

NEOTESTAMENTICA ET SEMITICA

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF
MATTHEW BLACK

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III

THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

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AMONG publications which have influenced the direction of my thought in the field of Gospel studies a prominent place is occupied by the Inaugural Lecture which Matthew Black delivered in October 1952 as Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.¹ In relating the Son of man in the teaching of Jesus to the Servant of the Lord in the book of Isaiah, and both to the Messiah, he adduced in evidence various bodies of literature from the closing centuries B.C., including in particular the book of Daniel and the Qumran texts. The purpose of this contribution in honour of Principal Black is to consider some evidence which would place the book of Daniel and the Qumran texts within one stream of tradition.

When Jesus announces that the time has been fulfilled for the kingdom of God to draw near,² or speaks of the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven;³ when Paul reminds the Corinthian Christians that the saints will judge the world;⁴ when John beholds the last imperial beast blaspheming God, persecuting the saints and exercising universal sway over the bodies and souls of men for forty-two months⁵—in these and many other New Testament passages we see how the visions of Daniel moulded early Christian thought and language. Their influence on general Jewish thought and action in the same period is equally well attested. If the leaders of the revolt against Rome in A.D. 66 were encouraged by an oracle found in their sacred writings to the effect that a man or men from Judaea would attain world dominion at that very time,⁶ it is to the book of Daniel that we must look for the oracle, and more particularly to the angelic utterance about the seventy heptads;⁷ nowhere else in the

¹ Published as "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", *SJT* 6 (1953), 1-11.

² Mk 1:15.

³ Mk 13:26; 14:62.

⁴ 1 Co 6:2.

⁵ Rev 13:5-8.

⁶ Josephus, *BJ* 6, 312; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 13; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4.

⁷ Dn 9:24-27.

Hebrew canon are such precise time-indications given with respect to the future.

But there are grounds for thinking that a century before the beginning of the Christian era at least one group of Jews—the men of Qumran—gave serious thought to the study and interpretation of the book of Daniel, and looked on their “Unique Teacher”⁸ as successor-in-chief to the “man greatly beloved” who is the hero of that book.

I

Among the biblical manuscripts found at Qumran are fragments representing seven copies of the book of Daniel. There are fragments of two copies from Cave 1 (1QDn^a, exhibiting Dn 1 : 10–17 and 2 : 2–6, and 1QDn^b, exhibiting Dn 3 : 22–30), of four copies from Cave 4 (one of which, 4QDn^a, has Dn 2 : 19–35 intact), and of one copy, written on papyrus, from Cave 6 (6QDn^a, exhibiting Dn 8 : 16–17, 20–21 ; 10 : 8–16 and 11 : 33–36, 38). One fragment from Cave 1 (1QDn^a) preserves the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic in Dn 2 : 4 ; two fragments from Cave 4 (4QDn^a and 4QDn^b) preserve the transition from Aramaic to Hebrew in Dn 7 : 28–8 : 1. They shed no further light on the problem of the bilingual character of Daniel.⁹

The portion preserved in 1QDn^b includes the place where the Septuagint incorporates the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Hebrews, but like the Massoretic text it lacks these additions. The variations between the text of the fragments from Cave 1 and the Massoretic text are insignificant ; the fragments from the other caves also resemble the Massoretic text, apart from a few variants related to the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint.¹⁰

⁸ CD 20 : 1.

⁹ For the Cave 1 fragments see D. Barthélemy, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 1, Oxford, 1955, pp. 150–52 ; for the Cave 6 fragments see M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* 3, Oxford, 1962, *Textes*, pp. 114–16. The Daniel fragments from Cave 4 have not yet been published, but see F. M. Cross, “Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân : La grotte 4 de Qumrân”, *RB* 63 (1956), 56–58 ; *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, New York, 1958, p. 33. In the latter place Cross mentions that one of the copies of Daniel from Cave 4 is to be dated palaeographically to the late second century B.C.

¹⁰ F. M. Cross, *RB* 63 (1956), 58 ; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London, 1959, p. 28.

The textual character of these fragments throws little light on the question whether the book of Daniel was acknowledged as canonical at Qumran. Neither can we come to any certain conclusion on this question from such premises as the fact that 1QDn^a has columns of roughly equal height and breadth (whereas other biblical manuscripts from Cave 1 have columns whose height is twice their breadth), or the fact that the Daniel fragment from Cave 6 is written on papyrus (whereas most biblical manuscripts from Qumran are written on skin), and in a cursive hand.¹¹ Our judgment on the canonical status of Daniel in the Qumran community must be based on less external criteria.

II

In addition to the canonical fragments, other compositions bearing some relation to the canonical book of Daniel have come to light.¹² Of these the most important is the *Prayer of Nabonidus* from Cave 4 (4QOrNab). The best preserved part of this manuscript runs thus :

The words of the prayer which was prayed by Neboni, king of the l[and of] Babylon, [the great] king, [when he was smitten] with a sore inflammation in Teiman by the decree of G[od Most High]. [With a sore inflammation] I was smitten for seven years and I was removed far from [men]. But I [prayed to God Most High] and an exorcist pardoned my sins. He was [a man who was] a Jew from [the exiles in Babylon]. He said : Tell this in writing to give honour and pr[aise and glory] to the name of G[od Most High]. [And I wrote this :

I was smitten with a s[ore] inflammation in Teiman [by the decree] of God [Most High]. For seven years [I] prayed to the gods of silver and gold, [bronze and iron], wood and stone and clay, because [I thought] them to be gods . . .

Here the text breaks off ; presumably the king, finding the gods of Babylon powerless to heal him, was directed by the Jewish " exorcist " (Aram. *gāzēr*, as in Dn 2 : 27 ; 4 : 7 [MT 4 : 4] ; 5 : 7, 11) to address himself to the God of Israel, and so was cured. The

¹¹ D. Barthélemy, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 1, pp. 150 f. ; see also F. M. Cross, " Qumran Cave I ", *JBL* 75 (1956), 122 f. (On p. 123 of that article Cross mentions a papyrus copy of Kings found in Cave 6 ; see M. Baillet and others, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan* 3, *Textes*, pp. 107-12.)

¹² J. T. Milik, " ' Prière de Nabonide ' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel ", *RB* 63 (1956), 407-15 ; D. N. Freedman, " The Prayer of Nabonidus ", *BASOR* 145 (Feb. 1957), 31 f. ; W. Dommershausen, *Nabonid im Buche Daniel*, Mainz, 1964.

exorcist is not named in the extant part of the document ; it is a natural, but not a certain, assumption that he was Daniel. The king's name (Aram. *nbny*) is apparently an abridged form of Nabuna'id, last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (556-539 B.C.). The reference to " Teiman " no doubt reflects this king's association with Tema in North Arabia, where, according to his Harran inscription, he made his headquarters for ten years.¹³ The fragment's contact with the book of Daniel lies mainly in its general tendency, and partly in the coincidence of the seven years of Nabuna'id's " sore inflammation " with the seven years of Nebuchadnezzar's boanthropy in Dn 4 : 25, 32 f. Long before the discovery of the *Prayer of Nabonidus* at Qumran it had been suggested—first of all, it appears, by H. Winckler in 1899¹⁴—that the Nebuchadnezzar of Dn 2-5 is the historical Nabuna'id (*nbnd* having possibly become corrupted to *nbkd*, which was then regarded as an abbreviation of Nebuchadnezzar). Whether the *Prayer of Nabonidus* be taken as a confirmation of this suggestion or not, it is at least plain that the king whose seven years' madness and exile are narrated in Dn 4 was the father of Belshazzar, according to Dn 5 : 18-21.

From Cave 4 we also have fragments of three other Aramaic documents belonging to one or more Daniel cycles (4QpsDn^{a,b,c}). Although these fragments are hopelessly mutilated, it is evident that Daniel is represented as addressing the royal court. He appears to rehearse events from earlier biblical history as well as to foretell the future. One fragment mentions the Flood and the Tower of Babel ; another refers to the Egyptian oppression, the Exodus and the crossing of the Jordan. The Babylonian exile is described as the punishment for Israel's idolatry ; the " first kingdom " (cf. Dn 2 : 37, 38 ; 7 : 4) will exercise power for seventy years, until the end of Israel's oppression (cf. Jer 25 : 11, 12 ; 27 : 7 ; 29 : 10 ; Dn 9 : 2). A foreview is given of events of the Seleucid kingdom, in the course of which mention is made of a king named Balakros (the Macedonian equivalent of *φαλακρός*, " bald "), of which the better known form Balas is a hypocoristic. The foreview points on to the time of the end, when iniquity will be abolished and the saints will be exalted.

¹³ C. J. Gadd, " The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus ", *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958), 35-92, esp. 57-65, 79-89.

¹⁴ H. Winckler, " Die Zeit der Herstellung Judas ", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2 (1899), 210-27.

These tantalizing fragments indicate (as do the deuterocanonical additions to Daniel) that there was a wider cycle of Daniel stories than that preserved in the Hebrew Bible, and that this wider cycle continued to circulate, and possibly to grow, after the publication (according to Dn 12 : 4, 9, the "unsealing") of the canonical book.¹⁵ But the Daniel documents from Qumran tend rather to raise new questions than to answer old ones about the composition of the book of Daniel.

III

In the Aramaic part of Daniel, the solution of various problems is recorded in terms of *rāz* "mystery") and *pēšar* ("interpretation"). In Nebuchadnezzar's dreams *rāzīn* ("mysteries") are communicated to him by God (Dn 2 : 18, etc. ; 4 : 9 [MT 4 : 6]), but they remain mysteries until their *pēšar* ("interpretation") is communicated by God to Daniel (Dn 2 : 24, etc. ; 4 : 18 [MT 4 : 15], etc.). The communication of the *pēšar* is the revelation of the *rāz*, the solution of the mystery. Thus, when the "mystery" of the king's dream about the great image "was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night" (Dn 2 : 19), Daniel was ready to "show the king the interpretation" (Dn 2 : 24). Thanks to this experience of Daniel's divinely imparted wisdom, Nebuchadnezzar summoned him after his later dream of the great tree, because, said he, "I know . . . that no mystery is difficult for you" (Dn 4 : 9 [MT 4 : 6]). Daniel accordingly took up the details of the dream one by one and said, "This is the interpretation, O king : It is a decree of the Most High, which has come upon my lord the king" (Dn 4 : 24 [MT 4 : 21]).

Similarly, the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast is an unsolved mystery (although the term *rāz* is not expressly used of it) until Daniel reads it off and declares "the interpretation (*pēšar*) of the matter" (Dn 5 : 26) ; and Daniel himself cannot understand his own dream of the four imperial beasts until at his request one of the angels standing in the presence of the Ancient of Days makes known to him "the interpretation (*pēšar*) of the things" (Dn 7 : 16) ; then all becomes plain.

Daniel's use of *pēšar* is reminiscent of the use of the Hebrew verb *pāšar* and substantive *pīšrōn* in the similar stories of Joseph's

¹⁵ Another element of a Daniel cycle appears to be alluded to in Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 264.

interpretation of the dreams of Pharaoh's servants and of Pharaoh himself in Gn 40 : 5 ff. The Hebrew substantive *pēšer* in Ec 8 : 1 (" who knows the *interpretation* of a thing ? ") is apparently a loanword from Aram. *pēšar* ; and this is the word so distinctively used in the Qumran commentaries on biblical texts. A biblical text is like one of the dreams or the writing on the wall in the Aramaic part of Daniel ; it is a divine communication, but a communication that remains a mystery until the interpretation also is divinely communicated, and usually to someone other than the recipient of the original communication. The message of God, so to speak, is broken into two halves, the *rāz* and the *pēšer*, and either half is given to a different person, so that the message is not understood until the two halves are put together again (we may compare the root meaning of *σύμβολον* from *συν-βάλλειν*, " put together ").¹⁶

The person to whom, in Qumran belief, the *pēšer* of the prophetic oracles was pre-eminently granted was the Teacher of Righteousness. In particular, God made known to him the time at which the prophets' words would come to pass, for this knowledge had been withheld from the prophets themselves. For example, " God commanded Habakkuk to write the things that were coming upon the last generation, but the fulfilment of the epoch he did not make known to him. And as for the words, so *he may run who reads it*, their interpretation (*pēšer*) concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries (*rāzīm*) of the words of his servants the prophets " (1QpHab 7 : 1-5). This is in line with what is said of the faithful remnant at the beginning of the Zadokite *Admonition* : " God took note of their deeds, for they sought him with a perfect heart, and he raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of his heart, that he might make known to the last generations what he was about to do to the last generation—the congregation of deceivers " (CD 1 : 10-12).

As in Dn 2 : 27 ff. the interpretation makes it plain that the mystery conveyed to Nebuchadnezzar in his dream portended what was going to happen " in the latter days ", so in the belief of the Qumran community the mysteries of God were conveyed to the prophets in order that the last generations might know what God was going to do to the last generation. And the fact that the

¹⁶ Compare the unintelligibility of glossolalic utterances (" mysteries ") in 1 Co 14 : 2-5 unless an interpretation is provided.

interpretation of these mysteries was entrusted to the Teacher of Righteousness was a token that the generation of the end-time was on the point of appearing—if indeed it had not already appeared.

To this we have a close parallel in the New Testament. At the beginning of his ministry Jesus announces, in language which echoes Dn 7 : 22, that “ the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand ” (Mk 1 : 15), and later he congratulates his disciples because they see and hear things to which prophets and righteous men looked forward eagerly without witnessing them in their lifetime (Mt 13 : 16 f. ; Lk 10 : 23 f.). To them, he said, had been made known that mystery of the kingdom of God which remained a riddle to those outside (Mk 4 : 11). According to 1 P 1 : 5, 10-12, the “ salvation ready to be revealed in the last time ” was foretold by the prophets, but the date and other circumstances of its revelation were withheld from them ; they “ searched and inquired about this salvation ” in an endeavour to ascertain “ what person or time was indicated by the Spirit of Christ within them when predicting the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory ”. These predictions, it is implied, had relevance not to the prophets and their contemporaries so much as to Christians living in the first century A.D. But Christians living in the first century A.D. had no need to search and inquire, for they had been taught the interpretation of these predictions : “ *This* is that which was spoken through the prophet ” (Ac 2 : 16). The person was Jesus ; the time was now. Similarly, with regard to one specific aspect of the long foretold salvation, Paul is enabled by revelation to divulge a mystery which was hidden from ages and generations but has now been manifested to the people of God (Col 1 : 26 ; cf. Eph 3 : 2 ff.).

IV

With this emphasis on the time at which the Hebrew prophecies were to be fulfilled we may compare a remark which Josephus makes about Daniel, that “ he was not only wont to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass ” (*Ant.* 10, 267). This kind of insight is expressed in both the Hebrew and Aramaic parts of Daniel by the root *škl* (among others) ; in the Hebrew part of the book it is expressed particularly by the Hiph'il, used both transi-

tively and intransitively. Thus, when Gabriel is about to make the revelation of the seventy heptads to Daniel, he says, "I have now come out to cause you to be wise (*leḥaškīleḥā*) with understanding . . . Know therefore and become wise (*wətaškēl*) that . . . there shall be seven heptads" (Dn 9 : 22, 25). In the same way the Hiph'il participle *maškīl* is used in Daniel's last vision to denote those who impart to others the insight which they themselves possess into the time and character of the eschatological events: "none of the wicked shall understand, but the *maškīlīm* shall understand" (Dn 12 : 10). These *maškīlīm* have a part to play before the end-time comes; when the minds of many are confused by the arguments and example of the apostates, "those who make the people wise (*maškīlē 'am*) shall make many understand", although their faithfulness means that they will be subject to the severest persecution during Antiochus's attempt to abolish the true worship of God: "they shall fall by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for some days" (Dn 11 : 33). Indeed, so subtle will be the temptation, so fierce the persecution, that even "some of the *maškīlīm* shall fall", but their defection serves but to refine the ranks of the faithful (Dn 11 : 35). And when at last the righteous triumph with Michael's help and the faithful departed are raised to everlasting life, "the *maškīlīm* shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever" (Dn 12 : 3).¹⁷

The Qumran community appears to have stood in the direct succession of those faithful *maškīlīm*.¹⁸ The root *škl* is used in

¹⁷ CD 3 : 10-19 indicates that the Qumran community started as a splinter group, the faithful remnant of an originally larger number of covenanters, many of whom proved disloyal. This chimes in with the statement that Daniel's *maškīlīm* were purified and reduced in number by the defection of those whose loyalty proved unequal to the beguilement of flattery and the strain of persecution. The Qumran community evidently regarded the majority of the heirs of the earlier *ḥāsiḏīm* (those who became the party of the Pharisees) as unworthy of the covenant. A comparison of what is said in Dn 12 : 3 about the *maškīlīm* with what is said about the 'Ebed Yahweh—that he will deal wisely (*yāškīl*) and "make many to be accounted righteous" (Is 52 : 13; 53 : 11)—suggests that the *maškīlīm* fulfil corporately the portrait of the 'Ebed Yahweh. The Qumran community probably thought of itself as fulfilling the propitiatory ministry of the 'Ebed Yahweh (1QS 5 : 6-7; 9 : 3-5; 1QSa 1 : 1-3) and the judicial ministry of the Son of man (1QpHab 5 : 3-6), although these two designations do not occur explicitly in the Qumran texts.

¹⁸ It may also be asked whether the designation *ḥəḏōšē 'elyōn* in CD 20 : 8 is the deliberate equivalent of the *ḥaddīšē 'elyōnīn* in Dn 7 : 18, 22, 25, 27, and whether the Qumran community regarded itself as constituting in this sense "the

the same way in the Qumran texts as in Daniel. For example, the *Rule of the Community* prescribes that the *maskil* (the "Instructor") shall, among other duties, "teach true knowledge and righteous judgment to those who choose the Way, to direct each in knowledge according to his spirit and the ordering of the time, and so to instruct them (*lehaskilām*) in the marvellous and true mysteries (*berāzē pele' we'emet*) among the men of the community that each may walk perfectly with his neighbour in all that is revealed to them" (IQS 9 : 17-19). The singer in the *Hymns of Thanksgiving* repeatedly praises God for giving him insight (*šekel*) to understand his marvels (IQH 11 : 27 f.): "as for me", he says, "as a *maskil* have I come to know thee, my God, through the spirit that thou hast given me, and by thy Holy Spirit I have faithfully listened to thy marvellous secret counsel" (IQH 12 : 11 f.). The *maskil* here, as in Daniel, is one who, having received from God understanding in his hidden purpose, is thus in a position to impart that understanding to others.

The *maskilīm* of Daniel, bearing the brunt of the persecution under Antiochus, looked for divine intervention to bring the persecution to an end. Their spiritual kinship was with those loyal souls who fled, early in the persecution, to dwell in the wilderness according to the law of God, and were slaughtered to a man because they would neither offer resistance to their enemies nor leave their caves on the sabbath day (1 Mac 2 : 29-38). Yet, while we admire their fidelity, we may wonder what would have been the outcome of the struggle if their policy had prevailed. The majority of the *hasidīm* judged that the situation demanded common action with the Hasmonaean insurgents (1 Mac 2 : 42). To the *maskilīm* of Daniel, however, the Hasmonaean resistance was but "a little help" (Dn 11 : 34). Their expectation was that the persecution would increase in severity, that the king would go on acting according to his will and prospering, "till the indignation is accomplished; for what is determined shall be done" (Dn 11 : 36). Then he would come to his end, with none to help him, whereas the archangel Michael would arise as the champion of the people of God. The distress would reach its climax; there would be a time of trouble such as men had never known, but those

saints of the Most High". Much depends on whether the designation in one or both places denotes men or angels; for the latter interpretation see Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 38 f.; J. Barr, "Daniel", in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, London, 1962, p. 598.

enrolled for life would endure to the end and be saved. Let Daniel seal up the record of his vision ; when the time of fulfilment came, it would be unsealed and vindicated as true.

V

What happened we know. The "little help" provided by the Hasmonaeans proved greater than the *maskilim* had expected. The abomination of desolation was removed, religious freedom was recovered, the daily sacrifice and other details of the temple worship were resumed. But the resurrection age did not dawn. Instead, the Hasmonaeans won political independence in addition to religious freedom, and established their dynasty of priest-kings. This new order gave little satisfaction to the puritan convictions of the *maskilim* or to their legitimist espousal of the exclusive right of the house of Zadok to exercise the high priesthood in Israel. Whatever some enthusiastic adherents of the Hasmonaeans might think, the *maskilim* could not see in their régime the establishment of everlasting righteousness which was to come, according to Daniel's third vision, at the expiry of seventy heptads "from the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem" (Dn 9 : 25).

The oracle of the seventy heptads is itself a reinterpretation of Jeremiah's prediction that seventy years would pass before the desolations of Jerusalem came to an end (Jer 25 : 12 ; 29 : 10) ; this reinterpretation is a sample of a line of biblical exegesis which we find variously reproduced in the Qumran texts and in the New Testament.¹⁹ It may be regarded as a further indication of the affinity between Daniel and the Qumran community that the seventy heptads, on their usual interpretation, are bound up with the fortunes of the house of Zadok. The first seven heptads terminate with the installation of Jeshua as first Zadokite high priest in the post-exilic Temple ;²⁰ the sixty-two heptads that

¹⁹ K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, Tübingen, 1953, pp. 156 f. Another example is the reinterpretation of Balaam's ships from Kittim (Nu 24 : 24) in Dn 11 : 30, discussed below. We may compare the way in which the warning of Hab 1 : 5, "Look among the nations, and see . . ." (itself an echo of Is 29 : 14) is applied to the coming of the Kittim (Romans) by the Qumran commentator (1QpHab 2 : 12) and to the situation created by the apostolic preaching by Paul in Ac 13 : 41.

²⁰ Dn 9 : 25 (*māšīah nāgīd*).

follow terminate with the deposition and assassination of the last legitimate Zadokite high priest, Onias III.²¹ Both the restoration of the Zadokite priesthood after the exile and its cessation in the reign of Antiochus are viewed as fateful epochs.

With the postponement of the desired consummation the seventy heptads, or at least the seventieth heptad, had to be reinterpreted by Daniel's successors as he himself had recorded the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years. The history of the exegesis of the seventy heptads in Jewish and Christian circles is largely the history of this further reinterpretation. First the seventieth heptad was identified with the seven years' interregnum in the high-priesthood between Alcimus and Jonathan;²² then the chronology of the post-exilic period was remodelled so as to make the last heptad begin with the accession of Alexander Jannaeus in 103 B.C.²³ But in the event Jannaeus's reign lasted much longer than seven years, and the seventieth heptad seems to have been stretched to cover the whole period of Hasmonaean rule.²⁴ Josephus and some parts of the New Testament attest a reinterpretation in which the oracle points to the events of A.D. 70.²⁵ The chronology of *Seder 'Olam*, on which the traditional Jewish calendar is based, reckons the seventy heptads as extending from the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians to the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans. Irenaeus and Hippolytus, making the first sixty-nine heptads end with the coming of Jesus as the Christ, envisage a gap between them and the seventieth heptad, which they

²¹ Dn 9 : 26 (*yikkārēt māšiah w'e'en lō*).

²² This interpretation is reflected in Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 237.

²³ This interpretation is reflected in Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 301 and is responsible for the inflation by half a century of Josephus's chronology of the period between Cyrus and the Hasmonaeans. See also Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 8, 2.

²⁴ Test XII Levi 16 : 1-17 : 11.

²⁵ Josephus identified Vespasian with the coming prince of Dn 9 : 26 (*BJ* 6, 313), the cessation of sacrifice and offering with the discontinuance of the daily sacrifice on 17 Panemos, A.D. 70 (*BJ* 6, 94), and the crowning abomination with the victors' worship of their standards in the temple precincts (*BJ* 6, 316). Either this last event or Gaius's attempt to set up his image in the Jerusalem temple is the "abomination of desolation" of Mk 13 : 14 || Mt 24 : 15. The "forty-two months" during which the Gentiles will "trample over the holy city" (*Rev* 11 : 2)—concurrent, no doubt, with the period during which the two witnesses prophesy (*Rev* 11 : 3), the mother-church is sheltered in the wilderness (*Rev* 12 : 6, 14) and the beast from the abyss exercises authority (*Rev* 13 : 5)—represent a reinterpretation of the half week of Dn 9 : 27 (compare Dn 7 : 25 ; 12 : 7). Similarly the beast from the abyss itself (*Rev* 11 : 7 ; 13 : 1-8, etc.) represents a reinterpretation of the four beasts of Dn 7 : 3-8, more especially of the fourth.

interpret in terms of the rise and overthrow of Antichrist in the near future.²⁶

What light do the Qumran texts cast on the interpretation of the seventy heptads? No direct answer to this question is available, but we may have pointers to an answer in the account of the Teacher of Righteousness in the *Zadokite Admonition*. Bewildered and unhappy at the untoward turn of events, unable to accept the Hasmonaean ascendancy as the fulfilment of God's purpose, the *maskilim* greeted with thankful relief the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness who explained the sacred scriptures to them and showed them the part they were to play in promoting the divine purpose revealed in those scriptures. The Zadokite writer dates the rise of this godly community 390 years after God had given his people into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar (CD 1: 5 f.). For twenty years they groped for the right way until the Teacher of Righteousness was raised up as their guide (CD 1: 9-11). The reference to 390 years is in all probability a reinterpretation of the 390 days during which Ezekiel was commanded to bear the iniquity of the house of Israel, each day representing a year (Ezk 4: 4 f.). But the Zadokite writer seems to incorporate this figure into a more comprehensive scheme, based perhaps on Daniel's prophecy of the seventy heptads. If to the 390 years we add the 20 years of groping before the Teacher of Righteousness arose, together with the 40 years that were to elapse after the Teacher's death "until the consuming of all the men of war who returned with the Man of Falsehood" (CD 20: 14 f.),²⁷ we have 450 years. But to these 450 years we have to add the unknown duration of the Teacher's ministry. Seeing we are in any case dealing with schematic numbers rather than with numbers which a chronologer could use, we may tentatively postulate the schematic period of 40 years for the Teacher's ministry, and this, added to the figures already specified, would provide a period of 490 years (seventy heptads) from the emergence of the godly community to the extirpation of evildoers. This reconstruction must remain entirely hypothetical unless and until more definite evidence

²⁶ Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5, 25, 4; Hippolytus, *Comm. on Daniel* 12-22; *Antichrist* 43.

²⁷ This language echoes Dt 2: 14-16. Compare the forty years after which the wicked are to be no more (4QP37, fragment A, 2: 6-8) and the forty years of eschatological warfare (1QM 2: 6-14, thirty-five years of active engagement and five years of release).

comes to light, but in view of the many attempts made to interpret (or reinterpret) the seventy heptads during the last two centuries of the Second Commonwealth, it is antecedently probable that the Qumran community had its own interpretation, and that the Zadokite writer gives us an inkling of what it was.

VI

In Daniel's last vision the career of Antiochus Epiphanes is outlined in recognizable conformity with what is otherwise known of him in Dn 11: 21-35. What is known of his career after 165 B.C. bears no relation to the continuing forecast in vv. 40-45. Antiochus did not invade Egypt again, nor was it "between the sea and the glorious holy mountain" that he met his end. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts were made (and in some quarters continue to be made) to interpret these verses of some other person or persons. Probably the earliest of such attempts is found in the Qumran *Rule of War*, parts of which may not ineptly be regarded as a sort of *midrash* on the end of Dn 11 and the beginning of Dn 12.

The eschatological warfare described in this document is to be waged in the first instance against the Kittim. Whether the Kittim of the *Rule of War* (and of the Qumran commentaries) are to be identified with the Seleucid forces or with the Romans is still a debated question, but the identification with the Romans is more probable. If we ask why the Romans should have been designated Kittim in the Qumran community, we need look no further for an answer than Dn 11: 30, where the "ships of Kittim" that come against Antiochus are the Roman vessels that put Popilius Laenas and his companions ashore in Egypt in 168 B.C., with a message ordering Antiochus to return to his own territory forthwith.²⁸ If we ask further why the term Kittim is used for Romans in Dn 11: 30, the answer may well be that this passage represents a reinterpretation of Balaam's oracle in Nu 24: 24, according to which "ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Asshur and Eber".²⁹

The Roman occupation of Judaea seemed to the men of Qumran to provide a setting in which at last they might expect

²⁸ Polybius, *Hist.* 29, 27; Livy, *Hist.* 45, 12; Appian, *Syriakē* 66. In the earlier "Septuagint" version of Dn 11: 30, Kittim is rendered by "Romans".

²⁹ In the Targum of Onkelos, Kittim here is rendered by "Romans".

the concluding scenes of Daniel's final vision to be enacted in real life. The plan of action was therefore drawn up for the time of trouble foretold in Dn 12 : 1. The sons of light were to take the field against the sons of darkness, the army of Belial, which consisted mainly of the "troops of the Kittim of Asshur"³⁰—the Roman forces in the province of Syria. Among other contingents of the army of Belial are "the violators of the covenant" (a truly Danielic touch), and also the nations mentioned in Dn 11 : 41—Edom and Moab and the children of Ammon—together with Philistia. "The king (?) of the Kittim in Egypt"—i.e. the commander of the Roman forces in Egypt (a reference to the king of the south of Dn 11 : 40)—is to be attacked by the sons of light as he goes forth to do battle against the "kings³¹ of the north" (1QM 1 : 1-4). The warfare will be long and fluctuating, and attended by unmatched tribulation for the recipients of God's redemption, but with heavenly aid redemption will be secured, and "iniquity shall be vanquished, leaving no remnant" (1QM 1 : 6).

With this eager expectation may be compared a passage from the fragmentary *Book of Mysteries* (1Q 27) where, after an enigmatic reference to the "mysteries of iniquity" (*rāzē pēša'*),³² it is further said of the ungodly :

They knew not the mystery (*rāz*) that is to be and the former things they understood not ; they knew not what was to come upon them nor could they save their life from the mystery that is to be. And this will be a sign for you that it is coming to pass : when the children of iniquity are shut up, evil will be banished from the presence of righteousness as darkness is banished before light ; and as smoke disappears and is no more, so will evil disappear for ever, and righteousness will be revealed like the sun, the regulator of the world. Then all who hold back³³ the wonderful mysteries (*rāzē pēle'*) shall be no more. Knowledge shall fill the world and there will be no more folly. The word shall assuredly come to pass ; the oracle is true.³⁴

³⁰ The archaic "Asshur" may be used here under the influence of Nu 24 : 24. (Kittim and Asshur are similarly brought together in 1QM 11 : 11-12, but here the Old Testament passage quoted is Is 31 : 8, which is echoed in Dn 8 : 25 ; 11 : 45.) Another of Balaam's oracles which played an important part in Qumran eschatology is the "star out of Jacob" in Nu 24 : 17 ; see 1QM 11 : 4-6 ; 4Qtest 9-13 ; CD 7 : 19-21.

³¹ The singular of Dn 11 : 40 ("the king of the north") has been (no doubt de ignedly) altered to the plural.

³² Compare the *μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας* of 2 Th 2 : 7.

³³ Compare the restrainer (*τὸ κατέχον, ὃ κατέχων*) of 2 Th 2 : 6 f.

³⁴ *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 1, Oxford, 1955, p. 103.

Against the background of the Qumran interpretation of the book of Daniel and other Hebrew scriptures we can understand better the New Testament exegesis and fulfilment of these writings—exegesis and fulfilment on which the personal impress of Jesus has been stamped as clearly as that of the Teacher of Righteousness has been stamped on the Qumran interpretation, and in which we are provided with the foundations of Christian theology.³⁵ The gist of this theology is that Jesus incarnates the figure of the “one that was to come”, by whatsoever designation this Coming One was called.

Additional Note: Since this article was written, the full surviving text of 4QFlorilegium has been published in J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan 5*, Oxford 1968, pp. 53–57; it contains (2 : 3 f.) a quotation of Dn 12 : 10 and 11 : 32, said to be “written in the book of Daniel the prophet”. This expression (cf. Mt 24 : 15) should put an end to doubts about the canonical status of Daniel in the Qumran community (see p. 223 above).

³⁵ See C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, London, 1952.