IS DANIEL'S CONCEPT OF ANGELS

CONSISTENT WITH A SIXTH CENTURY CULTURE?

by

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Title: *Is Daniel's Concept of Angels Consistent with a Sixth Century Culture?*

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The book of Daniel has presented many problems for scholars through the years. One of these problems is the advanced presentation of angels by Daniel. This is used by liberal critics to suggest a second-century date for the book of Daniel. Is Daniel's presentation of angels too advanced for a sixth-century writing? Does it preclude a second-century writing? Is Daniel's angelology advanced?

There are three areas that need investigation. There is a direct connection between this style of writing, apocalyptic, and the mention of angels. Therefore, it is important to see that apocalyptic is not a new development of the second century B.C. but is in use in late Akkadian and early Babylonian. It also has roots in the Egyptian Neferti in the 1900-1800s B.C.
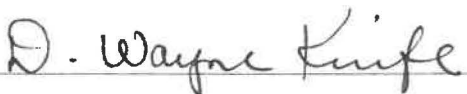
The individual passages of Daniel must also be examined to determine exactly what they teach. It can be determined that Daniel presents angels as God's servants who protect, minister and communicate God's revelation. This provides the basis for the last chapter. It is necessary to first know what Daniel teaches before it can be determined if there is a culture from which it may be compared and analyzed.

After reviewing Daniel's presentation, it is seen how these ministries of angels compare with other ancient Near Eastern concepts and presentations. This is not to validate Daniel's use of angels but rather to see if there is a historical and cultural background that would allow Daniel to understand the functions of these angels. Daniel's presentation parallels the Babylonian and Persian concepts quite well. As one moves closer to Greek times, divine beings become more anthropocentric and have extended human attributes. It is also important to see that Daniel's OT and Judaistic background would have prepared him well for this time and knowledge..

Therefore, two common arguments for a second-century date are invalid. First, apocalyptic literature is not a new second-century phenomenon but is very ancient. Second, Daniel's presentation of angels is not really too advanced but part of progressive revelation with many of the ideas already revealed in Scripture. Daniel's book historically fits in well with Babylonian-Persian times and theologically is not contradictory to a sixth-century culture.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 3 ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONCEPTS
OF SPIRIT BEINGS 41

INTRODUCTION

The spirit world has fascinated men for many years. There seems to have always been an eager desire to understand those things which could not be seen but were somewhere beyond the physical. Although there has been much interest in angelic/spirit beings, there has been little written specifically concerning these creatures. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the literature, the book of Daniel and the concepts of angels in Judaism and other ancient Near Eastern peoples to determine the function and ministry of angels as revealed by Daniel and also to analyze whether Daniel's concept of angels can be used as a support for a sixth century writing.

A thesis dealing with this subject must begin with a foundation of presuppositions. First, God is the creator of all things including the spirit world. Secondly, the only way man can know anything specifically about God or His work is through the revelation which He has given and recorded in the Holy God's Word. This Scripture is totally, unapologetically the inerrant, infallible, final word of God on all matters which it speaks, whether spiritual or scientific, salvation or history. It is completely trustworthy in its original manuscript and has been providentially passed down through the ages with virtually no major corruption to any doctrines. Thirdly, God has granted to regenerate man His Holy Spirit as the guide to all truth, the illuminator of the Word of God to the hearts and minds of men. Therefore, this writer will study what God's record in the book of Daniel reveals about this group of creatures called angels and allow the Holy Spirit to be the guide to all truth.

Before the key passages are dealt with, one must examine the type of literature of which Daniel is a part, namely, apocalyptic literature. Then an examination of the key passages which reveal Daniel's concept of angels will be done. This will follow with a brief study of the place of angels in the Ancient Near

Eastern background of which Daniel is a part, thus to set this topic in its historical place.

Daniel was a real person living in Babylon in the 6th century A.D. He was one of the choice young men taken captive in 586 by Nebuchadnezzar and brought to the palace to be trained to be placed in prominent positions in the kingdom. God had blessed him in many ways and moved him to co-write with the Holy Spirit this book which gives us some insight into that sphere of existence of which we are intrigued.

CHAPTER 1

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

It is necessary to begin this study by first examining that type of literature to which Daniel seems to belong, apocalyptic. Therefore, it is is important to answer several basic questions such as: What is apocalyptic literature? Where did it originate? What are its chief characteristics? This chapter will attempt to answer these questions as well as demonstrate how Daniel relates to it.

This section must be prefaced with a warning. This author is not attempting to force the biblical book of Daniel into any one literary style per se. Instead, this writer will demonstrate how Daniel may have taken a commonly accepted literary style, apocalyptic, and by taking the pertinent aspects and applying the proper elements of it, he wrote a biblical apocalypse. This biblical apocalypse may exhibit similarities to traditional apocalypses but it must also be added that it exhibits differences as well.

DEFINITION

As is the case many times, a valid definition of apocalyptic must be attained before looking at its characteristics and relation to Daniel. There are three basic classes of definitions. The first one classifies apocalyptic primarily as a literary form.

> Apocalyptic writing has certain well-marked characteristics. The style is generally figurative. . . .Apocalypse was a distinct type of writing like essays or drama, the form did not necessarily affect the truth or usefulness of the content.[1]

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[1]Merrill C. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 14-15.

A second classification stresses the eschatology which is one of the most popular ideas involved with apocalyptic.

> In elaboration of the definition, first of all it should be noted that apocalypticism is always eschatological, is always concerned with last things, with death and the end of this present age and with life in the age to come. . . . On the other hand, it should be emphasized that while apocalypticism is eschatological, not all eschatology is apocalyptic.[1]

The last major classification is according to pseudonymity.

> Apocalyptic literature, i.e. the literature enshrined in those writings which invariably under pseudonym of one of the saints of old time, purports to give revelation about the end and the signs preceding it.[2]

All of these definitions emphasize different common aspects of this genre of literature, however none of them are really complete. Possibly they were never intended to be complete definitions for apocalyptic.

The term apocalyptic has developed through the centuries. At first it was used to describe a vision. Later, it was employed to signify those books whose contents were believed to have been revealed through visions. It is this technical term which is applied to the Book of Revelation and which was used to describe the whole body of literature of a similar kind which was prevalent during the intertestamental period. It claimed to possess a secret knowledge of the future and especially the manner and time of the end which was allegedly disclosed under divine inspiration and by superhuman means.[3]

One of the best comprehensive definitions of apocalyptic has been offered by Ralph Alexander.

> Apocalyptic literature is symbolic, visionary, prophetic, literature composed during oppressive conditions, consisting of visions whose events are recorded

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[1]Martin Rist, "The Revelation of St. John the Divine: Introduction," *The Interpreters Bible*, ed. George Buttrick, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 12.347.

[2]Rudolph Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting*, trans. R. H. Fuller (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 210.

[3]D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 36-37.

exactly as they were seen by the author and explained through a divine interpreter, and whose theological content is primarily eschatological.[1]

How did this style develop? Was it present in the OT? These are some of the questions which need answered before the characteristics of this literature are discussed.

ORIGIN OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

There have been several suggestions as to the origin of apocalyptic literature. Among these two are the most prominent, prophecy[2] and wisdom.[3] An examination of the claims of each of these is appropriate at this time.

PROPHECY

The Beginning of Prophetism

It is essential to gain an understanding of the starting point of those individuals or groups known as prophets. Prophets were born out of a crisis in the tenth century. In the last part of Samuel's rule as a judge over Israel, the men of Israel demanded a king just like all the other nations (1 Samuel 8:5). It was Samuel's determination to save Israel's view of theocracy from being swallowed up by a foreign kingship ideal that the office of prophet was born.

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[1]Ralph Alexander, "Hermeneutics of Old Testament Apocalyptic Literature," ThD. dissertation (Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1968), p. 263.

[2]Russell, *Method*, pp. 73-103; John N. Oswalt, "Recent Studies in Old Testament Eschatology and Apocalyptic," *JETS* 24 (December 1981): 289 -301; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 1-7; Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), pp. 204 -13; Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1980), pp. 306-8.

[3]Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 volumes. trans. by D. M. G. Stalker. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 2.301-15.

The foreign views of kingship can be divided into two realms. The Mesopotamian view of a king did not see him as divine but as the offspring, "son" or representative of deity. The Egyptian view of a king (Pharaoh) stated that the Pharaoh was deity. Thus, it was these views that Samuel was attempting to direct away from Israel.

The office of prophet was not unfamiliar at this time. There is evidence of prophets at Mari[1] as well as in the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt.[2] Even the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 1894-1595 B.C.) in Mesopotamia had prophets.[3]

Thus, this is the setting which God and Samuel faced at this time. The result was a change in Israel which caused a split between the political and the spiritual sides of the theocracy. The office of judge was divided into two separate offices. The spiritual responsibility of discerning Yahweh's will and translating the implications of God's cosmic rule into the areas of history fell to this new office of the prophet. The political responsibility of carrying out the action required by the prophets translation was given to the military leader or king.[4] Thus, the prophet began as the one who assisted and communicated God's will to the king to carry it out.

It is at this point that one can see a shift from a few earlier illustrations of apparent independent interests and concern with the heavenly "otherworldness" of God (cosmic visionary elements) (Exodus 15, The Song of Moses; and Judges 5, The Song of Deborah) to a concern for the politico-historical arena of life and the translation of the cosmic into this realm (1 Samuel 15).

This last point is especially exemplified as one looks at the eighth-century prophets and later. They translated Yahweh's cosmic rule into the terms of

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[1]Herbert B. Huffmon, "Prophecy in the Mari Letters," *BA* 31 (December 1968): 101-24.

[2]Hans Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Wilson, *Prophecy*, pp. 124-28.

[3]Wilson, *Prophecy*, pp. 90-97.

[4]Hanson, *Dawn*, p. 15.

contemporary history and politics. Often they functioned as statesmen, as seen in their pronouncements on treaty relationships (Amos 1-2, Isaiah 30-31, Jeremiah 27); threats of war (Isaiah 7, Jeremiah 22, Micah 1); decisions regarding internal affairs (Hosea 3, Micah 3, Jeremiah 29). They also experienced the tension of their office between the vision of Yahweh's cosmic rule and the translating of that vision into the idiom of their historical situation.[1]

As has been evidenced, Israelite prophets were concerned with the present. This is not to say that the past might not be used as an example, or that the future would not be used as a threat of punishment or promise of reprieve. Not only was the prophet's concern mainly rooted in the present, but also his task was to confront man with the alternatives of a decision. He was not principally a predictor.[2]

Prophecy After the Exile

Prophecy changed again during and after the exile. Post-exilic prophecy remained within the mainstream of the prophetic tradition, but modified and reapplied the earlier prophecies. The post-exilic prophets used various authority-enhancing devices in their writings such as relying more on the written word instead of the spoken. Also, they placed more stress on the prophetic message and the divine origin of it. Thirdly, the person of the prophet receded into the background so no fallible human intermediary separated the divine word from the reader. Thus, one can see the continual change of the prophetic tradition.[3]

Also, the apparent delay in the fulfillment of prophetic promises may have raised some doubts in the minds of the people. Because of this, the people may have increasingly grown unwilling to acknowledge the authority of any prophets. So the prophets were a declining group in the post-exilic period.

It is in this post-exilic Babylonian context that biblical apocalyptic seems to appear. There seems to be several reasons for this departure from traditional

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[1]Hanson, *Dawn*, p. 16

[2]W. W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 16 (1966): 234.

[3]Wilson, *Prophecy*, p. 307.

prophecy. One of the main reasons is the failure of some of the post-exilic promises to materialize. As it was already alluded, the post-exilic concept of prophecy stressed that the true prophets were those whose oracles were effective and whose predictions came to pass. These prophets in the post-exilic period gave promise oracles and in spite of the return from exile and the rebuilding of the temple, many promises remained unfulfilled. This lead the faithful Jewish prophets to explain God's eventual triumph in future eschatological forms.[1] Thus, apocalyptic literature became the resolution of these unfulfilled promises by setting them into an apocalyptic context illuminating that the fulfillment could be expected in the future, the world to come. This is further supported by the fact that there is apocalyptic material in a few of the prophetic books such as Ezekiel and Zechariah. This would seem to suggest that some prophets were beginning to develop from the prophetic tradition into an apocalyptic direction.

Another reason for the rise of apocalyptic seems to reside in the politico-religious setting. As was noted above, in the tenth century the prophet was to communicate Yahweh's will for His people to the king who was to carry it through. But as time progressed, the king increased in power and the prophets degenerated into puppets of the king (cf. 1 Kings 22:9ff. where Micaiah ben Imlah opposed the kings prophets). As time progressed, the majority of the court prophets were concerned with gaining the favor of the king and often suppressing the real truth for what the king wanted to hear. The true prophets, like Micaiah, were not usually part of the court prophets and were often maltreated and suppressed.

The prophets affirmed the historical realm as a suitable context for divine activity and so they translated the divine cosmic activity down to the politico-historical realm of everyday life. The apocalypticist, however, was disillusioned with the historical realm and having been severed from the king's prophets gave their revelations in a manner of growing indifference to and independence from the contingencies of the politico-historical realm which left the language in the idiom of

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[1]Wilson, *Prophecy*, p. 307.

the heavenly, spiritual realm.[1] During and even after the exile, the prophets role returned to the spiritual role of relating the events of the cosmic realm in a way similar to that of pre-prophetic times (Exodus 15, Joshua 10, Judges 5).

Therefore, it is not hard to see the fully developed apocalyptic literature from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. It arose from a long development reaching back to pre-exilic times and beyond and is not the new baby of second century foreign parents. Hanson describes it by saying:

> Israelite apocalyptic was not foreign but was born of Jewish parents on Jewish soil, the parents being prophecy (mother) and father unknown (possibly royal).[2]

Russell describes it similarly:

> Apocalyptic is born out of the past and its parentage is readily recognized as the prophetic tradition as its father and faith in the ultimae triumph of God in times of peril and persecution as its mother.[3]

Relation of Apocalyptic to Prophecy

A comparison of prophecy and apocalyptic would not be complete without observing the similarities and differences between the two. An interesting aspect of this relationship centers around the appearance in late Israelite prophecy of an increased use of apocalyptic imagery and even sections which can be labelled apocalyptic. Zechariah and Joel exhibit this. This increased use of apocalyptic images and sections suggests that the prophets themselves were part of a move in the apocalyptic direction.[4] Wilson notes that the apocalyptic language used would reflect the groups or traditions to which they hold. Prophets would use prophetic

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[1]Hanson, *Dawn*, p. 12.

[2]Hanson, *Dawn*, pp. 402-3.

[3]Russell, *Method*, p. 104.

[4]Wilson, *Prophecy*, p. 292.

language, government officials would use wisdom language and dissatisfied priests would use priestly language.[1] This would help to account for the apparent differences or different kinds of apocalyptic.

Among the similarities shared by both prophetic and apocalyptic are 1) the same understanding of existence (historical), 2) the same concept of God (Lord of History), 3) the same view of humanity (historical possibility), and, 4) the same conceptualization of time (a linear progression toward a goal).[2] The prophets also looked forward to the coming of a deliverer and to the establishment of a messianic kingdom, an era of peace and righteousness (Isaiah 7:14; 9:1; 11:1; 32:1; Micah 5:1-5; Jeremiah 23:5-8). As will be demonstrated later, these are common characteristics of apocalyptic. There is also the vision of restoration and the predictive element which is found in both.

There are some differences which can be noted as well. There is a difference in its eschatology. Apocalyptic is dualistic but prophecy is monistic. They differ in their temporal and spatial scope. Apocalyptic shows a discontinuity with the past, it deals with those elements above the historical, prophetic deals with the historical, salvation in history. They are allegedly different in pseudonymity. This is a valid criticism of non-canonical apocalyptic, but cannot be used of canonical apocalyptic which is being dealt with here. They differ also in their view of world history. Apocalyptic has a deterministic, pessimistic view where prophetic has an optimistic view.[3] This can be illustrated by their view of judgment. Prophecy says that the coming event is announced to the unrepentant and is not irrevocable. Apocalyptic, however, says judgment is an unalterable final event with a firmly fixed date.

It is to be acknowledged that there are differences between apocalyptic and prophecy. If there were no differences they would be one and the same, and that is

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[1] Wilson, *Prophecy*, p. 308.

[2] Walter Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement, Introduction and Interpretation*, trans. by J. E. Steely. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1975), pp. 73-77.

[3] Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," p. 241.

not the case. The similarities do suggest that the two are cousins. There does appear to be a solid connection between these two.

Is apocalyptic a development from or a mutation of prophecy? If it were a logical development, one would expect the earlier stage to fall by the wayside. This does not seem to happen. The NT seems to avail itself of the expanded imagery and thought forms of apocalyptic and yet retains an OT prophetic point of view. So apocalyptic did not replace prophecy but rather existed beside it, enriching and expanding it but never supplanting it.[1] It may speak with a different accent and in a language which is at times alien to prophecy, nevertheless, the message it proclaims is essentially a sprout or development of the old message within a new situation.

The thread of eschatology, which is a major theme in apocalyptic, is woven throughout the OT and in prophetic literature. The entire OT is eschatological in that it looked to the fulfillment of greater and greater promises.[2] This is seen from Genesis 3:15, which is the promise of a coming Savior, all the way to Malachi 4:5-6, which is the sending of Elijah before the day of the Lord. Thus, the apocalypticist's basic orientation in eschatology, although on a different level than the prophet's, is still of the same order. Apocalyptic eschatology is an unbroken development out of classical prophecy. In the post-exilic times, the apocalypticists saw that the world had fallen under the doom of sin, a radical transformation was needed and that transformation could not be produced by normal historical events but only by a direct act of God.[3]

There is one difference between prophetic and apocalyptic which is of major importance. From where does the strange symbolism derive? The prophets did use common objects for analogy but rarely used animals etc. It is here that some

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[1]Oswalt, "Recent Studies," p. 301.

[2]Oswalt, "Recent Studies," p. 291.

[3]George Eldon Ladd, "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" *JBL* 76 (September 1957): 197.

as Frank Moore Cross, choose to retreat to ancient Near Eastern mythology to account for it.[1] This writer does not wish to discuss this fully but rather will just give it a brief mention and leave it for future study.

Many trace the origin of mythology back to the ancient man who had a mythopoeic viewpoint which used the imagery found in respectable religious systems.[2] Thus, it is traced to some of Israel's most ancient roots.

There is no question that there are mythological creatures mentioned in Scripture as early as Job (Job 38, Leviathan; Behemoth) and later as in Isaiah 27:1, Leviathan; 51:9, Rahab as well as other places, like the Psalms, where there seems to be mythological overtones. In connection with apocalyptic, however, it is interesting to notice that in the period of the rise of apocalyptic (post-exilic sixth-fifth centuries B.C.) and later there is no specific allusions to myths especially in the three undoubtedly post-exilic authors (Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi). Even though there might be seeming parallels, one thing must always be in mind, the Bible is unique and it is God's revelation. The unmistakable references to the ancient Near Eastern myths are few and far between. None of them appears in anything but a radically altered form.[3] God may use a mythological term or word, but He completely strips from it any mythological content and places into it His own content and meaning. Thus, there is not a borrowing of myths, but a common pool of general knowledge consisting of words and concepts from which God draws through the biblical writer and applies it for His use.

Oswalt lists five difficulties with the full mythology view as part of apocalyptic. First, it overemphasizes the later prophet's use of mythical sources. Second, there is an unwarranted application of the cosmic warrior motif. Third, there is over-confidence in typologies of development, both literary and sociological. Fourth,

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[1] F. M. Cross, "New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic," *Journal for Theology and the Church*, 6 (1969): 165 n. 23; Carroll, *Prophecy*, p. 206.

[2] Hanson, *Dawn*, p. 4

[3] Oswalt, "Recent Studies," p. 295.

there is a rearrangement of text with no view of other alternatives or explanations. Fifth, there is a heavy dependence on hypothetical reconstructions of Israelite society and history.[1]

Could God not also use the individual writer and his background and ability for analogy to communicate in symbolic form that which God wished to communicate? One must not always look for dependence or proof to the neglect of the uniqueness of God's revelation.

Wisdom

Von Rad is the only current author who proposes wisdom as the origin of apocalyptic. He approaches this first by stressing the differences between prophecy and apocalyptic in an attempt to disprove its relationship. By citing six distinctions, he proposes that prophecy is not the rightful originator. First, apocalyptic literature never understood itself as prophecy. Second, apocalyptic sometimes speaks of prophecy as having ended. Third, there is an incompatibility between apocalyptic literature's view of history that last things are determined in the far-off past and the prophetic concept of saving history.[2] Fourth, Von Rad says the prophetic always openly identified their own day and age as their standpoint from which to view past history or future. Apocalyptic, according to him, veiled their standpoint in time even though it is possible to date them where past history ends and fanciful prediction begins. Fifth, in apocalyptic, the growing evil in the world is clearly due to the nature of man and the empires founded by him. Prophecy, however, attributed all catastrophic events to the direct intervention of Yahweh in history.[3] Sixth, the interpretation of dreams is prominent in apocalyptic literature whereas

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[1]Oswalt, "Recent Studies," p. 295.

[2]Von Rad, *Theology*, p. 303.

[3]Von Rad, *Theology*, p. 305.

foretelling the future in general is not the sole aim of the prophet so they obviously would not occupy themselves with interpreting dreams.[1]

His first point is not valid for as has been shown, apocalyptic never replaced prophecy but was a sprout or offspring of prophecy. Secondly, canonical apocalyptic never says that prophecy has ended. There are some non-canonical apocalypses which make this claim but which are not really valid. The third distinction is just one point where the purpose of apocalyptic is shown as different from the purpose of prophecy. The fourth point is true of non-canonical apocalyptic, but never true of canonical, biblical apocalyptic. The fifth point, like the third, is just an element of its overall difference of purpose, a sprout off the same tree of prophecy. Sixth, there were dreams and interpretations known earlier in Israelite history.

Wisdom is given as a second alternative of the origin of apocalyptic. Von Rad argues that knowledge is the nerve-centre of apocalyptic literature. This is a knowledge based on a universal Yahwism that is divorced from saving history. Wisdom then is the real matrix, according to Von Rad, from which apocalyptic originates for the same characteristics appear in both. Not only this, but the matters which apocalyptic literature is occupied are expressly those of wisdom and its science.[1]

Von Rad defines apocalyptic as a literary phenomenon of late Judaism consisting of a group of pseudepigraphical apocalypses from Daniel to 4 Ezra.[2] His second-century dating of Daniel allows him to use Daniel as the chief example of wisdom. Daniel is educated as a wise man (Daniel 1:3ff); he is enrolled among the wise men (Daniel 2:48); his charismatic wisdom gives him the ability to interpret dreams (Daniel 2:30, 5:11); and his book ends with an apotheosis of the wisdom teachers (Daniel 12:3). Von Rad also uses 1 Enoch 37:2-4 and 4 Ezra 14:50 as examples.[3]

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[1]Von Rad, *Theology*, p. 306-7.

[2]Von Rad, *Theology*, p. 301. Von Rad is typical of liberal scholarship which uses circular reasoning to squeeze apocalyptic into a 2nd century mold and then "prove" Daniel by this "mold".

[3]Von Rad, *Theology*, p. 306.

Daniel does not have to be a second-century writing to allow all these references to wisdom. As was noted above, a government official, as Daniel, would use wisdom language as the language of his apocalypse.[1] Also, Jeremiah 18:18 and Ezekiel 7:26, which are both slightly earlier than Daniel, mention sages (wise men) alongside the prophets and the priests as recipients of divine revelation.[2] Therefore, Daniel does not have to be a second-century writing, but rather fits in well with a sixth-century date. Wisdom literature has another potential difficulty. Even though wisdom literature does have some eschatological material, this is not its primary thrust. However, the prophetic books deal more often with eschatological themes in a major way. Therefore, prophecy would be a better source of apocalyptic than wisdom literature.

FOREIGN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

It is amazing that in recent years, ancient texts have arisen which have resemblances to apocalyptic literature. Only three examples of such texts will be exhibited. These are important for establishing the fact that there may have been a genre of literature at least in the sixth century known as apocalyptic if not earlier. It is not restricted to only the second century.

Egyptian Apocalyptic

The first is an Egyptian text known as "The Prophecy of Neferti." The prophecy of Neferti was written as a glorification of Amenemhet I, the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty. It was written during the Twelfth dynasty reign of Amenemhet I, 1991-1786 B.C., but was presented as if it were actually a fourth dynasty writing by Snefru in 2613-1494 B.C. Thus, from the perspective of Pharaoh Snefru, it is a prophecy of the first intermediate period and the rise of a "messianic savior," Amenemhet I, to lend credence to Amenemhet.[3] The man Neferti is known to have been an historical person and considered one of the great sages and writers of the past.

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[1] Wilson, *Prophecy*, p. 308; See also note 21.

[2] Russell, *Method*, p. 175.

[3] Goedicke, *Protocol*, pp. 4-5.

One may ask himself, "Why would Neferti need to write in this fashion or even want to write this way?" The answer appears to be rather simple. The political scene around Amenemhet is rather unstable. Amenemhet I gained the throne by usurpation from the ruling family of the Mentuhutpes. It is also known that he used a certain amount of written propaganda to ensure his position.[1] Thus, it was written to give the picture that Amenemhet was the messianic saviour predicted for Egypt. This text has been classified as representative of a pessimistic literature triggered by the collapse of the Old Kingdom state and society which "produced a sense of messianic salvation" to overcome the prevailing turmoil by the appearance of a savior-king in the person of Amenemhet I.

This gives the example of a traditional non-biblical apocalypse which was delivered during a time of political turmoil and distress.

AKKADIAN-BABYLONIAN APOCALYPTIC

The second example is a group of texts which belong to the late Akkadian period (Neo-Assyrian period). This group shares a common distinctive characteristic in that they are descriptions of the reigns of unnamed kings which are cast in the form of predictions.[2] It is obvious that the whole motive of the author was to persuade his listeners of the reliability of his prognostications by impressing them with the apparent accuracy of his "predictions" of past events. These four texts range from a past vaguely remembered (Text C) or even semi-legendary (Text B) to an accurately reported immediate past (Text A) and then a jump to a dimly seen future (Text D).[3]

Text A exhibits the pretended predictions with classical examples of *vaticinium ex eventu*. The allusions are just vague enough to suggest the style of predictions,

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[1]Goedicke, *Protocol*, p. 5.

[2]A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 18 (1964): 7.

[3]Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalyptic," p. 235; For a full understanding of these texts see Grayson and Lambert, Akkadian Prophecies" for the original texts and Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypse" for an explanation.

but at the same time they are not vague enough to escape the suspicion that they were inspired by actual historical events that had previously transpired in the past.[1] Text A does not preserve any "messianic" portions but it does espouse a cyclical view of history which may have culminated in a final catastrophic time of troubles leading into a final and permanent kingdom under the aegis of a saviour-king. These concepts are found in cuneiform literature.[2]

Text D (the leap into the future) owes its vagueness not only to its broken state, but to the fact that it deals with the future and may have represented the climax and raison d'être of the hypothetical series. It is the occasion for the grouping of these texts.

Thus, these four texts which are grouped in one, appear to be closer to what is known as apocalyptic and, indeed, may be Akkadian apocalypses.

The third apocalyptic text which will be briefly examined is another Akkadian text, Warka 22307/7.[3] This is part of the tablets found in Uruk in a residential area which was part of the medical and omen texts and commentaries which probably formed part of the private library of a magician and diviner. This text can be dated to the coregency of Nebuchadnezzar and Amel-Marduk.[4]

The obverse of this text is mainly omens and the reverse is apocalyptical. In the text l. 3ff. refer to Eriba Marduk; l. 8 KIMIN, KIMIN, KIMIN, KIMIN, KIMIN refers to a long period of time where the same kind of reign was occcuring. It could be portrayed by "ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto"; l. 11ff refer to Nebuchadnezzar; and l. 16 is the real prophecy concerning Nebuchadnezzar's son Amel-Marduk.[5]

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[1]Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," p. 235.

[2]Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," p. 241.

[3]For a full treatment of these texts see Hermann Hunger and Stephen Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy Text," *JAOS* 95 (1975): 371-75.

[4]Hunger, "New Akkadian," p. 371.

[5]Hunger, "New Akkadian," p. 374.

If it is correct to view ll. 1-5 as historical events as *vaticinium ex eventu*, then the purpose of the text is self-evident. It is to prove the authenticity and reliability of the real prediction of l. 16. As one looks at the historical reign of Amel-Marduk, Nebuchadnezzar's son, in his two years on the throne, he was definitely in need of whatever support he could muster. Nebuchadnezzar instituted a co-regency with Amel-Marduk prior to his death.[1] This was probably done because there was opposition to Amel-Marduk's succession. It is also not surprising that the priest-scribes of Uruk would support the son of the beneficent Nebuchadnezzar in this political struggle.

CONCLUSION

It must be noted, in conclusion, that the Akkadian apocalyptic texts are somewhat like the biblical apocalyptics in that they do differ in format and function from each other. There are at least three classes of Akkadian "prophecy-apocalyptic" texts. 1) The compendium of historical apodoses to astrological omens. 2) The autobiographical "prophecy" texts of Marduk and Šulgi. Both are propagandistic in nature and use the literary device of pseudonymity. 3) The Šulgi text uses the *vaticinium ex eventu* to lend authority to its predictions.[2]

Hallo seems to have summarized these evidences well:

> The texts which Assyriologists have in recent years regarded as Akkadian prophecies in no wise challenges the uniqueness of biblical prophecy. But they show an essential affinity with biblical apocalyptics and should henceforth be considered in any investigation of the origins of this relatively late phenomenon in the spectrum of Biblical literary genres—without fear, be it added, of compromising its distinctive character.[50]

These texts, especially this last one, have an important significance to the book of Daniel. Daniel being in Babylon knew of this new way to record the future

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[1]Hunger, "New Akkadian," p. 374; Ronald H. Sack, *Amēl-Marduk 562-560 B.C.*, AOAT Sonderreihe 4 (Neukirchen, 1972), p. 3, 6.

[2]Hunger, "New Akkadian," p. 375.

[3]Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," p. 242.

eschatology. He did not need to use past history to lend authority to his writing for he was chosen of God to record truth and revelation. His authority was in God not in his prediction or writing. Therefore, he used the form of literature common to his sixth century culture, but poured into it a biblical God-given content and stripped away all the pagan impurities.

Biblical apocalyptic literature is accurate and true because it is God-given and has its roots in prophecy, but the literary style itself is from the culture of the Akkadian apocalypses.

CHARACTERISTICS OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

There are six main characteristics which are found in most apocalyptic literature. The first five are true of all apocalyptic, the sixth is true only of non-canonical literature. First, revelations are primarily through visions. Second, there is extravagant symbolism. Third, the spirit world is predominant. There are many angels and many of them are named. Fourth, the present world order is to be terminated by a violent destruction of the present age followed by a coming of the Messiah. Fifth, theology emphasizes the holiness, transcendence and sovereignty of God. Sixth, most of the non-canonical apocalyptic books are pseudonymous.

There are others who accumulate massive lists of characteristics. Russell lists transcendentalism, mythology, cosmological orientation, pessimistic historical view, dualism, division of time into eras, teaching of two eras, numerology, pseudo-ecstasy, artificial claims of inspiration, pseudonymity, esotericism, unity of history, conception of cosmic history which speaks of the earth and heaven, a notion of primordiality, speculation on the source of evil in the world, conflict between light and darkness, good and evil, God and Satan, Son of man, life after death, and individualism.[1]

It is impossible to try to identify a work as apocalyptic by comparing it with a list, especially if it is like the one above. No given apocalyptic work comes close to incorporating all of the listed features. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the six main characteristics listed above will be used.

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[1]Russell, *Method*, p. 105.

DANIEL AND OTHER APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

It is in light of these characteristics that the relationship between Daniel and apocalyptic literature can be seen. Daniel is one of several OT books which have at least part, if not all of it, in an apocalyptic form. Daniel, however, is the most commonly recognized and critically attacked. Other OT portions include Ezekiel 38-39; Zechariah 1-14 (usually divided into 1-8 and 9-14); Joel 3; and Isaiah 24-27.

ISAIAH 24-27

Isaiah 24-27 has definite apocalyptical elements in it. For example, when Yahweh pronounces His judgment, the earth is turned upside down (Isaiah 24:1) and the sun and moon are darkened (cosmic disturbance, Isaiah 24:23). The host of heaven is to be punished (24:21). This seems to have been expanded in 1 Enoch 12:36 where angels receive their due recompense from God. An eschatological banquet is prepared to which all people are invited (25:6). This also has been used in later intertestamental apocalyptic writings. The righteous dead will be raised in resurrection to share in the final redemption of God's people (26:19; cf. also Daniel 12:2).

ZECHARIAH

Zechariah 1-8 also exhibits apocalyptic tendencies. It uses visionary experience and colorful imagery (chapters 3-6). Gentiles are equated with forces of evil and destined to be destroyed by God in battle (6:1-8). There is hope in a coming Golden Age (chapter 8) and the appearing of a messianic leader chosen by God (3:8; cf. Isaiah 11:1; Micah 5:2; Jeremiah 23:5). Zechariah also has an increased interest in angelology (2:1; 3:1; 4:1; etc.) and the role of Satan (3:1).

Zechariah 9-14 is also very much apocalyptic. It is occupied with matters relating to the End (chapters 12-14), the coming of a messianic deliverer (9:9; 12:10-13:6) and the Golden Age (14:1-21), the final great conflict of God's people with the forces of evil (9:10-17) and the ultimate destruction or submission of the Gentiles (9:1-8, chapters 12-14).

EZEKIEL 38-39

The book of Ezekiel as a whole has elements of apocalypticism. It emphasizes the transcendence of God, stresses individualism (18:3), uses fantastic imagery and symbolism of diverse kinds (four living creatures, four wheels with eyes, chapter 1). He has revelations through visions and auditions (1:4-3:15).

Ezekiel 38-39 is the main apocalyptic portion in Ezekiel. This describes the battle motif where the powers of evil, Gentile nations in particular, are destroyed (39:12). The mysterious figure Gog of the land of Magog leads the evil forces (chapter 38). There is an allusion to the Dragon Myth in 38:4. Ezekiel also seems to restate Jeremiah's prophecy of a foe from the North. (Jeremiah 1:14; 3:1-6:30). This battle theme of the defeat of Gog and the route of Israel's enemies is a familiar motif in later apocalyptic literature.[1]

Again, a post-exilic apocalyptic theme reappears in the intertestamental apocalyptic. Ezekiel's battle theme of the defeat of Israel's enemies is seen in 1 Enoch 90:20; 2 Esdras 12:32; 13:37; Assumption of Moses 10:1.[2] As has been demonstrated the intertestamental apocalyptic literature did borrow and rouse themes and concepts from the earlier biblical apocalyptics. Why could the angelology of Daniel not have been used in the same way? Daniel's similarities, which will be exhibited in the next chapter, with intertestamental does not have to mean a second century date for Daniel. Instead, it could mean a sixth century date for Daniel with a borrowing and restating of Daniel's themes in the second century with various perversions and extensions.

RELATION TO DANIEL

Daniel's apocalyptic book also closely resembles several themes from pre-exilic through post-exilic prophets. In Daniel 12:2-4, the resurrection of the dead may resemble three prophecies of the restoration of the nation under this figure of a

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[1]Russell, *Method*, pp. 89-90.

[2]Russell, *Method*, p. 90.

resurrection from the dead (Hosea 13:14; Ezekiel 37, the dry bones; Isaiah 66:24)[1] as well as Isaiah 26:19 and personal resurrection.

Another example is in Daniel 4:10-18 concerning Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree. This may parallel Ezekiel 31:1-9 which is an oracle against Egypt where the Pharaoh is likened to a mighty cedar. The third parallel is Daniel 9:24-27 referring to the seventy weeks (years) which is in relation to Jeremiah 25:12 and 29;10 where Jeremiah prophesied the seventy years which were appointed for their captivity.[2]

DANIEL AND NON-CANONICAL APOCALYPTIC

A distinction must be made between canonical apocalyptic and non-canonical. The fact that a writing is apocalyptic does not make it canonical or non-canonical. The non-canonical type are a series of pseudepigraphic works of Jewish origin from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 and which contain features similar to Daniel.[3] They were probably patterned after Daniel. The two largest differences between these two are the pseudonymity of non-canonical, and the *vaticinium ex eventu*—prophecy after the event has happened.

Daniel is often attributed to be intertestamental around 167 B.C. because of this period of apocalyptic. However, Daniel cannot belong to this period because there were numerous copies of the book of Daniel found in the Qumran caves which date to this time or before. Thus, there must be an earlier original which would probably be centuries older if normal textual criticism methods would be applied to allow for the establishment and copies.

Another argument against an intertestamental Daniel is the Aramaic of the book of Daniel. The Aramaic of Daniel can be shown to be early rather than late.[4]

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[1]Russell, *Method*, p. 188.

[2]Russell, *Method*, p. 201.

[3]James Orr, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, reprint ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 1.162.

[4]See Robert Dick Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel.* (reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 1.319-22, 374-77; and Gleason L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964) p. 386-93.

There are also examples of the intertestamental literature seemingly interpreting Daniel. The writer of the *War of the Sons of Light* interpreted Daniel 11:40. In his description of the final battle between "the sons of light" and "the sons of darkness," he is patently adapting Daniel 11:40 to his own purpose. This has been called a midrash on Daniel 11:40.[1] Daniel 9:24-27 is also reinterpreted in the Testaments of Levi 16-17 where 16:1 says "now I have learned that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray."[2]

Another factor, which surfaces here, is the potential influence from Israel's neighbors, especially an exilic influence on the writing. This will also be mentioned in chapter two. There are those who resort to Persian influence to account for this apocalyptic.[3] As has previously been shown, this type of literature has developed apart from Persian influence and instead derives from prophecy. The essential elements of apocalyptic were shown to be in existence prior to the sixth century from Isaiah 66.[4]

For the sake of emphasis, the relationship between the topic at hand, Daniel's conception of angelic beings and this genre of literature can be seen in the third characteristic listed above. That is the emphasis and predominance of the spirit world and angels where they are frequently mentioned and many by name. The other top four characteristics are also evident including visions (chapters 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10-12); symbolism (lion, leopard, bear, composite beast, image of chapter 2); angels (3:25; 4:13; 6:22; 7:10, 15; 8:13, 15-27; 9:22; 10:5, 13-21; 12:1; Gabriel,

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[1]Russell, *Method*, p. 192.

[2]R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, n.d.), p. 321.

[3]These include Bruce Vawter, "Apocalyptic: Its Relation to Prophecy," *CBQ* 22 (1960): 44; Russell, *Method*, p. 257.

[4]Paul Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against Its Near Eastern Environment," *Revue Biblique*, 78 (1971): 52-62.

Michael, Prince of Persia, Prince of Greece who are named); cataclysmic end (Daniel 2:44-47; 7:9-14); God is sovereign (Daniel 2, 3, 6, 7, 12).

CONCLUSION

Apocalyptic literature is a form of literature which in and of itself is neutral. This literature, as exhibited from Egypt and Neo-Assyrian-Babylonia, was a communication of past events to prepare the way for future events or current events that have results in the future. Some, as in the ancient Near East, used it pseudonymously to give credence to their prediction about the current king to help bolster his political career and stability. This was an adaptation of the form.

The biblical writers, like Daniel, used the form to first discuss current or past events and then moved on to describe the future in the last days. There is still the move from the present to the future, but it is not done pseudonymously for it is God's revelation. The past is an accurate record of non-kingly, personal or community events that pave the way for God to reveal the future, eschatology for Israel and the world. This pattern is true of most of the biblical apocalypses. Joel 1-2 deals with the historical locust plague and from this God uses chapter 3 to speak concerning the future Day of the Lord. Ezekiel 1-32 deals with the present problems and God's response but chapters 33-48 moves on to the future and speaks of the restoration. The apex of this eschatological section, apocalyptically, is chapters 38-39 with the Gog and Magog battle and then chapters 40-48 follow with the description of the new temple in the New Jerusalem.

Zechariah is a little different in that chapters 1-8 deal with some current problems, but also speak of present conditions and promises through visions. Chapter 9-14 is largely apocalyptic in its approach by being eschatological. Thus, it varies the pattern somewhat. As was previously mentioned, apocalyptic does not necessarily have to fit only one form, there are different ways to write apocalyptic. A lot of this has to do with the freedom of the writer or as in the case of Scripture, the Holy Spirit using the writer's own background and personality to pen God's revelation with the individuals own personal touch.

Isaiah seems to be the biggest problem to this theory, Isaiah 24-27 is an

apocalyptic section at the end of a section of foreign prophecies. It appears genuinely apocalyptic. Something must have caused the mind of Isaiah to divert in this direction to extend these prophecies into a full-blown apocalyptic eschatology that describes the total picture of the end. This may help to support the thesis that there is a strong connection between prophecy and apocalyptic. Also, as above, this may just be attributed to Isaiah's own personal style, which God used to communicate these vital truths.

Apocalyptic literature was a bonafide literary form in sixth century B.C. Mesopotamia. Some twisted the history and the prophesy for personal gain, but God used this common form and based it on the prophetic traditions to best communicate to His people and the nations what He felt they needed to know for that day and time, namely His future plans for the world. Just as God's prophecies have been and will be fulfilled, so God's apocalyptic predictions will also come to pass. Biblical prophecy is unique and so biblical apocalyptic is unique from all other uses of this form.

CHAPTER 2

KEY PASSAGES IN DANIEL
REGARDING SPIRIT BEINGS

In chapter one the apocalyptic literature, of which Daniel is a part, was examined to help determine whether it was a second century phenomenon or if it had its roots farther back. It was determined that apocalyptic literature was not a new phenomenon in the Maccabean period but rather, it was used in Assyrian and Babylonian times. Indeed, this was when it first became recognized as such. This is important for it allows Daniel and his presentation of angels (an increased angelology because of the apocalyptic literature) to be in the sixth century.

The next step in approaching an understanding of Daniel's presentation of angels and their place in history is to examine the particular passages in Daniel to determine their teaching. From this analysis an accurate appraisal of the particular ministries and functions of angels which Daniel was apparently able to understand will be attained. The passages which are involved are as follows: Daniel 3:25 "one like a son of the gods"; Daniel 4:13 "watchers and holy ones"; Daniel 6:22 "angel"; Daniel 7:16 "one of those standing by"; Daniel 8:13 "holy ones"; v 15 "one who looked like a man"; v 16, Gabriel; Daniel 9:21, Gabriel; Daniel 10:5 "man dressed in linen . . ."; v 13, 20, Prince of Persia; v 21, Prince of Greece, Michael; and Daniel 12:1, Michael.

It is important to gain an understanding of what Daniel wrote and perceived regarding angels in order to be able to have a current, infallible standard from which to compare and examine other religions from the sixth century to the first century B.C. This chapter may appear a little different because of its format. The basic format which will be used is as follows: First, the passage and the appropriate

words which particularly deal with Daniel's understanding regarding angels will be listed. Then, a discussion will follow outlining the main problem or problems and the various interpretations. The whole purpose of this chapter is to be able to exegetically determine what the text is saying regarding angels.

DANIEL 3:25

"the fourth is like a son of the gods"

Did Nebuchadnezzar understand this as *The* Son of God or as a spirit being, an angel? First, the particular words used need to be noticed. The aramaic form *elahin* אֱלָהִין is plural. In the book of Daniel he seems to use the plural to indicate a plural in number. When he refers to the true God, he uses the singular.[1] Also, it must be noted that the common Hebrew and Aramaic use of son denotes anyone who resembles another or who is characterized by a certain quality. Therefore, here it would apply to a majestic appearance, god-like quality of one who was worthy to be ranked among the gods.[2] Simply, "son of the gods" refers to some kind of supernatural being, possibly god-like, but not deity.

It is interesting to note that in verse 28 Nebuchadnezzar interprets this being as a מַלְאֲכֵה an angel. This does not solve anything for "angel" in Aramaic may stand for deity.[3] Most of the versions interpret it as a referenec to the true God. The Latin

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[1]John F. Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1971), p. 91.

[2]Albert Barnes, *Notes on the Book of Daniel* (London: George Routledge & Co., 1853), p. 91.

[3]Leon J. Wood, *Commentary on Daniel*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1972), p.93

Vulgate has *similis filio Dei*, the Greek has ὁμοια υἱος θεου, and the Syriac similarly as "like to a Son of God." Luther translated it *und der vierte ist gleich als wäre er ein Sohn der Götter*, "the fourth as he might be a son of the gods."

Some prefer to see this as a pre-incarnate appearance of Christ. Tertullian, Augustine and Hilary held that this was the Second Person of the Trinity.[1] This could be seen by the use of בַּר אֱלֹהִין meaning "a divine being"[2] and because of the miraculous element involved. Christ had previously appeared in a burning bush (Exodus 3) and had descended in a flame of fire (Judges 13).

Others say that to make this the Son of God would be to put words into Nebuchadnezzar's mouth that were not originally there.[3] Nebuchadnezzar believed in guardian spirits and angels. He also believed that the gods had children, either from union of two gods or the result of a promiscuous relationship with a mortal. These offsprings would naturally appear superior in being and beauty.[4] The reasons for viewing this as an angel include 1) The language used implies nothing more. 2) Nebuchadnezzar understood it in verse 28 as being an angel. 3) This would agree with what the rest of the book teaches (cf. 6:22 teaches (cf. 6:22; 7:10). 4) It should

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[1]Barnes, *Daniel*, p. 238. Others who hold this view include: Robert Culver, *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel*, (Winona Lake: BMH Press, 1980) p. 58; Wood, *Daniel*, p. 93; Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 93.

[2]Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 93.

[3]Those who hold this view include H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, reprint ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969), p. 158; and E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), p. 103.

[4]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 158, 161.

not be assumed that this is the Son of God without some more positive evidence. It is reported that Jerome said "I do not know how the ungodly king deserved to see the Son of God."[1]

Therefore, this being must be an angel who was sent by God to protect these three youths from the flames and to testify of the true God.

DANIEL 4:13

"a watcher and a holy one"

The word for "watcher" עִיר as referring to a heavenly being occurs only here. It is usually related to the Semitic root ʿwr, "to wake up." Akkadian has *eru* "to be awake."[2] Ugaritic attests the causative of ʿyr meaning "to arouse."[3] Therefore, the idea of wakefulness gives עִיר the rendering "watcher."[4] The Vulgate translates this as *vigil*, Theodotion just transliterated it as *eir*, Codex Chisianus has *angelos*.[5] However, Aquila and Symmachus are the first one known to relate this עִיר to ʿwr "to wake up." The primary significance is a vigilant or watcher. The waw in וְקַדִּישׁ is epexegetical and is used as a further description of the watcher.[6] The watcher, namely, or even, the holy one is the singular subject of the next verse.

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[1]Leupold, *Daniel,* p. 158.

[2]Ignace J. Gelb, *et al.* gen eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 4 E ed. by A. Leo Oppenheim *et al*, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1958) p. 326.

[3]Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum) p. 456.

[4]Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958) p. 1107.

[5]Barnes, *Daniel,* p. 262; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1, A Commentary* revised (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971)p.80.

[6]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) p. 252; Young, *Daniel,* p. 102.

There are five ways this term "watchers" has been explained. First, as a pagan polytheistic saga or a college of actual deities.[1] A second view sees this as referring to those known to Nebuchadnezzar in the Babylonian religion. These are the "council deities" who were commissioned to watch over the world.[2] A third view derives this from Persian sources as the Bun-Dehesh, the commentary on the Zendavesta of the Zoroastrians. Angels are present in Zoroastrianism which are called watchers, "ormuzd has set four watchers in the four parts of the heavens."[3] A fourth minor view of d'Envieu, the Roman Catholic expositor, sees this as Christ.[4] The fifth view seems to be the most natural. These are real angels of God. Whatever Nebuchadnezzar's thinking was, these two qualities of watchfulness and holiness fit the description of God's angels. They are aware of what transpires and are ready to do God's bidding. Walvoord uses Meinhold to connect this thought with Ezekiel 1:18, "the eyes of the cherubs" and Zechariah 4:10, "the eyes of the Lord." He also shows a parallel with watchers and remembrancers of the Lord in Isaiah 62:6.[5]

The function of these watchers can be seen as watching over men (possibly the souls of men as guardians) and prepared to do the will of God even as agents of God's judgment (cf. Ex 12:23; 2 Sam 24:16).

<div align="center">DANIEL 6:22</div>

"God sent His angel"

This is one of the clearest passages in Daniel of the function of angels. There is

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[1]Wilhelm Bousset and Hugo Gressman, *Die Religion des Judentums im Spathellenistischen Zeitalter*, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926) p. 322.

[2]C. F. Keil, *Commentary of the Old Testament Ezekiel, Daniel*, reprint, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.), p. 150.

[3]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 109.

[4]Young, *Daniel*, p. 103.

[5]Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 102.

no question that this was an angel. God employs supernatural spirit beings to protect His people in trouble and rescue them from danger (cf. Psalm 34:7; 91:11; Daniel 9:21; Matthew 18:10; Luke 16:22; Hebrews 1:14). This passage does not indicate whether the angel was visible or not. It can be presumed that he was because Daniel knew he owed his deliverance to the intervention of God by means of His angel.[1]

DANIEL 7:16

"one of those who were standing by"

A better way of rendering this may be "one of those that stood there."[2] To say "that stood by" suggests that there were also bystanders in addition to the incalculable host that stood before the throne. If there would be bystanders, who would they be? Curious onlookers in heaven? Some sideline bench-warming angels? The force of the Aramaic Peal participle קָאֲמַיָּא is "the standing ones." This term is taken from court life to refer to those who were in attendance on the heavenly.[3]

Verse 15 provides the necessary reason why Daniel approached those standing there. Daniel, having seen the vision presented, was grieved in his spirit. He uses the language of a sword and sheath to describe his feelings. Daniel was grieved "in the midst of my sheath."[4] His spirit, which was concealed in his body, was as a sword concealed in a sheath. As a sword is of no use in a sheath, Daniel was struggling to have his spirit be better able to understand these things, be unshackled.

Daniel boldly addresses one of those standing there. These ones standing must refer to the thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads standing around the throne of God. Daniel assumes that these beings would be able to inform him as to

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[1]Barnes, *Daniel*, 2.23.

[2]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 316; *BDB*, p. 1110.

[3]James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 305.

[4]Keil, *Daniel*, p. 237-39.

what the vision meant and to divulge all that he knew. This one was to impart to Daniel knowledge and understanding concerning the vision, to explain this revelation.[1] Some have seen this one as Gabriel.[2] This is possible but may just be any one of the angels around the throne of God.

DANIEL 8:13

"holy one speaking to another holy one"

Daniel 8:2 says Daniel was at Shushan for the vision. Was Daniel physically in Shushan or transferred there by vision? It is more likely that Daniel was in Babylon but in the vision he saw himself standing at the capital Shushan.[3] This seems to be the best picture presented in verses 2 and 3.

Daniel overhears the conversation of two holy ones. This could refer to earthly saints or angels. It is best to refer to them as angels because of the knowledge they display concerning the vision.[4] This individual is not some specific already known angel, but rather it is indefinite in meaning "a certain one" or "a so-and-so." Wood suggests that this angel may have been informing the other angel about the future actions of Antiochus.[5] However, this cannot be determined. This does seem to indicate that some angels may know more about God's dealings than other ones. Possibly things are communicated to some angels and not necessarily to all. This should not be stressed too much since it is interesting that the latter angel was inquiring about the same things which Daniel wanted to know. Maybe he was inquiring for the benefit of Daniel and not for himself.

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[1]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 316.

[2]Culver, *Daniel*, p. 111-12.

[3]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 221.

[4]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 217.

[5]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 217.

"one who looked like a man" verse 15

This person cannot be a man because he is described as *like* a man. This must be a superior being—an angel—sent in the guise of a man to possibly keep from terrifying the prophet.[1] Verse 16 identifies this man גֶּבֶר as Gabriel גַּבְרִיאֵל. The גֶּבֶר "strong man" was really גַּבְרִיאֵל "strong man of God."

"Gabriel" verse 16

This is the first mention in the Bible of an angel by name. This angel is identified as Gabriel so Daniel could recognize him again later when he would appear. Gabriel is mentioned again in 9:21. The role of Gabriel is consistently that of bringing important information from God to man. He is the *angelus interpres* for Daniel. In verse 16 Gabriel is commanded to "make this man understand the vision." This does not necessarily mean that the angel needed a command, but Daniel needed to realize who was interpreting and who told him to do it, at whose behest.[2]

The only other angel named in Scripture, excluding Satan, is Michael who is mentioned in 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; Revelation 12:7.[3] There is an abundance of angels named in the intertestamental literature.

Verse 16 also refers to the voice of a man speaking to Gabriel. Some prefer to see this as an angel, possibly Michael.[4] The best solution appears to be the voice of God since He appears to speak with supreme authority. This individual was between the two banks of the Ulai apparently hovering in the air as in 12:6, 7.[5]

There are two main functions of angels which can be seen in this passage. First,

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[1]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 359.

[2]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 360.

[3]Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 191.

[4]Young, *Daniel*, p. 175; Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 191.

[5]Young, *Daniel*, p. 175.

angels seem to possess powers to strengthen the weak. The touch of the angel imparted to Daniel the strength needed to arise and make him attentive.[1] Gabriel made Daniel stand up where he was. A second ministry of Gabriel as seen here was that of an *angelus interpres* much as is seen also in the book of Zechariah. Gabriel was acting as Daniel's direct guide and informer. He communicated God's revealed will. He was to cause Daniel to know, that is, to cause him to understand.[2]

DANIEL 9:21

"the man Gabriel"

The first part of chapter 9 sets the background of Daniel's praying for his people and God's "holy hill." Daniel says, "while I was yet speaking in prayer" (literally in the prayer, that prayer that Daniel was then making). As Walvoord has pointed out, this recorded prayer is probably only a summary of the actual, longer oral prayer of Daniel.[3] This was at the time of the evening sacrifice which they did not offer after 586, but many remembered the time and used it for prayer.[4]

The timing of Gabriel being sent and arriving has caused some differences of opinion. Some suppose angels are not limited by time and so as soon as he was sent he was present with Daniel.[5] Others feel that God dispatched Gabriel at the beginning of Daniel's prayer but he did not reach Daniel until the close of that prayer.[6]

Gabriel, that chief communicator of God's revelation whom Daniel had seen in

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[1]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 362.

[2]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 222.

[3]Walvoord *Daniel*, p. 215.

[4]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 402.

[5]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 402.

[6]Walvoord, *Daniel*, p. 214; Young, *Daniel*, p. 190.

chapter 8, appeared again. He came to inform Daniel concerning those things which he requested to know and understand.

The main point of contention in this passage is the phrase מֻעָף בִּיעָף. Is it from עוּף to fly away" or יָעֵף "to be weary"? In support of עוּף both Ugaritic ʿp and Arabic ʿâfa have similar meanings.[1]

The LXX translates it as ταχει φερομενους "be carried immediately," Theodotion used πετομενους and the Vulgate wrote *cito volans* from which the church fathers derived that angels were winged beings.[2] Those who view this as referring to angels translate it either as "being weary" or "flying swiftly." The former see it as utterly weary (from winged flight) as in BDB[3] or a "state of utter exhaustion." They derive this from עוּף "to fly" and יָעֵף "to be weary." The בִּיעָף could refer to "go swiftly" but the main thought is the weariness coming from swift movement.[4] The idea of weariness and swift are connected. The reasons given for taking the בִּיעָף as "to go swiftly" include: 1) The word *toʿapah* (derivative of יָעֵף) meaning swiftness as well as weariness. 2) The principle versions of Greek, Latin, and Syriac have to do with flying swiftly. 3) The idea of rapid movement fits the context better. Therefore, some say that this refers to God directing Gabriel to go immediately to Daniel at the beginning of his petition and even though he flew swiftly, Gabriel did not arrive until the end of Daniel's prayer.

It seems that this must be from the root יָעֵף because this is more of the root idea. Also, this cannot refer to Gabriel for several reasons. 1) It misconstrues the text to ascribe an inferior conception of angels to the Biblical writer. 2) It gives wings to the angels because they fly fast. This is a concept which does not appear in

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[1] Carl Schultz, s.v. עוף, *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* ed. by R. Laird Harris *et al*, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980) 1.645.

[2] Keil, *Daniel*, p. 335.

[3] *BDB* p. 419.

[4] Wood, *Daniel*, p. 245.

Scripture, at least the concept of having wings so to fly fast and arrive at their destinations. 3) It places angels under the restriction of time. 4) This term belongs to the relative clause not to the נָגַע, especially since there is no ground for placing the adverbial idea before the verb.[1] Verbs usually begin sentences or clauses in Hebrew order and structure. Therefore, this expression cannot refer to angels because it is not appropriate to speak of angels as being wearied. Also, these words agree perfectly with the condition of Daniel in chapter 8:17ff.

It is best to see the being wearied as referring to Daniel as the result of his previous encounter with Gabriel.

The ministry of Gabriel here is two-fold again. First, he touched Daniel to strengthen him. נגע + אל means to touch (cf. Numbers 4:15).[2] Also, and mainly, Gabriel was to give understanding and deep insight to Daniel. This was to show Daniel what was necessary to understand God's program for Israel. Thirdly, it can be seen that God's angels are pictured as standing in God's presence and being delegated to perform their tasks. There is no reason to find angels with wings or growing weary from this passage.

DANIEL 10:5

"there was a certain man"

The description of this man is very similar to the description in Ezekiel 1:13-27 and Revelation 1:13-15 which refers to an appearance of Christ. Some expositors see this as being an angel because 1) Other princes (angels) withstood him. 2) He requires the help of Michael which would not be true of deity and 3) Daniel 12:7 and Revelation 10:5-6 have an angel performing the same thing.[3] Jewish interpreters as Shem R. 28; h. Meg 3a; b. Hul 91b see this as an angel.[4]

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[1]Keil, *Daniel*, p. 335.

[2]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 245.

[3]Leupold, *Daniel*, pp. 447- 48.

[4]Christopher Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Revelation 1:13ff:

Others prefer to see this as a reference to Christ for several reasons: 1) Daniel 7:13 describes Christ as the Son of Man. 2) The parallel experiences of what Ezekiel and John saw which refer to Christ. 3) In Daniel 12:6 he stands above the water set apart but the angels are on the banks. 4) This one has superior knowledge of the future which belongs only to God.[1] Therefore, this writer prefers to see this one in 10:5 as a Christophany and different from the angel which speaks to Daniel in verses 9ff. If this were to be Gabriel, he would not have been described in so much detail because he did appear before. Verses 9ff must refer to Gabriel because of the similar experiences in the past (ch 8, 9) when Gabriel gave revelation from God to Daniel and chapters 10-12 which constitute one vision, gives the revelation especially of the near future to Daniel.

"Prince of Persia and Greece"

This cannot refer to a physical ruler or prince because he withstood Gabriel. This must refer to a spiritual being, evil angel sent to influence the Persian rulers negatively against God and His plan and His people. Wood has listed some things to notice about this "prince": 1) He held some relation to the kingdom of Persia. 2) He was called a "prince" but must have been a spirit being to resist Gabriel and make Michael's assistance necessary. 3) Since he resisted the messenger of God he must have been opposed to the will of God and a messenger of Satan. 4) The relations he had to Persia was a continuing one since Gabriel had to return to fight him to maintain his place of influence on Persian rulers.[2] These same things would apply to the "prince of Greece" because after Persia is overthrown, Gabriel fulfills the same function against the guardian angel of Greece.

This seems to clearly teach an angelic warfare. Those conflicts on earth have

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The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology," *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1980): 1-11.

[1]Culver, *Daniel*, p. 166.

[2]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 272.

their counterpart conflicts in the heavens. Zöckler supports this by 1) showing *sar* שַׂר as meaning angelic princes. 2) The Persian kings are referred to as מַלְכֵי־פָרָס *malkê pārās*. 3) The idea of an angelic conflict with a human king seems inappropriate. 4) Michael is referred to as the prince of Israel i.e. guardian angel (v 21; 12:1). 5) The idea of guardian angels over entire groups is attested by Old Testament parallels as Isaiah 24:21; 46:2; Jeremiah 46:25; 49:3; Deuteronomy 32:8; Psalm 96:4; 52.[1]

"Michael"

Michael means "who is of God" or "who is like God." He is the chief angel and mentioned three times in the Old Testament, Daniel 10:13, 21; 12:1. He was one of the highest ranking angels.[2] The main task of Michael was to oversee matters pertaining to Israel. Since the Jews were in exile and involved with the dominate empire of the day, he needed at times to assist in matters regarding to the empire as well in behalf of Israel.

In this passage Michael was called upon to help Gabriel against the prince of Persia to maintain the cause of God's people. This does not necessarily prove he was superior to Gabriel but possibly just a "co-worker."[3]

This demonstrates to us that God has an hierarchy in the heavenlies. There are ranks and order among the angels and even evil angels, which need to be dealt with, have a hierarchy. Those powers in the heavens, good and evil, do not replica the power structure of those on earth. For example, on earth, Israel had no prestige and Persia was the dominating power, but in the heavens the prince of Israel, Michael, won over the prince of Persia.[4]

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[1]Otto Zöckler, "The Book of the Prophet Daniel" in *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* ed. John Peter Lange, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), p. 228.

[2]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 273.

[3]Leupold, *Daniel*, p. 418.

[4]Baldwin, *Daniel*, p. 181.

DANIEL 12:1

"Michael, the great prince"

This passage further explains Michael's role as protector, guardian and chief prince of Israel. This time of great distress must be the Great Tribulation. This is supported because: 1) The continuance of thought from chapter 11 where Antichrist is ruling is without any break. 2) 11:40 provides a reason for identifying it with "the time of the end." 3) Christ referred to this period in Matthew 24:21, 22 where the context is clearly the tribulation.[1]

At this time Michael stands up for Israel. The purpose of this action was to come to Israel's defense. Michael is that valiant warrior who protects God's elect people from the persecutions which will come at that day.[2] This standing up refers to his taking an upright position in support of the cause of Israel.[3] This whole concept supports the previous mention in chapter 10 of guardian angels over nations by proving that Israel has a chief prince or guardian angel. This also indicates the angelic wars which go on. These warfares are what Paul had in mind when referring to the Christians need to prepare for spiritual warfare (Ephesians 6:10-18).

CONCLUSIONS

From this examination of the specific passages in Daniel several important features regarding angels have become apparent. First, it reflected the normal functions of angels as ministering spirits and as guardians. Secondly, it showed a scheme of hierarchy among angels and extends the guardian angel concept to include nations. Thirdly, Daniel shows a hierarchy of evil angels which copies the

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[1]Wood, *Daniel*, p. 315.

[2]Young, *Daniel*, p. 255.

[3]Carl Armerding, "Asleep in the Dust," *BibSac* 121 (1964): 155.

hierarchy of God. Fourthly, it names the angels who are found later in the New Testament also in relation to Christ and Israel.

Five distinct functions or roles have been found in Daniel. First is the protective angels or those sent to protect as in 3:25; 6:22; 12:1. Secondly, there are those guardian angels such as 4:13; 10:13, 21. A third function is strengthening as seen in 8:18 and 10:9, 10 and 18. The fourth function of angels is those who communicated/revealed God's special message or revelation. These included 7:16; 8:13, 15, 16; 9:21; 10:9ff. Fifthly, there are those which may be Christophanies such as 10:5 and possibly 3:25.

Therefore, now that the various ministries and functions of the angels in Daniel have been examined and categorized, it is important to see next how that fits into the various cultures in and around Daniel. Daniel does seem to give us some detailed accounts of angels and angelic activity. Does this demonstrate that it should be a second century writing, since there is a bizarre developed angelology in that period? The next chapter will provide some necessary background to a thorough understanding of the place of Daniel's angels.

CHAPTER 3

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

Daniel is the only book in the OT to give elaborate details concerning angels and even to name them. Angels are mentioned elsewhere but not as much, especially in one book. This elaboration of angelology has caused some to disregard it as a true sixth century document and place it instead in the second century during the Maccabean period where angelology became more developed and was probably influenced from outside sources such as Babylonia, Persia or Greece.[1] The question must now be asked, "Where did Daniel gain his concepts of angels to write about them in this way?" This chapter will examine some of the Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek and OT/Judaistic teachings of spirit beings to be better able to understand if there are any parallels between Daniel and any of the above.

BABYLONIAN CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

As will be true for each of these sections, this is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of each religion, but merely a sampling from several sources to glean all the potential parallels from them. The purpose of each of these sections is to become more familiar with the scope of each of these religions and thus to possibly describe any common pool of knowledge among the sixth century and

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[1]Harold B. Kuhn, "The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses," *JBL* 67 (1948): 235; Russell, *Method*, p. 258-60; James Moulton, "It is His Angel," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 3 (1902): 521; Edward Langton, *Ministries of Angelic Powers*, (London: James Clark & Co., 1936), p. 66; William Foxwell Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, (2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 361-63; H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires*, (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959), p. 43.

later religions and try to find the best culture which would suit the writing of Daniel.

The Babylonian people were very interested in spiritual beings, both angels and demons. They viewed life as a struggle between the gods (the good spirits and good demons against the evil demons). It is also interesting that they believed in two primary forms of divination, the oracle and vision/dreams. The oracle was given either by the god himself or by one of his servants such as the priestess, with the gift of prophecy.[1] The *barû* priests, on the other hand, sought the will of the gods by dreams and visions which they were called upon to interpret. To the Babylonians, dreams and night visions were regarded as the most direct means by which the gods communicated their will to men.[2] This can be exemplified by the Epic of Gilgamesh and the Gudea of Lagash. It is no wonder that Nebuchadnezzar sought the dream and its interpretation in Daniel 2:1ff and 4:5ff.

A belief in demons and evil spirits played an important part in the life of the Babylonians. These evil spirits greatly outnumbered the good ones. They had two possible origins for these demons. First, some myths showed a process by which the gods of a conquered people were reduced to a subordinate position. Therefore, occasionally these dethroned gods became devils and evil spirits. This would also picture some type of spiritual battles or war. The other suggested origin of demons is from the union of Anu and Antu which gave birth to the underworld gods called Anunnaki and the seven evil asakki or demons.[3] The Babylonians believed that the lives of men were constantly threatened by evil powers or demons who caused their sickness and suffering, even the gods were not free from the attacks of demons.[4]

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[1] Georges Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*, (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, LTD, 1954), p. 288.

[2] S. H. Hooke, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion*, (London: Hutchinson House, 1953), p. 85.

[3] Hooke, *Religion*, pp. 23-24.

[4] Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, trans. John Sturdy, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973), p. 89.

These demons were conceived of in a realistic fashion and they possessed distinctive forms and individual names. However, they seemed to have an unsuspecting nature and a low intelligence for they could be very easily tricked or deceived.[1] The demons were feared so much that two classes of priests, *mashmashu* and *ashipu* were designated to protect the individual from evil spirits by rituals and incantations.

They also believed in good spirits who were thought to have descended from some of the great gods.[2] There were good demons or *utukku* spirits which were also called genies. They were exemplified by winged bulls which stood at the entrance of the royal palace and some private homes to protect them from the evil spirits.[3] However, most of the active good spirit beings were the gods themselves. There are several functions and features which are pertinent to note here. The first is obvious, the gods were ranked in a hierarchy. Secondly, the gods were to protect man. This is not just all men but each man was thought to have his own protective god. This was often reflected in the names such as Enlil-nirari "Enlil is my helper."[4] This was not a new concept for it was found back in the Sumerian period. Man was normally protected by his god, but if he incurred the wrath of the gods, the demons then had free play. Thus, each Babylonian was conscious of pleasing his god. Along with this, a new concept arose that every man was the "son of his god." Therefore, a man's personal god was always ready to bring his dependent or "son" before the great god and plead for him. He would also watch over him and keep him from evil influences.[5] This may be what Nebuchadnezzar had in mind in Daniel 3:25. There

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[1] H. W. F. Saggs, *Everyday Life in Babylonia and Assyria*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 187.

[2] Contenau, *Everyday Life*, p. 253.

[3] Saggs, *Everyday Life*, p. 30.

[4] Hooke, *Religion*, p. 25.

[5] Contenau, *Everyday Life*, p. 263.

also were protecting spirits called *šēdu* and *lamassu* who protected men from all sorts of disasters.[1] These were later called *kuribu* which might compare with cherubim in the Bible.

A third function in Babylonian spirit beings was that of a national or patron deity. Marduk was the national deity of Babylon and Assur the national deity of Assyria. This phenomenon is attested elsewhere as Melqart was the god of Tyre, Horon the god of Jabneh, Chemosh the god of Moab and Milkom was the god of Ammon. There also were patron deities such as Marduk's son Nabu who was worshipped as the patron god of the scribes.[2]

A fourth function of some gods was that of a messenger for the greater gods. Ereshkigal was the ruler of the underworld and had a messenger, the god Namtar who was the herald of death.[3] The important thing to note is that there were gods, spirit beings, who were sent by another higher spirit being for a special message or mission. There is other evidence of lesser gods serving greater gods. Enlil had a retinue of lesser gods who served as door-keepers, cooks, shepherds and messengers.[4]

In summary, the Babylonians believed in demons and good spirits or gods. The gods exhibited a hierarchy in rank. There were personal guardian gods who protected their own human being and there were national or patron gods. Lesser gods were servants and messengers for the greater gods. Also, there were names attributed to evil spirits and good spirits as well as the gods. Lastly, the number of spirit beings were considered incalculable.[5]

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[1]Ringgren, *Religions*, p. 93.

[2]Ringgren, *Religions*, p. 67.

[3]Hooke, *Religion*, p. 32.

[4]Hooke, *Religion*, p. 26.

[5]Robert Dick Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel*, (reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 2.129.

PERSIAN CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

The Persian religion was Zoroastrianism. This is the next power and religion which the Jews faced. Again, this author will only attempt to highlight those areas which seem to relate to the subject at hand, the angels in the book of Daniel.

The Persians were also concerned with demons as well as angelic type beings. They were basically monotheistic and Ahura Mazda was their god. There were evil spirits and demons and even a hierarchy of archdemons who were created by Ahriman to counter the Amesha Spentas, who will be discussed later. These seven evil deadly archdemons are Ahriman himself, Akem Manu, Indra, Saura, Naunhaithya, Tauru and Zairi.[1] There were also innumerable demons who caused constant fear in the devout Zoroastrians.

As mentioned above, there were also a hierarchy of good angels, the Amesha Spentas. These began when Zoroaster listed seven personified attributes of the Ahura Mazda. They included Spentas Mainyus, his own holy spirit; Asha, righteousness; Vohu Manah, good thought; Khshathra, Ahura Mazda's divine kingdom; Armaiti, piety the divine wisdom; Haurvatat, salvation; and Ameretat, immortality.[2] Later, in the days of Xerxes, these ancient personified attributes of Ahura Mazda retained their original anthropomorphic character and became the cultic Amesha Spentas.[3] They became like archangels. The Persians had a hierarchy of angels and demons.

Secondly, the Persians believed in fravashis (guardian spirits) who experienced all the changes of the life of their earthly counterparts. These were not only limited to individuals but could also involve entire communities.[4]

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[1]George F. Moore, *History of Religions*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 1.386.

[2]A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 96

[3]Olmstead, *Persian Empire*, p. 96.

[4]Moulton, "Angel," pp. 522-23.

The Persians, like their predecessors the Babylonians and Assyrians, had a national god, Ahura Mazda, who was the official head of their religious system.

They also had other spirit beings which emphasized obedience, reward and other concepts. The number of these spirit beings was innumerable.

A very important concept of Persian religion was their dualism. There were thought to be two groups (i.e. good versus evil) of equal power engaged in a battle for supremacy. An age-long struggle between Ahura Mazda, the good god and Angra Mainyu, the demon of destruction each having his host of allies. In this war of the gods and demons, man is not a passive spectator. Rather, man's fortunes and very existence depends on the outcome of this war.[1]

In summary, 1) there is an interest in demons as well as angels. 2) There is a hierarchy of both angels (Ameshas Spentas) and demons. 3) There is an uncountable number of angels and demons. 4) There are guardian angels (fravashis). 5) Ahura Mazda is the national deity. 6) There is a constant spiritual struggle between the good angels and the evil angels, the good god, Ahura Mazda and the evil god, Angra Mainyu. 7) Both angels and demons are given personal names (Amesha Spentas and the archdemons).

EGYPTIAN CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

Egyptian religion was very different than anything in Mesopotamia. Egyptian religion was more separatistic and not as syncretistic as the Mesopotamian was. Also, they viewed their Pharaoh as being divine. This did not happen in Mesopotamia. Therefore, even though Egypt was the oldest nation in the ancient Near East, there is very little that parallels Daniel except for a few general concepts.

Egyptians believed in demons. Unut was originally the goddess of Hermopolis but was replaced by other deities and demoted to demon of the netherworld.[2]

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[1]Moore, *History*, p. 386. Some try to force Daniel into this Persian concept of dualism in order to explain the description of evil spirits, especially the spiritual conflict of Daniel 10. However, there is no comparison between the mention of the existence of evil spirits and a Persian dualism.

[2]Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 271.

Sarapis is a god of the netherworld and Bes is the name of a group of demons.[1] The gods and demons have names as has already been demonstrated.

The Egyptians also had national gods. When Thebes flourished Amon became the national god. This was not new because from the Fifth Dynasty until then, Re was the national god. This is also evidenced later as Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton 1370-1353 B.C.) raised the god Aton to the prominence of the national deity. The gods as Amon helped those in need. Thoth ($D^c\underline{h}wty$) was the messenger of the gods.[2]

The Egyptian system is so foreign to anything in Mesopotamia and is very hard to date. Therefore, it contributes little more than establishing a very broad base for an old understanding of good and evil gods.

GREEK CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

The Greek concept of spirit beings and gods is not easy to delineate. Greek religion had no specific sacred books as the Bible, no dogmas or creeds, no powerful priestly caste, no code of ethics and no theology in the sense of an investigation of the data of revelation. Therefore, whatever one can glean from literature or archaeology must be collated and systematized.[1] An attempt will be made to summarize some of the main ideas concerning the Greek gods. A brief look at the possible Greek influence on the apocrypha will be observed later when the angelology of the apocrypha is examined.

The nature and functions of the gods were more distinctly defined by the poets like Homer in 850 B.C. Anthropomorphic description is used in his writings to an extreme and then some. In Homer, the gods are seen as super-human beings, immortal, very powerful but not omnipotent. They also have human passions and often behave in amoral and immoral and undignified ways. These gods were driven by human moods and plotted against each other as well as taking sides in human

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[1]M. J. Costelloe, "Greek Religion," in *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Religion Vol. F-N*, ed. Paul Meagher, et al. (Washington D.C.: Corpus Publications, 1979), p. 1558.

conflicts.[1] Their religious nature can be seen in their faith in the power and knowledge of the gods, their trust in them, their gratitude for favors they receive, a friendly regard for their divine protectors and their joy and enthusiasm in honoring them.[2]

The Greeks did have a type of hierarchy with Zeus exercising a kind of patriarchal authority over the rest. Of course, as has been exemplified, the Greek gods had names.

The Greeks believed that there were men deified for their noble deeds who were associated with the gods. Also, their underworld was gods of the dead as opposed to the living and not like Babylonian or Persian demons. Their underworld was filled with monsters, borrowed from folklore and literature such as serpents, myriads of dreadful beasts, a hundred headed earth dragon, a Spanish sea-serpent, and Tithrasian Gorgons.[3]

The function of Greek gods was more bizarre than any religion up to this point. There were some gods whose tasks were similar to previous gods. Zeus was the greatest god but not the only or national god. He was the protector of the political and social groups from the state to the households. Apollo was the god of revelation. Hermes was the one who gave sleep and dreams. He also was the guardian and guide of the ways, the patron of thieves, traders and orators and the god of the marketplace.[4] Thus, a difference in religious concepts from the previous religions can be seen.

The Greek concepts were nothing more than divine extensions of humans as portrayed by the poets. The gods did everything that man could do only to a greater degree.

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[1] S. G. F. Brandon, "Greek Religion," in *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion*, (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1970), p. 312.

[2] Costelloe, "Greek Religion," p. 1558.

[3] Moore, *History*, p. 447.

[4] Moore, *History*, pp. 416, 419-20.

OT AND JUDAISTIC CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

The most logical place to search for Daniel's concept of angels is the OT as well as the entirety of his Judaistic background. The belief in angels was familiar and well-established in the Hebrew tradition. They were a vital link between God and the universe.

This section is not intended to be an exhaustive recording of every mention of angels in the OT. Rather, it is a sampling of a few areas which reveals an existing knowledge of many of the functions of angels which Daniel mentions. It will be valuable now to list those ministries and functions about which Daniel writes. This will be attempted in an orderly fashion as they themselves are mentioned in the Scriptures. These have been discussed above in chapter two. In Daniel 3:25, Nebuchadnezzar calls the fourth individual in the furnace "a son of the gods" בַּר־אֱלָהִין. This could be the angel of the Lord, or any spiritual being. Daniel 4:13 mentions angelic beings as watchers and holy ones. (Holy ones are also mentioned in Daniel 7:10 but may be referring to humans). A protective angel is given in Daniel 6:22. Daniel 7:10 refers to innumerable angelic beings around the throne of God. Daniel 7:16 mentions the ones standing around the throne of God. Daniel 8:16; 9:21; 10:13, 21; 12:1 all name the angels Michael and Gabriel. Angels are used to provide strength in Daniel 8:18; 10:9, 10. They are also used to give revelation and interpret visions in 8:16, 21; 9:20-27; and 10:12. There is a mention of national guardian angels/national deities in Daniel 10:13, 20, 21. Along with this is the mention of these as princes which suggests a hierarchy as well as Daniel 10:13 mentioning Michael as "one of the chief princes." In Daniel 10:20, 21 and 12:1 Michael is revealed as the defender or protector of Israel, their spiritual defender.

In the OT there are 108 references to angels. The majority of these explain the varied ministries and activities of angels. The passages which will be used are either earlier than or contemporary with Daniel so that an idea of the extent of common knowledge concerning angels can be seen.

ANGEL OF THE LORD

The angel of the Lord was common since very early in Israel's history. In Genesis 16:7, the angel of the Lord appears to Hagar. The angel of the Lord appears to Abraham at the offering of Isaac in Genesis 22:11. In Exodus 3:2, the angel of the Lord appears to Moses in the burning bush. In Judges 13: 3, 6, 15, the

angel of the Lord appears to Manoah and his wife concerning the birth of Samson. The angel of the Lord killed 185,000 Assyrian soldiers of Sennacherib's army in 2 Kings 19:35. There are other occurrences as Genesis 24, 32, 48; Exodus 13, 32; Numbers 22; Joshua 5; Judges 2, 5, 6 and elsewhere.

WATCHERS AND HOLY ONES

The idea of angels as watchers is only expressly found in Daniel 4:13. Isaiah 62:6 could possibly be referring to angels functioning in this way when it says, "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night."

The idea of angels as holy ones, however, is already known in Scripture. Deuteronomy 33:2 says, "He (God) came from the midst of ten thousand holy ones" which refers to His angelic host. Psalm 89:7 reads, "A God greatly feared in the council of the holy ones, and awesome above all those who are around Him." Zechariah 14:5 also speaks of angels as holy ones.

PROTECTIVE ANGELS

The next function revealed in Daniel is that of protection. Genesis 19:15, 16 refers to angels as delivering Lot and his family from the wicked Sodomites. In 2 Kings 6:13-18 Elisha shows his servant the tremendous angelic host who were surrounding them to protect them from the army who surrounded their mountain. Psalm 91:11, 12, which is used in the NT to refer to Christ, was written by the psalmist to demonstrate the angels task of protecting God's own. "For He will give His angels charge concerning you, to guard you in all your ways. They will bear you up in their hands, lest you strike your foot against a stone."

INNUMERABLE ANGELS

Daniel 7:10 mentions the innumerable host of God's angels. This can be seen in many OT passages such as Genesis 33:1-2 where Jacob called God's angels a military camp or company (actually מַחֲנָיִם two camps or two companies using the dual ending as an intensive for many). The Lord's host is used often to signify the multitudes of his angels (Joshua 5:14; 1 Kings 22:19). Psalm 68:17 says, "The chariots of God are twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands."

ANGELS WHO ARE STANDING BY

Daniel 7:16 refers to "those who were standing by." This refers back to 7:10 where it discusses those angels who were attending Him. These could refer to cherubims for it is known that the cherubims surround the throne of God. Their purpose is to emphasize the holy presence of God. However, there are other Scriptures which seem to imply that there are messenger angels also around the throne of God. Job 1:6 and 2:1 seems to imply that angels report to God for assignments, "when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord." In 1 Kings 22:19 Micaiah says, "I saw the Lord sitting on His throne and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right and on His left." This sounds similar to what Daniel is reporting. Zechariah 1:11 mentions the angel of the Lord standing among the myrtle trees and saying "we have patrolled the earth. . . ."

NAMING OF ANGELS

The next aspect of angels is the individual naming of angels. There is no evidence of naming angels in biblical literature prior to this. It is possible that the names could have arisen because of the appearance or function of each. Gabriel, because he looked and functioned as a strong man, warrior of God and Michael, because he stands for Israel and is one who is like God. This may also be possible as one reflects on the naming of people in the OT. Occasionally a person's name was changed because of function or occurrences such as Abram to Abraham, Jacob to Israel, Naomi to Marah, Ichabod, no glory or the glory has departed. These have been dealt with more extensively in the passages in chapter 2 on Daniel 8:16; 9:21; 10:13; 12:1.

ANGELS WHO STRENGTHEN

Another ministry of angels in Daniel is that of strengthening or providing sustenance as in Daniel 8:18; 10:9, 10, and 18. This type of ministry was known in 1 Kings 19:5-7 when God sent an angel to give him food and strengthen him.

GIVERS OF REVELATION

One of the most important functions of angels in Daniel is to give revelation or

the interpretation of it (Daniel 8:16, 21; 9:20-27; 10:14-12:13). Genesis 18:2 and 19:1 illustrate that angels often brought messages from God to His people as with Abraham and Sarah. Deuteronomy 33:2 reports that the angels were present when God gave Moses the law. 1 Kings 13:18 shows that there was a belief that angels acted as mediators of prophetic revelation. In verse 18 an old prophet lied by saying an angel spoke the word of the Lord to him but he had never received that mediation. Psalm 104:4 states, "He makes His angels (spirits) His messengers." Zechariah 1:9; 2:3; 4:1; 5:5; 6:5 makes a repeated reference to the interpreting angel who instructed him. This is very similar to Daniel.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN ANGELS

Daniel 10:13, 20, and 21 gives another perplexing ministry. These verses seem to imply that there are patron angels or national guardian angels. There was a prince of Persia and a prince of Greece as well as Michael, who is Israel's prince. This particular aspect is not clear in the OT but there are a few hints such as Deuteronomy 29:26, "and they went and served other gods and worshipped them, gods whom they have not known and whom He had not allotted to them." Also, the LXX of Deuteronomy 32:8-9 indicates a Hebrew text circulating around 200 B.C. that differs from the Massoretic Text. The Massoretic Text reads, "when the Most High gave the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of man, He set the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the *sons of Israel*." The LXX reads the last line as "according to the number of the *sons of God*." The LXX would suggest a concept of patron angels, national guardian angels. The Samaritan Pentateuch, Targumim and other ancient versions support the MT here. The LXX reading is probably not the original text even though it is supported by an ancient fragment from the Dead Sea scrolls cave 4 which reads it as "sons of God." However, it is still significant that in 200 B.C. there is a Hebrew text with this variant and probably supports an oral tradition that has been passed down several generations.

In Ezekiel 28:12, in the passage dealing with the fall of Satan, he is called the King of Tyre. By associating this cherub in verse 14 with the idea of king (god of

Tyre) the people would have made the transition and knew that he was speaking about Satan who is behind the false national god of Tyre.

HIERARCHY OF ANGELS

Another function in these verses of Daniel 10:20, 21 is that of a hierarchy. There are princes and chief princes. Hierarchies or rank among angels is not unfamiliar. The ancient Hebrews knew of different classes of angels. The first biblical reference to angels in Genesis 3:24 speaks of one angelic type, the cherubim. Cherubs are mentioned twenty-six times in the singular and sixty-four times in the plural, cherubim. Some of these occurrences include: Exodus 25:17-22; Psalm 80:1; 99:1; Isaiah 37:16; Ezekiel 1:5; 9:3; 10:1, 20, 21; 28:12, 13, 17; 2 Samuel 22:11; 1 Kings 6:25-35; 2 Chronicles 3:7-14. The cherubim were known from the beginning of time, but were mentioned more often during the exilic period. As was previously mentioned, the cherubs were to emphasize the holy presence of God. The seraphims (burning ones) were another class of angels who are only mentioned in Isaiah 6:2-7. Their function is to burn away the sin that keeps man from God and to show forth Yahweh's holiness and ethical transcendence.[1] Also, the mention of the king of Tyre in Ezekiel 28:12 to refer to Satan would seem to parallel the use of prince here as a spiritual ruler over a geographical area. It would also show a hierarchy among evil spirits.

DEFENDING ANGELS

The last ministry mentioned in Daniel is referring to Michael as the defender of Israel in Daniel 10:21 and 12:1. He is like a war angel whose task it is to defend those who are placed in his charge. It has connections with his being the chief prince over Israel. Military terms and functions are not lacking in reference to God's angels. They are mentioned as God's host, his army in Psalm 103:21; Joshua 5:14-6:5; and 2 Kings 6:17. Also as was seen previously, Jacob in Genesis 32:1, 2 refers to God's angels as God's מַחֲנָיִם, His two military companies or camps.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be observed that all but one of the references to angels in the book of Daniel can be explained by the Jewish background of the OT. Only the

specific mention of Michael and Gabriel cannot be correlated with already revealed angelology. This is hardly enough room to allow for foreign influence or the statement that "Daniel's angelology is too advanced for the sixth century B.C. All religions had names ascribed to all their deities and personages and it is possible that Daniel could have been describing them by attaching a name to them.

ALLEGED FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL

As one examines the material it becomes evident that in the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. there were common general religious ideas. The specifics between the various religions do differ but there are common conceptions that seem to run through all of them. This author prefers to call this a common pool of knowledge from experience and tradition which each religion interprets into its own system. It is like everyone looking at the same data, which is neutral, and then interpreting it and explaining it in light of his own view of God or, as in the case of the Bible, God giving the correct view and explanation regarding the data. The following chart will briefly summarize these religions and show the common pool of knowledge.

CONCEPT	OT	BABYLON	PERSIAN	EGYPT	GREEKS
demons	●	●	●		
good spirits	●	●	●		
hierarchy	●	●	●		●
protective spirits	●	●	●		
national gods	●	●	●	●	
patron spirits	●	●	●		
messenger spirits	●	●		●	●
names		●	●	●	●
innumerable	●	●			
good vs. evil	●	●	●		

[1]Wilson, *Daniel*, 2.129.

Suggested Babylonian Influences

There are four basic areas in which scholars have tried to prove Babylonian influence. These include the idea of messengers of the gods, the names given to spirit beings, the concept of a guardian angel, and the incalculable number of spirit beings.[1] The idea of messengers, guardian angels and the number of angels have already been shown to have originated from the OT and not from a Babylonian influence. The idea of individual names could have derived from their function or the idea could have come from Babylon since their gods had names but in this, one must remember that the names given are not Babylonian or Persian but are good Hebrew names. Thus, they may have used the data that there are other spirit beings worthy of having names and who need names (neutral data) and they then called them good Hebrew names.

Suggested Persian Influences

Persian influence is usually related to the dualistic tendency of the literature, the guardian angel concept, the number seven, and the naming of angels. The Jews were brought into contact with the Magi during their Babylonian exile. These magis changed Zoroastrianism after the death of Zoroaster in 551 B.C. (12 years before the fall of Babylon). It was here that the Hebrews encountered the belief in fravashis (guardian spirits) who experienced all the changes of the life of their earthly counterparts and was not only limited to individuals but involved entire communities as well. To the critics this provided the perfect opportunity for Daniel's national patron angels who battle and triumph for the nation they represent.[2] However, there are three problems with this. First, the historical situation did not promote religious influence of any kind. The Persian rulers were very careful not to offend any native religious beliefs or actively impose their religion on anyone else.[3]

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[1]Wilson, *Daniel,* 2.189.

[2]Moulton, "Angel," p. 523.

[3]J. B. Bury et al. eds. *The Persian Empire and the West,* Vol. 4 in *The*

Secondly, these fravashis were quite different from Daniel's guardian angels. The fravashis were prayed to, worshipped, and appeased by men, uncreated and one was assigned to every plant and animal.[1] It is difficult to imagine a Jew who was proud of his religious heritage and God to "borrow" or even "share" in concepts that were totally contradictory of his known religion and God. Third, the whole idea of fravashis (guardian spirits) appears later in Zoroastrianism reaching into the Christian era at least.

It is also claimed that the number seven (as seven archangels of apocalyptic literature in 1 Enoch) were influenced by the Persian hierarchy Amesha Spentas.[2] However, there are some major differences. The Amesha Spentas were really only six beings and not seven in the Zoroastrian system. Also, the Persian names were Best Thought, Right Dominion, Piety, Welfare, Immortality as shown in *Yasna* 47.I.[3] Again it is difficult to imagine Daniel's ideas of angels deriving from such abstractions or personifications as these. The names which Daniel used were Michael ("who is like God" Mi-cha-el) and Gabriel ("strong man of God" Gabor-el). Except for the possible compound Ahura Mayda, there are no names compounded with the name for god in Persian angelology.[4]

Persian influence on canonical apocalyptic is nearly impossible. Part of the collection of writings called Gathas dates back to 600 B.C. or earlier. This is the earliest Persian Zoroastrian writing. In it the word for archangel, amashaspand does not occur. Also Vahu Manu, "Good Thought" and other similar terms of the

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Cambridge Ancient History, reprint, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 15.

[1]Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *Zoroastrianism Theology*, reprint, (New York: AMS Press, 1972), pp. 79, 143.

[2]Russell, *Method*, p. 258.

[3]Wilson, *Daniel*, 2.128.

[4]Wilson, *Daniel*, 2.129.

Amesha Spentas came to be used in late Maydaism to denote beings or ideas of Amashaspands and are never found in the Gathas to denote persons.[1]

Therefore, it must be concluded that Persian concepts and literature could not have had an impact on canonical apocalyptic. Indeed, if there is any similarity could the influence have not gone the other way since Daniel is older than the developed Zoroastrianism? The possible influence of Persian literature on non-canonical (200 B.C.) apocalyptic, which had bizarre angelology, can possibly be seen in the example of the evil spirit Asmodeus of Tobit 3:8, 17. In Tobit, the spirit slayed seven husbands evidently in lust for Sarah. The ancient Persians had a demon called "Eshna Deva" or "lustful demon."[2] This does not prove borrowing or influence but demonstrates a possibility in later non-canonical apocalyptic literature.

Supposed Greek Influence

There are a few parallels which critics like to use to prove Greek influence on Daniel. Only a few will be given because this will be further dealt with under the section on Greek influence on the apocrypha. The national guardian angel is seen as deriving from the Greek literature of Plato. Also, the idea of watchers is reported to be from Hesiod's *Works and Days*.[3]

INTERTESTAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF SPIRIT BEINGS

The intertestamental period had a tremendous growth in their belief in angels. Many details of numbers, names, functions and natures are given which many times have their beginning in canonical Scripture but go far beyond them. Even the Essene community of Qumran, who had eight copies of Daniel and valued the work of Daniel highly, cited it often and had an interest in angels. This possibly came

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[1]Wilson, *Daniel*, 2.128.

[2]Norman H. Snaith, *The Jews from Cyrus to Herod*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, n.d.), p. 135.

[3]T. Francis Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, (London: SPCK, 1961), pp. 70, 99.

from the influence of Daniel. The intertestamental period will be divided into four groups. First, the Talmud, then the apocryphal books, pseudepigrapha and last Qumran.

TALMUD

The Talmud is an authoritative body of Jewish law and tradition developed after the close of the Pentateuch text in 400 B.C. The Talmud adds several details that are not discovered in the Hebrew canon including Daniel. Among these details, angels could never attain the perfection of God (Genesis Rabba 1:3). They were immortal and did not propagate their species (Genesis Rabba 8:11). This is mentioned partly in the NT (Mark 12:25; Luke 20:35-36). They require no physical food (Genesis Rabba 48:14). The ministering angels converse in Hebrew (Hagigah 16a). The names were given to the angels when they came up from Babylon (Rosh Hashana 56d). The Holy One (God) created four winds, four banners, and made four angels to surround His throne Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (Numbers Rabba 2:10). Michael and Gabriel were the two groomsmen at Adam's marriage (Genesis Rabba 11:10). Michael assisted at the burial of Moses (Deuteronomy Rabba 11:10). Michael is considered superior in rank to Gabriel (Berakoth 4b). This is implied in Daniel 10:13. Michael is the guardian angel of Israel (Exodus Rabba 18:5). Michael slaughtered the army of Sennacherib (Exodus Rabba 18:5). He defended Israel in heaven when Haman plotted against the Jews (Esther Rabba 7:12). Raphael is considered the prince of healing and Uriel is called the light of God (Numbers Rabba 2:10).

Thus, the Talmud, the recording in ca. 400 B.C. of Jewish traditions shows some similarities with sixth century Daniel as well as some ancient Near Eastern concepts of that time such as the naming of angels including Michael and Gabriel, Michael considered superior to Gabriel, Michael the guardian angel of Israel and the names of angels Raphael and Uriel are added and seem to represent a function or ministry of the angel as in Daniel i.e. Gabriel, "strong man of God" or Michael, "who is like God." Also, there are several added features, angels converse with each other in Hebrew. Thus, the angelology is starting to fall away from the biblical data and details are being added to it. However, this is still the closest writing to Daniel that exists.

Apocrypha

It must be acknowledged that the Jews in the intertestamental time did know the Hebrew Scriptures. They used them as a basis or point of departure for their writings. It was an amplifying of the OT.

There are two factors regarding their angelology which seems important at this point. First, the apocrypha does add details which are not found in any other Scriptures. Second, there are some bizarre accounts in which they do not even have a point of departure with the OT Scriptures.

Three examples of the material which was added to an earlier understanding of angels, as presented in the OT will be given. In Bel and the Dragon 33-39, an angel carries the prophet Habakkuk by the hair from Palestine to Babylon and back so that he could give his dinner to Daniel in the lion's den. This borders on the bizarre. The second example illustrates that angelic help seems to be taken for granted such as 2 Maccabees 3 when Tobias is accompanied by Raphael, an archangel, on a journey. 2 Esdras 3 shows Ezra having the providences of God explained to him by an angel. Last, angels are said to guard the righteous in the intermediate state (2 Esdras 7:85, 95).

Only three examples of some of the bizarre angelology will be given. In Tobit 3, Sarah and Tobit say their prayers at the same time and both were heard by God who sent His angel Raphael (God heals) to answer them. Second, in Tobit 5, Raphael disguises himself as the servant Azarias and becomes a guide for Tobias on his journey. Another example is in 2 Maccabees 10:29-30 and 11:8-10. Judas is continuing his struggle with the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes. In both of these battles the intervention of angelic warriors wins the battle for him. The last example is Susanna 59. In this case, an angel with a drawn sword appears at the time when the two elders are pronounced guilty and casts fire on them. Also, the passage from Tobit 3:8, 17 where Asmodeus, the evil spirit slayed seven husbands in lust for Sarah could be another example of the type of bizarre concepts which were used during this time.

Pseudepigrapha

The pseudepigrapha represents the books which are commonly attributed to

being apocalyptic. Again. there are examples of both kinds, added material and bizarre material which has no correlation with OT.

From those examples of the additions to Scripture, six will be listed. First, specific angels are guardians of specific people (Jubilees 35:17). Second, angels intercede for Israel (Testament of Levi 5:6). Third, fallen angels are being watched and are awaiting the great and boundless judgment (2 Enoch 7:1, 2). Fourth, angels are the instruments of God who avenge His enemies in the advent of the Messianic kingdom (Assumption of Moses 10:2). Fifth, Michael the archangel took Abraham to heaven for an interview with God (Testament of Abraham). Lastly, angels bore Abraham to paradise after his earthly death (Testament of Abraham).

Four examples of the kind of bizarre ideas will now be listed. First, angels are said to pray for the deceased (Apocalypse of Moses 35:1). Second, the seraphim had a ministry in the body of Adam (Apocalypse of Moses 37:3). Third, 4 Maccabees 4:10 says that angels are riding horses and protecting the Temple and holy place from the Syrians. Fourth, angels are seen as being involved in bringing judgment against the transgressors of the law (4 Maccabees 7:11).

A comparison of 1 Enoch and the Book of Noah with Daniel will also illuminate the differences in the angelolgy. There are some similarities which would probably indicate the elements from the OT which they used. Both give names to some angels. They also both arrange them in classes or ranks. Third, "watchers" are mentioned. Fourth, Daniel and the Book of Noah agree in designating angels as holy ones. So other than the actual naming of angels, all of the above parallels could be found elsewhere in the Bible.

There are enormouis differences between the pseudepigraphical 1 Enoch and Book of Noah. In Enoch and Noah, the angels are the subject of the discourse and the whole story actually centers around the sons of God. This is contrary to Daniel who only introduces the angels incidentally either as messengers to communicate the will of God or as agents for deliverance or to strengthen. They are servants and not the main topic. Second, Noah and Enoch are almost entirely concerned with the fallen angels. This is contrary to Daniel who only mentions good angels and alludes to the prince of the nations. Third, Noah mentions four good angels and thirty-seven wicked angels, 1 Enoch mentions by name seven holy angels and one

evil angel. Daniel, on the other hand, only names two good angels. The book of Noah speaks of 200 angels, children of heaven, spirits of hoar frost, hail, snow, mist, rain and dew, of an angel of peace and of an angel of punishment and many satans. 1 Enoch calls angels stars and giants. Daniel never says or implies any of these. A vast difference can be seen between the angels the writers of 1 Enoch and Noah wrote about and Daniel's view of angels..[1]

QUMRAN

The date of the Qumran material is hard to pinpoint. The bulk of it can be found between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. There are several interesting facts regarding Qumran. Because of the nature of the Essene community and the time when apocalyptic flourished, there was an interest in the heavenly beings and angels. It is no wonder that there is much said about angels at Qumran. There was an Angelic Liturgy which named a large number of angels and classes of angels as participants in adoration and worship. There were many names for angels: sons of heaven, host of holy ones, heroes of heaven, valiant heroes, and hosts of eternity. There were angels of destruction whose task was to carry out the punishment of the evil men. Great interest and attention was given to angels because fellowship with them seemed to play an important role.[2]

There are four areas of Qumran angels which will give a general overview of their beliefs. 1) There are several classes of angels mentioned like the seven arch-princes or archangels, the angels of the presence, ministering angels, angels of sanctification and of course cherubim. 2) There are also certain angels mentioned by description rather than specific names such as the Prince of Lights, Angel of Darkness, Angel of Truth, Mastemah (relating to Satan) and two good spirits. 3) The same normal four protective angels are mentioned as in the apocrypha:

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[1]Wilson, *Daniel*, 2.153.

[2]Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), p. 80-88.

Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Sariel (Uriel). 4) The angels of Qumran had some strange functions. They participate in eschatological war even fighting alongside humans (children of light) against human opponents. Also, they possess transcendental knowledge. For example, Michael, Uriel and Raquel initiate Enoch into the mysteries of the world (Jubilees 4:2; Enoch 40:4-5) and Michael tells Adam and Eve the mysteries of creation (Apocalypse of Moses 3:13). Lastly, among the evil spirits mentioned are the angels of destruction, whose job it is to carry out the punishment of evil men, satans and ruinous spirits.[1]

CONCLUSION

Thus, in every area of Jewish intertestametal literature there is an advanced, fanciful angelology which goes beyond the Scriptures and even beyond anything in Daniel. It is also easy to see some sort of digression as the Talmud, which was probably the earliest, had little deviation from the OT, although there was some. Then, till one gets to the Qumran literature there is a deeper interest in eschatology and the cosmic realm and thus more extra-biblical speculation.

If Daniel were written 167 B.C or so, there would inevitably be some trace or traces of lateness. Why would Daniel not reflect some of the present ideas? It is virtually impossible to try to pass off a second century document as a sixth century one without erring by having added some more recent material even unknowingly or unintentionally? Why would he not use some of the current angelic concepts like the other writers because his purpose as a second century Maccabean writer would be to encourage the people in their oppression that God and the heavenly beings are fighting for them in a physical sense? But Daniel's angelology fits very well with the normal Babylonian-Persian concepts and not too well in Greek of intertestamental.

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[1]Theodore Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, (New York: Anchor Press, 1976), p. 409-10.

ALLEGED GREEK INFLUENCE

There are three basic areas where critics try to explain a Greek influence on angels. First, the origin of demons is connected with the Genesis 6:1 account of the sons of God joining with the daughters of men. Plato's *Apology of Socrates* believed that demons were the offspring of the union between the gods and women. Enoch 6; 15:9-12; 16:1; and Jubilees 5 all seem to connect demons with the Genesis 6 account. Hesiod in *Works and Days* states that demons are the surviving spirits of notable supermen of the distant past.[1] Both of these picture demons as deriving from supernatural men and regular women. The Bible never clearly indicates this. Greek religion may have influenced second century apocryphal writing and interpretation but could not have influenced a sixth century Jewish writing which does not discuss the origin of demons or demons in general, at all.

The second area is the guardian angels. Plato's *Critias* and *Laws* explains that Cronus placed demons (more divine and excellent beings) over the cities as kings and rulers.[5] The apocrypha in Jubilees 15:31-32; Testament of Naphtali 8:3; Enoch 89:59 restates this concept. However, it must not be forgotten that Deuteronomy 29 and 32 seem to indicate centuries before that there were such things. Even Babylon and Assyria had the idea of national guardian angels or gods. 1 Clement 29 quotes the LXX of Deuteronomy 32:8-9 upon which the guardian angel rests.

The last area is the watchers. Hesiod's *Works and Days* uses watchers to refer to fallen angels and normal angelic servants of God. Enoch does the same in 12:3, 4 using it both ways (cf. also Enoch 1:5 and Jubilees 4:15). Again, it must not be forgotten that Isaiah 62:6 seems to imply that good angels do function as watchers although evil angels are never said to do this. The question which must be asked is this, "Are these exclusively Greek ideas, or are they older than that and well-established? This author feels that these are old, well-established concepts that the Greeks also accessed. There cannot be any Greek influence on Daniel because the

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[1]T. Francis Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, (London: SPCK 1961), 58-59.

concepts and thoughts were already present. The Greeks may have caused a rejuvenation of them in the apocryphal writings of that time and indeed an expansion of them, but Daniel's concepts of angels do not really fit well with angels in the intertestamental period. Daniel's angels are too conservative for the normal second century angelology. Therefore, its angelology must be earlier and probably, as it affirms of itself, in the sixth century.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the angelology of Daniel to determine two things. First, to determine the various ministries and function of angels as presented in the book of Daniel. The second factor which was being investigated was whether Daniel could be a sixth century writing. Indeed, the emphasis on this was to attempt to determine which culture and understanding of spirit beings best suited this writing.

In chapter one, the type of literature known as apocalyptic was examined. From that investigation several facts became known. First, apocalyptic, in the biblical sense, was evolved (or developed, which would be a better word) from the older prophetic tradition. Prophecy and prophets arose in the tenth century when the kingdom of Israel began with a physical king. Thus, when the kingdom fell in the sixth century the office of prophet disappeared as well. God was not left without a voice on earth. There were a few prophets left at first, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, but by and large God started to use a type of literature known as apocalyptic to communicate His message and steer His people to look to the future.

Second, there were other ancient Near Eastern apocalyptic writings prior to the sixth century (Egyptian Nefeti) but increased in usage in the late Assyrian—early Babylonian period. Thus, there were predecessors to this type of literature in the sixth century.

Third, Daniel relates to other OT apocalyptic writings by sharing the common thread of eschatology. Daniel, Zechariah, and Ezekiel all seem to start by using current or past accounts of history and then from that proceeds to explain the end times—eschatology—from that. This is true apocalyptic which shows movement from the present or past to the future.

Therefore, Daniel's use of this genre of literature does not neccesarily force his writing to be late second century as the critics suppose.

The next chapter was primarily concerned with understanding the exact concepts of angels which Daniel was conveying in his book. It does appear at first that Daniel's concept of angels is very advanced, in fact, too advanced to be part of the sixth century. Therefore, there were several interesting facts discovered concerning these angels. First, there are ministering, guardian angels for individuals. Second, there is a hierarchy of good angels and evil angels which seem to be doing constant spiritual battle. Third, it gives names to angels who retain those names and are called by them later.

Several functions are described by Daniel. First, angels are used to protect man. Second, there are guardian angels. Third, there are those angels who communicate God's revelation to His people. Last, there are those roles which seem to indicate a Christophany instead of angels, but they could be angels.

The last chapter was an attempt to draw upon the research of the second chapter. The concepts of angels discovered in Daniel were compared with common ancient Near Eastern concepts in Babylonia, Persia, Egypt, and Greece in order to attempt to find the best culture of which Daniel was a part. The result of this study seemed to indicate that the Babylonians and Persians shared some similar ideas with Daniel regarding angels/spirit beings. This is not to suggest that borrowing, with all of its negative implications, took place. Instead it suggests that Daniel lived in the time of the Babylonians and Persians, as he said he did, and he shared in a common pool of knowledge regarding these spirit beings. Also, it was seen that even without the common pool of knowledge at his disposal which, as part of the culture would have had an effect, all but one of the concepts of angels which Daniel espouses was clearly seen in other portions of the OT either prior to or contemporary with Daniel.

Therefore, this author concludes that Daniel does not have to be a second century writing because of its literature or its angels. Instead, it fits the culture and background of the sixth century Babylon very well. This will not persuade the critics for they will find other faults with God's revelation to discredit it. It also does nothing more than confirm, what is already known to the conservative, Bible-believing Christian, that a sixth century Daniel was the author of the book by his name.

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