BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Compiled by Dr. J. Paul Tanner
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ORGANIZATION OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY:

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COMMENTARIES


This is an outstanding commentary by a recognized evangelical scholar from a premillennial viewpoint. This commentary along with Miller's represent two of the best available in English. Archer does provide some technical detail and Hebrew-Aramaic notes lacking in many popular-

Biblio. 1
level works. Highly recommended.


This is a helpful readable commentary from a British conservative scholar. She handles well the introductory problems and includes excursuses on the prayer of Nabonidus, the "son of man," and Daniel's seventy weeks.


This Banner of Truth edition (printed in one volume) has been reprinted from the Calvin Translation Society two volume edition of 1852-53, edited by Thomas Myers.


Critical approach, although there is some linguistic and historical help on the text.


Dr. Feinberg is a Hebrew-Christian who came to faith in Christ many years ago as a Rabbinical student. He has taught on the faculty of Talbot Seminary for many years. This is a brief nontechnical exposition of the book from a dispensational premillennial viewpoint. Helpful. He understands the "King" of Dan 11:36 to be not the Beast of Rev 13, but the False Prophet (whom he regards as the Antichrist). He also holds this "Antichrist" to be Jewish.

2002.
Written from a Reformed and amillennial perspective.


A premillennial treatment from one of the "old school" dispensationalists. Helpful for a historical perspective on dispensational interpretation.


This is a very up-to-date commentary, but disappointingly not as conservative as I would like to see (this series could be considered quasi-conservative; several volumes buy into critical positions). The format of the book, however, is excellent. Many helpful technical notes, but weak in interpretation. Assumes that the "seventy weeks" prophecy in Dan 9:24-27 finds fulfillment in the Maccabean period with Antiochus Epiphanes (the standard critical view).


This is a Jewish commentary containing a wealth of information on Rabbinic comments on Daniel as well as lexical help.


OT Abstracts: “The Introduction covers the usual problems: setting of the book, date (final form 165 B.C.), authorship and question of pseudonymity, languages and text, place in canon, genres in chaps. 1–6 and 7–12, use of earlier traditions, style, structure, Daniel as a work of theology. The commentary of each section follows the same pattern: literary analysis, exegetical analysis, and theological and ethical analysis.”


Although most of the conclusions will not be acceptable to conservatives, this is probably one of the best treatments from a critical perspective. There is a denial of the historicity of Daniel, yet there is much help in the lexical notes. Well researched, although weak in interpretation.


Ironside was famous as a solid expositor of Scripture (from the older premillennial, dispensational camp).


Jerusalem, Rabbi Isaac. The Aramaic Sections of Ezra and Daniel: A Philological Commentary. 2nd rev.
An indispensable aid for work with the Aramaic text of Daniel.


This is a very full interaction with the text from a conservative viewpoint. Quite technical, but weak in interpretation as a result of an amillennial approach. Obviously not up to date with current scholarship and archaeological matters.


A learned writer in England from the Plymouth Brethren movement.


Kliefoth, T. *Das Buch Daniel übersetzt und erklärt*. Schwerin: Sandmeyer, 1868.


Chapters 1–6 (Daniel A) are midrashim; 8–12 are apocalypses; 7 is both. [Daniel B = 7–12].


“Dealing mainly with the text in its present form, L. is sceptical about the possibility of recovering earlier forms of the Daniel tradition. A Brief introduction summarizes matters of textual transmission, the translation philosophy underlying L.’s rendering of the Hebrew/Aramaic text, genre considerations, hermeneutical issues, and the historical context. A chart calls attention to dates of various kinds and events that are relevant to understanding Daniel. Each unit of the commentary proper is divided into four sections: (1) ‘Notes’ treats issues of textual criticism, grammar, and semantics; (2) ‘Form and structure’ highlights concerns of genre, organization, unity, and word usage; (3) ‘Comment’ provides detailed examination of historical, cultural, and religious questions; while (4) ‘Explanation’ stresses theological topics, with some consideration of the contemporary implications of the Book of Daniel. Issues of date and authorship are tackled in an ‘Epilogue.’” [OT Absr 27:2, June 2004].


A conservative commentary from the amillennial viewpoint.


An excellent commentary from an evangelical point of view. The author writes from a premillennial perspective, interacts well with other scholars (both critical and conservative evangelical), and has provided a well-researched commentary with ample footnoting. This (along with Gleason Archer’s commentary) may be the best commentary available. Highly recommended!


Although somewhat dated, this is still the most complete treatment of the textual data of Daniel. Montgomery usually opts for the critical position and is amillennial in viewpoint. Very technical.


Dr. Pentecost has served on the faculty of Dallas Seminary for over 35 years, and is the author of the classic work on prophecy, *Things to Come*. The commentary here is brief and nontechnical from a dispensational premillennial viewpoint. Helpful.


Contains a useful supplement reviewing publications since the original edition of 1962.


This work stems from nine lectures that Pusey delivered at the divinity school of Oxford University as Regius Professor of Hebrew. Over 500 pp., with helpful defense against the critical attack upon the book.


A readable exposition of Daniel from a premillennial and dispensational viewpoint, written by a former director of Chosen People Ministries.


Dr. J. Paul Tanner  Daniel: Introduction  Bibliography


Tanner, J. Paul. *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. In the BEE World course on The Book of Daniel. Available online at <www.paultanner.org> and see under the option for "Daniel Studies."


Theodoret wrote his commentary on Daniel ca. AD 433. He takes the 20th year of Artaxerxes as his *terminus ad quo* for the calculations. But he puts the 62 weeks before the 7 weeks.


Contemporary applications.


Dr. Walvoord provides an excellent English based commentary on Daniel from the dispensational, premillennial viewpoint. Dr. Walvoord was president of Dallas Seminary for over 30 years, and is one of the leading evangelical scholars on prophecy in the world as attested by his many popular books and articles on prophetic subjects. Non-technical.


A helpful and readable commentary from a premillennial & pretribulational viewpoint, with a combination of expositional and exegetical comments.


This is a good representation of a treatment of Daniel from a conservative amillennial viewpoint, though weak in eschatological perspective.


Zöckler was a professor in the Univ. of Greifswald, Prussia, and his commentary was originally written in German.

**TOPICAL ISSUES**

**Antiochus Epiphanes**

_Biblio. 6_


Mercer, Mark. "The Benefactions . . ." [see under Ch 11]


An excellent source of information on the influence of Greek culture during the intertestamental period, with a good discussion of Antiochus IV.

### Aramaic of Daniel


Although Gaster published an Aramaic of the additions, scholars contest that he actually provided *the* original as he claimed to have done.


Rev. in *JETS*, March 2001; numerous examples from Daniel.


Extremely helpful philological notes on the Aramaic portions of Daniel.


To a large extent, this is a reply to Ginsberg's *Studies in Daniel*.


Biblio. 8
A helpful reference tool, focusing on the Palestinian Aramaic dialect used in the Byzantine period (3rd cent. AD to the Arab conquest).


This is reviewed in *JETS* (March 1995). This is also reviewed in *BibSac* 150:599 (Jul-Sep 1993) by Richard A. Taylor. He notes (373-74),

"Stefanovic’s thesis is simple: The Aramaic of Daniel shows important affinities with Old Aramaic inscriptions mainly from the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries B.C. . . .

. . . Stefanovic draws these conclusions: (1) Old Aramaic is not as uniform as has sometimes been claimed, and allowance must be made for dialectical differences within Old Aramaic. (2) Certain objections to an early dating for the Book of Daniel may be answered by paying greater attention to similarities between Old Aramaic and the Aramaic of Daniel. (3) A significant amount of material in the Aramaic of Daniel compares favorably with Old Aramaic texts."


Helpful treatment of historical and linguistic problems in Daniel by some English conservatives. K. Kitchen provides a thorough but technical discussion of the dating of the Aramaic.

**Archaeological Background (inc. Literary Documents)**


Dr. J. Paul Tanner                                  Daniel: Introduction                                             Bibliography


**Babylon**


Dr. Dyer surveys the role of Babylon in history, and describes the current project in Iraq to rebuild ancient Babylon. He presents a convincing case that the fulfilment of Rev 17–18 will include a literal Babylon at the ancient site.


Examine Isa 13–14 and Jer 25, 50–51 concerning Babylon. Heater rejects the notion that Babylon must be rebuilt.


**Biblio. 10**
Includes 255 illustrations and plans. This is based on the German work dated May 1912, and only includes the archaeological work up to this point.


Argues for a literal rebuilding and future destruction of Babylon.


This is a scholarly and well-documented treatment of the history of Babylon with 137 illustrations. An excellent source of historical information.


Background help on Babylon by a conservative Christian historian.

**Chronological Aspects**


Biblio. 11
This is a summation of the six-part series of articles by Dr. Hoehner that were printed in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (vol. 130 [1973] - vol 132 [1975]) with some editing and updating. This is a carefully reasoned study on the chronological aspects related to the life of Christ, in which he concludes with a crucifixion date of AD 33. The final article in the series (Jan-Mar 1975) concentrates on the Seventy Weeks prophecy of Dan 9:24-27. This is a foundational study for a serious interpretation of Dan 9:24-27. Optional interpretations are carefully considered.


An excellent article updating the chronological work of Edwin Thiele, and establishing firm dates for the kings of Daniel's day. Highly recommended!


van der Meer, P. *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt*. 2d rev. ed. 1955.


The author tries to build a case that most commentators are using a Western concept of time rather than an ancient Near Eastern one. Thus there is need for a re-orientation of the time concept.


Young argues that the fall of Jerusalem was in 587 BC (rather than the normally accepted date of 586). The article is helpful for understanding about different dating systems and methods of reckoning time at that point in history.

**Darius**


The author contends that Darius was in fact Gubaru, general of the Persian army under Cyrus, who conquered Babylon in 539 BC.


OT Abstracts: “A detailed study of the figure of Darius the Mede (Dan 5:3), who, S. holds, reigned for only a month or even a week, after the fall of Babylon, during the ‘accession year’ of Cyrus, i.e., from October 539 to the spring of 538.”


Helpful bibliographical information on Daniel. Originally pub. in 1935.


An attempt to resolve the identification of "Darius the Mede" mentioned in Dan 5:31 by suggesting he is Gubaru (appointed governor of Babylon by Cyrus).

**Devotional Treatments and Preaching Helps**


A popular level treatment of Daniel by a former president of Dallas Seminary. This is particularly helpful for its illustrative material and emphasis on application. Good for Bible study groups.


Written on the popular level, this is a very insightful book for gleaning the applicational insights from the book and challenging the reader to apply biblical truth. Highly recommended!

Conservative, readable, exposition with many practical applications for preaching and teaching. Premillennial and pretribulational.


General Studies


A series of 32 articles in two volumes dealing with various topics related to the Book of Daniel.


A rather brief, but helpfully succinct treatment of various issues from a critical perspective.


Greek and Syriac Translations of Daniel


Ceriani, A. M. Codex syro-hexaplaris ambrosianus. Monumenta sacra et profana 7; Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1874.

Biblio. 14
A photographic facsimile of the Syh manuscript.


Contains the more extensive portions of Papyrus 967, now in Cologne.


Publication of portions of Papyrus 967 now in Cologne.


OT Abstracts: She points out "that her research was not intending to deal with the issue of the relationship between the Greek texts of Daniel, but was only exploring a methodology that compares the syntactic profiles of the Greek texts. Nevertheless, her results were consistent with theories that posit a genetic relationship between the Greek texts of Daniel, particularly Theodotion and OG."


An excellent introduction to Septuagintal studies. Only brief comments on Greek Daniel.

Kallarakkal, A. George. "The Peshitto Version of Daniel—A Comparison with the Massoretic Text, the
Dr. J. Paul Tanner

Daniel: Introduction

Bibliography


Contains fragments of Papyrus 967 for chapters 3—8 of Daniel.


Brief comments on the Greek translation of Daniel.


Pusey, E. B. Lectures on Daniel the Prophet. [see Commentaries].

Pusey provides a convenient comparison of the variations between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint.


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Bibliography


The Barcelona fragment of Papyrus 967, containing some verses from chaps. 7 and 8 and part of chap. 11.


Some information on Dan 9:24,26.


Helpful for thinking through the troubled text in chapter 4 and the sources possibly lying behind the text.


This has long been regarded as the standard edition for the OG of Daniel. The 1st ed. was based on Ms. 88, Syh, and the Chester Beatty fragments of Papyrus 967. Ziegler (in the 1st edition) did not have access to all the fragments of 967. With the 1999 revised edition under Olivier Munnich, however, we now have an up-to-date standard critical edition of OG. One might wish to also consult McLay's article, "A Collation of Variants from 967 to Ziegler's Critical Edition . . ." (see above). McLay argued that there were cases where the reading of 967 should be accepted over Ziegler's 1st ed. text. The newer 2nd ed. has an extensive textual apparatus for the Th text, indicating numerous textual variants for the Th tradition.

**Hellenistic History and Background**

*Biblio. 17*
Dr. J. Paul Tanner                                  Daniel:  Introduction                                             Bibliography

Coxon, Peter W.  "Greek Loan-Words and Alleged Greek Loan Translations in the Book of Daniel,"  


Yamauchi, Edwin M.  "Daniel and Contacts Between the Aegean and the Near East Before Alexander."  

Yamauchi, Edwin M.  Greece and Babylon:  Early Contacts between the Aegean and the Near East.  

Yamauchi, Edwin M.  "The Greek Words in Daniel in the Light of Greek Influence in the Near East."  In  

**Hermeneutics in Regard to Daniel** (inc. Apocalyptic Literature)

Beale, G. K.  The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John.  

Clanton, Dan W., Jr.  "(Re)dating the Story of Susanna:  A Proposal."  Journal for the Study of Judaism in  

Proposes to date the Story of Susanna to the early 1st century BC.

Collins, John J.  "Apocalyptic Genre and Mythic Allusions in Daniel."  Journal for the Study of the Old  

Collins, John J.  Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature.  Grand Rapids, MI:  Wm. B.  

1977.

Literature 94 (1975): 218-34.

157-65.

Davies, P. R.  "Eschatology in the Book of Daniel."  Journal for the Study of the Old Testament 17  

According to Davies, chapters 8–12 are not apocalypses but visions that demonstrate eschatology,  
which he defines as "a dimension of belief . . . that history moves in a direction, that this direction  
is set by God, and that God acts within history to ensure this direction" (38).

deSilva, David A.  Introducing the Apocrypha.  Grand Rapids, MI:  Baker Academic,

*Biblio. 18*
2002.


Rather than viewing apocalyptic literature as defined by a developed angelology, symbolic visions and a divine determination of history, Greenberg argues that the distinguishing features are the doctrine of a succession of world ages and the visionary's tour of extra-mundane spheres (see 1 Enoch), both of which reflect the apocalyptists' intense desire to know hidden matters.


Hanson, Paul D. "Apocalypse" and "Apocalypticism." In IDBS, 27-34.


Discusses apocalyptic genre and how this should be defined.


Survey of modern opinion on nature and purpose of apocalyptic literature.


Contains a fairly up-to-date discussion of apocalyptic literature (up to 1982).


Three literary functions of Jewish apocalypses are the consolation and encouragement of the

Biblio. 19
righteous, the exhortation to continued obedience, and the admonition of the unrighteous.


In contrast to the preterist and futurist, “Historicism reads historical apocalyptic as prophecy intended by its ancient author to reveal information about real, in-history events in the time span between his day and the eschaton.” The author offers a history of historicism, concluding with the observation that the historicist approach “remained the common and accepted approach among Protestants up till the middle of the 19th century.”


The second edition contains a revision of the section on Daniel and Apocalyptic.


**Higher Criticism: Date, Authorship, Historical Reliability**


Anderson is a recognized Old Testament scholar, and there is a wealth of information to be found here. However, he writes from a critical perspective and denies the historicity and traditional authorship of Daniel. He holds that the Book of Daniel was composed by an unknown writer shortly after the outbreak of the Maccabean wars (2nd cent., BC). See pp 618ff. for a non-conservative view of Daniel.


This is one of the best Old Testament introductions available from a conservative evangelical viewpoint. Archer defends the traditional authorship of the book as being from the hand of the sixth century BC Daniel, and refutes the theory of a Maccabean pseudepigraph.


A brief but well-documented account of the history and problems of Daniel research.


The author brings forth evidence that Daniel was originally placed in the OT canon in the prophets, not the writings. Therefore any argument for the lateness of the book based on its placement in the writings is invalid.


This is a helpful article by a conservative scholar, who ably handles the critical objections to the traditional authorship and date.


Similar to the above article by Harrison in ISBE.


This is a full conservative Old Testament introduction, yet with interaction and quotations of critical scholars who deny the historicity and authorship of Daniel. See pp 1105-34.


This is a wealth of information for students and others whose faith may be under attack in the classroom. Abundant evidence is provided to refute the critical attack on Daniel by those who hold to a late date and authorship of the book.

Miller supposes that a complete Hebrew book was mixed with a complete Aramaic book with the present book of Daniel as a result.


Typical of critical scholars, Rowley attacks the historicity of Daniel 5.


Talmon classifies the book as "inverted plagiarism," in which "an author bent on attaining public acclaim of his writings would willingly suppress his own name, ascribing his creations to a worthy figure of old whose name alone would suffice to assure them of general acceptance" (346).


An excellent defense of the traditional date for Daniel.


A classic defense of the historicity of Daniel, although the book is somewhat dated at this point. Archaeological discoveries since this book was written (particularly the Qumran scrolls) need to be taken into account. However, there is a goldmine of helpful information refuting the stance of critical scholars in these nearly 700 pp. of text.

**History and Geography**


This is an excellent source for maps and geographical information pertaining to the Babylonian and the Persian periods.


Worthington praises the work of Bosworth on Alexander as "the best in terms of attention to detail, discussion and citation of ancient sources and modern scholars' works."

*Biblio. 22*


Helpful for understanding the campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in Israel.


This high-quality work contains an excellent selection of pictures from the Babylonian and Persian periods, including an aerial view of the mounds of ancient Babylon as they look today.


An excellent source for the historical background and setting to the Book of Daniel. See pp 469-92.

*Bibliography*

Holds that these chapters are "probably accurate at to its details."


This is the definitive work providing English translations of extra-biblical documents from the Ancient Near East. See pp 301ff. for documents relating to the Neo-Babylonian Empire and its successors, including records of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus.


An excellent resource treating the cultural, religious and political aspects of the ANE, including Babylonian civilization.


Offers a study of the four kings in the Book of Daniel, weaving together both biblical and extrabiblical data concerning them.


*Biblio. 24*

A very readable and up-to-date treatment of the life of Alexander the Great. Worthington admits his high reliance upon Bosworth's work. He posits that Alexander's pretention to personal divinity is the key to the motives and actions of his reign.


**Interpretation, History of**


Collins [see commentary, 72-123].


"Irenaeus is the source not only for specific points of Hippolytean exegesis but also for the overall eschatological approach. The major patterns of historical-eschatological understanding so important to Hippolytus—the succession of world-empires in chapters 2, 7 and 8 of Daniel, the eschatological interpretation of the Seventy Weeks prophecy, and the creation-week typology—are already present in Irenaeus. There is, therefore, not a great deal of new material in Hippolytus. He does develop a few original themes; but by and large he is not an innovator but a preserver and collector of what has gone before. This suggests that in Hippolytus we find a kind of "main-line" eschatology which may have been quite widespread during the closing decades of the second century" (p 339).

Fraidl, F. *Die Exegese der siebzig Wochen Daniels in der Alten und Mittleren Zeit*. Graz: Leuschner, 1883.

For help through the middle ages, covering equally the Patristic, Oriental, Western and Jewish commentators [recom. by Montgomery, 394].

Hasel, G. [see under Ch 9]


**Biblio.** 25

Covers early Protestant commentators.


Zöckler, Otto. "Daniel." [see appendix to Dan 9:24-27 in commentary; but there is also a helpful listing of the literature on Daniel in the "Introduction," p. 50].

### Literary Features and Structural Matters


OT Abstracts: "Asserting the distinctiveness of Daniel, B. sums up certain anomalies (e.g., mix of genres, of languages) that make the book difficult to classify. Moving to its relation to historical materials and to certain intertextual elements, he points out its relation to exilic texts (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Lamentations). The writer, B. concludes, can be seen as musing on the prophetic materials and pondering the challenges of living faithfully in exile, and perhaps as anticipating a radical military-type intervention from God."


The article focuses on the elements of “story” within the chapter, such as exposition, challenge, rising action, climax and denoucement. He does point out the aspect of apocalyptic theme within the chapter that argues for the unity of the book as a whole.


**Biblio. 26**


Gooding proposes that the book consists of ten units, corresponding to the chapter divisions (with the exception of ch 10–12 which serve as the final unit of the book). These ten are then divided into two groups (ch 1–5 and ch 6–12). Within the first group, chapters 2 and 3 form a subgroup, as do chapters 4 and 5. Similarly, within the second group, chapters 7 and 8 form a subgroup, as do chapters 9 and 10–12. Gooding proposes that there are also deliberate correspondences between the subgroups of Group One and the subgroups of Group Two. The analysis is helpful for showing certain parallels and correspondences within the book, but ultimately Gooding's proposal is not convincing. A major division following chapter 7 (in connection with the shift in language from Aramaic to Hebrew), is more probable.


OT Abstracts: “H. challenges common assumptions about the origin and function of the court tales in Daniel 1-6. The world in the tales is a fictitious construct that is not identical with the socio-historical world of their authors. The messages of the tales must be inferred by comparison with texts of the same genre (Esther, the Joseph story, and Ahiqar) and by reading the tales within the larger context of the entire book. Literary conventions, often dictated by common genre elements, shape the tales. The tales’ sparse description of human characters emphasizes the message, i.e., God’s glorification, not that of the messenger. The conflict of authority is predominantly theological. Nebuchadnezzar’s two doxologies (3:31-33 and 6:27-28) frame the tales and summarize their theological message. Doxologies set the stage for the apocalyptic scenario in the second half of the book.”


Considers the genre of the tales.


Biblio. 27
The present study will show that based upon its literary genre the extreme position that views all of Daniel (including chaps. 1–6) as being written in the second century BC is manifestly in error. Further, it will demonstrate that arguments for a pre-Maccabean provenance for the first six chapters need not exclude the traditional dating in the late Babylonian or early Persian periods.


Stanislaw calls attention to the poetic features of three passages (Dan 8:23-26; 9:24-27; and 12:1-3), and argues that the poetic structuring highlights these sections as the most relevant messages of the visions in which they occur.


The author attempts to build a case that chapter 4 is developed in a carefully composed chiastic structure, with the dialogue in vv 18-19 forming the innermost element.


Wessely develops a theory of literary dependence of Daniel on Genesis and Ezra, which results in a late dating of the book.


Woodward provides a brief study of the "authorial voice" in Dan 1–6, examining such techniques as repetition and irony to show how they enhance the author's message. He claims that this investigation supports Danielic authorship and textual unity.

**Bibliography**

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Persian History and Background


This is an up-to-date historical treatment of the Persian period, with helpful background material to Daniel (over 100 photos).

Prophecy - General


This is not a commentary *per se*, but a discussion of millennialism and various prophetic aspects of Daniel. The author writes from a premillennial viewpoint and includes a lengthy discussion of the seventy-weeks passage of Dan 9.


A very insightful look at the current movement among Jews to rebuild the ancient temple.


This is an excellent concise book for understanding the various prophetic viewpoints (and why people believe what they do).

VanGemeren, Willem Van. "Israel as the Hermeneutical Crux in the Interpretation of Prophecy."

After over sixty years of study and teaching on prophetic subjects, Dr. Walvoord presents the fruit of his work in a survey of all prophetic passages of Scripture. Daniel is treated on pp 211-79. An appendix at the end conveniently lists all the prophecies, their location in the Bible, and their fulfilments.

**Religion, Babylonian and Ancient Near Eastern**


**Revelation, Relationship to The Book of**


**Son of Man Discussion**


Defends the angelic view of the "one like a son of man."


Treats Christ’s self-understanding of his redemptive mission, as well as His anticipations of the apostasy of the nation and the destruction of the Temple as divine judgment for Messiah’s violent death.


Stuckenbuck, Loren T. "'One Like a Son of Man' as the Ancient of Days' in the Old Greek Recension of Daniel 7, 13: Scribal Error or Theological Translation?" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Alteren Kirche* 86:3-4 (1995): 268-76.


Young, Edward J. "Daniel's Vision of the Son of Man." In *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament*

**Biblio.** 32

Takes the position that "one like a son of man" refers to the angel Gabriel.

**Texts and Translations** (inc. Qumran discussions)


Cross, Frank Moore, Jr. "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran: Cave 4 of Qumran (4Q)." *Biblical Archaeologist* 19 (1956): 83-86.

An early report on some fragments of Daniel found in Cave 4 at Qumran.


Cross, Frank Moore, Jr., Eugene Ulrich, *et al.* [review article on Qumran Cav 4, V 7: Genesis to Numbers; *Vetus Testamentum* 46:143 (Jan 1996). Series: Discoveries in the Judean Desert]


Flint, Peter W. "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran." In *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 41-60. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and

**Biblio.** 33


Fragments of Daniel from Cave 1 appear on plates v and vi (1QDan\textsuperscript{a} and 1QDan\textsuperscript{b}).


Contains an English translation of the Nabonidus fragment (4QP\textsuperscript{a}Dan or 4QP\textsuperscript{b}PrNab).

**Theology of Daniel**

Biblio. 34


This is an excellent treatment of the theology of Daniel by a professor of Old Testament at Dallas Seminary. Recommended!


OT Abstracts: “S. offers a reassessment of the political and nationalistic agenda of Daniel in relation to post-Enlightenment biblical theology, affirming the particular over against the universal, which generates a unified reading of Daniel 1-6 and 7-12. S. demonstrates that (1) the political and religious aims of the Hasmonean revolt permeate the entire book, not just the visions; (2) the use of mythological and symbolic language reflects perspectives of the priesthood and Jerusalem Temple correlating events of heaven and earth; (3) in contrast to the prophetic books which identify Israel’s punishment as YHWH’s will (i.e., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel), Daniel associates YHWH with the overthrow of foreign powers. Even though it is an apocalyptic book, Daniel is concerned with events of this world which it attempts to change for the better.”

SECTIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Chapter One


An evaluation of the problem of reconciling Dan 1:1 with Jeremiah 25:1 (the latter indicates that Nebuchadnezzar did not become king until the 4th year of Jehoiakim).


*Biblio. 36*
Chapter Two


Ginsberg, H. L. "'King of Kings' and 'Lord of Kingdoms.'" *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 57 (1960): 71-74.


Helpful for understanding the concept of "dreams" in the ANE.


OT Abstracts: "They come to the following conclusions: (1) Israel's past revealed that her future was open to God's involvement and that a divine intervention to change its direction was necessary. (2) Israel's past also revealed that no human king or kingdom deserves unqualified allegiance."


Lawson, Jack N. "'The God Who Reveals Secrets': The Mesopotamian Background to Daniel 2.47."

*Biblio.* 37


Newton, B. W. Aids to Prophetic Enquiry. 3 vols. London: Nisbet, 1848-49.


Though an evangelical, Walton departs from the normal evangelical position to suggest that the

Biblio. 38
Dr. J. Paul Tanner  Daniel: Introduction  Bibliography

four kingdoms are Assyria, Media, Medo-Persia, and Greece.

Chapter Three


Explains the humorous effect created by what would otherwise appear to be wearisome, superfluous repetitions in ch 3 (though the author dates the book late and denies Danielic authorship and the historicity of chaps. 1-6).


Explores why in vs. 5 the last instrument, commonly translated "bagpipe", is missing.

Chapter Four

Burkholder, Byron. “Literary Patterns and God’s Sovereignty in Daniel 4.” *Direction* 16 (Fall 1987): 45-54.


Biblio. 39


OT Abstracts: "H. first examines the many ancient variants of the trope of animalization of which the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Daniel 4 is a potent example. He then turns to the interpretation of Daniel 4 in rabbinic Judaism; according to the rabbis, Nebuchadnezzar was never granted the grace of redemption, contrary to the plain reading of Dan 4:31-34. Rather he 'becomes an abhorrent type, not simply of pride and arrogance, but of the wickedness of contemporary Rome' (p. 207). In contrast, Christian exegesis, East and West, emphasized the penitential aspect of Nebuchadnezzar's metamorphosis. Tertullian, e.g., in the West and Ephrem in the East view Nebuchadnezzar as an exemplary penitent. A number of Syriac texts from the fourth century onward draw on the model of Nebuchadnezzar for a newly evolving ascetic discipline. There are three appendices: (1) Daniel at Qumran; (2) a translation of Daniel 4 from the MT and the Old Greek; and (3) a translation of a homily on Daniel 4 by Jacob of Serug (451-521)."


Shea, W. H. "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2–7 . . ." [see under Literary Features]


Chapter Five


Though Hilton dates the book in the 2nd century BC, he provides a very helpful comparison and contrast between the founding of Babylon in Gen 11 and its destruction in Dan 5. Both involve a confusion of languages, as well as a concentric structure utilizing word-plays.


Millard, Alan. "Daniel and Belshazzar in History." Biblical Archaeological Review 11:3 (May-June

Biblio. 40
1985): 73-78.


The author attempts to build a case that chapter 5 is composed in a chiastic structure, with Belshazzar's speech in 13b-16a as the innermost element.


Although this article investigates the character of the queen in Dan 5, the author relies on feminist studies to propose that a feminine wisdom tradition possibly lies behind the text of Dan 5:10-12.

**Chapter Six**


"P. argues that the word *benogha* in Dan 6:20 is not a gloss, but rather an Aramaic calque of the Akkadian expression, *ina/ana mimmu seri ina namari*, 'when the first light of dawn shone.' This expression occurs several times in the Gilgamesh epic, and consists of the Akkadian verb *namaru* ('to dawn, shine brightly') and the noun *seru* ('daybreak, daylight')." *OT Abst* 28:2, 2005.


**Chapter Seven**

[Note: See also the Topic "Son of Man"]


While he claims that the messianic interpretation of this vision is not demonstrable, he does claim that "it is plausible, and even probable" (58).


Argues against the position that the "holy ones" are angels in ch 7.

*Biblio. 41*


OT Abstracts: “Since the end of the nineteenth century at least sixteen primary influences on the vision of Dan 7:2-14 have been proposed, this demonstrating the complexity of the passage’s traditio-historical background. However, most traditio-historical proposals concerning the vision of Daniel 7 barely outline the parameters of the debate and usually concentrate either on its first (vv. 2-8) or second part (vv. 9-14). E.’s history of research discusses the various proposed influences on the whole vision in detail and with a critical evaluation. The study also highlights the mechanics of the traditio-historical method, and the problems in determining what constitutes a ‘parallel.’”


Includes discussions of Yahweh riding on the clouds.


An evaluation of numerous suggestions for the source of animal imagery in Dan 7--8.


Noth, Martin. "The Holy Ones of the Most High." In The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays, 215-

Biblio. 42

Argues the position that the "holy ones" in ch 7 are angels.


Concludes that the "holy ones of the Most High" are not angels.


Stauba seeks to demonstrate that the Seleucid war-elephant served as a model for the enigmatic fourth animal in Daniel 7 (PT—would this be relevant to a 6th century dating of the book?).


The author explores the use of creation imagery in Dan 7, by evoking Genesis 1.  Chaos may come to the world, but God is able to restore order and bring the world back to its original order.  Yet, Dan 7 adds a new element, namely, that of an eternal kingdom.  This will ensure that the reversion is permanent.

**Chapter Eight**


Doukhan takes the day-year approach to the 2300 mornings and evenings.


The author tries to affirm that these two chapters form a single apocalyptic unit.  He concludes that the 70 weeks of Dan 9 and the 2300 evening-mornings of Daniel 8 begin at the same point in time.


Chapter Nine


Though personally espousing a fulfillment of Dan 9:24-27 in the days of Antiochus, this article is extremely helpful for introducing the early Jewish and Christian views.


OT Abstracts: "A. cites two previously overlooked Mesopotamian parallels to Dan 9:24-25, which changes the years of punishment for Jerusalem from the seventy to seven times seventy announced by Jeremiah. He argues that these parallels contain three features also found in vv. 24-25: (1) an unnamed future prince; (2) the restoration of a dilapidated temple associated with that prince; and (3) the anointing of the temple. He cites Ezek 45:3; Exod 30:25-29 (cf. 1 Chr 23:13), and Exod 40:9 as proof for the practice of anointing temples in Israel. He concludes that the tradition of anointing previously dilapidated temples provides the background for understanding Dan 9:24-25."


Argues that the distinction between the seven “sevens” and the sixty-nine “sevens” is the product of the Masoretic punctuation. Important sources like the LXX, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the rabbinically educated Aquila all treat the first sixty-nine “sevens” as a single period.


Chisholm has a section on the Book of Daniel, and his interpretation of the seventy weeks prophecy is noteworthy. Though a professor at Dallas Seminary, he does not take the numbers literally, does not take the messianic view, and concludes that the prediction relates to a time in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (2nd cent. BC). Yet he views this as a type of the end-time Antichrist. Chisholm is also influenced by McComiskey's article (that it is 7 "weeks" until the anointed one, not 7 + 62).


A very thorough and excellent study of Dan 9:24-27. Reliable and highly recommended.


[DTS BS1171.2.Q47]


Argues for the position of Ezra 458 BC as starting point of the dating of the 70 weeks.

The author contends that "week" means a literal week (not a period of seven), and there should be no gap of time between the 69th and 70th weeks.


Similar to Hardy (see above).


Provides a survey and critique of the various views of this passage.


An excellent article, especially on refinements of chronological detail. Hoehner understands each week = 7 years, and holds that the decree in view is that of Nehemiah 2 in 444 BC. He then shows mathematically how the first 69 weeks conclude with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in AD 33.


Argues against the dispensational interpretation of a "gap" before the 70th week in favor of a fulfillment in the Roman period for all 70 weeks. Hence, Christ dies in the middle of the 70th week. He does not deal with the problem this view raises concerning the 2nd half of the 70th week.


Apocalyptic used to answer problem of suffering.


*Biblio.* 47


Leatherman, D. W. [see under ch 8].


Lurie attempts to argue that the Cyrus decree in 538 BC is the proper terminus a quo for the calculations. Furthermore, the three groups of sevens are not composed of the same number of sevens but various multiples of the integer seven, i.e., the sevens in the first group of 7 sevens are actually 14 years, hence 7 x 14. The 62 sevens on the other hand, are actually seven years each, hence 62 x 7. Finally, the 70th seven is made up of 70 years. Using these figures the first 69 sevens take you from 538 BC to 6 BC, the latter being the birth of Christ. The final week is from 6 BC until AD 65, but Christ dies in the middle, i.e., in AD 30. All in all, his suggestions are too arbitrary to be convincing, but it does show the futility of trying to make the numbers work when using the 538 date (which is why Young who uses the same date has to take the numbers symbolically).


Amillennial approach.


A helpful treatment of Dan 9:24-27 by a noted premillennial scholar. His dating scheme needs updating in light of Hoehner's research.


Biblio. 48


Rejects a Messianic interpretation altogether. Takes the "decree" as Jeremiah's prophecy in Jer 29:10 (which he dates about 594 BC). It is not 69 weeks until Messiah, but 7 weeks until Cyrus followed by another 62 weeks in which the city is being rebuilt (a conclusion based on the punctuation of the Masoretic text in 9:25). The "Anointed one" who is cut off in 9:26 is not Jesus but the Antichrist. Since the dates will obviously not support his scheme, he tries (unsuccessfully!) to argue for a symbolic understanding of 7 and 70 weeks. Not convincing! Yet has influenced people like Robert Chisholm.


This is a reprint of the author's doctoral dissertation from the Univ. of Michigan. The author (now president of the Michigan Theological Seminary) not only has a detailed discussion of Dan 9, but shows the relationship of this unit to the book of Revelation. He adopts the eschatological interpretation of the seventieth week, and provides a 38 page bibliography. Reviewed in *BibSac*, Apr-Jun 1997 (p 246).


OT Abstracts: “On the basis of comparisons with other texts, many from Qumran, M. argues that the phrase ‘holy of holies’ in Dan 9:24 refers to a group of people who draw their identity from the Temple, rather than to the Temple’s innermost part. He argues further that the phrase ‘Anointed Ones’ (9:25-26) signifies persons of that same community, who were themselves anointed. The first group of Anointed Ones encountered difficulty at the end of the seven years (not a precise figure), while the second group did so during the last periods of sevens. So understood, the passage was open to further interpretation, as occurs in Mark 13.”


Takes the "sabbatical year view"—the calculations are not to be based on seven-year periods but on "sabbatical cycles." Concludes that the 69th cycle falls between AD 27-34, and the 70th cycle is in the eschatological future.


The author concludes that the "70 weeks" begin in 457 B.C. and that the entire series is concluded in A.D. 34. Very well researched, though the conclusions are doubtful.

Payne was a post-trib premillennialist, but he argued for a completion of all 70 weeks in the Roman period (similar to amillennialist Young).


This study understands Dan 9:24-27 as a sixth century BC prophecy, but focusing on the postponement of the expected restoration caused by the poor spiritual condition of the remnant at the close of the exile. In the brief announcement by Gabriel, the captivity of Jerusalem is extended from the seventy years originally intended (Jer 25:1-13; 29:1-14), to seventy weeks of years, that is, 490 years. This results in a prophetic era beginning with the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and continuing through the era when the Medes, Persians, and Greeks respectively exercised varying degrees of control over the ancient Near East.


The author assumes a 2nd century author and fulfilment in the Maccabean era. Argues that the author of Daniel thought in terms of a periodization of history based on Sabbaths and Jubilees.

OT Abstracts: "R. reads Daniel 9 as a unity, in accord with the emerging consensus that the author incorporated a previously existing prayer (vv. 4-19) into his narrative (vv. 1-3, 21-27). He concludes that vv. 1-2 constitute a reflection on the religio-historical situation in which the scribal community responsible for the book found itself ca. 165 B.C.E. Then vv. 3-20 (including the borrowed prayer) explain why the full restitution of Jerusalem promised in Jeremiah 25 and 29 has not yet materialized: because the community needs to turn fervently to God and confess its sinfulness. Next, vv. 21-27 offer a timetable for that reconstruction—not a table of specific dates, but a periodization of history based on Sabbaths and Jubilees."


**Biblio. 50**
Defends the AD 32 date for the crucifixion of Christ (contrast Hoehner's argument for AD 33).


OT Abstracts: "V.D. argues that Deuteronomistic influence lies behind the prayer in Dan 9:4-19. This section represents a later addition to the Book of Daniel and draws on older Deuteronomistic traditions to deal with a historically similar situation, i.e., the loss of the Temple and the burden of foreign rule."


Asserts that the prayer of Dan 9 served theologically to pave the way for prayers in the later synagogue.


Helpful for understanding the Hebrew term יֶבֶשׁ ("week").


Chapter Ten


Carson, D. A. "$God, the Bible, and Spiritual Warfare: A Review Article." Journal of the Evangelical Bibliography 51
OT Abstracts: “Daniel is called a ‘man of desires’ (Dan 10:11, 19; cf. 9:23), i.e., either a man desired (= ‘beloved’) by the Creator, or perhaps the object of sexual desire on the part of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Dan 1:15; b. Shab. 149). By its play on the ambiguities of the word ‘desire,’ the Book of Daniel makes a satiric jab at Babylon (representing Hellenism) on the subject of sexuality. In this interpretation, Daniel stands for chastity against blandishments of assimilation to Hellenistic culture.”


Shea takes the position that the "princes" in chapter 10 are not demonic angels, but human leaders standing in opposition to God's work.


Helpful discussions about angelic warfare, and possible relationship of Daniel to Ephesians.


Excellent article in which the author refutes the notion of Shea that the "prince of Persia" is merely an earthly ruler. The angel (and Michael) were fighting demonic spirits, which Stevens terms "empire spirits" (not territorial). He concludes with sound advice related to the issue of a theology for spiritual warfare. He notes that Daniel did not engage in prayer for the purpose of "binding" or "evicting" them.


Chapter Eleven


Biblio. 52


"Who is the King of the North? He is the head of a great power north of Israel which has wide geographical range and of world political stature, probably the USSR. Who is the “attacker” in 11:40–45? It is the King of the North and not the Antichrist" (p 231).


Mercer argues that the descriptions in 11:37-38 do not fit Antiochus, but rather a future king.


OT Abstracts: “Four of the five current interpretations of Dan 11:36-45 see vv. 37-38 as referring to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. But Antiochus does not fit the verses’ description of an individual who will not show favor to any gods and who will honor a god of fortresses not worshiped by his ancestors, especially given his cultic gifts to Greek cities. The evidence thus favors interpreting Dan 11:36-45 as a prophecy to be fulfilled by a future king.”


*Bibliography*
Dr. J. Paul Tanner  
Daniel: Introduction  
Bibliography


Helpful in defending the notion that there is a break at Dan 11:36, and that the discussion shifts from its focus on Antiochus IV to the end-time Antichrist.


This article dispels the notion that the "King of the North" in Daniel 11:36ff. is a reference to Russia, and suggests that the proper interpretation is with a coalition of northern "Arab" countries that once composed the Seleucid Empire.


Although this article deals primarily with Ezek 38–39, it is helpful for understanding the reference to "north" in the prophets. Relevant for a study of Dan 11:36ff.


**Chapter Twelve**


OT Abstracts: "B. notes that the text of Isa 26:19 utilized in Dan 12:2 finds a closer verbal parallel in 1Qisa' than in MT Isaiah. B. examines the relationship between the Hebrew and Greek texts and the various translations of the Hebrew verbs in the LXX and the minor ancient versions of the Daniel and Isaiah verses. He finds support for M. Hengel's thesis about the popularity of a Qumran text-type underlying the Book of Daniel."


**Biblio. 54**

See pp 239-42 concerning the hope of resurrection in the Old Testament.


OT Abstracts: "In this study, R. examines what the Book of Daniel has to say about the future from the perspective of the second century community responsible for its final form. R.'s conclusions are as follows: (1) Dan 12:5-13 constitutes an epilogue to 10:1–12:4 and to the whole Book of Daniel as well; and, within this epilogue, v. 13 originally belonged with and concluded the vision in 10:1–12:4. (2) Verses 11-12 are not additions to 12:5-10, but the culminating point to which they build. (3) Those verses calculate more precisely the date for the impending 'end,' and do so in two stages: one stage is to occur 1290 days after the 'abomination that makes desolate,' the other 45 days later. Verse 11 probably looks ahead to the fall of the world empires, while v. 12 anticipates the inauguration of God's kingdom, with the righteous dead being resurrected to life in the faithful community."


*Biblio. 55*