The following article was a lecture given at the *Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense* (Old Testament) in 1992 and published in the *The Book of Daniel. In the Light of New Findings*, ed. by A.S. van der Woude, (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, Vol. CVI) Leuven: Peeters, 1993, pp. 387-97. For some inexplicable reason, the clarifying Diagram (p. 7), showing the rise and fall of the various world powers, was not included in the above edition.

This article as well as the articles "The Interpretation of the Ten Horns" published in the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, LXIII (1987), pp. 106-113 and "Greek Culture and Jewish Piety: The Clash and the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7", also this published in the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* LXV (1989), pp. 280-308, were the by-products of my research in the Book of Daniel, when writing my book on *The Son of Man. Vision and Interpretation* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 38), Tübingen: Mohr 1986.

Originally, my interest was directed to the Book of Daniel as part of my research for writing a book on the Kingdom of God. The Son of Man theme would form just one chapter in that book. However, the material on the Son of Man after five years of research grew to a book of 310 pages (published under the above-mentioned title), wherefore I decided to desist from my original plan on a book on the Kingdom of God. Instead I published the rest of my Danielic research in the form of articles (as above), and my material on the Kingdom of God as several studies about the Kingdom of God, published as articles in various venues (see my CV).

For a fuller picture of what I am discussing here, reference to the other two studies would be only promote understanding.

HISTORY AND SUPRA-HISTORY
DANIEL AND THE FOUR EMPIRES

INTRODUCTION

One of the most tenacious problems in the Book of Daniel is the identification of the four empires. Interpreters of Daniel have been divided on this issue since pre-Christian times. Among the many solutions proposed[1]

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[1] See e.g. H. H. ROWLEY, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, Cardiff 1935, 184 f.

two views have preponderated. The larger part of the Jewish[2] and early Christian[3] as well as the modern conservative[4] traditions have identified the four empires with Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome, making up the so-called *Roman View*. The minority ancient as well as the modern critical view has identified the four empires with Babylon, Media, Persia and Greece, constituting the so-called *Greek View*.[5] The most thorough exposition of the Greek view, though now in certain respects dated, is perhaps Rowley's masterly investigation *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*. Accepting the strictly historical approach to Daniel[6] Rowley identified the second empire with that of Media. However, since Media had ceased to be an independent empire already some 11 years before the fall of Babylon, Rowley concluded that the Author was confused about the actual course of history.[7] Rowley's interpretation is the dominant view among scholars today.[8] On the other hand, the Roman view rejects

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[2] E. g. IV Ezra 12:10-12; 2 Bar 39:5-6; Jos., *Ant*. 10:276.

[3] Rev 13:1-8; Epist. Barn. 4:5; Hippolytus, *Daniel* IV, 5, 8; Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* fgm. Book 15; Jerome, *Daniel ad* 7:7.

[4] E. g. C. F. KEIL, *Daniel,* 245-68; C. BOUTFLOWER, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, London 1923; R. D. WILSON, *Studies in the Book of Daniel*, Vol I,163 f., Vol II, 260-64; E. J. YOUNG, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, Grand Rapids 1949, rp. 1975, 147, 275-94; J. C. WHITCOMB, *Darius the Mede,* Grand Rapids 1959, 54 (implied); D. J. WISEMAN, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel" in D. J. WISEMAN - T. C. MITCHELL and R. JOYCE - W. J. MARTIN - K. A. KITCHEN, *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel,* London 1965, 9-16; J. C. BALDWIN, *Daniel* (TOTC), Leicester 1978, 161 f.

[5] The earliest work for this identification seems to be Sib. Or. III, 397. For a brief history of interpretation see G. MAIER, *Der Prophet Daniel*, Wuppertal 1982, 22-34 and J. E. GOLDINGAY, *Daniel* (WBC), Dallas 1989, xxxi-xxxviii.

[6] Early Christians had interpreted Daniel theologically / prophetically.

[7] *Darius the Mede*, 59 f.

[8] E. g. N. W. PORTEOUS, *Daniel*, Philadelphia 1976, 47 ff.; J. J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel,* Ann Arbor 1977, 37 ff.; L. F. HARTMAN - A. A. DI LELLA, *The Book of Daniel* (AB), Garden City 1978, 35; A. LACOQUE, *The Book of Daniel*, London 1979, 50 f.; J. E. GOLDINGAY, *Daniel*, 160 ff., 174 f. (somewhat opaquely).

Media as the second empire on the historical ground that there was no Median empire after the fall of Babylon.[9]

These diametrically opposed views share a number of common assumptions. First, they assume that the concerns of Daniel can be elucidated by the application of a strictly historicizing reasoning. Second, they assume that each succeeding empire must come into being first after the dissolution of each preceding empire. Third, they make ruling the Babylonian territory the implicit criterion for being one of the four empires. From these premises the outcome is given for both views. For the Roman view Media cannot have been intended as the second empire since it never captured Babylon (thus begging the question); while for the Greek view the Author was ignorant of history because he postulated Media as the second empire.

The lack of progress on this question has been so frustrating as to elicit from one of the most recent commentators the statement that "Daniel is not really interested in the second and third kingdoms, and perhaps had no opinion regarding their identity".[10]

Such a strictly historicizing approach can never do justice to the Book of Daniel. It must be recognized that this highly symbolical Book is concerned not merely with history, but with supra-history where historical events are interpreted not only from the Jewish point of view but also in a dynamic way.

In this lecture I am going to suggest briefly that the identification of the four empires should be made on the basis of a) clues given by the Book itself, b) the actual course of history and c) the Author's dynamic interpretation of that history. My thesis is that 1) the concerns of Daniel point to the identification of the fourth empire with that of Greece, 2) that the Author's identification of the second beast with Media is in complete accord with history, and 3) that the four beats/empires and especially the fourth one must be interpreted in the light of other-worldly categories.

1. THE EVIDENCE OF DANIEL

In the Dream of ch. 2 the first empire in the form of a golden head is Babylon. In the Vision of ch. 7 the first beast is like a lion, and this has

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[9] E.g. YOUNG, *Daniel*, 280 ff.; BALDWIN, *Daniel*, 154 f. Cf. also MAIER, *Daniel*, 268.

[10] GOLDINGAY, *Daniel*, 176.

been interpreted universally of Babylon.[11] According to ch. 8 two more of these empires are Persia and Greece, but we are not told if these are intended as the second and third or as the third and fourth empires in the schemes of chs. 2 and 7.[12] There are, however, some indications within the Book itself that betray the Author's intention.

First, there can be no doubt that the Book of Daniel progresses climactically, the climax being reached with the oppressions of the fourth empire and the hoped for inbreaking of the Kingdom of God. The impli-cation here is that as the story unfolds events become increasingly more crucial and this is seen in the amount of space which the Author devotes to certain events. This ought to indicate where his emphases lie. The data (i.e. number of words) for the various empires in the MT of the Dream of ch. 2 and the Visions of chs. 7 and 8 is as follows:

| | The Dream (ch. 2) | | The Vision (ch. 7) | |
	Description	Interpr.	Description	Interpr.
First empire	6	31	23	-
Second empire	6	6	21	-
Third empire	3	9	20	-
Fourth empire	10	83	79	118

| | The Vision (ch. 8) | |
	Description	Interpretation
Persia	34	8
Greece	125	61

In spite of the fact that such statistics must be treated with care, the up-shot of these figures leads unmistakably to the conclusion that the fourth empire overshadows the rest in importance. In the interpretation of the Dream it receives by far the greatest attention. In the Vision of ch. 7 the

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[11] Cf. the role of the lion in Babylonian art, e.g. the Procession Way and the Nabonidus inscription III, 15-18 (*ANET* 309 B). See also the evidence summarized by G. J. BOT-TERWECK, art. אֲרִי in *TDOT* I, 379.

[12] GOLDINGAY, *Daniel*, 49 f. is disinclined to equate the entities of ch. 2 with those of ch. 7, preferring a reference to kings rather than kingdom in the case of ch. 2. But see C. C. CARAGOUNIS, "The Interpretation of the Ten Horns of Daniel 7" *ETL* 63 (1987) 107.

fourth empire not only receives about four times as much space, but it is also the only one that is deemed worthy of interpretation, while in the Vision of ch. 8, where only two of the four empires—Persia and Greece—figure, Greece receives an enormous amount of attention as compared with Persia. Though the matter cannot be settled conclusively on this point alone, this evidence suggests that the fourth empire is considered as the most important one and as identical with Greece.

Second, there is a progression in the treatment of the various empires. The Dream of ch. 8 narrows the span of time by concentrating on only two of the empires. Since the emphasis given to the second of these is comparable to that given of the fourth empire in chs. 2 and 7, the fourth empire should be none other than Greece. From this follows that the third empire is Persia and the second must, therefore, be Media.

Third, when this time-span narrows still more in ch. 11, we are given a detailed description of Greece alone, and in particular of the closing years of its empire history. The climax of the Book is reached with the sufferings of the Jewish people under Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, and this points once again to the identification of the fourth empire with Greece.[13]

Fourth, the Dream describes the second empire as inferior to Nebuchadnezzar (2:39: *Khethiv* אֲרַעָא, Θ: ἥττων σου), who represents the first one, i.e. Babylon. The third empire, on the other hand, is described as one which in distinction from the first and second empires shall hold sway over the "whole earth" (2:39). Under no circumstances can the second empire, inferior to Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, be identified with Persia, which, so far from being inferior to the first, actually was the first empire to dominate the "whole earth". On the other hand, the great difference postulated between the second and third empires is not warranted by the negligible difference in respect to extent between Persia and Greece, but fits admirably well the difference that obtained between Media and Persia.

The conclusion from the above considerations is that the empires intended by the Author were Babylon, Media, Persia and Greece.

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[13] The identification of the third empire with Greece implies that the Book's climax is reached with the third empire, which is incongruent with the structure of the Book.

2. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The second issue relates to whether the Author's identifications have any basis in history. It was hinted at above that the treatment of Media by both the Greek and the Roman views were based on a misinterpretation of the Author's meaning. As was indicated there, these views assume that each succeeding empire is to come into being first after the dissolution of each preceding empire, and that it must rule over the Babylonian territory. In the Book of Daniel there is no basis whatever for these two assumptions. On the contrary, the Author places the various empires on different geographical loci: south, north, east, and west.[14] The center of interest for our Author is not Babylon or the Babylonians, but Judaea and the Jews. Once this is realized, it becomes apparent that a great power could be regarded as one of the empires by the Jews even though it did not actually rule over Babylon. As for the issue of historical succession, were the assumption made correct, then even Persia could not be considered as subsequent to Babylon, since it had been constituted as a kingdom some 75 years before the Neo-Babylonian empire. Once again, it must be emphasized that our Author is not interested in the puny origins of each nation, but only in the period when these nations became world empires with power to shape or at least affect the destiny of his own people.[15] Once this is recognized, there is no obstacle to regarding Media as the second empire in a truly historical sense. As the following historical discussion and the diagram (which see) show, during the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and especially that of his successors, Media did, in fact, succeed Babylon as the arbiter in world politics.

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[14] Corresponding to Babylon, Media, Persia and Greece respectively. Similarly, E. BICKERMAN, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, New York 1967, 102 claims that in Babylonian astral geography the lion symbolized the South, the bear the North and the leopard the East.

[15] For Israelite presence in Media see Isa 11:11; Jos Ant. IX, 278; XI, 338. cf. also Tob 3:7; 4:1, 20; 14:12, 15.
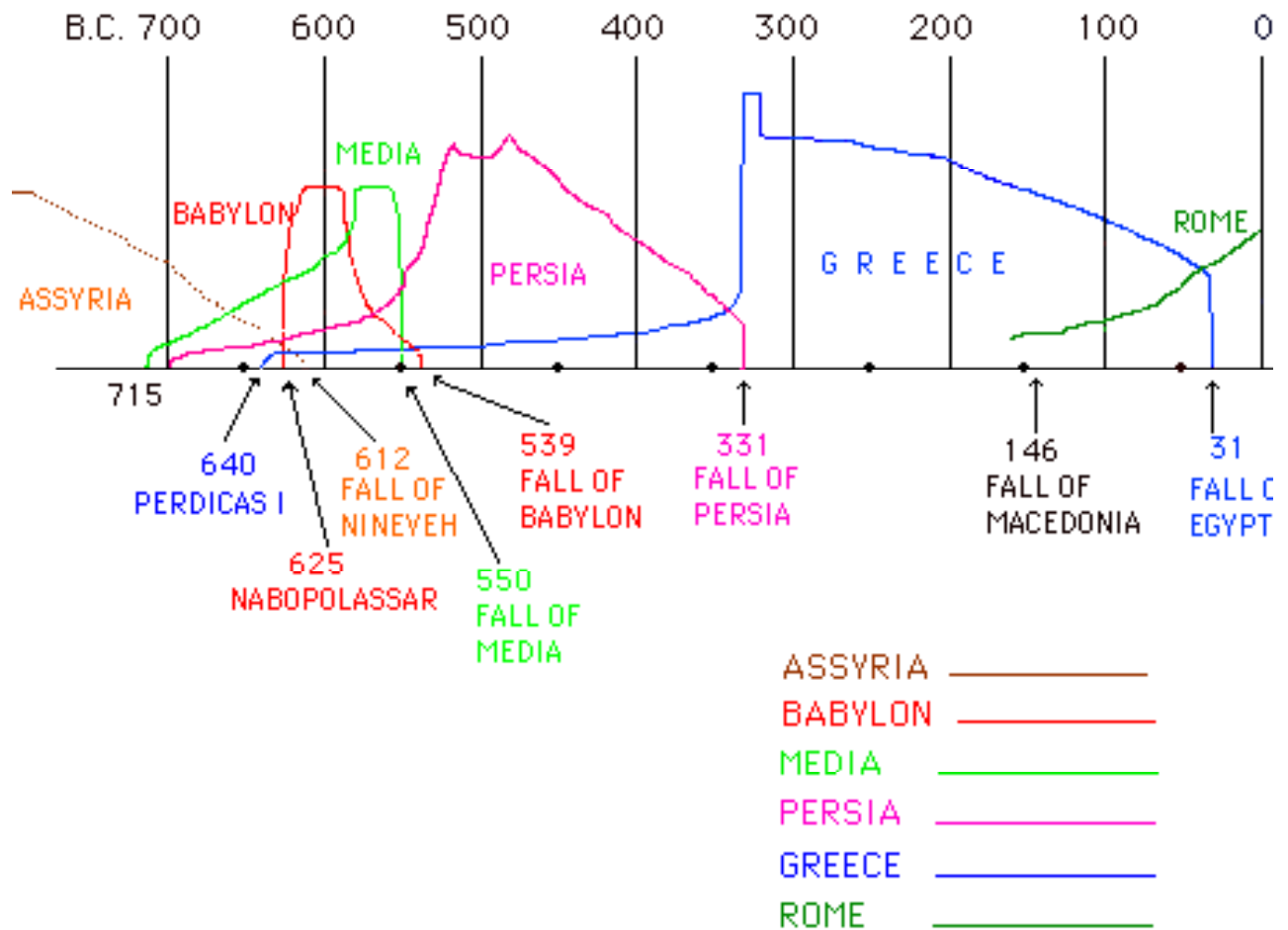
The beginnings of the history of the Median people are shrouded in mist.[16] The first mention of them is made in 835 B.C. in Shalmaneser III's annals.[17] It is not until the last quarter of the VIII century B.C. that the land of Madai (Media) seems to have some semblance of central authority under a certain Daiaukku (the Deioces of Herodotos I, 16, 96-102).[18] This leader[19]

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[16] On the background history and origin of the Median people see I. M. DIAKONOFF, "Media" in I. GERSHEVITCH, *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 2: *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, Cambridge 1985, 36-88.

[17] ANET 281. See G. C. CAMERON, *The History of Early Iran*, Chicago 1936, rp. 1968, 143 f.; R. GHIRSHMAN, *Iran: From the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest*, Penguin 1954, rp. 1961, 90; G. WIDENGREN, "The Persians" in D. J. WISEMAN, (ed), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, Oxford 1973, 313.

[18] The Median coalition of a century earlier during Shamsi-Adad and Adadnerari III's reigns had been too fragile an effort (see DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 67f.).

was captured by Sargon of Assyria in 715 B.C. and was deported to Hamath.[20] His successor, Phraortes (according to Herodotos I, 96, 102-103) or the Khshathrita of the Behistun inscription,[21] succeeded in rallying up the Median, Cimmerian and Mannean hordes and establishing himself as a ruler around 673 B.C.,[22] invading Assyrian territories.[23] By 670 B.C. Teispis (according to Herodotos VII, 11) or Chispish, son and successor of Achaemenes (700-675 B.C.), the founder of the Persian kingdom, was in dread not of Assyria or Elam, but of the powerful Phraortes, ruler of Media.[24] Phraortes (or Khshathrita) (675-653 B.C.) was killed in 653 [25] and was succeeded by Cyaxares (according to Herodotos I, 16) or Uvakhshatra. Thereupon followed a Scythian domination for 28 years (653-625 B.C.)[26] at the end of which Cyaxares actually began to reign (625-585 B.C.). Cyaxares extended the Median holdings and made it a power of importance. He incorporated the kingdom of Parsa and probably also that of Parshumash, the two petty kingdoms to which Teispes had divided his kingdom at his death in 640 B.C.[27] In 612 B.C. together with the rising power of Babylon under Nabopolassar, Cyaxares besieged and took Nineveh.[28] Media received the northern part of Assyria while Babylon received the southern part.

The two powers, Babylon and Media, were very strong at this time and tried to cement their alliance by the betrothal of the crown-prince Nebu-

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[19] DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 90, doubts that Deioces was the founder of the Median kingdom.

[20] See CAMERON, *History of Early Iran*, 151.

[21] GHIRSHMAN, *Iran*, 96.

[22] DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 110.

[23] DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 105f.

[24] CAMERON, *History*, 180.

[25] Being defeated by the allied forces of the Assyrians and Scythians, cf. CAMERON, *History*, 181; GHIRSHMAN, *Iran*, 98.

[26] Herodotos, I, 103-106. Cf. Jer 4:13, but see R. P. VAGGIONE, "Over all Asia? The Extent of the Scythian Domination in Herodotus" *JBL* 92 (1973), 523-30. See further GHIRSHMAN, *Iran*, 98 f.; CAMERON, *History* , 216; WIDENGREN, in *Peoples of OT Times*, 315. The dating of the Scythian domination as given by Herodotos is somewhat problematic. Cf. DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 117f. See also E. M. YAMAUCHI, *Persia and the Bible*, Grand Rapids 1990, 52.

[27] CAMERON, *History*, 213 f.; GHIRSHMAN, *Iran*, 112.

[28] Babylonian chronicles (ANET 304 A).

chadnezzar to Amytis, the infant daughter of Astyages, son and successor of Cyaxares[29].

Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to the throne of Babylon in 605 B.C. and ruled for some 43 years, till 562 B.C. It was during the earlier part of this reign that Babylon reached the zenith of its power and glory. Media, on the other hand, continued its consolidation and expansion and by 585 B.C. its western frontier had reached the Halys River (at the so-called battle of the sun-eclipse calculated by Thales of Miletos, Herodotos I, 74). Nebuchadnezzar intervened as mediator through Λαβύνητος (according to Herodotos I, 74), who probably is the same person as Nabunaʾid (or Nabonidus), the last Babylonian king and father of Belshazzar.[30] Following this truce between Cyaxares and Alyattes of Lydia, says A. T. Olmstead[31] "Four great powers—Media, Chaldea, Lydia and Egypt—divided among themselves the whole of the Near East, but, of these, only Media could be called an empire." The massive fortifications with which Nebuchadnezzar fortified Babylon were aimed at protecting Babylon from the Median menace. In Cameron's words "Throughout Babylonia the belief grew that the hostile Medes would continue to advance and would hurl themselves upon the capital city".[32] Babylon, in the last years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, not to speak of the almost chaotic situation that ensued in the years following his death (i.e. 562-556 B.C.), tacitly admitted that she had been superceded by Media as the great world power and directed all her efforts at constructing impregnable defence works.[33] Even Nabunaʾid, the ablest ruler since Nebuchadnezzar, was in constant fear of Media as is revealed by the Nabonidus text.[34]

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[29] DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 123, places this event before around 613 B.C.

[30] See R. P. DOUGHERTY, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar. A Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, New Haven 1929, 33-42 and P.-A. BEAULIEU, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, New Haven - London 1989, 80-86.

[31] *History of the Persian Empire. The Achaemenid Period*, Chicago 1948, 33.

[32] *History*, 221 f. Similarly GHIRSHMAN, *Iran*, 113.

[33] Cf, Xenophon, *Anabasis*, II, 4.12 on the Median Wall recorded on the Wadi Brissa inscription (H. POGNON, L' inscription en caracteres cursifs de l' Ouadi Brissa, col. 15-31, 16 f.).

[34] "At the beginning of my lasting kingship ... Marduk said to me, 'Nabonidus, king of Babylon, on thy cart-horses bring bricks. built Ekhulkhul, and let Sin, the great lord, take up his residence within it'. In fear I spoke to Marduk, lord of the gods, 'This tem-

This evidence leads to the conclusion that the Babylonian empire was at the zenith of its power in the first part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, say, between 605 and 580 B.C., after which Media became increasingly the power with which the kingdoms of the Near East, including Babylon herself, had to reckon. It should be pointed out that the greatest extent of the Median empire coincided with the reign of Astyages (585-550 B.C.). During these 30 years Media had in effect replaced Babylon as the greatest power of the Near East. The domination of Media was especially undisputed during the twelve years between Nebuchadnezzar's death in 562 B.C. which was followed by intrigue and assassination with four kings ascending the Babylonian throne within a period of six years, and the fall of Media in 550 B.C. During this period Media seized from Babylon Elam and Susa and threatened Babylon herself.[35] Babylon dragged on till 539 B.C. but her existence during this period was hardly anything more than a protraction of her assured and awaited annihilation.

It is inconsistent to date the beginning of the Persian empire in 550 B.C. with Cyrus II's capture of Astyages and Ecbatana, passing over the 150 years of Persia's previous unimportant existence since its founding, thus making it subsequent to Babylon, while at the same time failing to recognize Media's right to world empire replacing Babylon in world influence during Babylon's decaying years on the ground that Babylon outlived Media. On the other hand, it should not pass unnoticed that Media's fall was not preceded by a time of weakness or decay. Astyages' fall was quite meteoric and the result of his general and army's desertion to Cyrus II.[36]

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ple which thou tellest me (to) build, Umman-manda (i.e. the Medians) encompasses it with with his strong forces'. Marduk said to me, 'The Umman-manda of whom thou speakest, he, his land and the kings that go at his side, will not exist for much longer. At the beginning of the third year, Cyrus king of Anshan, his youthful servant, will come forth. With his few forces he will route the numerous forces of the Umman-manda. He will capture Astyages, the king of the Umman-manda, and will take him prisoner to his country'." (T. FISH in *DOTT*, 89f.). Cf. also BEAULIEU, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 108f.

[35] Cf. CAMERON, *History*, 221-23.

[36] Three accounts have reached us: a) according to Ktesias (via Nicolaos of Damascus) there were three battles. One was won by Astyages, the second was a draw, and the third was won by Cyrus. Astyages fled but was captured; b) Herodotos, I, 127-28 gives two battles: in the first Astyages' general Harpagos deserted to Cyrus, in the second Astyages fought and was captured; c) according to the Nabonidus chronicle II, 1-4

These historical considerations indicate that it is possible in a truly historical sense to speak of Media as the second world empire succeeding Babylon as the arbiter in world politics

This interpretation receives striking confirmation from the dates which the Author assigns to the Dream and the Visions. The Dream in which Nebuchadnezzar/Babylon figures so conspicuously is dated in Nebuchadnezzar's second year, i.e. 603 B.C.[37] The Vision of ch. 7 in which all four beasts/empires figure is dated in Belshazzar's first year. Nabunaʾid ascended the throne in 556 B.C., but after ruling for three years left Belshazzar on the throne[38] and betook himself to Teima in Arabia[39]. The Vision of ch. 7 would, therefore, be dated to about 551 B.C.[40] The first empire still figures in this Vision, but it is interesting to note that the description centers on the beast's transformation, that is, on the second phase of the empire, its weak period. Accordingly, only the fourth empire is deemed worthy of interpretation. The Vision of ch. 8, placed in Belshazzar's third year, is dated to 549 B.C., that is, the year following Media's fall.[41] Here, quite appropriately, there figure only two empires—Persia and Greece—which must surely correspond to the third and fourth empires of the schemes of chs. 2 and 7. The second empire, Media, is now extinct, while the first empire—Babylon—is tottering. There is no need to mention them. The Vision looks forward, concentrating on the two coming empires of Persia and Greece. It is noteworthy that the ram does not stand for Persia alone, but for the united empires of the Medes and Persians, a situation that arose in 550 B.C. with the incorporation of Media by the Persian empire.

(ANET 305 B) the Median army revolted delivering Astyages to Cyrus. See DIAKONOFF, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 145ff.

[37] See R. A. PARKER - W. H. DUBBERSTEIN, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.– A.D. 75*, Providence, 1956, 27.

[38] Nabonidus text (*ANET*, 313 B)

[39] See BEAULIEU, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 12, 149ff.

[40] I.e. making allowance for the accession year of these monarchs.

[41] If no allowance is to be made for Belshazzar's accession year, then the vision must be dated to 550, i.e. the year in which Media fell. The net result if the same.

3. HISTORY AND SUPRA-HISTORY

The third factor to be considered is Daniel's treatment of history. The Author is interested in history only in so far as it has significance for his own people. The reference-point for evaluating historical events is Jewish religion and ethics. Historical events have significance only if they are relevant for the Jewish nation. His whole treatment of the four empires is determined by whether or not they affect the Jews. Thus, Nebuchadnezzar, the oppressor of the Jews, is presented as 'proud' and 'haughty' (4:30; 5:20) 'sinful' and 'unjust' (4:27), while in Azariah's prayer he is referred to as βασιλεῖ ἀδίκῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν (3:32). Similar is the impression left of Belshazzar (5:18-28). The second empire figures so briefly—a good representation of Media from the Jewish standpoint—that no evaluation is given, other than the insatiableness of the bear.[42] However, the third empire is set forth in clearly favorable light, no doubt reflecting Persia's liberal attitude toward the Jews. The fourth empire, however, is reserved for special treatment. The Author declines to identify it with any known beast,[43] even an anomaly,[44] presenting it simply as 'different' from the others (7:7, 19-21, 23-25). It may be asked What is it that makes this beast so different from the others? Many think it was Alexander's superior military machine which within a few years overthrew the vast Persian empire.[45] But this can hardly be the sole explanation.[46] Cyrus II's military achievements were also impressive. Surely the primary difference lies elsewhere. It lies on the religious and cultural levels. In the

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[42] The summons to arise and devour בְּשַׂר שַׂגִּיא] (7:5) most probably refers to the expected conquest of the fertile Babylonian lowland in contrast to the bony ribs (the mountainous regions conquered earlier by Media).

[43] All attempts at identification with a known animal, even the more recent ones like K. HANHART's ("The Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision in the Night in the Light of Rev 13:2", *NTS* 27 (1980), 576-83) and GOLDINGAY's (*Daniel*, 163) suggestion of it being an elephant, must be deemed unsatisfactory first, because the Author refuses to identify it (though the elephant was well known in the Near East) and second, because such an identification would have detracted from the effect of this 'different' beast.

[44] See P. A. PORTER, *Metaphors and Monsters. A Literary-critical study of Daniel 7 and 8* (NB), Lund 1983.

[45] Cf. e.g. M. HENGEL, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2 Vols., London 1974, Vol. I, 55.

[46] The same argument is used by the defenders of the Roman View for their own view.

Author's semitic context, Greek culture and outlook on life were something totally 'different'. It was on these levels—which were of the greatest concern to our Author—that Greece presented itself as an irresistible force, threatening Jewish religion and distinctiveness and posing a new 'captivity' of a far worse kind than the Babylonian one.[47] It is surely this perspective that constitutes the Author's criterion for evaluating the various empires and especially Greece. His descriptions of historical events are weighed on the balances of Yahwistic religion. Hence his evaluation of the Greek empire are puzzling to ordinary historians, while his vituperations against Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, are baffling. For from the Greek point of view, Antiochus IV was not merely an astute, capable and enlightened monarch, he was even a good king.[48] For our Author, however, Antiochus IV is the very embodiment of evil.

Finally, the concept of the beast. As I have argued elsewhere the concept of the beast is complex.[49] The beast is not conterminous with any one king or empire, but is composed of three elements: the human king, the state and an invisible power, which is perceived to be at work behind the king. These invisible powers are in Aramaic designated as שָׁלְטָנַיָּא (7:27b; Θ· ἀρχαί LXX: ἐξουσίαι) and in Hebrew as שַׂר (10:13; Q: ἄρχων; LXX: στρατηγός).[50] To quote an earlier publication of mine "Our author is grappling with his problem on a two-dimensional basis. While cogitating on human affairs, the author goes beyond what is observable in the empirical realm. He introduces his readers to another plane, the plane of vision, where earthly phenomena are seen to have their invisible counterpart to 'events' beyond the world of senses. More than this, there is a causal connection between the invisible and the visible worlds. Earthly events are not simply

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[47] I have argued this issue at length in CARAGOUNIS, "Greek Culture and Jewish Piety: The Clash and the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7" *ETL* 65 (1989), 280-308.

[48] See the evaluation of Antiochus IV in Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, Vol. V, Athens 1974, 146. This agrees with evaluations in other modern historians, e.g. E. R. BEVAN, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 Vols., London 1902 and O. MØRKHOLM, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Copenhagen 1966.

[49] Cf. the excursus "Ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, κτλ." in CARAGOUNIS, *The Ephesian Mysterion: Meaning and Content* (CB), Lund 1977, 157-61 as well as *idem, The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (WUNT), Tübingen 1986, 69-70.

[50] See CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 68-70. These concepts lie at the basis of the NT teaching on the powers.

the result of the whim of earthly potentates; they are to be explained by reference to realities in the invisible world. It is this double dimension in the author's perspective that renders the concept of 'Beast' a complex concept of ambivalent nature".[51]

This is exemplified in ch.10, where the prince (שַׂר) of Persia (10:13) and the prince (שַׂר) of Greece (10:20) are not Darius and Alexander respectively, but angelic powers at work behind these kings as is shown by the parallel statement in 10:21, according to which the prince of the Jews (שַׂרְכֶם), is none other than Michael himself. This is further confirmed by 7:27b, where, as I have shown at considerable detail in another work[52], the term שָׁלְטָנַיָּא (Θ· ἀρχαί; LXX: ἐξουσίαι) unlike its use at 7:14 and 7:27a, where it carries the abstract sense of "power" or "authority", has concrete sense denoting the invisible powers[53], which become subjected to עֶלְיוֹנִין.[54]

These brief indications of Daniel's concerns as well as his methods and principles in interpreting and evaluating history hopefully make a small contribution towards the understanding of this fascinating and intriguing Book.

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[51] CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 69 f.

[52] CARAGOUNIS, The Son of Man, 65-73.

[53] The distinction has been generally missed by Versions and commentators, See CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 65-73

[54] On the identification of עֶלְיוֹנִין, see CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 61-76.