Resurrection in Daniel 12 and its Contribution to the Theology of the Book of Daniel

Artur A. Stele
Andrews University

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Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

RESURRECTION IN DANIEL 12 AND ITS CONTRIBUTION
TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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

by
Artur A. Stele
November 1996
RESURRECTION IN DANIEL 12 AND ITS CONTRIBUTION
TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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of the requirements for the degree
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Artur A. Stele

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Date approved

November 27, 1996
ABSTRACT

RESURRECTION IN DANIEL 12 AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

by

Artur A. Stele

Adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan
ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH
Dissertation
Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: RESURRECTION IN DANIEL 12 AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Name of researcher: Artur A. Stele
Name and degree of faculty adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan, D.H.L., Th.D.
Date completed: November 1996

This study attempted to investigate the resurrection passages of Dan 12. The main concern was to discover the nature, scope, timing, and purpose of the resurrection in Dan 12:2 and 12:13, to establish the relationship between these two passages, and to determine the contribution of the resurrection of Dan 12 to the theology of the book of Daniel.

Chapter 1 offers a review of literature that presents the different and often conflicting opinions regarding the kind, extent, timing, and function of the resurrection in Dan 12.

Chapter 2 provides an exegetical study of the two resurrection passages in Dan 12 and determines their
relationship insofar as they respond to the "what," "when," "who," and "why" of the resurrection.

Chapter 3 investigates the relationship of the resurrection passages to other passages of the book of Daniel and explores the contribution of the resurrection theme of Dan 12 to the major theological themes of the book of Daniel.

Finally, a summary, conclusions, and implications bring together the major findings of this research.

Based on the evidence submitted in this dissertation, it is concluded that both resurrection texts in Dan 12 refer to a physical resurrection. However they refer to two different events. Dan 12:2 speaks of a partial resurrection at the end of time, while Dan 12:13 refers to the general resurrection at the end of the days, namely when the Kingdom of God will consume all the earthly kingdoms.

The theological study of the resurrection revealed that the resurrection passages are related to other passages of the book of Daniel and that they play an important role in the theology of the book of Daniel. It became evident that resurrection has a multifunctional purpose, the most significant of which seems to be the demonstration of God's power, sovereignty, and glory, His rulership over history, and His Lordship over life and death.

The presence of the motifs of death, resurrection, retribution, eternal life, and judgment in the resurrection passages and their connection and considerable contribution
to such major theological themes as the power and absolute sovereignty of God, the Kingdom of God, judgment, creation, and theology of history—all seem to support the suggestion that resurrection is indeed the theological climax of the book of Daniel.
To the glory of my Savior, Who is the Lord of the resurrection:

"Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή"
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<td>AB</td>
<td>Anchor Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>Anchor Bible Dictionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Asbury Bible Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALGHJ</td>
<td>Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnBib</td>
<td>Analecta Biblica</td>
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<tr>
<td>AOAT</td>
<td>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATD</td>
<td>Altes Testament Deutsch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUSS</td>
<td>Andrews University Seminary Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>AzTh</td>
<td>Arbeiten zur Theologie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AzTSAT</td>
<td>Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Archaeologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBB</td>
<td>Bonner biblische Beiträge</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDB</td>
<td>Brown, Francis, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHH</td>
<td>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHS</td>
<td>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bib</td>
<td>Biblica</td>
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<tr>
<td>BiLi</td>
<td>Bibel und Liturgie</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSac</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Sacra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>Biblische Zeitschrift</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZAW</td>
<td>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZNW</td>
<td>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>The Cambridge Bible Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB.NT</td>
<td>Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Epworth Commentaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>EncRel</td>
<td>Encyclopedia of Religion</td>
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<td>Entr</td>
<td>Encounter</td>
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<tr>
<td>EvT</td>
<td>Evangelische Theologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>ExpB</td>
<td>The Expositor's Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOTL</td>
<td>The Forms of the Old Testament Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRLANT</td>
<td>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>FSÖTh</td>
<td>Forschungen zur Systematischen und Ökumenischen Theologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAT</td>
<td>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</td>
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<td>HNT</td>
<td>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>Interpreter's Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>The International Critical Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDB</td>
<td>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>IKZ</td>
<td>Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift</td>
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<td>ISBE</td>
<td>The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</td>
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<td>ITC</td>
<td>International Theological Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>JATS</td>
<td>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOTSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAT</td>
<td>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</td>
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<td>Code</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>KBB</td>
<td>Kleine Biblische Bibliothek</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHC</td>
<td>Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koin.</td>
<td>Koinonia: Beiträge zur oekumenischen Spiritualität und Theologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>KuD</td>
<td>Kerygma und Dogma</td>
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<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Lange's Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>LTK</td>
<td>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</td>
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<tr>
<td>LQ</td>
<td>The Lutheran Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAB</td>
<td>The New American Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBD</td>
<td>The New Bible Dictionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCBC</td>
<td>New Century Bible Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCE</td>
<td>New Catholic Encyclopedia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBViME</td>
<td>New Berkeley Version in Modern English</td>
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<tr>
<td>NICOT</td>
<td>New International Commentary on the Old Testament</td>
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<td>NIV</td>
<td>New International Version</td>
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<td>NJB</td>
<td>New Jerusalem Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>NKJV</td>
<td>New King James Version</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRSV</td>
<td>New Revised Standard Version</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSHE</td>
<td>New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTG</td>
<td>Old Testament Guides</td>
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<td>OTL</td>
<td>Old Testament Library</td>
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<td>OTM</td>
<td>Old Testament Message</td>
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<td>OTS</td>
<td>Oudtestamentische Studiën</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Pulpit Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAC</td>
<td>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique</td>
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<tr>
<td>REB</td>
<td>Revised English Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td>Die Religionen der Menschheit</td>
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<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBB</td>
<td>Soncino Books of the Bible</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBM</td>
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<td>Scottish Journal of Theology</td>
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<td>SFSHJ</td>
<td>South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism</td>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>Studia Theologica</td>
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<td>SVT</td>
<td>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</td>
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<td>TBC</td>
<td>Torch Bible Commentaries</td>
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<td>TDOT</td>
<td>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</td>
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<td>TEF</td>
<td>Theological Education Fund</td>
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<td>TRE</td>
<td>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</td>
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<td>TynB</td>
<td>Tyndale Bulletin</td>
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<td>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</td>
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<td>TWOT</td>
<td>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USQR</td>
<td>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</td>
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<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>WBC</td>
<td>Word Biblical Commentary</td>
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WBIC  The Wesleyan Bible Commentary
WPKG  Wissenschaft und Praxis in Kirche und Gesellschaft
WTJ   The Westminster Theological Journal
WUNT  Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WZKM  Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZAW   Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBK   Zürcher Bibelkommentar
ZMR   Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem and Purpose

The question of the resurrection of the dead in the Old Testament has always been a hotly debated issue. The Jews of the time of Jesus were divided concerning the resurrection question.\(^1\) We have the same situation today in the scholarly world.\(^2\)

Even though there is a consensus among scholars that a belief in the resurrection of the dead is present in Dan 12,\(^3\) there are a variety of positions concerning the

\(^1\)For example, see Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27.

\(^2\)See chapter 1, below.


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interpretation of these resurrection passages. The most debated issues are the following:

1. The nature of the resurrection--i.e., the "what" (what kind): Is it a "national" resurrection, or does the author of the book of Daniel have a "physical" resurrection in view?

2. The time of the resurrection--i.e., the "when": Has the resurrection already taken place, or is it still in the future?

3. The identity of those resurrected--i.e., the "who": Is it a general resurrection which includes all people, or is it a partial one? And in the case of a partial resurrection, who are included?

4. The intent of the resurrection--i.e., the "why": Does it function only as a retribution, or has it other purposes as well?


For more sources see the review of literature in chapter 1.

The main advocates of the different views are presented in the first chapter.
Some scholars have devoted much effort to the question of the origin and development of the resurrection theme\(^1\) whereas little attention has been given to the text itself. Commentaries usually survey the subject in a cursory fashion only.

Also very little attention has been given to Dan 12:13 as a resurrection passage. If this passage does refer to a resurrection, is there a connection between Dan 12:2 and 12:13? If there is, what is the nature of their relationship? How do both of the passages respond to the "what," "when," "who," and "why" of the resurrection?

Investigation is lacking concerning the theological significance of the resurrection for the overall theology of the book of Daniel.

Therefore, the main purpose of this dissertation is to provide a detailed and comprehensive investigation of the resurrection passages in Dan 12 and to explore their contribution to the theology of the book of Daniel.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that a text-based analysis is of vital importance for a proper understanding of the resurrection theme in the book of Daniel.

Methodology

The methodology employed in this dissertation consists of exegetical and theological research.

After a review of literature on the resurrection in the book of Daniel, an exegetical study on the resurrection passages in Dan 12 is undertaken. Starting with the given text itself, exegesis is based on the canonical form of the text, that is the Masoretic Text.\(^1\) I then search for the clues indicating resurrection, its nature, function, and purpose as found in the structure and literary connections, as well as the language itself. Therefore, the larger and the immediate context of Dan 12 are examined and the literary structure is analyzed. However, the main focus is on the technical terminology of Dan 12:2 and 12:13. The key words and phrases are compared with their occurrences elsewhere in the Old Testament in order to verify the actual meaning and usage of these terms.\(^2\) Etymology and extra-


\(^2\)For the importance of the comparative studies see
biblical usage are indicated when they are relevant to this research.¹

Then the theological significance of the resurrection theme for the book of Daniel is examined. In order to do this, first I study the relationship of the resurrection passages of Dan 12 to other passages of the book of Daniel, and then I briefly present the major theological themes of the book which are connected with the resurrection passages, and ask the question whether the resurrection theme of Dan 12 has something to contribute to these main theological themes of the book of Daniel. By so doing the contribution and the function of the resurrection theme in the book of Daniel are determined.

Delimitations

This study has the following delimitations:

1. The exegetical research is limited to chap. 12 in the book of Daniel, and within the chapter it is limited to the resurrection texts—Dan 12:2, 13.

2. Such questions as the history of the composition of the text and other historical issues are treated only insofar as they are relevant to the purpose of this dissertation.
CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The main purpose of this review of literature is to present the major views concerning the interpretation of the resurrection as presented in Dan 12. Therefore, it is not a historical review, but rather a survey of different opinions.

This survey of literature is divided into four parts. The first part presents the major views concerning the nature (the what kind) of the resurrection. The second part provides an overview of scholarly opinion regarding the

1 In addition to these four major views regarding the resurrection in Dan 12:2 another issue was raised, namely: Is the resurrection just a return to earthly life, or a transformation to the heavenly glory? The discussion of this question is mainly based on Dan 12:3. For more information see Hans Clemens Caesarius Cavallin, Life After Death: Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor 15, Part 1: An Enquiry into the Jewish Background, CB.NT, no. 7/1 (Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 27. He states: "The least one might say is that the resurrection statement of Dan 12:2 does not describe a mere return to physical life. On the contrary, by the addition of v. 3, it is open to the idea of transformation into heavenly existence, glory and light." Contrary to Cavallin, Georg Fohrer, "Das Geschick des Menschen nach dem Tode im Alten Testament," KuD 14 (1968): 261-262, argues for a return to earthly life.
"when" of the resurrection. Under this section the major conceptions concerning the time of the resurrection are given. The third section displays the major ideas concerning the identification of those resurrected in Dan 12—the "who" of the resurrection. And finally, the major theories concerning the purpose of the resurrection in Dan 12 are presented—the "why" of the resurrection.

Major Views Concerning the Nature of the Resurrection in Dan 12

There are two major views concerning the nature of the resurrection as presented in Dan 12. For some, it is a national resurrection, and, for others, it is a physical one.

National Resurrection

Some scholars see in Dan 12 no indication of a physical resurrection. Instead they are arguing for a national one. It is interesting to notice that the majority of the supporters of a national resurrection belong to the so-called Futurist-Dispensationalist school of prophetic interpretation. However, one must recognize that not all

representatives of this school are supporters of a national resurrection. There are those who defend the physical resurrection as well.\textsuperscript{1} Those who endorse a national resurrection usually are motivated by their presupposition that the Old Testament saints will be raised not after the tribulation period, but before it, at the time of the rapture of the church. John F. Walvoord has rightly observed that very often the motivation behind this interpretation is

their zeal not only to support in general the premillennial interpretation of Scripture and the restoration of the nation Israel at the second coming of Christ, but especially to harmonize this passage with their teaching that Old Testament saints are raised at the time of the rapture of the church before the tribulation, and hence would not be raised here at a later time.\textsuperscript{2}

Thus, A. G. Gaebelein interprets Dan 12:2 as referring to a "national resurrection."\textsuperscript{3} He states that


\textsuperscript{3}A. C. Gaebelein, \textit{The Prophet Daniel} (New York: Publication Office "Our Hope," 1911), 200; see also Clarence Larkin, \textit{The Book of Daniel} (Philadelphia, PA: Clarence Larkin, 1929), 254-260. Larkin, 258, argues that if one does not agree that Dan 12:2 has a national resurrection in view, he will find that this verse conflicts with the New Testament teaching of the "mixed" resurrection. See also Keith L. Brooks, \textit{The Certain End, as Seen by the Prophet Daniel} (Los Angeles, CA: American Prophetic League, 1942), 56-57; M. R. De Haan, \textit{Daniel the Prophet} (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1947), 307.
"the passage has nothing to do with physical resurrection. Physical resurrection is however used as a figure of the national revival of Israel in that day." Gaebelein then continues to explain:

They have been sleeping nationally in the dust of the earth, buried among the Gentiles. But at that time there will take place a national restoration, a bringing together of the house of Judah and of Israel. It is the same figure as used in the vision of the dry bones in Ezekiel 37. . . . Their national graves, not literal burying places, will be opened and the Lord will bring them forth out of all the countries into which they have been scattered.

H. A. Ironside takes precisely the same position when he claims that the second verse in Dan 12 does not speak of "an actual physical resurrection, but rather of a moral and national one." Supporters of this view usually argue on the basis of the similarity of the language of Dan 12:2 with

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1 Gaebelein, 200. See also William Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1943), 255-257. He states: "The verse is constantly applied to the resurrection of the body, and it is true that the Spirit founds the figure, which is here used to foreshadow the revival of Israel, upon that resurrection. But it can be shown that it has not the least reference to a bodily resurrection, either of us or of Israel. . . . The passage has no direct reference to a bodily resurrection, which simply furnishes a figure for the national revival of Israel, who are described as sleeping in the dust, to express the greatness of their degradation. Now they were to awake and sing, according to Isaiah."

2 Gaebelein, 200.

3 H. A. Ironside, Lectures on Daniel the Prophet (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux Brothers, 1973), 231. See also Carl Armerding, "Asleep in the Dust," BSac 121 (1964), 156. Armerding, ibid., uses a term "spiritual awakening."
that of Isa 26:12-19 and Ezek 37. Edward Dennett insists that the figure of "awaking" in the Old Testament is always used in a moral sense, and not for a resurrection. George Bush argues that Daniel does not convey the idea of the resurrection of the body, but that he rather refers to a "spiritual" and not corporeal resurrection. A. M. Osbon, a representative of the Preterist school, also debates against a physical resurrection in Dan

1Ironside, 232; Kelly, 255-257; Christoph Barth, Diesseits und Jenseits im Glauben des späten Israel, SBS, no. 72 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk Verlag, 1974), 87.

2As an example he suggests Isa 51:17; 52:1.


4It should be observed that the terminology "spiritual resurrection" is also used by Nathaniel S. Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (Boston, MA: Crocker & Brewster, 1842), 209-210, but in a slightly different sense. This becomes obvious by comparing Folsom's interpretation of Ezek 37:12-14 and Dan 12:2. After referring to Ezek 37:12-14, Folsom, 209, notes: "But here the context, and the mention of their being brought to their own land, leave us in no doubt how to understand it, though the very imagery employed is doubtless taken from the doctrine of man's resurrection from death to a future state. But the passage in Daniel is of a different and higher character. The context and phraseology and known circumstances of the case in Ezekiel, demand a temporal resurrection; in Daniel, they as imperatively demand a spiritual."

12:2. His conclusion is based on the understanding that the
time of the resurrection is connected with the death of the
persecutor of the Jewish nation, namely Antiochus.\(^1\) He
states that "the resurrection spoken of in verse 2, therefore, must be the political resurrection of the Jews,
for it synchronizes with the fall of their persecutor."\(^2\)
The phrases "sleeping in the dust of the earth" and "shall
awake" Osbon interprets in a figurative sense. He clarifies
that "the 'dust' out of which they 'awake' does not
necessarily mean the grave."\(^3\) He explains this by stating:

Let it be remembered that the little horn had cast down
the host "to the ground, and stamped upon them"
(chapter viii, 10). Hence their helpless and degraded
state is well described by the figure of sleeping in the
dust. Out of that state the angel was about to awake
them and lift them up.\(^4\)

Osbon also argues against a physical resurrection of
Dan 12:13. He points out that the word "lot," which is used
in Dan 12:13, is never used in the Old Testament to denote
the resurrection.\(^5\) Further, Osbon suggests that the phrases
"go thy way," "the end," and "the end of the days" do not

\(^1\)A. M. Osbon, Daniel Verified in History and

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Ibid., 185.

\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)Ibid., 196.
necessarily mean the end of the world.\footnote{Ibid., 194.} The words themselves, continues Osbon, do not have "this absolute and unalterable application. Nor is there anything in the circumstances of the narrative, which renders it necessary to give them a sense which makes them teach the doctrine of a future state."\footnote{Ibid., 194-195.} He then provides his interpretation of Dan 12:13—Daniel saw a vision which made it clear that a desolation would come upon the people of Israel. However, for Daniel himself, the angel-interpreter had good news. The prophet was told that he should go and rest, "that is, these troubles would not arise in his day; and that he should return to his lot, or rights of inheritance in the Holy Land, as soon as Providence should terminate 'the days' of their captivity."\footnote{Ibid., 195.} Osbon goes on to provide some arguments that Daniel indeed returned to the Holy Land, and that he did not die in Babylon or Persia.\footnote{Ibid., 197.}

Some scholars are not so sure concerning the nature of the resurrection in the book of Daniel, but prefer to see a national resurrection, as well. For example, Simon J. De Vries argues that Dan 12:2 "does not directly imply bodily resuscitation. . . . Dan 12:2 actually lies much closer to
the ideology of Isa. 25:6-8, etc., predicting the resurrection of Israel as a people."¹ Louis Thompson Talbot states that Dan 12:2 might well apply to "tworesurrections; yet it seems to me that possibly they refer to the national resurrection of Israel."² Talbot believes his view is supported by the fact that Daniel was greatly concerned about his people, Israel, and that the angel had been talking to him about Israel's deliverance from tribulation.³ Thus, according to Talbot, the meaning of the prophecy in Dan 12:2 is the restoration of God's people to their own land.⁴

Even though Friedrich Nötscher sees in Dan 12:2 indications of a physical resurrection, he debates against a real resurrection in Dan 12:13.⁵

Robert Nevin claims that there is no reference to a


³Talbot, 215.

⁴Ibid.

literal resurrection in Dan 12:13.¹ He argues for a resurrection of the book and not of a person. Nevin notes that it is "visionary and unscriptural" to believe that Daniel "would be literally raised from the dead with other saints, to live and reign with Christ."² Then he continues to claim that Dan 12:13 does not mean "that the prophet would rest in his grave till the judgment of the great day, and then have his allotted place among the glorified" because, he argues, the "same might be said of any saint."³ According to Nevin, the only correct way to interpret this passage is to "understand the words to be intendent, not of Daniel the man, but of Daniel the book, just as we are accustomed to speak of Daniel, such a chapter and verse, when every one knows that we mean the book."⁴

Nevin continues to explain:

Daniel was to go away and rest till the end, that is, his predictions would not be comprehended, except by a few, and by them not fully . . . But, "at the end of the days," as the ante-Millennial period nears its close, Daniel will "stand in his lot." When events present a fulfillment to the letter of his specific

¹Robert Nevin, Studies in Prophecy (Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890), 198. Concerning resurrection in Dan 12:2, Nevin, 191, argues for a figurative, spiritual resurrection and not for a literal one. Thus, the resurrection means a "conversion to the faith of Christ of the Israelitish people as such--an event yet in the future."

²Ibid., 198.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.
predictions, the name of the glorious old Hebrew prophet will be in every man's mouth, he will come prominently into the foreground.¹

Physical Resurrection

Most scholars agree that the author of the book of Daniel has in view a bodily resurrection. Some call it an "individual resurrection,"² others call it a "physical resurrection,"³ a "bodily resurrection,"⁴ a "literal

¹Ibid.


⁴Joseph A. Seiss, Voices from Babylon: Or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet (Philadelphia, PA: Castle Press, 1879), 317; T. Robinson, A Homiletic Commentary on the Book of Daniel, The Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, n.d.), 276, states: "If a resurrection of the body is not here declared, it will be difficult to find where it is, or to imagine words in which it can be so." See also Ralph Walter
resurrection," a "real resurrection," an "actual resurrection," or a "personal resurrection."


2 Cavallin, Life After Death, 26.


4 Kwon, 127.
A number of scholars consider Dan 12:2 as a clear and "undisputed reference" to the physical resurrection of the dead.\(^1\) Harris Birkeland notes that Dan 12:2 testifies "beyond doubt" the "existence of a belief in an eschatological resurrection."\(^2\) Stanley Brice Frost points out that "for the first time in the Old Testament, a


doctrine of resurrection is stated in completely unequivocal terms."¹ J. N. Schofield affirms that Dan 12 contains "the explicit statement that the dead will rise."² Louis F. Hartman and J. T. Nelis refer to Dan 12:2 as the "oldest, unmistakably clear statement on the individual, bodily resurrection of the dead."³


Harris argues that such expressions as "sleeping in the dusty earth" and "contempt" are undoubtedly referring to a bodily resurrection.\(^1\) Cavallin states that the "terminology (sleep-wake) indicates the idea of a final resurrection rather than a post-death spiritual immortality."\(^2\) Albert Barnes points out that the language used in Dan 12:2 to describe the resurrection is so clear that "no one can have any reasonable doubt" concerning the author's intention.\(^3\) Barnes continues: "Even now, so clear and accurate is the language, that if we wish to express the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, we cannot do it better than by employing the language of the angel in addressing Daniel."\(^4\)

Summary

This review of literature has shown that, as far as the nature of the resurrection in Dan 12 is concerned, there are two major views: (1) It is a national, spiritual, figurative resurrection; (2) It is a physical, individual, bodily resurrection.

\(^1\)Harris, From Grave to Glory, 62-63.
\(^2\)Cavallin, Life After Death, 27.
\(^4\)Ibid.
Even though the majority of scholars agree that the author of the book of Daniel has a physical resurrection in view, there are those who continue to support the national resurrection. Usually they refer to the similarity of the language of Dan 12:2 with that of Isa 26:12-19 and Ezek 37. They also argue that the figure of awaking in the Old Testament is always used in a moral and not a literal sense.

Contrary to them, those who support a physical resurrection insist that such expressions as "sleeping in the dust of the earth" and "contempt" are undoubtedly refer to a bodily resurrection.

It must be stated that most of the studies on the resurrection have neglected a resurrection passage in Dan 12:13. Some do not mention it at all, or just state that there is a promise for Daniel himself to be resurrected. Others have argued that Dan 12:13 does not speak about a literal resurrection. They have suggested that the word "lot" is never used in the Old Testament to refer to the resurrection, and that such phrases as "go thy way" and "the end of the days" do not necessarily allude to the end of all things. Therefore, they argue, it must be understood that Dan 12:13 does not refer to the physical but rather to a figurative resurrection. Thus, some have suggested that Dan 12:13 refers to the resurrection of the book of Daniel and not of the person Daniel. Others see here a promise for
Daniel to return to the Holy Land and inherit the land after the captivity.

In view of these questions, it seems justified to undertake a fresh exegetical analysis of the resurrection passages in Dan 12.

Major Views Concerning the Timing of the Resurrection in Dan 12

Several major views have been proposed as to the timing of the resurrection event. First, the resurrection described in the book of Daniel was to come after Antiochus IV Epiphanes had died, but it did not occur. Second, the resurrection has already taken place. And third, the resurrection will occur at the end of the world.

Resurrection Was to Come after the Death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes

Some of the representatives of the Historical-Critical school of prophetic interpretation consider the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2 as a prophecy which failed. For example, Thomas S. Kepler argues that the resurrection as presented in Dan 12:2 was to come after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but it did not occur. He states:

When Antiochus IV has died, then the resurrection day will be near at hand. . . . . The day of the resurrection is but "a time, two times, and half time."

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away; that is, but three and one-half years distant; it is at hand (12:1-4). To reckon the end of the three and one-half years, begin with December 25, 168 B.C., when the Temple was desecrated, and you will work out the resurrection day in 164 B.C. - it is almost here! [Since the resurrection day did not occur in 164 B.C., after 1150 days (three and one-half years), two attempts were made, possibly by editors, to make new predictions: one sights it to occur in 1290 days; another, following the same plan of the Ascension of Isaiah 4:12, places the resurrection day after 1335 days.]

W. Sibley Towner points out that the writer of the book of Daniel "evidently felt the great events recorded there would take place in a matter of months after the time of the 'publication' of his book." Then Towner continues: "We now know, of course, that no matter how it may have been intended, the text did not work as a road map of the immediate future." Why did it not work out as intended? Towner has the answer--because the prophecy "was written by human beings" who were "limited in the same way all other human beings are, namely, by an inability to foresee the future." This conclusion is based on the presupposition of the Historical-Critical school, that there is no "divinely given prophecy in the sense of a sure prediction about the

\[1\] Ibid.


\[3\] Ibid.

\[4\] Ibid.
near or distant future." Nevertheless, Towner sees a theological truth in Dan 12:2, which later is further developed in the New Testament, namely that "every individual has yet another history beyond this world in which to experience the joys and the glory that properly belong to righteousness." 

Most of the representatives of the Historical-Critical school, however, simply interpret the resurrection passages without applying them to a specific time. They probably would agree with Towner that Dan 12:2 is an unfulfilled prophecy.

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1 Hasel, "Israel in Bible Prophecy," 123.

2 Towner, Daniel, 169.


5 Pfandl, 66. See also Barry L. Bandstra, Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 481. He states: "There would seem to be a problem insofar as the book of Daniel foretold the end of world history with the demise of Antiochus IV. Yet the world did not end in the way predicted. In fact, it did not end at all, as the writer expected it would. Some might interpret the book to be mistaken." Then, Bandstra continues, "Although the future that the book of Daniel envisioned did not come to pass as he had envisioned it, it gave powerful expression to the need
Resurrection Has Already Taken Place

The view that the resurrection, described in Dan 12:2, has already taken place is supported by some representatives of the Preterist school of prophetic interpretation. This school is based on the premises that "all prophecies about the future\(^1\) that were ever made have been fulfilled in the past by the end of the first century A.D."\(^2\) For example, Robert M. Gurney argues that in Dan 12:2, Daniel "is primarily speaking of a limited 'awaking' that occurred when Michael 'arose' some two thousand years ago."\(^3\) Gurney believes that his view is supported by the fact that in Dan 12:2 the word "many" is used and not "all." For him, "many" has in view only those who died before

\(^1\)It must be observed that the Preterists in contrast to the Historical-Critical school recognize a predictive element of the Bible prophecies.

\(^2\)Hasel, "Israel in Bible Prophecy," 123.

Christ, whereas "all" would have implied all those who will have died before the end of the world. However, Gurney also indicates that even though the "primary reference is to something which took place at the time of the first advent," it also predicts in a "secondary sense" the "general resurrection at the time of the second advent."\footnote{Gurney, 166, 164.}

Concerning Dan 12:13, Gurney suggests that "Daniel awoke to life when Christ entered Hades and that he is now reigning in glory with Him."\footnote{Gurney, 172.}

Osbon believes that the resurrection, predicted in Dan 12, has taken place in connection with the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.\footnote{Osbon, 183.} He states that the death of Antiochus "determines the 'time' of the deliverance of Daniel's people."\footnote{Gurney, 172.} He elucidates that the resurrection of the Jews "synchronizes with the fall of their persecutor."\footnote{Gurney, 172.} However, one should keep in mind that Osbon observes here not a physical, but a political resurrection.\footnote{Gurney, 172.}

\footnote{Gurney, 165.}
\footnote{Gurney, 166; Gurney uses the term "general resurrection in embryo."}
\footnote{Gurney, 164.}
\footnote{Gurney, 172.}
\footnote{Gurney, 183.}
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Moses Stuart, one of the promoters of the Preterist school, refers to the analogy of the prophecy of Dan 11:45, 12:1 with other prophecies in the book of Daniel, namely those presented in chaps. 2 and 7. Based on this analogy, Stuart concludes that since in chap. 2 the four monarchies are followed by a Messianic kingdom, and in chap. 7 the Messianic kingdom appears "immediately following the same four monarchies, and after the death of Antiochus," therefore Dan 12:2-3 refers to the "Messianic period as well."¹ Stuart explains that Dan 12:2 makes a "transition, after the death of Antiochus and the vindication of the Jewish cause by Michael, to the new Messianic kingdom."²

Another representative of the Preterist school, Thomson, has found a compromise between the presupposition that all the prophesies have been already fulfilled, and the fact that indeed there has not yet been a resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked. He argues that Daniel viewed events that have been chronologically far removed from each other as being in close juxtaposition.³ To

¹Moses Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Boston, MA: Crocker & Brewster, 1850), 362.

²Ibid., 363. However, Stuart, 362, points out that Dan 12:2 does not contain a notion of time. Nevertheless, Stuart, 365, believes that the author of the book of Daniel has in view the "final result of the Messianic period." He concludes: "And inasmuch as a general resurrection is here taught, it can be no other than that which will take place, at the end of the gospel dispensation."

³Thomson, Daniel, 335.
support his view, Thomson uses a New Testament example—"So our Lord correlates the destruction of Jerusalem with the end of the world. Moreover, the misery endured by the Jewish saints under Antiochus was a type of the suffering of the people of God of every age."¹ Otto Zöckler goes in the same direction.² He states that "it is evident that in the mind of the prophet that period of trial was the immediate precursor of the end of the world."³ Then he indicates that for Daniel, as he viewed it, "the end of the persecution by Antiochus and the advent of the Messiah to introduce a new and eternal period of blessing were substantially coincident."⁴ Zöckler explains:

He [Daniel] saw nothing at all of the long series of years that were to intervene between those Old Testament "woes of the Messiah" and his actual birth and incarnation, nor did he observe the many centuries between His first and second advent, between the beginning of the end and the ultimate end of all things because, it was inconsistent with the nature of prophetic vision.⁵

Another suggestion was made by Rousas John

¹Ibid.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
Rushdoony. He proposes that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 is given as the "keynote of the gospel age, i.e., of the latter days. The 'day' or time of resurrection began with the resurrection of Jesus Christ, so that Christians live in the resurrection era."

Resurrection at the End of the World

Most of the representatives of the Historicist school of prophetic interpretation and most of those belonging to the Futurist-Dispensationalist school believe that the resurrection of Dan 12 is still in the future.

There are a number of different interpretations among the scholars of the Historicist school regarding the historical application of the events described in Dan 11 and 12. Some apply them to the times of Antiochus IV Epiphanes;

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2Ibid. However it should be observed that Rushdoony, 81, indicates that Dan 12:2 points ahead to the general resurrection.

3As was shown above, a number of scholars from the Futurist-Dispensationalist school interpret the resurrection in Dan 12 as a national one. For example, Gaebelien, 200; Ironside, 231-232; Larkin, 254-260; Brooks, The Certain End, 56-57; De Haan, 307; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, 255-257; Talbot, 215. The main reason why they interpret Dan 12:2 as they do is based on the attempt to harmonize this passage with their teaching that Old Testament saints are raised before the tribulation period at the time of the rapture of the church.
others apply them to the Papacy or Rome.\(^1\) Those who see in Dan 11 and 12 some references to Antiochus usually see a dual fulfillment of the resurrection prophecy. For example, Clarence H. Hewitt points out that there "seems to be a blending of the two comings."\(^2\) He goes on to explain that "in a certain very true sense, Michael did stand upon this earth two thousand years ago" and "some graves were opened at the sound of His voice and some of the sleeping saints of the Old Testament dispensation came forth in the earthquake which shook the earth when He died."\(^3\) Then Hewitt points out that it would be wrong to conclude that this is the only full meaning of the passage. "No doubt the first advent of the Messiah is glanced at in this picture, but the proper and complete fulfillment awaits His coming in glory."\(^4\)

A number of scholars see in Dan 12 a clear reference to the end-time resurrection. For example, Hans-Georg Asmussen argues that Dan 12:2 has to be understood in the "eschatological-apocalyptical" context and that the

\(^1\)For more information see Pfandl, 70-77.


\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Ibid. See also Barnes, 2:263-264. One may observe some similarities of the views of Hewitt with the Preterists, presented above.
resurrection will take place at the end of the world.\textsuperscript{1} Asmussen gives a similar explanation of Dan 12:13 as far as time is concerned.\textsuperscript{2} Cavallin states that the resurrection promised to Daniel himself in Dan 12:13\textsuperscript{3} as well as the "general resurrection of Dan 12:2"\textsuperscript{4} will occur at the end of history. "The date of Daniel's resurrection is clearly defined: 'the end of days,' the end of history and the old age."\textsuperscript{5} Pfandl has observed that although in Dan 12:2 there are no indications as to the time when the resurrection will take place, "both the preceding and following passages place

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1}Hans-Georg Asmussen, Daniel Prophet oder Fälscher: Eine historisch-kritische und literar-historische Untersuchung (Heide: Verlag des Verfassers, 1981), 87; see also Harris, From Grave to Glory, 61. He argues that "at either 11:36 or 11:40 or 12:1, there is a transition from the time of Antiochus to the End time, for in 12:1-3 there are unambiguous references to unparalleled tribulation, resurrection, and final reward and judgment." Bernhard W. Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1957), 530, states that the bodily resurrection "is portrayed as occurring in the end-time, at the very consummation of the historical drama, when God's victory over the powers of evil is complete."

\textsuperscript{2}Asmussen, 89.

\textsuperscript{3}Cavallin, Life After Death, 30, states that the concluding words of the book of Daniel (Dan 12:13) "probably contain a promise to Daniel about his own future resurrection." See also Charles H. H. Wright, Daniel and His Prophecies (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906), 79.

\textsuperscript{4}Cavallin, Life After Death, 30.

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid. See also John Vuilleumier, Future Unrolled or Studies on the Prophecies of Daniel (Boston, MA: Gorham Press, 1928), 166. He states that the resurrection will take place "just prior to the coming of the Lord upon the clouds."
\end{quote}
this resurrection within the context of the eschatological phrase 'time of the end'."¹

Uriah Smith argues that Daniel has in view a special limited resurrection prior to the second coming of Christ.² His conclusion is based on the following:

1. Daniel has in view a resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked, and they will come up together, at the same time. Smith objects to the attempt to translate Dan 12:2 as if only the righteous will be resurrected. He points out that the sentence structure does not permit this translation.³

2. The general resurrection of Rev 20:5 is not a mixed resurrection. It is rather "comprised in two grand divisions, first, of the righteous exclusively, at the

¹Pfandl, 233. On the same page Pfandl describes the phrase "time of the end" in connection with the resurrection as follows: "'At the end of time' when this aeon comes to a close, the cataclysmic events described 'as the time of trouble' will be brought to a halt by the inauguration of the new aeon, when there will be a physical resurrection of 'many,' some to everlasting life and others to everlasting contempt."


³Smith, 304-305.
coming of Christ; secondly, of the wicked exclusively, a thousand years thereafter."\

3. Rev 1:7 requires a special limited resurrection, prior to the second coming of Christ and prior to the general resurrection.  

4. Since Dan 12:2 cannot be the general resurrection of Rev 20:5, and Rev 1:7 requires a special limited resurrection in addition to the general one, it is best to interpret Dan 12 as a limited resurrection, which will take place just before the second coming.  

Robert Duncan Culver suggests that Daniel has in view a "limited resurrection immediately after the tribulation,  

1Ibid., 304.  

2Ibid., 307. He explains it by stating: "Those who crucified the Lord, would, unless there was an exception made in their cases, remain in their graves till the end of the thousand years, and come up in the general assembly of the wicked at that time. But here it is stated that they behold the Lord at his second advent. They must therefore have a special resurrection for that purpose."  

3Ibid. Smith continues to explain: "It is certainly most appropriate that some who are eminent in holiness, who have labored and suffered for their hope of a coming Savior, but died without the sight, should be raised a little before, to witness the scenes attending his glorious epiphany; as, in like manner, a goodly company came out of their graves after his resurrection, to behold his risen glory... and also that some, eminent in wickedness, who have done most to reproach the name of Christ and injure his cause, and especially those who secured his cruel death upon the cross, and mocked and derided him in his dying agonies, should be raised, as part of their judicial punishment, to behold his return in the clouds of heaven."
and prior to the last and general resurrection."¹ Arthur Edward Bloomfield argues that Dan 12:2 refers to the partial resurrection which will take place at the time of the rapture.²

Most of the Dispensationalists, however, quote Dan 12:2 as a passage that supports two resurrections. For example, René Pache indicates that Dan 12:2 has two resurrections in view without "making any distinction between them as to time."³ Pache goes on to say that the first resurrection will take place "before the millennium" and the second resurrection will take place "a thousand years later."⁴ Pache's conclusions are based on the New Testament statements regarding resurrection.⁵ Leon J. Wood paraphrases Dan 12:2 as follows:

> And many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake (to have part with the living righteous in

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⁵ Pache, 261-264; see also Joseph Tanner, *Daniel and the Revelation: The Chart of Prophecy, and Our Place in It* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), 432.
millennial benefits); these, truly, shall be to everlasting life, but others (of the sleepers, who do not awake at this time, but only after the millennium) shall be to shame and everlasting contempt."

Walvoord goes in the same direction. He argues that it "is not at all unusual for the Old Testament in prophecy to include events separated by a considerable span of time as if they concurred in immediate relation to each other." In contrast, most of the Amillennialists and Postmillennialists support one general resurrection at the end of all things. For example, George L. Murray maintains that Dan 12 contains a reference that places the resurrection of the just and the unjust at the same time.

In reference to John 5:28, 29 and Dan 12:2, Murray notes: "How anyone can interject a period of one thousand years into this passage is difficult to understand. If this truth be approached with an open mind, free from preconceptions, 

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4Postmillennialism is not commonly held today. The continued controversy is principally between Amillennialism and Premillennialism. See Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, 8.

one would never suspect that it speaks of two resurrections."\(^1\)

Summary

This survey of literature has shown that regarding the timing of the resurrection as presented in Dan 12 there are at least three different positions taken:

1. The resurrection described in the book of Daniel was to come after Antiochus IV Epiphanes had died, but it did not occur.
2. The resurrection has already taken place.
3. The resurrection of Dan 12 is still in the future.

It must be observed that the supporters of these different views take their arguments not from the text itself, because the text does not contain an explicit reference to the timing of the event, but from the context.\(^2\)

Some pay attention to the immediate context, whereas others go to the New Testament statements regarding the resurrection and make their conclusions based on them.

In view of these questions, it seems justified to

\(^1\)Ibid., 150.

undertake a serious analysis of the immediate and larger context of Dan 12.

Major Views Concerning the Identification of Those Resurrected in Dan 12

Even though the question concerning the identification of those resurrected in Dan 12 is somehow related to the timing of the resurrection, it still deserves a separate treatment since it is the most debated issue in studies of the resurrection in the book of Daniel.¹ Some scholars see here a universal resurrection, whereas others argue for a partial or limited resurrection.

Universal Resurrection

Zöckler² lists six arguments to support a general resurrection in Dan 12:2:

1. The expression, the "sleepers of the dust of the earth," is far too general in its character to admit of its

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²Zöckler, as most of the representatives of the Preterist school do, applies Dan 12:1 to Antiochus Epiphanes. However, he sees no contextual problem in applying Dan 12:1 to Antiochus and the very next verse (12:2) to the universal resurrection. See Zöckler, 262.
being limited only to the part of the Israelites.¹

2. The reference to the eternal punishment of the wicked would be incomprehensible, and serve no purpose, if only the wicked Israelites would be in the author's view.²

3. The word יְהֵן, which implies a multitude of the resurrected dead, may as well be understood as a designation of all the dead arising from their graves. As an example, Zöckler uses the Greek word πολλοῖ, which is sometimes employed in the New Testament³ as synonymous with πάντες.⁴

4. The fact that the earlier prophetic parallels⁵ actually foretell a resurrection only of the Israelites does not mean that Daniel also has only the Israelites in view.⁶

5. Since there is evidence of the expectation of a general resurrection in the New Testament⁷ and in the Jewish

¹Ibid.
²Ibid.
³Compare Matt 20:28; 26:28 with 1 John 2:2; 1 Cor 15:22; and Rom 5:15-16 with Rom 5:12.
⁴Zöckler, 262; see also Christopher Wordsworth, "Daniel," The Holy Bible (London: Rivingtons, 1872), 6:60; Barnes, 2:259.
⁵Isa 26:19; Ezek 37:1-15.
⁶Zöckler, 262.
apocalyptic literature as well, there must be a testimony to a general resurrection in the Old Testament also.

6. The connection between the resurrection in Dan 12:2 and the Antiochian persecution does not point against the universal resurrection. For the prophet, the end of the Antiochian oppression and the advent of the Messiah were substantially coincident.

Gleason L. Archer gives the following explanation of Dan 12:2: "This verse refers to the inclusion of all the dead believers in the victory of the resurrection." Then

12 Macc 7:14.

2Zöckler, 262.

3Ibid.

4Gleason L. Archer, "Daniel," The Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1985), 7:151-152; see also Ronald S. Wallace, The Lord Is King: The Message of Daniel (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1979), 194; James M. Boice, Daniel: An Expositional Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1989), 124; John Phillips, Exploring the Book of Daniel (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux Brothers, 1990), 197. Harris, From Grave to Glory, 62, tends to support this view by suggesting a possible translation: "Many, namely [explicative ½] those who sleep in the dust of the earth, will awake." Although Harris inclines to have here a general resurrection, he is open to the possibility that Dan 12:2 "might well be an allusion to Israelites in particular." Harris, 63, takes Dan 12:13 as a reference that Daniel himself will participate in the resurrection of Dan 12:2. Kurt Schubert, "Das Problem der Auferstehungs-hoffnung in den Qumranexten und in der frührabbinischen Literatur," WZKM 56 (1960): 158, states that in "Dan 12:2 ist die universale Auferstehungshoffnung für die Guten wie für die Bösen ausgesprochen." However, two years later Schubert changed his mind. See idem, "Die Entwicklung der Auferstehungslehre von der nachexilischen bis zur frührabbinischen Zeit," BZ 6 (1962): 189, "Während Isa 26,19 noch gar nichts über das
he notes that the phrases "Some to everlasting life, others to shame and everlasting contempt" show that the "resurrection will come universally to all men, whether believers or unbelievers, whether saved or lost."¹

Frederick Spencer calls the statement concerning resurrection in Dan 12:2 "a definite and undoubted statement of belief in a general resurrection."² John Oesterreicher defines the "many" of Dan 12:2 as "all."³ Gerhard von Rad seems to agree when he proposes that the Apocalyptic introduced an expectation of "a general resurrection, first

¹Archer, "Daniel," 152.

apparently only of the righteous (Isa 26:19), and then of a resurrection of all, some 'to eternal contempt', others to 'eternal life' (Dan 12:1-3)."¹ Franz König observes that the word □ in Dan 12:2 really means "many,"² and that it is not possible to conclude that only a small part of the dead will be resurrected. The opposite to "many" would be "few."³ So, according to König, we need then to conclude that only a few will remain in the graves. Then König asks: Why shall "many" be resurrected and a "few" remain in the graves? Why should a "few" remain dead if both good and bad are resurrected?⁴ This makes no sense to König, and so he concludes that it is more likely that all the good and all the bad are included in the resurrection. The partial resurrection would make sense only if the righteous alone or the wicked alone would be in the author's view.⁵


³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 242.

⁵König, 241, states: "Es werden nicht nur wenige Fromme sein, die auferstehen, sondern viele, das heisst, gross wird die Zahl der Aufwachenden sein. Die einen erwachen nämlich zum ewigen Leben, die anderen zur ewigen Verdammnis. Die allgemeine Auferstehung wird ausdrücklich nicht gelehrht, sie scheint aber doch--wenn man die entgegengesetzte Zeitmeinung sich für Augen hält--darin enthalten zu sein."
Special attention must be given to the proposal made by C. F. Keil. He argues that the word "many" in Dan 12:2 is used not to refer to the universality or to the partiality of the resurrection of the dead, but it is used only with reference to the small number of those who shall be living at the time of the end. In other words, by the time of the resurrection there will be more dead than living people.

If we consider this course of thought, then we shall find it necessary neither to obtrude upon the meaning of all, a meaning which it has not and cannot have, for the universality of the resurrection is removed by the particle . . . nor shall we need to adopt the conclusion that here a partial resurrection is taught.

Who will then be resurrected, the people of Israel only or humankind in general? Keil gives the following answer:

The prophetic words treat of the people of Daniel, by which we are to understand the people of Israel. But the Israel of the time of the end consists not merely

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2Ibid., 482.

3Keil, 481-482, states: "In ch. 11:33, 35, the angel had already said, that of 'those that understand' many shall fall by the sword and by flame, etc. When the tribulation at the time of the end increases to an unparalleled extent (ch. 12:1), a yet greater number shall perish, so that when salvation comes, only a remnant of the people shall be then in life."

4Ibid., 482.
of Jews or of Jewish Christians, but embraces all peoples who belong to God's kingdom of the New Covenant founded by Christ. In this respect the resurrection of all is here implicit intimated, and Christ has explicitly set forth the thoughts lying implicit in this verse; for in John 5:28 f. He teaches the awakening from sleep of all the dead.¹

Thus, Keil believes that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 includes all people, some to everlasting life and some to everlasting shame.² He observes a reference to the resurrection of Daniel himself in Dan 12:13 as well.³

A. Oepke argues that the presence of a judgment idea points to the inclusion of all the dead in the resurrection.⁴

Partial Resurrection

Most studies, however, support the idea of a partial resurrection in Dan 12, but there is no consensus concerning those who are excluded or included in the partial resurrection. There appear to be at least two main ways of interpretation, although there are various nuances within each group. Some argue that the resurrection includes only the righteous dead, others hold that, in addition to the righteous some wicked are also included.

¹Ibid., 482-483.

²Ibid., 483.

³Ibid., 505-506.

Only the Righteous

Some scholars argue that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 includes the righteous ones in general, while others are convinced that only the righteous Jews are in the author's view. Moreover, there are those who argue that not all the righteous Jews but only a part of them are included in the resurrection.

Righteous in general

S. P. Tregelles argues that Daniel does not have in view a general resurrection for the righteous and the wicked. Only the righteous will participate in the resurrection. He believes that a correct translation of Dan 12:2 supports his view. He suggests the following translation:

And many from among the sleepers of the dust of the earth shall awake; these shall be unto everlasting life; but those [the rest of the sleepers, those who do not awake at this time] shall be unto shame and everlasting contempt.


2Tregelles, 164. To support his translation, Tregelles, 165-166, refers to some Jewish commentators who have understood this passage in Dan 12:2 in the same way. For more information on the Jewish commentators, see George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 2:298; Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Exkurse zu einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments: Abhandlungen zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Archäologie, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud
A similar translation has been suggested by Nathaniel West, Daniel's Great Prophecy: The Eastern Question: The Kingdom (New York: Hope of Israel, 1898), 197: "Many shall awake (literally, be separated) out from among the sleepers in the earth-dust; these (who awake at that time) shall be unto everlasting life, but those (who do not awake at that time) shall be unto shame and everlasting contempt." Even though Bush, 132-133, argues for a spiritual resurrection and not for a physical one, he gives a similar translation with the following argumentation: "In the outset all are represented as sleeping: out of these all a portion (many) awake; the rest remain unawakened. This is the ground of the distinction. 'These,' i.e. the awakened, awake to everlasting life; and 'those,' i.e. the other class, who abide in the dust, who do not awake at all, remain subject to the shame and ignominy of that death, whatever it was, which marked their previous condition." Then he continues to argue that the "awaking" is predicated of the "many" and not of the whole. The phrase is not "many" in the absolute sense, "which might perhaps be understood of all, but 'many of,' which plainly conveys the idea of restriction, distinguishing a part from the whole." Bush uses, as an example, Josh 8:22; 2 Sam 2:13, and 1 Kgs 20:20 to show that the true sense of the is not some and some, but these and those, "referring respectively to subjects previously indicated." See also William Coit Stevens, The Book of Daniel (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), 216; F. F. Bruce, "Paul on Immortality," ScJTh 24 (1971): 458; G. H. Lang, The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1973), 180; Culver, Daniel and the Latter Days, 187; J. Barton Payne, The Theology of the Older Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1962), 462; Filmer, 149. Lionel Swain, The People of the Resurrection (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1986), 58-59, argues that the second "some" in Dan 12:2 can refer "not to a group of people within the 'many' who 'awaken' but to those 'others' who will not 'awaken' (if the 'many' is taken restrictively)." However, it should be observed that Swain is also open to the possibility of taking the "many" not restrictively. Harry Bultema, Commentary on Daniel (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1988), 345, points out that the "metaphor of sleep for death is used in Scripture exclusively of deceased saints. The wicked are not said to be sleeping but are merely referred to as those 'over there'."

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Tregelles gives the following explanation:

The word which in our Authorized version is twice rendered "some" is never repeated in any other passage in the Hebrew Bible, in the sense of taking up distributively any general class which had been previously mentioned; this is enough, I believe, to warrant our applying its first occurrence here to the whole of the many who awake, and the second to the mass of the sleepers, those who do not awake at this time. ¹

Thus, Tregelles's translation promotes the view that the wicked will be resurrected at another time. ² Obviously he was influenced by the New Testament passages referring to the first and second resurrections. ³

All the righteous Jews

Mark Kent Mercer supports the view that only righteous Jews will be resurrected and the unrighteous will "remain in the everlasting contempt of the grave." ⁴ One of

¹Tregelles, 164.

²Apparently, Cavallin, Life After Death, 26, 29, misunderstood Tregelles when he refers to him as one who supports the resurrection only of the righteous of Israel. While it is true that Tregelles quotes Aben Ezra, he nevertheless states: "His [Aben Ezra] grammatical explanation of the force of words is by no means affected by his Jewish exposition. Although he applies the first resurrection to Israel only, and gives it a thoroughly carnal character, yet he distinctly recognizes a first and second resurrection." From this it becomes clear that Tregelles supports the inclusion of all the righteous in general.

³Tregelles, 158.

the arguments for this position that Mercer has taken is from George W. E. Nickelsburg\(^1\)--that Daniel is dependent upon Isa 26 which has only the resurrection of the righteous in view.\(^2\) In addition, Mercer provides three more arguments to support a partial resurrection. First, in the Old Testament there is no clear evidence that מִּמֶּֽהָ means "all."\(^3\) Second, if the author of the book of Daniel did have in mind "all" he would have used כל instead of מִּמֶּֽה.\(^4\) Third, "the article of previous reverence on מִּמֶּֽה in v. 3 indicates

rendering of Dan 12:2 seems to suggest the same direction as taken by Mercer: "And [at that time] many [of your people, Daniel] will awake out from among the sleepers in the ground-dust. These [who awake] will be unto everlasting life, but those [who do not awake at that time] will be for shame and everlasting contempt." William L. Pettingill, Simple Studies in Daniel (Harrisburg, PA: Fred Kelker, 1914), 113, characterizes the resurrection as a "special Jewish resurrection."

\(^1\)George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1972), 18-23. Even though Nickelsburg, 19, has suggested that Daniel's language is drawn from Isa 26, he sees a clear distinction between the two: "Daniel has not gotten his whole answer from this passage; for Isaiah speaks only of a resurrection of the righteous, while Daniel speaks of a twofold resurrection. . . . Thus Daniel has gone beyond Isaiah. There will be punishment for the wicked who are already dead."

\(^2\)Mercer, 208.

\(^3\)Ibid., 207.

\(^4\)Ibid.
that the 'many' of v. 2 only included the righteous, not all men."¹

Only a part of the righteous Jews

A number of scholars support the conception that only a portion of the Jewish righteous are included in the resurrection. For example, Koch argues that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 includes only the wise people of Israel.² Ulrich Kellermann argues that the "many" in Dan 12:2 are related with those mentioned in Dan 12:1, namely "your people," and with "many" mentioned in Dan 8:25 and 11:33, namely those who have been destroyed or fallen "by sword and flame, by captivity and plundering."³ Thus, 

¹Ibid.


Kellermann concludes that the resurrection includes only those Jews who have suffered or been murdered.\(^1\) James M. Lindenberger states: "Apparently the 'many' who are awakened from death are the Jews who have died in the Seleucid persecutions. Neither the Gentiles nor those Jews who died earlier seem to be within the author's purview."\(^2\)

### Righteous and Wicked

There are a variety of positions concerning those included in the partial resurrection of the righteous and the wicked. Some scholars believe that the resurrection in Dan 12 includes all the representatives of the Jewish nation, namely the righteous and the wicked alike. Others support the inclusion of only a part of the righteous and the wicked Jews in the resurrection. Some indicate that the resurrection in the book of Daniel goes beyond the Jewish nation.

All the Jews: Righteous and wicked

Rebic argues that not only the righteous Jews but

\(^1\)Kellermann, "Das Danielbuch," 53.

also the wicked are included.\textsuperscript{1} He states that the author of the book of Daniel does not say what will happen to the rest of the people at the end of time. He is simply not interested in them here.\textsuperscript{2} However, according to Rebic, this does not mean that everyone else is excluded from the general resurrection.\textsuperscript{3} Edmund F. Sutcliffe has observed that even though the passage in Dan 12:2 could refer to all dead in general, whether Jews or not, the context, however, 

\textsuperscript{1}Rebic, 11; see also Ferdinand Hitzig, \textit{Das Buch Daniel}, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, no. 10 (Leipzig: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1850), 219. Even though Hitzig, ibid., is arguing that only the Jewish people (both righteous and wicked) are meant here, he is open to considering the inclusion of Antiochus Epiphanes in the resurrection of the wicked. See also John Dyneley Prince, \textit{A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel} (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), 189. Leonhard Rost, "Alttestamentliche Wurzeln der ersten Auferstehung," in \textit{In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer}, ed. Werner Schmauch (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1951), 68, supports the view that only the people of Israel are meant here; Günter Stemberger, "Das Problem der Auferstehung im Alten Testament," \textit{Kairos} 14 (1972): 274, states: "Vielmehr ist beidemal an Juden zu denken, auf der einen Seite an die treuen Juden, das 'wahre Israel' . . . auf der anderen Seite an die gottlosen Juden." See also Birkeland, 77. Aalen, 11, argues: "Auch in Dan 12 bildet das Volk Gottes den Rahmen für die Auferstehung. Es ist noch nicht an eine universale Auferstehung gedacht; denn es wird nur gesagt, dass 'viele aufwachen werden'. Wahrscheinlich ist hier der Horizont . . . auf Israel als das heilige Volk begrenzt."


\textsuperscript{3}Rebic, 11.
limits the reference only to the Jewish nation. The many who shall awake are not limited, according to Sutcliffe, to a part of the Jewish nation. All of the Jews, whether good or bad, are included in the resurrection.

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1 Edmund F. Sutcliffe, *The Old Testament and the Future Life*, The Bellarmine Series, no. 8 (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1946), 138. Sutcliffe then continues: "This is not, of course, to say that the Angel's prophecy in any way excludes other men. It is only to say that the direct reference is to the Israelites." See also A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Cambridge: University Press, 1892), 201. Bevan, ibid., states: "That only Israelites are raised is not expressly stated, but appears probable from the context." See also Farrar, 324.

concludes that "in spite of strict grammar by the word 'many' all are designated and that the choice of the word was dictated by the desire to emphasize the multitude of those who should awake from the sleep of death."¹

Only a part of the righteous and the wicked Jews

There is no consensus among scholars who support the inclusion of only a part of the righteous and the wicked Jews in the resurrection of Dan 12. A number of suggestions have been made. For example, Robert Martin-Achard argues that the resurrection as presented in Dan 12:2 concerns only a part of the Jewish nation, namely the "best and the worst elements among the Chosen People."² Martin-Achard clarifies that the "best elements" are "those who remained faithful to Yahweh to the end and sometimes paid with their lives for their devotion to the divine Law."³ And the "worst

¹ Sutcliffe, 140.


³ Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, 142.
elements" are those "who, whether intentionally or not, by apostatizing from the traditions of their fathers, had provoked the persecution of the Hasidim."¹ H. H. Rowley argues that "it is only the notably good and the notably bad who are raised to reap the reward of their deeds."² Under the "notably bad" he understands "some of the enemies of the saints who had found in death too easy a fate. . . . These were probably the Jewish traitors who had helped the enemy against the saints."³

Notker Füglistser suggests that the resurrection of Dan 12:2 includes the Jewish martyrs and the apostates of the same nation.⁴

Lewis Bayles Paton states that only the "conspicuously righteous" and the "conspicuously wicked" are raised:

¹Ibid.

²Rowley, The Faith of Israel, 168.

³Ibid.

⁴Notker Füglistser, "Die Entwicklung der universalen und individuellen biblischen Eschatologie in religionshistorischer Sicht," in Tod-Hoffnung-Jenseits: Dimensionen und Konsequenzen biblisch verankerter Eschatologie, ed. Ferdinand Dexinger (Vienna: Herder Verlag, 1983), 32: "Die 'vielen' können die exemplarischen 'Gerechten' (vor allem die Märtyrer) und 'Frevler' (die israelitischen Apostaten) sein." However, Füglistser, ibid., is open to include more representatives of the Jewish nation: "Es können aber auch, im inkludierenden Sinn, alle Israeliten gemeint sein, die der nunmehr hier auf Erden abbrechenden endzeitlichen Gottesherrschaft gewürdigt werden sollen."
included in the resurrection of Dan 12:2.¹

Robert Henry Pfeiffer supports the view that only the "Jewish martyrs, who had died for their faith by order of Antiochus Epiphanes,"² and the "apostate Jews, who had saved their life by renouncing their God,"³ are included in the...

¹Lewis Bayles Paton, "Immortality in the Hebrew Religion," in Religion and the Future Life, ed. Hershey Sneath (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922), 157. Paton, ibid., points out that "not all the righteous are raised to everlasting life, but only 'many,' apparently the righteous priests and scribes who suffered martyrdom in the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Many of the wicked also are raised. The reason seems to be that the sleep of Sheol is not regarded as a sufficient penalty for them. Justice requires that they too shall come to life, in order that they may receive the 'shame and everlasting contempt' that their sins deserve." See also John J. Collins, Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre, OTM, no. 15 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), 108. He states: "Only those rise who merit eternal reward or punishment. We are left to assume that the mass of humanity is . . . neither good enough to merit heaven nor bad enough to merit hell." See also idem, Daniel, 392: "Daniel does not envisage universal resurrection. His concern is focused on the fate of the faithful, especially the 'wise,' and of their perfidious counterparts in the crisis of the Hellenistic age."


³Ibid.; see also H. R. Mackintosh, Immortality and the Future: The Christian Doctrine of Eternal Life (London, New York, Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), 34; Herbert L. Willett, "Daniel," The Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Carl Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and David G. Downey (New York: Abingdon Press, 1929), 758. James Thayer Addison, Life Beyond Death in the Beliefs of Mankind (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), 140, points out that the resurrection includes "those who most deserve reward--the martyrs who died in the defence of their religion--and a bodily return of those who most deserve punishment--apostates and other Jews who persecuted the pious. Thus only certain classes of Jews are destined to rise."
resurrection presented in Dan 12:2.¹

Eduard Meyer argues that not all the representatives of the Jewish nation will participate in the resurrection, but rather only a part of them. He states that only the Jewish elite and the Jewish rascals will be resurrected.² Under the "elite" Meyer understands the "religious leaders" who have had the correct attitude.³

¹See also R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), 136: "The resurrection in Daniel is not extended to all Israelites, but is limited to the martyrs and the apostates." C. Ryder Smith, The Bible Doctrine of the Hereafter (London: Epworth Press, 1958), 76. Kepler, 45, states: "Among the dead who are resurrected, the martyrs will share the reward of everlasting life, while the most sinful persons will share everlasting shame and contempt."


³Ibid., "Die Elite, wird wieder belebt, die Führer der religiösen Bewegung, die die richtige Einsicht gehabt haben, zu ewiger Herrlichkeit, die Böswichter zu ewiger Strafe. Von den übrigen Völkern, denen ursprünglich das Gericht galt, ist in dieser Verkündung überhaupt nicht die Rede." See also Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period, 2 vols., trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1974), 1:196. His view is not identical with Meyer, but nevertheless it is close. Hengel, ibid., states: "The first group probably refers to those who were true to the faith in earlier times, including the teachers of old times (Dan 12:13), whereas the second refers to the Jewish apostates."
Another suggestion was made by W. J. Ferrar. He points out that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 refers only to the Jews, "and only to such of them as had either forwarded or retarded the coming of the Kingdom."  

James A. Montgomery proposes that only two classes of people will participate in the resurrection as presented in the book of Daniel: The righteous to everlasting life, and the "arch-sinners" to everlasting reproach. The rest, who were neither good nor bad, with whom divine justice had satisfied itself, are ignored, left in the shades. Montgomery makes it clear that both groups, which will participate in the resurrection, belong to Israel. Charles Venn Pilcher states that the "great sinners also would rise times" is an addition made by the translator. It does not occur in the original. See idem, Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr., WUNT 10 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1969), 357: "Die erste Gruppe betrifft wohl die Glaubenstreuen einschließlich der Lehrer der alten Zeit (Dan 12:13), während die zweite sich auf die jüdischen Apostaten bezieht."


2 Montgomery, 471.


4 Montgomery, 86: "Some of the righteous, some of the wicked, of Israel alone, will arise in their bodies for judgment."
for punishment. Sheol was inadequate for their crimes."¹

Charles Augustus Briggs concurs, suggesting that even though the resurrection in Dan 12:2 includes all the righteous people, it does not include all the wicked.² Only a portion of the wicked are in the author's view, namely the wicked Jews, "the apostates."³ Briggs proposes that Daniel "has not learned that the heathen will rise from the dead also. That is a doctrine of the New Testament, which has not yet arisen in the Messianic idea."⁴

Klaas Spronk states that not all dead shall be resurrected, only those who did not receive their proper reward before death."⁵ Spronk has observed that ד"ה in Dan


³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Klaas Spronk, Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East, AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 340-341. However, it must be observed that Spronk is not clear enough whether the group of the wicked includes only some of the representatives of the Jewish nation or
12:2 is used without an article. Thus, he concludes it is possible that the author "is being deliberately vague here" without having a particular group in mind.\(^1\) Spronk's final conclusion, however, is not based on a textual evidence from Dan 12. It is based on a comparison with the Ethiopic book of Enoch,\(^2\) where in chap. 22 it is stated that those who

\[^1\]Spronk, 340.

\[^2\]Spronk, ibid., states: "In the 22nd chapter, which can be dated ca. 100 B.C., we are told that there are different places in the netherworld for the dead awaiting the final judgment. The dead who shall receive eternal bliss are separated from those who are to be damned. But there is also a separate place for the wicked who have been punished already during their lives. They shall not be resurrected and judged, because they have already received what they deserve (v. 13). This conception offers a plausible background for Dan 12:2: not all dead shall be resurrected, only those who did not receive their proper reward before death." See also Edwin Albert, Die israelitisch-jüdische Auferstehungshoffnung in ihren Beziehungen zum Parsismus (Königsberg: Buch und Steindruckerei von Otto Kümmerl, 1910), 60-61; Lebram, Das Buch Daniel, 135; Otto Kaiser and Eduard Lohse, Death and Life, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1981), 83-86.
have already received what they deserve will not be resurrected.¹

Resurrection goes beyond the Jewish nation

Some scholars have suggested that the resurrection includes not only the Jews but also some representatives from other nations as well. For example, Volz argues that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 goes beyond the Jewish nation and yet it does not include all of the Jewish people.² Volz explains that those who awake for everlasting shame and reproach includes, besides the Jewish unfaithful people, the foreign oppressors, and those who awake for everlasting life includes only a part of the Israelites, namely the martyrs, who have died recently.³

Alfred Bertholet points out that the resurrection in Dan 12:2 includes not only those Jews who remained faithful or unfaithful during the persecution period, but also their foreign tempters, who led the unfaithful astray.⁴

D. S. Russell suggests that only the martyrs and

¹Spronk, 340-341.
²Volz, 14.
³Ibid.
⁴Alfred Bertholet, Daniel und die griechische Gefahr, RV, no. 17 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1907), 28.
their murderers are included in the resurrection in Dan 12.\textsuperscript{1} He states: "This resurrection is not for all; nor is it only for the righteous. It is for the pre-eminently good and the pre-eminently bad, the martyrs and their murderers."\textsuperscript{2}

However, Sutcliffe has observed that this position is difficult to conciliate with the context. If only the persecutors and the persecuted are in view, then what about the unfaithful Jews, who are mentioned in Dan 11:32?\textsuperscript{3}

Gerhard Maier suggests that Dan 12:2, contrary to Dan 12:1, does not speak about the Jewish nation.\textsuperscript{4} Maier points to Dan 9:27 and 11:44 where the word "many" is used in connection with the heathen. Further, Maier points to a relationship between Dan 12:2 and Isa 53:11, where it is understood that the "many" includes not only the Israelites, but also the Gentiles. Sutcliffe notes that this interpretation is open to criticism, as it does not take into account the context of the passage. However, it is clear that the "many" refers to a group larger than just the Jewish nation, and that resurrection includes both martyrs and adherents of the faith.

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\textsuperscript{2}Ibid. Then Russell, ibid., continues: "Out of focus, and indeed out of sight, are such questions as the fate of 'the wicked' who remain unpunished and the state of 'the many' righteous who remain unrewarded." See also idem, \textit{The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic}, OTL (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1964), 368; Aage Bentzen, \textit{Daniel}, HAT 19 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1937), 52. Aage states that resurrection includes "einerseits die Märtyrer, anderseits die Erzböswichter."

\textsuperscript{3}Sutcliffe, 140.

\textsuperscript{4}Gerhard Maier, \textit{Der Prophet Daniel}, Wuppertaler Studienbibel (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1982), 413. It must be noted that Maier apparently misunderstood Hasel by citing him (ibid., footnote 340) as the one who understands the "many" as "all."
but also the saved in general.\textsuperscript{1} Based on this analysis and with the reference to the entire biblical context, Maier concludes that Dan 12:2 has in view the first resurrection of all the righteous in general.\textsuperscript{2} Then Maier continues by arguing that the reference of the resurrection to the everlasting shame and contempt has in view the Antichrist and the false prophet, who will be cast into the lake of fire.\textsuperscript{3}

C. Mervyn Maxwell takes a position close to that of Maier. He states that the "many" of Dan 12:2 includes "all of the people who are being saved" and only "some of the unsaved."\textsuperscript{4} In order to identify the unsaved who are raised together with the righteous, Maxwell refers to the answer Jesus has given to the high priest: "Nevertheless, I say to you, hereafter you will see the Son of Man sitting at the

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{2}It must be observed that Maier, ibid., recognizes that Dan 12:2 itself does not provide a precise answer to the question, Who are the "many"?

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., 414: "Zugleich werden jedoch der Antichrist und der falsche Prophet--evtl. eine Personengruppe--schon in den 'feurigen Pfuhl' geworfen (Offb 19,20). Dieser 'feurige Pfuhl' ist nichts anderes als der Ort der ewigen Verdammnis, so dass man hier von einer Auferstehung 'zu ewiger Schmach und Schande' sprechen kann."

right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven."¹

Bloomfield believes that humanity must be divided not into two groups ("the saved and the lost"), but rather into three groups, namely "first the saved; then the lost; and finally the almost saved."² Thus, Bloomfield divides the lost into two groups: "those who had no opportunity, and those who are completely responsible because they lived among Christians."³ Based on his division of humanity into three groups, Bloomfield states that the resurrection of Dan 12:2 has especially two groups in view: "first, the dead in Christ," and "second, those who had been connected with the saints but had died unsaved."⁴

Edward J. Young argues that to use the word "many" in the sense of "all" is forced and unnatural.⁵ The solution, according to Young, has to be found in the fact that Daniel is not speaking of a general resurrection, but rather "is setting forth the thought that the salvation which is to occur at this time will not be limited to those who were

¹Matt 26:64 (English biblical quotations are from the NKJV).
²Bloomfield, 250.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid.
alive but will extend also to those who had lost their lives."¹ Young paraphrases the passage of Dan 12:1-2 as follows:

At the time of this persecution many shall fall, but thy people, who are written in the book, shall be delivered. Likewise, from the numbers of those who are asleep in the grave many (i.e., those who died during the tribulation) shall arise. Of these, some shall arise to life and some to reproach.²

Thus it becomes obvious that Young supports the view that only those who died during the period of persecution are included in the resurrection. He states: "The words, of course, do not exclude the general resurrection, but rather imply it. Their emphasis, however, is upon the resurrection of those who died during the period of great distress."³

Walter Eichrodt indicates that not only the righteous but also the "godless are to awake to life from death."⁴ And since the word "many" is used, it is pointing toward a "limited number, among whom, in accordance with the whole thought-content of the book, must be included first and

¹Ibid. See also idem, "Daniel," The New Bible Commentary, ed. F. Davidson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1960), 681. Schep, The Nature of the Resurrection Body, 60, states that the resurrection of Dan 12:2 is only for those "Israelites that died during the years of the great tribulation."

²Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 256.

³Ibid.


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foremost those who take part in the great eschatological battle."¹ Eichrodt continues by saying that to all further questions, such as "whether all Israel is affected by the resurrection or only a selected part, whether the heathen, too, are envisaged, and if so in what proportion, no answer can be deduced from these terse sentences."²

Summary

This review of literature has clearly shown that in regard to the major views concerning the identification of those resurrected in Dan 12 there is no consensus whatsoever. Some argue for a general, universal resurrection; others support the partial resurrection. Those who argue for a partial resurrection are divided over the question of who are included and who are excluded from the resurrection. A number of suggestions have been made concerning who are the participants of the partial resurrection. Some have argued that only the Jewish nation is in the author's view; others have pointed out that not all the representatives of the Jews, but only one part of them, are included in the resurrection. There are also those who support the view

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¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 512-513. The brevity of the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2, Eichrodt, 513, explains as a fact that "a developed belief in resurrection already existed in wide circles, and that the author therefore had no need to say more on the subject than that which was especially close to his heart."
that the scope of those resurrected goes beyond the Israelites and includes some of the representatives of the heathen nations as well.

It becomes obvious from the review of literature that there is no consensus regarding the understanding of the word מָעַרְכָּנָה, which is followed by the particle יו. Should it be understood as having an inclusive sense, or rather as having a partitive sense? Another key question is how to translate the demonstrative pronouns זְכָּה וְזָכָה. Is the best translation "some and some," or "these and those"? A further key question is if it is possible to interpret Dan 12:2 as a reference to two resurrections with a time gap in between for a thousand years. It must be observed that there are also different views presented regarding the context of Dan 12.

In view of these questions, it seems justified to reexamine the arguments presented above in the light of a text-based exegesis.

**Major Views Concerning the Primary Purpose of the Resurrection in Dan 12**

A number of different views concerning the function of the resurrection in Dan 12:2 have been suggested. First, the divine reward and divine retribution are the primary purpose of the resurrection. Second, resurrection has a judicial function. Third, the main purpose of the
resurrection is the reconstitution of the Jewish nation. Fourth, to strengthen the courage of Jews is the primary function of the resurrection. Fifth, demonstration of God's glory—rulership over history, death, and life—is the primal objective of the resurrection.

Divine Reward and Divine Retribution

The majority of scholars support the view that the primary purpose of the resurrection in the book of Daniel is on one hand a divine reward, vindication, theodicy, and


3 Lacocque, Daniel in His Time, 164.
God's justice,¹ and, on the other hand, divine retribution,²

¹Schuller, 143; see also Judah J. Slotki, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary, SBB (London: Soncino Press, 1951), 101; Norman W. Porteous, Das Danielbuch, ATD 23 (Göttingen: Bandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1962), 144. Samuel S. Cohon, Jewish Theology: A Historical and Systematic Interpretation of Judaism and Its Foundations (Assen, Netherlands: Royal Vangorcum, 1971), 367, points out that "the resurrection, which derives from the conviction in God's justice, and the judgment, are here linked with the inauguration of God's reign."

repayment, punishment, and condemnation.

To support this view, two arguments have been used. First, we have a reference to the "exposure of the wicked" in Dan 12:1-3. Second, the message of the book should be understood in its historical context. "Resurrection is rooted in reflection upon questions which grow out of a concrete historical crisis." All defenders of this view place the book of Daniel in the second century B.C. "Without Antiochus' persecution of 167 there would have been no reason for Daniel 12." John Riches states that the belief in resurrection emerged in a time in Jewish history when confidence in rewards for the righteous in this world was severely challenged by a "foreign overlord." And thus,


3Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC, 308; Tabor, 75.

4Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC, 308.

5Schuller, 142-143.

6Lacocque, *Daniel in His Time*, 161.

according to Riches, "the emergence of a belief in rewards in an after-life when the dead shall be raised becomes intelligible."¹

However, it must be observed that the defenders of this view have not studied the resurrection passages in the light of the book's context, but rather they prefer to study only the immediate context of Dan 12.

Judgment

Nickelsburg has suggested that, for Daniel, resurrection has a "judicial function,"² and that it is in "service of judgment."³ Resurrection is the means by which

¹Ibid.


not only those who are alive but also those who are dead are "brought to judgment and, after that, to the fate meted out to them." Nickelsburg states: "Although the description in 12:1-3 is terse, the pictorial character of the language justifies calling these verses a 'description of a judgment scene'." However, John J. Collins has observed that some medium of resurrection God's Final Judgment can be implemented against the just and the unjust, so that no person's deeds may remain without their corresponding consequences in that person's fate. Towner, Daniel, 167, recognizes here a judgment scene.

Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 23. He, 27, states: "Although the judgment is final, it is not described as cosmic in scope. Similarly, resurrection, as part of this judgment, is not a general resurrection calculated to mete out justice to all men. It is a solution to one of the critical problems raised by the persecution." See also Koch, "Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdenken," 299; Richard Vinson, "Life Everlasting," Biblical Illustrator 16 (1989): 74; Ben C. Ollenburger, "If Mortals Die, Will They Live Again? The Old Testament and Resurrection," Ex Auditu: An Annual of the Frederik Neumann Symposium on Theological Interpretation of Scripture, Princeton Theological Seminary 9 (1993): 33.

Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 27: "Rather the passage uses pictorial language: verbs of action, metaphors and similes. The language prompts one to picture the events that are happening: Michael arises in court; an anonymous person looks through a book to find the names of the righteous who are to be saved; some of those who sleep in the dust awake; the wise teachers shine like the firmament and its stars."

Ibid. He gives the following description of the judgment scene:
1). The witnesses:
   a). Michael, the angelic defender, arises. 
   b). His angelic opponent is presupposed.
2). The book of life, which contains the names of those who will survive the judgment.
3). The resurrection, by which certain persons already dead participate in the judgment.
4). The consequences of the judgment:
crucial elements of the judgment scene are lacking in Dan 12:1-3, for example, the presiding judge. Nevertheless, Collins recognizes that the reference to the book of life presupposes a judgment scene. Nickelsburg agrees that the consequences of this judgment are the vindication of the righteous and the condemnation of the wicked. Nickelsburg argues that the resurrection is an answer to the religious and theological problems in the Hasidic community, namely, that many of the Hasidic Jews had died because they had chosen to obey the Torah. Conversely, the Hellenizing Jews had rescued their lives by disobedience to the Torah. "Thus piety caused death, and disobedience led to life. Clearly this confounded the standard Israelite canons of justice and

a). Vindication—the righteous enter eternal life. Certain chosen ones shine with special splendor.

b). Condemnation—the wicked are pitched into Gehenna, where they will be a contemptible sight to all who pass by.


2 Collins, Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature, 100.

3 Ibid., 101. He prefers not to characterize Dan 12:1-3 as a description of a judgment scene, but simply as an "eschatological prophecy."

4 Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 18.
retribution. Resurrection to life, on the one hand, and to punishment, on the other, was an answer to this problem."¹

Reconstitution of the Jewish Nation

Günter Wied points out that the resurrection passages in Dan 12:2, 13 have to be understood in their context.² Based on the messages given in Dan 2, 7, 10-12, Wied concludes that it is obvious that the author of the book of Daniel is concerned about the future kingdom for his people. In chap. 7 it is stated that "the time came for the saints to possess the kingdom."³ Resurrection in Dan 12:2 makes it finally possible that the Jewish nation becomes reunited, and the Jewish dead together with those being alive represent a united nation to be forever in the heavenly kingdom.⁴ Thus the primary purpose of the resurrection is the reconstitution, the reunion of the Jewish nation.⁵

¹Ibid., 19.
²Wied, 25.
³Dan 7:22b. Wied, 28, states: "Zugleich stützt damit Kapitel 7 auch die Auffassung, dass die Auferstehung der Toten nicht nur von einem Vergeltungsdenken her motiviert werden kann, sondern dass sie durch die Beteiligung Israels am ewigen Gottesreich geboten ist."
⁴Ibid., 26, 28.
⁵Wied, 28-29, continues by arguing that the primary function of the resurrection in Dan 12:2 is not the retribution: "Da, wie wir festzustellen meinten, die Auferstehung der Toten ganz von der Intention einer Hereinnahme Israels in die himmlische Welt geprägt ist, kann
Nickelsburg points out that for "Daniel, judgment is the prelude to the reconstitution of the nation."\(^1\) He states that "verse 1 mentions the register of the citizens of new Israel. The resurrected righteous of verse 2 are not isolated individuals; they are raised to participate in this new nation."\(^2\)

**Strengthening the Courage of the Jews**

David L. Edwards states that the purpose of the resurrection theme in Dan 12:2 "was to strengthen the courage of Jews resisting Antiochus IV Epiphanes."\(^3\) Otto J. Baab argues that through the resurrection theme "the faithful during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes will be given courage to endure horrible death by a renewal of..."

\(^1\)Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 23.
\(^2\)Ibid.
faith in God who can conquer death and give them everlasting life."¹

Demonstration of God's Glory: Rulership over History, Life, and Death

In some studies² it is mentioned that the primary goal of the resurrection is the demonstration of God's glory: rulership over history, over life, and over death. Supporters of this conception disapprove of a purely retributional explanation of the purpose of the resurrection.³ They believe that the resurrection demonstrates that God is in control over life and death, and that it is God who speaks the last word and not death. For example, Hasel argues that the "apocalyptic theology knows

¹Otto J. Baab, The Theology of the Old Testament (Nashville, TN: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), 219. See also Collins, Daniel, First Maccabees, 111. He states, ibid.: "The belief in resurrection in Daniel is the basis for the stance of the martyrs. It is the hope that enables them to lay down their lives rather than comply with the demands of the tyrant." Collins, 112, continues: "The hope of the resurrection symbolizes the sense of transcendent value which claims that some things are more important than physical reality, and are even worth the price of life." See also Walter Dietrich, "Leben beiderseits der Todesgrenze: Israels Ringen um den Auferstehungsglauben als Chance für uns," WPKG 76 (1987): 154-155.


God as Lord of history and Lord of life. The indispensable feature of the latter is the re-establishment of a life of fellowship and communion with God.\(^1\) Then Hasel continues by emphasizing that the "resurrection is the guarantee that this relationship can be interrupted only temporarily,"\(^2\) and that not even death can overthrow the divine intent.\(^3\) Lindenberger points out that the resurrection refers to the fact that "God's will for human life, cannot be frustrated even by death. It is not that God can set things right only beyond this life. It is rather that God can set things right even beyond this life."\(^4\)

**Summary**

This review of literature with regard to the major views concerning the function of the resurrection in Dan 12 has produced at least five different views:

1. Divine reward and divine retribution are the primary purpose of the resurrection.

2. Judgment is the primary function of the resurrection.

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\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Ibid., 282.

\(^4\)Lindenberger, 186.
3. The main purpose of the resurrection is the reconstitution of the Jewish nation.

4. To strengthen the courage of Jews is the primary function of the resurrection theme.

5. Demonstration of God's glory—rulership over history, death, and life—is the primal objective of the resurrection.

It must be observed that most of the scholars who have studied the purpose of the resurrection in Dan 12 have studied it only in the immediate context. A need remains for a study of the function of the resurrection in the whole book of Daniel. How does the resurrection in Dan 12 function in the context of the whole book?

Conclusions

The literature surveyed in this chapter displays a great variety of opinions regarding the interpretation of the resurrection passages in Dan 12. In fact, it has been shown that there is no communis opinio with regard to the understanding of the resurrection as presented in the book of Daniel. The divergence of interpretation of the resurrection passages among scholars becomes obvious. The issues and problems clearly arise and provide the justification of further investigation. The review of literature has also made obvious that there is a lack of a comprehensive text-based analysis of the resurrection
passages in Dan 12 and of their contribution to the theology of the book of Daniel.

In view of these questions provoked by the review of literature, this study intends to provide a detailed and comprehensive text-based investigation of the resurrection passages in Dan 12 and to explore their contribution to the overall theology of the book of Daniel.
CHAPTER 2

RESURRECTION IN DANIEL 12: AN EXEGETICAL STUDY

This chapter intends to provide an exegetical study of the two resurrection passages in Dan 12, namely 12:2 and 12:13, and to explore their relationship. However, before dealing with the passages themselves it would be of crucial importance to see the literary structure of the whole book of Daniel and to note the placement of these resurrection passages in this structure. This will be done, first, by studying the placement of Dan 12 in the structure of the whole book and, second, by studying the placement of Dan 12 in the immediate context.

The Placement of Dan 12 in the Structure of the Whole Book

The fundamental work on the literary structure of the Aramaic part of the book of Daniel was published by A. 

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Lenglet.¹ He suggested a "concentric structure" for chaps. 2-7,² namely that chaps. 2 and 7, 3 and 6, 4 and 5 are in parallel relationship to each other. Schematically it could be presented as follows:

Doukhan has pioneered a similar structure for the Hebrew section of the book.³ He suggests that chaps. 7 and 12, 8 and 11, 9 and 10 are also in parallel relationship to each other. Chap. 7 and chap. 12 have a chiastic pattern ABC-[C][B][A]; chap. 8 and chap. 11 have a pattern ABCD-

¹A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7," Bib 53 (1972): 169-190. A different literary structure of the book of Daniel is suggested by David W. Gooding, "The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel and Its Implications," TynB 32 (1981): 43-79. In his structure, chaps. 1-5 and 6-12 build two groups, where chap. 1 relates with chap. 6; 2 with 7; 3 with 8; 4 with 9; 5 with 10-12. Gooding, 66, concludes in regard to the unity of the book of Daniel: "It has become apparent that the book of Daniel is a literary unity in which every constituent part has been carefully written and deliberately positioned in relation to its immediate context and to the book as a whole so that the book shall achieve a carefully balanced presentation of its message. A literary unity of this structural complexity must be the work of one mind. The idea that it has reached its present form as the result of two or more editions, each with its own different purpose, is unlikely in the extreme."

²Lenglet, 171.

³Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 3-6.
AiBiCiDi; and chap. 9 and chap. 10 have a pattern ABC-AiBiCl.¹

Thus, Doukhan presents the structure of the whole book of Daniel in two ways, namely in concentric parallels and in chiastic structure.²

The concentric parallels he presents as follows:³

And the chiastic structure Doukhan presents in the following way:⁴

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¹Ibid.
²Ibid., 6.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid.
William H. Shea argues for a structure that contains elements similar to those suggested by Lenglet and Doukhan. He diagrammed the literary structure of the book of Daniel as shown in fig. 1.

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**Fig. 1.** Shea's literary structure of the book of Daniel.

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2Ibid., 248.
One of the most recent studies on the structure of the whole book of Daniel was made by David.¹ He presents the literary structure as follows:²

ch. 1: Introduction

- ch. 2: Four world kingdoms, the eschatological kingdom
  - ch. 3: Refusing idol-worship, martyrdom, vindication
    - ch. 4: Arrogance and punishment of Nebuchadnezzar
      - RESTORATION AFTER 7 YEARS' ATONEMENT
      - ch. 5: Arrogance and punishment of Belshazzar
      - ch. 6: Refusing idol-worship, martyrdom, vindication
        - ch. 7: Four world kingdoms, the eschatological kingdom
          - ch. 7: Victory of the son of man, vindication of the saints
            - ch. 8: Exit of the Medo-Persian, entry of Greek kingdom, focus on the arrogant king
              - ch. 9: Fasting for understanding, angel's apparition, revelation:
                - RESTORATION AFTER 70 "WEEKS" ATONEMENT
                - ch. 10: Fasting for understanding, angel's apparition, revelation:
                  - ch. 11: Exit of the Persian, entry of the Greek kingdom, focus on the arrogant king
                    - ch. 12: Victory of Michael, vindication of the wise
                      - ch. 12:5-13: Epilogue

¹David, "The Composition and Structure," 395.
²Ibid.
It becomes obvious that the structure presented by David contains elements which already have been indicated by Lenglet, Shea, and Doukhan.

One of the important features of the structure suggested by Doukhan and later by David is that they recognize a special place in the structure of the book for the chaps. 2, 7, and 12. This is best seen in Doukhan's structure. In his structure these chapters represent the main road of the book. This means for this present study on the resurrection in the book of Daniel that the passages on the resurrection are placed in a very important place in the book, and therefore bear a distinguished importance.

Another interesting feature concerning the placement of the resurrection passages in the book of Daniel is the fact that they are placed as a conclusion to the whole book. Both resurrection texts are found in the concluding chapter. In fact, the last chapter starts (Dan 12:2) and concludes (Dan 12:13) with a reference to the resurrection. This placement enables one to see the significance of the passages in the context of the whole book.

An additional very important feature of the placement of the resurrection passages in the book of Daniel is their appearance in the eschatological context. It is generally recognized that the book of Daniel consists of two major
parts, a historical part which includes chaps. 1-6, and a prophetical part which includes chaps. 7-12. However, as Doukhan has convincingly pointed out, the book of Daniel "whether it deals with actual history or with prophecy" is "essentially concerned with the end." The historical is prophetical. It points to the end. Just so the prophetic is historical; it speaks of history. Both parts of the book belong to the same line, "both are of the same 'historico-eschatological' vein."

The eschatological emphasis of the book of Daniel is


2 For the thematic links between these two parts, see Zdravko Stefanovic, "Thematic Links Between the Historical and Prophetic Sections of Daniel," AUSS 27/2 (1989): 121-127. James H. Sims, A Comparative Literary Study of Daniel and Revelation: Shaping the End (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Biblical Press, 1995), 15, points out that both parts of the book of Daniel share motifs and images. Sims, 3, states that "the book displays a unity of theme, character, and imagery that counterbalances the seeming disparity of its two parts." P. R. Davies, Daniel, OTG (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1985), 111, argues that "the association between the activity and the vindication of the 'wise' of chs. 11-12 and the wise heroes of chs. 1-6 is the key to the unity of the book."

3 Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 2.

4 Ibid., 5.

5 Ibid., 2. Doukhan, 7, points out that in the chapters which are dealing "with the whole course of human history, an important proportion of verses are concerned with the end."
strongly supported by the frequent use of the Hebrew word יִפְר and the Hebrew expression יִפְרָן יִפְר. As is shown in table 1, the noun יִפְר appears sixty-seven times in the Old Testament\(^1\) of which fifteen appearances are in the book of Daniel.

### Table 1

**OCCURRENCES OF יִפְר IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Books of the Old Testament</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
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<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Samuel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Kings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Kings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habakkuk</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esther</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANIEL</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

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Table 2 shows the distribution of the fifteen occurrences of the Hebrew word yp in the Book of Daniel itself.

<table>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It becomes obvious that most of the occurrences of the Hebrew word yp are in chaps. 11 and 12. The resurrection passages in the book of Daniel, namely 12:2 and 12:13, are

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One must keep in mind that the book of Daniel was written in two languages—Hebrew and Aramaic (Dan 2:4b-7:28). Table 2 deals with the Hebrew word for end. The Aramaic equivalent for yp is יֵּפֶן. It is used in Dan 4:8 (Engl. 11), 19 (Engl. 22); 6:27 (Engl. 26); 7:26, 28. See Magne Sæbø, "יֵפֶן," TWAT, 5:791-794; R. D. Patterson, "יֵפֶן," TWOT, 2:620.
surrounded by the occurrences of the Hebrew word יְּפָר.  

The expression יְּפָר וה is an "apocalyptic terminus technicus," 2 which appears in the Old Testament only in the book of Daniel. Table 3 shows the distribution of the phrase יְּפָר וה in the book of Daniel.

TABLE 3

OCCURRENCES OF THE PHRASE יְּפָר וה
IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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Again we see the same picture. The resurrection passages in Dan 12 are surrounded by the "apocalyptic terminus technicus."

1Dan 11:6, 13, 27, 35, 40, 45; 12:4, 6, 9, 13.
2Pfandl, 314.
Thus it seems evident that the resurrection passages in the book of Daniel are placed on the main road of the book; to be more precise, they conclude the whole book as the final accord. Of special importance is the fact that the resurrection passages are placed in the eschatological-apocalyptic context.

The Placement of Dan 12 in the Immediate Context

Nearly all scholars consider chaps. 10-12 as the last single revelation of the book of Daniel.1 These chapters are "given special emphasis by their length and their location at the end of the book."2 The prophecy has a complex introduction and a complex conclusion as well. Before the actual beginning of the prophecy there is an opening appearance of a supernatural being, and the same picture is presented in the conclusion. There is also a closing appearance of a supernatural being. In the description of the opening appearance it is stated that after Daniel heard the sound of the words of the heavenly messenger he fell with his face to the ground. And the voice spoke to him: "stand upright" (יָשָׁב עַל-עִנְבֵּיהּ).3 In the

2Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 289.
3Dan 10:11.
closing appearance of a supernatural being the last words addressed to Daniel are "so that you may stand" (דְּעוֹתִי), referring to his resurrection. The structure of Dan 10-12 could be presented as follows:

10:1-4 Introduction
1 Introductory statement
2-4 Circumstances, time and place of the vision

10:5-21 Opening appearance of supernatural beings
5-8 Daniel sees a supernatural being
5-6 The description of the supernatural being
7-8 Daniel's reaction
9-21 Daniel hears the supernatural being
9 A Daniel hears the words and falls to the ground (הָרָא הַאֲדָמָה)
10-11 B Daniel is touched (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה) and asked to "stand upright" (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה)

12 C Daniel is strengthened (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה)
13-14 D Supernatural being, together with Michael, stands against the prince of Persia (מְגָנְבֵּךְ עֲלֵיהֶם הָאֵל הַמְּגָנְבֵּךְ)

15 A1 Daniel hears the words and falls to the ground (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה)
16-17 B1 Daniel is touched (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה)
18-19 C1 Daniel is strengthened (הָיָהוּ הַאֲדָמָה)
20-21 D1 Supernatural being, together with Michael, stands against the prince of Persia (מְגָנְבֵּךְ עֲלֵיהֶם הָאֵל הַמְּגָנְבֵּךְ)

11:1-12:4 Main address by supernatural being
11:1-2a Introduction
11:2b-12:3 Announcement of events to come
11:2b Persian kings
11:3-4 A mighty king
11:5-35 Conflicts of southern and northern kings
5-8 A Southern against the northern

1Dan 12:13.
As is shown in the structure of Dan 10-12, four out of the five occurrences of the eschatological-apocalyptic

terminus technicus (ץ' הַשָּׁעִים) in the book of Daniel occur here. This by itself is strong evidence that the passage of Dan 10-12, and especially the last part of it, is eschatological in nature.

It seems appropriate to point out an additional observation concerning the structure of chaps. 10-12, namely that they start with an allusion to the final deliverance and conclude with a strong affirmation of it.¹

It is very interesting to notice that the final vision of the book of Daniel starts with a reference to time and place, when and where the vision was given to Daniel. Although there are some other instances in the book of Daniel where the place of the vision is stated,² this is the only occasion in the whole book where the time is given by stating not just the year but with a precise reference to the month and even the day.

Since this is the only explicit reference as far as the time is concerned, it must have some meaning. First, this adds significance to that which follows, namely the

²For example, Dan 7:1, 8:2.
³Dan 10:4.
last vision of the book of Daniel. Second, as Doukhan has pointed out, the reference to the twenty-fourth day of the first month is based not on the Jewish calendar but on the Babylonian calendar. It refers to the month Tishri. This means that the vision came after the Jewish feast of Succoth (ןְכוֹת). This feast was a reminder of the great deliverance of the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt. Thus, the exact reference to the time of the vision actually provides a context of deliverance. Others have argued that the reference to the first month is based on the Jewish calendar and that the first month is Nisan. If this is the case, then the vision came after the festival days of the Passover. The fourteenth day of the month Nisan was the Passover; this was followed by seven days of the feast of

1Doukhan, Le soupir de la terre, 225. He points out, ibid., 307, that Jewish interpreters refer to the fact that the first month of the Jewish calendar is the month Nisan. However, according to Exod 12:8-11, at that time Daniel was supposed to eat the flesh of the Passover lamb, and Dan 10:2-3 states that he has not eaten flesh. Therefore, they argue that Daniel used a Babylonian calendar and not the Jewish one. The first month of the Babylonian calendar is the month Tishri. For a different view see Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1956).

2Lev 23:43.

3For example, Archer, "Daniel," 123; Bulterma, 295; Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 256; Montgomery, 407; Collins, Daniel, 373; Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 225; Leupold, 447; Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 290.

4Lev 23:5.
Unleavened Bread.¹ These festival days were instituted to commemorate Israel's deliverance out of slavery in Egypt.² In both cases the reference to the exact day and month provide a context of the great deliverance. This, right from the beginning, sets a deliverance mode for the whole vision. This could be strengthened even more by the simple fact that the location where the vision was given to Daniel, namely at the river הַרְדִּיקָן, is mentioned in the Old Testament only two times, here in Dan 10:4 and in Gen 2:14. The context of Gen 2 is the Garden of Eden.³ The mentioning of this river in Dan 10 could be understood as an allusion to the Garden of Eden with the goal to underline Daniel's longing for the return to Eden. If this was the primary intention for the mentioning of the time and location of the vision, then I may suggest that the context of the vision was not just a temporary deliverance of God's people but rather a final deliverance. In fact, the last vision of Daniel concludes with the theme of deliverance of God's

²Exod 12, 13:3, 23:15.
³Bultema, 295, points out that the river "once flowed through the Garden of Eden. On its banks man once walked about without sin and misery, but after the destruction brought about by sin the Tigris and Euphrates flowed through the world dominions, and on its banks all kinds of abominations were perpetrated."
people. The resurrection passages are part of this final deliverance.

Consequently, it is evident that the resurrection passages are a part of the literary structure of the last prophecy. The resurrection passage in Dan 12:2 is placed in conclusion of the main part of the revelation. And the resurrection passage in Dan 12:13 is placed as a conclusion to the concluding part of the prophecy of Dan 10-12. Both passages are placed in the eschatological-apocalyptical context of final deliverance. This is supported not only by the reference to the time and place of the vision, but foremost by the frequent appearance of the phrase יְהֵ נִי תְּ רֵ נּ which is the eschatological terminus technicus.

Resurrection in Dan 12:2

The Immediate Context

Dan 12:2 starts with הרבעים, where the ĕ connects Dan 12:2 with the preceding verse, namely Dan 12:1.

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1Dan 12:1-3, 13.
The words שָׁעִיָּה יָשָׁעְיָה of Dan 12:1 refer back to the words יָשָׁעְיָה יָשָׁעְיָה used in Dan 11:40. This means that the events depicted in the beginning of chap. 12 will occur when the events described in Dan 11:40-45 will take place, namely at שָׁעִיָּה יָשָׁעְיָה. The same phrase יָשָׁעְיָה יָשָׁעְיָה appears two more times in Dan

In fact the phrase "at that time" is used two more times in this verse. And "at that time" ( Atat' yin DyiH) Michael will "stand up," because there will be "a time of trouble such as never has been" till "that time," ( Atat' yin DyiH) and "at that time" ( Atat' yin DyiH) God's people ("your people"--"everyone who is found written in the book") will be delivered. Robert A. Anderson, Signs and Wonders, ITC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 145, points out that the verse's "strongly eschatological character is hinted at in the use of the opening words 'at that time', and their occurrence twice more in the same verse."

Sutcliffe, 142, states that the "words 'in that time' inevitably carry back the reader's mind to what has just been described." See also Hartman and Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, 305; Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 255; Fenz, 414; Leupold, 527; Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 11; Stephen R. Miller, Daniel, The New American Commentary, vol. 18 (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1994), 313.

However, a number of scholars argue that Dan 12:1-3 has no particular connection with its context. For more information see Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, 140.

There are a number of scholars who agree that Dan 12:1-3 is placed in an eschatological context, but they still refer to the persecution of Antiochus IV as the historical context of the passage under consideration. For example, Hartman and Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, 306, recognize that the repeated phrase Atat' yin DyiH is an eschatological one; however, they still insist that it does not refer to the future time but rather points to "the time of the miserable death of Antiochus IV." The so-called "Maccabean Thesis," however, has recently been seriously challenged. For example, see Arthur J. Ferch, "The Book of Daniel and the 'Maccabean Thesis'," AUSS 21/2 (1983): 129-138; idem, "Authorship, Theology, and Purpose of Daniel," in
12:4 and 12:9. This phrase, as Pfandl has convincingly demonstrated, "always refers to the apocalyptic end of world history, the final period of time leading up to the absolute End."¹ Hasel states that "it is the climactic time of distress when the old aeon gives way to the new which is the point at which 'many of those who sleep in the ground of dust shall awake'."²


²Hasel, "Resurrection in the Theology of Old Testament Apocalyptic," 277. See also Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, 141. He points out that in Dan 12:1 "history suddenly gives place to eschatology," and that it "calls the final scene in human history to mind."
main part of the final vision of the book of Daniel. This part actually builds the climax of the vision, referring to the deliverance of those who are alive and of those who are dead as well. Davies refers to this pericope in the following way: "These four verses are arguably the most important in the book, for they contain the only unambiguous statement of belief in resurrection in the Old Testament."\(^1\) This pericope, although very short in length, contains not only a statement regarding the resurrection, it also contains references to Michael, the great prince; the time of trouble; deliverance; judgment with reference to the book; everlasting life; everlasting contempt; the wise; knowledge; and even the eschatological terminus technicus—יהיה. All of these are a witness in itself for the theological significance of the pericope.

**Genre, Syntax, and Structure**

A number of scholars have recognized that Dan 12:2 is poetry with the accentuation system: 4+3+4.\(^2\)

\[^1\]Davies, Daniel, 109. For other resurrection passages in the Old Testament see Archer, "Daniel," 153.

What is the function of poetry in a prose context? Stanislav Segert, after studying the poetic structures in the Hebrew sections of the book of Daniel, came to the conclusion that poetry by Daniel is used with the goal "to emphasize the most relevant messages in a vision." The fact that this study's text is written in poetry suggests that we are dealing here with a very crucial passage in regard to the message of the book of Daniel.

In the second part of the passage a contrastive parallelism is found:

In this parallelism the word שָׁלֵם and the demonstrative pronoun אֲלַל are both used twice. The first שָׁלֵם refers back to לָדַי and the second שָׁלֵם refers back to לֶחֶם מַיָּמִים and to מַיָּמִים. The parallelism and the missing copula

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1Ibid., 274.
2The function of the demonstrative pronouns in Dan 12:2 is explored later in this chapter.
between נַעֲרָתָה and לֵילָה could support only that both terms stand in relationship with the last שֶׁלֶם.

Neither part of the contrastive parallelism presents a complete sentence. A verb is missing in both of them. In fact, in the whole verse there is only one verb, namely מַעֲלוֹת, which rules the whole sentence, including the parallelism.¹

Translation and Textual Considerations

A number of slightly different translations have been suggested for Dan 12:2. Here is a representative list of some of them:

And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to everlasting contempt.²

Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth awake, some to everlasting life, and some to the reproach of eternal abhorrence.³

Many, who sleep in the earth's dust, shall awake, some to everlasting life and others to shame, to everlasting abhorrence.⁴

Multitudes who sleep in the dust of the earth will

¹This is presented more thoroughly later in the chapter.
²NKJV.
³REB.
⁴NBViME.
awake: some to everlasting life, others to shame and everlasting contempt.¹

And many from among the sleepers of the dust of the earth shall awake; these shall be unto everlasting life; but those [the rest of the sleepers, those who do not awake at this time] shall be unto shame and everlasting contempt.²

Thus many of those who sleep in a land of earth will wake up, some to lasting life, others to utter shame, to lasting abhorrence.³

...and many of those who sleep in the ground of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, but others to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence.

From these translations it becomes obvious that most of the differences appear in regard to the following words and phrases: קָרֹאָו יְאָלָה; אֲרֵמָה שָׁפָר; וְربيָם

Already in some of the ancient versions one can observe some differences.⁴ Thus, for example, the Theodotion text reads:

¹NIV. See also P. Edmund Bayer, Danielstudien, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, no. 3 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912), 157. He translates as follows: "Und die Massen derer, die im Erdenstaub schlafen, werden erwachen, die einen zum ewigen Leben, die andern zur Schmach und ewigen Verdammnis."

²Tregelles, 164.

³Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 274.


⁵The representative list of the ancient versions includes some of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions. Since this list provides a general picture, and since the
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν γῆς χῶματι ἔξεγερθονται, ὁμώ τι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ ὁμώ τι εἰς δυνατότητα καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον (And many that sleep in the earth of dust shall awake, these to life eternal, and these to reproach and eternal shame).

The Septuagint text of Origen reads:

καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς δυσιδεσμόν, οἱ δὲ εἰς διαστορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνην (And many that sleep in the breadth of the earth shall arise, some to life eternal, and some to reproach, some to dispersion and eternal shame).

The Vulgate reads:

Et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae pulvere evigilabunt alii in vitam aeternam et alii in obprobrium ut videant semper (And many that sleep in the earth of dust shall awake, some to life eternal, and others to contempt in order that they may see it always).

In the Syriac translation, the Peshitta simplifies the Hebrew expression יְשׁוֹבֵי נֶפֶשׁ by dropping נֶפֶשׁ. It also

modern translations at times have been influenced by the mentioned versions, the limitation seems justified.

1 For the explanation of the possibility that those who rise from their sleep could be divided into three, and not two groups, according to the reading of Origen, see Sharon A. Pace, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1984), 229-231.

2 Thomson, Daniel, 335.

3 The comparison with the Masoretic text is given below in the interlinear presentation.

adds an expression "of their fellows" after the word for "shame." Thus it reads: "And many of those that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to life everlasting, and some to destruction and the contempt of their fellows forever." Richard A. Taylor explains the addition of the Peshitta as "a reference to the righteous who also were raised and whose presence will be a source of shame for the unjust. Thus the expansion in Syriac serves to heighten the vindication of the righteous dead."

The interlinear parallels of the Masoretic text with some of the Greek versions and the Vulgate could be presented as follows:

Masoretic: קָפָא?

Origen: καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων (and many that sleep)

Theodotion: καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων (and many that sleep)

Vulgate: et multi de his qui dormiunt (and many that sleep)

As is shown, both of the Greek versions agree on the translation of the Masoretic text. The Vulgate is also in agreement with the Hebrew text.

Masoretic: קָפָא?

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Taylor, 290.

1 Taylor, 290.

2 The translation is similar to that of Thomson, Daniel, 335.

3 Taylor, 290.
Origen: ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς (in the breadth of the earth)
Theodotion: ἐν γῆς χώματι (in the earth of dust)
Vulgate: in terrae pulvere (in the earth of dust)

Obviously the Septuagint translators had some difficulties in translating this phrase. Origen's version has a reversed word order. For the Hebrew word יָם it uses the Greek word πλάτος, which means "breadth."¹ Theodotion's version keeps the same word order as in Hebrew and translates the word יָם as χώμα, which means "dust, spit of sand, earth thrown up."² The Vulgate keeps the same meaning and the same word order as in the Masoretic text.

Masoretic: יָם
Origen: ἀναστήσονται (shall arise)
Theodotion: ἐξεγερθήσονται (shall awake)
Vulgate: evigilabunt (shall awake)

Two different words for יָם are used in the Greek versions. Both of them stand for resurrection.³ "They are

²Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (1968), 2014.
³Ibid., 121, 469; Walter Bauer, Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur (1988), 119-120, 432-433;
not substantially different in meaning; which one is used depends mainly on whether the stress is on the active or the passive aspect.\(^1\) The Vulgate uses the word *evigilabunt* which has the meaning of "waking up, awakening."\(^2\)

Masoretic: מְאֹדַת לֵעָלָּם

Origen: οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (these to eternal life)

Theodotion: οὕτωι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (these to eternal life)

Vulgate: alii in vitam aeternam (some to eternal life)

The Theodotion translates ἐπειδὴ with οὗτοι (these), while the Origen version uses the partitive device οἱ μὲν (these), which is then followed twice by οἱ δὲ (those). The Vulgate here uses alii distributively (some).\(^3\)

Masoretic: מְאֹדַת לֵעָלָּם

Origen: οἱ δὲ εἰς οὐσίαν αἰώνιον (and those to reproach)

Theodotion: καὶ οὕτωι εἰς οὐσίαν αἰώνιον (and these to reproach)

Vulgate: et alii in obprobrium (and some to contempt)

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\(^3\) *Cassell's New Latin Dictionary* (1960), 35.
The Origen version introduces the second בָּלָה with oי δέ (those), the Theodotion with καὶ σῶμα (and these), and the Vulgate with et alii (and some).

Masoretic: לֹּ֨דוֹרֵ֔ן הַנָּתִ֖לָה
Origen: oι δέ εἰς διασποράν [καὶ οἰσχύσσαν] αἰώνιον (some to dispersion and eternal shame)
Theodotion: καὶ εἰς οἰσχύσσαν αἰώνιον (and to eternal shame)
Vulgate: ut videant semper (in order that they may see it always)

The Vulgate translates בָּלָה with the phrase ut videant semper (in order that they may see it always), the meaning of which is quite remote from that of the Hebrew and Greek readings.

The Theodotion version appears to be a closer representation of the Masoretic text. The Origen version adds an additional phrase. A possible explanation for this could be seen in the fact that the BHS' critical apparatus proposes to consider the word בָּלָה as an explanatory gloss for the very rare word הַנָּתִלָה. Pace points out that "a further indication that בָּלָה is indeed a gloss is that, if the text is read without it, the parallelism of the verse is restored." Then Pace continues by explaining that

1Pace, 230.
"corresponding to the gloss נון of the Hebrew text, ό οί δέ είς διαιδομον would have been inserted into the text."¹ Pace argues for one more insertion into Origen's version. He states that "it was only at a yet later stage, after the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew, that είς διαιδομον was inserted after οί δέ and joined to οίσχυρση with καί."²

However, in regard to the interpretation of נון as a gloss, it must be observed that the Hebrew textual tradition provides full support for the present reading of the Masoretic text.³

Vocabulary of Death and Resurrection

The Old Testament does not have one single term for resurrection. But the concept of resurrection is present and is expressed through several Hebrew words.⁴ Also a number of Hebrew words are used for death.⁵

Greenspoon states concerning this issue:

¹Ibid., 231.
²Ibid.
An exploration of "resurrection" terminology is hardly a neutral one. By this we mean that one first must determine that a passage is dealing with resurrection before its vocabulary can be introduced into the discussion. At the same time, however, it is very much a matter of vocabulary and its interpretation that enables one to decide that a passage does indeed refer to resurrection.¹

How do we then break out of this circle? Greenspoon himself provides an answer: "To break out of the circle, one must examine an extremely wide range of passages, certainly those most commonly thought to refer to resurrection."²

Thus, Greenspoon rightly refers to the crucial importance of contextual and vocabulary study.³ Therefore we shall turn now to the study of the vocabulary of Dan 12:2.

First the terminology will be studied which helps in deciding whether a resurrection is spoken of in the passage or not (such words and phrases as לֵיפָנָה, אֶצְדָּקָתוֹ, יָהֶד), and then the vocabulary will be

¹Greenspoon, 253.
²Ibid.
³For the importance of contextual and vocabulary study see Howard P. McKaughan, "The Importance of Context in Biblical Interpretation," in Basic Theology: Applied, ed. Wesley & Elaine Willis and John & Janet Master (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books, 1995), 48. He states that "words have multiple senses in their meanings, and we distinguish which sense is in focus by the context." See also Dan McCartney and Charles Clayton, Let the Reader Understand: A Guide to Interpreting and Applying the Bible (Wheaton, IL: BridgePoint Book, 1994), 113-116, 141-145.
considered which helps to determine the participants of the resurrection (the word הָנַע and the use of the demonstrative pronouns זה הוא).}

In Dan 12:2 the Hebrew word יָשָׂר is used, which means "asleep, sleeping." It is used twenty-five times in the Old Testament. Although יָשָׂר in most of the instances refers simply to "sleep," it nevertheless "may stand as a euphemism for death." In some Old Testament passages it refers very clearly to "death." For example, Ps 13:3 reads: "Consider and hear me, O Lord, my God; enlighten my eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death" (יָשָׂר וְיָשָׂר). In the book of Job, the Hebrew word יָשָׂר also is used to refer to physical death. "For now I would have lain still and been quiet, I would have been asleep" (יָשָׂר). The

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1 BDB, 445.
2 Even-Shoshan, 506.
4 In the Hebrew Bible Ps 13:4.
immediate context of this text makes it very clear indeed that דָּא refers to the physical death.\(^1\) The prophets also use the word דָּא for death. For example, in the book of Jeremiah the same Hebrew word is used twice in reference to death. "I will make them ... sleep a perpetual sleep and not awake, says the Lord" (בֹּאַנַּהֲנָהֶת וְיַעֲשָׂה לְהָא לְהַיָּהָל לְפָה נַעַב נָא מִי יָאָמֵר).\(^2\)

The Greek Old Testament\(^3\) translates דָּא with καθευδόω. And καθευδόω is often used for "death" as well.\(^4\)

The passages presented above suggest that indeed the Hebrew word דָּא can be used as a reference to death. Joyce G. Baldwin has observed that "the reason for using 'sleep' here as a metaphor for 'die' is that sleep is a temporary

\(^1\)See Job 3:11-13. Vs. 11 starts with the question: "Why did I not die at birth?"

\(^2\)Jer 51:39, see also 51:57. It is of importance to observe that here the metaphor of sleep for death refers to the wicked. This fact disproves the statement made by Bultema, 345: "The metaphor of sleep for death is used in Scripture exclusively of deceased saints. The wicked are not said to be sleeping but merely referred to as those 'over there'."


state from which we normally awake, and so the reader is prepared for the thought of resurrection."^1

In Hebrew for "ground of dust" the construct chain is used, which has presented many difficulties to ancient and modern translators. Generally there is a tendency to reverse the word order. As was shown above, the Origen version of the Greek translation has a reversed word order: εν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς.

The fact that נְפָר is often used in parallelism with could support a reversed word order.

However, if Hebrew had supported the reversed word order one would expect that it would have had a reversed word order as well.\(^3\) It is better to stay with a literal

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^1Joyce G. Baldwin, Daniel, The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1978), 204. See also Greenspoon, 255, where he states that Dan 12:2 provides an "affirmation that just as man's everyday sleep normally ends as he awakens, with strength renewed, to an invigorated form of life, so that sleep which is death will be ended." Nicholas J. Tromp, Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament, Biblica et Orientalia, no. 21 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 34, observes that the reference to "those sleeping" makes "excellent sense," and is "in perfect harmony with the biblical conception about the condition of the dead."

^2For example, Job 5:6, 14:8; Isa 29:4.

We should render the phrase literally 'ground of the dust' and understand it as a reference to the substance in which the dead are embedded."¹

Mercer states that "the noun מִזְחַת is a geographical term rather than a reference to the earth as tilled ground."² And in order to support this view Mercer quotes BDB. While it is true that מִזְחַת can mean "ground, land, territory, whole earth,"³ it is explicitly mentioned in the same source that מִזְחַת in the construct chain מִזְחַת לֶבַנָּה means the "ground" in which "lie the dead."⁴ Nickelsburg also considers מִזְחַת as a geographical term and he translates מִזְחַת לֶבַנָּה as the "land of dust," namely sheol.⁵ As a support for his translation, Nickelsburg refers to Job 17:16 where מִזְחַת and לֶבַנָּה are used in parallelism to each other.

However, as Hasel has correctly pointed out, "the first member of the construct chain מִזְחַת לֶבַנָּה does not need to be

²Mercer, 207.
³BDB, 9-10.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 17. See also Bentzen, 52; Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, 327-328.
considered as a geographical term with the meaning 'land' because the nomen rectum is never used of a geographical territory.\(^1\)

Some have suggested that this construct chain could be the result of the conflation of two synonyms.\(^2\)

Although the construct chain יָרָדָס is a **hapax legomenon**, there are some places in the Old Testament where the words יָרָדָס and הָמוֹן are used in close relationship to each other. For example, in the book of Genesis it is stated that God formed man out of "the dust of the ground." (וַיַּעַשֶׂה יְהוָה אֶלֶּה אֲדֹנֵי נַחֲלָתָם יָרָדָס שֶׁר בַּרְצֵיהֶם).\(^3\) This verse describes the "genesis, birth" of mankind. And in this context יָרָדָס precedes הָמוֹן. In another verse in the same book of Genesis where the context is not that of "birth" and "life," but rather that of "death," the word יָרָדָס is used not before but after the word הָמוֹן. Here Adam is condemned to return to the "ground" and to "dust." "Till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you shall return."


\(^2\)Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 17.

\(^3\)Gen 2:7.
Thus, Gen 3:19 provides a possible background for the word order used in Dan 12:2 for the phrase יָשָׁרְתָּ. It seems most likely that Daniel, in order to refer to Gen 3:19, creates a new expression, a hapax legomenon— יָשָׁרְתָּ. As we will see later in this chapter, it is not an unusual way for the author of the book of Daniel to create new expressions with a goal in mind to refer to a particular passage in the Old Testament.

The reference to Gen 3:19 is of great significance because it clearly refers to the physical death—to the grave.

The Old Testament identifies the dead with the

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1Gen 3:19.


3See p. 188, below.
"dust."¹ "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Will the dust (דָשַׁן) praise You? Will it declare Your truth?"²

The Old Testament also speaks about the dead as those that "lie in dust." "Why then do You not pardon my transgression, and take away my iniquity? For now I will lie down in the dust (דָשַׁן), and You will seek me diligently, but I will no longer be."³

Therefore, it seems safe to suggest that the expression דָשַׁן refers to the graves where the dead are located.⁴

In Dan 12:2 for "awake" the Hebrew root יַעֲקָב is used. It is used in Hiphil and means "awake."⁵ It can mean

² Ps 30:9.
⁴ Based on Dan 12:2 and 12:3, Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 112-113, describes the resurrection from the dust as a new creation "from dust, to stars."
⁵ BDB, 884.
awakening from sleep, \(^1\) awakening from drunkenness, \(^2\)
awakening of an inanimate thing, \(^3\) and it also can mean
awakening from sleep of death, resurrection. \(^4\)

There are in the Old Testament several instances
where the Hebrew word יָרָא is used in reference to
resurrection of the dead. For example, in the book of Kings
it is reported that the son of the Shunammite woman died.
"When he had taken him and brought him to his mother, he sat
on her knees till noon, and then died (יָרָא)." \(^5\) After this
took place the mother of the dead child went to the prophet
Elisha and asked him to come. Elisha sent his servant
Gehazi who "went on ahead of them, and laid the staff on the
face of the child; but there was neither voice nor hearing.
Therefore he went back to meet him, and told him, saying,
'The child has not awakened' (לֹא יָרָא יְהוָה)." \(^6\)

In the book of Jeremiah the same two Hebrew words for

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\(^1\) Sam 26:12; Is 29:8; Pss 3:5, 73:20.
\(^2\) Joel 1:5; Prov 23:35.
\(^3\) Hab 2:19; Ezek 7:6.
\(^4\) BDB, 884. See also Leonard J. Coppes, "ןֵרָא," TWOT,
2:798; Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection," 223.
\(^5\) 2 Kgs 4:20.
\(^6\) 2 Kgs 4:31.

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"sleeping" and "awaking" are used as in Dan 12:2, namely נַשָּׁכָה and נַעֲשָׁנָה. "I will make them ... sleep a perpetual sleep (יָנָהּ עַד וּלְאָנִי) and not awake (רָגּוּ לָנִי), says the Lord."¹

The same two Hebrew words appear together one more time in the same book. "And they shall sleep a perpetual sleep (יָנָהּ עַד וּלְאָנִי) and not awake (רָגּוּ לָנִי), says the King, whose name is the Lord of hosts."² In both cases, for awakening from death the Hebrew word נַעֲשָׁנָה is used.

One passage in the book of Isaiah comes even closer to that of Dan 12:2. "Your dead shall live; ... Awake (עֲנַיִּית) and sing, you who dwell in dust ( חוֹרָן)."³ The obvious verbal parallelism between Isa 26:19 and our passage under investigation has been observed by a number of scholars.⁴ Nickelsburg points out that not only is the language of Dan 12:2 "closely related to the Isaianic

¹Jer 51:39.
²Jer 51:57.
³Isa 26:19. For an overview concerning the date for Isa 24-27, see Hasel, "Resurrection in the Theology of Old Testament Apocalyptic," 268-269. For this study it is sufficient to mention that Dan 12:2 was written after Isa 26:19.
⁴For example, Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, 142; Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 17-18.
passage," but also that "Daniel is drawing on Isaiah.\textsuperscript{1} Some scholars argue that Isa 26:19 contains a clear reference to the resurrection of the dead, while others interpret the Hebrew word יִשְׂרָאֵל which is used here as referring to the national restoration.\textsuperscript{2} Martin-Achard has

\textsuperscript{1}Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 18.


Some scholars are not so sure concerning the interpretation of the language of Isa 26:19. For example, Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 17-18, states that the literal understanding of the language is "not a priori certain, for such imagery occurs in preexilic and exilic literature not as a description of a resurrection of people who were literally dead, but as a picture of the restoration of Israel." However, Grogan, 167, has pointed out that if "Ezekiel 37 uses the concept of resurrection figuratively, as it clearly does, then we would expect that that concept would be well known in literal terms; and so some awareness of it must have been already given. Why not then through Isaiah?"

convincingly shown that those arguing for a national restoration often overlook the context\(^1\) in which the text is placed. He observes that the resurrection of the righteous in vs. 19 has to be seen as an answer to vs. 14:\(^2\) "They are dead, they will not live; they are deceased, they will not rise. Therefore You have punished and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish." Hasel observes at least

\(^1\)It has been argued that Isa 24-27 does not belong to the apocalyptic literature. For example, Walter Schmithals, The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction & Interpretation, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1975), 191, states that the "literary characteristics of apocalyptic literature, particularly the portrayals of visions, are foreign to Isaiah 24-27." See also J. Lindblom, Die Jesaja-Apokalypse, Jes. 24-27, Lunds Universitets Arsskrift. N. F., no 34 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1938), 102; M. A. Beek, "Ein Erdbeben wird zum prophetischen Erleben (Jesaja 24-27)," Archiv Orientalní 27 (1949): 31; Georg Fohrer, Das Buch Jesaja, ZBK (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967), 2:1.


\(^2\)Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, 135, states that "the second is intelligible in the light of the first; together they show that the distinction between the pious man and the ungodly does not end with this life."
five arguments in favor of the physical resurrection in Isa 26:19:

1. The context of the unit (Isa 26:7-19) goes against a metaphorical interpretation of vs. 19.  

2. The unit witnesses a universal outlook. This becomes obvious in the contrast between the righteous and the wicked, and through the reference to the whole world in vs. 21. "For behold, the Lord comes out of His place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity."  

3. "The harmonious relationship" that is present between vs. 19 and vss. 20-21 "would be nullified without a physical resurrection of the righteous."  

4. The physical death of vs. 14 requires a physical resurrection in vs. 19. Otherwise "the evident antithesis" between vss. 14 and 19 will not work.

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2 Ibid.  
3 Ibid. Fohrer, Das Buch Jesaja, 2:27, states: "Dem Zusammenhang mit den anderen Teilen der Jesaja-Apokalypse entspricht es, dass er nicht bestimmte innere Verhältnisse der jüdischen Gemeinde meint, sondern die ganze Erde im Blickfeld hat (V.9b. 10a. 13f. 21)." Bernhard Duhm, Das Buch Jesaja (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 185, refers to the fact that in vs. 9 the whole world is in view.  
5 Ibid.
5. In Isa 26:19 the specification "the dwellers of the dust" (םְאָרֹן נַעֲרַי) is used in parallelism to the terms "dead" and "bodies." Thus it is very difficult to see how it could refer "to some other entity than those who have physically died."¹

Sawyer states in regard to Isa 26:19: "The Hebrew words for 'live,' 'arise' and 'awake' carry unmistakable eschatological overtones, especially in a context where terms for 'dead,' 'corpse', 'dust' and 'shades' (דָּשָׁא) also appear."² Based on this, Sawyer concludes: "The concentration of such vocabulary and imagery in this one verse also separates it from passages about national restoration and revival such as Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones."³ Sawyer also refers to the context in which Isa 26:19 is placed. He states that Isa 26, vss. 20-21 "in particular, point to a Day of Judgment outside history."⁴


³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 315. Sawyer, ibid., makes another interesting observation in regard to the relationship
Thus, it becomes clear that the Hebrew word הָרַע is used in Isa 26:19 "in a technical sense with reference to the resurrection."¹

As has been shown above, the Septuagint uses the word ἀνάστασις for הָרַע in Dan 12:2.² This Greek word is used for resurrection in both the Old and New Testaments.³ The same is true for the Greek word ἐγείρω which is used in the Theodotion version.⁴ The Vulgate uses the word evigilabunt between Isa 26:19 and Dan 12:2: "The two main subjects in the verse, as it stands in MT, have pronominal suffixes: תָּמו 'your dead' and זָמו 'my (dead) body.' The force of the first pronoun is to identify a special relationship between these particular dead people and their God. Jewish and Christian commentators have recognized here a reference to the martyrs, a special group among the dead who died for their faith, and as this is one of the main themes of Daniel, we are entitled to ask whether this is how we are intended to understand Isa 26:19 as well."


²John Henry Mulholland, "Principles for the Eschatological Interpretation of the Apocalypse" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1959), 509, states that the term ἀνάστασις refers to the physical resurrection.

³It is used very often in the New Testament in the resurrection passages, like Mark 12:18; John 5:29; Acts 1:22; Rom 1:4; Heb 6:2; Rev 20:5. See also Oepke, "ἀνάστασις," 1:371-372.

which has the meaning of "waking up, awakening."\(^1\)

Thus it can be concluded that the Hebrew word קָהָל is indeed used in the Old Testament as referring to the resurrection. "'To awake' is a natural way to describe the revivification of the dead, and the Old Testament uses these phrases in combination, 'to awake' and 'those who sleep in the dust of the earth,' to describe awakening from death."\(^2\)

Dan 12:2 is the only place in the Old Testament where קָהָל is used. It is a hapax legomenon.

The Hebrew word קָהָל is used 440 times in the Old Testament.\(^3\) Out of the five occurrences in the book of Daniel, it occurs four times in chap. 12.\(^4\) Most of the occurrences in the twelfth chapter appear in the context of

\(^{1}\) Andrews, A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, 549.

\(^{2}\) Kwon, 154-155; Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 307: "The OT's standard way of envisaging dying and coming back to life is by speaking of lying down and sleeping, then of waking and getting up."


\(^{4}\) In the book of Daniel it occurs in 9:24; 12:2 (two times), 3, 7.
the passage under investigation.\textsuperscript{1} The Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel contains eighteen occurrences.\textsuperscript{2} The etymology of the word לֵעָרָי is uncertain.\textsuperscript{3} Jenni argues that the basic meaning of it is "fernste Zeit" (most distant time), and that it can refer to both the remote past or the remote future.\textsuperscript{4} However, he points out that in the prophetic literature לֵעָרָי is used as an indicator for the definite coming of the eschatological salvation, and in the apocalyptic eschatology it is used as referring to the world

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1}Dan 12:2, 3.

\textsuperscript{2}Jenni, "לֵעָרָי," 2:229; Preuss, "לֵעָרָי," 5:1156. The following are the occurrences: Dan 2:4, 20 (two times), 44 (two times); 3:9, 33; 4:31 (two times); 5:10; 6:7, 22, 27; 7:14, 18 (three times), 27.

\textsuperscript{3}Ernst Jenni, "Das Wort לֵעָרָי im Alten Testament I. und II. Hauptteil," ZAW 64 (1952): 221.

\end{quote}
to come. Sutcliffe points out that לִיָּם does not always mean "everlasting." It is usually "used of long duration the limit of which is indicated by the context." For example, in the book of Exodus it is stated: "And his master shall pierce his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever (לִיָּם)." It becomes evident that here a duration of life is in view. However, when לִיָּם is used referring to God it definitely means "eternal." For example, in the book of Psalms a statement is found: לִיָּם לִיָּם ("from everlasting to everlasting, You are


\[2\] Sutcliffe, 117. Brian Long, "Notes on the Biblical Use of לִיָּם," WTJ 41 (1978): 56, states that "the time sense in the use of לִיָּם is determined by the context--that is, by the subject being described, or by an explicit qualification of the type mentioned earlier." Concerning לִיָּם, Long, 67, argues that it "is used to state the certainty and unchangeableness of a state or activity, within the period relevant to the context." See also Robert A. Peterson, Hell on Trial: The Case for Eternal Punishment (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 1995), 35.

\[3\] Exod 21:6.
"In this case the limits of the long duration indicated by הָיָה are set by the eternal life of God himself."²

Peterson points out that "the state of affairs after the resurrection of the dead is characterized by the life of God himself; the age to come lasts as long as he does--forever."³ Thus, he concludes: "Even though הָיָה does not always mean 'eternal,' the context here indicates that it must."⁴

The Hebrew word פָּנֵי which is used in the phrase נֵ֣עָם הָיָ֔ה occurs 777 times in the Old Testament.⁵ Von Rad points out that this word "does not cover all that we mean by life. It indicates only physical, organic life."⁶

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¹Ps 90:2.

²Peterson, 35. He continues: "That happens frequently in the Old Testament, which uses this word to speak of the eternal God's (Gen 21:33) eternal name (Exod 3:15), eternal attributes (love: 1 Kgs 10:9; glory: Ps 104:31; faithfulness: Ps 117:2; righteousness: Ps 119:142), eternal reign (Exod 15:18), eternal salvation (Isa 51:6, 8), eternal covenants (Gen 9:16; 17:7, 13, 19), and eternal word (Isa 40:8) and the eternal praise due him (Ps 89:53; 135:13)."

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Gillis Gerleman, "פָּנֵי," THAT, 1:558.

⁶von Rad, "Life and Death in the OT," 843.
and death (מְתָה) are often juxtaposed in the Old Testament. For example in the book of Deuteronomy it is stated: "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both you and your descendants may live." In the book of Jonah the phrase "it is better for me to die than to live" is found twice. More frequently the Old Testament uses the combination "live and not die."

Both the Theodotion and the Origen versions of the Septuagint translate the phrase מְתָה with ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The same phrase ζωὴν αἰώνιον is often used in the New Testament as a reference to eternal life.

Although the phrase מְתָה appears in the Old Testament only in Dan 12:2, there are several instances where a similar expression can be found. For example, in the same chapter in the book of Daniel the phrase מְתָה לֹא appears. For more information, see Helmer Ringgren, "HTT," TDOT, 4:332.

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1 Helmer Ringgren, "HTT," TDOT, 4:332.
2 Deut 30:19.
3 Jonah 4:3, 8.
4 Gen 42:2; 43:8; 47:19; Deut 33:6. In Ps 118:17 the expression "not die but live" is found. In Isa 38:1 the phrase "you shall die and not live" occurs. For more information, see Ringgren, "HTT," 4:332.
5 For example, Matt 19:16; 25:46; John 3:15, 16.
is used.¹ Here it is used as a reference to "Him who lives forever," namely God. In the book of Psalms the divine blessing is spoken for those who "dwell together in unity."² "For there the Lord commanded the blessing—Life forevermore (תָּחַת הַשָּׁלוֹם)."³ Mitchell Dahood points out that this is "another affirmation of the Israelite belief in eternal life."⁴ J. A. Sanders refers to the fact that in the Psalms scroll of Qumrān cave 11 the Hebrew word בְּשָׂר is missing.⁵ However, Dahood is well aware of that. He states: "Though missing in 11qps⁶, בְּשָׂר, (life), is proved authentic both by the 6:5:6 syllable count and by its association with לֶשֶׁת, (dew)."⁶ Dahood then goes on to refer to D. N. Freedman’s observation that by omitting בְּשָׂר, "the Qumranic sect may have wished to get rid of this obvious reference to eternal life" and that the word בְּשָׂר in vs. 3 of the Masoretic Text

¹Dan 12:7.
²Ps 133:1.
³Ps 133:3.
"is secured by the paronomasia between דָּוֹר and דָּוָּרָה," which is used in vs. 1.\(^1\)

Dahood points out that the Hebrew word דָּוָּר can be translated in both ways, namely "life" or "life eternal." This conclusion is based on his study of the Ugaritic literature.\(^2\) For example, Dahood refers to the Ugaritic text 2 Aqht VI:27-29, where eternal life and immortality are used in parallelism:

Ask for eternal life [חֵיָם]
And I will give it to you,
Immortality [בָּלִּימָת]
And I will bestow it upon you.
I will make you number years like Baal,
Like the gods you will number months.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Ibid. See also Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, WBC, vol. 21 (Waco, TX: Word Books Publisher, 1983), 213.


\(^3\)Ibid. Marvin H. Pope, "Marginalia to M. Dahood's Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology," *JBL* 85 (1966): 462-463, objects to this conclusion, arguing that it goes against the context of the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat. He states: "It is indeed clear that the goddess Anat offers the youth Aqhat immortality... But it is also clear from Aqhat's reply that even the goddess could not be trusted to make good the promise of immortality to a mortal." Then Pope goes on to present Aqhat's reply:

"Then answered hero Aqhat:
'Lie not to me, O Virgin,
For to a hero thy lies are loathsome.
Mortal, what fate gets he?
What gets a mortal as destiny?
Glaze they will pour on my head,
Lye on top of my pate.
The common death I will die,
I indeed will die."

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Thus, Dahood suggests translating מָחיִי in a number of Psalms as "eternal life." For example, he translates Ps 16:11 as follows: "You will make me know the path of life eternal (מָחיִי), filling me with happiness before you, with pleasures at your right hand forever."¹ The same is true for Ps 69:29: "Let them be erased from the scroll of life eternal (מָחיִי), and not enrolled among the just."² This is also supported by Lionel Swain, when he states that for the "Hebrew mind human life is such an absolute and positive value that it involves eternity. Thus it would be superfluous for the Hebrew to qualify what he knew to be

¹Dahood, Psalms III: 101-150, xlvi.
²Ibid., xlvii.
human life in its fullness with the epithet 'eternal'.¹ In view of this statement made by Swain one could ask why then here in Dan 12:2 the author uses not לֹא כֹּלְצַת but rather לֹא כְּלָלָה. The use of this phrase is probably best explained as a special intent on the part of the author of the book of Daniel to make a reference not only to the duration of life (namely, without an end), but also to its quality and certainty of its coming.²

Most scholars consider לֹא כְּלָלָה as a gloss on the לֹא כֹּלְצַת.³ Charles argues that לֹא כְּלָלָה was originally a marginal gloss explaining לֹא כֹּלְצַת, and was subsequently incorporated in the text.⁴ Nickelsburg refers to the


²For the possibility of understanding לֹא כְּלָלָה as an indicator for the definite coming of the eschatological salvation, see Jenni, "Das Wort לֹא כְּלָלָה im Alten Testament. III. Hauptteil," 18-19.

³For example, Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 281; Collins, Daniel, 393.

⁴Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 328.
following arguments for supporting the conclusion that הֶלְכָּם is a gloss:

1. הֶלְכָּם "breaks the otherwise perfect parallelism."¹

2. הֶלְכָּם, which follows after הָכָה, lacks in the Hebrew Text "the copula to join them logically."²

3. הָכָה "was a rarely used word" and thus needed an explanatory note.³

4. הָכָה "was a logical choice because of its frequent use in the Old Testament."⁴

However, one has to keep in mind that the "present reading not only has the full support of the Hebrew textual tradition, it has also the support of the entire versional tradition."⁵

¹Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 19.
²Ibid.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid. It is interesting to note that in Jer 23:40 and in Ps 78:66 the word הָכָה appears in the phrase חָמָל שְׁלֹשָׁה.
In regard to the main argument of those considering נִצְרֶפֶת as a gloss, namely that its presence breaks the perfect parallelism, it should be observed that it is very common in the Old Testament that by employing an antithetic or contrastive parallelism one phrase is counterweighted by a corresponding phrase which often contains not exactly but approximately the same number of words.\(^1\) Furthermore, if the passage of Dan 12:2 is taken as a whole,\(^2\) the presence of the word נִצְרֶפֶת provides a perfect accentuation system: 4+3+4:

The Hebrew noun נִצְרֶפֶת appears seventy-three times in the Old Testament.\(^3\) Most frequently it is used in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, and Psalms. In the book of Daniel it

\(^1\)For example, see Ps 1:6: "For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish."

\(^2\)The passage has to be taken as a whole since each part of the parallelism does not present a complete sentence; both are ruled by the verb נָחְשָׁן, which occurs in the beginning of the verse.

occurs 4 times. The basic meaning of יָרָךְ is "reproach, shame, disgrace." Spronk has observed that an explanation of the use of לִמְדוּד in Dan 12:2 could be derived from the use of the same Hebrew word in the book of Judges, where the people of Zebulun are described as those "scorning their lives even to death" (לִמְדוּד). It is interesting to note that the noun יָרָךְ is almost exclusively used in the singular and only three times in the plural—in Dan 12:2 and in Ps 69:10, 11. Although there seems to be no further connection between these two passages, the use of the plural in either instance is probably best explained as the author's intent to place special emphasis on it. Hasel calls this plural a "pluralis

1 Dan 9:16; 11:18 (two times), and 12:2.
2 *BDB*, 357-358. See also Thomas E. McComiskey, "דַּעַן," *TWOT*, 1:749.
3 Spronk, 339: "A plausible explanation of the text according to the MT can be derived from the use of כַּפְרוּ in Judg 5:18 where we read כַּפְרוּ לָמוֹהוּ, 'to stake one's life. This leads to the assumption that in Dan 12:2 the noun כַּפְרוּ is also connected with the preposition ל followed by a reference to a miserable death (cf. Isa 66:24)." However, one must observe that in Dan 12:2 the preposition ל is used before the Hebrew word כַּפְרוּ and in Judg 5:18 before the Hebrew word כִּפְרֹת.
Paul Joüon prefers to call it a "plural of abstraction." He explains: "An abstract noun is quite often expressed by a plural, which properly speaking aims at the various concrete manifestations of a quality or of a state."

The Hebrew word נ.break can be translated as "aversion, abhorrence." The etymology of נ.break is uncertain. It is assumed that it comes from the root נ.Payload. In Dan 12:2 it is used in antithetic parallelism to מ.Payload. It occurs only two times in the Old Testament. Greenspoon rightly observes that it can be hardly a coincidence that the word

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3Joüon, 2:502. See also Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 120-121.

4BDB, 201.


6Isa 66:24; Dan 12:2.
\[ \text{appears in Dan 12:2 and also in Isa 66:24.} \]

In both cases it occurs "in the context of the punishment of the wicked." In both cases the state of those to be punished is described as everlasting. "For their worm does not die, and their fire is not quenched. They shall be an abhorrence to all flesh." It would be helpful to take a closer look at the context in which the extremely rare word \[ \text{occurs in the book of Isaiah.} \]

In \[ \text{the Lord is described.} \]

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\(^1\) Greenspoon, 284.

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) Nickelsburg, \textit{Resurrection}, 20.

\(^4\) Isa 66:24.

\(^5\) W. A. M. Beuken, "Isaiah Chapters LXV-LXVI: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah," in \textit{Congress Volume: Leuven 1989}, ed. J. A. Emerton, SVT, no. 43 (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1991), 208. He states that "vss 15-24 should be labelled as a theophany, in which God's coming in judgement, announced by the prophet (vss 15-16 [17]), is connected with the going of the nations to Jerusalem and the worldwide recognition of YHWH, announced by God himself (vss 18-24). The thematic unity of the passage is also manifested in its enclosure by the concepts 'to come', 'fire' and 'all flesh' (vss 15-16, 23-24)."

For behold, the Lord will come with fire and with His chariots, like a whirlwind, to render His anger with fury, and His rebuke with flames of fire. For by fire and by His sword the Lord will judge all flesh; and the slain of the Lord shall be many.¹

George A. F. Knight describes this context as the "theophany of judgment."² Then beginning with vs. 18 the "universal recognition of the glory of the Lord" is described.³ Claus Westermann points out the direct relationship between vs. 15 (epiphany) and vs. 18 (revelation of God's glory among the nations).⁴ "It shall be that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see My glory. . . . And they shall declare My glory among the Gentiles."⁵ Then, beginning with vs. 20 the

¹Isa 66:15-16.
"eternal worship and eternal destruction" is described.\(^1\)

Vs. 21 is "designed to say that the witnesses and messengers from the nations are really just as much a part of the chosen people as those whom they won over by their witness."\(^2\)

In vs. 22 there is a reference to "the new heavens and the new earth." This definitely refers back to Isa 65:17: "For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered or come to mind."\(^3\)

It is interesting to notice that the book of Isaiah starts with a reference to the "heavens" and the "earth,"\(^4\) and ends with the reference to the "new heavens and the new earth."\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Westermann, 426.

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) John D. W. Watts, "Isaiah," Mercer Commentary on the Bible (1995), 613, states: "The verse refers back to 65:17 and the new creation in order to promise permanence and security in the Lord. The cycle of worship, both monthly and weekly, for all who will come is permanent. It will continue."

\(^4\) Isa 1:2.

\(^5\) Isa 66:22.
There is a movement "from creation to new creation."¹

Grace I. Emmerson points out the "universal nature of both the judgment and the salvation described here (vv. 23-24)."²

Thus, it could be concluded that the context in which the very rare Hebrew word יִתְנָכּ appears in Isa 66:24 is that of eschatology, judgment, new creation. Of special importance is the fact that this context makes it very clear that not only the Jews, but also the Gentiles belong to God's people.

In order to identify those resurrected in Dan 12:2 we have to deal with the question of how to understand the Hebrew word יִתְנָכּ in the context of Dan 12:2. Is it used here inclusively in the sense of "all" or exclusively in the sense of "many"?³

יִתְנָכּ comes from the root יִתְנָכּ, the primary meaning of


³L. R. Stachowiak, "Vielen (die)," Bibel-Lexikon (1968), 1848-1849.
which is "many," "much," and "great." The term לָֽעַבְרִי is often occurs in contexts referring to objects, days, times, and people.

As was demonstrated in the review of literature, a number of scholars argue that לָֽעַבְרִי is used in Dan 12:2 in the sense of "all." Others believe that to use the word לָֽעַבְרִי in the sense of "all" is unnatural and forced.

The term לָֽעַבְרִי is used (without a preposition) 191 times in the Old Testament. Even though it is used mostly

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2Wm. White, 2:826-827. It is of interest to note that לָֽעַבְרִי also is used referring to evildoers and Gentiles (Exod 12:38; 23:2; Deut 9:14).

3For example, Oesterreicher, 103; Zöckler, 262; Joachim Jeremias, "πολλοί," TDNT, 6:536-545. Jeremias, 536, refers to the fact that מָרֹב in the Old Testament can be used in the inclusive sense, especially when it is used with the article.

4For example, Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 256; Eichrodt, 512. Mercer, 207, observes that there is no clear evidence in the Old Testament that מָרֹב means "all." He then continues by stating that if Daniel had in mind "all" he would have used instead of מָרֹב. It is of importance to observe that even some scholars who support the general resurrection in Dan 12:2 see a problem of assigning to the word מָרֹב the meaning of "all." For example, see König, 241; Keil, 482.

5Even-Shoshan, 1054.
in an exclusive sense of "many," there are at least several instances where מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת is used in parallelism to כל. For example: "Many (מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת) entreat the favor of the nobility, And every (כל) man is a friend to one who gives gifts."¹

Another example is found in the book of Isaiah: "And all (כל) nations shall flow to it. Many (מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת) people shall come and say, 'Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord'."²

The following question could now be raised: Does the fact that in some instances מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת is used in parallelism to prove that the primary meaning for מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת in Dan 12:2 is the inclusive one in the sense of "all"?

It is of crucial importance to note that the Hebrew word מֹשַׁלֶּפֶת in Dan 12:2, unlike the examples mentioned above, is followed by the preposition ב.

The preposition ב can be a partitive³ marker: "The phrase with ב refers to part of the noun (or noun

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¹Prov 19:6.
²Isa 2:2c-3a.
equivalent) after the preposition. The partition may be simple ('some of') or comparative/superlative ('the better/best of,' 'the worse/worst of')."¹ Julius Fuerst observes that the preposition נֵּבָּל denotes the following ideas:

1. It "denotes the idea of local removal from an object, which is originally the separation of a part from the whole."²

2. It denotes "the local removal and separation of one thing from another" which is "taken figuratively so far as to express preference, selection from others."³

3. It refers to "the selection of a part out of the whole, as a development of the idea of removing."⁴

4. It points to the "removal transferred to the act of going out or away from an immediate cause."⁵

zum Alten Testament (1974), 2:566. He points out that the preposition נֵּבָּל can have a local force, a temporal force, and the partitive force, it also can designate the cause, the originator, the logical subject of a passive verb, it can specify the point of view, substitute for the comparative form of the adjective, and specify the logical cause.

¹Waltke and Connor, 213-214.
²Julius Fuerst, A Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament (1867), 826.
³Ibid., 827.
⁴Ibid., 828.
⁵Ibid., 829. Fuerst, 829-830, lists three other
It is important to observe that in all instances the usage of the preposition לֹּא is connected with the idea of separating, dividing, and splitting.¹

Leupold has suggested taking the preposition לֹּא in Dan 12:2 not as a partitive but rather as having a local force and thus translating: "There will be many who will arise from sleeping in the land of dust."² Hasel has appropriately shown the problems of this position:

The suggestion that לֹּא has a local force and that "many" (םְּרִי) is used inclusively so that one should translate "many who will arise from sleeping in the dust," and to understand it neither as a dual nor as a partial but as general resurrection, does not hold ground. לֹּא has local force when it is joined to a spatial term, but in Dan 12:2 לֹּא is joined to מָרִי, "sleepers," and not to a spatial term.³

Sutcliffe refers to the possibility of interpreting the preposition לֹּא in Dan 12:2 as having an explanatory sense. To support his view he refers to Arabic grammar, usages of the preposition לֹּא together with other prepositions, before the infinitive construct.

¹See also BDB, 577-583.
²Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, 530.
where such a meaning of the preposition מ can be found.¹

Thus, Sutcliffe translates Dan 12:2 in the following way:
"And many, those namely that sleep in the dusty earth, shall awake." It becomes clear that this translation supports an inclusive interpretation, namely that all the dead, all those who are sleeping in the dust, will take part in the resurrection. Sutcliffe believes that this "explanatory מ" is supported not only in Arabic grammar, but is also found in the Old Testament. As an example, he refers to the book of Genesis: "All in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, all that was on the dry land, died." ²

However, it must be pointed out that, here in Genesis, the word is used instead of מ. In addition, the question is still open as to why Daniel used the word מ if he actually had in mind מ.

Sutcliffe himself recognizes this problem by taking the preposition מ in an explanatory sense. He explains:
"But it can hardly be maintained that this was the sense originally intended. The words were not so understood by

¹Sutcliffe, 139.
²Gen 7:22.
the ancient translators."1 And indeed Origen's and
Theodotion's versions, the Vulgate, and the Syriac
understand the preposition ἐν "in its common and more
obvious partitive sense, 'And many of those who sleep'."2

Zöckler, however, believes that the word πολλοί',
which is used in the Greek versions, can sometimes mean
"all." As an example, he refers to the New Testament3 where
πολλοί' is occasionally employed as synonymous with πάντες.4
Nonetheless, one must observe that in spite of the fact that
the word πολλοί' is at times used as synonymous with πάντες
it is never used so in the context of resurrection. There
is at least one instance in the New Testament where the
Greek word πολλοί' is used in the context of resurrection.
It is found in the Gospel of Matthew: "And the graves were
opened; and many (πολλὰ) bodies of the saints who had
fallen asleep were raised; and coming out of the graves
after His resurrection, they went into the holy city and

1Sutcliffe, 139-140.
2Ibid., 140.

3Compare Matt 20:28; 26:28 with 1 John 2:2; 1 Cor
15:22; and Rom 5:15-16 with Rom 5:12.

4Zöckler, 262. See also Wordsworth, 60; Barnes,
2:259.
appeared to many (πολλοίς)." The context of this passage makes it very clear that "many" and not "all" is in the author's view.

It would be very helpful to see if we have somewhere in the Old Testament a usage of the Hebrew word לְרִיבָה similar to that in Dan 12:2. In fact, there is one other instance where the word לְרִיבָה is followed by the preposition יְ at "that is joined to a nomen regens which designates a human entity and is in construct with a spatial term." It is found in the book of Esther: "Then many of the peoples of the land became Jews, because fear of the Jews fell upon them."

In this instance it is evident that לְרִיבָה, which is also followed by יְ, is used in a partitive sense, and cannot be understood in any other way. Therefore, we may conclude that it is a common way to understand לְרִיבָה which is followed by יְ in a partitive and, therefore, in an

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1 Matt 27:52-53.
3 Esth 8:17.
exclusive sense of "many."^ "One would have to have compelling reasons for departing from normal usage before one could be reasonably sure that a meaning other than the common one should be chosen."^2

The close connection of vs. 2 with vs. 1 in Dan 12 also supports the exclusive sense of דִּין.

Verse 2 is by the copula יִּהְיֶה connected with verse 1, and thereby designates the continuance of the thought of the second half of verse 1, i.e. the further representation of the deliverance of God's people, namely, of all those who are written in the book of life.

Not "all" people will be "rescued" in vs. 1 but only those who are found "written in the book." The same pattern is seen in vs. 2. Not "all" will be resurrected to "everlasting life" or to "everlasting contempt" but "many."

It is interesting to note that Daniel uses דִּין at

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1 Nelis, "Auferstehung," 130, states: "Das min partitivum nach דִּין (viele) lässt es nicht zu, in דִּין ein Äquivalent zu 'alle' zu sehen." See also Hartman and Nelis, 2027: "The partitive יִּהְיֶה after דִּין ('many') does not permit דִּין to be taken as a synonym for 'all' ... and therefore the writer has in mind only a distinct group of the dead."


3 Keil, 477.
least seventeen times. In all of these instances לְרִכִּי is
used in the sense of "many" and not with the meaning of
"all." In all instances when the author of the book of
Daniel intended to express totality he used לְלֹא, which
occurs in the book 117 times. Thus it becomes obvious that
it is best to understand לְרִכִּי in Dan 12:2—which in addition
has one more restrictive element, namely the preposition ל
—in a limiting sense of "many."

Now it is necessary to look at the function of the
demonstrative pronouns לְרִכִּי which are used in Dan
12:2.

The demonstrative pronoun לְרִכִּי is best translated as

1Dan 8:25, 26; 9:27; 11:10, 14, 18, 26, 33, 34, 39,
40, 41, 44; 12:2, 3, 4, 10.

2For example, see Dan 8:4, 5; 9:6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14,
16; 11:2, 17, 36, 37, 43; 12:7, 10.
"these."¹ It is used as relating to what precedes or follows, or as attributive.²

Alfrink has suggested that the answer to the question of the identification of those resurrected in Dan 12:2 has to be sought not in the Hebrew word יָשָׁר, but rather in the function of the demonstrative pronouns יָשָׁר.³

Alfrink insists that these pronouns are used in Dan 12:2, not as referring to those who will be resurrected to everlasting life and to those who will be resurrected to everlasting shame, but rather to underline the contrast between the two groups. Thus, according to Alfrink, only one group, namely the righteous, will be resurrected and the wicked will remain in the graves. This kind of interpretation of Dan 12:2 has already been suggested by some medieval Jewish expositors. For example, Ibn Ezra quotes the Saadia Gaon: "Those who wake will be unto eternal life, and those who do not wake will be unto ignominy and eternal abhorrence."⁴ However, one must observe the

¹Baumgartner, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon, 1:50.
²Ibid.
³Alfrink, 362-364.
problems that arise with this interpretation. In Dan 12:2 we have only one verb, "awake," and the rest of the sentence is ruled by this verb.

This is a complete sentence; the next part, "what is wanted to complete it? Not a comment, giving some one's opinion as to who is intended by 'these,' but a verb of which these shall be the subject." It is natural to complete this sentence with the verb that is used in the preceding portion, namely "and." The same is true for the last portion of Dan 12:2. It also is not a complete sentence. Thus this portion must also be ruled by the only verb available in the whole sentence. "Anything less than this will not complete the sense, and anything different will pervert the text; for a predicate to be supplied cannot go beyond one already expressed."2

This interpretation is also supported by West, *Daniel's Great Prophecy*, 197; Tregelles, 165; Stevens, *The Book of Daniel*, 216; Lang, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 180; Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, 187; Payne, 462; Filmer, 149.

1Smith, *Thoughts, Critical and Practical*, 305.

2Ibid. Smith, ibid., continues by stating: "The affirmation made in the text pertains only to the many who awake. Nothing is affirmed of the rest who do not then awake. And to say that the expression 'to shame and everlasting contempt' applies to them, when nothing is
A similar example could be taken from the book of Isaiah: "Surely these shall come from afar; Look! Those from the north and the west, and these from the land of Sinim."

Here we have the first part of the sentence which is complete and then two other parts which are incomplete— and . In both cases we have the demonstrative pronoun and in both cases the verb is missing. However, there is no doubt that the whole sentence is ruled by the single verb which is present in the beginning, namely .

Thus we may conclude that Dan 12:2 can be understood only as a reference to awakening of both groups, namely the righteous and the wicked. One group will awake for eternal life and the other for eternal shame.

affirmed of them, is not only to outrage the sense of the passage, but the laws of language as well."

1 Isa 49:12.

2 For more examples of ellipsis of the verb, see Josh 8:22; 2 Sam 2:13.

3 René Péter-Contesse and John Ellington, A Handbook on the Book of Daniel (New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 324-325, also refer to this interpretation as the "probably correct" one.
Summary

After having studied the vocabulary of death and resurrection in Dan 12:2 and also words and pronouns which could help in determining those included in the resurrection, we may summarize the results as follows:

1. As far as the Hebrew word יָפָה is concerned, it has been shown that although יָפָה in most instances refers simply to "sleep," it nevertheless may stand as a euphemism for death. In a number of Old Testament passages it refers very clearly to physical death.1

2. In regard to the construct chain יָפָה-יָפָה, it has been shown that although it is a hapax legomenon, there are some places in the Old Testament where the words יָפָה and יָפָה are used in close relationship to each other.2 Gen 3:19 provides a possible background for the word order used in Dan 12:2 for the phrase יָפָה-יָפָה. The construct chain יָפָה יָפָה refers to the graves where the dead are located. The Old Testament identifies the dead with the "dust,"3 and

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1For example, Ps 13:4; Job 3:13; Jer 51:39, 57.
2For example, Gen 2:7; 3:19.
3Ps 30:9.
also speaks about the dead as those that "lie in dust."¹

3. It has been demonstrated that the Hebrew word קֵ יַ נ is at times used in the Old Testament with the meaning of awakening from sleep of death, resurrection.² The best example is found in Isa 26:19, where it is used as referring to the resurrection in a technical sense.

4. As far as the phrase לָּדוֹת שָׁלֻ֑ם is concerned, it has been shown that it is used only in Dan 12:2—a hapax legomenon. The two words used in the phrase לָדֹת שָׁלֻם are well known and often used in the Old Testament. The Hebrew word שָׁלֻם in the prophetic literature is used as an indicator for the definite coming of the eschatological salvation, and in the apocalyptic eschatology it is used as referring to the world to come. Dahood points out that the Hebrew word שָׁלַם can be translated in both ways, namely "life" or "life eternal." This conclusion is based on his study of the Ugaritic literature.³ Thus in the phrase לָדוֹת שָׁלֻם we have a double affirmation of the eternal life.

²For example, 2 Kgs 4:31; Jer 51:39, 57.
³Dahood, Psalms III: 101-150, xlvi.
5. Regarding the phrase נְאֵרָאִים נֵאֶרָאִים, we have seen that some consider נְאֵרָאִים as a gloss on the rare word נְאֵרָאִים. However, the present reading has the full support of the Hebrew textual tradition, and the entire versitional tradition supports it as well.

The basic meaning of נְאֵרָאִים is "reproach, shame, disgrace." It is almost always used in the singular. The fact that נְאֵרָאִים is used in Dan 12:2 in the plural and the fact that a copula is missing between נְאֵרָאִים and נְאֵרָאִים could be understood as a special intent on the part of the author to put emphasis on the fact that the resurrection will also include the wicked.

The Hebrew word נְאֵרָאִים occurs in the Old Testament only two times. The context in which it is used the second time, namely in Isa 66:24, is that of eschatology, judgment, new creation. Of special importance is the fact that this context makes it very clear that not only the Jews but also the Gentiles belong to God's people.

6. In respect to the correct understanding of the function of the Hebrew word נְאֵרָאִים, it has been demonstrated that it is a common way to understand נְאֵרָאִים, which is
followed by נָבִים, in a partitive and, therefore, in an exclusive sense, of "many."

7. As far as the function of the demonstrative pronouns נַעֲשֶׂה is concerned, we have seen that they have to be understood as referring to two groups of dead who will be resurrected—one to eternal life and the other to eternal shame. The two incomplete sentences that are introduced with a demonstrative pronoun נַעֲשֶׂה refer back to the single verb used in the entire sentence, namely נַעֲשֶׂה.

8. The Hebrew words for death and resurrection, namely, קֶשֶם and קַיֵם, in the context which is provided by such phrases as לָהֶם מִלֵּא מְלַח, אָרְץ וָשֻׁם, are undoubtedly referring to physical death and to bodily resurrection.

9. In the light of this exegetical study it is best to translate the text in Dan 12:2 as follows: "And many from those who sleep in the ground of dust will awake, some to everlasting life, and some to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence."

**Resurrection in Dan 12:13**

The Immediate Context

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Dan 12:13 represents the final words of the last revelation and at the same time the very last words of the whole book of Daniel. Vss. 9-13 represent the closing address of the final revelation by the supernatural being. In vs. 9 Daniel is addressed. Vss. 10-12 contain a summary announcement of events to come. And in vs. 13 Daniel himself is again addressed.

There are a number of similarities between the last verse and Dan 12:9.

In both verses Daniel is addressed. In both cases the imperative פ is used. In vs. 9 the expression רע is used, whereas in vs. 13, פענ and פענ are used one time each.

Genre, Syntax, and Structure

Stylistically, Dan 12:13 is written in prose. Although very short in length, this verse contains a number
of important key words. It has three verbs: הָלְךָ, אָנָה, and לִפְתַּח. In addition it contains four nouns: וְקָנָה (twice), אָנָה, וְקָנָה, and the personal pronoun לִפְתַּח. The imperative לִפְתַּח is followed by two verbal clauses in Qal imperfect. The verbal clauses have the same subject, לִפְתַּח.

Whereas the structure and the syntax of this text seem to be without notable complications, the text does contain a grammatical problem. This problem is found in the expression לִפְתַּח לְפָנָיו לְפָנָיו. Here to the Hebrew word לִפְתַּח an Aramaic plural ending יִ is attached. Is this simply an error or is it possible that it was intentionally done by the author of the book of Daniel? The possible reasons for this are presented later below.

Translation and Textual Considerations

A number of translations have been suggested for Dan 12:13. Here is a representative list of some of them:

But you, go your way till the end; for you shall rest, and will arise to your inheritance at the end of the days.

But you, go your way, and rest; you shall rise for your reward at the end of the days.

1NKJV.

2NRSV.
Go and wait for the end; you shall rest in the grave and then rise to enjoy your share at the end of the days.  

As for you, go your way till the end. You will rest, and then at the end of the days you will rise to receive your allotted inheritance.  

Go, take your rest, you shall rise for your reward at the end of days.  

As for you, go your way and take your rest, for you will rise for your reward at the end of the days.  

But you, Daniel, go your way till the end; you will rest, and then, at the end of the age, you will arise to your destiny.  

But you, go away and rest; and you will rise for your reward at the end of time.  

But go thou thy way and take thy rest, for thou shalt stand in thy lot, at the end of days.  

And thou, go to the end, and thou shalt rest and thou shalt stand to thy lot at the end of the days.  

It becomes obvious that some English versions do not translate the Hebrew word יָד which is used in the beginning.

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2NIV.  
3NAB.  
5REB.  
6NJB.  
7Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 394.  
8Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 264.
of the verse under consideration. The reason for this has to be seen in the fact that the authors of some ancient versions had already experienced difficulties in translating it. Thus, for example, the Septuagint text of Origen reads:

καὶ σὺ βαδίσον άναπαύον ἐτι γάρ εἰσιν ημέραι καὶ δραί εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας, καὶ άναπαύσῃ καὶ άναστήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου εἰς συντελείαν ἡμερῶν (But you go and rest, for there are days and hours till the fulfillment of the end; and you shall rest and arise to your glory at the end of days).

The Theodotion version reads:

καὶ σὺ δεύρο καὶ άναπαύον ἐτι γάρ ημέραι ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας καὶ άναστήσῃ εἰς τὸν κληρὸν σου εἰς συντελείαν ἡμερῶν (But you go and rest, for there are days to the fulfillment of the end, and you shall arise in your lot at the end of days).

The Vulgate reads:

Tu autem vade ad praefinitum et requiesce et stabis in sorte tua in fine dierum (But you go to the end and rest and you shall stand in your lot at the end of days).

The Latin translation agrees with the Masoretic text. However, the Syriac version, the Peshitta, introduces in Dan 12:13 the name Daniel, although it is not used in the Hebrew text, and translates the Hebrew word לְהָלָה as "time" and not as "lot": "Go, Daniel, to the end, rest and arise at your

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1 Compare the translation with Thomson, Daniel, 341.
2 Compare with ibid.
time at the end of days."¹ Taylor explains the addition of the name Daniel as an instance where "the translator has been influenced by the other occurrences of a similar expression, particularly the occurrences in 12:4, 5."² However, it seems more likely that the translator was influenced by Dan 12:9.³ The translation of τῆς ἡμέρας as "time" Taylor explains as "the result of influence from the Greek textual tradition."⁴ In fact, there are some manuscripts which translate τῆς ἡμέρας as εἰς τὸν καιρόν σου (at your time).⁵

The interlinear parallels of the Masoretic text with some of the Septuagint versions and Vulgate could be presented as follows:

Masoretic: יֶּלֶּדֶת חָוָה

Origen: καὶ σὺ βαδίσον (but you go)

Theodotion: καὶ σὺ δεῦρο (but you go)⁶

¹The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version, 3/4:43; Taylor, 292, 294. See also Thomson, Daniel, 341.
²Taylor, 292.
³See p. 156, above.
⁴Taylor, 294.
⁵For example, see Joseph Ziegler, Susanna; Daniel; Bel et Draco, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum, no. 16/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 213.
⁶The Greek manuscript no. 62 adds εἰς τέλος (to the end). See Ziegler, 213.
Vulgate: tu autem vade ad praefinitum (but you go to the preappointed end)

It is evident that both the Origen and the Theodotion versions do not literally translate the Hebrew phrase נְאָוָא לִיפָא. Because of that, a number of scholars argue that לִיפָא was introduced into the Hebrew text through a dittography—it was "introduced by a scribe, whose eye, passing from the preceding נְאָוָא, caught the last letters of לִיפָא in the second half of the verse."^2

Schematically it could be presented as follows:

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+---+---+
|   |   |
| ιόνης | בּוּרְכֵי |
| לִיפָא | בּוּרְכֵי |
| הָאִים | בּוּרְכֵי |
| לִיפָא | בּוּרְכֵי |
| נְאָוָא | בּוּרְכֵי |
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However, a double usage of לִיפָא is supported by

Hebrew textual tradition, and the Latin version does take

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^1 However, as is shown below, there is some evidence that the Greek versions were aware of the presence of לִיפָא in the Hebrew Bible.

^2 Bevan, 207. See also Montgomery, 477; Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 340; Bentzen, 52; Bernhard Hasslberger, Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis: eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10-12, AzTSAT, no. 4, Münchener Universitätsschriften: Fachbereich Katholische Theologie, ed. Wolfgang Richter (Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1977), 134.

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the Masoretic Text seriously in regard to the word יְדוּ.

Masoretic: הַמְּדִים

Origen: ἀναπαύσας ἔτι γάρ εἰσὶν ἡμέραι καὶ ὀραι εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας, καὶ ἀναπαύσῃ (rest, for there are days and hours till the fulfillment of the end and you shall rest)

Theodotion: καὶ ἀναπαύσας [ἔτι γάρ ἡμέραι] ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας]2 (and rest, for there are days to the fulfillment of the end)

Vulgate: et requiesce (and rest)

Here it becomes evident that the Greek versions not only translate הַמְּדִים but also add a new sentence: ἔτι γάρ εἰσὶν ἡμέραι καὶ ὀραι εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας (for there are days and hours till the fulfillment of the end), which is not attested in the Masoretic Text. The very fact that the Greek versions add this sentence testifies that they were aware of the presence of יְדוּ in the Hebrew Bible—this additional sentence is actually an attempt to make sense of יְדוּ.

Masoretic: הַמְּדִים הַמְּדִים

1A number of Greek manuscripts of the Theodotion version add here καὶ ὀραι (and hours). For example, Ziegler, 213, refers to manuscripts Bmg 26, 130.

2This addition of the Theodotion version is presented by Rahlfs, Septuaginta, 936, but is not in the main text of the Göttingen edition. See Ziegler, 213-214.
Origen: καὶ ἀναστήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου (and arise to your glory)

Theodotion: καὶ ἀναστήσῃ εἰς τὸν κληρόν σου (and you shall arise in your lot)

Vulgate: et stabis in sorte tua (and you shall stand in your lot)

Both of the Greek versions translate ἀναστήσῃ with καὶ ἀναστήσῃ (and you shall arise). However, they differ in translating τὴν δόξαν. The Theodotion version translates it as εἰς τὸν κληρόν σου (in your lot), whereas the Origen version instead of τὸν κληρόν (lot) uses τὴν δόξαν (glory).¹ Pace states regarding this difference that although it may appear that the Origen version "intentionally changes the text by using a word which may have important theological connotations, the change is best explained at the Hebrew level."² By stating this, Pace refers to the possibility that it is "a minor error where dalet and resh were confused."³

¹Papyrus 967 has a similar translation. See Angelo Geissen, Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel: Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco sowie Esther Kap. 1, 1a-2,15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, no. 5, ed. Ludwig Koenen and Reinhold Merkelbach (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1968), 264.

²Pace, 175.

³Ibid. See also Arnold B. Ehrlich, Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, sprachliches und
Masoretic: יְרֵא תָּמִי

Origen: εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν (at the end of days)
Theodotion: εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν (at the end of days)
Vulgate: in fine dierum (at the end of days)

There is an agreement between the versions in translating the Hebrew יְרֵא תָּמִי. It is interesting to note that instead of יְרֵא תָּמִי here יָרֵא תָּמִי is used.¹ The possible reasons for this will be discussed later.

Vocabulary of Death and Resurrection

As was shown in the review of literature, a number of scholars argue that Dan 12:13 does not contain a reference to a physical resurrection.² One of the arguments used against a resurrection is that the vocabulary used in Dan 12:13 is not that of death and resurrection.³ Thus it seems necessary to turn to the key words and phrases of Dan 12:13.

¹This kind of plural is attested in Aramaic.
²For example, Osbon, 183; Nötscher, 161; Nevin, 198.
³For example, Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 340, states that "to rest" refers not to the rest in the grave but rather to the rest "in thy mind." Charles, 394, also argues that the Hebrew word יָרֵא תָּמִי "is not used of the resurrection from the dead."
Dan 12:13 uses the imperative form of the Hebrew root רָצַר for commanding Daniel to "go." This root appears 1,547 times in the Old Testament. Its basic meaning is "go, walk." Of special interest for this study is the fact that the root רָצַר is also used in the Old Testament as referring to the end. It can refer to the end of the rain: "For lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone (רָצַר)." It refers also to the end of the wind: "A breath that passes away and does not come again (רָצַר)." It may refer to the end of a dew, or to the end of a grief. Most importantly for the study of Dan 12:13, רָצַר may refer to the end of life: "Remove Your gaze from me, that I may regain strength, before I go away and am no more (רָצַר).

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2 Coppes, 1:216. See also F. J. Helfmeyer, "רָצַר," TWAT, 2:415-433.

3 Cant 2:11.

4 Ps 78:39.

5 Hos 6:4.

6 Job 16:6.
In the book of Job it is stated: "He breaks me down on every side, and I am gone (תֵּלֵשׁ)." 2  תֵּלֵשׁ is also used as referring to the journey to the grave and to the dust. For example, in the book of Ecclesiastes a statement is found: "All go to one place (רָאָה יָדָו לְבָנָה): all are from the dust, and all return to dust." 3 Another statement in the same book connects תֵּלֵשׁ with a grave:
"There is no work or device or knowledge or wisdom in the grave where you are going (תֵּלֵשׁ)." 4 Thus it becomes obvious that, depending on the context, the Hebrew word תֵּלֵשׁ can refer to the end of life and be associated with such words as "dust" or "grave."

The next word used in Dan 12:13 is יַד, which appears sixty-seven times in the Old Testament 5 and simply means

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1 Ps 39:13 (in Hebrew Bible 39:14).
2 Job 19:10. See also Gen 15:2; Josh 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:2; Ps 58:9; Job 10:21; 14:20; 16:22; 27:21; Eccl 1:4; 6:4, 6; 1 Chr 17:11.
4 Eccl 9:10.
5 Even-Shoshan, 1023.
"end," "limit," or "extent." It can refer to the end of a specific time period or unspecified time period. Sometimes it is used to describe the "end" in an eschatological sense or to describe the "end of life."

Here in Dan 12:13 the first word seems to refer to the "end" of Daniel's life, which supports the view that "rest" is understood to mean "death." It appears to be more in harmony with the flow of the sentence to interpret the whole verse "as an enumeration of stages in Daniel's future: first, you will go your way until you die (word) and rest in the grave, then (at the resurrection), you will rise and

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2For example, Gen 8:6; Exod 12:41.

3For example, 1 Kgs 17:7; 2 Chr 18:2; Neh 13:6.

4Pfandl, 256.

5Ezek 21:30, 34; 35:5; Hab 2:3; Dan 8:17; 9:26; 11:35, 40; 12:4, 9, 13.

6Gen 6:13; Amos 8:2; Ezek 7:2, 3, 6; Jer 51:13; Lam 4:18.

7The same view is shared by a number of scholars, for example, Keil, 505; Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 264, against Barnes, 271; Leupold, 548. They prefer to see in word an eschatological end.
receive your lot.⁴ It is of interest to observe that this is not the only place in the book of Daniel where יָּמַע is used as referring to death. For example, in Dan 11:45 a statement is found: "Yet he shall come to his end (יָּמַע), and no one will help him." This declaration is in reference to the king of the North. Most of the commentators agree that it refers to the death of the king.²

However, the same Hebrew word is used in the book of Daniel as referring to an eschatological end as well.³ In fact, as will be presented later, the second יָּמַע in Dan 12:13 has an eschatological significance. Consequently there seems to be a tension between the יָּמַע with an eschatological meaning and יָּמַע, which refers to the end of one's life. This tension suggests that there is a relationship between eschatology and existence. Actually death in a person's life has an eschatological connotation as well.

Thus it appears evident that both Hebrew words יָּמַע

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¹Pfandl, 255.

²For example, Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, 322; Montgomery, 467; Archer, "Daniel," 148; Collins, Daniel, 389; Hammer, 114.

³For example, 8:19; 11:27; 12:6, 13b.
and יָדַע in the phrase יָדַע אֲנָשִׁים refer to the end of Daniel's life.

The Hebrew root מַלְכָּה has the basic meaning of "rest." As a verb it appears 144 times in the Old Testament. It has been observed that there are at least four theological uses of מַלְכָּה in the Hebrew Bible. It can have a "psychological-spiritual" significance, a martial application, a soteriological use, and it also can be used _______________________


2F. Stolz, "מַלְכָּה," THAT, 2: 43.

3Coppes, "מַלְכָּה," TWOT, 2:562.

4Ibid. Coppes explains that this refers to the absence of trouble. For example, Job 3:26; Prov 29:17; Isa 14:3, 7; 28:12. "The only true place of spiritual rest" is found in God: "Return to your rest, O my soul, For the Lord has dealt bountifully with you" (Ps 116:7).

5Coppes, "מַלְכָּה," 2:562, states that the martial use becomes obvious in God's promise to defeat Israel's enemies and to give them rest in the promised land. See Deut 12:10; Josh 21:44. The "continued rest (2 Sam 7:1) was contingent on their obedience (Num 32:15)." It is interesting to note that "God's martial sovereignty extended beyond Palestine." See Num 11:25; 2 Kgs 2:15; Esth 9:16; Ps 125:3; Isa 11:2; Zech 6:8.

6Coppes, "מַלְכָּה," 2:562, points out that "the soteriological use forms around the theology of the sabbath." Then he continues: "Man is not only to cease from
as referring to "death," namely to the rest in the grave. This last theological usage is of special importance for this study. There are indeed several instances in the Old Testament where it becomes clear that מְתָן refers to the rest in the grave. For example, in the book of Job it is stated:

Why did I not die at birth? Why did I not perish when I came from the womb? Why did the knees receive me? Or why the breasts, that I should nurse? For now I would have lain still and been quiet, I would have been asleep; then, I would have been at rest (מְתָן). . . . There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest (מְתָן).

The context of this passage makes it very clear that מְתָן refers to the rest in the grave. Another example can be found in the book of Proverbs: "A man who wanders from the way of understanding will rest (מְתָן) in the congregation of the dead." Here מְתָן also refers to the rest in the grave. It has the same meaning in Dan 12:13.

his worldly pursuits (Exod 31:12-17; cf. Isa 58:13-14), but he is to enter into a state of victory/salvation rest (Josh 1:13; cf. Deut 25:19). It is only the presence and favor of God that makes this rest (as well as martial rest) possible (Exod 33:14; cf. Isa 14:3, 7)."

1Ibid. In fact, Coppes mentions the use pertaining to death as the first theological use.

2Job 3:11-13, 17. See also Isa 57:2.

3Prov 21:16.

4Stolz, 2:44, states: "Dieses 'Ruhem' kann verschiedene Nuancen haben: Der Tote ist zu seiner Ruhe
The Greek versions translate ἐπανασκόμω, which is also used for describing the "rest" of the dead.¹

For "stand" here the Hebrew verb נָתַן is used in Qal imperfect. The general meaning of it is "to take one's stand, to stand."²

Nickelsburg has observed that the verb נָתַן "occurs in the Old Testament in judicial contexts. The disputants in a lawsuit stand. Yahweh will stand to judge."³ Chap. 12 of the book of Daniel starts with a double use of the verb נָתַן, which suggests that "Michael's defense of Israel is not only military, but also judicial. The war he wages has the character of judgment."⁴ In fact, נָתַן is the first and gekommen (Hi 3:17; Spr 21:16; in besonderer Weise ist durch ἐπανασκόμω der 'Zwischenzustand' des Toten, der auf seine Auferstehung wartet, in Dan 12:13 bezeichnet)." Coppes, "11:1," 2:562, states: "In Dan 12:13 God tells Daniel that he is to be dead at the end of days."

⁴Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 14.
the last verb used in the last chapter of the book of Daniel. It seems evident that through the use of יְדוּעַ in Dan 12:13 a connection is made to judgment presented in Dan 12:1.

In some instances יְדוּעַ is used as a contrast to "destruction or perishing." For example, in the book of Psalms a statement is found: "They will perish, but You will endure (יְדוּעַ)." A similar use of יְדוּעַ is found in the book of Amos: "He shall not stand (יְדוּעַ אַל) who handles the bow, the swift of foot shall not deliver himself, nor shall he who rides a horse deliver himself (יְדוּעַ אַל נַחֲלֵי נֹשֵׂא אֶחָד)." This statement is placed in the context of judgment and war.

1Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 101, points out that the repetition of the Hebrew word יְדוּעַ in the beginning and in the end of chap. 12 refers to the fact that "God's victory brings Daniel's victory."

2Ps 102:26 (in Hebrew Bible 102:27).

3Amos 2:15.

The Lord makes war on Israel. Under this war "even the bravest and most able heroes will succumb." God "threatens as a punishment a severe oppression, which no one will be able to escape." Gary V. Smith states regarding this war: "Israel's speediest troops will not be swift enough, its strongest and bravest will not escape death, its well-armed archer and charioteer will be useless." It becomes obvious that "not to stand" in the context of war means actually "destruction and dissolution."

is also used as a contrast or antipode to "death." For example, in the book of Exodus it is stated: "And if a man beats his servant or his maidservant with a rod, so that he dies ( Death) under his hand, he shall surely be punished. Notwithstanding, if he remains alive (Death) a


3Ibid. See also Thomas J. Finley, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, The Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary, ed. Kenneth Barker (Chicago: Moody Press, 1990), 172-175.

day or two, he shall not be punished."¹ Here ידוע is used as an opposition to הבש.

Although the versions of the Septuagint usually translate ידוע with the word 'στάναι,² here in Dan 12:13, however, they use ἀνάστασις for ידוע. ἀνάστασις is a term for resurrection.³

Thus it seems safe to indicate that the Hebrew word ידוע can be used for resurrection, as a synonym to the more recognized Hebrew word for resurrection—namely נפש.⁴ It is interesting to note that the Aramaic word נפש has the meanings: "stand up," "rise up," or simply "to stand" (like the meanings of the Hebrew word ידוע).⁵

²Helmer Ringgren, "ידוע," TWAT, 6:203.
³Oepke, "ἀνάστασις," 1:368-372.
⁴Ringgren, "נפש," 6:196; Collins, Daniel, 402. For more evidence see Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," 222-223. See also Cavallin, Life After Death, 100. He refers to the archaeological evidence (a fragmentary text which was found in the 20th catacomb of Beth Shearim) for the use of נפש as a term for the resurrection. Aalen, 12, points out that "wenn jemand aufwacht, steht er auch auf. Daher sind 'erwachen' und 'aufstehen' auch synonyme Begriffe."
⁵William L. Holladay, A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic
In the context of Dan 12:13, where יֵשָׁבֶת refers to the one "resting in the grave" and is followed by מַלְאַיִם, it stands undoubtedly for resurrection.

Daniel is promised that he will "stand to his lot." Here for "lot" the Hebrew word袆 is used.袆 is used seventy-seven times in the Old Testament. Its basic meaning is "lot," "portion." W. Dommershausen points out that Yahweh Himself had allotted the land to the tribes of the people of Israel "by means of casting lots." Therefore, Dommershausen explains, it is easy to understand "that a parcel of land apportioned by lot casting was itself called a 'lot'." Thus, he concludes: "Yahweh's great deed of giving the land is kept in memory by this technical term,

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Lexicon of the Old Testament (1971), 419; Baumgartner, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon, 5:1772-1773; BDB, 1110. For the meaning "to stand" see, for example, Dan 2:31; 3:3; 7:10, 16.

1 Even-Shoshan, 231-232.


5 Ibid.
and provides the basis for the spiritualisation of this term.  

The word יָרֵץ is used in the Old Testament "figuratively of the fate of man." For example, in the book of Psalms the following statement is found: "You, O Lord, are the portion of my inheritance and my cup; You maintain my lot (יָרֵץ). The lines have fallen to me in pleasant places; Yes, I have a good inheritance." Here יָרֵץ is used for the fate of man in a positive sense.

In the book of Isaiah the word יָרֵץ is used as referring to the fate of man in a negative sense: "Then behold, at eventide, trouble! And before the morning, he is no more. This is the portion of those who plunder us, and the lot (יָרֵץ) of those who rob us." The retributive nature of the lot is expressed here. In Isa 57 יָרֵץ also refers to a retribution which awaits the ungodly: "But come here, you sons of the sorceress, you offspring of the adulterer and the harlot! Whom do you ridicule? . . . Among

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1Ibid.
2Ibid.
3Ps 16:5-6.
4Isa 17:14.
5Dommershausen, 455.
the smooth stones of the stream is your portion; they, they, are your lot (יְהַלְכָּא)!\textsuperscript{1} The same is found in the book of Jeremiah: "Therefore I will scatter them like stubble that passes away by the wind of the wilderness. This is your lot (יְהַלְכָּא), the portion of your measures from Me," says the Lord.\textsuperscript{2}

Hence it becomes obvious that the Hebrew word יְהַלְכָּא can refer to the fate of man (positively and negatively).

It is significant indeed that יְהַלְכָּא in Dan 12:13 is connected to the time expression וְשָׁנִים. This connection actually points to the eschatological fate of Daniel after the resurrection. "Dan 12:13 is an exhortation to Daniel to look forward confidently to his lot at the end, since he will certainly be raised to everlasting life."\textsuperscript{3}

Origen's version of the Greek Old Testament translates יְהַלְכָּא with δῶξα.\textsuperscript{4} This points to the possibility that יְהַלְכָּא in the context of Dan 12:13 was understood as a

\begin{enumerate}
\item Isa 57:3-6.
\item Jer 13:24-25.
\item Dommershausen, 455.
\item The Theodotion version uses here ἐλαχίστος instead of δῶξα.
\end{enumerate}
reference to the eschatological fate of Daniel.¹

Dan 12:13 is the only place in the Old Testament where the exact phrase לְבַשָּׁת appears. This phrase is distinguished from other similar phrases because of the plural ending יִנְגָּל.² It is also significant to observe the use of the definite article in the given phrase.³

¹Pace, 175, believes that the difference is best explained at the Hebrew level, rather than at the theological one. She points out that the translators have confused resh with dalet. However, the same theological conclusion could be made for the use of the Greek word καλὴρας by the Theodotion version. Werner Foerster, "καλὴρας," TDNT, 3:761, states: "Of special significance is the fact that with the rise of hope in the resurrection and καλὴρας came to be applied to the portion allotted to man after death." Against the conclusions of Pace, see F. Raurell, "The Doxa of the Seer in Dan-LXX 12,13," in The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings, ed. A. S. van der Woude (Leuven: University Press, 1993), 520-532. He believes that there are theological reasons for the use of the Greek word δῶξα in Dan 12:13. For example, the eschatological meaning of δῶξα refers back to Dan 12:3.

²The Aramaic plural ending has the full support of the Hebrew textual tradition. It also can hardly be interpreted as a mistake made by the copyist, since the final Hebrew letters י and ד look quite different. Ernst Würtwein, The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to Kittel-Kahle's Biblia Hebraica, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957), 72: "The interchange of letters which look alike is the commonest cause of copyists' errors."

³It must be observed that in Dan 1:18 also the definite article is used in a similar phrase (לְבַשָּׁת וַיַּלְךָ).
There are some other instances in the Old Testament where a similar phrase occurs. For example, in the book of Nehemiah the phrase לָטַה נִכְנֶשׁ is found: "But during all this I was not in Jerusalem, for in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon I had returned to the king. Then after certain days (לָטַה נִכְנֶשׁ) I obtained leave from the king."\(^1\) In the book of Genesis it is stated: "And in the process of time (לָטַה נִכְנֶשׁ) it came to pass that Cain brought an offering of the fruit of the ground to the Lord."\(^2\)

In all of these instances the phrase under consideration refers to a period of time which can be determined by the context. In Dan 12:13, however, the Hebrew phrase לָטַה נִכְנֶשׁ is unique, because of its Aramaic plural ending and because of its strong eschatological weight in the context.\(^3\)

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The same is true for the Aramaic phrase נַעֲלָה יֵשָׁנָה used in Dan 4:31. In both instances the phrases under consideration refer to a period of time which can be determined from the context.

\(^1\)Neh 13:6.

\(^2\)Gen 4:3. For more occurrences of the same phrase see, for example, 1 Kgs 17:7; Jer 13:6.

\(^3\)Ernst Jenni, "רָנוּ, " THAT, 1:721. See also Magne Sabø, "רָנוּ," TDOT, 6:7-32. Jeffery and Kennedy, 549, state: "At the end of the days, however, can hardly be other than eschatological, and the meaning must be that he is being
Based on the context in which the phrase נקני נצטרא appears in Dan 12:13, it is best to conclude that it refers to the end of the period of Daniel's resting in the grave, namely to the day of his resurrection. "However," as Bruce William Jones correctly observes, "the presence of the article raises the possibility that we have a more technical term." Then, Jones continues: "If the period of time was thought to conclude with Daniel's resurrection, then the end of the period, however indefinite its length, was not an ordinary end of a period." Thus, Jones concludes: "We must reckon with the possibility, then, that the נז in Dan 12:13 refers to a special kind of 'end'." The phrase נקני נצטרא "may mean that time and history will come to an end."  

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1 Bruce William Jones, "Ideas of History in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1972), 210. It is interesting that Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 310, makes a statement against the possibility of taking the phrase נקני נצטרא as a technical term and for support he refers to Jones.


4 Jones, "Ideas of History," 274.
Stuart explains the presence of an article as a way to express the totality of time, namely the end of all time.¹

Pfandl describes the phrase יָםָי הָאָדָם as referring to "the end of the apocalyptic time of the end."² Keil argues that this phrase points to "the last days, when, after the judgment of the world, the kingdom of glory shall appear."³ Judah J. Slotki goes in the same direction when he states that the phrase "at the end of the days" refers to the time "when the era of eternal bliss will be inaugurated."⁴

The plural ending יָם is probably best explained as an

¹Stuart, A Commentary on the Book, 372. He explains the presence of an article in the following way: "The word days means undefined or unlimited time, and the whole expression exactly meets our English phrase, at the end of time. The article stands before the noun as comprising a totality, at the end of time."

²Pfandl, 255, 314. See also Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 264. He refers to this phrase as to the "final period, the consummation." Maier, Der Prophet Daniel, 423-424, states: "'Am Ende der Tage' meint wie Mt 28:20 'der Welt Ende', den Abschluss der irdischen Geschichte. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass das Danielbuch als das Buch der Geschichtslenkung Gottes und als das Buch der endzeitlichen Weissagungen gerade mit diesem Ausdruck schliesst!" Miller, Daniel, 326, explains the phrase "at the end of the days" as referring "to the end of this present age."

³Keil, 506.

⁴Slotki, 104. See also Barnes, 2:272. He states that the phrase under consideration refers to the time "when the consummation of all things should take place."
intention, on the part of the author, to make a differentiation from the days (םייח) mentioned above in Dan 12:12. Since in Dan 12:12 an explicit period of time is mentioned, namely "one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days," it would be natural to conclude that "the days" mentioned in Dan 12:13 refer back to the explicit reference to "days" in Dan 12:12.

Dan 12:12: אֶלֶּהָ לַפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים יִדְעָה לָקֶשׁ לָשׁוֹן פָּרָשָׁה

Dan 12:13: אֶלֶּהָ לַפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים יִדְעָה לָקֶשׁ לָשׁוֹן אֲדוֹן לָשׁוֹן פָּרָשָׁה

However, it seems to be of crucial significance that the author of the book of Daniel uses in Dan 12:13 not a Hebrew plural ending ד, which one would naturally expect, but rather the Aramaic plural ending ג. If this was intentionally done by the author, then it seems most likely that its purpose was not to refer back to the time expression in Dan 12:12, but rather to the time expression mentioned in the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel. It is important to observe that in Dan 12:13 ד is used with a definite article and in the masculine plural form. Thus,

1Against West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, 137.
the exact Aramaic equivalent would be תומת or very rarely תומת. There are several instances in the Aramaic section of the book where the word "day" is used with a plural ending. For example, in the fourth chapter it is stated: "And at the end of the time (_halְכֵּה תַחְצִית) I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, and my understanding returned to me; and I blessed the Most High and praised and honored Him who lives forever." From the context of this passage it becomes clear that the time expression הָלַּכֵּה תַחְצִית refers to the end of the period of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation. It must be observed that the phrase הָלַּכֵּה תַחְצִית refers not to a period of time, but rather to the actual end of the period. It is obvious that there are no connections between this passage and the time reference in Dan 12:13. The same could be stated regarding most occurrences of the word "days" in


2Dan 4:34 (in the Hebrew Bible 4:31).

3See Dan 4:34-37 (in the Hebrew Bible 4:26-31).
the Aramaic section of the book. They either refer to an
exact period of time --"thirty days" (a decree which
prohibited to "petition any god or man" for thirty days
[6:8, 13])--or they are simply a part of the name "the
Ancient of Days" (Dan 7:9, 13, 22). In Dan 5:11 the "days"
are referring to "the days of your father"--namely, as
becomes evident from the context, to the days of
Nebuchadnezzar.

However, there are two remaining occurrences of the
word "days" which could be of help in understanding the time
reference in Dan 12:13. Both of them are found in the
second chapter.2

First, it is stated: "But there is a God in heaven
who reveals secrets, and He has made known to King
Nebuchadnezzar what will be in the latter days (דִּבְרֵי
אֱלֹהִים)."3 Here the Aramaic דִּבְרֵי is the exact equivalent to
the Hebrew בְּרֵי with a definite article and in the masculine
plural form.

The Aramaic phrase דִּבְרֵי occurs only in Dan

1For example see Dan 5:11; 6:8, 13; 7:9, 13, 22.
2Dan 2:28, 44.
3Dan 2:28.
2:28 and is not known from any extra-biblical Aramaic sources.\(^1\)  \(\text{םינשנ הנחתמ} \) is a literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase \(\text{метрיה לָךְ תָּרוּ} \), which occurs one time in the book of Daniel\(^3\) and twelve times in the Old Testament outside the book of Daniel.\(^4\) Pfandl has convincingly demonstrated that the meaning of the phrase \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \) in the Old Testament varies depending on its contextual setting.\(^5\) "The context remains decisive for each case for the meaning of \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \)."

\(^1\) Pfandl, 130-131.
\(^2\) Ibid., 171.
\(^3\) Dan 10:14. It is of interest to note that the literal rendering of the Aramaic phrase \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \), namely \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \), occurs in the beginning of the last vision of which the resurrection passages are a concluding part. Dan 10:14 states: "Now I have come to make you understand what will happen to your people in the latter days (\(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \)."

\(^4\) Gen 49:1; Num 24:14; Deut 4:30; 31:29; Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezek 38:16; Hos 3:5; Mic 4:1.

\(^5\) Pfandl, 137-211.

\(^6\) Ibid., 180. For more information on the phrase, see John T. Willis, "The Expression \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \) in the Old Testament," Restoration Quarterly 22 (1979): 54-71. Willis, 69, argues that the phrase \(\text{מרור נֵבָּא} \) in most instances means "in the future." However, he admits that at times
The context of Dan 2:28 obviously indicates the future of the Babylonian kingdom and the future of world history down to the time when God would set up His own kingdom. It is of importance to note that the phrase נָפַלְתָּן מֵאָרֶץ, used in Dan 2:28, refers in the context not to the last part of the vision only, but rather to the whole vision, namely to the future in general—to the time period beginning with Nebuchadnezzar and ending with the establishment of God's stone-kingdom, which will last forever.

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this phrase "may be eschatological or Messianic." See also W. Staerk, "Der Gebrauch der Wendung דִּבְרֵי הַנֶּבֶר im at. Kanon," ZAW 11 (1891): 247-253. Staerk, 253, states that this phrase "diente zur Bezeichnung der Zeit, in der nach vollkommener Busse und vollendeter Erkenntnis des Volkes das gehoffte Messiasreich als gerechter Lohn für die Frommen erscheinen sollte." George Wesley Buchanan, "Eschatology and the 'End of Days'," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 20 (1961): 188-193, prefers to translate the phrase as "in the future," "in days to come," or "after this."

1 See Dan 2:28-45.

2 Against Keil, 100-101: נָפַלְתָּן מֵאָרֶץ designates here not the future generally . . . but the concluding future or the Messianic period of the world's time." See also Leupold, 105-106. Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 70, states that the phrase refers "to that period which would begin to run its course with the appearance of God upon the earth, i.e., the days of the Messiah. While it is true that the entire contents of the dream do not fall within the Messianic age, nevertheless, the principal point, the establishment of the Messiah's Kingdom, does fall therein."

3 Pfandl, 172: "If this phrase were a hapax legomenon and we had only the context to go by, what would be our conclusion? We would naturally conclude that Daniel
If we are correct in relating the "days" of Dan 12:13 with the "days" of Dan 2:28, then the phrase "the end of the days" of Dan 12:13 refers to the very end of "the latter days" of Dan 2:28, namely to the time period when God's Kingdom will be established.

The second passage where the word "days" occurs in the second chapter refers exactly to this period, namely to the end of "the latter days." It reads:

And in the days (י"תדרו) of these kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.¹

Here the "days" are also used in the masculine plural, but the emphatic state is expressed not through the article but rather through the pronominal suffix (third person masculine plural).²

The context of this passage makes it clear that the "days" mentioned here refer to the time when the God of heaven will destroy all the earthy kingdoms and establish His own, which will last forever. In other words, the

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¹Dan 2:44.
²It is of interest to note that here it ends with the letter }.
"days" of Dan 2:44 refer to the very last period of the "latter days (יָמִים הַלֹּאֵ֥רָה)" of Dan 2:28.

If my suggestion that the author of the book of Daniel deliberately uses an Aramaic plural ending in Dan 12:13 in order to refer to the "days" mentioned in the Aramaic portion of the book is legitimate, then it seems evident that Daniel refers to the "days" in Dan 2:44, which in turn refer to the very last period of the "latter days" mentioned in Dan 2:28.

The relationship between the "days" of Dan 12:13 and the "days" of Dan 2:44 is further supported by the double use in Dan 2:44 of the key resurrection term of Dan 12:13. It is interesting to note that, as was demonstrated above, the technical term for resurrection in Dan 12:13 is the Hebrew word יָשָׁמָר, which means "to stand." The Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew יָשָׁמָר is שָׁמַיִם, which has the same meaning: "to stand" and "to rise." ¹

Dan 2:44 twice uses the word שָׁמַיִם:

¹The Aramaic portion of the Old Testament does not use the word יָשָׁמָר.

²BDB, 1110-1111.
Thus, it seems very likely that there is indeed a relationship between Dan 12:13 and Dan 2:44. Consequently, it seems evident that "the end of the days" of Dan 12:13 refers to the very last period of the "latter days," namely to the time period when the Lord of heaven will establish His own Kingdom.  

Summary

After having studied the vocabulary of death and resurrection in Dan 12:13, the results may be summarized as follows:

1. As far as the Hebrew phrase יָשַׁב לְעֹת נַפְשִׁי is concerned, it has been demonstrated that, depending on the context, the Hebrew word יָשַׁב can refer to the end of life and be associated with such words as "dust" or "grave." Although the next word used in Dan 12:13, יָפֶת, simply means

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1Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 310, and Lederach, 260, suggest that probably the phrase יָשַׁב לְעֹת נַפְשִׁי refers to the same time as the phrase יָפֶת. However, although the phrase יָפֶת is an apocalyptic terminus technicus, as was demonstrated above, it refers to a time period, whereas the phrase יָשַׁב לְעֹת נַפְשִׁי seems to point out the very end of this period. This becomes evident by recognizing the relationship between Dan 12:13 and Dan 2:28, 44.
"end," "limit," or "extent," it can at times be used to describe the "end" in an eschatological sense or to describe the "end of life." Thus, in the context of Dan 12:13 both of the Hebrew words אֱלֹהִים and יִשְׂרָאֵל in the phrase אֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרָאֵל refer to the end of Daniel's life.

2. With regard to the Hebrew word הָאֱלֹהִים, it has been shown that in the Old Testament it refers not only to the psychological-spiritual, martial, or soteriological rest, but is also used to refer to "death," namely to the rest in the grave. Thus in the context of Dan 12:13 הָאֱלֹהִים is used to refer to Daniel's rest in the grave.

3. The phrase הָאֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרָאֵל contains two very important key words for Dan 12:13. The first Hebrew word הָאֱלֹהִים usually has the general meaning "to stand, to take one's stand." Of interest is the fact that the verb הָאֱלֹהִים often occurs in the Old Testament in judicial contexts. Dan 12 starts with a double use of the verb הָאֱלֹהִים, which points to the fact that Michael will stand to defend Israel not only militarily, but also judicially.

In some instances, the Old Testament writers used הָאֱלֹהִים as a contrast to "destruction or perishing." הָאֱלֹהִים is also used as an opposition to הָוָסָב.
The Greek versions use for ἀνάστασις the word ἀνάστασις, which is a term for resurrection. Thus, in the context of Dan 12:13, where ἀνάστασις refers to the one "resting in the grave" and is followed by λόγος, it undoubtedly refers to the resurrection.

The second word, λόγος, is used in the Old Testament figuratively as referring to the fate of man. In the context of Dan 12:13, where λέγεται is connected to the time expression λέγεται, it actually points to the eschatological fate of Daniel after the resurrection.

4. As far as the phrase λέγεται is concerned, it has been shown that this phrase is distinguished from other similar phrases because of the Aramaic plural ending 𐤉𐤇 and because of the article.

The plural ending 𐤉𐤇 is probably best explained as an intent to make a differentiation from the days (לָפֵי) mentioned above in Dan 12:12 and as a reference to the "days" mentioned in the Aramaic portion of the book, namely to the "days" of Dan 2:44 which in turn refer to Dan 2:28.

It is possible that the article is used here in order
to express the totality and to underline the significance of the phrase as a technical term.

In the context of Dan 12:13, the phrase לֵעָת נַעַסְתָּ has a strong eschatological weight referring to the end of the period of Daniel's resting in the grave, to the day of his resurrection, namely to the end of the time of the end.

5. The Hebrew words used in Dan 12:13 for death and resurrection, namely נִמְת and עַנָּן, in the context, provided by the words and phrases—יָיִן נַעַסְתָּ, נִמְת and לֵעָת, seem to refer very clearly to a physical death and bodily resurrection.

6. In the light of the exegetical study it is best to translate Dan 12:13 as follows: "But you, go your way till the end, and you shall rest; and you shall stand to your lot at the end of the days."

Relationship of Dan 12:2 and 12:13

Since both of the passages in Dan 12:2 and 12:13 refer to the resurrection, one has to determine in what relationship they stand to each other. Do these passages refer to one and the same event at the same time? Or, are they referring to two distinctive events? And if this is the case, who are the participants of the resurrections?

In order to answer these questions it would be
helpful to compare how the two resurrection passages in Dan 12 present the "what," the "when," the "who," and the "why" of the resurrection.

However, before dealing with these questions it seems necessary to study whether there are any linguistical parallels between these two resurrection passages in Dan 12.

Linguistical Connections Between the Two Resurrection Passages

As was demonstrated above, in Dan 12:2 for death the Hebrew word יָאָרָה is used, and for resurrection the Hebrew word יָרֵא is used. However, in Dan 12:13 for death and for resurrection, יָכַנ and יָכַנ are used respectively.

Consequently, it becomes obvious that there are no linguistical connections between the technical terminology of death and resurrection in these two passages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Resurrection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dan 12:2</td>
<td>יָאָרָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan 12:13</td>
<td>יָכַנ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Undoubtedly there seems to be a thematic connection between these two passages—both of them speak of death and resurrection; however, the language is different.¹

¹Possible reasons for that difference are presented later in this chapter.
Although there are no linguistical connections between the passages itself it seems evident that the technical terminology of Dan 12:13 refers back to the language used in the context of Dan 12:2, namely to Dan 12:1.


\[\text{The first and the last verb used in chap. 12 of the book of Daniel. In Dan 12:1 it refers to the judicial standing up of Michael, and in Dan 12:13 it is used in a technical sense for resurrection. Thus provides a link between these two passages and at the same time points to the relationship between judgment and resurrection.}\]

We will turn now to the study of the relationship between Dan 12:2 and 12:13 in so far as they relate to the "what," the "when," the "who," and the "why" of the resurrection.

The "What" of the Resurrection

What is the nature of the resurrection of Dan 12:2 as compared to Dan 12:13? What kind of resurrection is in the author's view in both of these passages?

From the review of literature it became obvious that two major views regarding the nature of the resurrection have been suggested. Some have argued for a national or spiritual resurrection,¹ others for a physical or bodily

¹For example, see Gaebelein, 200; Larkin, 258;
resurrection.¹ These two views have been suggested for both passages—Dan 12:2 and 12:13.

However, based on the exegetical study presented above, it seems safe to conclude that both resurrection passages in Dan 12 have in view a physical, bodily resurrection.

The nature of the resurrection in Dan 12:2 is presented through the word pictures "sleeping in the ground of dust" and "awakening."

As far as the Hebrew word יָאָד is concerned, which is used in Dan 12:2 as a word picture for "sleeping," it has been demonstrated that although יָאָד in most of instances refers simply to "sleep," it nevertheless in a number of Old Testament passages refers very clearly to physical death.²

As was shown, the best explanation for the use of the

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²For example, Ps 13:4; Job 3:13; Jer 51:39, 57.
phrase נוֹתָן is an intent to make a reference to Gen 3:19, which in turn alludes to Gen 2:7. This in itself is strong evidence that the author of the book of Daniel has a physical resurrection in view.

The Old Testament identifies the dead with the "dust,"¹ and speaks about the dead as those that "lie down in the dust."² Hence, the expression נוֹתָן refers to the graves where the dead are located. Dan 12:2 states that those sleeping in the graves will awake. For "awake," the Hebrew word יָפָן is used. There are in the Old Testament several instances where the Hebrew word יָפָן is used in reference to resurrection of the dead.³

If the author of the book of Daniel had a national resurrection in view, he definitely would have used other terms to describe it. It is impossible to describe the situation of the Jewish nation in the context of persecution with the word picture "sleeping," which is rather a term that refers to a peaceful and restful state.

Another argument against a metaphorical

¹Ps 30:9 (in Hebrew Bible 30:10).
³For example, 2 Kgs 4:31; Jer 51:39, 57; Isa 26:19.
interpretation of the resurrection is the contrast between the fate of the righteous—"to everlasting life," and the wicked—"to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence."

Thus, the word pictures "sleeping in the ground of dust" and "awakening" refer to the physical resurrection.

The same is true for Dan 12:13. Although in Dan 12:13 different word pictures are used for death and resurrection, they nevertheless refer to a physical, bodily resurrection as well.

As has been demonstrated, both of the Hebrew words רחג and יפ in the phrase רחג לפשי, in the context of Dan 12:13, refer to the end of Daniel's life.

The Hebrew word רחג at times refers to the rest in the grave.1 In Dan 12:13 the best interpretation of the word רחג is as a reference to Daniel's rest in the grave.

The actual technical term for resurrection in Dan 12:13 is ינשה. In the context, where ינשה refers to the one "resting in the grave" and is followed by קיפ לפשי, it refers without doubt to the physical resurrection. Here ינשה is used as referring to the fate of Daniel. The connection of ינשה with the time expression לפשי is very

1 For example, Job 3:11-13, 17; Prov 21:16.
significant. It actually points to the eschatological fate of Daniel after the resurrection.

Thus, Dan 12:13 speaks also of a physical resurrection. There is indeed an agreement between the two resurrection passages of Dan 12---they both refer to a bodily, physical resurrection.

The "When" of the Resurrection

In this section the timing of the resurrection passage of Dan 12:2 is compared to that of Dan 12:13.

It must be stated that Dan 12:2 does not contain an explicit reference as far as the timing of the resurrection described is concerned. However, the context of the passage contains a number of indications, which could be of help in determining the time factor of the resurrection.

First of all, the last vision of the book of Daniel, of which the resurrection passage is a part, starts with a reference to the time and place of the vision itself. The reference to the exact day and month provides the context of the great deliverance.\(^1\) The reference to the location where the vision is given alludes to the Garden of Eden,\(^2\) stressing the longing for a final deliverance. Thus the reference to the time and place of the final vision seems to

\(^1\) See p. 92, above.

\(^2\) See p. 94, above.
provide a background that alludes to the desire not just of a temporary but rather of the final deliverance.

Second, it is of vital importance to note that the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2 is placed in an eschatological-apocalyptical context. This is seen from the fact that Dan 12:2 is surrounded with the Hebrew word יָם  וּסְדָעָא 1 and with the eschatological terminus technicus, namely יָם  וּסְדָעָא. 2 This terminus technicus always refers to the end of world history, to the "final period of time leading up to the absolute End." 3 Thus, the very fact that the resurrection passage is placed in this eschatological-apocalyptical context of the final deliverance strongly suggests that the resurrection, described in Dan 12:2, is still in the future and will take place at "the climactic time of distress when the old aeon gives way to the new." 4

The immediate context, namely Dan 12:1, provides a context of deliverance and judgment. The judicial setting

1 See table 2, on p. 87, above.
2 See table 3, on p. 88, above.
3 Pfandl, 314.
is expressed through the Hebrew verb הָעַנָּן ("At that time Michael shall stand up") and through the reference to "the book" ("And at that time your people shall be delivered, every one who is found written in the book"). This context of deliverance and judgment also stresses the future final eschatological deliverance, presented through the eschatological-apocalyptical terminus technicus.

The resurrection passage presented in Dan 12:13 contains two time expressions, namely רבים and לְגַם. As was already presented above, the first time expression refers to the end of Daniel's life, and the second to the time of Daniel's resurrection, to the end of the time of the end. The time expression לְגַם, because of the Aramaic ending, seems to refer to Dan 2:28 and 2:44 in the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel. This connection suggests that the resurrection of Dan 12:13 will take place at the very end of "the latter days," namely, when the Lord of heaven will establish His own Kingdom.

1 Nickelsburg, Resurrection, 11-12.
2 Dan 12:1.
Actually in both cases here in Dan 12:13 and in Dan 12:2 the resurrection is still in the future. However, the question remains whether both passages refer to one and the same event at the same time or to two different events, which will take place at the end of time. As was presented above, Daniel uses different vocabulary in Dan 12:13 as compared to Dan 12:2 to describe death and the resurrection. Could it be that the different vocabulary indicates two distinctive events? I will deal with this question in more detail in the next section.

The "Who" of the Resurrection

The question of the "who" of the resurrection is in part related to the question of the "when" of the resurrection. However, since the question of the "who" is the most debated issue, as was presented in the review of literature, it deserves a separate treatment.

Dan 12:2 states that "many from those sleeping in the ground of dust will awake, some to everlasting life, and some to disgrace and everlasting abhorrence."

The text itself does not contain an explicit statement which would make it clear who will be participating in the resurrection. However, the Hebrew word דַּשַּׁנָּה followed by the preposition יָפְאֶה suggests that only a part of those sleeping in the graves will be resurrected.
Some of them will be resurrected to "everlasting life" and others to "everlasting abhorrence."

Thus, the language of the text itself implies a partial resurrection of the dead. However, the data assembled by the exegetical study point to the fact that there is a tension between the language of the text and the context in which Dan 12:2 is placed. Even though the language clearly refers to a partial resurrection, there are a number of reasons to interpret the context as a universal one.

First of all, as was shown, both of the resurrection passages are placed as a culmination of the final revelation of the book of Daniel, which right from the beginning anticipated a final deliverance. The immediate context of Dan 12:2 is that of the judicial standing up of Michael, who will deliver those whose names are "written in the book." This deliverance occurs in the context of "a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation." Rather, all of this points to a final universal judgment and deliverance. Another allusion to the universal context is found in the resurrection text itself. In the description of the fate of the second group mentioned in Dan 12:2, Daniel uses a very rare word, which in fact appears only twice in the Old Testament. The extremely rare Hebrew word יִתְנַשֶּׁר is used here in the passage under discussion and in
Isa 66:24. It was properly observed that it can be hardly a coincidence that this word appears in both these passages.\(^1\) In both cases it occurs as a description of the punishment of the wicked. And in both cases the state of those to be punished is described as everlasting.\(^2\) Of special importance is the fact that Isa 66:24 is placed in the context of eschatology, universal judgment, eternal destruction, universal recognition of the glory of the Lord, and in the context of new creation.\(^3\) Furthermore, the context of Isa 66:24 makes it very clear that to God's people belong not only the Jews, but also the Gentiles.\(^4\) Thus, by choosing the rare word יִדְרָצַר, Daniel most likely intended to refer to this universal context of Isa 66:24.

\(^1\) Greenspoon, 284.
\(^3\) See p. 138, above.
\(^4\) Isa 66:19-21. Sutcliffe, 138, argues that the context of Dan 12:2 limits the reference of the resurrection only to the Jewish nation (for example, the mention in Dan 12:1 of the phrase "your people"); however, the allusion to the passage of Isa 66:24 suggests that under "your people" not only the Jews but also Gentiles could be included. The inclusion of the Gentiles could also be supported by the observation made by Dexinger, 72: "Man wird aber über dem Zusammenhang mit der Tradition die Eigenständigkeit und den Fortschritt des theologischen Denkens bei Daniel nicht übersehen dürfen. Der Horizont des Buches ist umfassender. . . . Bei Daniel wird ganz deutlich, wie Gott nicht nur in der Geschichte Israels, sondern auch in der der Heiden wirkt. Das Gesetz, dem Israel folgt, ist das Gesetz der ganzen Welt."
Consequently the tension between the language of the text and the context of the passage becomes obvious. Having discovered this tension between the partial resurrection and the universal context, the question remains open: What kind of resurrection does the author of the book of Daniel have in view—the partial one or the universal one? Scholars are divided on this issue, some arguing for a partial resurrection, others supporting the general/universal resurrection, still others undecided. However, I suggest that in order to understand the tension between the partial resurrection and the universal character of the context, it


2For example, Zöckler, 262; Archer, "Daniel," 151-152; Wallace, 194; Boice, 124; Phillips, 197; Harris, From Grave to Glory, 62; Spencer, 36; Lowth, 159; Schubert, "Das Problem der Auferstehungshoffnung," 158; Leupold, 529-530; Neudorfer, 1:139; Wilson, "Resurrection in the New Testament," 755; Oesterreicher, 103; Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, 365; König, 241; Oepke, "Auferstehung des Menschen," 1:933-934.

is necessary to take into consideration the second resurrection passage in Dan 12:13 as well. It seems that Daniel most likely had not one or the other in view but both. In the tension between the partial resurrection and the universal context, the answer is to be found not on one or the other, and not in the middle, but rather on both parts of the tension. It seems that the tension between the language of the text and the context was intentionally created by the author of the book in order to emphasize the partial resurrection of Dan 12:2 and the general resurrection of Dan 12:13.

Dan 12:13 addresses Daniel. Although his name is not mentioned directly, the personal pronoun of Dan 12:13 clearly refers back to Dan 12:9, where Daniel is addressed directly by his name: "Go your way, Daniel."

As was mentioned above, the vocabulary of death and resurrection of Dan 12:13 is different from that of Dan 12:2. Instead of גא" in Dan 12:13, מ" are used. Even though the vocabulary of Dan 12:13 does not refer back to the first resurrection text of Dan 12:2, it nevertheless refers back to the context of the first resurrection passage. This becomes obvious through the use of the Hebrew word מ" which is the actual word that describes the judicial "standing up" of Michael in Dan 12:1. It is
important to keep in mind that the context of the first resurrection passage has a universal connotation in contrast to the text itself. This suggests that the author of the book of Daniel understood the resurrection of Dan 12:13 as a part of the general resurrection and not as a part of a partial resurrection of Dan 12:2. If this reasoning is true, then one could ask why Daniel uses "many" to describe a partial resurrection and only "one" to present a general resurrection. By careful analysis of the book of Daniel one can recognize that it is not unusual for Daniel to use one person for the description of a multitude. This pattern can be found in the chapters which are closely related to chap. 12. From the literary structure of the entire book of Daniel it was demonstrated that chaps. 2, 7, and 12 are in a special relationship to each other.\(^1\) It is very interesting that in both chaps. 2 and 7 the same pattern is used. For example, in chap. 2 Daniel presents and explains the dream to the king. The different parts of the great image represent different kingdoms. Concerning the head of the image, which was made of fine gold, Daniel tells the king Nebuchadnezzar: "You are this head of gold" (\(הָאָרְגָּן הַיָּדַע בֵּיתָ בֹא הֵחַיָּבָה\)).\(^2\) Even though the king alone is addressed, from

\(^{1}\) See p. 81, above.

\(^{2}\) Dan 2:38.
the context it becomes obvious that the whole Babylonian kingdom is in view. Another example is found in chap. 7. Here it is stated that "One like the Son of Man" came "with the clouds of heaven" to the "Ancient of Days," and that "to Him was given dominion and glory and a kingdom." This vision "troubled" Daniel and he asked for an explanation of it: "I came near to one of those who stood by, and asked him the truth of all this. So he told me and made known to me the interpretation of these things." Daniel was also told that "the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom forever, even forever and ever." This is underlined one more time in the same chapter: "Then the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people, the

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1See Dan 2:36-40.
2Dan 7:13.
4Dan 7:16.
5Dan 7:18.
It becomes obvious that in the vision itself the kingdom is given to the "One like the Son of Man"; however, it is interpreted by the heavenly messenger as being given to the "saints of the Most High." Thus, the "One like the son of Man" possesses the kingdom and at the same time the "saints of the Most High" also possess the kingdom.

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1 Dan 7:27.

2 This does not mean that the "One like the Son of Man" and the "saints of the Most High" are one and the same. The "One like the Son of Man" is also not simply a "symbolfigur" as was suggested by Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments: Eine Religionsgeschichte Israels in biblisch-theologischer Sicht (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1993), 244, when he states that: "Der Menschensohn ist kollektiv zu verstehen als Symbolfigur für das endzeitliche Israel." It is probably best to interpret that the "One like the Son of God" gives to and shares with the "saints of the Most High" the eternal kingdom. This view could be supported by the observation made by Ferch, "The Apocalyptic 'Son of Man' in Daniel 7," 179. After studying the passages of Dan 7:13-14, 27, he makes the following suggestion: "The context of Dan 7:13-14 leads us to assume that the purpose of the coming of the SM to the Ancient of Days in heaven was to receive the kingship. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the language of a royal investiture in which God himself appears to give the kingdom to the SM. No such suggestions are offered in vs. 27 regarding the manner in which and from whom the saints receive the kingdom. In addition, it is significant that the nouns מַלְאָךְabeled תָּמִיץ of vs. 27 are determinate whose antecedents seem to be the indeterminate מַלְאָךְabeled תָּמִיץ of vs. 14. In the light of these hints, it is possible to suggest that the kingdom or kingship and dominion which is given to the SM in heaven by God, the manlike being now shares with the saints who are on earth." See also Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 157. He interprets this in the following way: "The saints of God will receive from the Son of Man (to whom it was given) the eternal kingdom, and will hold it in possession forever."
Schematically the corporate language in Dan 2, 7, and 12 could be presented as shown in fig. 2:

**Fig. 2. Corporate language in Dan 2, 7, and 12.**

It is important to see that in all of these instances the one who stands for many is not just a symbolic figure, but rather he is a real person who represents numerous others.

Consequently, it seems safe to conclude that it is the usual pattern of the writer of the book of Daniel to use corporate language where one person stands as a representative of the multitude—a pars pro toto.¹ In view of this, the resurrection in Dan 12:13 uses Daniel himself as a representative of the general resurrection at "the end of the days."

This could be further supported by the fact that

¹A corporate language in Dan 7 has been recognized by a number of scholars; for example, see Gunneweg, 244; Lacocque, Daniel in His Time, 165.
Daniel is not directly addressed in Dan 12:13 by his name. It is interesting to observe that Daniel is addressed directly several times in the chapter by mentioning his name, but not so in Dan 12:13.

Dan 12:4 $\text{רַגְתְּיִהוּ דָּנָיִהוּ}$

Dan 12:9 $\text{רַגְתְּיִהוּ דָּנָיִהוּ}$

Dan 12:13 $\text{רַגְתְּיִהוּ דָּנָיִהוּ}$

Although it is obvious that Daniel is in view in Dan 12:13, it could be that his name was intentionally left out in order to underline the general character of the resurrection.

The general character of the resurrection in Dan 12:13 could also be supported by the fact that instead of promising Daniel "eternal life," as one would expect (comparable to Dan 12:2 where the righteous are promised $\text{לְהַיָּהּ שָׁלוֹם}$), he is promised "to stand to his lot." The general character of this statement becomes obvious since the Hebrew word $\text{לְהַיָּהּ}$ is used in the Old Testament as referring to the fate of man in both positive and negative senses.\(^1\) The expression $\text{לְהַיָּהּ} \text{לְהַיָּהּ}$ fits very well for the

\(^1\)Dommershausen, 2:455. See the Old Testament passages: Ps 16:5-6; Isa 17:14; 53:3-6: Jer 13:24-25.
general resurrection, since there will be different destinies allotted.

Consequently, there will be both—a partial resurrection (12:2) and a general resurrection as well (12:13).¹

If there will be a partial resurrection, then who are included in it, and what is the reason for making the distinction between those participating in the partial

¹It is very interesting to observe that we have here a parallel between the resurrections which have taken place at the first coming of Christ with those that will take place at the second coming of Christ. At the first advent of Christ, before the actual resurrection of Jesus Christ, there was a partial resurrection (Matt 27:52): "And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised." However, it must be stated that there is no consensus as far as the timing of the partial resurrection is concerned. Some have argued that the partial resurrection took place after the actual resurrection of Jesus. For example, see J. W. Wenham, "When Were the Saints Raised? A Note on the Punctuation of Matthew xxvii:51-3," The Journal of Theological Studies 32 (1981): 150-152; Leon Morris, The Gospel According to Matthew (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), 725. Others believe that the partial resurrection took place before the actual resurrection of Jesus. For example, see A. Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus: Seine Sprache, sein Ziel, seine Selbständigkeit (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1982), 784-785; John MacArthur, The MacArthur New Testament Commentary: Matthew 24-28 (Chicago: Moody Press, 1989), 275-276. For more information see Donald A. Hagner, Matthew 14-28, WBC, no. 33b (Dallas, TX: Word Books Publisher, 1995), 848-852. The same seems to be suggested by the resurrection statements of Dan 12—that before the general resurrection at the end of the days there will be also a partial one. There are also some differences—while at the partial resurrection at the first coming of Christ only many of the saints were raised; at the partial resurrection of Dan 12:2 some will be raised to eternal life and some to eternal contempt.
resurrection and those of the general or universal one? Although the text itself does not provide an explicit answer to these questions, the context may be of help. The context of the great final eschatological battle makes it likely that those participating in this battle will be resurrected to witness the deliverance of God's people.\(^1\) Those who have been involved in this battle are given the opportunity to witness the final outcome. The general resurrection would then logically take place after the battle is already over and won by Michael.

The "Why" of the Resurrection

The purpose of the resurrection of Dan 12:2 will be compared to that of Dan 12:13.

If the interpretation presented above is correct, then one of the primary purposes of the partial resurrection of Dan 12:2 is to give those who have participated in the eschatological battle the opportunity to witness the final outcome, namely the victory of Michael.

The very fact that in Dan 12:2 two different groups of people with two different destinies are mentioned

\(^1\)Eichrodt, 512, seems to agree with this proposal when he states that, according to the "whole thought-content of the book," the resurrection of Dan 12:2 must include "first and foremost those who take part in the great eschatological battle." See also Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 256.
suggests that one of the goals of the resurrection is also the reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked.

It is obvious that one of the primary purposes of the resurrection presented in Dan 12:13 is to ensure Daniel of his "standing up at the end of the days."

If the interpretation presented above is correct, then the resurrection of Dan 12:13 also has the goal to present a general resurrection, for which Daniel himself is used as a representative. This is supported by the chapters parallel to Dan 12.

The terminology used, namely לִפְלִיוֹת and רֵעַ, undoubtedly emphasizes the final judgment, in which the fate of the people will be decided. Thus it becomes clear that the resurrection encompasses judgment.

Are these the only goals of the resurrection of Dan 12:2 and Dan 12:13? In order to answer this question we would need to see how the resurrection motif functions in the whole book of Daniel. Chapter 3 provides more information concerning this question.

The analysis presented in this chapter suggests that indeed both passages--Dan 12:2 and 12:13--refer to a physical, bodily resurrection. However, they refer not to one and the same event, but rather to two different events--Dan 12:2 points to a partial resurrection and Dan 12:13 to a general resurrection.
CHAPTER 3

CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESURRECTION THEME IN DANIEL 12 TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Obviously the resurrection passages in Dan 12 need to be studied in light of the total message of the book, and in turn the contribution of these passages to the whole book must be taken into account. This could be done not only by noting the placement of these passages in the structure of the book, but also by noting the message of the book of Daniel in relationship to the message of the resurrection passages.

Although it is not possible to provide a complete theology of the book of Daniel, I will turn to the major theological themes of the book and investigate whether or not the resurrection theme of Dan 12 contributes to their better and fuller understanding.

1For the placement of the resurrection passages in the structure of the book of Daniel, see chap. 2, above.

2This is not a complete but rather a representative list of the major theological themes of the book of Daniel. Attention is given to those themes which have been recognized by scholars as very important for the theology of the book of Daniel and which stand in structural, linguistic, or thematic connection with the resurrection passages of Dan 12.
It has been observed that the book of Daniel places a specific theological emphasis on the following themes: the power and absolute sovereignty of God, the Kingdom of God, judgment, creation, and theology of history. What is the contribution of the resurrection theme of Dan 12 to these themes? These are the kinds of questions that are dealt with in this chapter.

However, before studying the contribution of the resurrection passages of Dan 12 to the theology of the book itself it would be significant to see if there are any connections between the passages under investigation with other passages of the book of Daniel. It is also of

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1Archer, "Daniel," 8; Miller, Daniel, 50.
interest if there are some allusions to the resurrection outside of chap. 12.

**Relationship of the Resurrection Passages to Other Passages of the Book of Daniel**

In order to study the connections of the resurrection passages in Dan 12 to other passages of the book of Daniel, first the structural and linguistic connections are investigated and then the thematic connections are presented.

**Structural and Linguistic Connections**

As has been demonstrated in the second chapter of this dissertation, chaps. 2, 7\(^1\) and 12 of the book of Daniel are closely related.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ch. 2: Four world kingdoms, the eschatological kingdom} \\
\text{ch. 7: Four world kingdoms, the eschatological kingdom} \\
\text{ch. 7: Victory of the Son of Man, vindication of the saints} \\
\text{ch. 12: Victory of Michael, vindication of the righteous}
\end{array}
\]

Another link between chaps. 7 and 12 is provided through the reference to the book: "The court was seated, and the books were opened."\(^2\) "And at that time your

\(^1\)For the correspondences between chaps. 2 and 7, see Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 170-172.

\(^2\)Dan 7:10.
people shall be delivered, every one who is found written in the book (םְפִּי).\(^1\)

It is also of interest to note that the name "Ancient of Days--אֱלֹהֵי יָמִים/מָרָאִים," used in chap. 7,\(^2\) contains the Aramaic word for "days" in the masculine plural which is also used in the time expression לֵיתִין נְשִׁים in the resurrection passage of Dan 12:13.\(^3\)

There seems also to be a linguistic connection between chap. 2 and the resurrection passages in Dan 12. For example, based on the exegetical study of Dan 12:13,\(^4\) the time expression לֵיתִין נְשִׁים refers back to chap. 2, thus providing a connection between Dan 2:28, 44 and Dan 12:13.

Another link between chap. 2 and the resurrection is provided through the use of the Hebrew resurrection term in 12:13--תְּמוּנָה--and its Aramaic equivalent--מַפְרָס--in 2:44. Just as the dead will be raised, so the eschatological kingdom will be "raised" and established forever.

\(^1\)Dan 12:1.

\(^2\)Dan 7:9, 13.

\(^3\)Chaps. 7 and 12 are also connected through the use of the time expression "for a time and times and half a time" (7:25; 12:7).

\(^4\)See chap. 2, above.
It is also of interest to note that there seems to be a linguistic parallel between the description of life after resurrection and the description of the eschatological kingdom in Dan 2:44. Both are described as "everlasting"—םֹּלְו. In fact the word מֹּלְו is used twice in the resurrection passage of Dan 12:2 and twice in the description of the Kingdom of God in Dan 2:44.¹

Consequently, not only are chaps. 2 and 7 and chaps. 7 and 12 related, but also chap. 2 and the resurrection passages in Dan 12 are connected. Schematically this could be presented as follows:

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| ch. 2 | ch. 7 | ch. 7 | ch. 12 |
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These structural and linguistic connections between chaps. 2, 7 and the resurrection passages in Dan 12 suggest a relationship between the resurrection, the Kingdom of God, and the judgment.

Furthermore, it appears evident that the context of the resurrection in Dan 12:2 contains some linguistic parallels with chap. 8 as well. For example, as has been already presented, the resurrection in Dan 12:2 is placed in

¹The eschatological Kingdom of God is described throughout the book as "everlasting"—םֹּלְו. For example, see Dan 3:33 (Engl. 4:3); 4:31 (Engl. 34); 7:18, 27.
the context of the time expression "the time of the end"—देश्यवस्त्र. This phrase, which is the apocalyptic terminus technicus, occurs only once more outside the end of the final vision of the book of Daniel (11:35-12:9), namely in Dan 8:17: "So he came near where I stood, and when he came I was afraid and fell on my face; but he said to me, 'Understand, son of man, that the vision refers to the time of the end' (देश्यवस्त्र)." This seems to point to the relationship of the events of the vision in chap. 8 with the historical events described at the end of the last vision of the book of Daniel.1

In addition to the structural and linguistic connections of the resurrection passages of Dan 12 with the other passages of the book, there seems to be a number of thematic connections as well.

**Thematic Connections**

The two resurrection passages of Dan 12, although very short in length, contain a number of important theological motifs. As was pointed out by David in regard to Dan 12:2:

> Within one single verse, we have encountered the motifs of death, resurrection, retribution, damnation, and eternal life! All these should be enough to insist

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1 For parallels between chaps. 7 and 8, see Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 183-219.
that in verse 2, we encounter the kernel not just of the final section of the book, but quite possibly even of the whole book.¹

It has been observed that the resurrection passage is so brief "that one might almost miss the fact that it is the theological climax of the book."² Lindenberger continues by explaining: "It is a rhetorical trick of ancient Hebrew writers to add emphasis by extreme brevity; this passage (contrast the overblown wordiness of chap. 11!) is a case in point."³

In addition to the motifs of death, resurrection, reward, retribution, damnation, eternal life, and the end of the days, which are presented in the resurrection passages itself, the context in which they appear, adds even more theological motifs. Thus, for example, Dan 12:1 contains a reference of a deliverer—Michael, the great prince. It also refers to the time of trouble, deliverance, and judgment with the reference to the books. All of this suggests that indeed we have here in the resurrection passages the theological culmination of the book of Daniel.

The theological themes, presented in the context of the resurrection passages, are connecting them with the rest of the book of Daniel where similar motifs are present.

²Lindenberger, 182.
³Ibid.
Thus, for example, the theme of deliverance, which portrays the absolute sovereignty and power of God, connects the resurrection passages in Dan 12 with the deliverance passages in Dan 1, 3, and 6.

In Dan 1 it is stated that "God had brought Daniel into the favor and good will of the chief of the eunuchs."\(^1\) After Daniel and his three friends were tested, it becomes obvious that they were in a better shape than before: "And at the end of ten days (תנשא) their countenance appeared better and fatter in flesh than all the young men who ate the portion of the king's delicacies."\(^2\) Here the phrase נס ה瞲 echoes the phrase פועל יד הנני used in Dan 12:13.\(^3\)

Of special importance are the two deliverance stories presented in Dan 3 and 6.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Dan 1:9.

\(^2\) Dan 1:15.

\(^3\) The movement to a better condition echoes the pattern of resurrection—from death to life.

\(^4\) It has been recognized that chaps. 3 and 6 correspond. Rolf Rendtorff, The Old Testament: An Introduction (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1991), 274, points out that the structure of chaps. 3 and 6 is "largely parallel: command to worship the king as god, refusal, denunciation, enforcement of the penalty, miraculous deliverance (from the fiery furnace or the lion's den), acknowledgement of the God of the Jews by the pagan king."
In the first story it is told that the three Jews who had been "set over the affairs of the province of Babylon: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego" refused to obey the command of king Nebuchadnezzar that everyone should worship the golden statue.\(^1\) As a result of their disobedience toward the king they were "cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace,"\(^2\) which had been heated "seven times more than it was usually heated."\(^3\) The immediate death of the three Jews was expected. This is emphasized by the fact that "those men who took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego" were killed at once by "the flame of the fire."\(^4\) "No mere mortal could have survived an instant in the huge furnace . . . so fierce was the fire that even to come near it was fatal."\(^5\) Thus the casting into the fiery furnace was equal to death.

However, "our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace," was the answer of the three Jews to the king.\(^6\) And God delivered them from death in a miraculous way: "And they saw these men on whose bodies the

\(^{1}\)Dan 3:12.  
\(^{2}\)Dan 3:21.  
\(^{3}\)Dan 3:19.  
\(^{4}\)Dan 3:22.  
\(^{5}\)Archer, "Daniel," 56.  
\(^{6}\)Dan 3:17.
fire had no power; the hair of their head was not singed nor were their garments affected, and the smell of fire was not on them."¹

The three young men were not delivered from being cast into the fiery furnace. They were in fact, cast in; they were put to "death." God, however, was able to bring them out from the furnace, out from "death," which in fact is a miracle that alludes to the resurrection. Jean Steinmann refers to this story as a symbol or a parable of the resurrection.² There is only one element missing in this story for it to qualify as a true resurrection story, namely death itself. Although the three young men were put to "death," they did not actually taste death.

This story is really a demonstration of the statement made by the three young men: "Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace."³

The second "resurrection story" is found in chap. 6. Here it is reported that Daniel himself was cast into the den of lions, which meant a sure death.⁴ Again, this story

¹Dan 3:27.
³Dan 3:17.
demonstrates that Yahweh was able to protect Daniel. God brought him out from "death." This also alludes to a resurrection, although here again in order to be a legitimate resurrection story one important element is missing, namely being dead. In spite of the fact that Daniel spent the whole night in the "grave," he did not taste death. The text makes it very explicit that this story in fact is an evidence of God's supreme power and sovereignty—"But the king spoke, saying to Daniel, 'Your God, whom you serve continually, He will deliver you'." The next day, as "the king arose very early in the morning" and came to the den of lions, he cried out: "Daniel, servant of the living God, has your God, whom you serve continually, been able to deliver you from the lions?" The name "living God" (תִּתֵּן) seems to be of importance here. It emphasizes the capability of God to give and protect life.

In chap. 3, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego are "promoted" after being saved from death. In chap. 6 it states that after being saved from death Daniel "prospered." This movement to a better status also recalls

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1 Dan 6:16.
2 Dan 6:19, 20.
3 Dan 3:30.
4 Dan 6:28.
the movement of the resurrection— from grave to glory.¹

Consequently, chaps. 3 and 6 contain an allusion to the resurrection of Dan 12. Norman K. Gottwald states:

The dire threats to Daniel and his companions in the lion’s den (chap. 6) and in the fiery furnace (chap. 3), from which they are miraculously saved, adumbrate the murder of the saints in the visions, which are not prevented by miracles but which will be abrogated by the great final miracle: their bodily resurrection at the appointed end time (12:1-3).²

Figure 3 illustrates the allusions to death and resurrection in the book of Daniel.

\[\text{Fig. 3. Allusions to death and resurrection.}\]

Thus it seems evident that these deliverance stories echo the resurrection— providing a connection between chaps. 3, 6, and 12.

In addition to the structural and linguistic connections between the resurrection passages and the theme

¹Doukhan, Le soupir de la terre, 137.

of the Kingdom of God, there are a number of thematic connections as well.

For example, before speaking of resurrection, the resurrection passages mention "death." As was demonstrated in the exegetical study, the expression יָמָתָם used in Dan 12:2 refers back to Gen 3:19 which points to the fact that death is a return to dust, a destruction—a reversal of the creation. We find the same thought pattern in Dan 2:34, 44-45. Here, before introducing the eschatological Kingdom of God, a reference to the destruction of all the earthly kingdoms is made. Before the rising up (םגס) of the Kingdom of God everything returns to dust (יָמָת—"break in pieces")\(^1\). Furthermore, the resurrection of the righteous is presented in Dan 12 as a movement "from dust to stars" (Dan 12:2-3).\(^2\) Thus, life after resurrection is presented as something better than before death—it is an "everlasting life" (לִבְּחָר הָאֶלֶף). The same pattern is presented in regard to the Kingdom of God. "It shall stand forever" (לַאֱלֹהִים לִבְּחָר הָאֶלֶף).

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\(^1\) BDB, 1089.

\(^2\) See also Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 113.
and it "shall never be destroyed" (רָאִי לָנוּלָי לָא תְּקַבֵּל) as compared to the earthly kingdoms.¹

It is important to note that the theme of the Kingdom of God is closely related with the inheritance motif. The saints will inherit the promised Kingdom. Through the Hebrew word used in Dan 12:13, a link seems to be established between resurrection and the inheritance motif.²

The resurrection passages also seem to be connected with other passages of the book in referring to the creation. Thus, for example, in Dan 12:2, as was presented in the exegetical study, Daniel introduces a new phrase אֱלֹהִים וַעֲשׂ, in order to allude to Gen 3:19, which in turn refers to Gen 2:7. In addition, another allusion to creation seems to be found in the fact that Daniel employs a very rare word, לָשְׂכָרָהּ, which is used only here in Dan 12:2 and in Isa 66:24 where it is placed in the context of judgment and new creation. The same pattern seems to be found in Dan 10:4 where the word לָשְׂכָרָהּ is used, which occurs

¹Dan 2:44.

²Dommershausen, 2:455, points out that לָשְׂכָרָהּ "appears with the meaning 'land, territory (territorial boundary),' in Josh 15:1; 16:1; 17:1, 14, 17; Ps 125:3; Mic 2:5." See also Kalland, 1:172.
only one more time in the Old Testament, namely in the creation account.¹

The resurrection passages in Dan 12 are also thematically connected with other passages of the book of Daniel in referring to history. For example, the time expressions used in the resurrection passages—"the time of the end" (יָמִין הָעָלָה, context of Dan 12:2), and "the end of the days" (יָמִין הָשָּׁложение, Dan 12:13)—refer to the importance of time in history. This awareness of the importance of time in history connects the resurrection passages with the rest of the book of Daniel which is historical/prophetic in nature, and especially with other passages containing similar expressions of time.²

Consequently, based on the structural, linguistic, and thematic connections, it seems evident that the resurrection theme, in one way or another, is related to the following themes: the power to deliver and absolute sovereignty of God; the Kingdom of God; judgment; creation and theology of history. These connections are illustrated in figure 4.

¹Gen 2:14.

²For example, see Dan 2:28, 44; 8:17.
Since there are some connections between the resurrection passages in Dan 12 and other passages of the book and since it has been suggested that the resurrection passages provide a theological climax for the whole book, it seems appropriate to ask: How do the resurrection passages contribute to a better understanding of the main theological themes of the book of Daniel?

Thus, it would be helpful to turn now to the study of the contribution of the resurrection passages to the major theological themes of the book, the relationship of which has been demonstrated through the structural, linguistic, and thematic connections.

**Contribution to the Theme of God's Power and Absolute Sovereignty**

It has been appropriately observed that "the
principal theological emphasis in Daniel is the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh."¹ In fact, this theme of the power and sovereignty of God runs through the whole book. It demonstrates that "the fortunes of kings and the affairs of men are subject to God's decrees, and that he is able to accomplish his will despite the most determined opposition of the mightiest potentates on earth."²

Right from the beginning of the book this theme is emphasized. Although chap. 1 begins with a reference to the fact that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it,"³ vs. 2 makes it very clear that this was only possible because "the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand."⁴ Even though Nebuchadnezzar might have attributed "his success to his own great military prowess and to the power of his gods, . . . Daniel understood that it was Yahweh who was using mighty Nebuchadnezzar as His own instrument of judgment."⁵

¹Archer, "Daniel," 8. Archer states that "at a time when it seemed to all the world that his cause was lost and that the gods of the heathen had triumphed, causing his temple to be burned to the ground, it pleased the Lord strikingly and unmistakably to display his omnipotence."

²Ibid.

³Dan 1:1.

⁴Dan 1:2.


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The book of Daniel points out that the "God who delivered His people into Nebuchadnezzar's hand was well able to preserve and protect them there."\(^1\) It was Yahweh who caused the Babylonian official to show favor to Daniel.\(^2\) It was God who gave to Daniel and to his friends wisdom and knowledge.\(^3\) The power of God could also be seen in the superior health of the same four friends after ten days of a simple diet of vegetables and water.\(^4\) It was God Who was able to save the lives of Daniel and his companions through the revelation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream to Daniel.\(^5\) After the dream was revealed the king said:

Blessed be the name of God forever and ever, for wisdom and might are His. And He changes the times and the seasons; He removes kings and raises up kings; He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have understanding. He reveals deep and secret things; He knows what is in the darkness, and light dwells with Him.\(^6\)

The content of the dream, presented in chap. 2, is also a strong witness in itself of the power and sovereignty of God.\(^7\)

\(^1\)Ibid.
\(^2\)Dan 1:9.
\(^3\)Dan 1:17.
\(^4\)Dan 1:8-20.
\(^5\)Dan 2:12-28.
\(^6\)Dan 2:20-22.
\(^7\)Dan 2:31-45.
The "determinism" of history presented in chap. 2 underlines the absolute sovereignty of God. As Merrill correctly observes: "Perhaps the greatest evidence of Yahweh's lordship in Daniel's own experience lay, however, in his unswerving conviction that his God was the one who appointed and deposed the monarchs of human kingdoms." Indeed the book of Daniel displays the power of God over the kings and over their kingdoms. In fact, the sovereignty and lordship of Yahweh are so obvious that even the heathen kings recognized it.

The deliverance stories of chaps. 3 and 6 clearly indicate "that the Lord God of Israel was in charge of the

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1 See p. 255, below.


3 For example, see the humiliation of king Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4. Nebuchadnezzar's praise (4:34-35), after his humiliation, underlines the supremacy and sovereignty of God: "And I blessed the Most High and praised and honored Him who lives forever: For His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom is from generation to generation. All the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; He does according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth. No one can restrain His hand or say to Him, 'What have You done?'

4 For example, see Dan 5. Chaps. 4 and 5, as has been pointed out by Rendtorff, 274, "both deal with the divine judgment of a king, which is announced in a mysterious way (in 4:2 by a dream, in 5:5 by the writing on the wall). . . . The message of these two chapters is that the 'Most High rules over the kingdom of men and gives it to whom he will' (4:14, 22, 29; cf. 4:32; 5:22 f)."

5 For example, see Dan 2:47; 3:28; 4:34-35; 6:25-27.
tide of human affairs and was perfectly able to deliver his people from pagan oppression during their captivity.\(^1\)

The second part of the book also demonstrates the wisdom, power, and sovereignty of God, especially through His knowledge and capability to foresee the future.\(^2\) The prophecies of the second half of Daniel repeatedly describe the "final battle, emphasizing now its cosmic aspect, now its enactment in political and military events. The scene shifts repeatedly back and forth from heaven to earth, and the style from vision to interpretation, with cumulative effect."\(^3\) Of crucial importance for this study is the fact that each time around, the drama ends with a victory of God and defeat of His enemy.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Archer, "Daniel," 8.

\(^2\)This becomes evident through the prophecies and visions of chaps. 7-12.

\(^3\)Lindenberger, 182.

\(^4\)Ibid. For example, chap. 7 points out that the fourth beast will be destroyed and that his dominion and kingdom will be given to the "One like the Son of Man" (7:13-14) and to the "saints of the Most High" (7:26-27). This chapter underlines that the control of the world belongs to God. As Gangel, 255, points out: "The world may deny him, curse him, laugh at him, or ignore him as various kingdoms rise and fall. But when the throne of the Ancient of Days is set in place, every knee shall bow." Chap. 8 refers to the fact that the little horn which "exalted himself as high as the Prince of the host" (8:11) "shall be broken without human hand" (8:25). And the last vision of the book of Daniel, after presenting the evil deeds of the
The emphasis on the power and sovereignty of God is probably best emphasized by the names of God attributed to Him throughout the book. The names and titles of God, which were used by Jews and foreigners, include the following:

"God of heaven—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "1
"Heaven—אֲדֹנָי "2
"King of heaven—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "3
"God of gods—אַלֹקָה מָלָא "4
"God of gods and Lord of kings—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "5
"Lord—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "6
"living God—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "7
"Prince of the host—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "8
"Ancient of Days—אַלֹקָה מֵבָטֵל "9

king of the North, states: "yet he shall come to his end, and no one will help him" (11:45).

1Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44.
2Dan 4:23.
3Dan 4:34.
4Dan 11:36.
5Dan 2:47.
6Dan 1:2; 9:3, 4, 7, 9, 15, 16, 17, 19.
7Dan 6:21 (Eng. 20).
8Dan 8:11.
9Dan 7:9, 13.
"Yahweh—יְהֹוָה,"¹ "Most High God—אֱלֹהִים הָרָאשִׁיָּם,"² and "Most High—אֱלֹהִים הָרָאשִׁיָּם."³

The supremacy of God "is rooted in the fact that He alone lives forever (cf. 4:34; 6:26), that His dominion is endless (2:44; 4:3; 6:26: 7:9), and that He is accountable neither to the powers in heaven nor peoples on earth."⁵

Consequently it becomes obvious that the theme of the power and sovereignty of God runs through the whole book from the beginning to the end, and presents its major theological emphasis.⁶

However, it must be observed that the presentation of the theme of God's power and sovereignty in the book of Daniel would not be complete without the resurrection theme of Dan 12. The first eleven chapters have made it very clear that God is the One Who is in charge and that His will will be accomplished despite any opposing power. God is able to save and to protect. He has power over the animals and over man. He controls all the kings and their kingdoms.

¹Dan 2:23.
²Dan 9:2, 4, 8, 13, 14, 20.
³Dan 3:26, 32 (Eng. 4:2); 5:18, 21.
⁴Dan 4:14, 21, 22, 29, 31 (Eng. 17, 24, 25, 32, 34).
⁶For a similar view see Kepler, 39-42.
However, one question still remains: What about death? Yes, chaps. 3 and 6 have demonstrated that He is able to save from death, but what about those who are dead? Who speaks the last word—death or God? The resurrection theme presented in the last chapter of the book of Daniel makes it very transparent that indeed God has the absolute sovereignty, and that He is the One Who speaks the last word. "It is emphasized that God's purpose reaches its appointed goal, even if historical and existential circumstances seem to make it impossible. Not even death can frustrate the divine purpose."¹

Consequently, the resurrection in Dan 12 provides a crucial element for completing the predominant theological theme of the book of Daniel, namely that of God's absolute power and sovereignty.

As Lindenberger pointed out:

What the author of Daniel 12 says is something new and distinctive within the canon of Scripture: that God's desire for justice, God's will for human life, cannot be frustrated even by death. It is not that God can set things right only beyond this life (the "pie-in-the-sky" canard). It is rather that God can set things right even beyond this life. This is, in its own right, a word of gospel.²


²Lindenberger, 186.
Contribution to the Kingdom of God Theme

It has been observed by Merrill that "nowhere is the notion of divine kingship more clearly articulated than in Daniel."¹ It has been stated that the Kingdom of God theme is the heart of the book.² Indeed, the book of Daniel puts a weighty emphasis on the tension, contrast,³ and the

¹Merrill, "Daniel as a Contribution to Kingdom Theology," 212. See also Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 330: "The theme that is central to Daniel as it is to no other book in the Old Testament is the kingdom of God. The book as a whole concerns how the rule of God becomes a reality of this world."


³Martin J. Selman, "The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament," TynB 40/2 (1989): 171-172, points out that the "main thrust in Daniel is the contrast between God's kingdom and all earthly kingdoms." He continues to explain: "Whereas the kingdoms of men are earthly in origin, the Kingdom of God comes from heaven. The kingdoms of men are compared with metals that tarnish or beasts that perish, notwithstanding the glitter and strength of gold, silver, bronze, and iron or the ferocious power of the animal kingdom. The Kingdom of God is indestructible, lasting forever, in contrast with the way in which all earthly kingdoms, despite their temporary glory, must inevitably give way to a successor."

It is of interest to note that Selman correctly points out that whereas the Kingdom of God is an eschatological one in nature, it is not restricted only to the future. He states, 174: "Both Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and Darius the Mede are aware that this 'everlasting Kingdom' can impinge directly on the affairs of men. In the strength of that kingdom, God delivers his subjects from the power of fire and lions, and demeans even emperors to the
controversy between the Kingdom of God and the earthly kingdoms. In this battle, however, the Kingdom of God is triumphant. "One of the focal points in Daniel is the triumph of the Kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the world."¹

First of all, the theme of the Kingdom of God finds expression in the dream of king Nebuchadnezzar.² Here it is presented as almighty, eternal, and universal.³ The king saw a great image whose various parts were made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, and iron mixed with clay.⁴

level of animals (Dan 3:33; 4:31; 6:27). It is very much, therefore, a Kingdom where God's people can experience real deliverance, in the present as well as the future."

¹Yuzon, 26. In, 24-27, he points out four characteristics of the Kingdom of God in Daniel. First, the Kingdom of God is "an earthly, political entity." It is distinct "from that of the highly developed apocalyptic writings which picture the Kingdom as an other-worldly, spiritual reality." Second, the Kingdom of God is a "gift (7:27) to the saints. It does not come about as a human achievement." The saints will "not establish it by their own power but that it shall be given unto them (7:18)." Third, the Kingdom of God is victorious. It triumphs over the kingdoms of the world. Fourth, the Kingdom of God is "universal and everlasting. It embraces the whole earth (2:35) and gathers all nations into its fold (7:27)." See also S. R. Driver, The Book of Daniel, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), lxxxv-lxxxvi: "One of the most fundamental ideas in the Book of Daniel is the triumph of the kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the world."

²Dan 2:31-35.

³Wolf, 409.

⁴Dan 2:32-33.
Nebuchadnezzar "watched while a stone was cut out without hands, which struck the image on its feet of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces."¹ The "stone that struck the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth."² According to the interpretation given in the same chapter, the various sections of the image represented different earthly kingdoms.³ These kingdoms, however, will be brought to a dramatic end through the intervention of the Kingdom of God:

And in the days of these kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.⁴

Here it becomes apparent that the Kingdom of God is not only victorious, but it is also universal and everlasting.⁵

Dan 7 contains a description of another dream, which once more confirms the content of Dan 2. This time Daniel himself had a dream.⁶ He saw how "four great beasts came up

¹Dan 2:34.
²Dan 2:35.
³Dan 2:36-43.
⁴Dan 2:44.
⁵Yuzon, 27.
⁶Dan 7:1.
from the sea, each different from the other."¹ From the interpretation given in the same chapter it becomes apparent that the four beasts represent different kings and their kingdoms.² Here again it is made unequivocal that finally the Kingdom of God will triumph and that it will be given to the "One like the Son of Man"³ and to the "saints of the Most High."⁴ The nature of the Kingdom of God is described here as everlasting--"His Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom."⁵

The destruction of the earthly kings and their kingdoms is further supported in chaps. 8 and 11.⁶

As Ferch has pointed out, "the fact that the visions of chaps. 2, 7, 10-12 all end with the eschatological kingdom (2:44; 7:27; 12:2) assures the reader that neither

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¹Dan 7:3.
²Dan 7:17.
³Dan 7:13-14.
⁴Dan 7:27.
⁵Dan 7:27.
⁶Dan 8:25: "He shall even rise against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without human hand." Dan 11:45: "And he shall plant the tents of his palace between the seas and the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and no one will help him." See also Merrill, "A Theology of Ezekiel and Daniel," 393-394; Dennis C. Duling, "Kingdom of God, Kingdom of Heaven," ABD (1992), 4:50.
historical nor existential circumstances will cut God's purpose short.¹

The very fact that the Kingdom of God is presented in the book of Daniel as triumphant, everlasting, and universal actually requires resurrection. This becomes even more apparent if one takes into consideration that the Kingdom will be given to the "saints of the Most High."²

Immediately the question arises: What about the dead saints? It has already been observed by Merrill that if the reference to the "saints of the Most High"³ is to be "comprehensive and universal," it "presupposes resurrection, for only renewal of life will allow the people of God of all the ages to participate in the glorious privileges of sovereignty for which they were created."⁴

The resurrection passages of Dan 12 provide the answer to this question. Consequently, the contribution of


⁴Merrill, "A Theology of Ezekiel and Daniel," 395.
the resurrection to the theme of the Kingdom of God is of vital importance, because without resurrection there cannot be a universal and everlasting Kingdom for the "saints of the Most High."

Contribution to the Judgment Theme

The theme of judgment in the book of Daniel actually starts with the name of the book. Daniel "means 'my judge (is) God,' with an emphasis on judge."\(^1\) It has been observed that the first lesson of Daniel is "God will judge."\(^2\) God is portrayed as a universal judge, who rules over the kingdoms of the earth.\(^3\)

In the beginning and at the end of the book of Daniel allusions to the motive of judgment are present. In the

\(^1\)Doukhans, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 120, argues against Christian D. Ginsburg, Introduction to the Masoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible (London: Trinitarian Bible Society), 1897), 397, namely that "the daghesh in the Yod of Daniel is not to obliterate the name God, but rather to cut the word in order to emphasize the meaning, playing the function of a disjunctive accent." For more information on the use of the daghesh with a function of distinguishing, see Israel Yeivin, Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah, trans. E. J. Revell, Masoretic Studies, no. 5 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980), 294-296. Doukhans, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 120, points out that "this translation of the name of Daniel has also the merit of harmonizing with the grammatical rules which govern the morphology of the names." See also Ford, Daniel, 25.

\(^2\)Wolf, 402; De Haan, 24.

beginning it is suggested through the statement: "And the Lord gave Jeoiakim king of Judah into his hand." At the end of the book the theme of judgment is referred to by a reference to the eschatological reward. Moreover, it has been observed that "the motif of judgment can be traced everywhere throughout the book of Daniel." Consequently, as Doukhan has pointed out, "it is not a coincidence that chapter 7, 'the core of the book,' is mainly concerned with the judgment." Here, "in the heart of the book," points out Ford, "we have one of the greatest judgment scenes of Scripture, in which God is portrayed as the Ancient of Days with the books of judgment open and the multitudes of angels present."

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1 Dan 1:2.
2 Dan 12:13.
3 Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 12.
4 Ibid., 11. A number of scholars consider chap. 7 as a central chapter of the book of Daniel. For example, Hartman and Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, 208, refer to chap. 7 as "the core of the Book of Daniel." Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, 122, states that "the vision reported in chapter 7 is the most important one; it constitutes the veritable center of the book. With it, Holy Scripture reaches one of its highest summits." See also Porteous, 77. He refers to chap. 7 as the "Herzstück des Danielbuches." For the literary structure of chap. 7, see William H. Shea, Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1 (Lincoln, NE: College View Printers, 1982), 95-97; Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 22.

5 Ford, Daniel, 25. He also points out that the judgment motive is present in chaps. 4 and 5: "Nebuchadnezzar, the proud boaster, is judged and humbled to
In this vision of chap. 7, Daniel is shown the court in heaven. As a result of this judgment "dominion and glory and a kingdom" were given to the "One like the Son of Man." In addition, chap. 7 points out that, as a result of the same judgment, dominion is taken away from the little horn and "the kingdom and dominion" are given to "the people, the saints of the Most High."

The coming of the Kingdom of God is related to the judgment here in chap. 7 as well as in chap. 12. In a way, judgment makes the Kingdom of God possible.

The outcome of the final judgment described in chap. 7, namely that "the kingdom and dominion" are given to the "saints of the Most High," actually presupposes resurrection, as was already demonstrated in connection with the Kingdom of God theme. In fact, the resurrection in Dan 12 is placed in a context of judgment:

animal status, and to Belshazzar his grandson came the message 'you have been weighed in the balances and found wanting'.

1Dan 7:13-14.

2Dan 7:26-27. See also vs. 22: "Until the Ancient of Days came, and a judgment was made in favor of the saints of the Most High, and the time came for the saints to possess the kingdom."

3See the "standing up" of Michael and the reference to the "book" in Dan 12:1.

4Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 106.

5See p. 224, above.
At that time Michael shall stand up, the great prince who stands watch over the sons of your people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that time. And at that time your people shall be delivered, every one who is found written in the book.

And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt.¹

It is of interest to note that as the Kingdom of God in chap. 7 is given to the saints as a result of judgment, so here in chap. 12 the resurrection is also the consequence of a preceding judgment.

The resurrection makes it possible to execute the judgment and to restore justice not only upon those who are in a living state but also upon those who are dead.² This aspect is also emphasized in the statement of a general resurrection in Dan 12:13, where Daniel is used as a representative for all.³ This becomes manifest by the use of the Hebrew word לְבָשׁ for resurrection, which actually refers back to the opening of the chapter where לְבָשׁ is used *Dan 12:1-2.*


³See chap. 2, above.
as a term with a judicial function. Consequently, the contribution of resurrection to the theme of judgment is mainly seen in the fact that resurrection makes it possible to restore universal justice. Without resurrection, universal and final judgment are not possible.

**Contribution to the Theme of Creation**

It has been observed that the creation motif plays an important role in the book of Daniel and that in almost every chapter one can find some allusions to creation.

For example, in chap. 1 it is stated: "Please test your servants for ten days, and let them give us vegetables to eat and water to drink." This actually refers to the diet which had been assigned for man at creation. In fact, we have here three Hebrew roots which are used in Gen 1:29, namely, מַקְלָכָה,IDA, and דָּוִד. 4

Chap. 2 makes clear that the "God of heaven" (which in itself is already a reference to a Creator God) assigns

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1See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11: "The verb יַרְכִּי occurs in the Old Testament in judicial contexts."


3Dan 1:12.

4For more allusions in chap. 1, see Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 286.

5Dan 2:37.
Nebuchadnezzar "with man's charter of dominion over all living creatures" which was given to Adam. Dan 2:38 reads: "And wherever the children of men dwell, or the beasts of the field and the birds of the heaven, He has given them into your hand, and has made you ruler over them all." It is of interest to observe that Origen's version of the Septuagint adds a phrase from Gen 1:28 to this verse in Daniel—καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης (and the fish of the sea). This addition is a "further proof that the relation between this text and creation was established very early."

The miracles presented in chaps. 3 and 6, namely the survival of the three friends in the fiery furnace and of Daniel in the lions' den, are actually miracles which demonstrate the creation power of God. The same could be said of the miraculous humiliation of king Nebuchadnezzar presented in chap. 4. It has been observed that the language of Dan 4 is closely related to that of Gen 2. For

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1Young, The Prophecy of Daniel, 73.
2Gen 1:28.
3Ziegler, 108.
4Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, 50. Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 287, further refers to such words and phrases as "light, darkness, the times and the seasons" used in Dan 2:21-22 as an allusion to the creation account of Gen 1.
5Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 287.
6Ibid.
example, "the conjunction of 'grass' and 'dew' in this verse recalls Gen. 2." The description of the tree in Dan 4 echoes the description of the Garden of Eden as presented in Gen 2. Heaton points out that "the writer was echoing themes which enabled him to associate the pride of Nebuchadnezzar with the pride of Adam that led to his expulsion from Eden." Lacocque states that there are a number of similarities between the first Adam and king Nebuchadnezzar---"the tree at the center of Eden and Nebuchadnezzar's vision, the condemnation to graze upon grass and Adam's horror at the thought that he could be placed at the rank of a bovine." In Dan 5 a statement is found: "And the God who holds your breath in His hand and owns all your ways, you have not glorified." The expression "your breath" echoes Gen 2: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being."  

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1 Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, 80. 
2 For more parallels see Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 287. 
3 Heaton, 149. See also Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, 78. 
5 Dan 5:23. 
The Aramaic word ܐܪܡܝܐ ܡܐ ܡܡܐ ܐܡܐ has the same meaning—"breath of life"—as the Hebrew expression יִנַּחַל. Consequently, there is a link between these two passages. This actually points to the fact that God is not only the Creator but also the One Who sustains life.

Chap. 7 makes it very clear that the everlasting dominion will be given to the saints. The fact that the "saints of the Most High" at the end receive everlasting dominion and the kingdom points out that human beings finally become what the Creator intended for them to be, namely "the image and likeness of God." "Eschatology becomes protology, i.e. the end of mankind becomes what the Creator had commissioned man and woman to be in the beginning."

The last revelation of the book of Daniel was given to Daniel at the river הָרָה, which is also mentioned in Gen 2:14 in the description of the Garden of Eden.

It seems that the author of the book of Daniel

1BDB, 1103.
2See Doukhan, Daniel: The Vision of the End, 188.
4Ibid., 108.
5Dan 10:4.
6See chap. 2, above.

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intended, through the voluminous allusions to the creation account of Gen 1 and 2, to refer to the powerful and almighty Creator God, who not only created but also continues to sustain life. The references to the Garden of Eden seem to indicate God's desire to restore to man what he has lost.¹

The main contribution of the resurrection to the creation theme of the book of Daniel is seen in the fact that it is a realization of the hope which is expressed through the voluminous allusions to creation. God not only has created life, He not only sustains life, but He also provides a new creation.² Resurrection is a new creation.³

¹Doukhan, "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel," 290, summarizes the theological nuances of the creation theme of the book of Daniel in the following way: (1) Creation theme in Daniel points to a return to man's "primordial" state. (2) It refers to the idea of transformation from less to more, as with clay relying on its creator. (3) It contains the idea of determinism. This is seen especially clearly in the time prophecies. (4) The Creation theme expresses the idea of universalism. (5) It refers to the sovereignty and Kingdom of God.

²Blenkinsopp, 120-121, points out that Yahweh provides a new possibility of life. "Yahweh is the living God and the source of all life. In creation man receives his specific mode of existence from the divine breath (Gen 2:7, cf. 1:2) which returns to its source at death (cf. Eccl 12:7). For his devotee, Yahweh is the one who 'kills and brings to life, brings down to Sheol and raises up' (1 Sam 2:6--note the parallelism, here and elsewhere, between 'causes to live' and 'causes to rise'). His paradigmatic act, whether in the life of the community or the individual, is to rescue from death, provide a new possibility of life."

³For example, see Ludwig Wächter, Der Tod im Alten Testament, AzTh, no. 2/8 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1967), 194.
It is interesting to see that the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2 refers to Isa 66:24, which is placed in the context of a new creation: "For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before Me, says the Lord, so shall your descendants and your name remain." This passage in turn refers to Isa 65: "For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered or come to mind." Therefore, resurrection makes it explicit that eschatology and protology are linked together.

Contribution to the Theology of History

The book of Daniel is called "the locus classicus for an Old Testament theology of history." It has been pointed out that Daniel presents "a religious philosophy of history." History for Daniel's book "is not merely its

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1See chap. 2, above.
2Isa 66:22.
3Isa 65:17.
4See also Hartman and Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, 107.
5Pfandl, 315.
background and context but its subject. It is concerned with the meaning of history and with the relationship between God and history.\textsuperscript{1}

It has been rightly observed that the conception of history by Daniel "stands in sharp contrast to that of popular ancient mythological religions which conceived of history as an endless repetition of events--in a cyclical fashion."\textsuperscript{2} For example, "Daniel's sequence of empires is not a type of recurring cycles, rather it is an example of the outworking of Heilsgeschichte, which has its goal in the kingdom of God beyond history."\textsuperscript{3} For Daniel, history is "a grand sweep of events in which nations, both great and small play their respective roles, and is moving toward fulfillment."\textsuperscript{4} As Jeffery and Kennedy pointed out: "As history unrolls, as empire succeeds empire on the stage of time, each plays its part in a whole of history in which


\textsuperscript{3}Pfandl, 315.

\textsuperscript{4}Yuzon, 27. See also Pfandl, 314. He states that "the linear view, given to Israel through divine revelation, perceives history as 'progress toward a definite end--a theodicy'. . . . Thus, the Old Testament reveals history as a continuous outworking of a divine plan."
God's eternal purpose is developing."¹

The book of Daniel, which has been called "the first sketch of world history in the history of humanity,"² refers to God as to the One who interacts in history and controls it. God not only sets a direction of history, but He also acts within history to secure this direction.³ The book begins with a reference to a God who is involved in history. He is the One who gave the Judean king into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.⁴ He is the One who "removes kings and raises up kings."⁵ God is not only involved in the course of world history, but He is also involved in the history of individuals.⁶ This becomes apparent in God's miraculous intervention on behalf of Daniel and his friends.⁷ The prophecies of the book of Daniel provide a witness that God

¹Jeffery and Kennedy, 351. See also Siegfried J. Schwantes, The Biblical Meaning of History (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1970), 48: "History is purposeful and is moving toward a goal of God's own choice, a glorious consummation to be reached in 'the day of the Lord'."


⁴Dan 1:2.

⁵Dan 2:21.

⁶Shea, Daniel 1-7, 35.

⁷Dan 1, 3, 6.
is not only involved in the course of history of the nations, but "He also knows the course that it will take."\(^1\) "The process of history thus has meaning; it sees the outworking of God's grace, mercy, purposefulness, justice, and zeal, even if it is not always clear how events reflect these."\(^2\)

Another interesting feature of the theology of history in the book of Daniel is to be seen in the fact that God is active in history through revelation. "He reveals deep and secret things."\(^3\) Daniel answered king Nebuchadnezzar: "But there is a God in heaven who reveals secrets, and He has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will be in the latter days."\(^4\)

The revelation of the outline of history, as it is presented by Daniel in the second chapter, actually leads to the idea that history is predetermined. However, it has to be pointed out that the "determinism" of history by Daniel

\(^1\)Shea, Daniel 1-7, 36.

\(^2\)Goldingay, Daniel, WBC, 331. On p. 332 he makes an interesting observation that "the difference between stories and visions suggests that there are times when the hand of God can be detected in the processes of history and times when it has to be looked for at the End."

\(^3\)Dan 2:22.

\(^4\)Dan 2:28.
is not equivalent to fatalism.\footnote{Ferch, "Authorship, Theology, and Purpose of Daniel," 66. See also Montgomery, 84. Russell, The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 232, has pointed out that "a consideration of the determinism of history leads into another closely related subject, that of the relationship between human freedom and divine control."}

Collins has rightly observed:

While it is true that no human decision could change the course of events, the fate of the individual was not predetermined. In Daniel, it is possible to either hold fast to the covenant or to betray it, and the people can be led to justice. The wise can be tested by God, and the testing implies that they are free to decide. In short, only the course of the universe and of events is predetermined. These form a framework within which the individual must take his stand. The fact that external events cannot be changed serves to add urgency to the individual's decision.\footnote{John J. Collins, The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 16, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Jr. (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 88.}

There is no contradiction between God's actions in history and human freedom. Human beings are free to make decisions. However, "any decision is made in the context of the inevitable unfolding of events. Men may choose to serve the divine will within the course of events determined by the divine Sovereign."\footnote{Ferch, "Authorship, Theology, and Purpose of Daniel," 66. He, 63-68, points out that history, as presented in the book of Daniel, assumes two dimensions. It has both a horizontal and a vertical proportion. The horizontal dimension is expressed in the chronology of the book, while the vertical is presented on a spatial axis. "The vertical axis of history concentrates on the present spatial contrast between heaven and earth, angels, and humans."}
The resurrection theme plays an important role for the correct understanding of the theology of history as presented in the book of Daniel.

First of all, resurrection makes clear that no one and nothing, not even death, can disconcert the divine purpose of God who is the Lord of history. In spite of death, the history of humanity will reach the divinely appointed destiny. "Nothing can limit the divine promises and God's ultimate purpose."¹ The fulfillment of the heavenly purpose at the "turningpoint of the aeons demonstrates God's rulership and indicates that he is the Lord of history."²

Second, on the individual level, resurrection points out that history has an appointed goal. Resurrection provides a warranty for the righteous that their relationship with God, which has been established in the process of their short history, will continue. "The resurrection is the guarantee that this relationship can be interrupted only temporarily."³

¹Ibid., 80.
³Ibid., 284. See also Ferch, "Authorship, Theology, and Purpose of Daniel," 80.
The "ethical dualism"¹ in the reference to the resurrection of both groups—some to eternal life and some to eternal contempt—makes obvious that many questions regarding justice which have not been answered during the process of history will be made plain in the "age to come."

Summary

It has been demonstrated that the resurrection passages in Dan 12 stand in structural, linguistic, and thematic connections with other passages of the book of Daniel.

It has also been shown in this chapter that indeed the resurrection theme in a number of ways contributes to the theology of the book of Daniel.

First of all, resurrection contributes to a better understanding of the theme of God's absolute power and sovereignty. Without the resurrection of Dan 12 this theme would not be complete. The first eleven chapters present God as the One who is in charge and that His will will be accomplished despite any opposing power. But, what about death? Who speaks the last word—death or God? Resurrection provides the answer. It makes it very apparent that indeed God has the absolute sovereignty and power. Not even death can frustrate His plans.

¹The ethical dualism is especially apparent in the concept of judgment in the book of Daniel.
In addition, resurrection contributes to a better comprehension of the Kingdom of God theme as presented in the book of Daniel. As was demonstrated above, the very fact that the Kingdom of God is presented as triumphant, everlasting, and universal actually requires resurrection, because only renewal of life will let the people of God of all the ages participate in it. Consequently, the contribution of the resurrection to the theme of the Kingdom of God is of vital importance, since without resurrection there cannot be a universal and everlasting Kingdom for the "saints of the Most High."

Resurrection also contributes to the more comprehensive discernment of the judgment theme. Resurrection makes it possible to execute judgment and to restore justice not only upon those who are alive but also upon those who are dead. Without resurrection, universal and final judgment is not possible.

Resurrection also contributes to the creation theme of the book of Daniel. Resurrection points out that God not only has created life, He not only sustains life, but He also provides a new creation. Resurrection is a new creation. Consequently, resurrection emphasizes that eschatology and protology are linked together.

Finally, as was demonstrated above, resurrection also contributes to a better perception of the theology of
history as supplied by Daniel. Resurrection confirms that not even death can confuse the divine purpose of God Who is the Lord of history. The history of humanity will reach the divinely appointed goal despite death. This indicates that God is the Lord of history. Furthermore, resurrection provides a warranty for the righteous that their relationship with God will continue in the "age to come."

It became apparent that resurrection in the book of Daniel has a multifunctional purpose. The most important seems to be the demonstration of God's power, sovereignty, and glory, His rulership over history, and His Lordship over life and death.¹

The presence of the motifs of death, resurrection, retribution, eternal life, and judgment in the resurrection passages and their connection and considerable contribution to such major theological themes as the power and absolute sovereignty of God, the Kingdom of God, judgment, creation, and theology of history—all seem to support the suggestion that resurrection is indeed the theological climax of the book of Daniel.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

In this dissertation an exegetical and theological study of the resurrection passages in Dan 12 was undertaken.

The main concern was to discover the nature, scope, timing, and function of the resurrection as presented in Dan 12, to study the relationship between the two resurrection passages in Dan 12, and to determine the contribution of the resurrection theme to the theology of the book of Daniel.

The purpose of this section is to summarize the discoveries and draw some tentative conclusions and implications from this study.

In the first chapter, the divergent and often conflicting opinions on the resurrection in Dan 12 were surveyed. This was done under four subheadings: (1) the nature of the resurrection, (2) the timing of the resurrection, (3) the identification of those resurrected, and (4) the function of the resurrection.

As far as the nature of the resurrection is concerned, two major views have been suggested. Some argue for a national resurrection, others for a physical one.
In regard to the timing of the resurrection, some have suggested that the resurrection was to come after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but it did not happen. Others have argued that the resurrection predicted in Dan 12 has already taken place. Still others believe that the resurrection will take place in the future at the end of the world.

Concerning the identification of those resurrected in Dan 12, the divergence of opinions is even greater. Some have argued that here a general or universal resurrection is in view, while others support the partial resurrection. Those supporting the partial resurrection are divided on the question of who are included and who are excluded from the resurrection.

In regard to the function of the resurrection, some have suggested that the divine reward and divine retribution are the basic determinants of the resurrection. Others believe that judgment is the chief concern of the resurrection. Still others refer to the reconstitution of the Jewish nation as the primary purpose of the resurrection. Again, others point out that strengthening the courage of the Jews is the leading purpose of the resurrection. And finally, there are those who refer to the demonstration of God's glory, rulership over history, life,
and death as the principal intent of the resurrection of Dan 12.

Consequently, the difference of opinions among scholars became obvious. The issues and problems clearly emerged and provided the justification of further research.

It also became obvious that there was a lack of investigation into the relationship of the two resurrection passages in Dan 12 and of their contribution to the theology of the book of Daniel.

In the second chapter, an exegetical study of the two resurrection passages in Dan 12, and of their relationship, was undertaken.

I started with a study of the placement of Dan 12 in the structure of the whole book and in the immediate context. This survey revealed that chaps. 2, 7, and 12 represent the leading route of the book. Consequently, the resurrection passages are placed in a very significant place in the book, and therefore bear a distinguished importance. Another interesting feature concerning the placement of the resurrection passages in the book of Daniel is the fact that they are placed as a conclusion to the whole book, thus providing the final accord of the book. Of special importance is the fact that the resurrection passages are placed in the eschatological-apocalyptic context, which becomes obvious through the frequent use of the Hebrew word
and the Hebrew expression יִפְתָּחֵנָה, which is an apocalyptic terminus technicus. Both of the passages are a part of the last vision of the book of Daniel. Through the exact reference to the time and place of the final vision, which alludes to the deliverance motif and to the longing for a return to the Garden of Eden, the context of the great deliverance is set right from the beginning. Consequently, the resurrection referred to in the end of the final vision provides an answer for this desire of the final great deliverance.

After the contextual study I turned to the exegetical investigation of Dan 12:2 and 12:13. After this the relationship of the two resurrection passages was presented insofar as they respond to the "what," "when," "who," and "why" of the resurrection.

A major aspect of this study was an analysis of the vocabulary of death and resurrection. The following words and phrases were examined: (Dan 12:2) קְרֵי, אֵרֶבֶנָה, לַשּׁוֹן, אַנּוֹן. . . אַנּוֹן, רַבִּים, לְחֵפֶץ לְאָדָם שֻׁלֶם, לָהֶם שֻׁלֶם אַנּוֹן. . . אַנּוֹן, רַבִּים, לְחֵפֶץ לְאָדָם שֻׁלֶם, לָהֶם שֻׁלֶם.

Based on the evidence submitted in this investigation, it seems apparent that Dan 12:2 indeed speaks of a physical resurrection which will take place at the end of time. Although the context of Dan 12:2 seems to be a
universal one, the language of the text itself pronounces a limited partial resurrection (דַּבְּרַי followed by בָּרֶך), which will include both the righteous and the wicked. Taking into consideration the context of the final eschatological battle, it seems likely that the partial resurrection includes the participants of this final combat.

In respect to the resurrection of Dan 12:13, it seems evident from the investigation that it also speaks of a physical resurrection. However, although in the first place it refers to Daniel's resurrection, it is a reference to the general resurrection as well. This is confirmed by the fact that in all three parallel chapters (2, 7, and 12) we have one person who represents a multitude. It is also further supported by the fact that Daniel is not directly addressed in Dan 12:13 by his name. Although it is obvious that Daniel is in view in Dan 12:13, it could be that his name was intentionally left out in order to emphasize the general character of the resurrection. The general character of the resurrection in Dan 12:13 could also be supported by the fact that instead of promising Daniel "eternal life," as one would expect (comparable to Dan 12:2 where the righteous are promised לְבַשׂ עֶשֶׁׂ וְאֵלֶּה), he is promised "to stand to his lot."

The general character of this statement becomes obvious since the Hebrew word נַעֲלֵי is used in the Old Testament as
referring to the fate of man in both a positive and negative sense. As far as the timing of the resurrection of Dan 12:13 is concerned, it is stated that it will take place at the end of the days (יְמֵי הָבֵית). This phrase, as has been demonstrated, seems to refer to the time when the Kingdom of God will be established after the distraction of all the earthly kingdoms.¹

If the interpretation presented above is correct, then one of the primary purposes of the partial resurrection of Dan 12:2 is to give those who have participated in the eschatological battle the opportunity to witness the final outcome, namely the victory and power of Michael.

The very fact that in Dan 12:2 two different groups of people with two different destinies are mentioned suggests that one of the goals of the resurrection is also the reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked.

It seems evident that one of the primary purposes of the resurrection presented in Dan 12:13 is to assure Daniel of his "standing up at the end of the days," and to present a general resurrection, for which Daniel himself is used as a representative. The terminology used, namely לְנָרָךְ כֹּלֵי הָיוֹם and לְנָרָךְ כֹּלֵי הָיוֹם, undoubtedly emphasizes the final judgment.

¹See Dan 2:44.
in which the fate of the people will be decided. Thus it becomes clear that resurrection encompasses judgment.

However, it is important to study the function of the resurrection in Dan 12 not only in the immediate context but also in the total message of the book. It appears that the third chapter has bestowed more light on this issue.

Consequently, the analysis presented in this chapter suggests that indeed both passages—Dan 12:2 and 12:13—refer to a physical, bodily resurrection. However, they refer not to one and the same event, but rather to two different events—Dan 12:2 points to a partial resurrection and Dan 12:13 to a general resurrection.

In the third chapter a theological study was undertaken. The primary purpose was to investigate the relationship between the resurrection passages in Dan 12 and other passages of the book of Daniel, and to explore the contribution of the resurrection theme to the major theological themes of the book. It has been shown in this chapter that indeed the resurrection theme is connected with other passages of the book and that resurrection, in a number of ways, contributes to the theology of the book of Daniel.

First of all, resurrection contributes to a better understanding of the theme of God's absolute power and sovereignty. Resurrection makes it very apparent that
indeed God has absolute sovereignty and power. Not even death can frustrate His plans.

In addition, resurrection contributes to a more advanced comprehension of the Kingdom of God theme as presented in the book of Daniel. Without resurrection there cannot be a universal and everlasting Kingdom for the "saints of the Most High."

Resurrection also contributes to a better perception of the judgment theme. Resurrection makes it possible to execute judgment and to restore justice not only upon those who are alive but also upon those who are dead. Without resurrection, universal and final judgment is not possible.

Resurrection also contributes to the creation theme of the book of Daniel. God not only has created life, He not only sustains life, but He also provides a new creation. Resurrection is a new creation. Consequently, resurrection accentuates the fact that eschatology and protology are linked together.

Finally, as was established in chapter 3, resurrection also contributes to a better comprehension of the theology of history as given by Daniel. Resurrection confirms that not even death can disturb the divine purpose of God Who is the Lord of history. The history of this world will reach the divinely appointed goal despite death. This indicates that God is the Lord of history.
Furthermore, resurrection provides a warranty for the righteous that their relationship with God will continue in the "age to come."

The presence of the motifs of death, resurrection, retribution, eternal life, and judgment in the resurrection passages and their connection and considerable contribution to the major theological themes of the book seem to support the suggestion that resurrection is indeed the theological climax of the book of Daniel.

It has become evident that the resurrection in the book of Daniel has a multifunctional purpose, the most significant of which seems to be the demonstration of God's power, sovereignty, and glory, His rulership over history, and His lordship over life and death.

It is hoped that this dissertation will stimulate further research on the question of the resurrection in the other books of the Old Testament. Another area that requires study is the relationship of the resurrection in the book of Daniel and in the rest of the Old Testament to the New Testament resurrection passages.

A significant implication of this study on the resurrection in Dan 12 and its contribution to the theology of the book of Daniel is seen in the fact that it contributes to the unity of the book of Daniel. Another implication is that even without the persecution of
Antiochus IV Epiphanes, resurrection in Dan 12 makes perfect sense in the theology of the book.
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