Zur Hypothese von der einjährigen Wirksamkeit Jesu." *BZ* 1 (1903): 55-63, 160-74; idem, "Zur der Perikope von den Fünftausend." *BZ* 2 (1904): 154-76; Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times and Teaching*, trans. Herbert Danby (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), 259; Morris Gougel, *The Life of Jesus*, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), 233-52.

²For a detailed discussion supporting this view, see Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 56-59; *SDABC*, 5:947; Frederick Louis Godet, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 3d ed., trans. Timothy Dwight (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886), 1:435. For views that take the statement as a proverb, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John I-XII*, AB, vol. 29 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1966), 174; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John* (London: SPCK, 1956), 202; J. H. Bernard, *A Critical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John*, ed. A. H. McNeile (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 1:155.

³Brown, 174. Cf. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 57.

⁴Brown, 174.

the Feast of Tabernacles (October)¹ while F.-M. Braun argues for Pentecost (May/June).² However, since both Pentecost and Tabernacles come after April, any of these three major feasts coming after the Passover of John 2:13 would still put the next passover (John 6:4) in the second year. Thus, whichever of the three feasts which require the Hebrew men to go to Jerusalem, is referred to as the feast of John 5:1, it would still support the view that there are two years of Jesus' ministry between the Passover of John 2:31 and John 6:4. The duration of Jesus' ministry would then add up to a total of three and a half years.³

Since the baptism of Jesus in A.D. 27 is the earliest point to begin the ministry of Jesus, the duration of three and a half years makes dates before A.D. 30 too early for His crucifixion and those beyond A.D. 33 too late. To be more precise, three and a half years from A.D. 27 bring us to A.D. 31.

The second step in establishing the year of the crucifixion of Jesus is finding the day of the crucifixion. The Gospels indicate that the crucifixion of Jesus was Friday in the afternoon (Matt 27:57-62; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:31, 42).⁴ While the day of the crucifixion is Friday, the date has generated a lot of

¹Ogg, 298-300. So Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 59.

²F.-M. Braun, "In Spiritu et Veritate, I," *Revue Thomiste* 52 (1952): 263-65. So Brown, 206.

³Cf. Finegan, 442: "A total ministry of three years plus a number of months is indicated"; Matheny, 79.

⁴Cf. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1; Roger T. Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy to Determine the Chronology of the Passion," *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi

discussion caused by what seems to be an apparent discrepancy between the Passover days as given by the synoptics and the Gospel of John. The synoptics regard the Last Supper which occurred the night¹ before the crucifixion as the Passover (Matt 26:17, 20; Mark 14:12, 16, 17; Luke 22:7, 8, 13-15), whereas in John, the Passover is on the Friday night after the crucifixion.

This is not the place for a full discussion of the problem of the apparent discrepancy between the synoptics and John.² However, it may suffice to give a brief summary of the major proposals given for the solution to this problem.

It is held by some scholars that the synoptics' use of "Passover" meal is not in the narrow sense and that it may refer to a ceremonial meal taken before the strict Passover meal.³ This view has no textual evidence in support. The synoptics are consistent and insistent on their reference to the Last Supper as a Passover meal.

(Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 200; Colin J. Humphreys and W. G. Waddington, "Astronomy and the Date of the Crucifixion," *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 166; *SDABC*, 5:533, 534.

¹Matt 26:17, 20, 26, 34, 47; 27:1, 2, 31; Mark 14:12, 16, 17; Luke 22:7, 8, 13-15; John 13:2, 4, 30; 14:31; 18:1-3, 28; 19:16.

²For a detailed discussion of various arguments, see Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 198-205; *SDABC*, 5:532-37; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 65-90; G. R. Driver, "Two Problems in the New Testament," *JTS* 16 (1965): 327; Barrett, 39-41; Grace Amadon, "Ancient Jewish Calendation," *JBL* 61 (1942): 227-80.

³See Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*, trans. Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953-54), 172, 173; G. H. Box, "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist," *JTS* 3 (1902): 357-69.

even connecting it to the Feast of Unleavened Bread.¹ Others argue that Jesus, knowing that He would be killed during the Passover time, decided to have a lambless Passover in advance of the typical Passover meal.² While this suggestion seems plausible in that it agrees with John 13:1 and also has all four Gospels dating the Passover Friday to Nisan 14,³ it seems difficult to prove that the Last Supper was without lamb.⁴

Another view held by scholars is that the different Jewish sects celebrated the Passover on two successive days. The Pharisees and other conservative factions would have Nisan 14 fall on Thursday while the Boethusians or Sadducean party would have Nisan 14 on Friday during the year of crucifixion.⁵ S. Zeitlin has rejected this view, arguing that Tannaitic literature shows that the Sadducees out of fear followed the laws of the Pharisees.⁶

Annie Jaubert has proposed that the Last Supper was strictly a Passover

¹See especially Matt 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7.

²R. T. France, "Chronological Aspects of 'Gospel Harmony'," *Vox Evangelica* 16 (1986): 43-59; B. Reicke, *The New Testament Era* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 176; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1969), 183.

³See Humphreys and Waddington, 167.

⁴See Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 202.

⁵Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, 6 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1922-61), 2:850-53.

⁶Solomon Zeitlin, "The Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 51 (1932): 263-71; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.1.4.

meal except that Jesus and His disciples followed the Qumran reckoning. According to Jaubert, the Last Supper occurred on Tuesday evening and the crucifixion on Friday.¹ The problem with this view is that there is no record of Christ being sectarian. It is thus very doubtful that He would choose to follow a sectarian calendar.² Furthermore, the Gospels testify that Christ was arrested the same night that He had the Last Supper with the disciples and was crucified the next day.³ Thus the Last Supper could not have been held on Tuesday evening.⁴

The view that the sunrise-to-sunrise day reckoning was used by Galileans and Pharisees while Judeans and Sadducees used sunset-to-sunset day reckoning⁵ has been supported by Hoehner.⁶ This view suggests that Jesus and His disciples used the Galilean and Pharisaic sunrise-to-sunrise reckoning and thus had their Nisan 14 falling on Thursday while in the Judean-Sadducee system (sunset-to-sunset) Nisan 14 fell on Friday during the year of crucifixion. This view has been

¹Annie Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1957), 105-36. Ruckstuhl, 72-134, 138, 139, follows Jaubert.

²Cf. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM, 1959), 112-13.

³See Matt 26:30-49; 27:1; Mark 14: 26-46; 15:1; Luke 22; John 13-18.

⁴See also Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 200; Josef Blinzler, "Qumran-Kalendar und Passionchronologie," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 238-51; Finegan, 288, 289.

⁵See Morgenstern, "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, 64, 65; G. R. Driver, "Two Problems in the New Testament," 327.

⁶See Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 87-90. Cf. James Walther, "The Chronology of the Passion Week," *JBL* 67 (1958): 116.

challenged by N. Geldenhuys, who describes it as "mere guess-work."¹ The proponents of this view are still faced with the problem of which day to choose (Thursday, Nisan 14, or Friday, Nisan 14) in order to reckon the year of crucifixion.²

The view defended by J. H. Cohn endeavors to uphold the faithfulness of both the synoptic and the Johannine accounts. Cohn argues that there was a custom in the days of Jesus which allowed the pious Jews to legally celebrate the Passover meal on the evening preceding the killing of the Passover lamb. Jesus and His disciples then would have taken part in the feast on the evening before the Passover lamb slaying. In this case, Jesus would have eaten the Passover meal on Nisan 14 night and would have been crucified on Friday, Nisan 14 afternoon according to the sunset-to-sunset day reckoning.³

The present concern is, which day is Nisan 14? Paul's antitypical use of the crucifixion of Christ for the Passover lamb points to Friday, the day of the crucifixion, as the Passover, Nisan 14. In 1 Cor 5:7, Paul states: "For Christ our Passover also has been sacrificed."⁴ Paul here sees the crucifixion of Christ as the

¹Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1954), 655. So Madison, 655.

²Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 199, observes with regard to this view that "the fallacy here is that it would only have led to a difference in the dating of the night and not of day." See also idem, "The Day, Its Divisions and Its Limits, in Biblical Thought," *EvQ* 43 (1971): 221-27.

³See Joseph Hoffman Cohn, *A Passover Trilogy* (New York: American Board of Missions to the Jews, n.d.), 18; cf. Madison, 207, 208.

⁴NASB.

antitype of the Passover lamb sacrificed on Nisan 14, the Passover day. In order to fulfill this, it is implied that the antitypical sacrifice must have been sacrificed on the typical Passover day when the type was usually sacrificed.¹

Again, Paul in 1 Cor 15:20 declares: "But now Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who are asleep."² Once more Paul's reference to Christ as the first fruits of those who rise from the dead is "a clear analogy with the offering of the first fruits of barley in the temple, which occurred on Nisan 16."³

C. J. Humphreys and W. G. Waddington observe that "it is unlikely that Paul would have used this symbolism if it were inconsistent with the chronology."⁴

Apart from the affirmation of Paul that the crucifixion was on the Passover day (that is, Nisan 14), Rabbinic sources also confirm this view. In the Talmud it is indicated that "on the eve of Passover they hanged Yeshu."⁵ J. Jeremias, however, believes that this statement "does not refer to Jesus, but to a disciple of R. *Jehōshua ben Perahjā* (about B.C. 100), called Jesus."⁶ However, the apocryphal *Gospel of*

¹Cf. Humphreys and Waddington, 170, 171; Roy M. Allen, *Three Days in the Grave* (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1942), 80.

²NASB.

³*Ibid.*, 171.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Talmud, Sanhedrin, 43a.

⁶Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 5; cf. Sanh. 107b.

Peter affirms that the crucifixion was on Friday, Nisan 14.¹

Thus biblical and Rabbinic evidence support the view that the day of the crucifixion was Nisan 14, the day when the Passover lamb was killed. How does this relate to the A.D. 31 crucifixion as pointed to by the duration of Jesus' ministry and the date of His baptism?

Scholars have used astronomical calculations in their attempt to find the year of the crucifixion. Since the day of the crucifixion is known to be Friday, the attempt is to find a Friday which matches Nisan 14 or 15 in the years A.D. 30-34. It is then assumed that the year in which Nisan 14 coincides with Friday determines the year of crucifixion. However, while astronomical calculations are helpful, they do not, in this case, offer conclusive evidence. This is because there are no calendrical data available for either cross-checking or the specific practices of calendation. For instance, while it is known that the first-century Hebrew calendar was lunisolar, based upon visual observations of the appearing of the new moon,² it cannot be established which months missed the first day of the appearance of the moon due to bad weather and beclouded skies. This can result in a discrepancy between the scientific calculations and the practical reality. The reason is "if astronomical calculation shows that the new light could be seen, it does not

¹H. B. Swete, ed., *The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), III.5, p. 3. Swete remarks in his notes (p. 3) that "Peter follows St John's reckoning and makes the first day of Passover correspond with the Sabbath, and the Crucifixion precede it."

²See Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 190; Ruckstuhl, 2. 3; Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 10.

necessarily follow that it was actually seen, because its actual visibility depends upon factors which cannot now be reconstructed" ¹--factors like atmospheric changes cannot be taken into consideration by today's scientific calculation of ancient astronomical data. Of course, if the moon is not sighted on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, the next month is automatically started on what was to have been the thirty-first day.² Yet two days may be lost and could make a difference in the dates of that particular month as against scientifically calculated dates based on astronomy.

Furthermore, it is not known which specific years had intercalary months. Although as stated by R. Beckwith the formula for intercalation was: "A year may be intercalated on three grounds: on account of the premature state of the corn-crops; or that of the fruit trees; or the lateness of the *tekuphah*. On the basis of any two of these they may intercalate, but not one only."³ Thus, today's astronomical calculations cannot be relied upon to give a certain answer to the question of the year of the crucifixion.

Interpreters have, under these constraints, made suggestions based upon astronomical calculations. It has been suggested, using astronomical calculations, that the date of the crucifixion be the years A.D. 27, A.D. 30, A.D. 31, A.D. 33 and A.D. 34.⁴ Since the ministry of Jesus Christ started after the Passover A.D. 27,⁵

¹Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 11.

²Ruckstuhl, 3, n. 2.

³Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 192. Beckwith lists 11 more reasons for intercalation on p. 194.

⁴Cf. Madison, 155-57.

the year A.D. 27 cannot be considered for His crucifixion. Besides, some astronomical calculations determine Nisan 14 to have fallen on Thursday instead of Friday,¹ although it could be argued that the crescent of the new moon could have been sighted one day late.

Likewise, the Passover of A.D. 34 could not be Friday (actually it fell on a Tuesday or Wednesday) unless there was an insertion of an intercalary month.² However, since A.D. 34 was a sabbatical year, the Passover would not be preceded by a thirteenth month.³ Besides, A.D. 34 is too late since Jesus's ministry starts in late A.D. 27 and continues for a duration of three and a half years.⁴ We are thus left with the years A.D. 30, 31, and 33, which are the dates popularly posited by interpreters.

The Passover (Nisan 14) of A.D. 30 has been supposed to have fallen on Friday.⁵ Olmstead has concluded that only A.D. 30 can be viewed as the year of

⁵See p. 355.

¹See Fotheringham, 158; Finegan, 295; Humphreys and Waddington, 170; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 100; Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 11.

²See Fotheringham, 160; Finegan, 295; Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes of the Use of the Calendars and Astronomy," 197; Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 12.

³Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 197.

⁴See p. 370. Cf. Humphreys and Waddington, 170.

⁵Finegan, 294; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 100; Fotheringham, 159; Humphreys and Waddington, 171; Ruckstuhl, 4, 6; Madison, 160-62.

the crucifixion.¹ In the first place, since Jesus was baptized in the last quarter of A.D. 27 and the duration of His ministry was three and a half years, A.D. 30 does not fit the chronology of the ministry of Jesus Christ.² Furthermore, A.D. 30 has astronomical problems.³ J. Jeremias insists that Nisan 14 in A.D. 30 fell on Thursday.⁴ Recently this view has been affirmed by H. H. Goldstine's computerized calculations.⁵

The year A.D. 33 also has a chronological problem. It stretches the duration of the ministry of Christ from three and a half to five and a half years. Thus, to begin with, A.D. 33 does not fit chronologically as the year of the crucifixion.⁶ J. Fotheringham has observed that "if the fifteenth year of Tiberius is correct for the beginning of St. John the Baptist's ministry, A.D. 30 seems rather

¹A. T. Olmstead, "The Chronology of Jesus' Life." *ATR* 24 (1942): 4. So Smith B. Goodenow, *Bible Chronology Carefully Unfolded* (New York: Fleming R. Revell Co. 1896), 37; Herman von Soden, "Chronology," *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1899, ed., 1:799-843; Madison, 157-61.

²Cf. Fotheringham, 160; Humphreys and Waddington, 171; Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 102, 103.

³Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 100, 103.

⁴Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 12, 13.

⁵Herman H. Goldstine, *New and Full Moons, 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973), 86.

⁶Cf. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 12; Ruckstuhl, 5, 6; Madison, 161, 162; Goodenow, 37.

earlier than we expected. A.D. 33 rather later."¹ Furthermore, astronomical calculations that point to Nisan 14 as falling on Friday in A.D. 33 assume that (1) the Jewish calendar of the time of Jesus was calculated exactly the same way as the revised form which came into use centuries after the death of Christ;² and (2) that there was no intercalary month in A.D. 33.³ None of these assumptions holds. The calendar that prevailed during the time of Jesus was based on practical observation of the first crescent of the new moon and was not the same as the later revised Jewish calendar.

Again, it has been stated.

The possible Friday 14th in A.D. 33 would require Nisan to begin March 21, four days ahead of the earliest Nisan 1 of the Babylonian cycle in that period, and earlier than Elephantine papyri (5th century B.C.) would indicate for older Jewish practice. Hence the month beginning on March 21, A.D. 33, would be expected to be an Adar II.⁴

While the Jewish calendar during the time of Jesus could not be proven to be the same as its Babylonian counterpart, and a fifth-century B.C. Jewish practice may be too early to be the yardstick, an Adar II preceding the Passover of A.D. 33, even if a

¹Fotheringham, 160. In order for Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 97-105, to defend A.D. 30 as the year of the crucifixion, he has to suppose that the ministry of Christ began in "summer or autumn of A.D. 29."

²See *SDABC*, 5:252. Cf. Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 185-89.

³See Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 99, 100; Finegan, 294-96; Fotheringham, 160, 161.

⁴*SDABC*, 5:252.

remote possibility, cannot be ruled out.¹ If there was an intercalation, then Nisan 14 could not have been a Friday.² The possibility of not sighting the first crescent of the moon on time also cannot be ruled out. Thus Jeremias states that Nisan 14 could be either Friday, April 3rd, or Saturday, April 4th in A.D. 33. According to A. T. Olmstead, Nisan 14 fell on Thursday.³

Regarding the Passover of A.D. 31, R. Beckwith quotes Jeremias to have concluded that "the only possible year for the passion in which there is much likelihood that Nisan 14 can have been a Thursday, in accordance with the synoptic chronology, is A.D. 31."⁴ This assumes an intercalary month and a one-day delay of the sighting of the new moon due to poor visibility.⁵ Beckwith suggests a thirteenth month with a fixed length of thirty days.⁶ If this were the case, a delay of sighting for one day would put Nisan 14 on a Friday. There is also a possibility of a deliberate delay of a day between conjunction and Nisan 1 in order to make Nisan 15 coincide with the weekly Sabbath and the Nisan 16 offering of the wave

¹Cf. Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 193, n. 17.

²Ibid., 193.

³Olmstead, "The Chronology of Jesus' Life," 4.

⁴Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 189.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 197.

sheaf with "the day after the sabbath" (Lev 23:15, 16, NASB).¹

The greatest advantage that A.D. 31 has over the other dates and that makes it most favorable is that it has no chronological problems. It fits the chronology of the ministry of Christ while none of the other dates does.²

The Covenant Prince

In Dan 9:27a it is stated: "He shall make strong a covenant with the many for one week." In chapter 2 it was concluded that the antecedent of the "he," the covenant prince, is the Messiah of vs. 26b.³ If the Messiah of vs. 26, who is cut off, is the antecedent of the covenant prince of vs. 27, then the covenant Prince must be identified with the Messiah.

S. R. Driver is a Historical-Critical scholar who refers the covenant mentioned in Dan 9:27 to a so-called "covenant between Antiochus and apostate Jews."⁴ Interpreters taking this view are forced to take "prince" in Dan 9:26, which

¹*SDABC*, 5:257: "Among the Sadducees, of whom the leading priests were the chief representatives, some believed that "the morrow after the sabbath" (Lev. 23:15, 16) meant the morrow after the *weekly* Sabbath, not the festival sabbath."

²In this connection the statement of Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 13, that "astronomical calculation is therefore unable to furnish us with an unquestionable result" cautions against dependence on astronomical calculations to fix the date of the crucifixion of Christ; cf. Beckwith, "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy," 189. The balances tip towards the biblical data which, as has been shown, favor A.D. 31.

³See under "The Antecedent of the 'He' in Dan 9:27" in chap. 2, *supra*, pp. 293-95.

⁴S. R. Driver, *Book of Daniel*, 141. So Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Slotki, 79; Russell, *Daniel*, 190; Mickelson, 122; Towner, 144.

they refer to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as the antecedent of the "he" in Dan 9:27.¹ However, the view that "covenant" refers to the activity of Antiochus IV in the second century B.C. seems doubtful for a variety of syntactical, chronological, and historical reasons. First, even if we were to grant that "the prince" (Dan 9:26) refers to Antiochus IV, the antecedent of the "he" in Dan 9:27 does not seem to be "the prince" in vs. 26.² Goldingay, connecting "covenant" in Dan 9 with that of Dan 11, observes that "the covenant . . . could refer to the covenant between God and Israel referred to in 9:4, 11:22, 28, 30, 32."³ If Goldingay's observation is taken seriously, then the connection that other interpreters make between the "prince of the covenant" of Dan 11:22 and "the Messiah" of Dan 9: 26⁴ is completed by taking the "he" that makes strong a covenant in vs. 27a as the same person. This identification suggests that the prince of the covenant of Dan 9:27 cannot refer to Antiochus IV.

Second, it has been pointed out on the basis of historical information that Antiochus IV Epiphanes made no covenant with the Jews, as has been supposed according to 1 Macc 1:11-14.⁵

¹See S. R. Driver, *Book of Daniel*, 141; Hartman and Di Lella, 252; Mickelson, 3, 83, 122; Russell, *Daniel*, 189, 190; Towner, 144. It has been shown that "prince" in Dan 9:26 does not refer to Antiochus IV (see chap. 2, "Prince" under "*māšīach* and *nāgīd* in the Book of Daniel." supra, pp. 238-45).

²See chap. 2, "The Antecedent of the 'He' in Dan 9:27." supra, pp. 293-95.

³Goldingay, 262.

⁴E.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 252, 295; Porteous, 142, 166; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 226.

⁵Young, *Prophecy of Daniel*, 210. Cf. Charles, 24-50.

Third, if a durative view of the expression "middle of the week" were possible, which is necessary for Antiochus to make and break a covenant with the Jews, the activities of Antiochus IV lasted less than three and a half years according to 1 Macc 1:54 and 4:52. The activities of Antiochus do not fit the chronological requirements of the passage.

Chronologically, Antiochus IV appeared too early (2nd century B.C.) to fit the events of the last week of the "seventy weeks." Since the *terminus a quo* has been determined to be 457 B.C., the seventieth week should begin in A.D. 27 and end in A.D. 34.¹

Some interpreters identify the covenant prince with Antichrist or a future "Roman" ruler.² Once again the problem is that the "he" of Dan 9:27 is connected with "the prince" (Dan 9:26), a distant antecedent. This connection has been found to be unlikely.³ This interpretation is also based on the assumption of a gap between the sixty-nine weeks and the seventieth week. This assumption has been shown to run counter to the intention of the "seventy weeks" chronology.⁴

¹See under "*Terminus a Quo*," p. 317.

²E.g., McComiskey, 32, who also applies "Messiah" (vs. 26) to the Antichrist: Shunk, 238-40; West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy*, 67-71; Lang; 134-40; Gaebelein, 143-50.

³See chap. 2, pp. 293-95. Cf. Matheny, 103, who, though a Dispensationalist, has concluded: "Daniel 9:24-27 makes no reference to the Antichrist. Reference to two personalities that are directly opposite to one another is inconsistent both with the Hebrew grammar and with the overall context and intended meaning of the passage."

⁴See chap. 2, "Continuous versus Discontinuous Time Period," supra, pp. 133-38. Hasel, "Hebrew Masculine Plural," 19-21.

Furthermore, the time and consequences of the death of the Messiah (vs. 26b) are clarified in vs. 27c. d. Thus, the Messiah is cut off in the middle of the seventieth week, and by His death, He causes sacrifice and offering to cease.¹

Since it is the covenant prince who causes sacrifice and offering to cease, it follows that the Messiah who is cut off is identical with the covenant prince.

The structure of the passage also attests to the identification of the covenant prince with the Messiah of vs. 26b and the Messiah the Prince of vs. 25a.

A: 25a: *From the going forth of the word to restore and build Jerusalem until the Messiah, the Prince will be*

B: 25b: *seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.*

25c: It (Jerusalem) will be restored and built

25d: with square and decision-making, in troublous times.

B: 26a: *And after sixty-two weeks*

A: 26b: *the Messiah will be cut off, and no one for him.*

26c: And the city and the sanctuary, the people of the Prince who is coming will destroy.

26d: Its end will be with a flood

26e: And unto the end war, desolations are determined.

A: 27a: *And he will make strong a covenant with the many*

B: 27b: *for one week.*

B: 27c: *And in the middle of the week*

A: 27d: *he will cause sacrifice and offering to cease*

27e: and upon the wing of abomination (shall come) one who makes desolate.

27f: and until the determined end is poured on the one who makes desolate.

The structure shows that the weeks (B) are consistently associated with the activities

¹See under "Death of Messiah," pp. 358-67.

of the Messiah (A).¹ Since this association of the time elements with the Messianic activities is true for vs. 25 and 26, it is appropriate to expect that the covenant Prince who is connected with the weeks in vs. 27 is, likewise, identical with the Messiah. Thus the covenant Prince, like the Messiah of vs. 26, is to be identified with Jesus Christ.²

The Fall of Jerusalem

Dan 9:26b predicts: "The people of the prince who shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary."³ Archer interprets that "from the standpoint of history, this would be a clear reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus in A.D. 70."⁴ He is a good example of many others taking this view.

The destruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary seems to be directly related to the fate of the Messiah. In Dan 9:25, Jerusalem is restored and the Messiah appears. In vs. 26, the Messiah is "cut off" and both city and sanctuary are destroyed. The causal relationship between the death of the Messiah and the destruction of the city and the sanctuary is confirmed by the New Testament.

¹See Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9," 12; Maxwell, *God Cares*, 1: 217.

²E. P. Cachemaille, *The Seventy Weeks and the Messiah* (London: Chas. J. Thynne, 1918), 36, 37.

³NASB.

⁴Archer, 116. So Gurney, *God in Control*, 121-24. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 73, states: "Indeed as far as we are aware, all expositors agree that it foretells the exterminating judgment of God, which in due time was executed by Roman armies under Titus."

In Matt 21:33-46.¹ Jesus tells a parable to the Pharisees about how the prophets that have been sent to them had been killed, about the plot to kill Him and the inevitable consequences.² In the parable a landowner planted a garden and leased it to some farmers. At harvest time the landowner sent his servants to the farmers to collect his fruits. But the farmers beat the servants and killed one. Subsequent servants sent to the farmers were treated the same way. Then the landowner sent his own son, and the farmers killed him also. In vs. 40, the question is asked, "Therefore when the lord of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those farmers?"³ The answer in vs. 41 is, "He will utterly destroy them." This parable demonstrates the effect caused by the rejection and the killing of Jesus on the future of Jerusalem.⁴ Other passages in the New Testament which have the same

¹Same as Mark 12:1-12; Luke 20:9-19. Cf. Isa 5:1-7.

²Cf. Myron S. Augsburger, *Matthew*, The Communicator's Commentary, ed. Lloyd J. Ogilvie (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), 250, "The story focuses on their rejection of Jesus Himself, as the preceding parable had focused on their rejection of the messianic mission of John the Baptist."

³Randolph O. Yeager, *The Renaissance of the New Testament*, vol. 3 (Bowling Green, KY: Renaissance Press, 1978), 145, points out how "Jesus changed the term for owner from *oikodespotēs* (vs. 33) to *kurios* (vs. 40). He was Lord of the vineyard and He was about to demonstrate His sovereignty."

⁴A. W. Argyle, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary, ed. P. R. Ackroyd et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 164, has remarked: "The prophets had repeatedly foretold the destruction of the sinful nation. The readers of Matthew would naturally think of the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70." Also Augsburger, 250; C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943), 839-42; John P. Meier, *Matthew*, New Testament Message: A Biblical Theological Commentary, vol. 3, ed. W. Harrington and D. Senior (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1980), 243.

understanding include Matt 23:37, 3 and Luke 23:28-31.

The view that the destruction of Jerusalem is caused by the rejection of the Messiah by the people of Jerusalem is strengthened by the difference in terminology between "Messiah" and "prince" in vs. 26. The designation "prince" is used for His functioning as the one bringing judgment upon His rebelling people.¹

The question to be asked then is: "Since the destruction of Jerusalem actually happened in A.D. 70, does it fall within the seventy-weeks prophecy?" To this question, Boutflower replies: "I answer that the series of events, which led to the final overthrow in A.D. 70, began some years before that overthrow. Further, that in the true suitability of things it is most natural to look upon v. 26b as describing the judgment to be inflicted because of the great national crime foretold in v. 26a."²

The destruction of Jerusalem and the sanctuary may be viewed in the same terms as the cessation of sacrifice and offering (vs. 27b). The cessation of the sacrifice and offering of the Old Testament was, according to vs. 27, to occur with the death of the Messiah in the middle of the seventieth week. It is reported that when Christ died, the veil of the temple was torn, signifying the end of the efficacy

¹See "Prince" under "Messiah the Prince" in chap. 2, *supra*, pp. 240-27. Cf. Auberlen, 102: "In some respects *Ebrad's* view of the passage is even more plausible than Hofmann's (Hofmann refers the *Nagid* to the Messiah as King of the Gentiles, ruler of the world). He likewise refers the *Nagid* to Christ, in favour of which it may be adduced, that Christ Himself . . . designates the destruction of Jerusalem as His Messianic coming."

²Boutflower, 195.

of the sacrificial system. Yet the sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple continued, being meaningless since Christ's death, until the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. In terms of effect and meaning, the sacrificial system ceased to exist in its efficacy with the crucifixion of Christ in the middle of the seventieth week, A.D. 31.¹ In the same way, judgment was passed on the city, and it ceased to be the "holy city" (Dan 9:25) that it was supposed to be under the theocentric economy. It was doomed to destruction at the death of Jesus Christ in A.D. 31.² Based on these considerations, every predicted major event is fulfilled within the time of the "seventy weeks."³ or 490 years which began in 457 B.C. The ceasing of the sacrifices and offerings and the end of the "holy city" actually came about in A.D. 31 as the result of consequences of the rejection of the Messiah and His forced death in A.D. 31.⁴

The physical destruction as a consequence of judgment upon Jerusalem seems to parallel the physical destruction of the city as a consequence of an earlier rebellion against God at the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The physical destruction

¹Cf. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 217. Hengstenberg, 147, has observed that "in consequence of the murder of his son, the sacrificial rites ceased at the same time, so far as everything essential was concerned, since this depended entirely upon their being appointed and approved of God. The question, therefore, as to their being outwardly maintained for some time longer did not come into consideration at all. Their actual cessation was merely an outward proclamation of a decree which had already been carried into effect at the very moment of the Saviour's death."

²Matt 23:37. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 62.

³Ibid.

⁴Cf. Gurney, *God in Control*, 121.

seemed to have been delayed at the time Nebuchadnezzar took the city in 605 B.C.¹ The city had approximately nineteen years before it was destroyed in 586 B.C. At the final stage, it was granted about double the time of the initial period of time, thirty-six years, from A.D. 34 to 70, before the physical destruction came upon Jerusalem.

The physical destruction of Jerusalem was delayed until the rejection revealed in the continuing sacrificing as a means of securing forgiveness and atonement had reached its limit. This seems to be the emphasis of the last section of Dan 9:27. The last part of Dan 9:27 reads: *w^cal k'nap šiqqūsīm m'šōmēm w^cad kālāh w'neh'rāsāh tittak ^cal šōmēm.*

The LXX and Theodotion render *k'nap šiqqūsīm* with *to hieron bdelugma*.² These interpret *k'nap* as "temple." The Vulgate follows the LXX to render *in templo*. These renditions take *k'nap* as *haqqōdeš*.³ Symmachus and Syriac are the only versions that have the syntax of "wings."⁴ The major English versions render *k'nap* with "wing,"⁵ "overspreading (of abominations),"⁶ "the train (of these

¹Cf. Jer 25:8-11.

²Rahlfs, 925; Ziegler, 191.

³See BHS critical notes on Dan 9:27. However, it is difficult to derive *haqqōdeš* from *k'nap*. More so is the view that takes *k'nap* to be the "pinnacle" of the temple. See S. R. Driver, 142, n. 1; Charles, 251.

⁴Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 386.

⁵NKJV; RSV; NIV; JB; NJB; NASB.

abominations),"¹ and "in their place."² The last rendition involves an emendation of *w^cal k'nap* to *w^cal kannó*.³ This rendition is suggested by A. Kuenen and followed by Bevan and Montgomery.⁴ The text, however, does not have to be emended.⁵

Lexicographers define *k'nap* as "wing, skirt, extremity, end."⁶ "Flügel, Zipfel, Rand, Äusserstes."⁷ "wing, edge, extremity."⁸ "wing, skirt, outermost (edge)."⁹ "wing, extremity."¹⁰

⁶KJV. While this translation seems to follow "David Kimchi, who takes 'wings' as a figure for *spreading abroad, diffusion*,--'on account of the diffusion of abominations, men will be appalled,' such a metaphorical sense of the word is very improbable." See S. R. Driver, 142.

¹NEB, REB.

²NRSV.

³See BHS critical apparatus on Dan 9:27.

⁴See Bevan, 160; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 386. So Hartman and Di Lella, 240.

⁵The emendation is resorted to because (1) a Maccabean time interpretation is presupposed whereby Antiochus Epiphanes' desecration of the temple is envisioned (see e.g., Charles, 250-52; Bevan, 160); and (2) the translation of "wing of abomination" is seen as difficult (see e.g., Charles, 251; Goldingay, 230; Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 386, 387).

⁶KBL, 445.

⁷HAL, 463.

⁸HCL, 406.

⁹CHAL, 160.

¹⁰BDB, 489.

The term is used in the Bible to mean the "wings" of flying creatures¹ and figuratively to show the protection and deliverance of God.² It is also used to mean "skirt" or "garment."³ An important use of this term also is its use in the sense of the extremity, usually seen in connection with the "ends of the earth."⁴ or the "ends of a garment."⁵ In the pseudepigraphic book Sirach, this "extremity" sense of the term is found in the statement: "Give a meal-offering with a memorial and offer a fat sacrifice to the *utmost* of thy means."⁶ The sense is the extreme end, the point where something ends, where one can go no further. In this sense, *k'nap šiqqûsim* can be translated as "the end of abomination."⁷ This connotes the reaching of the limit of "abomination."

The next expression that has to be considered is *m'sômēm*. This *Polel* participle has been rendered "one who makes desolate,"⁸ "one who causes

¹E.g., Gen 1:21; 7:14.

²E.g., Exod 19:4; Deut 32:1.

³E.g., Zech 8:23.

⁴E.g., Isa 24:16.

⁵1 Sam 15:27.

⁶Sirach 38:11 in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 450.

⁷Cf. Auberlen, 105, 106, who, in harmony with this sense translates the phrase as "summit of abomination."

⁸NKJV; RSV; NASB.

desolation."¹ "the author of desolation."² "the perpetrator of desolation."³ "he shall make it desolate."⁴ "the disastrous (abomination)."⁵ and "the appalling (abomination)."⁶ All these interpretations, except JB and NJB, focus on a historical figure (the desolator) who comes at this point in time. Historical-Critical scholars generally assume that Antiochus Epiphanes is the "desolator,"⁷ while Futurist-Dispensationalists suppose a future Antichrist who will come towards the end of the world.⁸ However, there are problems with taking *m'sōmēm* as referring to a historical person.

First, as pointed out by Bevan, "neither *sōmēm* nor *m'sōmēm* ever means a 'desolator'."⁹ The LXX and Theodotion rendition of *erēmōsis* recognizes that the term must be interpreted as stative. The Syriac *hbōlā* used to render *m'sōmēm* is also "desolation." M. J. Farris has concluded that "the versions are significantly

¹NIV.

²NEB.

³REB.

⁴KJV.

⁵JB.

⁶NJB.

⁷See pp. 383-386.

⁸See pp. 384-386.

⁹Bevan, 161; cf. Farris, 360, 361. The comparative usage points to "desolation" instead of "desolator," e.g., Dan 8:13; 9:18; 26, 27a.

unanimous in rendering this term as 'desolation'.¹ Second, the preformative *mēm* is usually "used in substantives of location (for example, *midbār*, "range, steppe," *māqôm*, "place," *môšāb*, "assembly"), instrument terms (for example, *maplēah*, "key"), and abstractions (for example, *mišpāt*, "judgment")."² Thus the *mēm* prefix may preclude the reference of *m'sômēm* to a person. Third, the chronological inconsistencies in their own system when *m'sômēm* refers to Antiochus impede such a view. The *m'sômēm* event is a sequel to the activities of Dan 9:27a, that is, the first half of the seventieth week. Since Antiochus is, in their system, supposed to have come at the beginning of the seventieth week, he could not come again three and a half years later.

Thus *m'sômēm* cannot refer to "one who desolates/desolator" and since the context rules out its use as an instrument term, the choice is between "a place of desolation/a place which has been desolated" (location) and "desolation" (abstraction). However, the locative interpretation seems more plausible for several reasons. First, it balances with the "people and city" theme that runs through the passage. The actions of the people (that is the rejection of Christ and the continuing sacrificing by members of Jerusalem)³ are represented with *šiqqûsim* while the consequence falls on the city which is then described as *m'sômēm*.

Second, the parallelism between Dan 9:26 and vs. 27 indicates that

¹Farris, 360.

²Waltke and O'Connor, 90; cf. GHK, 236.

³Cf. Charles H. H. Wright, 228.

m'sômēm should be taken in the sense of a location. It has already been shown that there is a parallism between the first part of vs. 26 which deals with the death of Christ and the first part of vs. 27 which also deals with the Messiah's making strong the covenant and causing sacrifice and offering to cease by His sacrificial death.¹

The last portions of vss. 26 and 27 are also parallel, as shown below.

26b: And the city and the sanctuary, the people of the Prince who is coming will destroy. And its end will be with a flood.

26c: For at the end war, desolations are decreed.

27b: And with the end of the abominations will be a place of desolation.

27c: For at the end what has been decreed concerning desolation will be poured out.²

In vs. 26b the desolation of the city is caused by the people of the Prince.³ The city ends with a "flood." In vs. 27b, the same theme is found. The place of desolation is caused by abomination of the people of the Prince--that is, their rejection of Christ and their continuing to sacrifice, a ritual that had lost its purpose and meaning. Now it had become a symbol of unbelief.⁴ Thus the two passages give evidence of being in parallelism to each other.

In vs. 26c an explanation is given concerning the event of vs. 26b. The explanation is that war and desolations are decreed and those are what the city suffers in the end. Likewise, in vs. 27c an explanation is given concerning the event

¹See above, pp. 360-67.

²Author's translation. For 27c, cf. NEB; Shea, "Prophecy of Dan 9:24-27," 98.

³See above, pp. 238-45.

⁴See pp. 357-67.

of vs. 27b. Again, the explanation is that what has been decreed concerning desolation will be poured out on the city at the end. The two verses are thus parallel¹ and concern the fate of Jerusalem and how its desolation is caused by the rejection of Christ and the continuing sacrificing of animals, which is described as abomination, since the death of Christ had caused its efficacy and acceptability to cease.

Thus, put together, the physical destruction of Jerusalem comes at the end when the limit of the abominations has been reached.

The Termination of the Seventy Weeks

The *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks has been dated to 457 B.C.² Based on this date the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks," or 490 years, must be dated to A.D. 34. Various suggestions have been made towards the determination of whether and what event or events take place at the *terminus ad quem* of the 490 years.

Young has stated with regard to the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks that

the *terminus ad quem* of the 69 sevens is clearly stated, namely, an anointed one, a prince. No such *terminus ad quem*, however, is given for the 70 sevens themselves. It would seem, therefore, that the *terminus ad quem* was not

¹For linguistic parallelism, see Shea, "Prophecy of Dan 9:24-27," 97-99.

²See above, "Decree of Artaxerxes I to Ezra," under "*Terminus a Quo*," pp. 318-36.

regarded as possessing importance or significance. No important event is singled out as marking the termination.¹

In Young's view there is no event that marks the end of the Seventy Weeks. W. H. Shea has proposed that "an event of significance around this time is the stoning of Stephen recorded in the book of Acts."² Auberlen had stated long ago that the book of Acts "serves the same purpose in regard to the *terminus ad quem* as Ezra and Nehemiah serve for the *terminus a quo*" of the Seventy Weeks.³ Auberlen sees the stoning of Stephen, the first martyr, as terminating the time allotted to Jerusalem. Boutflower also supports the stoning of Stephen as the terminating point of the "seventy weeks,"⁴ stating,

So, then, as the angel tells Daniel, 'seventy weeks are determined upon thy people': *not* sixty-nine weeks and a half ending with the Crucifixion, but seventy weeks ending with the death of Stephen. This was to be the limit of Jerusalem's day of grace.⁵

R. M. Gurney has suggested that the event of Paul's commissioning from

¹Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 220.

²Shea, *Daniel and the Judgment*, 265. Cf. Hasel, "Interpretations," 53. Mauro, *The Seventy Weeks*, 110, who does not admit a specific event as ending the 70 weeks, observes: "In our opinion the prophecy does not call for a specific event to mark the end of the last week, though such there may have been, and quite possibly the death of Stephen was the event." Mauro's hesitancy to affirm the stoning of Stephen as terminating the "seventy weeks" rests on the uncertainty of the date of Stephen's death.

³Auberlen, 140.

⁴Boutflower, 197-98.

⁵*Ibid.*, 198. Cf. Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," 81, 82.

Christ "could well mark the end of the seventieth 'week'."¹

Shea has dated the stoning of Stephen to A.D. 34.² This dating is based upon the dating of the conversion of Paul to A.D. 34.³ If these calculations are correct, the stoning of Stephen in A.D. 34 happens at the end of the Seventy Weeks

¹Gurney, *God in Control*, 116. Hasel, "Interpretations," 54, views the conversion of Paul as a possibility.

²Dale Moody, "A New Chronology for the Life and Letters of Paul." in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. J. Vardaman and E. M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 224, dates the stoning of Stephen to A.D. 36. So Reicke, 192. The difference is the result of the dating of Paul's conversion. See next note.

³The basic difference between this calculation and the others is, naturally, the difference between their dating of the conversion of Paul, since the dating of the death of Stephen is dependent on that of the conversion of Paul. Shea, as well as Finegan, dates the conversion of Paul to A.D. 34, while others like Moody, 224, and Reicke, 192, date the same event to A.D. 36. They all, however, agree on dating Paul's journey to Corinth to A.D. 49. So does S. Dockx, "The First Missionary Voyage of Paul: Historical Reality or Literary Creation of Luke?" in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, 211. That puts the Jerusalem conference of Acts 15 in A.D. 48/49. The 14 years of Gal 2:1: "Fourteen years later I went to Jerusalem," is subtracted from A.D. 48/49, bringing the previous visit to A.D. 35/36. The difference that arises is whether to take the 3 years of Gal 1:18: "Then after 3 years, I went up to Jerusalem to get acquainted with Peter and stayed with him 15 days," as part of the 14 years or as prior to the 14. Shea takes it as prior to the event of Gal 2:1 and before the 14 years of Gal 2:1. The 3 years are thus subtracted from the A.D. 35/36 to come to the date of the conversion of Paul in A.D. 33/34.

The text seems to support the view that Paul did not go to Jerusalem until 3 years after his conversion (Gal 1:18). Gal 2:1 also indicates that the visit mentioned in 2:1 is 14 years after Paul was accepted by the apostles during his visit mentioned in 1:18. However, there is no consensus on the dating of Paul's conversion and a widely accepted date is yet to be established. It should be noted that inclusive counting is used.

of Dan 9:24-27. A series of events can be isolated as happening around A.D. 34.¹ The chronology of the *terminus a quo* (457 B.C.) fixes the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks at A.D. 34.

Summary

In this chapter we have engaged in an evaluation of the historical concerns of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27 at the levels of *terminus a quo*, interim events, and *terminus ad quem*. This study has evaluated various proposals and verified the key historical landmarks as demanded by the text and charted the chronological sequence of the passage which is in its nature uninterrupted, sequential, and continuous.

At the level of the *terminus a quo* it was noted that the decree of Cyrus which freed the exiles in 538/7 B.C. does not fulfill the chronological and historical specifications of Dan 9:25. The decree of Cyrus did not fulfill the "word" to restore Jerusalem to a politically organized society with self-governance. Neither did it include the physical building of Jerusalem as a city. The decree of Darius of 520 B.C. was a reactivation of the decree of Cyrus. Since it did not depart from the

¹Hasel, "Interpretations," 54, has stated: "The last half of the week comes to an end with (1) the death of Stephen (Acts 7:60), (2) the scattering of the Christians from Jerusalem (Acts 8:1), (3) the carrying of the gospel to the Gentiles (Acts 8), and possibly the conversion of Paul." Cf. J. Barton Payne, *The Imminent Appearing of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1962), 149-52. Aitkinson, 70, suggests that the 70 weeks end with Acts 10 when the Holy Spirit is poured on Gentiles.

terms of the latter in its import and design, it still does not match what Dan 9:25 demands.

The decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra in 457 B.C., among the decrees, fulfills the requirements of Dan 9:25 for the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. It restores Jerusalem in terms of political organization which allows self-governance. The power given to the leadership of this group was understood by the returnees to include the authority to build the city and its walls, which they started to do. Thus, the *terminus a quo* of the 490 years intended with the Seventy Weeks has been dated to 457 B.C., when the decree was promulgated to Ezra by Artaxerxes I.

The permission given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes I in 444 B.C. gave authority to continue the work that Ezra had already started. Since the work had already been started, this permission to continue prior work cannot be viewed as fulfilling the "word" and decree that gave the initial authority "to restore and to build Jerusalem." The permission has in focus the building of the walls, but does not address the restoration of Jerusalem as a political entity. That had been granted years before to Ezra.

At the level of interim events, the initial subdivision of the Seventy weeks is "seven weeks," or forty-nine years. It seems to be the chronological time span for the restoration and building of Jerusalem. By 408 B.C., the *terminus ad quem* of the initial subdivision of the Seventy Weeks arrived. The political restoration and the physical rebuilding of Jerusalem had been completed.

The second subdivision of the Seventy Weeks, that is, the "sixty-two

weeks." or 434 years, functions as the sequential and continuous connection between the restoration and the final subdivision of one week, the Messianic week. This sequence implies a continuous and uninterrupted period of Seventy Weeks, or 490 years of actual time. If interpreted differently, the sixty-two weeks become a chronological entity that is a misfit. The sixty-two weeks, therefore, extend chronologically from 408 B.C., the end of the first forty-nine years, to A.D. 27, the end of the "sixty-two weeks" of 434 years, which is also the end of the sixty-nine weeks and the beginning of the final Messianic week.

At the level of *terminus a quo*, the events of the seventieth week relate to the Messiah. The appearance of the Messiah terminates the sixty-ninth week and at the same time inaugurates the seventieth in A.D. 27. In the middle of the Messianic seventieth week, which starts in A.D. 27, the Messiah of Dan 9:26, who is the same as the Messiah, the Prince of vs. 25, is "cut off" in the middle of the week, that is, A.D. 31. In that year, with this crucifixion of the Messiah, the efficacy of the Old Testament "sacrifices and offerings" ended, Jerusalem ceased to be the holy city of the chosen people and the sentence of its doom was passed on it. The cessation of the "sacrifices and offerings" was signified by the tearing from top to bottom of the Temple veil. The doom of Jerusalem was sealed through the decision of the unfaithful in rejecting the Messiah. The historical figure who fits "the Messiah, the Prince" of Dan 9:25, the Messiah of vs. 26, the Prince of vs. 26, the covenant Prince of vs. 27, the One who causes "sacrifice and offering" to cease in the middle of the week, is the same individual, Jesus Christ.

As the Seventy Weeks, or 490 years, commence with the "word" to restore and to build Jerusalem given to Ezra in 457 B.C., so this prophetic time period allotted to "your people and your holy city" (Dan 9:25), "cut off" (vs. 24) for the covenant people Israel as a chronological sequence of time during which major historical events would take place, comes to an end 490 years later, in A.D. 34. Then the focus of time moves back to the larger picture of the entire world which is also within the purposes of the divine plan of redemption. Redemption and the Messianic Savior would come from Israel, but the focus of redemption is universal, encompassing a kingdom that would take in the whole earth (Dan 2:34, 35, 44, 45: 7:27) and the members of which consist of the faithful ones from everywhere. Israel is included in this universalism in the book of Daniel. All those who follow the Messiah belong to His Messianic kingdom.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has addressed itself to finding a better understanding of the basic issues involved in the chronology of the Seventy Weeks of Dan 9:24-27. In order to arrive at this understanding, this research has undertaken an investigation based on textual, linguistic, literary, grammatical-syntactical, structural, and contextual study of the major terms and expressions in Dan 9:24-27. It was anticipated that one chronological system to which this passage points would emerge.

Summary

The first chapter of this research surveyed the chronological interpretations of Dan 9:24-27 to provide the background of what had been done on the topic and to establish a backdrop to the main investigation. This survey has been done under the umbrella of two main categories, namely, continuous and non-continuous interpretations, which emerged out of previous work done on the chronology of Dan 9:24-27.

First, two main subgroups are delineated under the continuous chronological interpretations. These subgroups are "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in

Messianic Times (Historicism)," and "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times (Historical Criticism)."

"Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Messianic Times" are represented by Historical-Messianic interpreters. One identifying feature of the Historical-Messianic interpretation is the emphasis on "*continuity*, that is to say, the events prophetically foreshadowed in them (i.e., apocalyptic visions) are spread over a period reaching continuously from the time of the prophet down to the last event named in the prophecy."¹ Here the sequential and continuous flow of chronological time is essential.

Historical-Messianic interpreters view Dan 9:24-27 as a Messianic prophecy. These interpreters calculate the Seventy Weeks continuously and sequentially with normal calendar years taking the Seventy Weeks as 490 years. The *terminus a quo*, according to this interpretation, is generally considered as marked by the decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra, the priest,² in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I. The first sixty-nine weeks of the Seventy Weeks reach up to the appearance of the Messiah, while the seventieth week ends three and a half normal calendar years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. In this interpretation, Jesus Christ is the Messiah represented in the prophecy by the titles "Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25), "Messiah" (vs. 26a), and the "He" who makes strong the covenant (vs. 27).

This interpretation does not regard the *athnach* under *šib^cāh* (i.e., after the

¹Tanner. 4.

²Ezra 7:11-26.

words "seven weeks") as having a full disjunctive value. Thus, the first sixty-nine weeks are computed continuously and sequentially from the *terminus a quo* to the appearance of the "Messiah, the Prince."

The weightiest objection that the Historical-Messianic interpretation has encountered is that the decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra does not explicitly mention the building of the city. This issue became an important element in the body of this dissertation.

"Chronological Interpretations Terminating in Maccabean Times" are advanced and supported by Historical-Critical interpreters. A basic conviction of Historical-Critical scholars is the view that the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 is a *vaticinia ex eventu*.¹

While Historical-Critical scholars generally take the prophecy as non-Messianic, some deviate from the general attempt to compute the figures in Dan 9:24-27 (i.e., 7+62+1) into a single horizontal line of historical-chronological sequence. Such scholars do not follow the general view of computation. They posit that the Seventy Weeks were not meant to be computed with exact arithmetic chronological significance.² Among the reasons for this is the fact that the 490 years cannot be made to fit a strict sequence which concludes with Antiochus Epiphanes.

¹Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, 400; Collins, *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, 11, 92.

²E.g., Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees*, 95; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 257.

Historical-Critical interpreters, however, generally agree on a Maccabean time *terminus ad quem* while the *terminus a quo* is variously based on the Jeremicanic word of either Jer 25:2 or 29:10. They insist that the *athnach* under *šib^cāh* (i.e., after the words "seven weeks") is completely disjunctive, which brings the appearance of "Messiah, the Prince" at the end of the first seven weeks. The "Prince who shall come" (vs. 26b) is accordingly identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who is said to make a covenant with the Jews (vs. 27a).

The chronological interpretations terminating in Maccabean times have failed to achieve any chronological harmony based on the text of either Jeremiah or Daniel. The following are major problems that have emerged from Maccabean-based interpretations:

1. Diverse dates, such as 606, 605, 594, 586, and 587 B.C., are used by the Historical-Critical school for the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. They do not provide sufficient sequential time to fit a total of 490 years into their computation that terminates with Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Their appeal to supposed inaccuracies in the chronological data in Dan 9:24-27 does not seem to provide adequate solutions to the chronological problems of the Historical-Critical interpreters.

2. Textual issues that affect chronological determinations which called for clarifications include the following: (a) the attachment of the person designated "Messiah, the Prince" to the first seven weeks, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem over a period of sixty-two weeks (434 years), (b) the attribution of the destruction of the city of Dan 9 to the period of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who is not known to have

destroyed Jerusalem, and (c) the Seventy Weeks (vss. 26-27) do not seem to end with a restoration and purification of the temple as suggested by the Historical-Critical interpretation.

The next part of the historical survey of previous studies investigates noncontinuous interpretations under two main subgroups, namely, "Chronological Interpretations Terminating in the Future (Futurism)" and "Chronological Interpretations Using Parallel and Other Computations."

Chronological Interpretations Terminating in the Future are represented in contemporary literature by Futurist-Dispensationalist interpreters. "In the broad sense a 'dispensationalist' is anyone who acknowledges that there are distinctive epochs in God's government of the world."¹ The distinctive features of Dispensationalism may be listed as the presupposition of: (1) the literal fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies, (2) the necessity of clear distinction between Israel and the church, (3) the pretribulation rapture, (4) the nature of literalness in hermeneutics, and (5) the future fulfillment of the Messianic kingdom.²

Futurist-Dispensationalist interpretations, like Historicists, generally recognize the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 as Messianic. They also do not regard the *athnach* under *ših^c āh* as fully disjunctive. Thus, they compute the first sixty-nine

¹V. S. Poythress, *Understanding Dispensationalists* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), 10. Cf., Paul D. Feinberg, *Millennialism: The Two Major Views. The Premillennial and Amillennial Systems of Biblical Interpretation Analyzed and Compared*. 3d ed. (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980), 69; Lewis S. Chafer, *Dispensationalism* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Seminary Press, 1951), 9.

²Goss, 7-8.

weeks continuously and sequentially up to the appearance of the "Messiah, the Prince." In contradistinction to Historicists, however, Futurist-Dispensationalists put a gap between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks. The seventieth week is viewed as yet in the future. The reason for this is the late *terminus a quo*.

Futurist-Dispensationalists usually date the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, based on the conclusion that the permission given to Nehemiah fulfills the requirement of the decree mentioned in Dan 9:25. The title "Messiah, the Prince" is applied to Jesus Christ, whose appearance as Messiah is seen as fulfilled during the Triumphal Entry, dated to A.D. 30, 33, or 34 respectively. The "Prince who shall come" is the "little horn," the Antichrist, who comes at the beginning of the seventieth week to make a covenant with the Jews. The seventieth week ends with the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

The most important problems of the Futurist-Dispensationalist interpretation pertain to the textual and chronological issues relating to a gap between the sixty-ninth and the seventieth weeks. Other problems include the following:

1. The *terminus a quo* of 445/4 B.C. seems to be based on the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Hebrew term *hārūs* as "wall."
2. The dating of the appearance of "Messiah, the Prince" to the Triumphal Entry, which extends the time of the Messiah's coming beyond the *terminus ad quem* of the sixty-nine weeks.
3. The reference of the title "Prince who shall come" to a future Antichrist who is supposed to make a covenant with the Jews.

"Chronological Interpretations Using Parallel and Other Computations" are basically interpreters of the Historical-Critical school of interpretation who are unable to fit the figures of Dan 9:24-27 into a continuous and sequential time line in their system. To solve this major problem, they have resorted to either parallel or intercalary approaches to make the figures fit their Maccabean-time *terminus ad quem*.

Intercalary computations attempt to fit the Seventy Weeks into history by interpolating time intervals between the divisions of the "weeks" in Dan 9:24-27. On the other hand, the parallel approach, in order to squeeze all the time elements into the short time available with a Maccabean *terminus ad quem*, resorts to the shortening of the Seventy Weeks by making the first seven weeks run parallel with the first portion of the sixty-two weeks.

Among basic issues that have been raised by these approaches are the following: (1) the intercalary approach introduces gaps which are unjustified textually and chronologically, and (2) the parallel computations suggested shorten the 490 years to shorter predetermined lengths of time that are absent in the chronology of the text of Dan 9:24-27.

In addition to both continuous and noncontinuous chronological studies just summarized, this study also investigated nonchronological interpretations to make the survey complete. Nonchronological systems are mainly represented by symbolic interpreters who regard Dan 9:24-27 as divine prophecy but view the Seventy Weeks as representing some periods of time that are not 490 precise years of chronology.

Among basic issues in symbolic interpretations are the following: (1) symbolic interpretations are adopted as solutions to various chronological problems encountered by interpreters, and (2) symbolic interpretations are preferred because given *termini a quo* and *termini ad quem* are at variance with the objectives and stipulations of the text.

From my survey of chronological interpretations it became evident that there were neither intraschool nor interschool agreements regarding the interpretation of chronological data. The choices of historical events and personalities in fulfillment of the textual stipulations of the passage were found to be at variance with each other. Since the Danielic text could not be envisaged to be giving multifarious chronological systems or interpretations of the chronological data provided in Dan 9:24-27, an investigation of the chronological foundations of the passage became necessary in order (1) to evaluate the various positions and (2) to contribute to the resolution of the problems encountered.

In chapter 2 of this dissertation major terminological issues that affect chronology were investigated textually and contextually with the attempt to establish as firmly as possible chronological foundations needed to interpret the chronological data contained in the passage. As a background to the terminological investigation, the passage under consideration was analyzed. It became evident that there are definite links between the Prayer (Dan 9:3-19) and the Prophetic Revelation (Dan 9:20-27) which are essential in understanding the structure and the chronology.

Major expressions and terms were investigated such as: *šāḥu^cīm ših^cīm*.

nehtak, *dābār*, *l'hāsīb* w' *libnót*, *tāsūb* w' *nibn'tāh*, *r'hōb* w' *hārūs*, *māšiah*, *nāgīd*, and *b'rīt*.

The investigation of the usage of the term *šābūa*^c in the Hebrew Bible as well as ancient versions, Qumran materials, and Rabbinic sources indicated that *šābūa*^c has the meaning "week." Thus, the expression *šābu*^c *īm* *šib*^c *īm* must be translated "seventy weeks" and cannot mean "seventy sevens" or the like. The chronological meaning of *šābūa*^c, as demanded by the context, must be taken by the application of the "day-for-a-year" prophetic conversion scale to represent seven "years." Therefore, the "seventy weeks" of prophetic time represent a period of 490 years of historical time which must, according to the context, be computed continuously and sequentially. The "prophetic year" hypothesis used by Futurist-Dispensational interpreters, which shortens the Seventy Weeks to less than 490 years, could neither be contextually nor chronologically justified. It was also found that the use of the masculine plural form *šābu*^c *īm* indicates an intentional emphasis on the totality of the Seventy Weeks as a whole time unit instead of considering it as individual weeks which can be separated by gaps or time intervals.

It was found that the *hapax legomenon* *nehtak* in Dan 9:24 has the meaning of "cut off," as preserved in early nonbiblical Hebrew, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and later Hebrew. The singular form of *nehtak* used with the preceding plural *šābu*^c *īm* is an emphatic means to affirm that the expression "seventy weeks" is to be considered as a single unit of time which is chronologically continuous. The expression *nehtak* also functions within the literary, theological, and chronological relations between

Dan 8 and 9. It reveals a partitive chronological relationship between the "seventy weeks" of Dan 9 and the 2,300 evening[s] [and] morning[s] of Dan 8.

A very crucial and a major part of this investigation was to determine the characteristics of the Hebrew term *dābār*, which was found to be best rendered "word" and which delimits the *terminus a quo*. Contextually, the definition of the "word" was found to be dependent on the expressions *l'hāšīḇ w'libnōt*, *tāšūḇ w'nibnētāh*, *hōḇ w'hārūs* in Dan 9:25-27.

The investigation of the expression *l'hāšīḇ w'libnōt* showed that *l'hāšīḇ*, like the other *Hiph'il* infinitive forms of *šūḇ*, is never used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the reconstruction of a physical structure of a city. Where a city, land, or kingdom is the object of *l'hāšīḇ*, the reference is to the restoration of governance or ownership of the direct object to the indirect object. Thus, *l'hāšīḇ* could not be viewed as meaning "to rebuild," and less so as having an exegetical relationship with *w'libnōt*. Furthermore, the two infinitives are better not taken as hendiadys since they represent two separate major ideas. Instead, it was found that these infinitives, *l'hāšīḇ w'libnōt*, "to restore and to build," designate the political restoration which then is followed by the physical rebuilding of the city. The expression *tāšūḇ w'nibnētāh*, "it shall be restored and built," by parallelism and comparative usage, was seen to carry the same understanding as *l'hāšīḇ w'libnōt*. Thus, the "word" of Dan 9:25 is defined by *l'hāšīḇ w'libnōt*, "to restore and to build" and is effecting the political restoration of Jerusalem and a subsequent rebuilding of the city.

The definition of the "word" resulting from the analysis was further

confirmed by the investigation of the expression *r'hôb w'hārūs*. The term *r'hôb*, "square," which in the Old Testament was the venue for social activities and decision-making pertaining to governance and judgment, was the physical representation of freedom with self-governance. The term *hārūs*, which is never used to mean "wall" and is contextually not likely to be in the sense of "moat," refers, according to this study, to "decision-making," especially with regard to judgment. Thus *r'hôb w'hārūs*, "square and decision-making," would point to a "word" that would emphasize the restoration of Jerusalem to a political status, allowing self-governance and the right to decision-making based on the laws of the God of the returnees. Jerusalem, in the context of Dan 9:25, is used in the double sense of a community of people with political governance and a place of their own in which to live.

The investigations of the three expressions, "Messiah, the Prince" (vs. 25), "Messiah" (26a), and "Prince" (26b), dealing with personalities in the passage, led to the conclusion that they refer contextually and structurally to the same personality, the long-expected Messiah. The Messiah comes at the end of the sixty-ninth week since the *athnach* under the *sib^cāh* in Dan 9:25 was found not to possess a full disjunctive value. The natural meaning of the passage when the *athnach* is taken syntactically as not a full disjunctive, the structure of the passage, the thematic and terminological links between Dan 9:24-27 and the Servant Poem of Isa 52:13-53:12, the covenantal usage of the term *kārat* and the intrathematic correlations within the verses of the passage--all in their own way identify the personality terms, "Messiah,

the Prince," "Messiah," and "Prince," as referring to the same individual. This Messiah is also identified as the referent with the pronoun "He" in vs. 27a by both the syntax of the passage and the "Definite-Indefinite" relationship between vss. 25 and 26, on the one hand, and vs. 27 on the other.

In chapter 3, the historical-chronological correlates of the events stipulated in Dan 9:24-27 were investigated at three levels, namely, the *terminus a quo*, the interim events, and the *terminus ad quem*. This investigation assisted in establishing key chronological fixed points of time and thereby charting the chronological import of the passage.

Three "decrees" and the permission given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes I were examined in order to find which, according to both text and context, best fits the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. The first decree, the decree of Cyrus that set the exiles free in 538/7 B.C., was found to be deficient in satisfying the stipulations of the "word" in Dan 9:25. It did not restore Jerusalem as a political entity with the authority for self-governance, neither did it include the physical rebuilding of Jerusalem. Instead, it prepared the way and made possible the issuing of the decree that restored Jerusalem and thus made possible the physical rebuilding.

The second decree, which was that of Darius given in 520 B.C., did not go beyond the provisions of the decree of Cyrus. It was only a reactivation of the decree of Cyrus. Therefore, like the decree of Cyrus it could not meet the requirements of the decree mentioned in Dan 9:25. Thus, neither of these two decrees could be viewed as marking the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks.

Chronologically, the two decrees are too early to make it possible for the sixty-nine weeks to reach the Messiah to come, as the text maintains.

Based upon the examination of the third "decree," given to Ezra by Artaxerxes I in 457 B.C., it was found to fit best all criteria of the "word" specified in Dan 9:25. It marks the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks. It restores Jerusalem in terms of giving it a political organization, allowing for a theocentrically oriented self-government, and at the same time it empowers the returnees to rebuild the city and its walls. The best event, according to both text and context, that fulfills the characteristics of the *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks is, therefore, the decree of Artaxerxes I given in his seventh year to Ezra, the priest (Ezra 7:11-26). This decree is dated to 457 B.C. It emerged in this research as the best *terminus a quo* of the Seventy Weeks prophecy.

The permission given by Artaxerxes I to Nehemiah in 445/4 B.C. was found to be an authority to continue the work that Ezra, the priest, and his companions had already started about thirteen years before. The permission given to Nehemiah seemed to have been in the same relationship with the decree given to Ezra as the relationship between the decree of Darius and the decree of Cyrus. Furthermore, chronologically, the date of 445/5 B.C. is too late to fit the sixty-nine weeks (483 years) within the space between the *terminus a quo* and the appearance of the Messiah. The "prophetic year" hypothesis of Futurist-Dispensational interpreters could not be made to solve the chronological problems associated with this option.

At the level of interim events, it was found that the most plausible function

of the first "seven weeks," apart from starting from the *terminus a quo*, seemed to be the depiction of the time for the rebuilding of the city. Thus by 408 B.C., the *terminus ad quem* of the first "seven weeks," the rebuilding of Jerusalem, had been completed. The "sixty-two weeks" then functions only as a connection between the *terminus ad quem* of the "seven weeks" and the *terminus a quo* of the last "one week" (i.e., the seventieth week). The "sixty-two weeks," therefore, run from 408 B.C. to A.D. 27.

The seventieth week was the subject of investigation at the level of the *terminus ad quem* of the Seventy Weeks. At this level, it was found that the events of the seventieth week related to the Messiah. The appearance of the Messiah, Jesus Christ, is at the event of His anointing during His baptism at the end of the sixty-ninth week, A.D. 27, and thereby inaugurates the seventieth week. He is subsequently cut off in A.D. 31, the middle of the seventieth week, after three and a half years of ministry. The efficacy of the Old Testament sacrifices then ceases at the death of the Messiah, and the sentence of the doom of Jerusalem is passed. The seventieth week is found to terminate in A.D. 34.

Conclusions

Following the investigation on Dan 9:24-27, it has emerged that, in spite of the diverse chronological interpretations given to Dan 9:24-27 by various schools of interpretation, there is a definite chronological meaning to the passage that is consistent with both text and context. The legitimization of this understanding has been based on factors that have emanated from the careful textual, linguistic,

grammatical-syntactical, and contextual investigation of the biblical text of Dan 9:24-27.

Despite all claims to the contrary, the Daniel passage is Messianic. The personal titles given refer to the long-awaited Messiah. The corollary to this factor is that the chronology of this Messianic passage should reach to the Messianic age. That identifies the passage as a Messianic prophecy of unusual chronological precision.

Based upon the understanding of *dābār* that emerged from the extensive investigation of this expression and its contextually related terms, only one of the possible *termini a quo* would fit the stipulations of the text, that is, "to restore and build Jerusalem" (Dan 9:25). The only decree that was found to fit the *terminus a quo* is the decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra the priest in the seventh year of Artaxerxes mentioned in Ezra 7. This decree, which is dated to 457 B.C., is the only one that chronologically fits the stipulations of the Danielic text without lengthening or shortening the chronological figures given in the passage. Any other decree or event, apart from not fulfilling the requirements of the Danielic text regarding the "word" that goes forth at the beginning of the Seventy Weeks, if chosen as the *terminus a quo*, demands a lengthening or shortening of the chronological figures of Dan 9:24-27 or leads to symbolic and nonchronological interpretation. However, this would be contrary to the fully chronological intent of the text itself.

Since the expression *šābū^cīm šib^cīm*, Seventy Weeks, was found to

represent 490 years of historical time, it must be computed continuously. The period of the sixty-nine weeks spans the years 457 B.C. to A.D. 27. The last week then continues from A.D. 27 to A.D. 34. In the middle of the week, A.D. 31, the Messiah is cut off.

The analysis of the emerged factors, therefore, leads to the establishment of a textually standard chronology that may be charted as shown in Fig. 11.

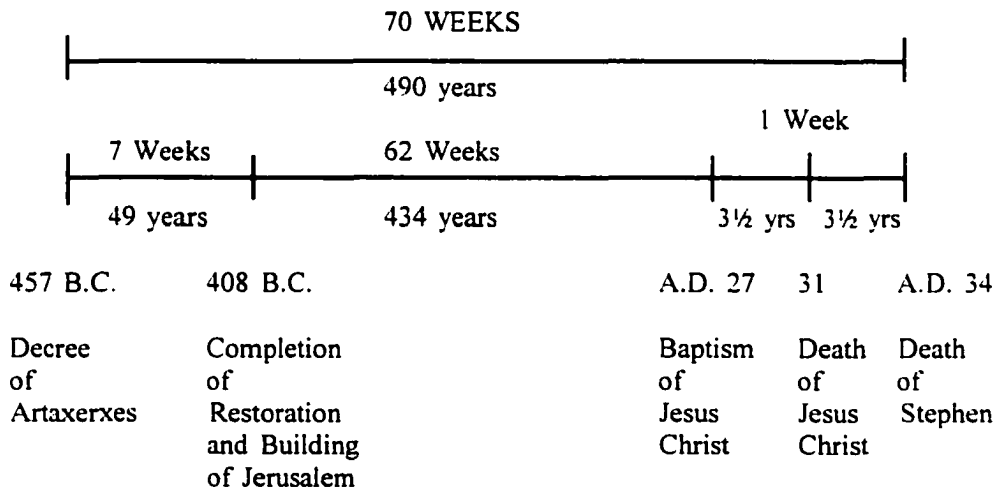


Fig. 11. Chronology of Dan 9:24-27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackroyd, Peter R. "Two Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 (1958): 3-27.
- _____. *The First Book of Samuel*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: The University Press, 1971.
- Adeney, Walter F. *Ezra and Nehemiah*. Minneapolis, MN: Klock and Klock, 1980.
- Adler, Cyrus. "History of Calendar." *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 1903. 3:498-501.
- Aitkinson, Basil F. C. *The Times of the Gentiles*. London: Protestant Truth Society. n.d.
- Aitkinson, Basil F. C. *The Times of the Gentiles*. London: Protestant Truth Society. n.d.
- Akers, Peter. *Introduction to Biblical Chronology*. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1856.
- Albright, W. F. "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology." *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 91 (1943): 39-44.
- _____. "Notes on Early Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphy." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 6 (1926): 75-102.
- _____. "The Hebrew Expression for 'Making a Covenant' in Pre-Israelite Documents." *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 121 (1951): 21, 22.
- _____. "Palestinian Inscriptions." *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Edited by James B. Pritchard, 3d ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Alden, Robert L. "*hātak*." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 1:334.

- Aldrich, Roy L. "Can the End of the Age Be Computed by the Year-Day Theory?" *Bibliotheca Sacra* 115 (1958): 159-165.
- Allen, Leslie C. *Ezekiel 20-48*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 29. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990.
- _____. *Psalms 101-150*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 21. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983.
- Allen, Roy M. *Three Days in the Grave*. New York, NY: Loizeaux Brothers, 1942.
- Allis, Oswald T. *Prophecy and the Church*. Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1945.
- Amadon, Grace. "Ancient Jewish Calendation." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 61 (1942): 227-80.
- _____. "The Crucifixion Calendar." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 (1944): 177-190.
- Anastos, M. V. "Porphyry's Attack on the Bible." In *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of H. Caplan*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1966. 433-434.
- Anderson, Sir Robert. *Daniel in the Critics' Den*. 3d ed. London: J. Nisbet, 1909; reprint Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1960.
- _____. *Unfulfilled Prophecy and "The Hope of the Church"*. London: Prophecy Investigation Society, 1917.
- _____. *The Coming Prince*. 10th ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1977.
- Anderson, Robert Andrew. *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. International Theological Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984.
- Anderson, Roy Allan. *Unfolding Daniel's Prophecies*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1975.
- Andrews, John N. *The Commandment to Restore and to Build Jerusalem*. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1865.
- Andrews, Samuel J. *The Life of Our Lord upon the Earth*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1954.

- Anstey, Martin. *The Romance of Bible Chronology*. 2 vols. New York: Marshall Brothers, 1913.
- Archer, Gleason C. "Modern Rationalism and the Book of Daniel." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 136 (1979): 129-147.
- _____. "Daniel." *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. 12 vols. Edited by Frank E. Gaebelein. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1985. 7:3-157.
- Argyle, A. W. *The Gospel According to Matthew*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Edited by P. R. Ackroyd et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Armstrong, W. P. "Chronology of the New Testament." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Rev. ed., 1939. 1:644-650.
- Armstrong, W. P., and J. Finegan. "Chronology of the New Testament." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Fully rev. ed., 1979. 1:686-693.
- Asmussen, Hans-Georg. *Daniel: Prophet oder Fälscher*. Heide: Veröffentlicht im eigenen Verlag des Verfassers, 1981.
- Auberlen, Carl August. *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1856.
- Augsburger, Myron S. *Matthew*. The Communicator's Commentary. Edited by Lloyd J. Ogilvie. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982.
- Austel, Hermann J. "shālah." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 2:927, 928.
- Baker, Alonzo L. *All the World under One Flag*. Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1930.
- Baker's Encyclopedia of the Bible*. 1988 ed. S.v. "Chronology, New Testament.": "Chronology, Old Testament."
- Baldwin, Joyce C. *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary*. Tyndale Old Testament Commentary. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1978.
- Bammel, Ernst. "Philos tou Kaisaros." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1952): 205-10.

- Barnes, Albert. *Daniel*. 2 vols. Notes on the Old Testament. London: Blackie & Son, 1853. Reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987.
- _____. *Notes, Critical, Illustrative, and Practical, on the Book of Daniel*. New York: R. Worthington, 1881.
- _____. *Psalms*, 3 vols. Notes on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950.
- Barrett, C. K. *The Gospel According to St. John*. London: SPCK, 1956.
- Bartelmus, R. "rāhab." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1990. 7:449-460.
- Barth, J. *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen insbesondere zum Hebräischen Lexicon*. Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1893.
- Batten, Loring W. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913.
- _____. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927.
- Bauer, H. "Die Klmw Inschrift aus Sendschirli." *Zeitschrift für deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft* 67 (1913): 648-91.
- _____. "Nachtrag zu meinem Aufsätze über die Klmw-Inschrift." *Zeitschrift für deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft* (1914): 227, 228.
- Bauer H., and P. Leander. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*. First printing 1922; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Ohlms, 1962.
- Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Translation and adaptation by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1957.
- Baumgartner, Walter. *Das Buch Daniel*. Giessen: Alfred Topelmann, 1926.
- _____. "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung." *Theologische Rundschau* 11 (1939): 59-83.
- Baxter, M. P. *Coming Wonders*. London: E. A. Taylor, 1867.

- Bayer, Edmund. *Danielstudien*. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912.
- Beauchamp, Paul. "Bulletin d'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament." *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 68 (1980): 591-612.
- Beck, D. M. "New Moon." *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962. 3:543-544.
- Beckwith, Roger T. "The Day, Its Divisions and Its Limits, in Biblical Thought." *Evangelical Quarterly* 43 (1971): 221-227.
- _____. "The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology." *Revue de Qumran* 10 (1980): 167-202.
- Beckwith, Roger T. "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming in Essene, Hellenistic, Pharaonic, Zealot and Early Christian Computation." *Revue de Qumran* 10 (1980): 521-542.
- _____. "Cautionary Notes on the Use of Calendars and Astronomy to Determine the Chronology of the Passion." *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*. Edited by Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. 183-205.
- Beegle, Dewey M. *Prophecy and Prediction*. Ann Arbor: Pryor Pettengill, 1978.
- Beek, Martinus A. *Das Danielbuch*. Leiden: J. Ginsberg, 1935.
- Begrich, J. "*b'rit*. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 60 (1944): 1-11.
- Belser, Johannes. "Zur Hypothese von der einjährigen Wirksamkeit Jesu." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1 (1903): 55-63, 160-174.
- _____. "Zur der Perikope von den Fünftausend." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 2 (1904): 154-76.
- Ben-Asher, Mordechai. "The Gender of Nouns in Biblical Hebrew." In *Semitics*. Vol. 6, *Miscellanea* 12, 1-14. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1978.
- Bentzen, Aage. *Daniel*. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1952.

- Berger, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- Bergmann, J. "zābhach." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980. 4:8-16.
- Bernard, J. H. *A Critical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John*. Edited by A. H. McNeile. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928.
- Bevan, A. A. *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1892.
- Bewer, Julius A. *The Book of Ezekiel*. 2 vols. Harper Annotated Bible Series. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.
- _____. *The Book of Daniel*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955.
- "Bible Chronology from Exodus to Exile." *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*. Edited by F. D. Nichol. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976. 2:124-164.
- Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. Bonafatio Fischer et al., eds. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969.
- Biblia Triglotta*. London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1907.
- Bickerman, E. J. "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946): 249-275.
- Black, Matthew. "The Zakir Stele." *In Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958. 242-250.
- Black, Matthew, and H. H. Rowley, eds. *Peale's Commentary on the Bible*. London: Thomas Nelson & Son, 1962.
- Blayney, B. *A Dissertation by Way of Inquiry into the True Import and Application of the Vision Related Daniel ix. ver. 20. to the End*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1775.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Ezra-Nehemiah*. Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1988.

- Blinzler, Josef. "Qumran-Kalendar und Passionchronologie." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958): 238-251.
- Boecker, Hans Jochen. *Law and the Administration of Justice in the Old Testament and Ancient East*. Translated by Jeremy Moiser. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980.
- Boice, James A. Montgomery. *Daniel: An Expositional Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989.
- Borger, R. "An Additional Remark on P. R. Ackroyd, JNES, XVII, 23-27." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959): 74.
- _____. *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*. Heft 1. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1963.
- Bosanquet, J. W. *Daniel's Prophecy of the 70 Weeks*. London: Rivingtons, 1836.
- _____. *Chronology of the Times of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah*. London: Longman's, 1848.
- _____. *Messiah the Prince or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869.
- Botterweck, G. Johannes, and Helmer Ringgren, eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1973-.
- _____. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974-.
- Boutflower, Charles. *In and Around the Book of Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1963.
- Box, G. H. "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist." *Journal of Theological Society* 3 (1902): 357-369.
- Boyce, M. *A History of Zoroastrianism*. Vol. 2. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982.
- Boyle, W. R. A. *The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel*. London: Rivingtons, 1863.
- Braun, F.-M. "In Spiritu et Veritate, I." *Revue Thomiste* 52 (1952): 263-65.

- Braverman, Jay. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978.
- Briggs, Charles Augustus, and Emilie G. Briggs. *The Book of Psalms: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*. 2 vols. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906.
- Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 3d ed. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1972.
- Bringmann, Klaus. *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa: Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.
- Brooks, Keith L. *Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation*. Los Angeles, CA: Bible Institute of Los Angeles, 1927.
- _____. *The Certain End*. Los Angeles, CA: American Prophetic League, 1942.
- Broom, W. H. *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel (Daniel (LX))*. London: W. H. Broom, 1861.
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs. *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1979.
- Brown, M. H. *The Sure Word of Prophecy: A Study of the Book of Daniel*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, n.d.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Gospel According to John I-XII*. Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1966.
- Browne, Henry. *Ordo Saeculorum: A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy Scriptures*. London: John W. Parker, 1844.
- Bruce, F. F. *New Testament History*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1969.
- _____. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990.
- Brueggemann, W. "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship." *Vetus Testamentum* 15 (1965): 1-15.

- Büchsel, F. "Iutron." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. 1964. 4:340-349.
- Budd, Philip J. *Numbers*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 5. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984.
- Buhl, F. *Gesenius' Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1949.
- Bullinger, E. W. *Number in Scripture*. 6th ed. London: Lamb, 1952.
- Bultema, Harry. *Commentary on Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1988.
- Bunch, Taylor G. "The Book of Daniel." Mimeographed. 1950.
- Burgmann, Hans. "Die vier Endzeitermine im Danielbuch." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 86 (1974): 543-550.
- Burton, Alfred H. *Hints on the Book of Daniel*. London: Alfred Holness, 1903.
- Burton, George. *A Supplement to the Essay upon the Numbers of Daniel and St. John*. London: W. Nicholl, 1768.
- Bush, George. *The Prophecies of Daniel*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844.
- Cachemaille, E. P. *The Seventy Weeks and the Messiah*. London: Chas. J. Thyme, 1918.
- Caird, G. B. "Chronology of the NT." *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1962. 1:599-607.
- Calvin, John. *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*. Translated by Thomas Myers. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1948.
- Campbell, David. *Illustrations of Prophecy; Particularly the Evening and Morning Visions of Daniel, and the Apocalyptic Visions of John*. Boston, MA: By the author, 1840.
- Camping, Robert E. *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel Nine*. Oakland, CA: Family Stations, 1979.

- Casey, P. M. "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Theological Studies* 27 (1976): 15-33.
- Cassuto, Umberto. "Il palazzo di Ba'al nella tavola II AB di Ras Shamra." *Orientalia* 7 (1938): 274, 275.
- _____. "The Palace of Baal." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 61 (1942): 51-56.
- Cazelles, H. "La mission d'Esdras." *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 113-140.
- Chafer, Lewis S. *Dispensationalism*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Seminary Press, 1951.
- Charles, R. H. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- _____. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.
- Chase, Irah. *Remarks on the Book of Daniel*. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1844.
- Cho, Paul Yonggi. "The End of Time." *Charisma* 16/7 (1991): 59-66.
- "Chronology of the Exile and Restoration." *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*. Edited by F. D. Nichol. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1976. 3:85-110.
- Clements, R. E. "yārēah, yerah." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1990. 6:355-362.
- Cobern, Camden M. *Ezekiel and Daniel*. Commentary on the Old Testament. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1901.
- Cohen, Gary G. "sheba^c, shib^câ." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 2:898-899.
- Cohn, Joseph Hoffman. *A Passover Trilogy*. New York: American Board of Missions to the Jews, n.d.
- Cohn, Leopold. *Daniel's Seventy Weeks*. New York: American Board of Missions to the Jews, n.d.

Collins, John J. "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 50-66.

_____. *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*. Missoula, MO: Scholars Press, 1977.

_____. *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees, with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre*. Old Testament Message 16. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981.

_____. *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1984.

_____. *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature. Vol. 20. Grand Rapids, MI.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984.

Collins, T. "The Kilamuwa Inscription--A Phoenician Poem." *Welt des Orients* 6 (1971): 183-88.

Cooke, G. A. *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

_____. *The Book of Ezekiel*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936.

Cooper, David L. *Messiah: His First Coming Scheduled*. Los Angeles, CA: Biblical Research Society, 1939.

_____. *The 70 Weeks of Daniel*. Los Angeles, CA: Biblical Research Society, 1941.

Coppens, J. "Le Fils d'homme daniélique et les relectures de Dan VII, 13, dans les apocryphes et les écrits du Nouveau Testament," *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 37 (1961): 5-42.

_____. "Le messianisme royal." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 90 (1968): 30-49.

_____. "La vision daniélique du Fils d'homme." *Vetus Testamentum* (1969): 171-82.

Coppes, Leonard J. "yôm." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:370, 371.

- _____. "hāras." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:326.
- Cornill, Carl Heinrich. "Die siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels." *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen* 2 (1889): 1-32.
- Cottrell, Roy Franklin. *Tomorrow in Prophecy*. Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assoc., 1942.
- Cowles, Henry. *Ezekiel and Daniel*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868.
- Cowley, A. E. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
- Cox, F. A. *Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel*. New York: C. C. P. Crosby, 1836.
- Craven, Toni. *Ezekiel, Daniel*. Colledgeville Bible Commentary. Old Testament 16. Colledgeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986.
- Croke, Brian. "Porphyry's Anti-Christian Chronology." *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1983): 168-185.
- Cullmann, Oscar. *The Christology of the New Testament*. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1963.
- Culver, Robert Duncan. "Basis for the Premillennial Interpretation of the Book of Daniel." Th.D. dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1952.
- _____. *Daniel: His Life and Times*. New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1954.
- _____. *Daniel and the Latter Days*. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1954.
- _____. *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*. Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 1980.
- Cumming, J. *Prophetic Studies; or Lectures on the Book of Daniel*. London: Virtue, Hall, and Virtue, 1851.
- D'Enviu, J. Fabre. *Le Livre du Prophète Daniel*. 2 vols. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1888.

- Dahood, Mitchell. *Psalms II*. Anchor Bible. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1968.
- Darby, John Nelson. "Are There Two Half-Weeks in the Apocalypse?" *The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby*. Edited by William Kelley. London: G. Moorish, n.d.
- _____. *Studies on the Book of Daniel*. 3d ed. London: John B. Bateman, 1864.
- Davidson, Benjamin. *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1848.
- Davidson, Robert. *Jeremiah*. 2 vols. The Daily Study Bible. Edited by John C. L. Gibson. Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1985.
- Davidson, Samuel. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1862.
- Davies, Philip R. *The Damascus Covenant*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982.
- _____. *Daniel*. Old Testament Guides. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.
- Davis, Arthur. *The Hebrew Accents of the Twenty-one Books of the Bible*. London: Myers, 1900.
- Davis, William C. *The Millennium, or a Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist*. Salisbury, NC: Coupe and Crider, 1811.
- De Haan, M. R. *Daniel the Prophet*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1947.
- De St. Dalmas, H. G. Emeric. *The Time of the End and the "Weeks" of Daniel*. London: Chas. J. Thynne, 1917.
- De Vaux, Roland. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. 2 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965.
- De Vries, S. J. *The Achievements of Biblical Religion*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.
- _____. "Calendar." *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1962. 1:483-488.

- Dean, David A. "[William] Miller's Argumentation for the 1843 Date." *Henceforth* 8 (1980): 98-107.
- Deane, H. *Daniel*. An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers. Edited by Charles John Ellicott. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., n.d.
- _____. *Daniel: His Life and Times*. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1888.
- Delcor, M. *Le Livre de Daniel*. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie Editeurs, 1971.
- _____. "ml²." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni. 2 vols. München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984. 1:897-900.
- Delcor, M., and E. Jenni. "šlh." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984. 2:909-916.
- Delitzsch, Franz. *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*. Translated by James Martin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867.
- _____. *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896.
- _____. *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*. 3 vols. Translated by Francis Bolton. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959.
- Dennett, Edward. *Daniel the Prophet and the Times of the Gentiles*. London: G. Morrish, 1919.
- Desprez, Philip S. *Daniel and John*. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878.
- Dexinger, Ferdinand. *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme*. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969.
- Dockx, S. "The First Missionary Voyage of Paul: Historical Reality or Literary Creation of Luke?" In *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. J. Vardaman and E. M. Yamauchi, 209-221. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- Donner, H., and W. Röllig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964-68.

- Donohue, John J. "Sin and Sacrifices: Reflections on Leviticus." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 141 (1959): 6-11.
- Doukhan, Jacques. "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 17 (1979): 1-22.
- _____. *Drinking at the Sources*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assoc., 1981.
- _____. *Daniel: The Vision of the End*. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987.
- _____. *Le soupir de la terre*. Dammarie les Lys: Vie et Santé, 1993.
- Down, Kendall K. *Daniel*. Grantham: Stanborough Press, 1991.
- Driver, G. R. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Old Testament Studies 3. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956.
- _____. *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- _____. "Sacred Numbers and Round Figures." In *Promise and Fulfilment. Essays Presented to S. H. Hooke*, ed. F. F. Bruce, 62-90. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963.
- _____. "Two Problems in the New Testament." *Journal of Theological Society* 16 (1965): 327-337.
- Driver, S. R. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.
- _____. *The Book of Daniel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- _____. *The Book of Genesis*. London: Methuen, 1943.
- Dummelow, J. R., ed. *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1909.
- Dunand, M. "Encore la stèle de Yehavmilk roi de Byblos." *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 5 (1941): 57-85.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. "L'Ostracon Araméen d'Assour." *Syria* 24 (1944-45): 31.

- Dupont-Sommer, A. "L'inscription de Yehawmilk, roi de Byblos." 3 (1950): 35-44.
- _____. *Les Écrits Esséniens Découverts près de la Mer Morte*. Paris: Payot, 1959.
- Easton, B. S. "Gate." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Fully rev. ed.. 1979. 2:408.
- Efird, James M. *Daniel and Revelation*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978.
- Ehrlich, Ernst Ludwig. *A Concise History of Israel*. Translated by James Barr. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Eichrodt, Walther. "Covenant and Law." *Interpretation* 20 (1966): 302-21.
- _____. *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. Translated by Cosslett Quin. London: SCM Press, 1970.
- Elliot, E. B. *Horae Apocalypticæ, or A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical, Including Also an Examination of the Chief Prophecies of Daniel*. 4 vols. London: Seely, 1847.
- Ellison, H. L. "The Importance of Ezra." *Evangelical Quarterly* 53 (1981): 48-53.
- Emerton, J. A. "Did Ezra Go to Jerusalem in 428 B.C.?" *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1966): 1-19.
- Erman, A., and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926.
- Evans, J. Ellwood. "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel." Th.M. thesis, Evangelical Theological College. Dallas, TX, 1936.
- Even-Shoshan, Abraham, ed. *A New Concordance of the Bible*. Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sefer" Publishing House, 1989.
- Ewald, Heinrich. *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1868. English Translation: *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*. 5 vols. Translated by J. F. Smith. London: Williams and Norgate, 1875-1881.
- _____. *The History of Israel*. Translated by J. Estlin Carpenter. 8 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869-1886.

- Faber, George Stanley. *A Dissertation on the Prophecies*. 2 vols. London: F. C. and J. Rivington. 1807.
- _____. *The Sacred Calender of Prophecy*. 3 vols. London: F. C. and J. Rivington. 1828.
- Falk, Z. W. "Hebrew Legal Terms: III." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14 (1969): 39-44.
- Farrar, F. W. *The Book of Daniel*. Cincinnati, OH: Jennings and Graham. 1900.
- Farris, Michael Herbert. "The Formative Interpretations of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto (Canada), 1990.
- Faultstich, E. W. *History, Harmony and Daniel: A New Computerized Evaluation*. Spencer, IA.: Chronology Books. 1988.
- Feinberg, Charles L. *Millennialism: The Two Major Views. The Premillennial and Amillennial Systems of Biblical Interpretation Analyzed and Compared*. 3d ed. Chicago, IL: Moody Press. 1980.
- _____. "Jeremiah." *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House. 1986. 6: 357-691.
- Feinberg, Paul D. *Millennialism: The Two Major Views. The Premillennial and Amillennial Systems of Biblical Interpretation Analyzed and Compared*. 3d ed. Chicago, IL: Moody Press. 1980.
- _____. "An Exegetical and Theological Study of Daniel 9:24-27." In *Tradition and Testament: Essays in Honor of Charles Lee Feinberg*, ed. John S. Feinberg and Paul D. Feinberg, 191-195. Chicago, IL: Moody Press. 1981.
- Fensham, F. C. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982.
- Ferch, Arthur J. "The Book of Daniel and the 'Maccabean Thesis'." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 21 (1983): 129-141.
- _____. "Commencement Date for the Seventy Week Prophecy." In *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook. Daniel and Revelation Series. 3:64-74. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute. 1986.

- Ferch, Arthur J. *Daniel on Solid Ground*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1988.
- Ferguson, Sinclair B. *Daniel*. The Communicator's Commentary. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988.
- Ferris, A. J. *Daniel's Seventieth Week or the Years 1951 to 1958 in Prophetic Chronology*. London: Ferris, 1951.
- Février, J. G. "La grande inscription dédicatoire de Mactar." *Semitica* 6 (1956): 15-31.
- Fewell, Danna Nolan. *Circle of Sovereignty*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament series, no. 72. Edited by David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1988.
- Figulla, H. H., ed. *Ur Excavations: Texts IV*. London: By Order of the Trustees of the Two Museums, 1949.
- Finegan, Jack. *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- Fingel, Asher. "The Book of Daniel: Its Significance and Meaning." *Dor le Dor* 11 (1983): 181-188.
- Fitzmeyer, Joseph A. "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967): 25-41.
- Fohrer, Georg, and E. Lohse. "Siōn, Ierusalēm, Ierosoluma, Ierosolomitēs." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich and G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971. 7:292-338.
- Folsom, Nathaniel Smith. *Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel*. Boston, MA: Croker and Brewster, 1842.
- Ford, Desmond. *Daniel*. Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1978.
- Fotheringham, J. K. "The Evidence of Astronomy and Technical Chronology for the Date of the Crucifixion." *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1934): 146-162.
- Fraidl, F. *Die Exegese der siebenzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit*. Graz: Leuschner, 1883.
- France, R. T. *Jesus and the Old Testament*. London: Tyndale Press, 1971.

- France, R. T. "Chronological Aspects of 'Gospel Harmony'." *Vox Evangelica* 16 (1986): 43-59.
- Francisco, Clyde T. "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel." *Review and Expositor* 57 (1960): 126-137.
- Freedman, David N., and M. B. Cohen. "The Masoretes as Exegetes: Selected Examples." *1972 and 1973 Proceedings, International Organization for Masoretic Studies*. Masoretic Studies 1. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974. 35-46.
- Freedman, David N. "Divine Commitment and Human Obligation." *Interpretation* 18 (1964): 419-431.
- Freedman, D. N., and J. R. Lundbom. "hāras, hārūs, hārīs." *Theological Dictionary of the Old*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986. 5:216-220.
- Frere, James Hatley. *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John. Showing that All the Prophetic Writings Are Formed upon One Plan*. London: J. Hatchard, 1815.
- Friedrich, J. "Kleinigkeiten zum Phönizischen, Punischen und Numidischen." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 114 (1964): 225-231.
- _____. "Zu der altaramäischen Stele des ZKR von Hamat." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21 (1966): 83.
- Friedländer, Michael. "Calendar." *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 1903 ed. 3:501-508.
- Froom, LeRoy Edwin. *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*. 4 vols. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1948.
- Fuerst, Julius. *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. Translated by Samuel Davidson. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1867.
- Fuller, J. M. *Daniel*. The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version with an Explanation and Critical Commentary. London: John Murray, 1900.
- Fuller, R. H. *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1965.
- Gaebelein, Arno C. *The Prophet Daniel*. New York: Publication Office "Our Hope," 1911.

- Galling, K. *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1964.
- Gammie, John G. "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 191-204.
- _____. *Daniel*. Knox Preaching Guides. Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1983.
- Garbani, G. "L'iscrizione de Yehawmilk." *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 37 (1977): 403-408.
- Gaster, Theodor H. "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 93 (1944): 20-23.
- _____. "A King without a Castle--Baal's Appeal to Asherat." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 101 (1946): 21-30.
- Geldenhuis, Norval. *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1954.
- Gerhardt, O. "Wann sollte der Messias kommen?" *Forschung und Fortschritte* 11 (1935): 8-9.
- Gerleman, G. "dābār." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971. 1:433-443.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard. "Covenant and Commandment." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 84 (1965): 38-51.
- Gervitz, S. "West Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law." *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (1961): 137-158.
- Gesenius, F. W. *Hebrew Grammar*. Rev. by E. Kautzch. 2d English ed. Edited and translated by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- _____. *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. Translated by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979.
- Gibson, John C. L. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- _____. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977.

- Gilbert, M. "La Prière de Daniel Dn. 9:4-19." *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 3 (1972): 284-310.
- Gilchrist, Paul R. "yāsā[?]." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, et al. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 1:393, 394.
- Gill, John. *An Exposition of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia, PA: William W. Woodward, 1819.
- Gilmore, George W. "Hebrew Conceptions of the Moon." *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. 1910. 7:492-494.
- Ginsberg, H. Louis. *Studies in Daniel*. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948.
- _____. "The Composition of the Book of Daniel." *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 246-275.
- _____. "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. James B. Pritchard. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Girdlestone, Robert B. *Synonyms of the Old Testament*. 3d edition. Edited by D. R. White. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1983.
- Girdlestone, William. *Observations on the Visions of Daniel and Part of the Revelation of St. John*. Oxford: J. Parker, 1820.
- _____. *The Grammar of Prophecy*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1955.
- Glare, P. G. W., ed. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Godet, Frederick Louis. *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. 3d ed. Translated by Timothy Dwight. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.
- Goetze, Albrecht. "The Tenses of Ugaritic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (1938): 266-309.
- _____. "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1944): 43-46.
- Goitein, S. D. "The Title and the Office of the Nagid, a Re-examination." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 53 (1962): 93-119.

- Goldingay, John E. "The Book of Daniel: Three Issues." *Themelios* 2 (1977): 45-49.
- _____. *Daniel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989.
- Goldstine, Herman H. *New and Full Moons, 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973.
- Goldwurm, Hersh. *Daniel*. 2d ed. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1979, 1980.
- Gonzalez, Jorge. *Daniel: A Tract for Troubled Times*. New York: Mission Education and Cultivation Program Department, 1985.
- Good, Edwin M. "Hosea 5:8-6:6: An Aternative to Alt." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 85 (1966): 273-286.
- _____. "Apocalyptic as Comedy: The Book of Daniel." *Semeia* 32 (1984): 41-70.
- Goodenow, Smith B. *Bible Chronology Carefully Unfolded*. New York: Fleming R. Revell Co., 1896.
- Gordis, Robert. "The Heptad as an Element of Biblical and Rabbinic Style." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 62 (1943): 17-26.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. *Ugaritic Manual*. Analecta Orientalia, no. 35. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955.
- _____. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Analecta Orientalia, no. 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
- Goss, Glenn Richard. "The Chronological Problems of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1966.
- Gougel, Morris. *The Life of Jesus*. Translated by Olive Wyon. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933.
- Gowan, D. E. "The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic." In *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honour of J. Coert Rylaarsdam*, ed. Arthur L. Merrill and Thomas W. Overholt. Pittsburg, PA: Pickwick Press, 1977.
- Grabbe, Lester L. "Chronography in Hellenistic Jewish Historiography." *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers*. 2 vols. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979. 2:43-68.

- Grabbe, Lester L. "Maccabean Chronology: 167-164 or 168-165 BCE." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110 (1991): 59-74.
- Graetz, H. "Beiträge zur Sach- und Wörtererklärung des Buches Daniel." *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 20 (1871): 339-352; 385-406; 433-449.
- Grau, Jose. *Las Profecias de Daniel*. Barcelona: Ediciones Evangelicas Europeas, 1977.
- Gray, George Buchanan. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903.
- Greenberg, Moshe. *Ezekiel, 1-20*. Anchor Bible 22. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- Greenspahn, Frederick E. *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*. SBL Dissertation Series, no. 74. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984.
- Grelot, Pierre. "Soixante-dix semaines d'années." *Biblica* 50 (1969): 169-186.
- Gressmann, Hugo. *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926-27.
- Grether, O. *Name und Wort Gottes im AT*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Vol. 64. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1934.
- Groningen, Gerard van. *Messianic Revelation in the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990.
- Gruenthaner, Michael J. "The Seventy Weeks." *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 (1939): 44-54.
- Guinness, H. Grattan. *The Divine Programme of the World's History*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889.
- _____. *History Unveiling Prophecy or Time as an Interpreter*. London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1905.
- Guinness, H. Grattan. *Light for the Last Days*. Edited by E. P. Cachmaille. Rev. ed. London: Morgan & Scott, 1917.
- Gundry, Robert H. *The Church and the Tribulation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1973.

- Gurney, O. R. "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu." *Iraq* 11 (1949): 131-149.
- Gurney, Robert M. *God in Control*. Worthing: H. E. Walter, 1980.
- _____. "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27." *The Evangelical Quarterly* 53 (1981): 29-36.
- Habershon, M. *A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures Chiefly Those of a Chronological Character*. London: J. Nisbet, 1834.
- _____. *A Guide to the Study of Chronological Prophecy*. Philadelphia, PA: Orrin Rogers, 1841.
- Haevernich, Heinrich A. C. *Kommentar über das Buch Daniel*. Hamburg: Fr. Perthes, 1832.
- Hale, William. *A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy*. Vol. 2. London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830.
- Halévy, J. "Inscription de Zakir roi de Hamat." *Revue sémitique* 16 (1908): 243-358.
- _____. "Les inscriptions du roi Kalumu." *Revue sémitique* 20 (1912): 19-30.
- Hals, Ronald M. *Ezekiel. The Forms of Old Testament Literature*. Vol. 19. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1989.
- Hamilton, Victor P. "māshah." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 1:530, 531.
- _____. "pārar." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 2:738.
- _____. "pnn." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 2:728.
- Hammer, Raymond. *The Book of Daniel*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Hanna, Kenneth G. "A History of the Restoration of Judah, 539-430 B.C." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964.

- Hardy, Frank Wilton. "An Historicist Perspective on Daniel 11." M.A. thesis. Andrews University, 1983.
- Harmon, David A. "Problems of the Sixty-Nine Weeks of Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks." Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1957.
- Harper, William R. *Amos and Hosea*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905.
- Harrington, Daniel J. *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988.
- Harris, R. Laird, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980.
- Hartley, John E. "shāmar." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 2:939.
- _____. *Leviticus*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1992.
- Hartley, Robert. "A History of the Qere Readings." Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1969.
- Hartman, L. F., and A. A. Di Lella. *The Book of Daniel*. Anchor Bible. Vol. 23. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978.
- Harvey, J. "Le 'rib-Pattern', réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance." *Biblica* 43 (1962): 172-96.
- _____. "Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'alliance." Bruges: Desclee; Montreal: Bellarmin, 1967.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27." *Ministry Insert*, May 1976, 1D-23D.
- _____. "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 19 (1981): 37-49.
- _____. "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Gen 15." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 19 (1981): 61-78.
- _____. *Covenant in Blood*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1982.

- Hasel, Gerhard F. "kārat." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984. 4:355-367.
- _____. "Establishing a Date for the Book of Daniel." In *Symposium on Daniel*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986. 84-164.
- _____. "Interpretations of the Chronology of the Seventy Weeks." In *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook. Daniel and Revelation Series. Vol. 3. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986. 3-63.
- _____. "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14." In *Symposium on Daniel*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook. Daniel and Revelation Series. Vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute 1986. 378-461.
- _____. "nāgīd." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1986. 5:203-219.
- _____. "Israel in Bible Prophecy." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 3/1 (1992): 120-155.
- _____. "Salvation in Scripture." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 3/2 (1992): 17-48.
- _____. "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for Weeks in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 31 (1993): 107-120.
- _____. "The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27 and the Enoch Fragments from Qumran Relating to the Apocalypse of Weeks: A Reconsideration." Paper to be published.
- Hasselberger, Bernhard. "Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis, Dan 8: 10-12." *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1982): 565-567.
- Heath, Alban. *The Prophecies of Daniel in the Light of History*. London: Covenant Publishing Co., 1941.
- Heaton, E. W. *The Book of Daniel*. Torch Bible Commentaries. London: SCM Press, 1956.

- Hengstenberg, E. W. *Christology of the Old Testament and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions*. Translated by Theod. Meyer and James Martin. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1956. reprint of the British edition, 1872-78.
- Herr, M. D. "Realistic Political Messianism and Cosmic Eschatological Messianism in Rabbinic Teaching." *Tarbiz* 54 (1984/85): 331-346.
- Heslop, W. G. *Diamonds from Daniel*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1946.
- Hesse, Franz. "mšh and māšīah in the Old Testament." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974. 9:496-509.
- Hetzron, Robert. "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 22 (1977): 167-201.
- Hewitt, Clarence H. *The Seer of Babylon: Studies in the Book of Daniel*. Boston, MA: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1948.
- Hilgenfeld, Adolf. *Die Propheten Esra und Daniel*. Halle: C. E. M. Pfeiffer, 1863.
- Hillers, D. R. *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969.
- Hines, Roger. "The Persian Decrees Pertaining to the Rebuilding of Jerusalem." Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965.
- Hippolytus. "On Daniel." *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Buffalo: Christian Literature Co., 1886. 5:177-185.
- Hitchcock, F. R. Montgomery. "Dates." *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Edited by James Hastings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. 1:408-417.
- Hitzig, Ferdinand. *Das Buch Daniel erklärt*. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1850.
- Hoehner, H. W. "Chronology of the Apostolic Age." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965.
- _____. "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part II. The Commencement of Christ's Ministry." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 131 (1974): 41-54.

- Hoehner, H. W. "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part VI. Daniel's Seventy Weeks and New Testament Chronology." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 132 (1975): 47-65.
- _____. *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1977.
- Hoffmann, Georg. *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften*. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1889.
- Holbrook, Frank B. "The Marginal Reading (Dan 9:26)." *These Times* 81 (1972): 16-17D.
- _____, ed. *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy*. Daniel & Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 3. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.
- _____, ed. *Symposium on Daniel*. Daniel & Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.
- Holladay, William L. *The Root šūbh in the Old Testament*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- _____. *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971.
- _____. *Jeremiah 2*. Hermeneia. Edited by Paul D. Hanson. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989.
- Holtzman, Frederick. "A Re-examination of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel." Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1974.
- Hoppe, Leslie J. "Abomination of Desolation (Dan 9:27 & 23)." *Bible Today* 21 (1983): 242-243.
- Horn, Siegfried H. "Did Sennacherib Campaign Once or Twice against Hezekiah?" *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 5 (1967): 1-28.
- Horn, Siegfried H., and Lynn H. Wood. "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13 (1954): 1-20.
- _____. *The Chronology of Ezra 7*. 2d ed. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1970.

- Howie, Carl G. *The Book of Ezekiel: The Book of Daniel*. The Laymen's Bible Commentary. Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1961.
- Huffman, Herbert B. "The Covenant Lawsuit and the Prophets." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 286-295.
- Humphreys, Colin J., and W. G. Waddington. "Astronomy and the Date of the Crucifixion." *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*. Edited by Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. 165-181.
- Hunter, P. Hay. *The Story of Daniel*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1890.
- Ironside, H. A. *Lectures on Daniel the Prophet*. New York: Loizeaux Bros., n.d.
- _____. *The Great Parenthesis*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943.
- _____. *The Mystery in Daniel's Prophecy*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1962.
- Irving, Edward. *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse*. 2 vols. Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1826.
- Jacob, G. "Der Abraham-Bund (Eine Bibelarbeit zu 1. Mose 15)." *Communio Viatorum* (1964): 250-254.
- Jamieson, Robert, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown. *A Commentary, Critical, Experimental and Practical on the Old and New Testaments*. 6 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1945.
- Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. 2 vols. New York: Title Publishing Co., 1943.
- Jaubert, Annie. *La Date de la Cène*. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1957.
- Jean, Charles-F., and Jacob Hoftijzer. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.

- Jeansonne, Sharon Pace. *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 19. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988.
- Jeffery, Arthur. "The Book of Daniel: introduction and Exegesis." *The Interpreter's Bible*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956. 6:341-549.
- Jenkins, Ethel Stout. *The Time of the End*. Phoenix, AZ: E. S. Jenkins, 1939-44.
- Jenni, Ernst. "jôm, Tag." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984. 1:707-726.
- Jenni, Ernst, and Claus Westermann. *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971.
- Jennings, F. C. *Studies in Isaiah*. New York: Loizeaux Bros., n.d.
- _____. "The Boundaries of the Revived Roman Empire." *Our Hope* 45 (1940): 386-390.
- Jepsen, A. "berith. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilzeit." *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift für W. Rudolph*. Edited by Arnulf Kuschke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961. 161-179.
- Jeremias, Joachim. *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*. Translated by A. Ehrhardt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955.
- _____. *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*. Translated by F. H. Cave and C. H. Cave. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1969.
- _____. *Neutestamentliche Theologie. Erster Teil: Die Verkündigung Jesu*. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973.
- Jerome. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*. Translated by Gleason L. Archer, Jr. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1958.
- Jeske, John C. *Daniel*. Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1985.
- Johnson, Douglas. "And They Went Eight Stades toward Herodeion." In *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. 93-99.

- Johnson, Philip C. *The Book of Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1964.
- Jones, Bruce W. "The Prayer in Daniel IX." *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968): 488-493.
- Jonge, Marinus de. "Messiah." *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 4:777-788.
- Josephus, Flavius. *Complete Works*. Translated by William Whiston. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1964.
- Joüon, Paul. *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique*. Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1947.
- Joüon, Paul, and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Subsidia Biblica. Vol. 14. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.
- Junker, Hubert. *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel*. Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932.
- Kaiser, O. "*hārah* I." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986. 5:150.
- Kaiser, Walter C. "*malē*³." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980. 1:505-507.
- Kalafian, Michael. "The Impact of the Book of Daniel on Christology: A Critical Review of the Prophecy of the 'Seventy Weeks' of the Book of Daniel." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1988.
- _____. *The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of the Book of Daniel*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.
- Kalland, Earl S. "*dābār*." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:179-180.
- Kamphausen, D. Adolf. *The Book of Daniel*. The Sacred Books of the Old Testament. Translated by B. W. Bacon and D. B. MacDonald. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.

- Kapelrud, Arvid S. "The Number Seven in Ugaritic Texts." *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968): 494-499.
- Kautzsch, E., and A. E. Cowley, eds. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2d English edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- Keil, C. F. *The Book of the Prophet Daniel: Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1872.
- _____. *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1950.
- _____. *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel*. 2 vols. Translated by James Martin. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952.
- Keil, Volkmar. "Onias III--Martyrer oder Tempelgründer." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 97 (1985): 221-233.
- Keith, Alexander. *The Signs of the Times*. Boston, MA: Crocker and Brewster, 1832.
- Kellermann, U. "Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 80 (1968): 55-87.
- Kelly, William. *Notes on the Book of Daniel*. New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1943.
- Kennedy, John. *The Book of Daniel*. New York: Etre and Spottiswoode, 1898.
- Kessler, Werner. *Zwischen Gott und Weltmacht: Der Prophet Daniel*. Botschaft des Alten Testament. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1961.
- Kett, Henry. *History the Interpreter of Prophecy*. 2 vols. Oxford: University Press, 1799.
- Kevan, Ernest Frederick. "Abomination of Desolation." *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*. Edited by Everett F. Harrison. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1960. 17-18.
- Kidner, Derek. *Ezra and Nehemiah*. The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Madison, WI: InterVarsity Press, 1979.
- King, Charles. "The Outlines of the New Testament Chronology." *Church Quarterly Review* 278 (1945): 145-153.

- King, Geoffrey R. *Daniel: A Detailed Explanation of the Book*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1966.
- Kirk, Thomas. *Daniel the Prophet*. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1906.
- Kittel, Gerhard. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964-76.
- Klausner, Joseph. *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times and Teaching*. Translated by Herbert Danby. New York, NY: Macmillan Co., 1925.
- _____. *The Messianic Idea in Israel*. Translated by W. F. Stinespring. New York: Macmillan Co., 1955.
- Klein, Ralph W. *1 Samuel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 10. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983.
- Kliefoth, Th. *Das Buch Daniel*. Schwerin: A. V. Sandmeyer, 1868.
- Kline, Meredith G. "Dynastic Covenant." *Westminster Theological Journal* 23 (1960): 1-15.
- _____. *Treaty of the Great King*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963.
- _____. "Law Covenant." *Westminster Theological Journal* 27 (1964): 1-20.
- _____. "Abram's Amen." *Westminster Theological Journal* 31 (1968): 1-11.
- _____. "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week." In *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. John H. Skilton. Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian Reformed Publishing Co., 1974. 452-469.
- Knibb, M. A. "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period." *Heythrop Journal* 17 (1976): 253-272.
- _____. "1 Enoch." *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Knight, George A. F. "The Book of Daniel." *The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary of the Bible*. Edited by M. Laymon. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1971. 447-448.

- Knowles, L. "The Interpretation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel in the Early Fathers." *Westminster Theological Journal* 7 (1945): 136-160.
- Kobelski, P. J. *Melchizedek and Melchiresa^c*. CBQ Monograph Series 10. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981.
- Koch, Klaus. "Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdenken am Beispiel des Buches Daniel." *Historische Zeitschrift* 193 (1961): 1-32.
- _____. "Die mysteriösen Zahlen der jüdischen Könige und die apokalyptischen Jahrwochen." *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 433-441.
- _____. "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte. Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93 1-10 ;91 11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 95 (1983): 403-430.
- Koch, Klaus, with Till Niewisch and Jürgen Tubach. *Das Buch Daniel*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980.
- Köhler, Ludwig. *Hebrew Man*. Translated by Peter R. Ackroyd. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
- _____. "Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1956): 6-7.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner, eds. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- _____, eds. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. Rev. ed. by Johann Jakob Stamm. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990.
- Kokkinos, Nikos. "Crucifixion in A.D. 36: The Keystone for Dating the Birth of Jesus." In *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*. Edited by Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi. 133-163. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- König, E. "Die siebenzig Jahrwochen in Dan. 9, 24-27." *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 11 (1900): 103-113.
- _____. "The 'Weeks' of Daniel." *The Expository Times* 13 (October 1901-September 1902): 468-470.

- König, E. "Die chronologisch-christologische Hauptstelle im Danielbuche." *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 15 (1904): 974-987.
- _____. *Die messianischen Weissagungen des Alten Testament.* Stuttgart: C. Belsler, 1925.
- _____. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Leipzig: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936.
- Körbert, Raimund. "Zur Daniel-Abhandlung des Simeon von Edessa." *Biblica* 63 (1982): 63-78.
- Kosmala, H. "gābhar." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990. 2:367-382.
- _____. "The Term *geber* in the Old Testament and in the Scrolls." *Congress Volume, Rome, 1968.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 17. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969. 159-169.
- Kraeling, Emil G. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Kranichfeld, Rudolph. *Das Buch Daniel erklärt.* Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1868.
- Kuenen, A. *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.
- Kühlewein, J. "gbr überlegen sein." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984. 1:398-402.
- Kutsch, E. "Gesetz und Gnade. Probleme des alttestamentlichen Bundesbegriffs." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 79 (1967): 18-35.
- _____. "Der Begriff *bryt* in vordeuteronomischer Zeit." *Das Ferne und nahe Wort, Festschrift für Leonhard Rost.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 105. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1967. 133-143.
- _____. "Von *bryt* zu 'Bund'." *Kerygma and Dogma* 14 (1968): 159-82.

- Kutsch, E. "b'rit." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984. 1:339-352;
- Laato, Antti. "The Seventy Yearweeks in the Book of Daniel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 102 (1990): 212-225.
- Labagh, Isaac P. *Twelve Lectures on the Great Events of Unfulfilled Prophecy*. New York: Published by the Author, 1859.
- Lacey, H. C. "The Book of Daniel: The Victory of the Lord." *Ministry*, October 1933, 19.
- Lacocque, André. "The Liturgical Prayer in Dan 9." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 47 (1976): 119-142.
- _____. *The Book of Daniel*. Translated by David Pellauer. Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979.
- _____. *Daniel et son Temps*. Genève: Labor et Fides Editeurs, 1983.
- _____. *Daniel in His Time*. Translated by Lydia Cochrane. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988.
- Lagrange, M. J. "La prophétie des soixante-dix semaines de Daniel." *Revue Biblique* 39 (1930): 179-198.
- Lake, Kirsopp. "Date of Herod's Marriage with Herodias and the Chronology of the Gospels." *Expositor* 4 (1912): 462-77.
- Lambert, G. "Une exégèse arithmétique du chapitre ix de Daniel." *La nouvelle revue théologique* 74 (1952): 409-417.
- Lambert, W. G. *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*. London: Athlone Press, 1978.
- Landis, Ira. *The Faith of Our Fathers on Eschatology*. Lititz: By the author, 1946.
- Lang, G. H. *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1973; reprint, London: Paternoster Press, 1940.
- Larkin, Clarence. *The Book of Daniel*. Philadelphia, PA: Clarence Larkin, 1929.
- LaRondelle, H. K. "Where Did Jesus Place the Seventieth Week?" *Ministry*, July 1982, 12-14.

- LaRondelle, H. K. "Christ or Antichrist: The Mysterious Gap in Dan 9. *Ministry*. May 1982. 14-17.
- _____. "Salvation and the Atonement: A Biblical-Exegetical Approach." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 3/1 (1992): 22-51.
- Larsson, Gerhard. "When Did the Babylonian Captivity Begin?" *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967): 417-423.
- Lebram, Jurgen-Christian. "König Antiochus im Buch Daniel." *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975): 737-772.
- _____. "Apokalyptiek als keerpunt in het joodse denken." [Apocalyptic as Turning Point in Jewish Theology] *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 30 (1976): 27-281.
- _____. *Das Buch Daniel*. Zürcher Bibel Kommentare. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984.
- Lee, Samuel. *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1849.
- Lee, Samuel. *Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John*. London: Seeleys, 1851.
- Lenski, C. H. *The Interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1943.
- Leupold, H. C. *Exposition of Genesis*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956.
- _____. *Exposition of Daniel*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1969.
- Levi, David. *Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament*. 3 vols. London: D. Levi, 1793-99.
- Levine, Baruch A. *Leviticus*. New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- Lewey, Julius, and Hildegard Lewey. "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 17 (1942-43): 1-152.
- Lewin, Thomas. *Fasti Sacri or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1865.

- Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed., rev. and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.
- Lietzmann, Hans. *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*. Translated by Dorothea H. G. Reeve. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953-54.
- Lilley, John P. U. "Calendar." *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*. 1975. 1:687-692.
- Lisowsky, Gerhard. *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*. Stuttgart: Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1958.
- Liver, J. "The Return from Babylon. Its Time and Scope." *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958): 114-119.
- Loisy, Alfred. *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*. 2 vols. Ceffonds: Loisy, 1907-8.
- Lotz, Wilhelm. "The Hebrew Year." *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. 1912. 12: 473-474.
- Lowth, William. *A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets*. London: William Mears, 1726.
- Luck, G. Coleman. *Daniel*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1958.
- Lurie, David H. "A New Interpretation of Daniel's 'Sevens' and the Chronology of the Seventy 'Sevens'." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 33 (1990): 303-309.
- MacDowell, Josh. *Daniel in the Critics' Den*. San Bernardino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ International, 1979.
- Mackenzie, Donald A. "Judicial Procedure at the Town Gate." *Vetus Testamentum* 14 (1964): 100-104.
- Madison, Leslie P. "Problems of Chronology in the Life of Christ." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1963.
- Magnanini, P. *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell' oriente*. Roma: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1976.
- Maier, Gerhard. *Der Prophet Daniel*. Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1982.

- Maier, Paul L. "Sejanus, Pilate, and the Date of the Crucifixion." *Church History* 37 (1968): 3-13.
- _____. "The Date of the Nativity and the Chronology of Jesus' Life." In *Chronos. Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. 113-130.
- Maitland, Samuel Roffev. *An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist*. 2d ed. London: C.J.G. Rivington, 1853.
- Malamat, Abraham. "Mari." *Biblical Archaeologist* 34 (1971): 2-22.
- Malchow, Bruce V. "The Messenger of the Covenant in Mal 3:1." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 252-255.
- Mandelkern, Solomon. *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae*. Berlin: Apud F. Margolin, 1925.
- Marsh, Robert E. "Seventieth Week of Daniel 9:27." B.D. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1968.
- Marti, Karl. *Das Buch Daniel*. Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament. 18. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1901.
- Martin, Cora. *World History in Prophetic Outline*. Madison, WI: Beacon Press, 1941
- Mason, Archibald. *Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days*. Glasgow: Young, Gallie, & Co., 1820.
- Matheny, James F. *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel: An Exposition on Dan 9:24-27*. Brevard, NC: Jay & Associates, 1990.
- Mauro, Philip. *Chronology of the Bible*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1922.
- Mauro, Philip. *The Seventy Weeks and the Great Tribulation*. Swengel, PA: Bible Truth Depot, 1944.
- _____. *The Wonders of Bible Chronology*. Swengel, PA: Bible Truth Depot, 1961.
- Maxwell, C. Mervyn. *God and His Sanctuary*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1980.

- Maxwell, C. Mervyn. *God Cares*. 2 vols. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1981.
- McCarthy, Dennis J. *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*. Analecta Biblica 21. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963.
- _____. "Three Covenants in Genesis." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (1964): 179-189.
- _____. "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of Inquiry." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27 (1965): 217-240.
- _____. *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972.
- _____. "*B'rît* and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History." *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 23. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972. 65-85.
- McClain, Alva J. *Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1940.
- _____. *The Greatness of the Kingdom*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1959.
- McComiskey, Thomas E. "The Seventy 'Weeks' of Daniel against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Literature." *Westminster Theological Journal* 47 (1985): 18-45.
- McConville, J. G. *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*. Daily Study Bible. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1985.
- McCullough, W. Stewart. "The Book of Psalms." *Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. 4. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1955.
- McGee, J. Vernon. *Delving Through Daniel*. Findlay, OH: Dunham Publishing Co., n.d.
- McKane, William. *Jeremiah*. International Critical Commentary. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986.
- McNamara, M. "Seventy Weeks of Years." *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 1967. 8:142.

- Meier, John P. *Matthew*. New Testament Message: A Biblical Theological Commentary. Vol. 3. Edited by W. Harrington and D. Senior. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1980.
- Mendenhall, George E. "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition." *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (1954): 27-46, 49-76.
- _____. "Covenant." *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by George A. Buttrick. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1962. 1:714-723.
- Mendenhall, George E., and Gary A. Herion. "Covenant." *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 1:1179-1202.
- Menzel, Donald H. "Calendar." *The World Book Encyclopedia*. 1964. 3:26-29.
- Mertens, Alfred. *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer*. Würzburg: Echter KBW Verlag, 1971.
- Meyer, Eduard. *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1921-3.
- Meyer, Edward. "Artaxerxes I." *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 1902. 2:145-146.
- Meyer, Rudolph. *Hebräische Grammatik*. 3 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969.
- Michel, Diethelm. *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977.
- Mickelson, A. Berkeley. *Daniel and Revelation: Riddles or Realities?* Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984.
- Milgrom, Jacob. *Numbers*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990.
- Milik, J. T. "Deux Documents inédits du Désert de Juda (Pl. I-IV)." *Biblica* 38 (1957): 245-268.
- _____. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*. London: SCM, 1959.
- _____. "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran, Translation and Commentary." *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 4-5 (1960): 137-155.

- Milik, J. T. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- _____. "Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-reša^c dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (1972): 95-144.
- Miqra²ot Gedolot*. New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1951.
- Mitchell, John J. "Abraham's Understanding of the Lord's Covenant." *Westminster Theological Journal* 32 (1969): 24-48.
- Montgomery, James A. "Some Gleanings from Pognon's ZKR Inscription." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 28 (1909): 57-70.
- _____. "A Survival of the Tetragrammaton in Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 40 (1921): 86.
- _____. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927.
- _____. "Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53 (1933): 97-123.
- Moody, Dale. "A New Chronology for the Life and Letters of Paul." In *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*. Edited by J. Vardaman and E. M. Yamauchi, 223-240. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- Morgan, D. F. "Calendar." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Fully rev. ed., 1979. 1:574-578.
- Morgenstern, Julian. "The Calenders of Ancient Israel." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 10 (1935): 1-148.
- _____. "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees. Its Origin and Its Character." *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 37-76.
- _____. "Jerusalem--485 B.C." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 27 (1956): 101-179.
- _____. "The Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 7 (1962): 1-11.
- _____. "Year." *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1962. 4:923-924.

- Morgenstern Julian. *The Book of Genesis: A Jewish Interpretation*. 2d ed. New York: Schocken Books, 1965.
- Morris, Leon. *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1955.
- _____. *New Testament Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986.
- Moscatti, Sabatino, ed. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964.
- Mowinckel, S. *He That Cometh*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1959.
- Müller, U. *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung Johannes*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972.
- Murdoch, W. G. C. "Daniel's Apocalyptic Visions" [Messages of the Old Testament Prophets, pt. 9] *Review and Herald*, March 1971. 6-8.
- Murphy, James G. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. Andover, IL: Warren F. Draper, 1866.
- Myers, Jacob M. *Ezra-Nehemiah*. Anchor Bible. Vol 14. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1965.
- Nestle, E. "Zu Daniel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4 (1884): 247-248.
- Neuffer, Julia. "The Accession Year of Artaxerxes I." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6 (1968): 60-87.
- Nevin, Robert. *Studies in Prophecy*. Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890.
- New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*. New York: Lexicon Publications, 1989.
- Newell, Philip R. *Daniel: The Man Greatly Beloved and His Prophecies*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1951, 1962.
- Newell, William R. "The Premillennial Coming of the Lord as Revealed in the Book of Daniel." *Our Hope* 7 (1901): 173-176.

- Newman, Robert C. "Daniel's Seventy Weeks and the Old Testament Sabbath-year Cycle." *Journal for the Evangelical Theological Society* 16 (1973): 229-234.
- Newton, B. W. *Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman Empire*. London: Houlston and Wright, 1863.
- Newton, Isaac. *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*. London: J. Darby and T. Browne, 1773.
- Nichol, Francis D, ed. *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*. 7 vols. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Assn., 1980.
- Nicholson, Ernest W. *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Edited by P. R. Ackroyd et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1973.
- Nickelsburg, G. W. E. "The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39 (1977): 313-314.
- Nicol, George G. "Isaiah's Vision and the Visions of Daniel." *Vetus Testamentum* 29 (1979): 501-505.
- Nolan, Frederick. *The Chronological Prophecies*. London: William Pickering, 1837.
- North, Francis Sparling. "Four-month Seasons of the Hebrew Bible." *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (1961): 446-448.
- Noth, Martin. "La'asch und Hazrak." *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 52 (1929): 124-141.
- _____. "Das alttestamentliche Bundschliessen im Lichte eines Mari-Textes." *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*. Munich: C. Kaiser, 1957.
- O'Connor, M. *Hebrew Verse Structure*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980.
- _____. "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription." *BASOR* 226 (1977): 16-29.
- Odom, R. L. "The Puzzling Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27." *Israelite* 23 (1976): 16-22.
- Oesterley, W. O. E. *A History of Israel*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

- Ogg, George. *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- O'Higgins, J. *Anthony Collins: The Men and His Works*. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970.
- Olmstead, A. T. *Jesus in the Light of History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942.
- _____. "The Chronology of Jesus' Life." *Anglican Theological Review* 24 (1942): 1-26.
- _____. *History of the Persian Empire (Achaemenid Period)*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Oppenham, A. W., ed. *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956.
- Ordoñez, Alfredo. "The 'Seven Weeks and Sixty Two Weeks' of Daniel 9:25." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Orr, Avigdor. "The Seventy Years of Babylon." *Vetus Testamentum* 6 (1956): 304-306.
- Osgood, Samuel. *Remarks on the Book of Daniel and on the Revelation*. New York: Greenleaf's Press, 1794.
- Oswalt, J. N. "Chronology of the Old Testament." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Fully rev. ed. 1979. 1:673-685.
- _____. "gābar." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:148, 149.
- Ozanne, C. G. "Three Textual Problems in Daniel." *Journal of the Theological Society* 16 (1965): 445-448.
- _____. *The Fourth Gentile Kingdom*. Worthing, England: H. E. Walter, 1982.
- Page, H. T. "The Suffering Servant between the Testaments." *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985): 481-97.
- Pardee, D. "Ugaritic and Hebrew Metrics." In *Ugarit in Retrospect: 50 Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, ed. G. Young. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981.

- Parker, Richard A. "Ancient Jewish Calendation: A Criticism." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 (1944): 173-176.
- Parker, Richard A. and Waldo H. Dubberstein. *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75*. 2d ed. Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1956.
- Paul, Shalom M. *Amos*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Pavlovsky, V. "Die Chronologie der Tätigkeit Esdras. Versuch einer neuen Lösung." *Biblica* 38 (1975): 275-305, 428-456.
- Payne, David F. *I & II Samuel*. The Daily Study Bible. Edited by John C. L. Gibson. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1982.
- Payne, J. Barton. *The Imminent Appearing of Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1962.
- _____. *The Theology of the Older Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1962.
- _____. "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks: Interpretation by Context." *Presbyterion* 4 (1978): 33-38.
- _____. "The Goal of Daniel's Seventy Weeks." *Journal for the Evangelical Theological Society* 21 (1978): 97-115.
- Pember, G. H. *The Great Prophecies Concerning the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Church of God*. New York: Christian Herald Office, 1887.
- Pentecost, J. Dwight. *Things to Come*. Findlay, OH: Dunham Publishing Co., 1958.
- _____. *Prophecy for Today*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1961.
- Peshitta Institute. *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.
- Peters, George N. H. *The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. 3 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884.
- Pettingill, William L. *History Foretold: Simple Studies in Daniel*. 7th ed. Findlay, OH: Fundamental Truth Publishers, n.d.
- Pfandl, Gerhard. "The Latter Days and the Time of the End in the Book of Daniel." Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1990.

- Pfeiffer, Charles F. *Exile and Return*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1962.
- _____. "Hebrew Calendar." *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*. 1969 ed. 2:254-256.
- Philip, James. *By the Rivers of Babylon: Studies in the Book of Daniel*. Aberdeen: Didasko Press, 1972.
- Pierce, Ronald W. "Spiritual Failure, Postponement, and Daniel 9." *Trinity Journal* 10 (1989): 211-222.
- Plöger, Otto. "'Siebzig Jahre.'" In *Festschrift Friedrich Baumgärtel*, ed. J. Herrmann. Erlangen: Universitätsbund, 1959. 124-130.
- _____. *Das Buch Daniel*. Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1965.
- Pognon, H. *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1907-8.
- Porteous, Norman W. *Daniel, A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965.
- Porter, H. "Caiene." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. 1939. 1:541-542.
- Porter, Paul A. *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8*. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983.
- Poythress, Vern Sheridan. "Hermeneutical Factors in Determining the Beginning of the Seventy Weeks (Daniel 9:25)." *Trinity Journal* 6 (1985): 131-149.
- _____. *Understanding Dispensationalists*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987.
- Preuss, H. D. "yāsā³." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990. 6:225-250.
- Price, George McCready. *The Greatest of the Prophets. A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1955.

- Prideaux, Humphrey. *The Old and New Testament Connected*. Vol. 1. New York: Harper & Bros., 1871.
- Prince, J. Dyneley. *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1899.
- Procksch, Otto. "hagios, hagiazō, hagasmos, hagiōtēs, hagiōsunē." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964. 1:88-115.
- _____. "lego." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964. 4:91-100.
- _____. "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn." *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927): 429.
- Ptolemaeus, Claudius. "The Almagest." Translated by R. Catesby Taliaferro. In *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. R. Maynard Hutchins. Chicago, IL: William Benton, 1952. 1-478.
- _____. *Ptolemy's Almagest*. Translated and annotated by G. J. Toomer. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984.
- Pusey, E. B. *Daniel the Prophet*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885.
- Rabin, Chaim. *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. *Septuaginta*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1949.
- Ralston, Samuel. *A Brief Explication of the Principal Prophecies of Daniel and John, as They Regard the Church of God*. Pittsburgh, PA: Luke Loomis, 1842.
- Ramsay, W. M. *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 2d ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.
- Reicke, B. *The New Testament Era*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968.
- Reid, Stephen B. "The Sociological Setting of the Historical Apocalypses of 1 Enoch and the Book of Daniel." *Dissertation Abstracts* 43/2 (1982): 487.
- Renan, Ernest. *History of Israel: From the Rule of the Persians to That of the Greeks*. Vol. 4. Boston, MA: Roberts Brothers, 1896.

- Revell, E. J. "Masoretic Accents." *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 4:594-516.
- Reviv, Hanoch. *The Elders in Ancient Israel*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989.
- Rice, John R. *The Second Coming of Christ in Daniel*. Wheaton, IL: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1951.
- Richter, W. "Zu den 'Richtern Israels.'" *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 77 (1965): 40-72.
- Ridderbos, J. *Isaiah*. Translated by John Vriend. Bible Students Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985.
- Ringgren, Helmer, and M. Tsevat. "y'rûšālēm/y'rûšālayim." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990. 6:347-355.
- Robinson, Bernard P. F. "Which Book of Daniel?" *The New Blackfriars* 66 (1985): 424-437.
- Robinson, Theodore H. "'Covenant' in the Old Testament." *Expository Times* 53 (Oct. 1941-Sept. 1942): 298, 299.
- Rodríguez, Angel Manuel. "Salvation by Substitution." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 3/2 (1992): 49-77.
- Rogerson, J. W., and J. W. McKay. *Psalms 101-150*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Roos, Magnus Friedrich. *Auslegung der Weissagungen Daniels*. Leipzig: U. C. Saalbach, 1771. English Translation: *An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel as Received Their Accomplishment under the New Testament*. Translated by Ebenezer Henderson. Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811.
- Rosenberg, Roy A. "The Slain Messiah in the Old Testament." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 99 (1987): 259-261.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974.
- _____. "Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969. 653-662.

- Ross, J. J. *Daniel's Half-Week New Closing*. New York: Revell, 1922.
- Roth, W. M. W. *Numerical Sayings in the Old Testament: A Form-Critical Study*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum. Vol. 13. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Rowland, Christopher. "The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic." In *Judaism and Early Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1982.
- Rowley, H. H. *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935.
- _____. "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah." In *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament*, 131-159. London: Lutterworth Press, 1952.
- _____. *The Servant of the Lord: Essays on the Old Testament*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1952.
- _____. "The Meaning of Daniel for Today." *Interpretation* 15 (1961): 387-397.
- Ruckstuhl, Eugen. *Chronology of the Last Days of Jesus*. Translated by Victor J. Drapela. New York: Desclee Co., 1965.
- Rudolph, W. *Esra und Nehemiah*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1949.
- Rule, William Harris. *An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel the Prophet*. Philadelphia, PA: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday, 1869.
- Rushdoony, Rousas John. *Thy Kingdom Come: Studies in Daniel and Revelation*. Fairfax: Thoburn Press, 1978.
- Russell, D. S. *The Method and the Message of the Apocalyptic*. London: SCM Press, 1964.
- _____. *Daniel*. The Daily Study Bible. Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1981.
- _____. *Daniel: An Active Volcano*. Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1989.
- Ryle, Herbert Edward. *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: The University Press, 1897.
- Ryrie, Charles C. *The Basis of Premillennial Faith*. New York: Loizeaux Bros., 1953.

- Ryrie, Charles C. *Dispensationalism Today*. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1965.
- Saadia, Gaon. "Redemption." *The Books of Beliefs and Opinions*. Translated by S. Rosenblatt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.
- Sachs, A. J., and D. J. Wiseman. "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period." *Iraq* 16 (1954): 202-212.
- _____, ed. *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*. Copied by T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier. Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1955.
- Saebø, M. "yôm." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990. 6:7-32.
- Sarachek, Joseph. *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature*. 2d ed. New York: Hermon Press, 1968.
- Sarna, Nahum M. *Genesis*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- Schale, Estil. "The Fourth Kingdom of Daniel." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1960.
- Schechter, Solomon. *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*. 2d ed. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970.
- Schedl, Claus. "Mystische Arithmetik oder geschichtliche Zahlen? Dan 8:14; 12:11-13." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 8 (1964): 101-105.
- Schepers, J. M. "Die Kruisigingsdatum van Jesus Bereken aan die Hand die Profesie van Daniel." *Nedereuits Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif* 25 (1984): 363-375.
- Schmidt, N. "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 19 (1900): 22-28.
- Schmidt, Werner H. *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Vol. 80. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1961.
- _____. "dābhar, dābhār." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978. 3:84-124.

- Schröder, Wilhelm Julius. *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*. Translated by Patrick Fairbairn and William Findlay. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.
- Schürer, Emil. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. Rev. and ed. by Gerza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973.
- Schwantes, S. J. "'ereb bôqer' of Dan 8:14 Re-examined." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978): 375-386.
- Scott, W. F. M. "Nehemiah-Ezra?" *Expository Times* 58 (1947): 263-267.
- Scroggie, W. Graham. *The Unfolding Drama of Redemption*. Vol. 2. London: Pickering & Inglis, 1957.
- Segal, J. B. "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar." *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957): 250-307.
- _____. *The Hebrew Passover from Earliest Times to A.D. 70*. London: The Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Seiss, Joseph A. *Voices from Babylon or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet*. Philadelphia, PA: Castle Press, 1879.
- Seow, C. L. *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1987.
- Seybold, K. "māšah." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1986. 5:46-59.
- Shea, William H. "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 9 (1971): 51-67, 99-128. 10 (1972): 88-117; 147-178.
- _____. "Poetic Relations of the Time Periods in Dan 9:25." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 18 (1980): 59-63.
- _____. "Daniel and the Judgment." Unpublished. 1980.
- _____. "The Relations between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9." In *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981. 228-276.

- Shea, William H. "Darius the Mede: An Update." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 20 (1982): 229-247.
- _____. *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982.
- _____. "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27." In *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy*. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 3. Edited by Frank Holbrook. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.
- _____. "Unity of Daniel." *Symposium on Daniel*. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series. Vol. 2. Edited by Frank B. Holbrook. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.
- _____. "Darius the Mede in His Persian-Babylonian Setting." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 29 (1991): 235-257.
- _____. "When Did the Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24 Begin?" *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 2 (1991): 115-138.
- Showers, Renald. "New Testament Chronology and the Decree of Daniel 9." *Grace Theological Journal* 11 (1970): 30-40.
- Shunk, George W. "The Seventieth Week of Daniel." Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1953.
- Silver, Abba Hillel. *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927.
- Simons, J. *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952.
- Sinclair, Alister. "The Doctrine of Baptism." Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1939.
- Skinner, John. *Genesis*. International Critical Commentary. 2d ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930.
- _____. *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: University Press, 1930, 1940.
- Sladen, J. "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel's Prophecy." Mimeographed. London, 1925.

- Slemming, Charles W. *Bible Digest*. 3 vols. London: Bible Testimony Fellowship, 1960.
- Slotki, Judah J. *Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah*. Soncino Books of the Bible. London: Soncino Press, 1951.
- Slouschz, N. *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions*. Tel Aviv: Bailik Foundation, 1942.
- Smick, Elmer B. "brh." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:128-130.
- _____. "kāraṭ." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:456, 457.
- Smith, David S. "11th Sunday after Pentecost [Dan 9:15-18]." *Concordia Journal* 10 (1984): 142-143.
- Smith, James E. "gāzar." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:158.
- Smith, J. Payne. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
- Smith, Uriah. *Daniel and the Revelation*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1897.
- Snaith, Norman H. *The Jews from Cyrus to Herod*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
- Snow, Samuel Sheffield. *The Voice of Elias: Or Prophecy Restored*. New York: Baker & Godwin, 1863.
- Soggin, J. Alberto. "mælæk, König." *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971. 1:908-920.
- _____. "Osservazioni sulla radice špt e sul termine šōp'tîm in ebraico biblico." *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980): 57-59.

- Souter, Alexander. "Tiberius." *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Edited by James Hastings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. 2:730-731.
- Sparks, H. F. D. "Time." *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by James Hastings. rev. ed. by Frederick C. Grant and H. H. Rowley. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963. 1001, 1002.
- Speiser, E. A. *Genesis*. Anchor Bible. Vol. 1. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1964.
- Starcky, J. "La Signification du Messianisme." *Le Monde de la Bible* 42 (Jan-Feb 1986): 36-37.
- Steen, J. Charleton. *God's Prophetic Programme*. 2d ed. Kilmarnock, Scotland: John Ritchie, n.d.
- Steudel, J. C. F. *Disquisitio in locum Dan. ix, 24-27*. Tübingen: Ludovici, 1883.
- Stevens, W. C. *The Book of Daniel*. Rev. ed. Los Angeles, CA: Bible House of Los Angeles, 1949.
- Stewart, John. *When Did Our Lord Actually Live?* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1935.
- Stier, Rudolph. *The Words of the Lord Jesus*. Translated by John Fulton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1856.
- Stonard, J. *A Dissertation on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel the Prophet*. London: Rivington, 1825.
- Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*. 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922-61.
- Strassmaier, J. N. *Inscriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon*. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889.
- _____. "Einige chronologische Daten aus astronomischen Rechnungen." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 7 (1892): 197-204.
- _____. "Zur Chronologie der Seleuciden." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 8 (1893): 106-13.
- Strobel, A. "Abfassung und Geschichtstheologie der Apokalypse nach Kap. xvii 9-12." *New Testament Studies* 10 (1964): 433-445.

- Strobel, A. "Die Ausrufung des Jubeljahrs in der Nazarethpredigt Jesu. Zur apokalyptischen Tradition Lc 4:16-30." *Jesus in Nazareth*. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Vol. 40. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972. 38-50.
- Stuart, Douglas. *Hosea-Jonah*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 31. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987.
- Stuart, Moses. *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*. Andover, MA: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, 1842.
- _____. *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1850.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Reconciliation, Law, and Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology*. Translated by Everett R. Kalin. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986.
- Sturdy, John. *Numbers*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Swete, H. B., ed. *The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.
- Swetnam, J. "Diathēkē in the Septuagint Account of Sinai: A Suggestion." *Biblica* 47 (1966): 438-444.
- Talbot, Louis T. *The Prophecies of Daniel*. Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1954.
- Tanner, Joseph. *Daniel and the Revelation*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.
- Tarn, W. W. "Persia from Xerxes to Alexander." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 6:1-24. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. Cambridge: University Press, 1933.
- Tatford, Frederick A. *Daniel and His Prophecy*. London: Oliphants, 1953.
- Tatham, C. Ernest. *Daniel Speaks Today*. London: Pickering and Inglis, 1948.
- Tertullian. *An Answer to the Jews*. Ante-Nicene Fathers. 3:158-59. 169.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.

- Thiele, Edwin R. *The Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1977.
- _____. *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*. 3d ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1983.
- Thompson, J. A. *The Book of Jeremiah*. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1980.
- Thomson, J. E. H. *Daniel, Hosea and Joel*. The Pulpit Commentary. Vol. 13. Reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1983.
- Throntveit, Mark A. *Ezra-Nehemiah*. Interpretation. Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1992.
- Thurman, William C. *The Sealed Book of Daniel Opened*. Boston, MA: The "World's Crisis," 1867.
- Todd, James Henthorn. *Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Writings of Daniel and St. Paul*. Dublin: University Press, 1840.
- Torczyner, Harry. *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters*. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Torrey, Charles C. "The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions." *Journal of American Oriental Society* 35 (1915): 353-356.
- _____. "The Messiah Son of Ephraim." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 (1947): 253-277.
- Tov, Emanuel. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Towner, W. Sibley. *Daniel*. Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1984.
- Travis, Stephen H. "The Value of Apocalyptic." *Tyndale Bulletin* 30 (1979): 53-76.
- Tregelles, S. P. *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel*. 6th ed. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1883.
- Trever, John C. "The Book of Daniel and the Origin of the Qumran Community." *Biblical Archaeology* 48 (1985): 89-102.

- Tsevat, M. "The Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Oaths and the Prophet Ezekiel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 199-204.
- Tuland, Carl G. "Ezra-Nehemiah or Nehemiah-Ezra?" *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 12 (1974): 47-62.
- Turner, C. H. "Chronology of the New Testament." *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by James Hastings, 1902. 1:403-425.
- Tuttle, Jeffrey P. "The Coming Mashiah/Messiah." *Calvary Baptist Theological Journal* 2 (1986): 23-38.
- Ullendorff, Edward. "The Moabite Stone." *Documents from Old Testament Times*. Edited by D. W. Thomas. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958.
- _____. "Ugaritic Marginalia II." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 7 (1962): 341.
- Unger, Merrill F. "New Testament Chronology." *The New Unger's Bible Dictionary*. Edited by R. K. Harrison. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1988. 228-232.
- van Bebbber, J. "Zur Berechnung der 70 Wochen Daniels." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 4 (1960): 119-141.
- van der Ploeg, J. "Studies in Hebrew Law." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12 (1950): 248-259.
- van der Woude, A. S. "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösungsgestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI." *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965): 354-373.
- van der Woude, A. S., and M. de Jonge. "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament." *New Testament Studies* 12 (1965/1966): 301-326.
- van Gemeren, Willem A. "Psalms." *The Expositors Bible Commentary*. Vol. 5. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1991.
- van Lennep, C. C. Oglivy. *The Measured Times of the Bible*. London: Heath Granton, Ltd., 1928.
- van Selms, A. "The Origin of the Name Tyropoeon in Jerusalem." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 91 (1979): 170-176.

- Vanderkam, James C. "Calendars." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 814-820.
- Vasholz, Robert I. "Qumran and the Dating of Daniel." *Journal for the Evangelical Theological Society* 21 (1978): 315-321.
- Vaucher, Alfred-Félix. "Daniel 8:14 en Occident jusqu'au Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 1 (1964): 139-151.
- Vermes, G. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. London: Harmsworth, 1962.
- Viviano, Pauline A. "The Book of Daniel, Prediction or Encouragement?" *Bible Today* 21 (1983): 221-226.
- Vogel, Winfried. "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther; Pt. 2: Luther's Exposition of Daniel and Revelation." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987): 183-199.
- von Gall, August Freiherr. *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel*. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1895.
- von Lengerke, Caesar. *Das Buch Daniel*. Königsberg: Bronträger, 1835.
- von Rad, Gerhard. *Genesis: A Commentary*. Translated by John H. Marks. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1961.
- von Soden, Herman. "Chronology." *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. 1899 edition. 1:799-819
- von Soden, Wolfram. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965.
- Vuilleumier, John. *Future Unrolled or Studies on the Prophecies of Daniel*. Boston, MA: Richard G. Badger, 1928.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 44 (1973): 153-196.
- _____. "Chronomessianism: The Timing of Messianic Movements and the Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 201-218.

- Wallace, Ronald S. *The Lord Is King: The Message of Daniel*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1979.
- Walther, James. "The Chronology of the Passion Week." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 67 (1958): 116-122.
- Waltke, Bruce K. "The Date of the Book of Daniel." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 133 (1976): 319-329.
- _____. "Cain and His Offering." *Westminster Theological Journal* 48 (1986): 363-372.
- Waltke, Bruce K., and M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Walvoord, John F. "Is the Seventieth Week of Daniel Future?" *Bibliotheca Sacra* 101 (1944): 30-49.
- _____. *The Return of the Lord*. Findlay, OH: Dunham Publishing Co., 1955.
- _____. *The Millennial Kingdom*. Findlay, OH: Dunham Publishing Co., 1959.
- _____. *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1971.
- _____. "Posttribulationism Today." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 133 (1975): 108-118.
- Wambacq, B. N. "Les Prières de Baruch (1,15-2,19) et de Daniel (9,5-19)." *Biblica* 40 (1959): 463-475.
- Watson, W. G. E. "Gender-Matched Synonymous Parallelism in the Old Testament." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 321-341.
- Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Edited by Philip Babcock Gove. Springfield: Merriam Webster, 1986. S.v. "Chronology."
- Weil, Gérard E. *Masorah Gedolah*. 2 vols. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1971.
- Weinfeld, M. "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 184-203.
- _____. "b'rûth." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringren. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975. 2:253-279.

- Weinfeld, M. "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and Its Influence on the West." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (1973): 190-199.
- Weiser, Artur. *The Psalms*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1962.
- Wenham, M. "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 184-203.
- Werner, E. "Masoretic Accents." *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1962. 3:295-299.
- West, Nathaniel. *Daniel's Great Prophecy: Its Twelve Chapters Explained*. Toronto: A. Sims, n.d.
- _____. *Daniel's Great Prophecy: The Eastern Question: The Kingdom*. New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 1898.
- Westermann, Claus. *Genesis*. Translated by John J. Scullion. 3 vols. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984.
- Whitcomb, John C. "The Temple of Jerusalem in the Light of History, Archaeology, and Prophecy." Th.M. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1953.
- _____. *Darius the Mede: A Study in Historical Identification*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959.
- _____. "Daniel's Great Seventy-Weeks Prophecy: An Exegetical Insight." *Grace Theological Journal* 2 (1981): 259-263.
- White, William. "rāhab." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 840, 841.
- Whitley, C. F. "The Term Seventy Years' Captivity." *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 60-72.
- _____. "The Seventy Years' Desolation--A Rejoinder." *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957): 416-418.
- Whitting, C. E. J. "Calendar." *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), 5:43.

- Wickes, William. *Two Treatises on the Accentuation of the Old Testament*. New York: Ktav Publications, 1970.
- Wiesler, C. *Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1839.
- Wigram, George V. *The New Englishman's Hebrew Concordance*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1984.
- Williams, Donald M. *Psalms 73-150*. The Communicator's Commentary. Vol. 14. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989.
- Williams, Ronald J. *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*. 2d ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Williamson, H. G. M. *Ezra, Nehemiah*. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 16. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985.
- _____. *Ezra and Nehemiah*. Old Testament Guides. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987.
- Wilson, M. M. *Prophetic Suggestions: Being an Expository of the Books of Revelation and Daniel*. London: Digby, Long & Co., 1909.
- Wilson, R. O. "Darius the Mede." *Princeton Theological Review* 20 (1922): 177-211.
- Wilson, Robert Dick. *Studies in the Book of Daniel*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1938.
- Wilson, William. *Wilson's Old Testament Word Studies*. McLean, VA: MacDonald Publishing Co., n.d.
- _____. *New Wilson's Old Testament Word Studies*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1987.
- Winkle, Ross E. "Jeremiah's Seventy Years for Babylon: A Re-assessment. Parts 1: The Scriptural Data." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987): 201-214.
- _____. "Jeremiah's Seventy Years for Babylon: A Re-assessment. Pt. 2: The Historical Data." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987): 289-299.
- Winter, Paul. *On the Trial of Jesus*. Studia Judaica. Vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961.

- Wiseman, D. J. *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556)*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956.
- _____. "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon." *Iraq* 20 (1958): 1-99.
- _____. "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel." In *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman et al., 9-18. London: Tyndale Press, 1965.
- Wolf, Herbert. "זֶבַח." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:233-235.
- Wood, Leon. *A Commentary on Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973.
- _____. *Daniel, A Study Guide*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973.
- Wordsworth, Chr. *The Holy Bible in the Authorized Version; with Notes and Introductions*. Vol. 2. *Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and Index*. London: Rivingtons, 1872.
- Wright, Charles H. H. *Daniel and His Prophecies*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1906.
- Wright, J. Stafford. *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem*. London: Tyndale Press, 1946.
- Wurthwein, Ernst. *The Text of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957.
- _____. *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica*. 4th ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973.
- Wynngarden, Martin Jacob. *The Syriac Version of the Book of Daniel*. Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1923.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M. "The Archaeological Background of Nehemiah." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 137 (1980): 291-309.
- _____. "Hermeneutical Issues in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23 (1980): 13-21.
- _____. "חָרֵב." *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980. 1:318-320.

- Yamauchi, Edwin M. "The Reverse Order of Ezra/Nehemiah Reconsidered." *Themelios* 5/3 (1980): 7-13.
- Yeager, Randolph O. *The Renaissance of the New Testament*. Vol. 3. Bowling Green, KY: Renaissance Press, 1978.
- _____. *The Renaissance of the New Testament*. Vol. 8. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 1982.
- Yeivin, Israel. *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*. Translated and edited by E. J. Revell. Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Studies 5. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980.
- Yevin, S. "Ēdūth." *Israel Exploration Journal* 24 (1974): 17-20.
- Young, E. J. *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1949.
- _____. *The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1954.
- _____. *An Introduction to the Old Testament*. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1960.
- Young, E. J. *The Book of Isaiah*. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. 3 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1965.
- Young, Frances M. *Sacrifice and the Death of Christ*. London: SPCK, 1975.
- Young, G. Douglas. *Concordance of Ugaritic*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1956.
- Zahn, Theodor. *Das Evangelium des Lucas*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1913.
- Zeitlin, Solomon. "The Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 51 (1932): 263-271.
- Zevit, Ziony. "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 80 (1968): 385-396.
- _____. "The Exegetical Implications of Daniel VIII 1, IX 21." *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 488-492.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. *Septuaginta*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954.

- Zimmerli, Walther. *Ezekiel*. Hermeneia. 2 vols. Translated by James D. Martin and Ronald E. Clements. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979, 1983.
- Zimmermann, Felix. *Daniel in Babylon*. Rev. ed. Broadview, IL: Gibbs Publishing Co., 1974.
- Zimmermann, Frank. "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8-12." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 (1938): 255-272.
- _____. "Hebrew Translation in Daniel." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 51 (1960/61): 198-208.
- Zimmern, H. "Assyrische chemisch-technische Rezepte, insbesondere für Herstellung farbiger glasierter Ziegel, in Umschrift und Übersetzung." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 36 (1925): 13-214.
- Zöckler, Otto. *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*. Translated by James Strong. A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. Vol. 13. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876.