
Gerhard F. Hasel

The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9:24-27

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INTRODUCTION

During the years of its service, the Biblical Research Institute (as the Biblical Research Committee is now known) has been aware that work could be done to fill some gaps in our understanding of the books of Daniel and Revelation. As the Biblical Research Committee took some first steps in this direction more than a year ago, its attention was called to the value of a paper that would describe the various current interpretations of the seventy weeks prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27.

Current trends in prophetic interpretation in fundamentalist and evangelical ranks frequently link events in the Middle East with the last week of the seventy-week prophecy (set apart by a wide gap from the 69 weeks of the prophecy). The dispensational interpretation, as it affects the Jewish people, the anti-christ, the tribulation, the millennium, and other key aspects, is tied in with the prophecy of Daniel 9. These facts heighten the relevance of the study that follows and intensify the objective of the Biblical Research Institute to provide additional studies of the books of Daniel and Revelation. The thought of waiting until further segments were ready before making any available was overcome by the conviction that we should share such timely and self-contained segments as rapidly as they are approved for publication by the Biblical Research Institute committees.

It may be appropriate to observe that in the dispensational field considerable new material is constantly being published with possible modifications in present positions, and this may occur between the acceptance of this paper and its actual appearance as an insert in THE MINISTRY.

The author, Prof. Gerhard F. Hasel, is a member of several Biblical Research Institute committees and is chairman of the Old Testament Department at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary of Andrews University, where he teaches the course on the exegesis of the prophetic sections of the book of Daniel. The reader is encouraged to file this material in anticipation of later contributions and to send for additional copies as desired. (See information on page 2.)

GORDON M. HYDE, Director
Biblical Research Institute

THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL 9:24-27

Gerhard F. Hasel

The passage of Daniel 9:24-27 is a *crux interpretum* in OT studies. One recent writer summed up his assessment of this passage by pointing out that "there is no more intricate problem in Old Testament study than the interpretation of Daniel 9:24-27."¹ In concluding his survey of interpretation J. A. Montgomery stated, "The history of the exegesis of the 70 weeks is the Dismal Swamp of OT criticism."² Without doubt the passage under consideration is one of the most difficult in the OT. This fact should not cause us to shy away from attempting to assess major recent attempts at interpretation. This paper is not designed to present major views of pre-Christian times,³ the patristic period and medieval times,⁴ the Reformation period,⁵ and the age of the Enlightenment⁶

out of which the modernistic historical-critical interpretation comes. It seeks to survey major current interpretations with an attempt to assess the strong and weak points of each. In the trackless wilderness of interpretations there is nevertheless one common denominator. There is virtually unanimous agreement among interpreters of all schools of thought that the phrase "seventy weeks" or literally "sevens seventy" (*shabu'im shib'im*)⁷ means 490 years.⁸ There is, however, no consensus as to whether this period is to be understood as completely literal, or partially literal and partially symbolical, or totally symbolical. Extreme divergency also exists on the question of the beginning (*terminus a quo*) and end (*terminus ad quem*), as well as the subdivisions of the time period.

I. SYMBOLICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Symbolical and semisymbolical interpretations have existed for a long time. Quite recently, thoroughgoing symbolical interpretations have again been put forth with vigor. They shall have our first attention.

1. *Consistent Symbolical Interpretation.* It has been suggested that "the very nature of apocalyptic literature would tend toward symbolical interpretation. The numbers 7, 3, and 10 are acknowledged as the principal digits in symbolism."⁹ The Hebrew says simply "sevens seventy," and not "seventy weeks" (K.J.V., E.R.V., N.E.B., N.A.B.) or "seventy weeks of years" (R.S.V.). The term usually rendered "weeks" is *shabu'im* and carries the meaning "weeks," according to all major lexicons.¹⁰ However, the LXX and Theodotion, the two oldest versions, render this term ἑβδομάδες or "hebdomads" on which basis the suggestion has been made that the key phrase *shabu'im shib'im* means "seventy heptads"—7x7x10.¹¹ In short, the "seventy weeks" of Daniel 9:24-27 consist of a symbolical

figure of "seventy sevens" or "seventy heptads."¹²

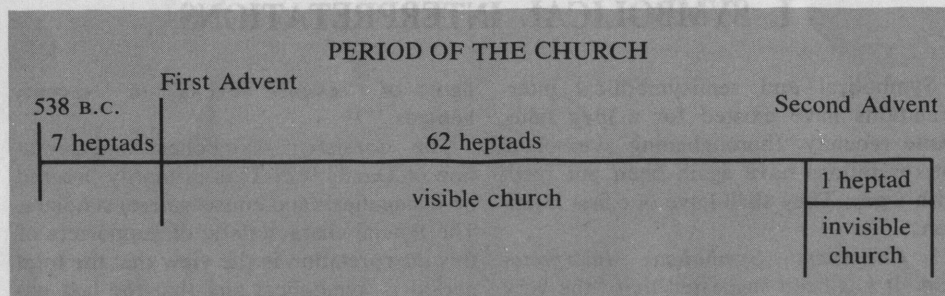
The consistent symbolical interpretation of Daniel 9:24-27 is primarily favored by evangelical (and conservative) scholars. The typical characteristic of supporters of this interpretation is the view that the total period is symbolical and that the last period of the 70th heptad extends from the first advent of Christ to the consummation at the end of time.

The *terminus a quo* for the "seventy heptads," which are not to be understood as exact chronological computations, but as a "round figure" and "in terms of general seasons of divine activity," is the edict of Cyrus of 538 B.C., which decreed that the Jews return to Jerusalem (2 Chron. 36:22, 23 = Ezra 1:2-4).¹³ Accordingly the first division of 7 heptads begins in 538 and ends with the first coming of Christ.¹⁴

The second division of 62 heptads merely indicates a "relatively greater extent than the first constructive period."¹⁵ It designates the period of the construction of Jerusalem, namely "spiritual Jerusa-

lem," or the church, down to the final consummation at the end of time.¹⁶ The second division is the period of the Christian church in its visible form. E. J. Young suggests, against the supporters of the symbolical interpretation such as T. Kliefoth and C. Keil, that "the 62 sevens therefore have reference to the period which follows the age of Ezra and Nehemiah to the time of Christ."¹⁷ Young wishes to remain tied to history, except in the last part of the seventieth seven, which he believes extends into the future.

The third division of one heptad is, according to Keil and Leupold, the last period of history, the time of tribulation, which begins with the advent of the Antichrist and ends with his defeat.¹⁸ The objective of the destructive work of the Antichrist is "the city and the sanctuary," i.e. "the visible aspects of the kingdom of God insofar as they represent the visible institution called the church."¹⁹ The visible church disappears during that last period of history before the second advent of Christ. The following diagram depicts the consistent symbolical interpretation:



The immediate appeal of the consistent symbolical interpretation is found in its attempt to refuse to engage in any arithmetic and time computations. It has also emphasized generalities rather than details in history and interpretation.

On the negative side there are serious shortcomings. First, there seems to be an internal exegetical problem in the symbolical interpretation. Leupold, for example, speaks of the first period as extending from Cyrus to the time of Christ's first advent and the second one, which consists of 62 heptads, as extending from the first advent to the Second Advent. The last heptad accordingly does not follow the 62 heptads, but is contemporaneous with the

last part of the second period.²⁰ The text speaks of "seventy sevens" and not of 69 sevens plus "one seven" contemporaneous to the last part of the previous division.

Second, there is the matter of whether there is any justification for considering the "seventy sevens" as symbolical in the first place. Just because the term *shabu'im* is masculine plural instead of the expected feminine plural (*shabu'oth*), which stands normally for "weeks," seems to be an insufficient grammatical reason cited in support of the symbolical interpretation.²¹ The masculine plural is obviously used by intention,²² as is the position of this noun before the numeral. The latter appears for the sake of emphasis, in order to contrast the "seven" with the "years" of Jeremiah (Dan. 9:2).²³ It is true that in Biblical Hebrew there is no explicit usage of the term *shabu'im* for "weeks" or "weeks of years." The notion of a "week" seems to have been suggested implicitly on the basis of the seven-day and seven-year periods culminating in a "Sabbath" (Lev. 25:2-4; 26:33ff.).²⁴ In post-Biblical Hebrew the meaning of "weeks" in the sense of

"weeks of years" occurs hundreds of times for this term in Jubilees (c. 150 B.C.), the Mishnah²⁵ and the Talmud. The designation of "three weeks" (*sheloshah shabu'im yamim*) in Daniel 10:2, which reads literally "three sevens [of] days," indicates on the one hand that three regular weeks are meant and seems to imply, on the other hand, by the addition of *yamim*, "days," that these "weeks" are not identical with the *shabu'im* of 9:24. The latter are not regular "weeks" of days, but by implication "weeks" of years.

Third, the consistent symbolical interpretation with its indefinite short-long-short periods does not do justice to the interest of Daniel in finding an answer to the

definite seventy-year period of desolation.²⁶ The context (Dan. 9:2) requires an intentionally definite designation of a period of time measured by the number seven whose chronological duration must be determined to fit specific chronological time periods of history.

Fourth, the symbolical interpretation cannot be expected to find any support in the suggestion that the symbolism of numbers such as 7, 3, and 10 is typical of apocalyptic literature and thus tends in that direction. The division of the "seventy sevens" into three subdivisions of 7, 62, and 1 shows that both the second (62)²⁷ and third (1) are rather unsymbolical. Daniel 9:25a is especially formulated as a reference to a particular time. The division of the last "week" into 3 1/2 + 3 1/2 is also totally unsymbolical.

Fifth, the symbolical interpretation "errs in having the seventy weeks end with the defeat of the anti-Christ, whereas the Hebrew demands that it be marked by the complete overthrow of Jerusalem."²⁸ Even if one wished to understand Jerusalem as a symbol of the visible church and the "sacrifice and oblation" to mean "the totality of the cult" in the sense of "all worship,"²⁹ one would still be faced with the problem of how the antichrist would be able to bring to a complete end both church and worship when, in fact, the people of the saints receive the eternal kingdom (Dan. 7:13, 14, 27; 12:1-3).

Sixth, the symbolical interpretation is "liable to the charge of spiritualizing."³⁰ There is, for example, no exegetical evidence anywhere in the book of Daniel in support of the view that Jerusalem should stand for any other entity than the actual city of Jerusalem. The suggestion that Jerusalem is a symbol of the church is without exegetical and contextual foundation. The Jerusalem of Daniel 9:2 is the literal capital city of the Israelites. The "inhabitants of Jerusalem" in verse 7 are physical Israelites. The Jerusalem and the "holy mountain," as well as the "sanctuary" spoken of in verses 16, 17 together with the "city" in verse 18, can mean only the physical city of ancient Israel. Accordingly, the "holy city" of verse 24 and the Jerusalem of verse 25 cannot refer to anything other than that to which the reader has been constantly pointed. These weighty

objections have drawn few interpreters in recent years to espouse the consistent symbolical interpretation.

2. *Semisymbolical Interpretation.* The semisymbolical interpretation, also known as the dispensational³¹ or parenthesis³² (gap) interpretation, is the standard interpretation of dispensationalist writers.³³ Although the dispensational approach claims to be established on the "literal method of interpretation of prophecy,"³⁴ there is justification for classifying it as semisymbolical, as will become evident in the following description.

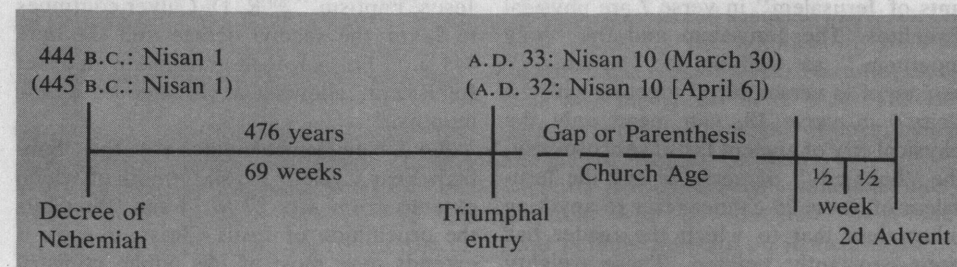
The *terminus a quo* of the semisymbolical interpretation of dispensational writers, who agree in taking *shabu'im* (9:24) as "weeks" of years,³⁵ totaling 490 years, has been customarily the second decree of Artaxerxes (Neh. 1-2), dated by most to 445 B.C.³⁶ The exact chronology of Sir Robert Anderson reckons 173,880 days³⁷ from "14th March, [1st of Nisan], 445 B.C." to "6th April [10th of Nisan], A.D. 32,"³⁸ the triumphal entry of Jesus on Palm Sunday. This reckoning can be held only on (1) the assumption that the years are not solar years but "prophetic years" of 360 days; (2) the assumption that the decree was issued on Nisan 1, 445 B.C.; (3) the supposition that Christ died in A.D. 32; (4) the hypothesis that the last week is moved to the future; and on (5) the admission that no synchronism between "prophetic" and "solar" years can be achieved without the arbitrary and subjective addition of extra days.

On the basis of such serious problems dispensationalists have recently attempted various adjustments to solve their problems. L. Wood suggests that the "best solution" is to accept "the earlier [first] decree of Artaxerxes, given to Ezra in 458 B.C. Figuring on the basis of solar years, the 483-year-period ends now in A.D. 26, and this is the accepted date for Jesus' baptism."³⁹ R. D. Culver continues to favor the second decree and the date 445 B.C., but is forced to abandon an exact fulfillment, allowing a variance of a few months.⁴⁰

R. C. Newman calculates with the "Sabbath-Year Cycle," the sixty-ninth of which extends from A.D. 27 to 34 and "brackets the crucifixion of Jesus Christ; in fact, it extends over most of His public ministry

also.”⁴¹ H. W. Hoehner points to several problems with this view: First, the first sabbatical cycle extends from 452 to 445 B.C. and terminates one year too early to qualify for the year 444 B.C. in which the second decree was issued. This would leave only 68 “Sabbath-Year cycles” between the *terminus a quo* and the death of Christ, but is contradicted by the 69 weeks after which Messiah is to be cut off (Dan. 9:26). Second, since the last “Sabbath-Year cycle” comes to an end in A.D. 34, Messiah would have to be cut off after A.D. 34, several years after Christ’s crucifixion. Third, the immediate context of Daniel 9:24-27 contains no suggestion that would lead to any “Sabbath-Year cycles.” Israel’s captivity, lasting 70 years, came as a result of Israel’s rebellion, but not to celebrate sabbatical years. Fourth, there is no evidence presently available that would enable us to calculate on which year the sabbatical year fell in the past. Newman’s proposal fails to solve the problems of calculation.⁴²

One of the most recent attempts to solve the calculation problems of dispensational interpretation is that proposed by H. W. Hoehner, who argues correctly that the date of the second decree of Artaxerxes is 444 B.C. On the basis of the assumption of a “prophetic year” of 360 days, he suggests that the 69 weeks are 173,880 days (69x7x360),⁴³ as does Anderson.⁴⁴ In Hoehner’s calculation the *terminus a quo* of the 69 weeks is Nisan 1 (March 5) 444 B.C. and the *terminus ad quem* Nisan 10 (March 30), A.D. 33.⁴⁵ In typical dispensationalist fashion the seventieth week is moved to the future and thus separated from the 69 weeks by the gap of the church age. Since Hoehner begins with the only defensible year, 444 B.C., for the decree of his choice, a diagram providing his adjusted dates is here presented with the dates chosen by most dispensationalists being placed in parentheses:



The dispensational interpretation calls for a consideration of some major problems. First, the year 445 B.C., which is chosen as the *terminus a quo* by the majority of dispensational interpreters, is not acceptable for the year of the decree, for the combination of Nehemiah 1:1 and 2:1 makes it necessary that this decree be dated to 444 B.C.⁴⁶ Therefore, Anderson’s calculation cannot be salvaged. It should be noted also that his computation is off by several days because he disregards the difference between the Julian and Gregorian calendars.⁴⁷ But this might not prove a major obstacle since, to make his system work, he already supplies 130 days for which no accounting is given.

Second, the calculations based on both Anderson’s⁴⁸ and Hoehner’s⁴⁹ systems are built on the assumption that the decree of Nehemiah 2:1 was issued on Nisan 1. Fellow-dispensationalist Newman criticized Anderson as follows: “But for him to start even a week later would make it impossible to end the prophetic period before the crucifixion, even granting the validity of ‘prophetic years’ and the year A.D. 32.”⁵⁰ The same applies to Hoehner. If he begins only five days later, then his whole calculation breaks down. Nehemiah 2:1 merely speaks of “the month of Nisan” without specifying the precise day on which the decree was issued. That Nisan 1 was the date for the issuing of the decree is purely hypothetical and lacks historical support.

Third, the 69 weeks are taken to be “prophetic years” of 360 days, but that gives a total of only 476 solar years and a few days, or seven years less than the expected 483 years. If one calculates on the basis of 483 solar years and begins with 444 B.C. one misses the target date of the lifetime of Christ by several years, arriving at A.D. 40, some years after the crucifixion of Christ.⁵¹ In other words, the solar-year

calculation, which appears to be the most normal, does not work and is rejected by most dispensationalists in favor of the “prophetic year” calculation. However, even if one should grant, for the sake of the argument, the validity of the “prophetic year” method and deduct from Nisan 1 (March 5) 444 B.C. 173,885 days (476 years x 365.24219879 days)⁵² one would arrive only at March 5, A.D. 33. This is still 25 days short of the triumphal entry, which was reckoned to fall on March 30 of the same year, or 31 days (more than one “prophetic month”!) short of the crucifixion date, which would fall on April 5, A.D. 33, according to Hoehner’s chronology of the life of Christ.⁵³ It is apparent that Hoehner does not resolve Anderson’s dilemma. There is no way in which a synchronism between the 173,880 “prophetic days” (69 weeks x 7 years x 360 days) and the 476 years between 444 B.C. and A.D. 33 (or 173,855 “solar days”) can be achieved. While for Anderson the discrepancy consists of 116 days added for leap years and 24 extra days, i.e. 140 days, in order to arrive at the supposed triumphal entry on April 6, A.D. 32,⁵⁴ Hoehner’s discrepancy in his attempted synchronism consists of 25 days that he needs to get to the supposed triumphal entry on March 30, A.D. 33.⁵⁵ To the latter’s admission that “it is obvious that a calculation using the solar year does not work”⁵⁶ with a *terminus a quo* of 444 B.C., one must add that it is equally obvious that a calculation using the “prophetic year” does not work either, unless missing days are arbitrarily supplied. But such a subjective procedure runs counter to the obvious precision of Daniel 9:24-27.

Fourth, those dispensationalist writers who suggest 445 or 444 B.C. as the *terminus a quo* are forced to argue for the death of Christ in A.D. 32 or 33, respectively. This is extremely late and leads to a host of problems for NT chronology, which is interlaced with the secular chronology of the period in which Christianity began. Since the subject of the date of Christ’s death will come up for discussion again, it may suffice to state here that these two dates are off by one and two years, respectively.

Fifth, the dispensational interpretation—the Parenthesis Theory (Gap Theory)—

claims that there is a large interval of time between the 69 weeks and the seventieth week. Since there is no gap between the 7 weeks and the following 62 weeks, it comes as a total surprise that such an extraordinarily long gap should exist between the second of the first two divisions (7 + 62 weeks) and the third division, 1 week of the 70 weeks. This lengthy gap, or parenthesis, breaks the natural continuity of the prophecy. Vitranga has cautioned long ago “that the period of seventy hebdomads, or 490 years, is here predicted, as one that will continue uninterruptedly from its commencement to its close or completion, both with regard to the entire period of seventy hebdomads, and also to the several parts (7, 62, and 1), into which the seventy are divided” and the question has been raised, “How can one imagine that there is an interval between the sixty-nine and the one, when these together make up the seventy?”⁵⁷ The explicit reason for the futurist interpretation of the last week is the attempt to escape the difficult fact that Jerusalem’s destruction did not fall within this one week of years. In other words, the futuristic interpretation of the dispensationalists comes from comparing prophecy with its fulfillment and not from an impartial exegesis of the text. We agree with E. J. Young that this “question must finally be resolved upon the basis of exegesis alone.”⁵⁸

Sixth, it has been suggested by H. A. Ironside and A. J. McClain, among others,⁵⁹ that there are other gaps, or parentheses, in Biblical prophecy on the basis of which the supposed parenthesis of Daniel 9:27 finds its justification. Even if the passages to which dispensationalist writers appeal did contain gaps (though on close examination they do not unless one superimposes a dispensational scheme from the outside),⁶⁰ then this would still be no proof that there was a similar gap, or parenthesis, in Daniel 9:24-27. In this connection the observation of P. Mauro is significant because he has shown that there is “an absolute rule, admitting of no exceptions, [namely] that when a definite measure of time or space is specified by the number of units composing it, within which a certain event is to happen or a certain thing is to be found, the units of time or space which make up that measure are to

be understood as running continuously and successively."⁶¹ This is based on the observation that the 430 years of Genesis 15:13; Exodus 12:40; Galatians 3:17; the 40 years of wilderness wandering of Numbers 14:34; and the seven years of plenty and of famine of Genesis 45:6 were respectively *consecutive* years. The three days after which Jesus was to arise were also to be consecutive. On the basis of the fact that all of these periods of time are consecutive, the natural expectation is that the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24-27 are also seventy *consecutive* weeks.

Seventh, the argument that the events of Daniel 9:27 occur after those of 9:26 rests upon an unsupportable assumption. It is true that the events of verse 26, namely the cutting off of the Messiah and the destruction of both city and sanctuary, are said to take place after the 62 weeks, but it is not stated that the events of verse 27 occur after those of verse 26.⁶² There is no contextual evidence whatever that would support the hypothesis that verses 26, 27 are to be understood in any other sense than as contemporaneous events. Detailed exegesis indicates that verse 27 presents a major stumbling block to the futuristic interpretation of dispensationalists, because verse 27 is an explanation of verse 26 and cannot be separated from it and assigned to events subsequent to it.

Eighth, another serious problem concerns the assumption of an unprecedented covenant-making by antichrist,⁶³ when

the OT (and the NT) "contains no hint of any such covenant at all, let alone some earlier one that he could confirm at this point in Dan. 9."⁶⁴ The difficulty in this assumption is that it takes a lesser figure, namely "the prince that shall come" (verse 26), as the antecedent of the "he" of verse 27, rather than the dominant figure, the "Messiah" of verse 26. The word "prince" is a subordinate figure in verse 26, where it is not even the subject of the clause. The subject of the clause is "the people." Therefore, the fitting grammatical antecedent of the "he" (verse 27) is the "Messiah" (verse 26).

Ninth, the futurist interpreters transform the "prince" into "a future deputy of the devil"⁶⁵ and a "future enemy of the people of Israel."⁶⁶ This interpretation overlooks the fact that the emphasis in verse 26 is not upon the "prince" but the "people of the prince." Young points out, "This prince, therefore, must be one who rules over these people, . . . he must be their contemporary, alive when they are alive."⁶⁷ A prince living 1900 years later than the people is quite contrary to the text. The reply of L. Wood⁶⁸ that the phrase "the one coming" supposedly means "from whom will come," which, in turn, makes the entire phrase read "the people from whom will come a prince," is not supported by the Hebrew text. These major obstacles to the acceptance of the dispensational, futurist interpretation hardly commend this approach.

II. HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

There are two major historical interpretations. The first is non-Messianic and "was introduced by the Deists and Rationalists of the 17th and 18th centuries, with the premise that the objective of the 70 Weeks is the Maccabean age and that the 'prophecy' is accordingly a *vaticinium ex eventu*."⁶⁹ The second interpretation is Messianic and considers the seventy weeks as a genuine prophecy that extends for 490 years into the future. The common denominator of these two historical interpretations is the position that the seventy weeks are 490 consecutive solar years; otherwise these interpretations differ widely, as highlighted by the following:

1. Historical-Critical Interpretation.

This interpretation grew out of the Age of Enlightenment and was first adopted by two Englishmen. In 1697 John Marsham⁷⁰ and in 1726 Anthony Collins⁷¹ adopted the suggestion of the pagan Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry (third century A.D.) that Daniel's prophecies are *vaticinia ex eventu* and actually describe the events of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.⁷² The historical-critical interpretation has become the standard view of liberal scholars to this day. The basic premise upon which it is built is the conviction that the book of Daniel was put together in final form somewhere between 167 and 164 B.C. and that its "prophecies" are *vaticinia ex eventu*.⁷³ Accordingly, Daniel 9:24-27 is also *vaticinium ex eventu*.⁷⁴

The "seventy weeks" of 9:24 are considered to be a "secondary interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy"⁷⁵ referred to in 9:2 and this supposedly "shows the way in which the prophetic books were read at the time."⁷⁶ However that may be, the "seventy weeks" are "weeks of years" (R.S.V.) extending from 587-586 B.C. to 164 B.C.

The *terminus a quo* of the 490 years in

this scheme is the fall of Jerusalem in either 587 or 586 B.C.⁷⁷ The conclusion of the "seven weeks," or 49 years, is said to fall in the year 539 B.C. "It was almost exactly 49 years (7x7) between the fall of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon," writes N. W. Porteous.⁷⁸ Montgomery, on the other hand, begins with the fall of Jerusalem dated to 586 B.C. and suggests the terminal date of the 49 years as *about* 538 B.C. He is quick to point out that "in this case it must be admitted that the dating is not exactly 'from the issue of the word,' i.e. the word of Jer. 25:2 in year one of Nebuchadnezzar."⁷⁹ In view of these problems O. Plöger suggests that the starting point of the total period is "the issue of the word" that Jeremiah has spoken, namely 587 B.C., but points out right away that this date is to be chosen "no matter when the words of Jeremiah in Jer. 25 and 29 were spoken."⁸⁰ This qualifier does not solve the problem of this date for the *terminus a quo*, as will be shown below.

The 62 weeks, or 434 years, of the middle period is said to begin with the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.⁸¹ or Cyrus' decree in 538 B.C.⁸² and is said to terminate with the death of the high priest Onias III in 171 or 170 B.C., respectively. The grave difficulty with this computation rests in the fact that the period from 539/538 to 171/170 is too short by almost seven decades.

The final division of "one week," or 7 years, is reckoned from the death of Onias III in 171/170 to the *terminus ad quem* of the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus in 164 B.C. The middle of the last week is marked by the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, which continued for 3½ years from "the end of 168 to the beginning of 164 . . ."⁸³ Having briefly sketched the historical-critical interpretation, it may be represented by the following diagram:

587/6 B.C.		539/8		171/0		164
49 years		434 years		7 years		
7 weeks		62 weeks		3½		3½
Fall of Jerusalem		Fall of Babylon or decree of Cyrus		1 week		
				Onias III murdered		Temple desecrated-rededicated

The historical-critical interpretation is not without serious difficulties. Let us begin by considering the first of the three time periods. One would rightly expect of a *vaticinium ex eventu* "prophecy" that it fits the figures of 49 + 434 + 7 years (7 + 62 + 1 weeks) perfectly. However, this is not the case. The *terminus a quo* of 587/586 (namely the fall of Jerusalem) for the first division of the 490 years runs into a two-fold problem: (1) Exegetically the first division of 49 years begins with the "issue of the word" (Dan. 9:25), which is taken to refer to the word issued to Jeremiah as mentioned in chapter 9:2 and therefore must have reference to the fall of Jerusalem.⁸⁴ However, verse 25 clearly specifies that the object of "the word" is "to restore and to rebuild Jerusalem."⁸⁵ The word concerning the seventy-year period of the desolation of Jerusalem (chap. 9:2; Jer. 25:12; 29:10) cannot possibly be regarded as "the word to restore and to rebuild Jerusalem."⁸⁷ D. S. Russell makes the bold suggestion, "At that time [fall of Jerusalem] the promise was given that God would bring back the captives and rebuild the ruined city (cf. Jer. 30:18; 31:38-40)."⁸⁸ The two passages cited from Jeremiah do not belong to the time of the fall of Jerusalem, but are dated early in the ministry of Jeremiah, indeed several decades before the fall of Jerusalem.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the two passages from Jeremiah 30 and 31 contain "nothing whatever of a period of time, and in this verse [9:25] before us there is no reference to this prophecy."⁹⁰ In any case the angel Gabriel refers to "the word to restore and to rebuild Jerusalem" as the *terminus a quo* for the entire 490-year period, and can therefore only be pointing to a word of God whose going forth is specifically "determined." In short, the fall of Jerusalem has exegetically no support as the *terminus a quo* for the 490 years.

There is also a computational problem connected with the first division of 49 years. One of the most recent extensive commentaries on Daniel, the one by M. Delcor, suggests that the first division of 49 years extends from 589 to 536, a period extending 53 years.⁹¹ While this calculation is off by more years than the suggestion of 587 or 586 for the fall of Jerusalem as the *terminus a quo*, and 539 for the fall

of Babylon or 538 for the decree of Cyrus as the *terminus ad quem*, even these closer figures could only be considered exact in the sequence of 587 to 538. All other suggestions are only "circa 49 years,"⁹² as pointed out correctly by Montgomery. The date of 538 for the decree of Cyrus is constantly suggested,⁹³ although the year 537 is actually a date better supported by new evidence. If it is, indeed, correct that the destruction of Jerusalem did not take place in 587, but in 586 as new evidence seems to support,⁹⁴ then the only possibility of an exact computation of the 49 years is ruled out, unless the year 538 is held to by these interpreters. This means that scholars supporting the historical-critical interpretation cannot avoid the fact that the first division of the 490 years fits the suggested dates only approximately. Whether or not this does justice to the specific designation of 49 years, each person has to decide for himself.

Second, the acknowledged major problem of the historical-critical interpretation relates to the fact that the second division of the 490 years, namely the 434-year period (62x7), which is said to begin in 539 or 538 and to terminate in 171 or 170 respectively, is too short by about 67 years. This crucial issue has received attention by scholars supporting the interpretation under discussion. A variety of suggestions have been presented toward the solution of this problem.

G. Behrmann has suggested that the *terminus a quo* of the 62 weeks, or 434 years, is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, or 604 B.C.,⁹⁵ which on the basis of new evidence is now known to be 605 B.C. This date is urged on the ground that 605 is the date of the commencement of the 70 years of exile in Jeremiah 25:1, 11. This date less "seven weeks," or 49 years, is held to bring us down to the date of the accession of Cyrus, about 559 B.C.,⁹⁶ which would make Cyrus "the Anointed, the Prince" (Dan. 9:25).⁹⁷ The date of 605 as the *terminus a quo* of the 434 years (62 weeks) has found supporters in E. König and M. Thilo.⁹⁸ The chief attraction for this suggestion rests in the fact that the span of time from 605 to 171 is exactly 434 years, or 62 weeks.

Behrmann's hypothesis, nevertheless, has several difficulties: (1) If Jeremiah 25:

1, 11 were exactly followed "there should have been a period of 70, not 49, years, these 70 years being described as years of service to the king of Babylon."⁹⁹ (2) No word went forth in 605 to the effect that Jerusalem should be restored and rebuilt as Daniel 9:25 specifies.¹⁰⁰ (3) The first division of 49 years carries the time from 605 down to 556, but Cyrus' accession is dated to about 559 B.C. This means that the first division of time is again inexact or approximate. (4) There is absolutely no exegetical, chronological, or other justification for starting the 7 weeks and the 62 weeks at the same date.¹⁰¹ K. Marti objects rightly that it is a "clever trick" to let the first divisions (7+62) of the three (7+62+1) run parallel to each other rather than in sequence. There is nothing to support it.¹⁰² W. Baumgartner joins others by stating that this telescoping of the 490 years into 441 is an "unjustified act of force."¹⁰³ It has to be admitted that Behrmann's attempt at solving this problem of the historical-critical interpretation is unconvincing and can be justly rejected.

The other major suggestion toward a solution of this grave problem is the acknowledgment that there is a serious computational discrepancy. Montgomery writes, "We can meet this objection only by surmising a chronological miscalculation on the part of the writer."¹⁰⁴ B. Duhm suggests that "in this instance the angel Gabriel does not show himself well acquainted with chronology."¹⁰⁵ Marti, in turn, speaks of "an error on the part of the author."¹⁰⁶ Porteous is a bit more cautious, "Whether or not the author was aware of this discrepancy it is impossible to say."¹⁰⁷ In the final analysis the assessment of C. T. Francisco seems to be to the point, namely that the supporters of the historical-critical interpretation "prefer to say that he [the author] is mistaken, rather than they."¹⁰⁸

The supposition that "what we have here is a purely schematic number"¹⁰⁹ seems to have some appeal at first sight. It is, however, difficult to accept that such an exact number as 434 years (62 weeks) is "schematic."

The most widely held supposition is that the historical memory of the Jews at the time of the writing of Daniel was very vague as regards facts and spans of times.

E. Schürer was the first to suggest that dates of Jewish historians, such as Josephus and Demetrius, are untrustworthy in their chronology. Demetrius (before 200 B.C.), for example, is said to have overestimated the interval between 722 B.C. and 222 B.C. by 73 years, and Josephus also miscalculated dates to the extent of 30-40 years.¹¹⁰ From these observations Schürer concludes that Daniel is following the chronology current at his time. This supposition has been widely accepted as providing a solution to this computational discrepancy.¹¹¹ G. Behrmann, however, has justly criticized the alleged datum from Demetrius on the basis that the text in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. I.xxi.141) is uncertain.¹¹² Therefore, it seems unsafe to build a case on Demetrius. Chronological discrepancies in Josephus are evident,¹¹³ but he is centuries later than the book of Daniel.¹¹⁴ It should also be noted that the book of Daniel does indeed contain very accurate historical information poorly known during the later pre-Christian centuries. The author of Daniel is correct in his description of Nebuchadnezzar as the builder of Babylon (Dan. 4:30; Heb. 4:27).¹¹⁵ Even R. H. Pfeiffer was compelled to concede, "We shall presumably never know how our author learned that the new Babylon was the creation of Nebuchadnezzar (4:30 [H. 4:27]), as the excavations have proved."¹¹⁶ The author was also correct in his knowledge that Belshazzar, mentioned only in Daniel¹¹⁷ and in cuneiform records, was functioning as king when Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539 B.C.¹¹⁸ On the basis of new cuneiform evidence the vexing chronological problem between Daniel 1:1 and Jeremiah 25:1, 49; 46:2 can be solved without any discrepancy.¹¹⁹ These examples indicate that the author of Daniel knew history quite well. Schürer's suggestion made more than one hundred years ago can no longer be sustained in view of new cuneiform evidence and modern scholarship's greater knowledge of historical events.

Finally, we must attempt to consider briefly the last division of one week of 7 years. The *terminus ad quem* of the 490 years in this scheme of interpretation is December 14, 164,¹²⁰ the day of the re-dedication of the Temple. This date also

marks the end of the "half week," or 3 1/2 years, which commenced in June, 167. However, the period of the desecration of the Temple did not last 3 1/2 years, as the time specification in Daniel 9:26, 27 indicates, but only 3 years. The "desolating sacrilege" was erected on 15 Kislev, 167 (1 Macc. 1:54), and the first sacrifice was offered on it on 25 Kislev, 167 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:59), and exactly on the same day on which the altar had first been profaned by heathen sacrifice, three years later, on 25 Kislev, 164, occurred the rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. 4:52).¹²¹ There is, thus, a discrepancy of calculation also in the last division of 7 years.

A second problem exists with regard to the beginning of the last week, or 7 years. According to the best sources the high priest Onias III died probably in 170 B.C. and not in 171 B.C.¹²² If this is correct, then the period extends for only 6 years, rather than the 7 years required by Daniel 9:26, 27. It is evident that the historical-critical interpretation is confronted with such serious problems of calculation in all three subdivisions, aside from the numerous exegetical issues, that it does not present itself as a sound position well supported by history.

2. *Historical-Messianic Interpretation.* This is considered as the traditional interpretation of the majority of Christian expositors. Even pre-Christian documents such as the Septuagint¹²³ and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (c. 100 B.C.)¹²⁴ contain the earliest Messianic interpretation.¹²⁵ Clement of Alexandria (?-c. 215),¹²⁶ Tertullian (c. 150-225),¹²⁷ Hippolytus of Rome (170?-235),¹²⁸ Origen,¹²⁹ and Eusebius,¹³⁰ among others, pursued calculations and chronological Messianic interpretations. This line of historical-Messianic interpretation with chronological calculations continues to the present.

The Messianic interpretation of Daniel 9 has been eclipsed almost completely in liberal scholarship. Some support a Messianic interpretation but restrict it to verse 24.¹³¹ On the other hand, there are still stout supporters of the Messianic interpretation to the present among both Catholic and Protestant scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.¹³²

The *terminus a quo* of the "seventy weeks," according to the historical-Mes-

sianic interpretation, is the "going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem" (verse 25, R.S.V.), which took place in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:7, 8) when he issued his first decree (verses 11-26). The seventh year of Artaxerxes I is now firmly established as 458/457 B.C., with the return of Ezra in 457, and not 458 B.C.¹³³ Accordingly, Artaxerxes' first regnal year in Jewish reckoning began on Tishri 1, 464 B.C.¹³⁴ On the basis of the historical support for this date, the *terminus a quo* of the first two divisions of the seventh-week period (7+62 weeks = 483 years), the *terminus ad quem* of the 483 years is A.D. 27, the year of the baptism of Jesus,¹³⁵ which marks the inauguration of the public ministry of Jesus Christ.

There are at least two major reasons for the choice of the first decree of Artaxerxes I in 457 B.C. (Ezra 7) as the *terminus a quo* of the 490 years. The first and primary reason is exegetical and historical.

Daniel 9:25a specifically identifies "the word" concerning the restoration and rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem as the beginning of the seventy-week period. The issuing of "the word" is hardly to be understood to refer to a decree from God,¹³⁶ but seems to refer to a royal decree of a king, just as in 2:13, 15 the "royal decree" (*dath*)¹³⁷ to slay the wise men is said to have gone forth.¹³⁸ Since this decree is to deal with the restoration and rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem, the royal decree of Cyrus issued in the year 538/537 B.C. (Ezra 1:1-4), which urged Jewish exiles to build "the house of God" (verse 4), i.e. to rebuild the Temple,¹³⁹ cannot be meant. There is not a single word in the decree of Cyrus to restore and rebuild the city, as a city. The royal decree of Darius I (Ezra 6:1-12) confirmed the decree of his predecessor and once more related to the rebuilding of the Temple, and had nothing to do with the city, as a city.

The third decree is the one issued by Artaxerxes I in his "seventh year" (Ezra 7:7, 8),¹⁴⁰ i.e. 457 B.C. This decree cannot be concerned with the rebuilding of the Temple, because the Temple was finished and dedicated in March, 515 B.C. (Ezra 6:13-18).¹⁴¹ The events recorded in the displaced passage of Ezra 4:7-23 tell us of a complaint by the Samaritans that the

Jews were "rebuilding the rebellious and evil city, and are finishing the walls and repairing the foundations" (verse 12, N.A.S.B.*; cf. verses 13, 16, 21). If this report comes from the time later than the decree of the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, namely a period of uncertain political conditions for the Persian monarch after the Egyptian revolt of 448,¹⁴² then one may safely conclude that the decree issued in 457 B.C. related to the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem.

It should be noted that the "troublesome times" (Dan. 9:25) during which Jerusalem will be built again is clearly reflected in the events recorded in Ezra 4:7-23. Although the actual wording of the decree of Artaxerxes I of 457 B.C. makes no explicit mention of any command to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, this is actually what appears to have been the intent in the understanding of the Jews to whom it was given. Thirteen years after the issuing of the decree of Artaxerxes I, i.e. in the twentieth year of his reign (445/444 B.C.), the report comes to Nehemiah by Hanani that "the wall of Jerusalem is broken down and its gates are burnt with fire" (Neh. 1:3, N.A.S.B.). This implies that the city had been rebuilt, which could hardly have started before 457, because the decrees of both Cyrus and Darius related only to the building of the Temple.

Ezra himself confesses that permission had been granted by God through the Persian kings "to raise up the house of our God, to restore its ruins, and give us a wall in Judah and Jerusalem" (Ezra 9:9, N.A.S.B.). Ezra considered the third decree to be the culmination of the three decrees as is made evident by his reference to the "decree of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia" (chap. 6:14, N.A.S.B.).

It should also be noted that of the four decrees known, only two are principal and leading decrees. The decree of Cyrus figures as a principal decree, whereas that of Darius confirmed that of Cyrus.¹⁴³ The other principal decree was that of the seventh year of Artaxerxes, whereas that of his twentieth year is but an enlargement

and renewal of his first decree. "The decrees of Cyrus and Darius relate to their building of the Temple; those of Artaxerxes to the condition of Judah and Jerusalem."¹⁴⁴

The second reason for the choice of the first decree of Artaxerxes in 457 B.C. is based upon the calculation of the 490 years. Only this decree fits a 490-solar-year computation. The principle of recognizing the fulfillment of prophecy also comes into play. Here one should be reminded that the need to find a fitting *terminus ad quem* is shared equally by the historical-critical interpretation and its rivals.

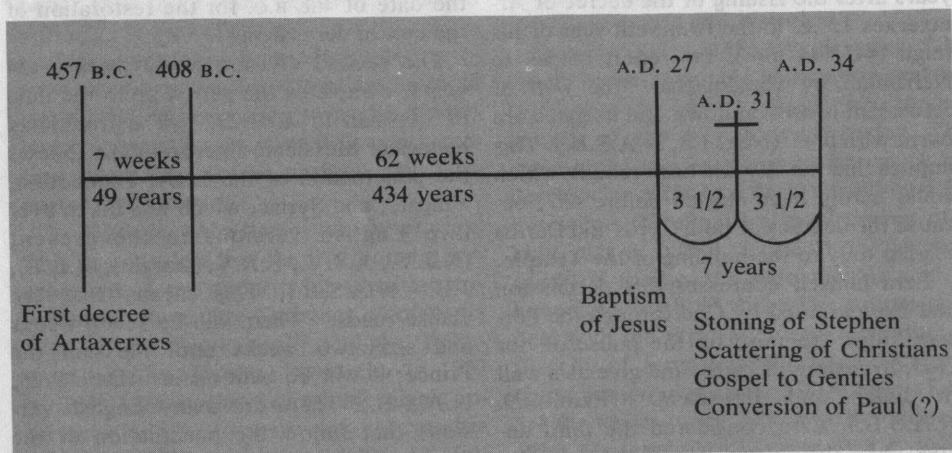
The *terminus ad quem* of the first division of 7 weeks is 408 B.C.¹⁴⁵ This first division of 49 years is assigned to the restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem. The paucity of information surrounding the period of about 400 B.C. inevitably precludes any verification of the accuracy of the date of 408 B.C. for the restoration of the city of Jerusalem.

The second division of 62 weeks, 434 years, completes the period up to the time of Messiah in A.D. 27.¹⁴⁶ The traditional historical Messianic interpretation follows the punctuation of the LXX, Theodotion, Vulgate, and Syriac, which was taken over into English versions to the present (K.J.V., A.S.V., E.R.V. (margin), M.L.B., J.B., N.A.S.B.). This means that the clause reads, "There will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks until Messiah the Prince; it will be built again" (Dan. 9:25, N.A.S.B.). There are many English versions that follow the punctuation of the Masoretic text (E.R.V., R.S.V., N.E.B., N.A.S.B.) which has an *athnach*, the principal disjunctive divider within a verse, after the words "seven weeks." Punctuation marks in Hebrew manuscripts did not come into general use before a flowering of Masoretic activity between A.D. 600 and 930. Their use was crystallized in the present form only in the ninth/tenth century while it continued in small matters of accentuation into the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Present evidence suggests that accents in the Greek versions are earlier than those of the Hebrew manuscripts of the Masoretes.¹⁴⁸ Contextual considerations have also been cited in favor of the older punctuation,¹⁴⁹ and there seem to be reasons for the belief that the younger Masoretic

* "There will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks until Messiah the Prince; it will be built again. . . ." (9:25, N.A.S.B.). All texts credited to N.A.S.B. are from *The New American Standard Bible*, copyright © The Lockman Foundation 1960, 1962, 1963, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1973, and are used by permission.

punctuation reflects an anti-Christian bias.¹⁵⁰ It appears then that the traditional punctuation preserved in the old versions can be maintained without injustice to the Hebrew text and context.

The third division of one week, 7 years, begins in chronological succession to the 69 weeks, or 483 years, with the baptism and the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus Christ. "In the midst of the week" (Dan. 9:27)¹⁵¹ (i.e. 3 1/2 years later in A.D. 31) the Messiah will put a stop to the sacrifice through the termination of His ministry by His death on the cross.¹⁵² The last half of the week comes to an end with (1) the death of Stephen (Acts 9:1), (2) the scattering of the Christians from Jerusalem, (3) the carrying of the gospel to the Gentiles,¹⁵³ and possibly (4) the conversion of Paul.¹⁵⁴ The following diagram provides an overview of the historical-Messianic interpretation:



The distinct superiority of the historical-Messianic interpretation is the fact that the 490 years can be synchronized from the commencement in 457 B.C. to the termination in A.D. 34. It has to be admitted that if we turn to history and look at the current nonsymbolical, historical interpretations the historical-Messianic interpretation held by historicists is, on the basis of its chronological calculations, the only interpretation that can claim a perfect agreement between the prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27 and history, even to the year. Yet it is possible that this precise correlation between prophecy and history could be a major stumbling block to its acceptance by the modern rationalistic mind.

It is now appropriate to discuss various other major objections advanced against the historical-Messianic interpretation. H. Junker objects that the decree indicated by the "issuing of the word" (Dan. 9:25) could not be the one from the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:7, 8), but has to be the decree of Cyrus, since it must relate, on the basis of Daniel 9:1, 2, to the rebuilding of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁵ Junker is indeed correct in his insistence that the decree must relate to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but his objection cannot be sustained because the decree of Cyrus and the supporting one by Darius (Ezra 1:1-4; 6:1-12) were only concerned with the building of the Temple and not with the rebuilding of the city as such. The first decree that could have been concerned with the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a city was the one issued in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, i.e. in 457 B.C.

A "weighty objection against taking 458

[457] as the *terminus a quo* of the sixty-nine weeks"¹⁵⁶ is brought forward by M. J. Gruenthaner and concerns the theory, first argued in detail by A. van Hoonacker¹⁵⁷ and now fairly widely accepted,¹⁵⁸ that Ezra did not come to Jerusalem until after Nehemiah and under Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.). Gruenthaner writes, "If this is true, then the Messianic interpretation of verses 25-27 becomes utterly impossible."¹⁵⁹ This is indeed a "weighty objection," if van Hoonacker's theory can be sustained. This is not the place to assess the merits and weaknesses of van Hoonacker's theory. There are, however, most serious objections to

van Hoonacker's theory of the arrival of Ezra after Nehemiah, which seem to disprove his arguments conclusively and make his position untenable.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, this "weighty objection" is neutralized; it could carry weight only on the basis of accepting a fairly recent hypothesis whose foundations are far less than secure.

J. A. Montgomery suggests that the historical-Messianic interpretation "was sadly misled by the original error of . . . [Theodotion] in construing the '7 weeks' with the following '62 weeks,' as though the 69 weeks were the first figure intended."¹⁶¹ This issue of the punctuation in the Masoretic text of 9:25a is also a "principal objection" in the discussion of C. T. Francisco.¹⁶²

In view of the fact that the punctuation provided in the MT is of more recent origin than that of Theodotion, LXX, Vulgate, and Syriac, it is unreasonable to speak of the "original error" of Theodotion. As indicated above, the punctuation of the Greek versions is older than that of the MT. It seems only possible to speak of an "original error," if one has on an a priori basis concluded that a particular interpretation of this text is superior. Sound exegesis proceeds with a meticulous study of the text without resorting to dogmatic assertions as to which is a supposedly "original error."¹⁶³ The fact remains that any punctuation is secondary and not original. The tradition of the Masoretes and their biases are reflected in their punctuation.¹⁶⁴ This indicates that no argument of importance can be built on the Masoretic punctuation.

A somewhat more substantial objection seems to relate to the interpretation that the destruction of Jerusalem took place in A.D. 70, and the "prince" of 9:27 that shall come is Titus. This cannot be brought into chronological harmony with the "seventy weeks" that terminate in A.D. 34.¹⁶⁵ This difficulty led E. J. Young to suggest that the

destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple "is a detail of information which is added that the Jews may know what will befall their city consequent upon the death of the Messiah. Two events, therefore, are mentioned in verse 26. One of these, as verse 27 shows, belongs to the 70th seven; the other does not."¹⁶⁶

This view may be considered to be in harmony with the suggestion that the effect of Christ's death was symbolized at the moment of His death by the rending of the veil in the Temple (Matt. 27:51; Mark 15:38).¹⁶⁷ The fall of Jerusalem with the burning of the Temple is the external ratification of the meaninglessness of outward sacrifices after the death of Christ, the consequent outward manifestation of the state of affairs as they already existed.¹⁶⁸ Although with the death of Jesus Christ the Jewish sacrifices did not cease, the sacrifices offered after His death could no longer be regarded as legitimate and valid in God's sight (Heb. 7:11; 8:13; 9:25, 26; 10:8, 9). In short, the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 are not to be considered as terminating the "seventy weeks,"¹⁶⁹ but are to be regarded as external manifestations dependent on and subsequent to the achievement of the Messiah in causing the sacrifice and oblation to cease.

It is evident that each of the four major current interpretations of Daniel 9:24-27 has weaknesses. It will have to be admitted, however, that a comparison of the exegetical, historical, and chronological strengths and weaknesses of each indicates that the historical-Messianic interpretation is more unified. It does not appear to be subject to the kind of chronological, computational, exegetical, and historical difficulties encountered by the other interpretations.¹⁷⁰ Accordingly, the historical-Messianic interpretation recommends itself as the most adequate of all major current interpretations.

¹ C. T. Francisco, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel," *Rev-Exp* 57 (1960), 126.

² J. A. Montgomery, *A Commentary on Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 400.

³ See F. Fraidl, *Die Exegese der siebenzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit* (Graz, 1883), pp. 3-25; E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament* (reprint; McDill AFB, Florida, 1973), II, 811-919.

⁴ Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 26-255; L. Knowles, "The Interpretation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel in the Early Fathers," *Westminster Theological Journal* 7 (1945), 136-160.

⁵ O. Zoeckler, *Daniel* (New York, 1876), pp. 205-213; Matthew Pole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (Frankfurt, 1694).

⁶ Zoeckler, *Daniel*, pp. 209-213; J. Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Daniele* (Paris, 1891), pp. 262-275; Montgomery, *Daniel*, pp. 399-400.

⁷ On this phrase, see Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 373; H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), pp. 406-409; E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), p. 195; *Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 276-278.

⁸ The only known exceptions are C. Wieseler, *Die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel* (Göttingen, 1839), who suggests that in 9:24 literal weeks are intended but in verses 25-29 weeks of years. J. Sladen, *The Seventy Weeks of Daniel's Prophecy* (mimeographed; London, 1925), advocates that literal weeks are meant.

⁹ Francisco, "Seventy Weeks," p. 135.

¹⁰ L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1957), p. 940: "period of seven days, week"; W. L. Holladay (ed.), *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), p. 358: "seven days, a week"; G. Fohrer et al., *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Berlin/New York, 1973), p. 275: "period of seven, week." The older BDB, pp. 988, 989, suggests "period of seven (days, years), heptad, week" for *shabu'a* generally and for Dan. 9:24 specifically "heptad or seven of years."

¹¹ Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 409.

¹² Supporters of this view include T. Kliefoth, *Das Buch Daniel* (1868), who is credited to be the first among interpreters to have attempted to establish exegetically the symbolic interpretation. He is followed, by and large, by C. F. Keil, "The Book of Daniel," *Commentary on the Old Testament*, eds. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (Edinburgh, 1891), pp. 399-402; Leupold, *Daniel*, pp. 403-410; and J. Philip, *By the Rivers of Babylon. Studies in the Book of Daniel* (Aberdeen, 1972), p. 134. P. Grelot, "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bib*, 50 (1969), 169-186, also takes the 70 weeks as a symbolical number but applies it differently from the former.

¹³ Keil, *Daniel*, p. 352; Kliefoth, *Daniel*, ad loc.; Leupold, *Daniel*, pp. 418-420; cf. B. H. Hall, "The Book of Daniel," *The Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, ed. C. W. Carter (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), p. 547.

¹⁴ Leupold, *Daniel*, pp. 420-421: "The first of these two constructive periods is the one that culminates in the coming of an important personage, so important, in fact, that He needs merely to be mentioned by significant names of His, and one at once realizes who is referred to." Keil, *Daniel*, p. 355.

¹⁵ Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 421.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 423f.

¹⁷ Young, *Daniel*, pp. 205f.

¹⁸ Keil, *Daniel*, p. 375; Leupold, *Daniel*, pp. 439f.

¹⁹ Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 428.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 431: "The preceding verse [26] had told what would occur at the end of the sixty-two heptads only in a general, summary way. All the things mentioned would, therefore, fall within the last heptad, although the point of view is primarily this, that they would bring about the end of the sixty-two heptads. Only the wars and the desolations were described as prevailing unto the end."

²¹ See the argument by Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 409.

²² Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 376.

²³ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 808.

²⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 104; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 373; etc.

²⁵ Sanh.5.1.

²⁶ A. Bentzen, *Daniel* (HAT; Tübingen, 1952), p. 66.

²⁷ So W. Baumgartner, "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung," *TR* 11 (1939), 81.

²⁸ Francisco, "Seventy Weeks," p. 136.

²⁹ So Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 432.

³⁰ Francisco, "Seventy Weeks," p. 136.

³¹ So by J. B. Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy* (New York, 1973), pp. 384f.

³² So named after the famous study by the dispensationalist H. A. Ironside, *The Great Parenthesis* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1943).

³³ Among the leading voices the following are representative: J. A. Seiss, *Voices from Babylon* (Philadelphia, 1879); Sir Robert Anderson, *The Coming Prince* (London, 1909); C. I. Scofield (ed.), *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York, 1911); L. S. Chafer, *The Kingdom in History and Prophecy* (Chicago, 1936); A. J. McClain, *Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1940); H. A. Ironside, *The Great Parenthesis* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1943); J. D. Pentecost, *Things to Come* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958); G. R. King, *Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966); J. F. Walvoord, *Daniel the Key to Prophetic Revelation* (Chicago, 1971); L. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1973).

³⁴ Pentecost, *Things to Come*, p. 239; cf. J. F. Walvoord, "Is Daniel's Seventieth Week Future?" *BS* 101 (1944), 30; McClain, *Seventy Weeks*, p. 5; etc.

³⁵ For example, McClain, *Seventy Weeks*, pp. 12-15; Pentecost, *Things to Come*, pp. 242-244; Walvoord, *Daniel*, pp. 217-220; Wood, *Daniel*, pp. 247f.

³⁶ Pentecost, *Things to Come*, pp. 244f.; Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 225; etc.

³⁷ Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, p. 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Wood, *Daniel*, p. 253. This shows that Wood is attempting to combine the chronological advantages of the historical-Messianic interpretation with the exegetical procedures of futurist premillennialism.

⁴⁰ R. D. Culver, *Daniel and the Latter Days* (Chicago, 1954), p. 145.

⁴¹ R. C. Newman, "Daniel's Seventy Weeks and the OT Sabbath-Year Cycle," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 16 (1973), 233.

⁴² H. W. Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part VI: Daniel's Seventy Weeks and New Testament Chronology," *BS* 132 (1975), 62.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, pp. 119-129.

⁴⁵ Hoehner, *BS* 132 (1975), 64f.

⁴⁶ J. Neuffer, "The Accession Year of Artaxerxes I," *AUSS* 6 (1968), 60-87; S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7* (2d ed.; Washington, D.C., 1970), pp. 98-116, 124-127; H. H. Goldstine, *New and Full Moons 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651* (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 47.

⁴⁷ Horn and Wood, *Chronology*, pp. 43-45.

⁴⁸ Anderson, *The Coming Prince*, pp. 119f.

⁴⁹ Hoehner, *BS* 132 (1975), 64.

⁵⁰ Newman, *JETS* 16 (1973), 231.

⁵¹ This is admitted by Hoehner, *BS* 132 (1975), 61.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵³ H. W. Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ. Part V: The Year of Christ's Crucifixion," *BS* 131 (1974), 332-348.

⁵⁴ Anderson, *The Prince to Come*, pp. 119-129.

⁵⁵ Hoehner, *BS* 132 (1975), 64.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵⁷ Vitringa cited by Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 854, and Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 854f.

⁵⁸ Young, *Daniel*, p. 214.

⁵⁹ Walvoord, *BS* 101 (1944), 47f., summarizing Ironside; McClain, *Seventy Weeks*, pp. 29-33; Pentecost, *Things to Come*, pp. 247f.

⁶⁰ On the entire dispensational system, see O. T. Allis, *Prophecy and the Church* (Philadelphia, 1945); G. E. Ladd, *The Blessed Hope* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956).

⁶¹ P. Mauro as cited by Young, *Daniel*, p. 216.

⁶² So correctly Young, *Daniel*, p. 215.

⁶³ Gaebelein, *The Prophet Daniel*, p. 142; Walvoord, *Daniel*, pp. 232-236.

⁶⁴ Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy*, p. 389.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 234.

⁶⁷ Young, *Daniel*, pp. 211f.

⁶⁸ Wood, *Daniel*, p. 258.

⁶⁹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 400.

⁷⁰ John Marsham, *Canon Chronicus* (Frankfurt, 1697), pp. 610ff.

⁷¹ Anthony Collins, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered in view of controversy, occasioned by a late book entitled . . .* (London, 1726). On Collins, see E. Hirsch, *Geschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie* (3rd ed.; Darmstadt, 1964), I, 308-315; J. M. Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apokalypik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 36f.

⁷² See the informative discussion in Young, *Daniel*, pp. 317-320.

⁷³ See the standard introductions by O. Eissfeldt (1965), G. Fohrer (1968), O. Kaiser (1969), etc.

⁷⁴ Baumgartner, *TR* 11 (1939), 208f., 224; Bentzen, *Daniel*, p. 77.

⁷⁵ N. W. Porteous, *Daniel. A Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 141.

⁷⁶ G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1965), II, 313.

⁷⁷ The date of 587 is suggested among others by Porteous, *Daniel*, p. 141; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London, 1964), p. 196; whereas the date of 586 is suggested by A. Marti, *Daniel* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 69; Charles, *Daniel*, p. 106; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 391; Bentzen, *Daniel*, p. 75, to mention some representative voices.

⁷⁸ Porteous, *Daniel*, p. 141.

⁷⁹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 392.

⁸⁰ O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh, 1965), 134.

⁸¹ Porteous, *Daniel*, p. 141.

⁸² Charles, *Daniel*, p. 106; Marti, *Daniel*, pp. 69f.; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 391.

⁸³ So Marti, *Daniel*, p. 72. Bentzen, *Daniel*, p. 75, is more exact by suggesting that the desecration took place between 167 and 164. Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 386, thinks of 168-165 B.C.

⁸⁴ Baumgartner, *TR* 11 (1939), 224; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 378; E. König, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des AT* (Stuttgart, 1925), p. 323; Russell, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, p. 197.

⁸⁵ Hebrew *dābār* is poorly rendered with "commandment" in K.J.V. and by "decree" in NASB.

⁸⁶ This difficulty is recognized by Plöger, *Daniel*, p. 134, who suggests that 587 is the *terminus a quo* "no matter when the words of Jeremiah in Jeremiah 25 and 29 were spoken." It is evident that Jeremiah 25 and 29 were spoken before the fall of Jerusalem. Beyond this point, which has a bearing on Daniel 9:2, there is also the fact that neither Jeremiah 25 nor 29 speaks of the rebuilding or restoration of Jerusalem but merely of its desolation.

⁸⁷ Keil, *Daniel*, p. 351.

⁸⁸ Russell, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, p. 197. Curiously this suggestion has not been repeated in his more recent, *The Jews from Alexander to Herod* (London, 1967), p. 239, although the two texts in Jeremiah are referred to.

⁸⁹ See the discussion in J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (AB; Garden City, N.Y., 1965), pp. 284f.

⁹⁰ Keil, *Daniel*, p. 351.

⁹¹ M. Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel* (Paris, 1971), p. 197.

⁹² Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 379.

⁹³ E. J. Bickerman, "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1," *JBL* 65 (1946), 244-275; J. M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (AB; Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 6; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1972), p. 361.

⁹⁴ A. Malamat, "A New Record of Nebuchadnezzar's Palestinian Campaign," *IEJ* 6 (1956), 246-256; E. Vogt, "Die neubabylonische Chronik über die Schlacht bei Karkemisch und die Einnahme von Jerusalem," *VTS* 4 (1957), 67-96; S. J. De Vries, "Chronology of the OT," *IDB* (Nashville, 1962), I, 597f.; S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS* 5 (1967), 12-27; E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), pp. 165-172; A. Malamat, "The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem," *IEJ* 18 (1968), 137-156; K. S. Freedy and D. B. Redford, "The Dates in Ezekiel in Relation to Biblical Babylonian and Egyptian Sources," *JAOS* 90 (1970), 462-485.

⁹⁵ G. Behrmann, *Das Buch Daniel* (Göttingen, 1894), ad loc.

⁹⁶ This date is suggested by J. M. Myers, *The World of the Restoration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 43.

⁹⁷ M. J. Dresden, "Cyrus," *IBD*, I, 755, also thinks that Cyrus "is perhaps the 'anointed one'" of 9:25.

⁹⁸ König, *Messianische Weissagungen*, p. 311; M. Thilo, *Die Chronologie des Daniel-Buches* (Bonn, 1926), p. 14.

⁹⁹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 392.

¹⁰⁰ Young, *Daniel*, p. 202.

¹⁰¹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 391 n. 2.

¹⁰² Marti, *Daniel*, p. 72.

¹⁰³ Baumgartner, *TR* 11 (1939), 224.

¹⁰⁴ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 393. Cf. Baumgartner, *TR* 11 (1939), 223.

¹⁰⁵ B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (2d ed.; Tübingen, 1922), p. 416.

¹⁰⁶ Marti, *Daniel*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ Porteous, *Daniel*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁸ Francisco, *RevExp* 57 (1960), 134.

¹⁰⁹ Russell, *Jews from Alexander to Herod*, p. 239. This is said to have originated with F. F. Bruce, so Russell, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, pp. 197f.

¹¹⁰ E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh, 1890), div. II, vol. III, pp. 53f.

¹¹¹ Charles, *Daniel*, p. 107; Marti, *Daniel*, p. 73; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 393; Bentzen, *Daniel*, p. 75; Porteous, *Daniel*, p. 141; Russell, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, p. 197, to mention only a few.

¹¹² Behrmann, *Daniel*, p. 65.

¹¹³ Wars VI.iv.8; Antiquities XIII.xi.1; XX.xl.

¹¹⁴ See the objections to Schürer's supposition by Thilo, *Chronologie des Daniel-Buches*, pp. 15f.

¹¹⁵ See F. D. Nichol (ed.), *SDA Bible Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1955).

¹¹⁶ R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the OT* (New York, 1948), pp. 758f.

¹¹⁷ And in Baruch 1:1 which is dependent on Daniel.

¹¹⁸ R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 59ff.

¹¹⁹ D. J. Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, eds. D. J. Wiseman, T. C. Mitchell, et al. (London, 1965), pp. 16-18.

¹²⁰ 1 Maccabees 4:52 refers to 25 Kislev, of the Seleucid year 148=Dec. 14, 164 B.C. See now the new E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, eds. M. Black, G. Vermes, and F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), I, 163; Delcor, *Daniel*, p. 203.

¹²¹ Schürer, *History*, I, 153, 163.

¹²² Schürer, *History*, I, 150; Delcor, *Daniel*, p. 203.

¹²³ So Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 824f.; C. von Leng-erke, *Das Buch Daniel* (1835), p. 410. These show that 9:24 is understood as referring to the Messiah, and the "seventy weeks" are understood as weeks of years which point to the advent of Christ. Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 4-11, suggests that the LXX refers to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes. He bases his arguments on the translation of the phrase "one week" (verse 27) as "many weeks" (πολλὰ ἑβδομάδες) the LXX which

he interprets (p. 10, n. 1) as a week of normal days. Fraidl's interpretation of the key phrase in verse 27 is difficult to maintain because the LXX keeps in verse 24 ἡβδομαίους i.e. "weeks" as Fraidl himself suggests, but the LXX interprets these in all instances in verses 25-26 as "years" (ἔτη) and "times" (καιροί). This indicates that the "many weeks" in verse 27 could hardly be taken to mean "many days." See Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 867, n. 1; C. Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963), pp. 168-178.

¹²⁴ *Testament of Levi*, chapters 14-16; cf. Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 27-29.

¹²⁵ MPG, II, 72; cf. Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 26-27.

¹²⁶ *Stromata*, i, 21; MPG, VIII, 853.

¹²⁷ Adv. Judaeos, 8; MPL, II, 612-616.

¹²⁸ MPG, VII, IX, X.

¹²⁹ MPG, XIII, 165ff.

¹³⁰ *Demonstr. Evang.* Lib. VIII. Ch. 2.

¹³¹ Baumgartner, *TR* 11 (1939), 224; M. J. Gruenthaner, "The Seventy Weeks," *CBQ* 1 (1939), 48.

¹³² This merely lists representative voices among exegetes of the last 150 years: Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 803-930; J. N. Andrews, *The Commandment to Restore and to Rebuild Jerusalem* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1865); E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet* (2d ed.; New York, 1885), pp. 184-269; J. Raška, "Zur Berechnung der Siebzig Wochen Daniels," *Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift* 54 (1904), 13-27; J. Hontheim, "Das Todesjahr Christi und die Danielische Wochenprophetie," *Katholik* 34 (1906), 12-36, 96-128, 176-188, 254-281; C. Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (1st ed.; 1923; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963), pp. 168-211; O. Gerhardt, "Die messianische Weissagung Daniel 9:24-27," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 38 (1927), 561-587; G. M. Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets* (Mountain View, CA, 1955), pp. 229-261; "Daniel," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, ed. F. D. Nichol (Washington, D.C., 1955), IV, 851-855; D. Squilacci, "Profezia delle 70 settimane (Daniele 9:24-27)," *PalCI* 38/8 (1959), 408-412; J. B. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1962), pp. 377f.; idem, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy* (New York, 1973), pp. 383-389; G. L. Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago, 1964), p. 387; B. H. Hall, "Daniel," *The Wesleyan Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), III, 545-547.

¹³³ Among those supporting this year are Pusey, Andrews, Boutflower, Hontheim, Archer, *SDA Bible Commentary*. Payne still supports 458 B.C., apparently unaware of the new evidence in favor of 457 B.C., which is also discussed by G. R. Goss, "The Chronological Problems of the Seventy Weeks in Daniel" (unpubl. Th.D. diss., Dallas Theol. Sem., 1966), pp. 122-130.

¹³⁴ See especially Horn and Wood, *Chronology of Ezra 7*, pp. 91-116. Neuffer, *AUSS* 6 (1968), 60-87, has provided an up-to-date discussion of the historical evidence for the accession of Artaxerxes I.

¹³⁵ For details, see J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, 1964), p. 265, who states that it is A.D. 26 or 27, depending on the non-accession or accession year systems respectively.

¹³⁶ So Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 829f., and Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, p. 187.

¹³⁷ Holladay, *Lexicon*, p. 403.

¹³⁸ In Ezra 7:26 the same Aramaic term *dāth* appears with reference to the royal (state) law or decree of Artaxerxes.

¹³⁹ A number of scholars have shown that this edict does not refer to the rebuilding of Jerusalem but to the building of the Temple: K. Galling, "Von Nabonid zu Darius," *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 11-32; J. Liver, "The Return From Babylon: Its Time and Scope," *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958), 114-119; Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 7; M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (2d ed.; New York, 1960), p. 308.

¹⁴⁰ Some scholars have worked on the assumption that the "seventh year" (Ezra 7:7f.) is an error for some other number, most plausibly the "thirty-seventh year." So W. F. Albright, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra* (New York, 1963), pp. 93, 112f. n. 193; J. Bright, "The Date of Ezra's Mission to Jerusalem," *Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume* (Jerusa-

lem, 1960), pp. 70-87; idem, *A History of Israel*, p. 402. For arguments against this emendation that lacks any textual or versional support, see A. Emerton, "Did Ezra Go to Jerusalem in 428 B.C.?" *JTS* 17 (1966), 1-12.

¹⁴¹ Bright, *A History of Israel*, p. 372.

¹⁴² See [S. H. Horn] in "Additional Note on Chapter 4," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, III, 347-350.

¹⁴³ Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 189.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, p. 189.

¹⁴⁶ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 898; Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 189; Price, *Greatest of the Prophets*, p. 253. Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, p. 185, gives the year as A.D. 26. The date of the baptism of Jesus is closely linked with that of His death, which is dated variously from A.D. 30 to 33. A discussion of this issue is provided in the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, V, 235-266; G. Amadon, "Ancient Jewish Calendation," *JBL* 61 (1942), 227-280; idem, "The Crucifixion Calendar," *JBL* 63 (1944), 177-190; Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, p. 264f.

¹⁴⁷ E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 18f.; idem, *Der Text des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.; Stuttgart, 1973), p. 29.

¹⁴⁸ E. Werner, "Masoretic Accents," *IDB*, II, 297.

¹⁴⁹ See the essay "On Daniel 9:25," in *Problems in Bible Translation* (Washington, D.C., 1954), pp. 178-183; Young, *Daniel*, p. 205.

¹⁵⁰ Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 190, n. 1., quotes Rashi to the effect "that on account of 'heretics,' i.e. Christians" the clause was divided by an *athnach*.

¹⁵¹ The translation of *chafī* as "middle" or "midst" is found in Theodotian, Vulgate, and many English versions (K.J.V., A.S.V., N.A.S.B., M.L.B.). See the essay, "On Daniel 9:27," in *Problems in Bible Translation*, pp. 184-187.

¹⁵² This is the unanimous view of all listed above in n. 132 and has been the dominant interpretation since the Reformation. Among pre-Reformation exegetes, it was held by Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Polychronius, Theodoret, Albertus Magnus, Nicholas of Lyra, Dionysius Carthusianus; see Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 156-158. According to Jerome, even the Jews seem to have admitted a reference to Jesus Christ in the death of the Anointed One but suggested that the kingdom of the Jews shall not be His, see *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, transl. G. L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958), pp. 108f.; Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 397.

¹⁵³ Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 193; Boutflower, *Daniel*, pp. 197f.; J. B. Payne, *The Imminent Appearing of Christ* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1962), pp. 149-152.

¹⁵⁴ Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy*, p. 388, makes this suggestion and dates this event with Finegan (*Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, pp. 320f.) to A.D. 33/34. Others date the conversion of Paul to A.D. 35; see S. H. Horn, "Chronology," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary* (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 209.

¹⁵⁵ H. Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel* (Bonn, 1932), pp. 82f. n. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Gruenthaner, *CBQ* 1 (1939), 52.

¹⁵⁷ A. van Hoonacker, "Néhémie et Esdras, une nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration," *Le Museon* 9 (1890), 151-184, 317-351, 389-401.

¹⁵⁸ A comprehensive listing of literature is provided by H. H. Rowley, "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays* (2d ed.; Oxford, 1965), pp. 135-168.

¹⁵⁹ Gruenthaner, *CBQ* 1 (1939), 52.

¹⁶⁰ See especially J. S. Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem* (2d ed.; London, 1958); C. G. Tuland, "Ezra-Nehemiah or Nehemiah-Ezra?" *AUSS* 12 (1974), 47-62; J. Morgenstern, "The Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JSS* 7 (1962), 1-11; K. A. Kitchen, in *Tyndale Student Fellowship Bulletin* 29 (1961), 18-19; U. Kellermann, "Erwägungen zum Problem der Ezradatierung," *ZAW* 80 (1968), 55-87; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975), 4-18.

¹⁶¹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 392.

¹⁶² Francisco, *RevExp* 57 (1960), 136.

¹⁶³ For a critical assessment of arguments put forth in favor of the punctuation of MT by Marsham, Ewals, von Lengerke, and Hofmann, see Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 836-839.

¹⁶⁴ Keil, *Daniel*, p. 356, states correctly that the *athnach* "first was adopted by the Masoretes, and only shows the interpretation of these men, without at all furnishing any guarantee of its correctness."

¹⁶⁵ Junker, *Probleme des Buches Daniel*, pp. 82f. n. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Young, *Daniel*, p. 215 (italics his).

¹⁶⁷ So already Theodoret (died c. 460) who provides the oldest extant Greek commentary on Daniel (MPG, LXXXI, 1469ff.). Cf. Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 94-97.

¹⁶⁸ Hengstenberg, *Christology*, II, 858, writes succinctly,

"When Christ was put to death, Jerusalem ceased to be the holy city, and the Temple was no longer the house of God, but an abomination."

¹⁶⁹ This seems to have been suggested first by Josephus, *Ant.* X, xi, 7; Wars, IV, vi, 3, and has been held among others by Clement of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, Tertullian, and some medieval Jewish interpreters, see Fraidl, *Exegese*, pp. 156-158; Montgomery, *Daniel*, pp. 396f.

¹⁷⁰ This does not imply that there is absolute certainty about the date of the death of Christ or the stoning of Stephen. But the other interpretations are faced with computational difficulties of such magnitude that the relative uncertainty of an absolute chronology of the life of Christ and the events of the early church appears to be insignificant.

Following are the footnotes that were inadvertently omitted from the January 1976 *Ministry* insert by Gerhard F. Hasel on "Christ's Atoning Ministry in Heaven."

pp. 256-259; Hewitt, p. 135; Kuss, p. 107; Koester, pp. 309f.; and others.

¹³⁴ Delitzsch, Vol. II, p. 80; Andriessen, pp. 83-91.

¹³⁵ Michel, p. 311.

¹³⁶ Hughes, p. 313.

¹³⁷ See above notes 93 and 94.

¹³⁸ SDA Bible Commentary, Vol. VII, p. 452.

¹³⁹ Vanhoye, pp. 6-10; Swetnam, p. 92.

¹⁴⁰ Heb. 8:2; 9:21; 13:10(?). The Septuagint always uses *skene*, "tent," for the whole sanctuary and not part thereof.

¹⁴¹ The assumption of opposing theological tendencies in Hebrews (so Michel, Hebräer, pp. 288, 310; Riggenbach, pp. 119, 220f., 258f.; R. Gyllenberg, "Die Christologie des Hebräerbriefes," *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie* 11 [1934], 674f.; and others) as regards the sanctuary is necessitated by the symbolic-cosmological interpretation, but removed by accepting the non-symbolical meaning of the texts.

¹⁴² See above notes 113-121.

¹⁴³ *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D.C., 1957), p. 365.

¹⁴⁴ Schneider, *Hebrews*, p. 70; idem, *Hebräer*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁵ J. H. Waggoner, *The Atonement* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1874); D. F. Neufeld, ed., "Sanctuary," *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C., 1966), pp. 1140-1143; M. L. Andreasen, *The Sanctuary Service* (Washington, D.C., 1948); idem, *The Book of Hebrews* (Washington, D.C., 1948), *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 341-445; M. R. Thurber, *Symbols of Salvation* (Washington, D.C., 1961); L. E. Froom, *Movement of Destiny* (Washington, D.C., 1971), pp. 541-560; E. Heppenstall, *Our High Priest* (Washington, D.C., 1972). A detailed scholarly analysis of the development of the sanctuary doctrine in Adventist thought will be published as part of a dissertation by P. Gerard Damsteeg, *The Rise of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Berrien Springs, Mich., Andrews University Press, 1975).

¹⁴⁶ Andriessen, p. 91.

¹⁴⁷ This point is made with emphasis by M. Dibelius, "Der himmlische kultus nach dem Hebräerbrief," *Botschaft und Geschichte II* (Tübingen, 1956), p. 169.

¹⁴⁸ W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God* (London, 1966), p. 82; Hay, p. 92. See above note 7 on E. G. White.

¹⁴⁹ John 14:16-17; Rom. 3:25; 1 John 2:2; 4:10; Heb. 2:17; 9:5.

¹⁵⁰ E. G. White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 418.

¹⁵¹ White, *Great Controversy*, p. 421.

¹⁵² Lev. 4:3-12. C. Keil, *The Third Book of Moses in Commentary on the Old Testament* (reprint; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959), Vol. II, p. 304, affirms that the earthly sanctuary was defiled by the sins of the people which were transferred to the sanctuary through the blood.

¹⁵³ Num. 28:3, 10-29, 38.

¹⁵⁴ K. Elliger, *Leviticus* (Tübingen, 1966), p. 215; M. Noth, *Das dritte Buch Mose* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 104.

¹⁵⁵ Lev. 23:27; 25:9.

¹⁵⁶ See also Num. 8:6f., 15, 21; Jer. 33:8; Eze. 24:13; 36:25, 33; etc.; Mal. 3:3; Ps. 51:4.

¹⁵⁷ F. Maass, "thr rein sein," *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT*, Vol. I, col. 648.

¹⁵⁸ Lev. 14:19; 16:18-19; Eze. 43:26; 45:18 etc., as pointed out by F. Maass, "kpr pi. sühnen," *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT*, Vol. I, col. 843.

¹⁵⁹ The cleansing of the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement is affirmed and discussed among others by H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Oxford, 1966), p. 69n. 111; G. Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 394f. Th. C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 256, states, "... that day [of atonement] was a solemn purification of the sanctuary."

¹⁶⁰ In Hebrew it is Neh. 3:37.

¹⁶¹ Maass, col. 843.

¹⁶² W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT* (Philadelphia, 1961), Vol. I, p. 130.

¹⁶³ This idea is rightly emphasized by F. Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 431, and G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1962), Vol. I, p. 271.

¹⁶⁴ See the thesis written by Jerry A. Gladson, *The Enigma of 'Azazel' in Leviticus 16* (M.A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., 1973).

¹⁶⁵ Cody, p. 181: "Just as it was necessary that the shadow sanctuary of the Old Law . . . be purified by the blood sprinkling of the old priesthood, so now must the heavenly sanctuary, the 'better' sanctuary, the place of eternal salvation, be purified by a better sacrifice (9:23)."

¹⁶⁶ Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 388, adds the synonymous verbs "to make clean, purify."

¹⁶⁷ See R. Meyer-F. Hauck, "καθαρός," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT*, Vol. III, pp. 416-434.

¹⁶⁸ Eze. 1:2ff.; Ps. 2:4; 11:4; 33:14; 93:2-4; 109:3; 123:1; Isa. 57:15; etc.

¹⁶⁹ The Aramaic conjunction 'ad, "until," is here used but also serves as a temporal preposition (F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [Wiesbaden, 1963], No. 81). 'ad followed by *dī* has a fateful and surprising effect (H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* [Hildesheim, 1962], p. 286, No. 79i).

¹⁷⁰ The term for "time" is *z'mān* and means a "fixed time" in this instance. *KBL*, p. 1072.

¹⁷¹ T. Robinson, "Daniel," *The Preacher's Homiletic Commentary*, p. 139.

¹⁷² J. A. Seiss, *The Apocalypse* (Philadelphia, no date), pp. 130f.

¹⁷³ See especially Heppenstall's book *Our High Priest* (Washington, D.C., 1972).

¹⁷⁴ For a critique of this trend, see G. F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'the Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Biblica* 56 (1975).

¹⁷⁵ See the study mentioned in note 174 and G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant. The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* (2d ed.; Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1974).

¹⁷⁶ It is not necessary to go into the details of the 1260 day reckoning. We take it to conclude in 1798 A.D.

¹⁷⁷ O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh, 1965), p. 129, explains that the expression "pertains to many days hence" refers to "the end time idea of vss. 17, 19."

¹⁷⁸ *KBL*, p. 680: "bis wann?"; *BDB*, p. 607. Theodotian also translates into Greek *heos pote*.

¹⁷⁹ The question of the link of Dan. 8 and 9 is discussed by G. F. Hasel, "Revelation and Inspiration in Daniel," *Ministry* 47/10 (Oct., 1974), 20-23; idem, "Offenbarung und Interpretation im Buch Daniel," *Aller Diener II* (1975), 19-28.

¹⁸⁰ For example, Plöger, *Daniel*, p. 134: Dan. 9:23 is "formulated by depending on 8:16."

¹⁸¹ S. R. Driver, *Daniel* (London, 1900), p. 133.

¹⁸² A. Bentzen, *Daniel* (Tübingen, 1952), p. 66.

¹⁸³ See SDA Bible Commentary (Washington, D.C., 1955), Vol. IV, pp. 850f.

¹⁸⁴ For a critical discussion of the major current interpretations of Dan. 9:24-27, their strengths and weaknesses, see G. F. Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan. 9:24-27," *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies*, ed. L. T. Geraty (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1976).

¹⁸⁵ For archaeological and historical support of this date, see J. Neuffer, "The Accession Year of Artaxerxes I," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6 (1968), 66-87; S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7* (2d ed.; Washington, D.C., 1970).

¹⁸⁶ I hope to publish in the near future a monograph under the title *Studies in the Visions of the Book of Daniel*.

¹⁸⁷ See SDA Bible Commentary, Vol. IV, pp. 841, 843,

845f.

¹⁸⁸ All four passages in the Psalms that refer to the Heavenly "sanctuary" under the term "sanctuary" employ the same word *qōdēš*, 60:6[8]; 63:2[3]; 102:19; 150:1.

¹⁸⁹ It is a hapax legomenon whose meaning is not easy to determine.

¹⁹⁰ "On Daniel 8:14," *Problems in Bible Translations* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1954), pp. 174-177.

¹⁹¹ This is especially noteworthy since the LXX does in no other instance translate a form of *šādaq* with this Greek verb.

¹⁹² A detailed discussion is provided by J. Justesen, "On the Meaning of *šādaq*," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 2 (1964), 53-61.

¹⁹³ Maass, *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT*, Vol. I, col. 648, points to *zakah* as one of the closest synonyms of *šhr*.

¹⁹⁴ *kbl*, p. 1071; G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1938), p. 128; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Leipzig, 1866), Vol. I, pp. 220f.

¹⁹⁵ On this point, see W. E. Read, "Further Observations on *šādaq*," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4 (1966), 29-36.

¹⁹⁶ F. Zimmermann's study of Dan. 8-12 arrived at the conclusion that in 8:14 "the translation therefore should have been here 'And the temple shall be cleansed' " (*Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 [1938], p. 262). H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), p. 52, follows Zimmermann's arguments and conclusions.

¹⁹⁷ See *BDB*, p. 842; *KBL*, p. 794. *HAD*, p. 232, has "be reinstated in its right" for 8:14.

¹⁹⁸ *BDB*, p. 842, gives "be justified" for 8:14.

¹⁹⁹ *CHAL*, p. 303, has "be brought (back) to its rights, be vindicated" for 8:14.

²⁰⁰ See above note 187.

²⁰¹ *KBL*, p. 1031.

²⁰² Freely admitted by K. Marti, *Daniel* (Tübingen, 1901; 58; J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 336; E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), p. 172, among others.

²⁰³ With C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies* (London, 1906), *ad loc.*, because *tamid* is an adjectival noun used here with the article and standing independently.

²⁰⁴ For alternate views, see SDA Bible Commentary, Vol. IV, pp. 842-843.

