Cultic Motifs and Themes in the Book of Daniel

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Introduction

Biblical scholars have observed that “it remains a perplexing phenomenon that the theological insights into the book of Daniel have not increased proportionately” to our historical insight into the book.1 The most pressing issue in the debate over Daniel has long been the question of when the book might have been composed,2 combined with the search for the most likely sources as well as the historicity of Daniel. The bilingual state of Daniel’s text and the different focus and style of the two halves of the book have prompted an avalanche of linguistic probes and literary studies on structure and unity.3 But, surprisingly, little study has been given to the theology of the book or its theological themes. It is also observed that there are “many intertwining theological, prophetic, and eschatological-apocalyptic themes”4 in the book of Daniel. But, so far, little has been done to obtain a clear and comprehensive picture of the author’s theological purpose. Since there are so many instances of cultic terminology and activity throughout the book, we believe an examination of this phenomenon could help to bring us closer to a richer understanding of the book’s overall theology.

Purpose. We intend to pay close attention to the text as it stands—its linguistic and literary features—without being limited by the usual critical analyses, which generally do not see the book of Daniel as one whole.6 Numerous references and allusions to cultic
objects, rituals, and personages in the book of Daniel suggest the crucial importance of cultic motifs and themes to this writing. Our objective is to sample some of these and to assess their meaning and implications for the exegesis and theology as well as the structure of Daniel.

**Definition of terms.** The term “motif” suggests linguistic, literary or conceptual elements within a literary unit, which by their recurrence or by allusion contribute to the thematic development within that unit and also to its unity. “By virtue of their frequency and particular use, [they] tell us something about the author's intentions. . .” In our study the motifs will be drawn from Daniel's references/allusions to the cultic life of ancient Israel.

The reader should note that the term “theme” is not used interchangeably with “motif.” “Theme” is employed to identify the message or idea which is conveyed by the motifs, making motifs the smaller element which contributes to a theme. For example, the temple vessels mentioned in Daniel 1 and 5 form a cultic motif which in turn contributes to the cultic theme of defilement in both chapters.

The terms “cult” or “cultic” refer to “all those fixed conventions of worship, observed by both the individual and the group, by which the benefits of divine favor in everyday life could be realized.” This includes all elements and terms that pertain to religious rituals in OT sacrificial and sanctuary worship and also to conditions and actions related to them. Since worship in ancient Israel was always connected with cult, it will inevitably play a role in our motif study here, although we have to be aware that the term as such has a wider meaning. For example, the fact that in exilic times more general notions of worship (like prayer, Dan 6) came to prominence, justifies our including it here, all the more so, since it was performed with the Israelite cult in mind.

**Procedure.** We will focus first on the description and literary, exegetical and theological significance of some of the cultic motifs as they appear within the book. We shall not concern ourselves with examining motifs from the perspective of tradition history, seeking to establish their extra-biblical origin. The task will be to pay attention to the biblical text in what has been called “close read-
Our study will also endeavor to take into account the comprehensive nature of the cult in all its dimensions, such as space, time, objects, personage and performance, whereby the last one encompasses all the others. Although there certainly is a dynamic relation between the cultic elements which cannot be fully captured by a strict organization in rubrics we shall hope to retain the theological dynamic of the cult in Daniel by paying attention to the different and interrelating aspects of those elements.

We shall include references and allusions to objects, rituals, persons related to cult in our investigation as well as references and allusions in the book of Daniel to cultic texts outside the book.

We also want to examine the extent to which the cultic motifs serve to highlight cultic themes. We then wish to focus on the interrelationship of the cultic themes, hoping to demonstrate the value of thematic structure as a literary device, employed not only for the coherence and unity of the book of Daniel but also for revealing its theological meaning.

Finally, we will observe some implications of the cultic motifs and themes and their contribution to the theology of the book of Daniel.

**Overview of Cultic Motifs.** We have organized the instances of cultic motifs in Daniel by the different rubrics commonly used to classify cultic material. In order to gain an idea of the amount and nature of cultic motifs, it will be helpful to take note of the following outline:

**Cultic Space**
- Mountain
- Sanctuary
- Throne
- City

**Cultic Time**
- Ten Days of Non-Defilement
- Three Weeks of Mourning
- Three Times of Prayer
- Time of the Evening Offering
Periods of Seven
Cultic Objects
  Temple Vessels
  Images
  Offering and Incense
  Sacrificial Animals
Cultic Personage
  The Man Clothed in Linen
  The Messiah
  Daniel
  The Three Hebrews
  The Saints
Cultic Performance
  Tamîd
  The Cleansing of the Sanctuary
  Atonement and Anointing
  Liturgical Prayers
  End of Sacrifice and Offering

Limitations. Because of space limitations, we have limited our study to brief discussions of a few selected samples of cultic motifs. We have selected one motif from each category which seems typical for that grouping: for cultic space, the mountain motif; for cultic time, the prayer offered three times a day; for cultic objects, the temple vessels; for cultic personage, Daniel himself acting as a cultic person; and for cultic performance, Daniel's liturgical prayer (Dan 9).

Cultic Space: The Holy Mountain

The term “mountain” appears five times in Daniel (2:35, 45, tûr, Aramaic; 9:16, 20; 11:45, har, Hebrew). In Daniel's earnest intercession with God he refers to “your holy mountain” (har-qodšēkā). The expression stands in direct apposition to “your city Jerusalem” (Dan 9:16). Daniel uses the expression “holy mountain of my God” (har-qôdēš š’loḥê), which is “an epithet of Zion (Pss 2:6; 48:2 [1]; 99:9).” The context reveals that Daniel is thinking of the sanctuary, which is mentioned in vs. 17.
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There is a close connection to be observed between vs. 16, “Let Your anger and Your fury turn away from Your city Jerusalem, Your holy mountain,” and vs. 17, “Cause Your face to shine on Your sanctuary.” These statements express the same idea by using contrasting expressions. More importantly, they substantiate the connection between the city, the holy mountain and the sanctuary. This is further confirmed by vs. 26, where the “city and the sanctuary” are mentioned together.

In vs. 20 Daniel is presenting his supplication before the Lord his God “concerning the holy mountain of God.” The holiness of this mountain directly derives from the location of the sanctuary/ temple there and from the fact that it is the place of God's residence. This is evidenced by many texts in the OT.

The term qodesh which is used to qualify the mountain is a cultic term that is also employed to designate the sanctuary (Dan 8:13-14). Although the one is adjectival and the other is nominal, this is an indication that the two are linked. This could mean, then, that the expression “holy mountain,” which is used three times (9:16, 20; 11:45), is employed by Daniel as a device to point to the sanctuary.

Daniel 9:16 clearly refers to the earthly sanctuary, which Daniel had in mind in his prayer, although vs. 20 seems to indicate that he directed his prayer towards heaven, where he knew God was residing (“before the Lord my God”), since the earthly sanctuary was desolate. Three times in Daniel 9—one time in Daniel's prayer and two times in the angel's prophecy—we have direct references to the sanctuary: vs. 17 (miqdaš—sanctuary); vs. 24 (qodeš qodasîm—Most Holy); vs. 26 (qodeš—sanctuary).

The mountain in Daniel 2 occurs in a different context from that in chapter 9, although both chapters are of prophetic content. The “great mountain” in 2:35 develops from the stone that smites the image in an event of judgment and destruction. In 2:45 the same stone “was cut out of the mountain without hands.” The interpretations of these passages are fairly unanimous. Many commentators agree that the mountain refers to Mt. Zion, where Yahweh's house stands, or at least to God's universal rule, which, as we have seen, is strongly linked to the sanctuary.

However, the idea to be conveyed here, as in chapter 9, is not
one of identification but one of association.\textsuperscript{35} The kingdom of God is not to be identified with the sanctuary, but rather to be linked with the sanctuary concept. God's kingdom will be established because of what takes place in His sanctuary.

P. R. Davies hints to a possible eternal existence of the mountain. He points to the apparent change from vs. 35 (stone becomes a mountain) to vs. 45 (stone cut out of an existing mountain) and states, “The mountain therefore was already, as it were, in existence.”\textsuperscript{36} Although Davies by no means refers to any heavenly sanctuary here, his remark is worth considering.

The text does indeed imply that the mountain has already been in existence before the events described. Inasmuch as the stone has to be seen as Christ and the coming of God's eternal kingdom,\textsuperscript{37} and inasmuch as the divine steering of earth's history comes from the sanctuary above (cf. Rev 4:1; 8:1-6; 9:13, 14; 11:19; 14:1; 15:5.6; 16:1), the mountain in chapter 2 could be an allusion to the heavenly sanctuary, from which judgment will go forth at the end of time when Christ, as the High Priest, will come forth from the heavenly temple to establish His kingdom and save His people.

\textbf{Cultic Time: Three Times for Prayer}

In Daniel 6:10 (11) it is stated that Daniel customarily prayed three times a day towards Jerusalem. This is not merely an instance of “non-cultic, private religious activity,”\textsuperscript{38} or “a custom,”\textsuperscript{39} but a rather clear reference to the sanctuary service. Daniel did so because he directed his supplication to the site of the (then destroyed) sanctuary at the time of the daily sacrifices. Lacocque observes: “The morning and evening times coincide with the two sacrifices in the Temple: Exodus 29:39; 1 Chronicles 23:30. It should be noted that at Qumran we find a ternary prayer punctuating the day.”\textsuperscript{40}

Rabbinical teaching saw the ordinance promulgated by Moses, but also conformed to by the Patriarchs.\textsuperscript{41} Charles\textsuperscript{42} argues for three times for prayer,–starting at the time of the morning sacrifice, followed in the afternoon, at the ninth hour, the time of the evening meal offering, and in the evening at sunset, against Keil\textsuperscript{43} who sets the times at the third, sixth, and ninth hour of the day.\textsuperscript{44} The only other text in the OT suggesting three times of daily prayer is Psalm
It is also significant, as Wood has pointed out, that “the word order in the Aramaic places this element before those of bowing, praying, and praising; thus giving it a place of emphasis.”

Daniel’s position in prayer towards Jerusalem in this instance corresponds to Daniel 9:3, 20, where he is also concerned with the sanctuary and Jerusalem, and where the “holy mountain” plays a major role in his supplication. We have seen that this expression can be understood as referring to the temple. Daniel is directing his prayer to God in heaven, but his position is towards the site of the earthly sanctuary in remembrance and acknowledgment of the cultic services and their significance for the covenant, which Daniel hopes will be restored.

**Cultic Objects: The Temple Vessels**

Daniel 1:2 states that as a result of the conquest of Jerusalem “some of the articles of the house of God” were carried “into the land of Shinar to the house of his [Nebuchadnezzar’s] god,” “into the treasure house of his god.” The fact that (1) these vessels, as well as the house of the pagan god, are mentioned twice, and (2) this detail is given at the very outset of the narrative indicates the significance of this action. Although it was common practice and “may be seen as a perfectly normal procedure,” we do not have an “incidental or irrelevant beginning. On the contrary, it is the theme of the book and the key to everything that follows.”

This assessment is not difficult to follow. The book of Daniel deals indeed with the issues of superiority and defeat, of usurpation and worship. Therefore, it is not accidental that the removal of the temple vessels sets the stage, as it were, for the theme that is treated in the rest of the book. Some commentators do not attach much significance to this aspect of the conquest, because they either see it as a mere preparation for the events in chapter 5, or as the usual taking of “worthwhile plunder,” a matter of secondary concern. However, there is more.

**Dominion and Defeat.** It becomes clear from the context in Daniel 1 and from the ancient Near-Eastern understanding of temple worship that the act of removing the articles from the
Jerusalem temple and of placing them in a pagan shrine was viewed as a great victory for the conquering party.\(^{55}\) The destruction of the Jewish temple along with the deportation of young Jews was seen as “a sign and pledge of the subjugation of Judah and its God under the dominion of the kings and the gods of Babylon.”\(^{56}\) A closer look at the significance of the sanctuary, described as “the house of God” (bêt—hâ ‘olahîm,\(^ {57}\) Dan 1:2), and its articles, will reveal the theological importance of this verse.

The Temple as the Center of God's Reign. The most obvious aspect of the theology of the temple in the OT is the fact that it was God's dwelling place among His people (Exod 15:17; 25:8; 29:45, 46).\(^ {58}\) This included, as Craig Koester has aptly summarized, revelation and appearance of God, offering of sacrifices securing atonement, and God's presence indicating His faithfulness to the covenant promises.\(^ {59}\) Judging from the biblical data, we also find the temple understood as the place or center of God's reign. This is clearly expressed in the following statements:

Honor and majesty are before Him; strength and beauty are in His sanctuary.
Tremble before Him, all the earth.
Say among the nations, “The Lord reigns; . . .
He shall judge the people righteously.” (Ps 96:6, 9, 10)

In the OT Mount Zion was the location of the sanctuary and came to be closely associated with it.\(^ {60}\) Numerous texts confirm the truth that the reign and also the judgment of God issue from the sanctuary.\(^ {61}\) The temple was even seen as “the cosmic center of the universe. . . , the place where heaven and earth converge and thus from where God's control over the universe is effected.”\(^ {62}\) Not only the texts already quoted but also the sanctuary service—the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) in particular—describe God's judgment taking place in or from the sanctuary.\(^ {63}\) This is the way the Day of Atonement was understood in biblical times and which is reflected in Jewish interpretation.\(^ {64}\)

Thus, we may conclude that one of the major theological meanings of the sanctuary was the reign of God. This again is demonstrated by the obvious significance which is attached to the removal of the vessels in Daniel 1. The action clearly indicates
Yahweh's defeat. To see this even more conclusively, we turn to the meaning of the temple vessels in the OT tradition.

**Theological Significance of the Temple Vessels.** Considering the extensive treatment of sanctuary vessels in various places in the OT, we have to conclude that they were viewed as more than mere treasures or booty when taken by a conquering enemy. The sacred vessels are mentioned as being made for the tent sanctuary (Exod 25:1-31:11) as well as for the temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 7) and feature prominently in the conquest of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24, 25). Consequently, they are mentioned in connection with the return of the exiles (Ezra 1, 6) and in a manner to suggest their significance.

The Hebrew term for “vessels” (used in all instances, including Dan 1) is קֵלִי, occurring about 320 times in the OT. The term is used to depict vessels, household articles, tools, weapons, and artifacts or the articles used in the cultic service of the sanctuary. The word in its cultic context is translated utensil, article, furnishing, implement, with the general term “article” being the most frequently used. Biblical evidence indicates that this term describes all those items that had been especially crafted for use in the sanctuary, except the ark of the covenant. It is explicitly stated that these articles were “articles of service for the house of the Lord,” and that they were esteemed so holy that to touch them would result in death.

We must conclude, then, that the temple articles were identified with the temple itself, as Peter Ackroyd observes:

> The temple vessels as essential component parts of the temple itself would then have the same function, that of depicting the order to which practice must conform, the order which is itself linked to what the deity himself ordains...what is being provided is not simply the necessary objects for religious use, but what corresponds to the divine command.

The theological meaning of the temple articles, apart from their significance for the sanctuary service, lies in their identification with the temple as the center of God's dominion. “Yahweh is associated with the articles, which belong to the temple service and the sacrificial cult, in a special way.”

The fact that they can be removed by the enemy further
intensifies the notion of subjugation. This is strongly supported by prophecies and incidences in the book of Jeremiah, where the “vessels of the Lord's house,” the same expression as in Daniel 1, are made a sign both for defeat and also for restoration. Jeremiah 27:16-22 illustrates this very well, when the prophet says that God will allow even those vessels left behind by Nebuchadnezzar to be taken to Babylon. In the context of chapters 27 and 28 the vessels become a distinct sign for God's judgment. On the other hand, according to 27:22, they are also a sign for the hope of restoration, which will then mean a restoration of the sanctuary, its services, and by the same token, the reign of God.

Usurpation of Divine Prerogatives. The removal of the temple vessels, in its theological significance, is intensified by their being brought into the house of Nebuchadnezzar's pagan god. A number of scholars have come to the conclusion that the first mention of “the house of God” should be discarded due to some minor textual evidence or syntactical problems. But I agree with Goldingay in his assessment that Daniel is “characteristically careful” in his choice of words and phrases, which often involves “fulsomeness and repetition rather than syntactical elegance.”

The double mention of the articles and the house of his god adds emphasis to the usurpation of power and cultic preeminence performed by the Babylonian king. Seen in the context of vs. 1, which introduces the kingdom theme in the book of Daniel, this is a clear reference to the fact that this is not only a military conquest and the seizure of kingly powers but is also a seizure of religious prerogatives that belong to the one true God.

This theme of usurpation can be traced through the whole book, but it is especially seen in the presumptuous activities of the little horn power in chaps. 7 and 8. It is also alluded to in the geographical location, “the land of Shinar,” (Dan 1:2), generally understood as a reference to Genesis 11:2ff, which recounts the first instance of hubris, false religion and self-aggrandizement. It also reminds us of Zechariah 5:11 where Babel's sin and wickedness is referred to.

Babylon's pride is evident as well in Daniel 5, when Belshazzar desecrates the sacred temple vessels from Jerusalem even more by using them in his idolatrous feast. Daniel, as the spokesperson for
God, denounces this act as a rebellion against the true God (vs. 23)\textsuperscript{90} and reminds Belshazzar of Nebuchadnezzar's arrogance and downfall, which, together with the mention of the vessels, could also be an allusion to their removal from Jerusalem in chap. 1.

This removal of the vessels, their placement in a pagan temple, and their subsequent additional desecration (Dan 5), however, suggest more than the usurpation of royal dominion. Seeing these temple articles as essential symbols of the sanctuary service, we have to conclude that this event also marks the usurpation of God's prerogatives to grant salvation and atonement to man.\textsuperscript{91} The sanctuary, as an integral part of Yahweh's worship, is not only attacked and mocked, but is also substituted with another “house of God” (Dan 1) and another “worship” (Dan 5).

Since there is a connection between sanctuary and judgment,\textsuperscript{93} this also has to be recognized as an attempt of the enemy to usurp God's judgment. Consequently, the desecration of the temple vessels by Belshazzar brings about immediate judgment from God, the Lord of the temple, on the Babylonian monarch and his kingdom.

\textbf{Cultic Personage: Daniel's Self-Affliction}

It is of special interest to observe Daniel's attitude of mourning and fasting recorded in chap. 10, especially because the concept is expressed by the term 'ânah in vs. 12, its only occurrence in the book. It seems significant because 'ânah belongs to the language of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 29, 32), and depicts the “self-affliction” or “humbling attitude” of the individual on that day.\textsuperscript{94} The use of this word suggests Daniel's involvement in cultic activity himself.

Leviticus 23 uses 'ânah in an idiom that was obviously rooted in the cultic life of Israel, “you shall humble yourselves,” which reveals a reflexive meaning. The phrase is most often translated “to afflict one's soul” or “to humble oneself.” Gesenius adds: “i.e. to fast,” citing Leviticus 16:31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7.\textsuperscript{95} That 'ânah can carry the nuance of fasting is supported by many commentators who see the parallelism of 'ânah and šûm (to fast) in Isaiah 58:3, 5 and the explanatory connection of the two words in Psalm 35:13 as an indication for this meaning.\textsuperscript{96} Some suggest that more than
just abstaining from food and drink is involved here, while others say “it probably included fasting and perhaps other penitential exercises as well.”

The Qumran documents indicate that ʿānāḥ describes an inner attitude of humility, a knowledge of one's (spiritual) poverty, and a submission to God. It also reminds us of texts like Psalms 109:16, 22; 147:3, where the root ʿānāḥ is used alongside the expression “the brokenhearted.” The combination provides a clear spiritual overtone which fits perfectly the context of Leviticus 23 as well as that of Daniel 10.

The word ʿānāḥ describes the required attitude of penitence and humility on the part of the people before God on Yom Kippur. This was a serious matter. God warned that those Israelites not taking an active part in this kind of preparation would be “cut off” (kārāt) from the people.

That Daniel is indeed showing an attitude of humility and contrition in chap. 10 is also affirmed by the time and date mentioned in the first verses of the chapter. Verse 4 states that he was fasting and mourning for three weeks in the first month, which, if taken to be Tishri, would mean that Daniel fasted during the month of the fall festivals, which included Yom Kippur.

Cultic Performance: Atonement and Anointing

In Daniel 9:24-27 we find a strong “cultic perspective in terms of atonement (Hebrew root, kār), anointing (Hebrew root, mūṣh), ‘holy of holies,’ cutting off of the Messiah and cessation of sacrifice and offering.” We wish to focus briefly on the first two points.

At the beginning of the seventy week prophecy (vs. 24) the angel Gabriel gives some important information concerning the purpose and goal of the seventy weeks as a sort of prelude to the main body of the vision. Although Charles is of the opinion that “this is a most difficult verse,” it is still worth the attempt to understand its significance for the study of cultic motifs in Daniel.

It has been noted that vs. 24 has a clear literary structure, which elaborates and enhances the initial statement that “seventy weeks are determined for your people and for your holy city.” Not only is “the thought here . . . concerned with the theme of the holy city and hence with the sanctuary” and “is cultic,” but the
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six lines themselves, of which three are negative and three positive,\textsuperscript{105} are inter-related by synthetic parallelism,\textsuperscript{106} which is significant for the interpretation. In this case the line, “and to atone \([kpr]\) for iniquity,” is parallel to the line, “and to anoint \([m\dot{s}h]\) holy of holies.” There can be no doubt that the word \(kpr\) is a “key cultic verb,”\textsuperscript{107} since most of its references in the OT are to be found in connection with the sanctuary cultus.\textsuperscript{108}

The expression “holy of holies” clearly reminds us of cultic language,\textsuperscript{109} and even of the sanctuary itself, although it seems not to be free from obscurity.\textsuperscript{110} When used with the article, in the overwhelming majority of texts it depicts the “inner sanctum” or second chamber of the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{111} When used without the article, as here in Daniel 9, the expression can designate altar,\textsuperscript{112} priests,\textsuperscript{113} incense,\textsuperscript{114} bread,\textsuperscript{115} offering,\textsuperscript{116} things,\textsuperscript{117} and the sanctuary or its location.\textsuperscript{118} This shows that the term is always connected to the sanctuary,\textsuperscript{119} although it does not always refer to the whole tabernacle or temple.\textsuperscript{120} We may be safe in asserting that the expression does not refer to a person,\textsuperscript{121} which is confirmed by the fact that the line, “to anoint the holy of holies” is “on the side of Jerusalem/sanctuary”\textsuperscript{122} in the verse.

Most helpful in the interpretation of this expression is the text in Exodus 29:36-37, where the only other time in the OT we have the same association of atonement (\(kpr\)), anointing (\(m\dot{s}h\)) and holy of holies (\(qodes\ h qodas\ h\)) as it appears here in Daniel 9:24.\textsuperscript{123}

This passage deals with the consecration of Aaron and his sons to their high priesthood (the earliest consecration of an Israelite priesthood). It is significant that this ceremony consisted of an anointing of a “holy of holies” which was marked by the number 7: The ceremony was to last 7 days.\textsuperscript{124}

This raises the question whether in the terms “anoint” (\(m\dot{s}h\)) and “anointed one” (\(m\dot{a}sh\)) in chap. 9 we may have another element of cultic language, a notion that needs further discussion.

If we take the whole prophecy and its time element into account, we cannot come to the conclusion that Daniel 9:24-27 is a parallel prophecy to the vindication of the sanctuary prophecy in Daniel 8:13, 14.\textsuperscript{125} Seeing the fulfillment of the seventy week
prophecy in the events of the life of Christ, we see more reason to apply the
former to the first coming of Christ.\textsuperscript{126}

Since Daniel 9:24 can be viewed as a kind of prelude to the remainder of
the prophecy (vss. 25-27) and functions as a preliminary summary, the actions
that are depicted in it find their fulfillment in the life and death of Christ. By His
death Christ “anointed the holy of holies,” that is, He inaugurated (retrospec-
tively and for the future) the sanctuary services of the heavenly temple (vs. 24,
last part).\textsuperscript{127} This view is substantiated by Exodus 29:35-37, which not only
mentions the seven days of consecration for the priesthood but also the anointing
of the altar through a sin offering during the same time.\textsuperscript{128}

We may conclude, then, that Daniel 9:24 is a clear reference to the sanctu-
ary motif, focusing on the cultus through the term ($kpr$) and the expression “holy
of holies” ($qodeš
dodasîm$), and by referring to the “holy city” and to the “vi-
sion” ($hâzôn$).\textsuperscript{129}

**Cultic Themes: A Model for Thematic Structure**

Numerous studies have been made on the structure of Daniel. A. Lenglet\textsuperscript{130}
pioneered the research with his investigation of the literary structure of the first
half of the book. His proposal of a concentric chiasmus, in which he demon-
strates the links of chapters in parallel pairs (2 and 7, 3 and 6, 4 and 5), has re-
ceived general acceptance.\textsuperscript{131}

David Gooding\textsuperscript{132} builds on Lenglet’s study and extends his struc-
tural analysis to the whole book, but his attempt in balancing chaps. 1-5 and 6-12 is
less convincing.\textsuperscript{133} William Shea\textsuperscript{134} and Jacques Doukhan\textsuperscript{135} have also analyzed
the structure of chaps. 7-12 and have come up with a much better case, demonstrat-
ing thematic links and concentric parallels.

Likewise, in his recent dissertation Pablo David\textsuperscript{136} further corroborates
Lenglet’s structure of Daniel 2-7 by analysis of thematic and linguistic links be-
tween the chapters. He has also applied the same structural analysis to the sec-
ond half of the book and supports insights gained by Shea and Doukhan, appar-
ently without being aware of their earlier work, and that also by Albertz.\textsuperscript{137} He
also assigns a specific role to chap. 7 in this structure,
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calling it the “literary hinge” between the two halves of the book, as Raabe and others have done before him.

Building on Lenglet’s and David’s studies, I would like to propose the following structural model: Each of the chapters has a particular cultic theme which is informed by the cultic motifs present in the chapter. By way of the same, or by a contrasting but complementary theme, another chapter forms a structural parallel with the former chapter, thus giving evidence of a concentric parallel structure to the whole book. As mentioned before, David has found evidence for such a concentric structure by way of analyzing linguistic and thematic parallels. My contribution, however, is to demonstrate that the same structure is evident from the perspective of cultic themes. We will explain by way of a general summarization.

Daniel 1 introduces cultic motifs from all the categories of cultic life, thereby setting the cultic stage for the book. The other chapters are linked in parallel fashion. Chapters 2, 7, and 12, with chap. 7 having the function of a hinge or center, have the theme of “judgment from the sanctuary” in common. It is generally acknowledged—and not difficult to see—that the three chapters talk about judgment, although chap. 7 is the only one to use the term. We shall hope to demonstrate in a more extensive study that in all three chapters the cultic motif is linked with the judgment theme.

Chapters 3 and 6 have several linguistic and literary connections, but are also linked by the common cultic theme of “usurpation of the true cult.” In both narratives the central issue is worship and the usurpation by pagan rulers of the reverence that belongs only to Yahweh. The response by the three Hebrews and Daniel is in both instances a decision to be faithful to the imperatives of the true cult, namely, not to worship any image or human being.

Chapters 4 and 5, whose close and parallel connection has already been demonstrated elsewhere, share the cultic theme of “desecration and judgment.” In both chapters a king sets himself above God and his holiness either by boastful word (chap. 4) or sacrilegious deed (chap. 5). Both times this “cultic arrogance” and desecration is met with instant judgment from Yahweh.

Chapters 8 and 11 have a theme similar to chaps. 3 and 6, suggesting a structural link that extends beyond critical
scholarship's usual confinement of Daniel A (chaps. 1-6) and Daniel B (chaps. 7-12) as separate, or at least separately created, documents. Again there is “usurpation of cult and cleansing” which is similar in 3 and 6. The judgment motif is present in all four chapters.

Beyond the link between chaps. 9 and 10 in the person of Daniel who mourns and fasts and understands the vision as stated in both chapters, there is also the thematic parallel of “atonement and victory” which is strongly related to cult. In both chapters Daniel functions as the representative for his people, receiving the assurance of salvation after he has humbled himself, which humbling, as I have shown above, is a term related to Yom Kippur. If chap. 9 is to be interpreted as pointing to the Christ event at His first coming, then chap. 10 reveals the Warrior-High Priest who makes atonement on the Day of Atonement for those who show humility and believe in His strength.

This theme stands in related contrast to the one in chaps. 4 and 5 in which pagan kings exalt themselves above the Holy God. Although one of them eventually repents and humbles himself, judgment from the same God meets both of them. On the other hand in chaps. 9 and 10 we have the reverse situation. Daniel humbles himself and pleads on behalf of his people, and God reveals to him His plan of salvation and atonement.

I have attempted to show that the whole book of Daniel has a thematic structure in concentric, chiastic parallels which are determined by cultic themes. It would require further studies to draw conclusions for the composition of the book. However, it can be said with some certainty that the book of Daniel has more coherence and unity than is generally accepted.

Conclusions: Cult in Theological Perspective

The foregoing investigation of cultic motifs and themes has demonstrated that the book of Daniel is indeed imbued with the imagery and language of cultus. This fact leads to several conclusions in regard to the theology and the interpretation of the book.

1. The sanctuary is of central importance for the theology and the concern of the book. This is underlined by the fact that the cultic
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Motif is not only present in chaps. 8 and 9, as most commentators recognize, but is prominently mentioned at the very beginning of the book (Dan 1:2). The context, especially the information about the temple vessels being placed in the house of the Babylonian god, makes it abundantly clear that Daniel has more in mind than mere historical facts.

The cultic theme is connected to other themes in the book, such as the reign of God, the sovereignty of God, and the kingdom of God. Since cult played such a prominent role in the faith and life of Israel, it may be expected to provide deeper insights into the concept of the covenant which is present in the book.

As a matter of fact, all theological concepts in the book of Daniel are to be investigated in the light of the cultic theme, because they are informed and enriched by its concept of redemption and atonement.

2. The presence of cultic motifs throughout the document speaks for the unity of the book, an issue which is still hotly debated among critical scholars. A number of thematic links can be pointed out:

a. The usurpation of divine prerogatives (Dan 1, 5) by removing and desecrating the temple vessels is clearly echoed by the activities of the little horn power (Dan 7, 8) which are also directed against the sanctuary and are meant to challenge God's reign. In both cases the result is divine judgment on Babylon (Dan 5:25-30) and on the little horn (Dan 7:22, 26; 8:25).

b. The cultic allusions in Daniel 1, which could also be referring to the Day of Atonement, would find their counterpart treatment in Daniel 7-12, where Yom Kippur plays a major role.

c. In Daniel 2 the sanctuary mountain is related to the kingdom theme, which again has a major function in Daniel 7.

3. The cultic motif appears both in historical and prophetic reality. This means that the sanctuary has a very prominent place in God's history with mankind, which is also underlined by the mountain motif in Daniel 2.

4. The very fact that there is no difference in terminology between the earthly and the heavenly sanctuary suggests that both are real in Daniel's mind.

5. If indeed the Day of Atonement is referred to in Daniel 1, 10,
which has not been studied in detail before, these two chapters would suggest how to live during this day in spiritual and practical preparation for judgment. Together with Daniel 3, 6, this ethical aspect would have an impact on developing a corresponding lifestyle during the eschatological “day” of atonement.

6. The references to the sanctuary services in Daniel are not mere expressions of veneration for the holy place, as might be expected by a people in exile. Rather, these serve a definite purpose. They are key elements in the prophecies of Daniel 8, 9, and also highlight the distinct connection they have with the ethical implications in Daniel 6, 10.

7. Understanding the sanctuary in the OT as a whole is indispensable to an interpretation of the book of Daniel. Four dimensions can be distinguished:

   a. The holy war theme is one of the major themes in the book, which is connected, of course, to the kingdom theme. The sanctuary plays a significant role in the unfolding of this theme and has to be considered for a proper understanding of the book of Daniel.

   b. The prophetic-historical dimension, which is particularly prominent in the second half of the book, is very much dependant upon an understanding of the sanctuary and the elements of its services. Without a correct and informed understanding of the issues involved, there can be no interpretation that does justice to the text.

   c. The dimension of redemption, both in its present and eschatological aspects, is featured in the presence of the cultic motif in the book. It was natural for a reader in the ancient Hebrew world to note this carefully, but it seems to be even more important for readers at the end of time for whom the book has a message (Dan 12:4, 9). In “the time of the end” the most important theme, individually and corporately, will be that of atonement and redemption.

   d. The dimension of ethical consequences for the faith and practice of the individual (in the light of the sanctuary) plays a significant role in the book, most prominently in the first six chapters, but also in the remainder of the book. If this phenomenon is severed from the sanctuary theme, the interpretation loses the actual thrust of the author’s intention.
8. The cultic motif underlines the importance of the theme of worship, which has to do with the revelation of the character of God and the human response. It helps to focus our attention on the real issue of the book and also deepens our understanding of it.

9. The cultic motif also enhances our understanding of the judgment of God, which is particularly dealt with in Daniel 7. Judgment from the sanctuary not only involves the theme of the sovereignty and reign of God on the divine level but also the dimension of atonement and vindication on the divine and human level.

Endnotes


3 See some of the references below in the section on thematic structure.


5 For an overview of the cultic motifs see pp. 8-9.

6 A good case in point is P. R. Davies, *Daniel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 81ff., who cautions the interpreter to heed the “two voices” of the book in any dealing with theological questions because of the dichotomy between chaps. 2-6 and 7-12 that seems to be the only legitimate conclusion of the foregoing literary analysis.


9 Freedman, p. 123.

10 Alter, p. 95: “3. Theme. An idea which is part of the value-system of the narrative. . . is made evident in some recurring pattern . . . may also be associated with a motif.”


12 Ritual as a crucial part of cultic activity can be defined with Roy Gane as “a formulaic activity system carrying out an individual, complete cognitive task transformation process in which an ‘inaccessible entity’ unit is involved,” “Ritual Dynamic Structure: Systems Theory and Ritual Syntax Applied to Selected
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Ancient Israelite, Babylonian and Hittite Festival Days” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1992), p. 71; for a more anthropologically informed definition see Evan M. Zuesse, “Ritual,” The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 12:405, who sees in ritual “those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences.” Underhill, p. 20, defines rituals as elements of cultus, whose object is “real communion between Man and God.” “Its formal constituents must be of a kind which further, support, and express this communion.” More concretely she describes religious ritual as “an agreed pattern of ceremonial movements, sounds, and verbal formulas, creating a framework within which corporate religious action can take place,” ibid., p. 32. For an elucidating summary on studies in ritual see E. Thomas Lawson and Robert N. McCauley, Rethinking Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 45-59.

13 Mowinckel, p. 10, finds this confirmed in the cultic function and use of the term “iboda.


16 John J. Collins, The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), xiv and xv, emphasizes the fact that little consensus has been reached in the search for the origin of motifs in Daniel and arrives at the important conclusion that “the meaning of a book is ultimately decided not by the sources of the traditions it uses, but by the manner in which these traditions are structured and combined within the book.”

17 Leo G. Perdue, The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), pp. 240-243. See also John Barton, Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), pp. 140-198, who gives a helpful analysis of the approach that has been called “new criticism” or “narrative criticism.” The caveat that has to be sounded, however, has to take clear note of the fact that scholars who use this approach mostly see the biblical text in its intended “function as literary narrative, not as historiography” (Barton, p. 165). It has to be kept in mind that the expression “close reading” may have ideological underpinnings which in reality would contradict its expressed purpose.


20 Goldingay, p. 248; see also Jon D. Levenson, Sinai and Zion (Minneapolis, MN: Winston Press, 1985), pp. 111-145, for an elucidating discussion of Zion as the mountain of the temple and as the cosmic mountain.

22 This means that whenever the holy mountain is in view, the sanctuary is seen at the same time, also. In this conceptual sense the two designations can be used as synonyms, although this does not mean that there is physical identification involved. The holy mountain is *not* the sanctuary, but it strongly reminds us of the sanctuary, which was located there.


24 Most commentators translate the preposition ‘al which is used here with “concerning” or “for.” See, for example, John H. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), p. 345; Goldingay, p. 227; Stephen R. Miller, *Daniel*, NAC 18 (N.p.: Broadman & Holman, 1994), p. 249; Leon Wood, *A Commentary On Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973), pp. 244-245; Jacques Doukhan, *Le soupir de la terre* (Dammarie le Lys Cedex: Vie & Santé, 1993), p. 198 (“en faveur de”); Harry Bulterman, *Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1988), p. 275. Hersh Goldwurm, *Daniel: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources*, 2nd and rev. ed. (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1980), p. 256, refers to Rashi, but also cites Ralbag who favored the meaning of “upon” and opted for a literalistic sense of Daniel being in Jerusalem at the time of the prayer. André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, trans, David Pellauer (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1976), p. 1898, and idem, “The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9,” *HUCA* 47 (1976): 139, n 84, appears to be the only recent scholar who, although diagnosing a “certain ambiguity in the preposition ‘al,’” argues for the locational sense because of the statement on the time of the evening offering in 9:21. However, his suggestion ("Liturgical Prayer," p. 142) of Daniel being “spiritually” in the temple (which, incidentally, does not exist any more) and “liturgically” offering a daily *minhah* is less than convincing. (On the ambiguity or ambivalence of prepositions with regard to Ugaritic and Aramaic usages see Dennis Graham Pardee, “The Preposition in Ugaritic,” in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, ed. Kurt Bergerhof et al. [Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975], 7:333.) Although the first and most well-known meaning of *al* is “on, upon” there are also other uses attested; see Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Conner, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 216-218, esp. part g. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans, and ed. M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 2:826, has “on account of” and “with regard to, concerning” as the second and third major meanings of the term. It should be of interest to note that in the Aramaic section of the book the same preposition is frequently used in this latter sense, namely in Dan 2:18; 3:16; 5:14; 29; 6:13, 15; 7:16, 20. Moreover, there is at least one other instance in the OT where ‘al’ is being used in conjunction with the term “supplication” in the same sense as here in Daniel: Est 4:8 reads “to make supplication to him and plead before him for (‘al) her people,” although, admittedly, the object of the supplication in this case is not a location as in Dan 9:20, which has led to the impression of ambiguity in the first place. However, the masoretic use of the small *Zakef*, a disjunctive accent, on the word immediately preceding ‘al, would also argue against the meaning of “upon” in the sense of God residing on the mountain, or of Daniel being on the mountain at the time of the prayer, which is even more unlikely. Moreover, the usage of ‘al in the immediate context in Daniel 9 suggests that here it almost never has a locational
meaning (with the possible exception of ‘al-miqdaška in v. 17, although a figurative sense [‘cause your face to shine on behalf of Your sanctuary’] could perhaps be argued for). See also L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 5:1758.

25 Thomas B. Dozeman, God on the Mountain (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 29, 30: “The close association between temples and cosmic mountain imagery in Israel, as well as in the ancient Near East in general, suggests that the description of God on the mountain represents a cultic theology of divine presence.”

26 Cf. Ps 74:2; Isa 24:23; 27:13; 56:7; 66:20. S. Talmon, “har,” TWAT II:480, speaks of an “identification in terms” [begrifflich identisch] of ‘sanctuary’ and ‘mountain’ in the OT and uses Dan 9:16, 20 among the texts to prove his point. On the basis of what I pointed out earlier, however, the term “identification” should be used with great caution. The term “association” is to be preferred, or, with Ben C. Ollenburger, Zion the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), p. 20, “evocational field.” By this he refers to the fact that whenever the holy mountain is mentioned, the sanctuary is being perceived at the same time, and vice versa.


29 James Valentine, “Theological Aspects of the Temple Motif in the Old Testament and Revelation,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1985), p. 146, thinks that “it is likely that here there is a telescoping of two realities: the heavenly and earthly temples are seen as one.” This might be possible, but there is no control in the text affirming this assumption. Moreover, Valentine bases his idea on an equation of “sanctuary” and “saints of the Most High” by Lacocque, which cannot be substantiated, either.

30 Hasel, “The ‘Little Horn,’ the Heavenly Sanctuary...,” p. 414: “This is the major meaning of this term in the OT with its 74 usages” (n. 83), in Dan 8:11, “as in the remainder of the book of Daniel”; n. 84: “In 9:17 the earthly sanctuary/temple is in view.”

31 See ibid., pp. 444-446, for an elucidating discussion of the term qodesû for the meaning of sanctuary. Here in this context it seems certain that this term in vs. 26 recapitulates the term miqdaš in vs. 17, just as it does in chap. 8:11, 13, 14. The context also makes clear that only vss. 17 and 26 refer to an earthly sanctuary/temple, the term qodesû qodašîm (“Most Holy”) refers to the sanctuary in heaven, which is supposed to be anointed at the end of the seventy weeks. Prophetically, historically and contextually this cannot refer to the earthly temple in Jerusalem.

33 Russell, Daniel: An Active Volcano (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews, 1989), p. 37, 38. Against James A. Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (New York: Scribner's, 1927), pp. 190, 191, who holds, that there is no “mythical” background but rather the “universal” interpretation to be accepted, which sees the stone imagery as pointing to the “Messianic, in the broad sense of the term.” Against Karl Marti, Das Buch Daniel (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), p. 17, who remarks that the imagery used “only belongs to the picture” and is not referring to Zion. H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Daniel (N.p.: Wartburg Press, 1949; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1969), p. 126, agrees with Marti, but tends to be at least open to the “Zion” interpretation.

34 John Calvin, Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel, trans. Thomas Myers (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1948), p. 190; Goldingay, Daniel, pp. 49, 51, 52, who refers to Mt. Zion and the sanctuary only implicitly by the OT references he gives. Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, p. 49, points to the fact that the term for mountain here, the Aramaic tûr (in Hebrew: sûr), often translated “boulder,” is in Scripture “always associated with the divine presence” and also with the Exodus from Egypt. The mountain, according to Lacocque, is the “Boulder of theophany,” that is, “the Kingdom of God.”

35 Hubert Lignée, The Temple of Yahweh (Baltimore, MD: Helicon, 1966), p. 113, comments this way: “The symbol of the mountain is not explained. But when one considers that in the Bible ‘mountain’ often designates the sanctuary one may be tempted to interpret the mountain from which the stone has become detached as the heavenly sanctuary of Yahweh, ‘the heavenly temple of his glory’. . . , and to assume that the mountain formed from the stone is the new sanctuary, the kingdom of God, which fills the whole earth.” It is questionable, however, to identify the mountain, which, according to Dan 2:44 is the prophetic symbol for the powerful ushering in of God's eternal kingdom, with the sanctuary, or, to identify the sanctuary with the kingdom of God.

36 Dozeman, pp. 30, 31, in his discussion of the Mountain of God tradition, suggests that “the imagery of God as dwelling on the mountain encourages an identification between God and the mountain, or perhaps better a relationship of resemblance.” In view of the fact that we have to deal with historical realities here and not with mere metaphorical images even the expression “relationship of resemblance” has to be called into question. The idea is rather one of association or evocation in the Hebrew mind.


39 Hartman and Di Lella, p. 199.


43 Keil, p. 213.

44 Otto Plöger, Das Buch Daniel (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), p. 98, thinks that “prayer for two times could be connected with the
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daily sacrifices” (also Goldingay, Daniel, p. 128) but also concedes the connection of the gesture with “the cultic life of a past time.”

45 Against Goldingay, Daniel, p. 128.

46 Wood, p. 163.

47 In both instances we have a preposition, which allows for a similar directional connotation. In 6:10 (11) it is neged, in 9:3 which has links to 9:20 it is ‘el, which seems to have stronger directional force. Furthermore, since in both instances Jerusalem is mentioned as the matter of concern, considerable significance seems to be attached to the direction of the respective prayers.

48 Klaus Koch, Daniel, BKAT XXII/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), p. 34, who states that “seemingly they [the vessels] receive their own significance in the great turning point from the time of the Judaic kings to the evil time of the exile.”


54 Russell, p. 20; Loupold, p. 57.


56 Keil, p. 73.

57 The same expression is also found in Jer 27:16; 28:3, 6, also in connection with the vessels. It is used about 50 times in Chronicles, where it also designates the sanctuary in Jerusalem; cf. Koch, p. 34.


60 Ps 74:2; 132:13,14; 135:21; Isa 8:18; 18:7.

61 Ps 2:6: “Yet I have set My King on My holy hill of Zion”; 99:1, 2: “The Lord reigns, let the people tremble! He dwells between the cherubim; let the earth be moved! The Lord is great in Zion, And He is high above all the peoples”; 110:2: “The Lord shall send the rod of Your strength out of Zion. Rule in the midst of
Your enemies;” Isa 2:3, 4/Mic 4:2, 3: “... out of Zion shall go forth the law. He shall judge between the nations”; 24:23: “The Lord of hosts will reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem”; Joel 3:16-21: “The Lord also will roar from Zion...”; Mic 4:7: “The Lord will reign over them in Mount Zion”; Zech 6:13: “He shall build the temple of the Lord, He shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule on His throne,” emphases supplied.

62 Carol Meyers, “Temple, Jerusalem,” ABD, 6:359; Clements, pp. 65, 67: “The underlying idea was that the temple was a microcosm of the macrocosm, so that the building gave visual expression to the belief in Yahweh’s dominion over the world and all natural forces.” See also Koester, pp. 59-63, who traces a cosmological view of the temple in Philo and Josephus, and also mentions that these interpretations “first given to the temple’s furnishings were gradually applied to those of the tabernacle”(59).

63 Valentine, p. 107: “The divine judgment in the Old Testament always takes place in the temple...”


65 Goldingay, Daniel, p. 16, “Removing them is thus a sign of victory of Nebukadnezzar and his god over the Israelite king and his god.”

66 Heaton, p. 116.


68 English translation of NKJV.

69 Num 3:31; 4:12, etc.

70 Num 18:3; 31:3, which is an ambiguous text, because the Hebrew expression is k’li haqodesh without a clear indication as to which articles are actually meant here. Considering 1 Chr 22:19, however, this expression seems to depict articles of the sanctuary; 1 Kgs 7:45, 47; Ezra 1:7, 11.

71 Exod 25:9; Num 4:15, 16; 1 Kgs 7:48.

72 Num 14:4.

73 Ezra 1:11 mentions 5,400 articles at the return of the exiles; 1 Kgs 7:45, 48-50 lists different kinds of articles like the golden altar, the table of gold, the lampstands of gold, including smaller items, that were made for the Solomonic temple and which are summarized as k’lim, whereas Exod 37:16 uses the same term for the vessels that were put on the table of showbread. We must conclude, therefore, that the term was used exclusively as well as inclusively.

74 1 Kgs 8:4 and 1 Chr 22:19 mention the holy furnishings as an all inclusive term except the ark which is singled out and mentioned separately. Menahem Haran, Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 156, also affirms this observation. Moreover, he gives a very detailed analysis of k’lim in the tent tabernacle, calling them, in a narrower definition, “minor utensils attached to the major pieces of furniture.” After speaking about three categories of appurtenances (furniture, fabrics, beams), he comes to the conclusion: “The furniture is indeed the essential constituent in the cult and cultic sanctity, whereas all the other objects merely serve as protective and separating accessories,” p. 158. Haran also points to the distinction between the “vessels of the inner sanctum” and the “temple treasuries,” the latter being less sacred. In Haran’s view Nebukadnezzar was the first of all invaders to not only plunder the treasuries but also “to penetrate the temple, that is, to enter the outer sanctum,” where he only stripped the articles of their precious metals (pp. 286, 287). Haran
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seems to downgrade the importance of this event and does not want to attach the significance to it that Dan 1 indicates. It becomes apparent, however, that he argues in that direction, because (1) he wants to refute the idea, that a pagan king ever entered the inner sanctum and stole the sacred articles, let alone the ark in the Most Holy Place (p. 285), and (2) he works with the hypothesis of an unreliable tradition in the book of Daniel (p. 286, n. 21).

75 1 Chr 28:13.
76 Num 18:3.
77 Ackroyd, p. 50.
78 See Clements, pp. 65-67, also 67, n. 1, who upholds the highly symbolic significance of the temple furnishings: "The furnishings of the temple were full of cosmic symbolism, as was in effect true for the temple as a whole. The very conception of such a building was founded on the belief that a correspondence existed between the earthly and the heavenly worlds. Yahweh's house in Jerusalem was intended to be a copy, or symbol, of the cosmic 'house' where he had his abode. In this way the particular form of the Jerusalem cult emphasized the power of Yahweh over the natural world" (65).
79 Schreiner, p. 12.
80 Ch. 27:16.
81 Although here Yahweh is used instead of Elohim. It has to be kept in mind, that the book of Daniel does not use Yahweh except in chap. 9, an issue which cannot be followed up here.
82 In Jer. 27 God denounces the false prophets for giving the assuring prediction: "Behold, the vessels of the Lord's house will now be shortly brought back from Babylon" (vs. 16), and in chap. 28 one of the false prophets gives such a prediction.
83 Ackroyd, pp. 54, 55, who convincingly makes a point in seeing the theme of continuity and restoration intrinsically bound up with the temple vessels.
84 Ibid., p. 57; Joyce G. Baldwin, Daniel, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1978), pp. 78, 79: ". . . vindicating His authority"; Schreiner, p. 14: "In giving them back God demonstrates His will to save [Heilswille], in punishing for their misuse of His power. The cultic articles of the house of Yahweh, which seem to be of marginal importance, become in the theology of the temple a sign for the activity of a punishing, free disposing, merciful and powerful God."
86 Goldingay, Daniel, p. 10. Baldwin, p. 78, suggests that we have a ditography here, but at the same time affirms that the repetition lays "stress on the incongruity of the situation."
87 Koch, Daniel, p. 36, who recognizes this connection and expounds the kingdom theme.
89 Plöger, p. 36; Goldingay, Daniel, p. 15; Lebram, p. 43; Norman W. Porro, Daniel—A Commentary (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), p. 27; Leupold, p. 57; Baldwin, p. 78. It is interesting to note in this context that there is a linguistic connection between the exaltation of the little horn in Dan 8:11 and the tower of Babel in Gen 11:4 (see Doukhan, p. 65).
90 Mason, p. 89 ". . . the emphasis here is not so much on 'hubris' as on
sacrilege and idolatry, on the unspeakable abomination of desecrating the sacred vessels of the Jerusalem temple.”

91 Ackroyd, p. 60, acknowledges that “the vessels are seen to be intimately related with the worship and hence with the life of the people,” but falls short of deeper implications for the sanctuary theme.

92 The praise of “the gods of silver and gold, bronze and iron, wood and stone, which do not see or hear or know” is explicitly mentioned in 5:23.

93 Hasel, “The ‘Little Horn’, the Heavenly Sanctuary . . .,” p. 413, mentions 1 Kgs 8:49 and Pss 89:14; 97:2, where mishpār is seen as being at the foundation of God’s throne.

94 Lacoque, The Book of Daniel, p. 205, sees the whole “rite” of mourning in this chapter as “particularly fitted for the Day of Atonement.”


96 Cf. Wenham, p. 236; A. Noordtzij, Leviticus (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982), p. 171


100 There is some discussion about the identity of this month. If it should have been Nisan, the first month according to the Jewish calendar, then Daniel would have fasted straight through Passover, which would be hard to believe in the light of Exod 12:8-11, where eating and drinking is commanded for the passover feast. Ibn Ezra maintained that this month was the first month of the Babylonian year, which was reckoned from the accession year of Cyrus, starting in the fall, in the month of Tishri. See Goldwurm, pp. 270, 271; Anderson, p. 121; Jacques Doukhan, Le soupir de la terre (Dammarie les Lys Cedex, France: Edition Vie et Santé, 1993), p. 225, against Goldingay, p. 290, and William H. Shea, “Wrestling with the Prince of Persia,” AUSS 21 (1983): 225-228.

101 Hasel, “‘The Little Horn,’ the Heavenly Sanctuary. . .,” p. 437.

102 Charles, p. 237.


104 Ibid.


107 Goldingay, p. 258; Baldwin, p. 169; “The verb is regularly used in the Old Testament for making atonement, especially by the blood sacrifices.”


109 Charles, p. 242: “. . . is a priestly term.”
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111 Of the 13 occurrences listed by Mandelkern, 9 depict the inner sanctum, while 2 refer to the whole sanctuary and 2 depict “most holy things.”
113 Exod 30:29.
114 Exod 30:36.
115 Lev 24:9.
116 Lev 2:3, 30; 6:17 (10), 25 (18), 29 (22); 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13; 27:28; Num 18:9.
117 1 Chr 23:13; Num 18:9.
118 Ezek 43:12; 45:3; 48:12.
119 Wood, p. 250. He says that there are 39 occurrences (also Doukhan), whereas Mandelkern lists only 36. Thirteen with the article, 23 without. Abraham Even-Shoshan, ed., A New Concordance of the Bible (Jerusalem: “Kiryat Sefer” Publishing House, 1990), 1005, however, lists 41.

121 Heaton, p. 212; Marti, p. 68; Pöger, p. 134; Charles, p. 237; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 244.
123 Ibid., followed by Goldingay, Daniel, p. 259.
124 Doukhan, <169>Seventy Weeks,<170> p. 11.
125 Cf. Goldingay, p. 259.
128 I favor this view also because the use of the expression “holy of holies” as such is connected to the priesthood only once in the OT (see above). Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, pp. 193, 194, bases his preference for the Aaron interpretation on an ambiguous text in 1 Chr 23:13 and its interpretation by J. de Menasce and Annie Jaubert.
129 This term is here placed “in the same cultic perspective as in Dan 8:13-14,” Doukhan, “Seventy Weeks,” p. 10 n. 22.
Analysis of Daniel 5, and the Broader Relationships Within Chapters 2-7,” *AUS* 23 (1985): 277-295 attempts to demonstrate similarities in structure and thematic links between chaps. 4 and 5, further supporting Lenglet’s thesis; Philip R. Davies, *Daniel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 43-44, half-heartedly and with reservation agrees with Lenglet’s suggestion but plays down its significance.


135 Doukhan, *Daniel*, pp. 3-6.


138 Ibid., pp. 178-179: “Daniel 7 is both thematically and structurally united with Daniel A in its basic layer . . . In its final form, i.e., with its secondary layers . . . Daniel 7 is simultaneously united both structurally and thematically with Daniel B.”


140 Cultic space: the house of God (vs. 2), cultic time: ten days (vss. 12, 14, 15), cultic objects: temple vessels (vs. 2), cultic personage: Daniel and three friends without blemish and defilement (vss. 4, 8), cultic performance: non-defilement (vs. 8).


142 The term *qode_* appears several times in chap. 4 and once in chap. 5, in all instances designating God and his realm.

143 The astonishing parallelism in vocabulary, esp. also in cultic terms, has been pointed out by David, pp. 195-198.

144 Cf. Levenson, pp. 122, 123.