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A CRITICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL

WITH INTRODUCTION, INDEXES
AND A NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION

By R. H. CHARLES
D.D. (Dublin), D.Litt. and
Hon. D.D. (Oxford), Hon. LL.D. (Belfast
ARCHDEACON OF WESTMINSTER
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH
ACADEMY

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THIS ALSO

TO MY WIFE

WITHOUT WHOSE HELP

THIS CONTRIBUTION TO

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

COULD NEVER HAVE

SEEN THE LIGHT

PREFACE

As in my Commentary on Revelation so also in this Commentary I have been often obliged to break with the traditions of the elders—alike ancient and modern—and to pursue my path unaccompanied by any of my great predecessors in this field of research. But there is no great scholar in the past who has made contributions to our knowledge of this Old Testament Seer, to whom I am not under the deepest obligations. These obligations have been duly recorded where I am conscious of them and the occasion required. I have not, however, made it a practice to enumerate all the scholars who have supported any particular emendation or interpretation I have adopted. No more have I done so, when the suffrages of all the learned world are against me, and when I have had to reject their guidance, and pursue my own solitary path. But in any real contribution I may have made in this work to the emendation and interpretation of Daniel, I can seldom make any claim to merit, seeing that with the exception of Dr. Montgomery in his Commentary in the International Critical Commentary Series, all my forerunners in the study of Daniel have been handicapped in many respects owing to the lack of an Aramaic grammar[1] which dealt with the historical development of the language, a lack which it is now possible in a great degree to make good through the discovery of the invaluable Elephantine papyri and various isolated inscriptions. But since no attempt was made till last year to supply this lack, I was obliged to make a first hand study of the *CIS*, the Elephan-

[1] Kautzsch's splendid grammar (1884) is limited to Biblical Aramaic. It was not till 1927, when Baumgartner published his very admirable and compressed study 'Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel' in the *ZATW* 1927, 81–133, that a comprehensive view of the development of Aramaic from the eighth century B. C. to the first century B. C. was laid before the world of scholars. In the same year Bauer and Leander published their *Gramm. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, which, though not so able and stimulating, is very helpful to the student of Aramaic. Unfortunately my Commentary had been sent into the Oxford Press six months before these works appeared, and I had to pursue my work independently. Happily I have been able to avail myself of their help in my Introduction, though from time to time I have been obliged to adopt different views both in respect of the grammar and the actual extent of the original text.

tine papyri and other, for the most part, fragmentary survivals of Aramaic from the eighth century down to the second century B.C. The results of this study are given in §§ 17–21 of the Introduction. Some months after my Commentary had been sent to the Oxford Press, I had the great satisfaction of receiving from Professor Baumgartner an elaborate sketch of this development which confirmed in the main the conclusions at which I had already arrived, and helped to enrich my own treatise. Fortunately for my readers and myself my Introduction was only in part written though a vast accumulation of materials, digested and undigested, was at my disposal for the completion of this task in the briefest form possible. I need hardly add that Professor Baumgartner's conclusions and mine own do not always agree, but in the main they lead to the same goal. Moreover, though his treatment of individual forms is often fuller than mine, there are several distinctive idioms which he has failed to recognize.

Without such a study of the development of Aramaic we cannot interpret our author. The importance of such an historical study of Aramaic may be illustrated by two out of nearly thirty expressions. In Aramaic down to 300 B.C.—in fact down to the second century B.C., so far as I can discover, the Aramaic order of words in mentioning an Oriental monarch was always 'Nebuchadnezzar the King': but never 'King Nebuchadnezzar'. The impression given is that there was only one King. The rest were Kinglets, petty rulers. Ezra, which in its present form is dated by Driver *c.* 300 B.C., always reproduces this idiom faithfully. Cf. Introduction, § 20. *dd.* But Daniel, in keeping with the usage of the second century B.C., uses the later order of this phrase 'King Nebuchadnezzar' once out of every three times. Neither Baumgartner nor Montgomery nor anyone else so far as I know has noticed this fact. Again in Daniel the proper preposition after the verb 'to say' in addressing a Divine Being or a semi-divine (as an Eastern monarch) was 'before'—not 'to'. See Introduction, § 20. *w.* This usage is common in the New Testament and always in the Targums, as Dalman points out. Even in Egypt a subject never spoke 'to' the King, but 'before' him. Now the interpolator of $4^{3-7a\ (6-10a)}$ in Daniel has not the slightest knowledge of the author's usage, and actually represents the great Eastern potentate Nebuchadnezzar as reporting his address to the wise men in the following phrase: 'I told the dream BEFORE

them', $4^{4(7)}$. A similar blunder occurs in the next verse. It is worth observing that the LXX omits this passage and thus confirms the above conclusion. This passage includes other idioms conflicting with our author's usage. Accordingly a large section of the Introd. is devoted to the grammatical development of Aramaic idioms, so far as these have any bearing on the Aramaic of our text.

With regard to the Versions I have made the best use I could of them in their present condition. But they all require to be critically edited. Notwithstanding, their evidence, even as they are, is invaluable. Owing to the lack of space I have not discussed them, save in the case of the pre-Theodotion version, of which a genuine fragment is, I feel convinced, preserved in Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 31. See Introd., § 13 (*c*) n.: § 25. I have not even mentioned the three Additions to the Versions. They and their bibliography are dealt with in the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* which I edited for the Oxford Press in 1913.

Furthermore, though I had intended to give a brief historical sketch of the history of the Eastern Empires, so far as our author was concerned with them, for the same lack of space I have been obliged to relinquish this intention. At the same time these historical questions have been concisely dealt with in the special Introductions to Chapters 5 and 6 and in Introd. § 26.

Notwithstanding recent attempts to establish the sixth century date of our author, I cannot but regard it as an absolutely hopeless task. Even linguistically it is now possible to prove the later date.

Again I may remark that though many of the greatest Semitic scholars have edited Daniel, not one of them seems to have had a first hand knowledge of the characteristics of Apocalyptic outside Daniel. It is not strange, therefore, that they fail often to observe special characteristics of this type of literature. I may add three examples out of many, wherein such a knowledge is indispensable. In $11^{41, 44}$ there are two interpolations, which are impossible in literature of this type. The apocalyptist never designates the national enemies of Israel by their actual names, especially when the events occur near or in the time of the actual writer. Again no apocalyptist was ever guilty of the incredible irreverence of calling God 'an old man' (Dan. 7^{9}), an irreverence

which is camouflaged by the splendid English phrase 'an ancient of days'. Yet no commentator save myself has ever censored this impossible phrase, as I did in my small Commentary. Since then I have found my early emendation of that phrase into 'like unto an ancient of days' actually in Clem. Alex., *Paed.* ii. 10 (*c.* A.D. 200) and in the LXX in 7^{13} (*c.* 145 B.C.).

In publishing this Commentary my chief claim is, so far as possible, to recover the oldest form of the text, and to interpret that text in conformity with the usages of Jewish Apocalyptic.[1]

When the renderings in the Translation differ from those in the Commentary, as they do in a few cases, the former are to be accepted as my final conclusions and not the latter.

Finally I cannot refrain from expressing my deep gratitude, first of all to the Secretary of the Press and his assistants and next to the Printer, the readers and compositors for their unfailing courtesy, patience, and skilled service in the publication of a Commentary and Translation, which involved a continuous revision of the entire text, and which has proved to be the most difficult of all my studies in an experience of nearly forty years of research in apocalyptic literature.

R. H. C.

4 Little Cloisters, Westminster Abbey
August 1928.

[1] By a special arrangement made in 1912 with Messrs. T. C. and E. C. Jack I reserved the right of reproducing in this larger Commentary paragraphs or sections contained in the small Commentary which was published in the Century Bible in 1913.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *Short Account of the Book.*

(*a*) *Historical Antecedents.* In the closing years of the Syrian domination of Palestine, Antiochus Epiphanes sat on the throne of Syria. With his invasions of Egypt and other countries we are not here concerned, but only with his dealings with the Jews. His ambition was to hellenize the various provinces and peoples of his great empire. In this aim he met with little opposition except in Judea, and even there he secured without difficulty the support of the hellenizing High Priests. Thus the High Priest Jason, a creature of Antiochus, who had superseded his brother, the faithful High Priest Onias III, set up a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem, to join in the games of which the very priests abbreviated the sacred services of the Temple. Through his agency also contributions were sent for the celebration of the festival of Heracles at Tyre. Jason was succeeded by Menelaus, who had secured the High Priesthood by the promise of a huge sum of money to Antiochus, a sum which he was unable to raise save through plunder of the Temple treasury. For rebuking this treacherous act, Onias III, referred to above, paid for his fidelity with his life. In 170 B.C., while Antiochus was warring in Egypt, the rumour that he had fallen encouraged the exile Jason to make an attempt to recover the High Priesthood. This attempt led to much bloodshed in Jerusalem, and Antiochus on his return treated the Jews with the utmost severity.

Multitudes of men, women, and children, were put to the sword, and thousands were sold into slavery. This visit of Antiochus closed with his seizure of the last treasures of the Temple. Thus the Jews suffered from without as well as from within, but the cup of their sorrow was not yet full. Two years later Antiochus marched with a vast force into Egypt with the intention of making the kingdom of the Ptolemies a province of his own Empire.

But when his plans seemed on the eve of fulfilment he was met by envoys from Rome, who required him, on the penalty of joining issue with the Republic itself, to withdraw at once

from Egypt. Enraged and embittered, Antiochus turned homeward, resolved now to devote all his power to the hellenization of Judea. With this object in view he forbade the observance of the Sabbath and the practice of the rite of circumcision. The sacrifices of the Temple were done away with, and every form of Jewish worship and ceremonial. The sacred books were destroyed, and the Temple dismantled and laid waste. The walls of the city were overthrown, and a fortress erected commanding the Temple enclosure. But the culminating horror of this awful time was yet to come. On the 15th of December, 168 B.C., a heathen altar was planted on the site of the great altar of burnt offering, in honour of Olympian Zeus. On the 25th of the same month the profanation of the sacred precincts was consummated by the sacrifice of swine on the altar. Furthermore, every city and village was required to build temples and raise idolatrous altars on which swine were to be sacrificed daily.

At last the anguish of the faithful Jews became unendurable and an insurrection burst forth at Modein, under the leadership of Mattathias and his five stalwart sons. All that were zealous for the Law and the Covenant speedily joined them, and amongst these notably the Ḥasidim, or the league of the pious ones. This small body of Jews met with many marvellous successes. Notwithstanding, in the face of the vast forces of Syria, the Jews could repose no hope in their own powers. If they were to succeed it could not be in reliance on an arm of flesh. Now it was just at this crisis, this hour of mingled hope and despair, that the Book of Daniel 'appeared with its sword-edge utterance, its piercing exhortation to endure in face of the despot, and its promise, full of Divine joy, of near and full salvation. No dew of heaven could fall with more refreshing coolness on the parched ground, no spark from above alight with a more kindling power on the surface so long heated with a hidden glow. With winged brevity the book gives a complete survey of the history of the kingdom of God upon earth, showing the relations which it had hitherto sustained in Israel to the successive great heathen empires of the Chaldaeans, Medo-Persians, and Greeks—in a word, towards the heathenism which ruled the world; and with the finest perception it describes the nature and individual character of Antiochus Epiphanes and his immediate predeces-

sors so far as was possible in view of the great events which had just occurred. Rarely does it happen that a book appears as this did, in the very crisis of the times, and in a form more suited to such an age, artificially reserved, close and severe, and yet shedding so clear a light through obscurity, and so marvellously captivating. It was natural that it should soon achieve a success entirely corresponding with its inner truth and glory. And so, for the last time in the literature of the Old Testament, we have in this book an example of a work which, having sprung from the deepest necessities of the noblest impulses of the age, can render to that age the purest service; and which by the development of events immediately after, receives with such power the stamp of Divine witness that it subsequently attains imperishable sanctity [1].

(*b*) *Pseudonymous character of the Book.* The pseudonymous character of this book has been a source of great trouble to many, but to the student who is acquainted with the facts of the time, it is obvious that, if the book were to realize the end it aimed at, it could not have been otherwise than pseudonymous.[2] Owing to the Law having achieved an absolute supremacy, the calling of the prophet had ceased to exist, and there was no room for a religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. From this it followed that all real advances to a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character. Accordingly, when a man of God felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to cast it in this form. And thus it was that the brilliant visionary, to whom we owe the Book of Daniel, issued under the name of an ancient worthy this book of transcendant worth not only to his own, but to all after ages. It has taught to mankind many imperishable lessons, and of these there is none nobler than the incomparable testimony of the three Confessors when, in answer to Nebuchadnezzar's demand: 'What god can deliver you out of my hands', they reply: 'We have no need to answer thee in this matter; for there is a God whom we serve, who is able to deliver us . . . and he will deliver us out of thy hands, O King: but if not . . . we will not serve thy god nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (3^{17-18}).

[1] Ewald, v. 305 (translated by Stanley).

[2] See fuller treatment of this question in § 2.

(*c*) *Originally written in Aramaic,* 1–2^{4a}, 8–12 *were translated into Hebrew at latest before* 153 B.C. The Book of Daniel was, as I hope to prove, written originally in Aramaic, and 1–2^{4a} and 8–12 were subsequently translated into Hebrew.[1] In these chapters the Aramaic original was superseded by the Hebrew. Now since the book is divided into *narratives* (1–6) and *visions* (7–12), we should expect that this division of the book as to its subject matter would correspond with the linguistic division of the book. But a comparison of the above facts shows that this is not so. Hence Dalman has ascribed 1–6 to an earlier writer and 7–12 to our author. A redactor then took the two works in hand and translated 1–2^{4a} into Hebrew and 7 into Aramaic and issued the two works as one. This hypothesis, though it has been developed in various forms by Torrey, Hölscher, Preiswerk, and Montgomery, is very arbitrary, save in so far as it maintains that 1–2^{4a} is a reversion into Hebrew. With Montgomery's hopeless attempt to distinguish the Aramaic of 7 from that of 2^{4b}–6 I have dealt exhaustively in § 7.

The conclusion that Daniel was written originally in Aramaic is confirmed by the fact that there appear to be three distinct types of Hebrew in 1–2^{4a} and 8–12, the first appearing in 1–2^{4a}, the second in 8–10, 12 (?), and the third in 11. See §§ 10–11. If the conclusions of the present writer are valid in this respect, then the hypothesis of a Daniel written originally in Hebrew may be dismissed from further consideration.

The Book of Daniel was an appeal to the majority of the faithful Jews. If this appeal were to be successful, it could only appear in Aramaic. The knowledge of Hebrew in the second century B.C. was confined to a very small body of scholars.

From Aramaic 1–2^{4a} and 8–12 were rendered into Hebrew by three different translators—probably before 161 B.C. or at latest before 153 B.C. Without such a translation from the vernacular into Hebrew in the opening and closing sections the book could not have won its way into the Canon.

(*d*) *The book suffered much from interpolations and dislocations.* From the beginning to the end the book has suffered at the hands of interpolators.[2] One of the earliest interpolations 12$^{12-13}$

[1] For various hypotheses advanced in explanation of the bilingual character of Daniel, see § 5 (*a*)–(*f*).

[2] See § 14, *h*.

must have been made as early as 164 B.C., but 12^{11} was earlier still. The book originally ended with the encouraging words in 12^{10}, 'they that be wise shall understand'. These are likewise an answer to Daniel's prayer in 12^{8} for the gift of understanding the divine mysteries. Thus the book closes with the theme which pervades it from the beginning (cf. 1^{17}) that divine enlightenment attends on unflinching obedience to the Divine Will.

But not only did the book suffer at the hands of glossers and interpolators, but also of careless copyists and redactors. Thus we find frequent dislocations of the text.[1] Of these we may mention here the two most important, i.e. 1^{20-21}, which in the original text followed immediately after 2^{49a} and 3^{31-33} (4^{1-3}) after 4^{34}.[2] The first of these dislocations must have taken place in the Aramaic before the translation of $1-2^{4a}$ into Hebrew.

(*e*) *The Versions.* About twenty years after the publication of the book it was translated into Greek This Greek version, known as the Septuagint or LXX,[3] has been preserved to us in a single very corrupt Greek MS. of the eleventh century A.D., but happily it was translated into Syriac about the year A.D. 617.

In the meantime, probably in the latter half of the first century B.C. a second Greek translation—which on various grounds we call pre-Theodotion[4]—was made from the bilingual text under the guidance of the older translation. But by this time the bilingual text had undergone disastrous dislocations in 4–6. Accordingly, since all versions save the oldest LXX Version are derived from this later bilingual text, they all attest the same dislocations in these chapters. But this pre-Theodotion text has not survived independently but only in quotations of the first and second centuries A.D., and in the Version of Theodotion, of which it formed in a large measure the basis.

The Version of Theodotion, which belongs to the second century A.D. approximates closely to the Massoretic text, but implies in some two score or more passages a purer form of the Semitic text. The Peshitto and Vulgate Versions were made from a still later form of the Semitic text than that used by Theodotion. The two Egyptian Versions—the Sahidic and Bohairic—and the Ethiopic are versions of Theodotion.

Beside the above versions there is the Syriac Version of Paul

[1] See § 14, *g*.
[2] See Commentary, pp. 79–86.
[3] See § 13, *a*.
[4] See § 13, *c*: § 25.

of Tella[1] and the fragments of the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, which are to be found in Field's *Origenis hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 1875.

(*f*) *The Massoretic text.* This text is essentially of a secondary character. As we have already briefly stated and given some grounds for the statement, the Massoretic consists partly of a corrupt form of the original Aramaic (2^{4b}–7) and partly of Hebrew versions of the remaining sections. In §§ 6–11 I have furnished what I hold to be conclusive evidence for this statement. Thus half the Massoretic is, to begin with, itself a version, a Hebrew version of the original Aramaic, and both halves of the book, the original Aramaic half and the remaining half consisting of a Hebrew version from three hands, have been very imperfectly transmitted. That this is so should cause no surprise. The Book of Daniel as all other pseudonymous writings was especially exposed to corruptions, interpolations, dislocations, and other evils incident to literature of this description, as a work composed in secret and by an unknown author at a special crisis in the national history, though claiming to have been written some centuries earlier by some notable worthy of Israel, and copied and circulated, in some cases no doubt, under the seal of secrecy during its first or even second decades. It was during this critical period when the book met the clamant needs of the faithful and when, passing with incredible rapidity from hand to hand, it kindled anew the courage of its readers to face overwhelming odds, and inspired them with a loyalty that feared nothing so much as disloyalty to the God of their fathers—it was just during this period that the book suffered so grievously at the hands of its copyists alike in respect of dislocations, interpolations, and other depravations of the text. It was during this period that the dislocation of the text in 1^{20-21} occurred.[2] How early the most disastrous dislocation of all supervened, i.e. that in chap. 4 cannot be definitely determined.[3] In the LXX

[1] See § 13, *g*.

[2] See Commentary, p. 52 seqq.

[3] See Commentary, p. 79 seqq. I am inclined to believe that this disastrous dislocation was effected soon after the publication of the book in the copy from which the MT and the later versions are derived. But happily the LXX was made from a copy which still preserved the original *order* of the text, though in other respects its corruptions are all but incredible. The closing words of this chapter are preserved by the LXX in three distinct forms!

(i.e. *c.* 145 B.C.) the order of the text is still that of the original. It is not until we come down to the second century A.D. that the dislocated text is attested, and in due course came to be accepted by the Jewish Church and subsequently by the Christian as authentic. But this dislocation may have originated in a copy as old or still older than that from which the LXX was translated.

For the scores of corruptions in the MT, where the older and truer text is preserved in the Versions, the reader can consult the foot-notes in the Translation or the more critical list of these in § 14. From a comparative study of the MT and the Versions we cannot escape the conclusion that the present form of the MT is in many respects later than the fourth century A.D.

But the MT is not only dislocated and corrupt. The very words of the text have at times been replaced by others which either misrepresent the meaning of the original word or else by others which cannot be used in the sense assigned to them in their new context. See § 14, *i–k*. The MT contains phrases, where the Semitic order is wrong or not that of our author. It also misuses phrases: see § 14, *l–m*.

For the relation of the MT to the various versions the reader can consult the genealogical tree in § 15.

(*g*) The date of the work has been implicitly assumed in all the preceding paragraphs. Since the question is dealt with fully in § 16 there is no occasion for recapitulating the main arguments here.

§ 2. *Why did Apocalyptic become Pseudonymous in Judaism?*

The fact of a religious teacher issuing his work under the name of another has been a source of profound difficulty to most biblical students in the past and to a large section at present.

(*a*) If the book is really pseudonymous, many scholars would declare and indeed have categorically declared that the book is a forgery. It must be confessed that the grounds which scholars have in the past adduced for the use of pseudonymity by Jewish teachers have quite failed to justify themselves at the bar of the ordinary conscience. It is of no avail to state that such writers were wholly devoid of literary ambition and were only concerned that their teaching should be accepted. No more will it avail to

argue that they were merely making use of a literary form that was common throughout antiquity, as in Egypt already in the third century B.C., i.e. in the *Demotic Chronicle*, first edited by Spiegelberg. For a discussion on 'Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature' see McCown in the Harvard *Theol. Rev.*, 1925, 357–411 (quoted by Montgomery, p. 77). But if the Jewish writers of Apocalyptic pursued the same lofty and religious aims as the older prophets, as unquestionably they did, how is it that they did not come forward with their message in their own persons? Their failure to do so is certainly not due to any fear of sharing the fate that had befallen so many of the prophets and that would assuredly have befallen them if they had delivered their message in person (cf. Zech. 13^{3} seqq.). The religious leaders of the Maccabean period had no such fear of death; they were only too ready for martyrdom as we know from actual history.

(*b*) The real grounds, therefore, for pseudonymity must be found elsewhere. Into these, which I have discussed at some length in the second edition of my *Eschatology*, pp. 196–206, I cannot enter here. I will, however, for the sake of the reader, summarize my results.

From the time of Ezra onwards, the Law made steady progress towards a position of supremacy in Judaism. And just in proportion as it achieved such supremacy, every other form of religious activity fell into the background. This held true even of the priesthood, which in due course became subordinate to the teachers of the Law. But in an infinitely higher degree was it true of prophecy. When once the Law had established an unquestioned autocracy, the prophets were practically reduced to the position of being merely its exponents, and prophecy, assuming a literary character, might bear its author's name or be anonymous. But when a book of prophecy brought disclosures beyond or in conflict with the letter of the Law, it could hardly attain to official recognition or a place in the Canon. This was the case as we know with Ezekiel, which narrowly escaped being declared apocryphal by Jewish scholars (Shabb. 13^{b}, Men. 45^{a}) as late as the first century of the Christian era. The next claim made by the Law was that it was all-sufficient for time and eternity, alike as an intellectual creed, a liturgical system, and a practical guide in ethics and religion. Thus theoretically and

practically no room was left for new light and inspiration or any fresh and further disclosure of God's will; in short, no room for the true prophet—only for the moralist, the casuist, or the preacher. How then from the third century B.C. onward was the man to act who felt himself charged with a true message from God to his day and generation? The tyranny of the Law, and the petrified orthodoxies of his time, compelled him to resort to pseudonymity.

(*c*) And if these grounds had in themselves been insufficient for the adoption of pseudonymity, there was the further ground —the formation of the Canon. When once the prophetic Canon was closed no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, nor could it gain a place among the sacred writings at all unless its date was believed to be as early as the time of Ezra. On this ground again the prophetic type of man was forced to resort to pseudonymity to obtain a hearing, and so to issue his work under the name of one of Israel's ancient worthies of a date earlier than Ezra or at all events contemporary with him.

In Ps. 74^{9} the words 'there is no prophet more', whether they are authentic or merely a gloss, express the belief that the time was characterized by the absence of true prophets. In 1 Macc. this belief is still that of the people as a whole; for in 4^{46}, 9^{27}, 14^{41} no decision on great questions could be arrived at 'untill a prophet should come'.

Such pseudonymous works were said to have been concealed in some secret place (*in loco abscondito*, 4 Ezra 12^{37}) and not made known till the crises with which they dealt had arrived. Thus our author represents the following command being given to Daniel in 12^{4}, 'Thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even unto the time of the end'—the end being the advent of the Kingdom, which in the view of the writer was immediately impending. The secret and esoteric character of this literature is enforced in 4 Ezra 14^{44} seqq. 'The 24 books (i.e. the O.T.) that thou hast written publish . . . but the 70 last thou shalt keep to deliver to the wise among the people'.

All Jewish Apocalypses were pseudonymous from 200 B.C. to the thirteenth century A.D., but not all Christian, the greatest among the latter being the N.T. Apocalypse.[1]

[1] See also § 16 (*ad initium*) on the question of pseudonymity of Jewish Apocalypses.

§ 3. *Points in common between Prophecy and Apocalyptic*[1] *and points of Divergence.*

(*a*) The forms of the prophetic experiences as beheld by the inner eye, or heard by the inner ear, as well as their literary expression, must take their character largely from the spiritual and literary standards of the time. This psychical experience of the prophet was generally one of sight or of sound; that is, in the psychical state he either saw certain things or heard certain things. Now the things so seen or heard he could grasp only so far as his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him enabled him to do so; that is, in the case of a heavenly vision he could at the best only partially apprehend its significance. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own waking experience or the tradition of the past; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored.

And yet, however successful the prophet might be in setting forth his visionary experiences, he laboured, as we have pointed out, under a double disadvantage. *His powers of spiritual perception* were generally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and *his powers of expression* were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.

Now these visions and trances belong both to prophecy and apocalyptic. Furthermore, just as the prophet came not unfrequently to use the words, 'Thus saith the Lord', even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, and his sole wish was to set forth the will of God which he had reached by other means, *so the term 'vision' came to have a like conventional use both in prophecy and apocalyptic.* It is of especial importance to remember this in connexion with chapter 11, which of course is not to be taken as a literal vision. The Seer is attempting to represent the course of events *sub specie aeternitatis.* A like attempt on a larger scale will be found by the reader in 1 Enoch 89–90.

[1] In the above section I have only mentioned a few of the characteristics common to prophecy and apocalyptic. For a detailed comparison see the second edition of my *Eschatology*, 1913, pp. 178–206.

(*b*) But prophecy and apocalyptic need to be distinguished in regard to their eschatologies.[1] Eschatology in the first place must not be confounded as it often has been by careless writers with apocalyptic. Eschatology is strictly the doctrine of the last things, and the eschatologies of prophecy and apocalyptic differ. The eschatology of prophecy dealt only with the destiny of Israel *as a nation* and the destinies of the Gentile nations, so far as this world was concerned, it had no message of comfort *for the individual* beyond the grave. Sheol was the final and everlasting abode alike of nations and individuals from the standpoint of prophecy.

Every advance on this heathen conception is due to apocalyptic. The belief in a blessed future life is the contribution of apocalyptic and not of prophecy. No hint of it is to be found in O.T. phophecy. But the apocalyptist on the other hand found that it followed necessarily from his conception of God. Apocalyptic was a Semitic philosophy of religion and concerned itself with the questions of whence? wherefore? whither? It sketched in outline the history of the universe and of the angelic and human worlds, the origin of evil, its course and ultimate overthrow. It was thus apocalyptic and not prophecy that was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, human, cosmological, and spiritual is a unity—a unity that follows inevitably as a corollary to the unity of God as enforced by the O.T. prophets. Thus whereas prophecy deals with the present destinies of individuals and nations, and their future destinies as arising organically out of the present *and on the present earth* without reference to the life of the individual after death, apocalyptic dealt with the past, the present, and the future as linked together and forming one whole, and thereby sought to justify the ways of God to man. Prophecy, it is true, looked forwards to a blessed future of the nation, pure and noble from the ethical standpoint but materialistic. But in apocalyptic this hope was gradually transformed, till the expectations of the faithful were fixed, not on any transitory individual blessedness in an eternal Messianic kingdom on this present earth, but to an eternal personal blessedness in a new heaven and a new earth. This transference of the hopes of the faithful from the material world took place

[1] See my *Eschatology*[2] 177 seqq., where the above questions are more fully dealt with.

about 100 B.C. The writer of the Book of Daniel had not yet reached this stage of spiritual development. The eternal kingdom of God according to his view is to be established on the present earth, and only the pre-eminently righteous are to rise to enjoy eternal life upon it. The writer further believed that he could determine the exact date of the advent of this kingdom.[1] When this prediction in 8^{14} failed of fulfilment, two appendixes were added, the first (12^{11}) by the author (?) The second 12^{12-13} by a reviser, who wrote not from the standpoint of the author, i.e. sixth century, B.C. but from that of the second century B.C. (*c.* 165–164), in which he states that Daniel should survive its coming[2] and share in its everlasting blessedness.

We have now to ask how did this expectation arise? It cannot be explained from the standpoint of prophecy. Prophecy is a declaration, a forthtelling, of the will of God—not a foretelling. Prediction is not in any sense an essential element of prophecy, though it may intervene as an accident—whether it be a justifiable accident is another question. Prophecy, therefore, takes no account of days or months or years or millenniums. It sets forth God's Will and declares in no uncertain note the things which must follow on the fulfilment or the violation of this Will. Since it is only beings morally responsible, who are capable of the conscious fulfilment or violation of this Will, it follows that the development of such beings depends, not on any mechanical divisions of time, but on the steady acceptance or rejection of the Will of God as the law of their being, in the course of which they reach the consummation of life eternal or else of annihilation. Life so considered is essentially a never ending growth in goodness and in knowledge, in the realization of the Will and Being of God. But annihilation is a deliberate suicide in the profoundest sense of the term. If it occurs in the case of any moral being, it is due to his persistent and continuous rebellion against the laws of the Divine life, till at last he extinguishes life in all

[1] In Daniel there are three conflicting dates in 8^{14}, $12^{11,12}$, the second and third being extensions of the first, which were added subsequently to the book, in the hope that by such adjournments the text might be brought into agreement with historical fact. The book ended originally and rightly with 12^{10}.

[2] Ezekiel was a forerunner of apocalyptic and in large measure an apocalyptist himself. He declared that the captivity would last forty years (Ezek. 4^{6}), and he expressed in the last words that came from his pen the conviction that he would survive its advent (29^{21}).

its senses—spiritual, moral, intellectual, and ontological. Thus annihilation is self-entailed and not the result of any arbitrary prescript of the Divine Being. Prophecy, I may repeat, is not concerned with any definite periods of time but only with the development of character and its issues. Hence our Lord declares in terms that cannot be mistaken: 'Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mark 13^{32}).

So far we have dealt with prophecy and its rejection of determinism and prediction. How then did determinism, and prediction come to be all but essential elements of apocalyptic? A partial explanation can here be given. When the Canon of the Law and of the prophets was closed, every jot and tittle of these books came to be regarded as infallibly inspired. But there were many unfulfilled prophecies and this according to the orthodox view was impossible. The most tragic instance of such unfulfilled prophecy or rather of prediction was that of Jeremiah, who foretold that after 70 years (Jer. 25^{11}, 29^{10}) Israel was to be restored to their own land ($24^{5,6}$), and there enjoy the blessings of the Messianic Kingdom under the Messianic King ($23^{5,6}$). But this prophecy was not fulfilled. I have called this a tragic error on the part of Jeremiah, since it gave birth to an endless succession of idle reinterpretations in order to justify the original forecast, these reinterpretations beginning with our author and extending down all the centuries to our own day. It is tragic too that the most spiritually-minded of all the O.T. prophets should have given the sanction of his great name to this radical misconception of his prophetic office. That Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah should have adopted this mechanical view of the Divine rule of the world is not strange; for the mechanical conception of the prophet's office is manifest in later O.T. prophecy and comes to a head in the Book of Daniel.

(*c* and *d*) Two further points of divergence should here be mentioned. First the prophet spoke *in his own person*, when he addressed his contemporaries. Secondly he delivered his Divine message mainly in respect to the present and only in respect to the future as arising organically out of the present. He, therefore, sought to lead into the ways of righteousness the individuals, nations, or countries of his own time, addressing them definitely by their respective names, or else, if they deliberately pursued

their evil ways, he fulminated God's judgements against them. In apocalyptic the case was otherwise. The seer, *writing in the name of some ancient worthy*, sought to justify the ways of God to man *by rewriting history in the form of prediction*. Such a method required him to avoid the mention of any individual, nation, or country by its specific name. These were denoted by symbols. In most Jewish apocalypses this method is pursued without exception from start to finish. But in a few apocalypses, as in Daniel, it is only in dealing with his own generation and a few generations earlier that the seer rigorously followed the above method and confined himself absolutely to the use of symbolic terms. See note in Comm., pp. 281-3.

§ 4. *The Book divided into ten Sections—each dated by the Author.*[1]

(*a*) The method pursued by our author in the dates he assigns to the narratives and visions—ten sections in all—must be mastered, so far as possible, if the reader is to ascertain the right text in several passages. We shall discover, as we advance, that to every narrative and vision a definite date is assigned. This date is given at the beginning of each section, save in the case of the fifth, where the date is given at the close of the section. For Belshazzar's feast synchronizes with the day of his death in 538 B.C.

The book falls naturally into two parts, chapters 1-6 consisting of narratives, which follow each other chronologically, beginning with the third year of Jehoiakim, King of Judah, while 7-12 consist of visions, which also follow each other chronologically beginning with the first year of Belshazzar.

The first half of the book consists of an Introduction 1^{1-19} and five narratives, which are embodied in chapters 2-6. The second half consists of four visions, embodied respectively in chapters 7, 8, 9, and $10-12^{10}$. There is thus an Introduction and nine distinct sections, or ten sections, if we reckon the Introduction as one of them, into which the book naturally falls.

[1] The division of the Bible into chapters and verses was first made by Stephen Langton who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury and died in A.D. 1228. This division was singularly infelicitous in the case of 10-12, which are concerned with one vision only and not three as the division into three chapters would lead the reader to suppose.

(*b*) Next in the oldest Version—the LXX—each section begins with a definite date, with the exception of the fifth, but even there it is given by implication at its close. The much later Version—that of Theodotion, which in its present form is nearly three centuries later than the LXX, contains all these dates save that in the fourth section. There is no valid ground for questioning the genuineness of these dates on the ground that the MT, which in its present form is not older than the fourth century A.D., omits two of them.

(*c*) This method of our author is apparently abandoned in 11^1, where in the midst of a section a date is given. But that there is no valid objection to a reference to a past event by the angel see my Comm. *in loc.*

(*d*) Now that we have on fairly reasonable grounds recognized our author's method of dating his narratives and visions, it becomes our duty to consider the divergence of the MT from this method in 3^1 and 4^1, where the dates are lacking. Since the evidence already furnished as to the observance of this method by our author is reasonably conclusive, we might without further inquiry describe the MT as here untrustworthy. And this criticism we shall find on an examination of the passages justified on other grounds.

(*e*) The sections with their dates are as follows:

Section I: Introduction, i. e. 1^{1-19}. *In the third year of Jehoiakim* (1^1).

Section II: i. e. 2^{1-49a}, 1^{20-21}, 2^{49b}. Nebuchadnezzar's first dream *in the second year of his reign* (2^1).

Section III: i.e. 3^{1-30}. Nebuchadnezzar *in the eighteenth year of his reign* (3^1) sets up a golden image to do honour to his god and to celebrate his victories, which image all his subjects are required to worship.

Section IV: i. e. $4^{1-2, 7b-34}$, 3^{31-33} (see pp. 79–82). Nebuchadnezzar's second dream, *in the eighteenth year of his reign* (4^1) —in which his humiliation follows within the same year close on the heels of his guilty pride.

Section V: i. e. 5^{1-30}. Belshazzar's feast on the same day as his death (i.e. in 538 B. C.).

Section VI: i.e. 6^{1-29} (5^{31}, 6^{1-28}). Darius thereupon becomes King and reorganizes the entire empire 'being about threescore and two years old' (6^1 (5^{31})). Conspiracy against Daniel and its failure.

Section VII: i.e. 7. Daniel's first vision of the four world Empires, i.e. *in the first year of Belshazzar* (7^1).

Section VIII: i.e. 8. Daniel's second vision in which fuller disclosures are given regarding the vision in 7, *in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the King* (8^1).

Section IX: i.e. 9. Daniel's third vision, in which Gabriel explains to him the meaning of the seventy weeks *in the first year of Darius* (9^1).

Section X: i.e. 10–12^{10}. Daniel's fourth vision *in the third year of Cyrus* (10^1), which contains a survey of oriental history from the time of Cyrus to that of Antiochus Epiphanes with a forecast of the age of everlasting blessedness on the present earth on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

It will be observed that Daniel's visions take place in the reigns of Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus. The narratives (chapters 1–6) are recounted in chronological order from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the first year of Darius. The visions are also recounted in the chronological order of their occurrence from 'the first year of Belshazzar' to 'the third year of Cyrus' (chapters 7–12).

§ 5. *Problems connected with the later bilingual character of the Book of Daniel. Written originally in Aramaic. Wide divergence between the Versions of the LXX and Th.*

I shall begin with a short statement of the facts. This statement will be followed by a brief sketch of the various theories which have been offered for the solution of these problems. It is possible, indeed, that none of the theories advanced is in itself adequate, and that it may be necessary to invoke the joint aid of two or more of them. For as the problem is complex it is possible that the solution must likewise be complex.

I. The first notable difficulty in the Book of Daniel is connected with its use of two languages. Chapters 1–2^{4a} and 8–12 are written in Hebrew, and 2^{4b}–7^{2b} in Aramaic. The difficulties occasioned by this diversity of language are somewhat accentuated by the fact that in the first six chapters Daniel is spoken of in the third person, whereas in the latter six he is represented as generally speaking in the first. But even in 7^1

Daniel is spoken of in the third person, but in 7^2 the writer is obliged to use the first person since the subject-matter of 7–12 naturally prescribes it, dealing as it does with Daniel's visions from start to finish. Daniel is the foremost personality throughout the visions: whereas in 1–6 sole and dominant human personalities there are none: there are a number of lesser personalities, such as Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, Daniel, Hananiah, Misael, and Azariah. There is no difficulty, therefore, in the fact that Daniel is spoken of in the third person in 1–6, and that he speaks in the first in 7–12. In fact the change is exactly what we should expect from the change in the subject-matter.

Having shown that what was supposed to point to a difference of authorship really tends to support the unity of authorship, we must now address ourselves to the real difficulties—the chief of which is the fact that with the change of language there is no corresponding change of subject-matter. This is the main difficulty. A like change of language is found in Ezra 4^8–6^{18}, 7^{12-26}, which is Aramaic, and 6^{19}–7^{11} which is Hebrew: but there this change can be explained from the subject-matter.

How then is the change of language in Daniel to be explained? Are we to explain it as due to diversity of authorship or origin, in the case of the sections in question, and thus assume that these sections were originally written in the language in which they have been transmitted to us? or, rejecting this hypothesis and assuming the literary unity of the book, are we to believe that this present difference of language is not original, but that the book was first written in Hebrew, and that the loss of certain chapters of the Hebrew original was subsequently made good from the Aramaic translation? or conversely, that the book was written in Aramaic and subsequently translated into Hebrew, and that the Hebrew translation was in part destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic original? or, finally, that the present Hebrew renderings of chapters 1–2^{4a}, 8–12 were deliberately substituted for their Aramaic originals in order to gain an entrance for the book into the canon of the Holy Scriptures; for Hebrew, of course, was regarded as the sacred language.

II. The second notable difficulty connected with Daniel centres in the wide divergence between the two Greek Versions, i.e.

those of the LXX and Theodotion. Where this divergence appears, which is the more trustworthy? Here also full consideration must be given to the theory that, whereas Theodotion's Version is practically based on the MT text, that of the LXX is said by two recent scholars to have been made from a Hebrew original throughout. This problem is dealt with in the individual divergencies as they arise.

In the present connexion we can only enumerate the theories that have been advanced to explain the diversity of language in the text of Daniel.

(*a*) Some scholars (Kliefoth, *Dan.*, p. 44; Keil, *Dan.*, p. 14) were of opinion that Aramaic was the vernacular of Babylonia, and was accordingly used in the sections relating to that country.

But this theory cannot for a moment be sustained. The cuneiform inscriptions prove that the language of Assyria and Babylonia was indeed Semitic, but a Semitic language distinct from Biblical Aramaic.

The latest connected inscription of this nature is that of Antiochus Soter, 280–260 B.C. Gutbrod (see Prince's *Book of Daniel*, p. 11, note) is of opinion that this Semitic language of Assyria was spoken until Hellenic times. As a language of the learned it may have survived till the second century B.C. In connexion with this theory we may notice the popular but now discredited fallacy, that the Jews forgot their Hebrew in Babylonia and spoke 'Chaldee' on their return to Palestine—a discredited fallacy we repeat; for we know from Nehemiah that Hebrew was the nominal language of the Jews in Jerusalem in 430 B.C. (Neh. 13^{24}).

Biblical Aramaic, misnamed Chaldee, was not brought across the Syrian desert by the Jews, but they 'acquired gradually' the use of it 'from their neighbours in and about Palestine' (Driver, *Dan.*, p. lix) after their return from the captivity.[1]

(*b*) Other scholars seek to explain *diversity of language by diversity of origin*. Thus this theory finds its starting-point and justification in the various attempts that have been made to analyse Daniel into different independent elements. Spinoza (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*, ed. 1674, p. 189) was the first to deny

[1] See Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, 1890, p. 16; Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, §§ 1, 2, 6. Bauer-Leander, p. 4 sqq.

the integrity of the book on the ground of the difference of language. Thus he writes: 'Transeo ad Danielis librum; hic sine dubio ex capite ipsius Danielis scripta continet. Unde autem priora septem capita descripta fuerint nescio. Possumus suspicari, quandoquidem praeter primum Chaldaice scripta sunt, ex Chaldaeorum Chronologiis.' A distinct advance was made, when Sir Isaac Newton recognized the difference in character between 1–6 and 7–12. In his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1733, p. 10 (edited afresh by Sir William Whitla in 1922, p. 145) he writes: 'The book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at several times. The six last chapters contain Prophecies written at several times by Daniel himself; the six first are a collection of historical papers written by others. . . . The first chapter was written after Daniel's death . . . the fifth and sixth chapters were also written after his death.'

Beausobre (*Remarques sur le nouveau Testament*, 1742, p. 70) assigns 7–12 to Daniel but not 1–6. He observes that the author of 1–6 writes in the third person, not as the author of 7–12 in the first.

J. D. Michaelis (*Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments*, 1781, vol. x, p. 22) threw doubts on the antiquity of 3–6 and was the first to draw attention to the presence of many Persian words 'which one could hardly expect before the time of Cyrus and the Greek words before the time of Alexander the Great'.

Eichhorn (*Einleitung*[4], § 615) regarded 2^{4b}–6 as a tradition about Daniel written by a Jew at an early date, and 1–2^{4a}, 7–12 as a subsequent addition written by a Jew in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

One of the most reasonable theories offered under this head is that of Meinhold (*Die Composition des B. Daniel*, 1884, and *Beiträge zur Erklärung des B. Daniel*, 1888 in Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Kommentar*, 1889). According to Meinhold, chapters 2^{4b}–7, were a piece of narrative written in Aramaic about 300 B.C. about Daniel and his history. These chapters a writer of the Maccabean age accommodated to the needs of his own time, and having prefixed 1–2^{4a} as an introduction to 2^{4b}–7, he supplemented these with chapters 8–12, containing visions of his own composition with special references to the persecutions of Antiochus, and issued the whole as a bilingual work. Bertholdt

(*Daniel neu übersetzt und erklärt*, 1806) discovers nine distinct sources, of which the last is 10–12 written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. His analysis is accepted by Augusti.

Barton (*The Composition of the Book of Daniel* reprinted from the *JBL*, XVII, 62–86, 1898) discovers four sources, A, B, C, A^2, and a redactor. To the last he assigns 1, 2^{49}, 6^{1}, $12^{5-10, 13}$ and regards a few phrases in 6^{29b}, 9^{21}, $10^{1, 9}$, $12^{11, 12}$ as later glosses.

Another form of this theory is that enunciated by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, p. 11, 1898). Dalman supposes that 1–6 and 7–12 existed independently. The former was written in Aramaic, giving an account of Daniel's experiences and those of his companions at the court of Babylon. In a work in which the visions of the King of Babylon were interpreted, Aramaic, which was the *lingua franca* of the whole East at that time, was naturally considered suitable. The second part of the book, 7–12, was written in Hebrew, as its recounts Daniel's own visions with their interpretation by an angel, who of course would use only the sacred language. The redactor then took the two works in hand, and translated $1–2^{4a}$ into Hebrew and 7 into Aramaic, and compressed into one whole the two halves which were distinguished by their contents. Dalman's solution of the difficulty was arrived at independently by Torrey (*Notes*, I. 249), who, together with Hölscher ('Die Entstehung des B. Dan.', *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1919, p. 113) and Preiswerk (*Die Sprachenwechsel im B. Dan.*, 1902), maintains that $1–2^{4a}$ is a reversion into Hebrew.[1]

Montgomery (*The Book of Daniel*, p. 90, 1927) states that Dalman's solution is 'the only one that recommends itself' to him. On p. 95, however, he becomes doubtful and 'is therefore inclined to leave it an open question whether 7 is a distinct composition, a forerunner of the apocalypses in the following chapters even without deletion of verses which would relate it to the Maccabaean age'.

(*c*) The third theory is that which commands the assent of Driver, Behrmann, and Kamphausen, though it is to be observed that Driver with his usual caution and judgement does not absolutely commit himself to it, but only terms it as 'relatively the best' among the explanations offered. According to Kamphausen (*Encyc. Bibl. I.* 1005) 'the author has introduced

[1] So also Ryssel, *TLZ*, 1895, 560 (quoted from Montgomery, p. 91 *n*).

the Chaldeans as speaking *the language which he believed to be customary with them*: afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chapter 2: for the last three visions 8, 9, 10–12, a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects'. According to Behrmann, the Chaldeans, that is, the learned priestly class among the Babylonians, are introduced as speaking Aramaic in 2^{4b} in order to give a local colouring. But to this the rejoinder is obvious. The distinction between Western and Eastern Aramaic had not yet arisen, see § 18. Aramaic was practically the same in our author's time in East and West. To ascribe to such a scholar as our author such ignorance of the situation and of the linguistic problem, as do Driver, Behrmann, and Kamphausen, is simply incredible. How can they do so in face of the fact that in 1^4 it is said clever and chosen Jewish youths required three years to learn the literature and tongue of the Chaldeans. The tongue of this language could hardly therefore be a form of Aramaic, but rather Babylonian, a Semitic language very different from the Hebrew, or, it might be, even a non-Semitic Sumerian preserved in many of the marginal texts in the cuneiform script. That Babylonian was an unknown language is stated in Jer. 5^{15}.

If, therefore, we may presume that our author was familiar with his Jeremiah, and if, as Lenormant informs us, he had 'an excellent knowledge of Eastern usages', we may reasonably conclude, first, that he does not confound Babylonian with Aramaic, and, secondly, that he would be very unlikely to represent the Chaldeans as speaking a language which according to this theory was *familiar* to both Jew and Chaldean. The words 'in Aramaic' in 2^4 are therefore with Oppert, Lenormant, Nestle, Prince, and Marti to be rejected as an interpolation. Driver holds that this excision is probably right.

On the above grounds, therefore, we feel bound to conclude that the change of language in Daniel did not originate with its author. From considerations of a different nature we have previously shown that it was impossible that this change could be explained by diversity of origin.

Two other theories are possible; and these ascribe the present form of the book not to its author, nor to a diversity of origin of its different sections, but to the fortunes it met with after its publication.

(*d*) The first of these theories, which is advanced by Lenormant, Bevan, Zeydner, Von Gall, Paul Haupt, Prince, and Barton, is that Daniel was originally written in Hebrew. But as the author lived in a time of intense excitement, and the book was evidently meant, not for a small circle, but for all 'the holy people' (see especially 11^{33}, 12^{3}), 'the author himself or one of his associates' (Bevan, *Dan.*, p. 27) translated the book into the Aramaic vernacular, since the Hebrew language was then unintelligible to the ordinary people. 'But if the book was originally written throughout in Hebrew, why', Bevan asks 'has it reached us in its present form?' To this he answers: 'The most plausible supposition is that a portion of the Hebrew text having been lost, a scribe filled up the gap by borrowing from the Aramaic version.'

Objections to this theory have been advanced by Driver and Marti. The former maintains that this theory 'does not account for two facts (which can hardly both be accidental) that the Aramaic part begins in chapter 2 just where the Aramaic language is mentioned, and breaks off just at the end of a chapter'[1] (*Dan.*, p. xxii). Marti further asserts that the Aramaic section does not convey the impression of being a translation, that the assumption of such an accident as the theory makes is a mere makeshift, and that it is not at all probable that a book, which was written when the Maccabees were gaining the upper hand, should be translated and yet not secured against destruction. These objections have some weight, but are by no means conclusive. But if it can be shown that the Hebrew sections (see § 10) come from three distinct hands, then this theory ceases to be tenable.

(*e*) The preceding theory has assumed a further development in the hands of Riessler and Jahn. These scholars maintain that chapters 2–7 of the version of the LXX were made directly from the Hebrew, and not from the Aramaic, as was that of

[1] Since the book was not divided into chapters till the middle ages, it would be better to transform this phrase into the form 'at the end of a vision', or 'section'.

Theodotion, and that the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX is more original than the Aramaic of the Massoretic text, and formed moreover the Hebrew source from which the Aramaic version was translated in a revised form. The facts are altogether against this theory.

(*f*) We have now practically considered every possible explanation except that of Marti and Wright following in the steps of Huetius and Bertholdt. Marti (and herein the present writer agrees with him) is of opinion that the book was originally written wholly in Aramaic. Thus he contends that while on the one hand, the Aramaic section of Daniel does not give the impression of a translation, and nowhere points to a Hebrew original, the Hebrew sections, on the other hand, favour the hypothesis of an Aramaic original since they contain frequent Aramaisms. Marti, after advancing various grounds for the truth of his hypothesis proceeds to argue that no book written wholly in Aramaic could have been admitted into the Canon, as Hebrew was regarded as the sacred language, but since its exclusion from the Canon could with difficulty be contemplated on account of the importance of its subject-matter, the beginning and end of the roll were translated into Hebrew. At verse 2^{4a} the translator found occasion to bring his translation into Hebrew to a close, for the time being, as the Chaldeans were now represented as speaking, and to resume his translation into Hebrew with chap. 8 because in chap. 9, which is closely connected with 8, the prayer of Daniel had already made its way into the text in a Hebrew dress.

In the opinion of the present writer this interpolation was made either when certain chapters of the book were being translated into Hebrew or after they had been so translated and before they were translated into Greek.

When once the beginning of Daniel and its closing chapters were written in Hebrew, it could be adopted into the Canon just as the book of Ezra.

§ 6. *The Book of Daniel was written originally in Aramaic, and, though the author made use of oral or written sources, in the narratives, these were so fundamentally recast by him linguistically, if not in other respects that* 2^{4b}–6 *must be regarded as coming from his hand no less surely than*

the vision in 7. *With the Hebrew sections which are translations by different hands from the original Aramaic we shall deal with in* §§ 9, 10.

(*a*) If we accept the Maccabean date of Daniel, and recognize that the author's burning appeal to be steadfast even unto death on behalf of God and country is directed *to his countrymen as a whole, and not to a small body of scholars* amongst them, who knew Hebrew as well as Aramaic, then the conclusion is inevitable that the entire work was written in the vernacular of his time, that is, in Aramaic, and this conclusion becomes more self-evident, as we pursue our investigations.

This conclusion does not exclude the use in the narrative sections of traditions which came down to our author either orally or by means of written sources. But, though in all probability their contents go back in part to the Persian period, as may be reasonably inferred from the numerous Persian words —seven of them denoting specific Persian officials—the Aramaic is not of the Persian period nor yet of any period earlier than the last half of the third century B.C. or rather the first half of the second century B. C., as also the historical references in chapter 11 postulates.

(*b*) The Aramaic of 7 is not to be attributed to a different author from that of 2^{4b}–6. *Both belong to the same date and are the work of one and the same author.* To Dalman's division of Daniel into two distinct books, i. e. 1–6 and 7–12 we have already drawn attention. This hypothesis has been adopted also by Torrey and Montgomery (pp. 90, 95). But Sellin (*Introd. to O. T.* (Engl. Transl.), 1923, p. 233 seq.) more wisely connects 7 with 1–6, assigning 1–7 to a pre-Maccabean period but suggesting that 7 was brought up to date by insertions referring to Antiochus. Hölscher adopts a kindred hypothesis, and ascribes, with the exception of certain additions, 1–7 to the third century B.C.

To the date assigned to these chapters (or in part to a still earlier date) the present writer has no objection to make, if the date refers not to the present Aramaic form of these chapters but to the traditions embodied in them. From generation to generation they were transmitted, growing no doubt with each age, till at last their significance was recognized by our author and through his genius they were recast in a new and immortal

setting, which inspired a dying world with fresh hope and an unconquerable faith.

But, so far as I am aware, no exhaustive criticism of Dalman's (i. e. also Torrey's and Montgomery's) hypothesis, which I am convinced is absolutely groundless, has yet appeared. I proceed, therefore, to deal with this hypothesis which would break up the book into two parts and commit, what appears to me to be the unintelligible error of assigning 2^{4b}–6 and 7 to different authors.[1]

[1] The chief grounds for this hypothesis are as follows:

(*a*) The King's name in 7^1 is spelt בלאשצר, whereas in $5^{1, 2, 9, 22, 29}$ it is spelt בלשאצר. But this fact in itself is of no importance in the face of the overwhelming evidence which I furnish for the unity of authorship. Besides in 5^{30}, 8^1 some MSS. of the MT spell the name exactly as in 7^1. Marti corrects this spelling both in 5^{30} and 7^1 but Bär and Strack reproduce the MT. In both these passages the abnormal spelling probably originated in the slips of a scribe.

(*b*) Again it is urged that the predominant use of Ithpe. and Ithpa. in 7 over against the Hithp. forms in 2^{4b}–6 points to difference of authorship. But what are the facts? There are seven verbs בהל, זמן, חרך, מלא, רום, רחץ and שבח in 2^{4b}–6 which have the Hithp. forms. But on the other hand there are three verbs, שנא 3^{19}, שמם 4^{16}, and יעם 6^8, which have the Ithp. forms. Furthermore to show the freedom with which either form was used we have only to compare 2^{34} and 2^{15} where the same verb נזר is used—in the former passage with the Hithp. form, in the latter with the Ithp. We might compare with this last fact the use of the Aph'el of קום in 3^1, though the author elsewhere uses the Haph'el. In the face of this evidence no conclusion can be drawn from the appearance of Ithp. forms twice in 7, i.e. אתעקרו 7^8, אתכיות 7^{15}.

(*c*) Again Dalman emphasizes the fact that עליון is a Hebrew word. This is quite true. But as Montgomery (p. 308) observes: 'In this probably current term of the day the Saints preferred the Hebraic to the Aramaic word.' It is true that, owing to his view that 7 was originally written in Hebrew, he adds: 'Or the Hebrew word may have slipped in from the Hebrew original of the chapter.' His first suggestion appears to be the only tenable one, seeing that the evidence for 7 being in Aramaic originally and from the same hand as 2^{4b}–6 is so overwhelming. Thus we regard the phrase קדישי עליונין in $7^{18, 25, 27}$ as original. The Hebrew phrase in the *Zadokite Fragments* (18–8 B.C.) 9^{33} קדושי עליון is probably suggested by our text, just as in 16^3 'shall loose ... their knots' (יתר ... קשריהם) is suggested by 5^{12} משרא קטרין of our text, but in both passages the Aramaic is rendered into Hebrew. There are also other real Hebraisms in our text: cf. 2^{10} יוכל whereas the true Aramaic form is יְכֵל 5^{16}.

(*d*) It is strange that the champions of the original Hebrew of 7 have failed to notice that the phrase 'answered and said' which occurs in each of the five preceding chapters does not occur in 7; for though the MT attests it in 7^2, I have excised it, since the LXX, Th. and Vulg. omit it. But this fact does not make for a Hebrew original, seeing that, as it is essentially a Hebrew idiom and is quite unknown in later Jewish Aramaic (Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 19), its absence

§ 7. *Chapter 7 from the same author as* 2^{4b}–6.

It seems impossible to question this fact in the face of the evidence that follows. Let us compare the use of words, phrases, syntactical usages, order of words in 7 with those in 2^{4b}–6. There is not a single verse in the entire chapter (i.e. 7) which does not contain from one to four of the words, phrases, or typically idiomatic usages which are found in 2^{4b}–6. Further, the order of the words in 7 is the same as that in 2^{4b}–6. On the other hand, 2^{4b}–6 contains an idiom which appears to belong distinctively to the second century B. C. Since it is absent from 7, this latter chapter could linguistically be older in this respect than 2^{4b}–6. But they do not admit of division. Neither is afore or after the other.

(*a*) *Individual words.*

אֱדַיִן 'then' 7^{13} : 19 times in 2^{4b}–6.

אֲחֳרֵי 'after' 7^{24} : $2^{29, 45}$.

אָחֳרִי 'other' (fem.) $7^{5, 6, 8, 20}$: 2^{39} (bis). Earlier form was אחרה : see Cowley 15^{32}.

אחרן 'other' 7^{24} : $2^{11, 44}$, 3^{29}.

אלו 'lo' 7^{8} (bis): 2^{31}, $4^{7, 10}$—always in the description of a vision. In $7^{2, 5, 6, 7, 13}$ we find also ארו but not in 2^{4b}–6. With it we might compare הרי in Mishnaic Hebrew, which bears the same meaning as אלו in 2^{4b}–6 and הלו in fourth century B.C. Aram. See Cooke 73 A[1]. The fact that ארו does not occur in 2^{4b}–6 does not militate against unity of authorship. די (= ὅτι *recitativum*) does not occur in 7, but neither does it occur in 3–4.

from this chapter is just as incomprehensible on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original as of an Aramaic. Dalman goes against the evidence, when he asserts that the formula in question was probably unknown in genuine Aramaic, seeing that our author supports it in 2^{4b}–6 and also the Aramaic version of Aḥiḳar 45, 110, 118, 121 (fifth century B.C.). But idioms that occur in one or more chapters of 2^{4b}–6 do not occur in the others: cf. די = ὅτι *recitativum* (see § 20 *u*) : also ל *c. Inf.* = finite verb only in 2^{18}, 5^{16}, and ל *c. Inf.*, where this phrase is preceded by *vav* and a finite verb, and by די = finite verb only in 2^{18}, 6^{16} (see § 20 *t*.). Hence we cannot conclude from the absence of this phrase from 7 that 7 is not from the same hand as 2^{4b}–6. Besides it may originally have occurred even in 7; for the LXX and the pre-Theod. version in 7^{16} ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ λέγει μοι presuppose ענה ואמר לי where the MT omits the first verb. These may be right. In that case this idiom occurs in 7. But since it does not recur in the visions in 8–12, the probability is against its genuineness here. But is its absence due to the Hebrew translators?

אלין 'these' 7^{17} : 2^{44}, $6^{3,7}$ but not in 3–5. אִלֵּין 2^{40} (Ginsburg). In D only אִנּוּן [7^{17}]: 2^{44}, 6^{25}.

אתה 'to come' 7^{22} : 3^{26}.

דְּכֵן 'this' $7^{20,21}$: 2^{31}. Only in Dan. and after noun.

באדין 'then' $7^{1,11}$: 24 times in 2^{4b}–6.

באתר 'after' $7^{6,7}$: 2^{39}. The older form is באשר.

בגו or בגוא 'in the midst of' 7^{15} : 3^{25}, 4^{7}, &c.

הדק (Haph.) 'to shatter' $7^{9,19,23}$: $2^{34,40,45}$, 6^{25}. In 7^{23}, 2^{40} used of the Fourth Kingdom.

הודע (Haph.) 'to cause to know' 7^{16} : 2^{5}, &c.

חבל (Hithpa'al) 7^{14} : 2^{44}, 6^{27} (always of the kingdom of God).

ל before impersonal yet definite object 7^{2} : $2^{34,35}$, 3^{19}, &c.

מִן in comparisons *different from* $7^{3,7,19,23,24}$: 4^{13}. Used partitively: חד מנהון 7^{16} : 6^{3}. Cf. $2^{33,41,42}$.

עד 'until' (prep.) $7^{18\,(bis)\,26}$: 2^{20}, $6^{15,27}$, 'during' $7^{12,25}$: $6^{8,13}$.

עד־די 'until' (conj.) $7^{4,9,11,22}$: 2^{34}, 4^{30}, 5^{21}.

עדה 'to pass away' (of a kingdom) 7^{14} : 4^{28}. Haph. 'to take away' (c. acc. of thing) $7^{12,26}$: 5^{20}.

קבל 'to receive' 7^{18} : 6^{1} and exactly in the same connexion : 2^{6}.

קדם 'before' $7^{10\,(bis),13}$: also $7^{8,20}$ in the very idiomatic sense in which it is used in 2^{4b}–6. See § 20 *w*.

רברבן 'great' (fem. pl.) $7^{3,7,8,20}$: 2^{48}.

סלק 'to come up' 7^{3} : 2^{29}.

(*b*) *Phrases.*

אממיא אמיא ולשניא 'peoples, nations, and languages' 7^{14} : 3^{4}.

בעה c. מן of pers. 7^{16} : $2^{16,49}$.

דמה followed by ל 'to be like' 7^{5} : 3^{25}.

דת = Jewish religion 7^{25} : $6^{6(5)}$.

זיוי ישתנן עלי 'my countenance was changed' 7^{28} : same phrase in $5^{10\,(6,9)}$.

חזוא די לילא 'vision[1] of the night' $7^{2,7,13}$. (So LXX and

[1] Our author never seems to have used the plural. The LXX has the plural only once in 7^{2}, where it has *καθ' ὕπνους νυκτός*. But this very phrase is in Is. 29^{7} a rendering of the sing. חזון לילה. The MT preserves the sing. only in 2^{19}, 7^{2}; but there are occasional attestations of the original text in the later versions : in Th., Pesh., and Vulg. Thus the sing. is preserved in the Pesh. 2^{28}, 4^{10}, in the Pesh. and Vulg. in 4^{7}, in Th. and Vulg. in 4^{10}, in Pesh. and Vulg. in 7^{1}. Further Th. omits the phrase in 4^{7}. Th. and Vulg. attest the plural, in 2^{28}, 4^{2}, $7^{1,15}$, but,

Vulg. in $7^{7,13}$: in 7^{2} LXX has ὕπνους νυκτός but sing. in 4^{10}, 9^{21}: Th. has sing. in $7^{2(\aleph),13}$, but in 7^{7} om.: Pesh. in $7^{2,7}$ but om. in 7^{13}: Vulg. in $7^{7,13}$ but in 7^{2} agrees with MT.). There can hardly be a doubt that the MT in reading the pl. in $7^{7,13}$ is corrupt, and that in these two passages we should read as in 2^{19}, seeing that none of the versions read the pl. and that the LXX in 7^{2} does not necessarily imply the pl.

חזוי ראשי על משכבי 'the †visions of my head†[1] upon my bed' 7^{1} : 2^{28}.

חזוי ראשי יבהלנני 'the †visions of my head† troubled me' 7^{15} : 4^{2}.

חלם חזה 'saw a dream' 7^{1} : 2^{26}, $4^{2,6,15}$.

כל־דנה 'all this' 7^{16} : 5^{22}.

לבב אנש יהיב לה 'a man's heart was given to it' 7^{4}: 4^{13} לבב היוא יתיהב לה.

מלכותה מלכות עלם 'his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom 7^{27}: so exactly in 3^{33}, whereas in 4^{31}, where the redactor is at work the phrase is different. Yet in 7^{14} we find 'his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away'. See note in the Translation on 7^{14}.

מְנָּה מלכותא 'from the same kingdom' 7^{24}: same idiom in $3^{6,7,8,15}$, $4^{30,33}$.

מן־קדם 7^{8}: same phrase in 2^{15}, 6^{27}.

עד־סופא 'unto the end' 7^{26}: 6^{27}—in both passages in the same connexion.

פלח ל 'to serve' (a deity) $7^{14,27}$: $3^{12,14,18,28}$.

רעיוני יבהלנני 'my thoughts troubled me' 7^{28}: same phrase in 4^{16}, $5^{6,10}$.

השניה זמנין 'to change the times' 7^{25}: same phrase in 2^{21}.

the Pesh. only in 4^{2}, 7^{15}. Hence we conclude that the plural in the MT in 2^{28}, $4^{2,7,10}$, $7^{1,15}$ should be emended into the sing. These plurals are the result of a slow process, which finally reached its present form in the MT. See further evidence under חזוא in the Aram. Index.

[1] 'Visions of the head' is a non-Semitic expression and was not introduced into the text of our author earlier probably than the first century B.C. It does not occur once in the LXX. Th. supports the MT in 2^{28}, 4^{2}, $7^{1,15}$ but omits it in 4^{7} and substitutes 'in a vision of the night' instead in 4^{10}. Pesh. supports the MT in 2^{28} (sing.) $4^{2,7}$ (sing.) ^{10} (sing.), 7^{15}, and the Vulg. in all six passages Here we have the intrusion into the text of a non-Semitic phrase. The true Semitic expression is that in Jer. 23^{16} חזון לבם 'a vision of their own heart'.

(*c*) *Verbal prefixes and tenses.*

אתעקרו 7^{8}, אתכרית 7^{15}: so in other verbs in 2^{45}, 3^{19}, 4^{16}, 6^{8}. Yet התּ occurs 17 times elsewhere in 2^{4b}–7. See § 20 *l.* h (*ad fin.*), and once or more in I^{a}, II^{a}. Next the Hoph'al occurs in $7^{4, 5, 11}$ and in $4^{23\ (bis)}$, $5^{13, 15, 20}$, 6^{24}. Only once in Ezra.

יהיבת 7^{27} used as fut. just as השׁבחנא 6^{6} (fut. perf.).

(*d*) *Order of words: in* 2^{4b}–6 *as compared with that in* 7.

		Average per Chap. in 2^{4b}–6.	Chap. 7.
Subj. + verb	48 : 26 : 38 : 29 : 33 = 174	35	35
Obj. + verb	34 : 10 : 25 : 30 : 8 = 107	21	14
Verb + subj. or obj.	50 : 38 : 36 : 48 : 43 = 215	43	22

The average length of each of the first six Chapters is 34 verses. Chap. 7 has only 28. Thus the order of the words in 7 agrees on the whole well with that in 2^{4b}–6. The greatest difference arises where the verb comes first. But herein Chap. 5, in which the verb comes first 48 times in 31 verses, agrees almost exactly with Chap. 7, in which the verb comes first in 43 in 28 verses. The greatest variation is apparent in the case of the position of the object. Observe that in Chap. 6 it comes first only 8 times.

Next let us compare 2^{4b}–6 and 7 in regard to the six different combinations of subj., verb, and object.

	Chapters 2^{4b}–6	Chap. 7
(1)	Subj. + obj. + verb =	1
(2)	Subj. + verb + obj. = 12 (average c. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in each Chap.)	3
(3)	Obj. + subj. + verb = 2	
(4)	Obj. + verb + subj. = 2	1
(5)	Verb + subj. + obj. = 2	
(6)	Verb + obj. + subj. = 1	1

When there is a combination of subj., verb, and obj., this order is the most common of all, and herein the average of 2^{4b}–6 and 7 agree very closely.

If we take account of the fact that 2^{4a}–6 consists of narratives, and 7 of visions, the agreement in order is surprising.

But independently of this last argument, the former arguments based on the same idiomatic use of the same particles, phrases,

verbal forms, and syntactical usages is conclusive. In the view of the above arguments the unity of 2^{4b}–7 can hardly be regarded as other than an established fact.

The entire Aramaic sections are then from one and the same hand. Yet there is a difference between 2^{4b}–6 and 7. The subject-matter of 2^{4b}–6 has in the main come down to our author through oral (?) tradition: but 7 represents an immediate vision of the author. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the language in which the traditions were expressed, has influenced the style and usage of our author only in a few cases, if really at all. The Aramaic throughout 2^{4b}–7 is that of our author. Montgomery (p. 96) admits this fact in regard to 1–6. He writes: 'there is no reason to dispute the assumption of one literary hand for the whole' (i.e. 1–6). I have sought to prove by the evidence furnished above that not only has 2^{4b}–6 but also 7 come from one and the same writer. In fact the evidence, which proves that 7 is from the same hand as 2^{4b}–6, is stronger than the evidence that can be adduced in support of any one of chapters 2–6 being the work of the same author as the remaining four. Sellin (*Introd. to O.T.*, 1923 (Eng. Transl.), p. 233 seq.) and Hölscher ('Entstehung des B. Daniel', *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1919, 119 seq.) admit this unity of authorship but combine with this expression of their judgement the hypothesis that 1–7 was written in the third century B.C., and that subsequently in times of the Maccabees 7 was adapted to these times by the insertion of references to Antiochus and other personages of that period. This hypothesis as to the date is accepted by Montgomery, but it conflicts with the overwhelming evidence in favour of one and the same writer being the author of 2^{4b}–6 and 7—not only in respect of language and idiom, but also, we may justly assume, in respect of the order in which the events are recorded and the special lessons, moral and religious, which they are designed to convey.

§ 8. *There is an idiom in* 2^{4b}–6 *which belongs distinctively to the second century* B.C., *which, however, owing to the subject does not occur in* 7.

If we were forced to distinguish between the authorship and dates of 2^{4b}–6 and 7, as we are not, we should, so far as the

language is concerned, be obliged to conclude that, though 7 could from the standpoint of *language* have been written as early as the latter half of the third century B.C., the linguistic evidence of 2^{4b}–6 decidedly favours a date, not earlier than the first half of the second century B.C. For the specific evidence of this nature see § 20 *dd* on the phrase 'Nebuchadnezzar the King'. But the linguistic and other evidence postulates the same author and the same date.

§ 9. *Since* 2^{4b}–6 *and* 7 *come to us in Aramaic from one and the same hand, we naturally conclude that the narratives i.e.* 1–6 *and the visions, i.e.* 7–12 *were written as a whole in Aramaic, seeing that* 7, *which contains a vision, is preserved to us in its original Aramaic.*

Since 7, which records the first of the visions is written in Aramaic, *there is no rational or conceivable ground* for the author's forsaking the vernacular language of his day and having recourse to Hebrew for his remaining three visions in 8–12, seeing that his visions, no less than his narratives, were addressed—*not to a small educated minority who understood Hebrew but—to the uneducated many who only understood Aramaic.* No historian of this period can question the fact that one of the chiefest forces in achieving the overthrow of the great Syrian empire by some 10,000 Jewish warriors or more, and so in preserving a personal and spiritual religion for all after times, was this very book with which we are dealing. To get in touch with his countrymen and to bring home to them the ideals for which they stood, *the author of Daniel could not do otherwise than write in Aramaic.* Only through the medium of the vernacular was this possible, and the vernacular of his day was Aramaic.

As the second century (before 160 B.C.) sections of 1 Enoch were written in Aramaic, so likewise we naturally infer that Daniel as a whole was written in Aramaic and that both Daniel and 1 Enoch (earliest sections) were addressed to the people at large.

But, granting that 2^{4b}–7 were originally written in Aramaic, how comes it that 1–2^{4a} and 8–12 have been transmitted to us in Hebrew? This is the next problem which calls for solution.

§ 10. 1–2^{4a} [1] *and* 8–12 [2] *are translations into Hebrew from the original Aramaic, and the translations were made by three different hands.*

We have already seen that some scholars have held that the entire book was written originally in Hebrew. If this were so, and if the integrity of the book, save in the case of a few interpolations, cannot, as most of the foremost scholars [3] have argued, be questioned, it follows undoubtedly that these Hebrew sections should exhibit one and the same literary style and idiom, as the work of one and the same author. But this is far from being so, and it is the contention of the present editor that 1–2^{4a}–6 and 8–12 must be assigned to at least three different writers, or rather, if with most of the foremost scholars we hold fast to the integrity of the book, to at least three *translators*. If we can prove diversity of style in the Hebrew sections, it follows inevitably that the book of Daniel, if we accept its integrity, was not written originally in Hebrew but in Aramaic, and that the translation of the Aramaic was entrusted to several translators, just as the LXX translation of the books of Samuel and Kings can, as Thackeray (*JTS.*, iv. 245, 398, 578; viii. 262) shows, be traced to three different hands and the LXX translation of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel can similarly be traced in the case of each to two independent translators. See also Thackeray, *Gram. of the O.T. in Greek*, pp. 10–12.

It is now our task to prove that 1–2^{4a} was not translated into Hebrew by the translator or translators of 8–12.

1–2^{4b}. I have dealt with the characteristic differences between

[1] For Aramaisms in 1–2^{4a} see p. 3.

[2] For Aramaisms in 8 see p. 197, § 6: in 10 see p. 253, § 2: in 11, see p. 269 seq. (c): in 12 see p. 324, iii.

[3] Montgomery (p. 21 *ad. fin.*) regards 'the large proportion of Persian words in the Aramaic section of the book' as 'an argument for the distinction of the first and second half of the volume', and as pointing 'to the origin of the first part in Babylonia, not Palestine'. But this argument is irrelevant. The subject-matter of 1–6 requires the presence of Persian words denoting Persian officials, since, though we should expect Babylonian names for these officials, the kernel of the narratives assumed an oral or literary form in the Persian period, whereas the visions (7–12) were psychical experiences of the second cent. B.C. Besides, so far as idioms susceptible of a more or less definite date occur, these are to be found in 2^{4b}–6 and not in 7, and these idioms tend to prove that the former section is not earlier than the second cent. B.C. See § 20 *w*, *dd*: also § 14 (*u*) seeing that Montgomery accepts 4$^{3-7a(6-10a)}$ as authentic.

the Hebrew of 1–2^{4a} and 8–12 on pp. 1–3, 8–9, 23, 53 (*ad fin.*). It will suffice, therefore, to mention the chief of these here.

(*a*) In 1$^{2, 18, 20}$ (i.e. within 24 verses) we find *vav* consecutive with the Impf. which is also *vav* apodosis, whereas in 8–12 (containing 133 verses) *this rare Classical Hebrew idiom* does not once occur. But in 8–12 there is an alternative form of this idiom. Thus when the verb is separated from the *vav* apodosis at the beginning of the clause by a noun, pronoun, or adverb, the Imperf. is replaced by the Perf. tense. There are thus two absolutely distinct forms of this idiom in the Hebrew sections of Daniel. In 1–2^{4a} (i.e. in 24 verses) the first form occurs three times: whereas in 8–12) (i.e. in 133 verses) only the second form of this idiom occurs and that only twice—i.e. in 10$^{4, 9}$. On these two forms of this idiom see Driver, *Tenses*^{3}, § 127 seq. No scholar, however, has hitherto observed that the first form of the idiom is confined to 1–2^{4a} and the second to 8–12. The significance of this fact can hardly be exaggerated. In itself it postulates two different translators.

(*b*) The Hebrew translator of 1–2^{4a} uses twice the *oratio obliqua* instead of the *oratio directa* after אמר: in 1^{3} ויאמר ... להביא [1] and again in 2^{2}. Cf. also 1^{18}. But in the 133 verses in 8–12 אמר is not once followed by ל *c. Inf.*, but by the *oratio directa.* In Biblical Aramaic (see p. 2 (*b*)) the former construction occurs 9 times, though not once in the *Aram. Pap.* edited by Cowley, whereas the latter construction occurs almost hundreds of times. אמר followed by ל *c. Inf.* is a Hebrew construction—for the most part late. Yet compare 1 Sam. 24^{11}, 1 Chron. 21^{17} where both constructions are found in the same verses. The original Aramaic of Daniel may have been influenced by the Hebrew. The Targ. of 1 Sam. 24^{11} reproduces the first construction. Here again the style of 1–2^{4a} is clearly marked off from that of 8–12.

(*c*) The translator of 1–2^{4b} uses ארני—a Divine designation not found in 8–12.

(*d*) In 1$^{5, 19}$ עמד לפני = 'to serve': in 8–12 it = 'to withstand'. See p. 324 *ad fin.*

For other evidence to the same effect refer to the pages mentioned above.

[1] In the Targ. on Esth. 1$^{10-11}$ גזר is used as a rendering of אמר and is followed as in the Hebrew by ל *c. Inf.*, and אמר in the Targ. on Esth. 4$^{13, 15}$ by the same construction.

8–12. Within this section we must distinguish the Hebrew of 11 from that of 8–10, 12. On p. 268, § 1 (*a*) (see also p. 275) as Driver (*Tenses*[3], §§ 171, 175 Obs.) has pointed out, attention is drawn to the fact that the jussive is used 9 times in chap. 11 'without any recollection of its distinctive signification', and not once throughout the remaining five Hebrew chapters. On this ground alone we should in the main be justified in ascribing the Hebrew of 11 to a translator other than the translator of 8–10, 12. 8–10, 12 are distinguished from 1–2[4a], as we have shown above, by the fact that they do not use a Classical Hebrew idiom used in 1–2[4a] but an alternative form of it, independently of other grounds. But 11 is marked off from all the other Hebrew chapters in that it exhibits the frequent *misuse* of a well-known Hebrew idiom. For other grounds see p. 268 seq. (*b*).

§ 11. *Why was the translation of* 11 (+ 12?) *entrusted to a very faulty Hebrew scholar rather than to the translators of the earlier chapters?*

An indisputable explanation for this change of translator cannot be furnished, but on the whole it is not improbable that, since this chapter dealt with comparatively recent and contemporary history from 336 to 166 B.C., in which the author assumes on the part of his readers a more minute and detailed history of events than anywhere else in his work, the task of rendering this chapter into Hebrew demanded indeed a Hebrew scholar, but in still greater measure a historian who had an intimate knowledge of this period of history. The combination of both linguistic and historical knowledge was apparently not easy to find at the time in question, but, since in such a detailed narrative, historical knowledge was of more importance than a good Hebrew style, the duty of translating it appears to have been entrusted to a very second-rate Hebraist, who counterbalanced his linguistic shortcomings by a reasonably good knowledge of the history with which the vision dealt.

The translator of 11 may also have been the translator of 12. But no definite conclusion, so far as I can see as yet, can be arrived at on this question. The misuse of the jussive form so frequent in 11 does not recur in 12. But in another respect he shows as great ignorance of Hebrew usage, when he identifies יְאֹר with the Euphrates, whereas before 200 B.C. it was used only of the Nile.

§ 12. *The approximate date of the translation of* 1–2^{4a}, 8–12 *into Hebrew.*

On pp. 52–4 I have advanced several reasons, which appear to me conclusive, that 1$^{20-21}$ originally followed 2^{49a}. There is no need for recapitulating those reasons here. The lucidity of the Seer's thought and the clear sequence of his ideas, which are manifest throughout in the enforcement of his main thesis, appear to make imperative the restoration of 1$^{20-21}$ to their legitimate place in the Seer's argument, as I have done in my Commentary and Translation.

If then we accept this early dislocation of the text, it must have occurred between 164 and 145 B.C. or thereabouts. The ground for the latter date is to be found in the LXX, a translation which was made of these Hebrew chapters about 145 B.C. When this translation was made, the above dislocation had already taken place. But it had taken place some, if not many years earlier, seeing that the first Hebrew translator found 1$^{20-21}$ already in their present, untrue, and unhistorical context. By these adjectives I mean that 1$^{20-21}$ occupy a place in the traditional text inconsistent alike with the clear intention of the Seer and the historical traditions at his disposal. For the study of many years has convinced me that the Seer was not only a religious genius but a consecutive and logical thinker, and most scholars will agree that in the composition of 2^{4b}–6 he laid under contribution the historical traditions of his day, whether oral or written.

Now as regards the date of the partial translation into Hebrew, it is possible that the six chapters 1–2^{4a}, 8–12 were so translated before the death of Judas Maccabaeus in 161 B.C. The original of the entire book of Daniel was of course in the Aramaic vernacular, but, if the book was to be embodied in the Canon and made of lasting significance, this end could not be achieved otherwise than by commending itself in a Hebrew form, at all events in its opening and closing chapters, to the scholars of the day, who could admit its canonical authority, as they did that of the bilingual Ezra, though they refused to include it in the canon of the prophets.

If, owing to the turbulence of the time, this date of the Hebrew translation of the six chapters be regarded as too early, it may be referred to the time of Judas' successor, Jonathan, when

as 1 Macc. 9^{73} states: 'The sword was now at rest in Israel and Jonathan dwelt at Michmash. And Jonathan began to judge the people; and he destroyed the ungodly (i.e. the Hellenizers) out of Israel.' This period of peace closes with the year 153 B.C. This year may constitute the *terminus ad quem* of the translation.

The three translators probably worked simultaneously. They had one and the same object, and that was to gain a canonical recognition of the book. To the Hebrew translator of 8–10 we owe the clumsy interpolation of the beautiful prayer in 9^{4-19}, see p. 226 seq., and possibly the enumeration of the actual national enemies of the Maccabean dynasty in $11^{41,43}$ a thing impossible in Apocalyptic.

§ 13. *The Versions.*

The present work does not admit of any adequate criticism of the various versions. Individual readings, as they arise are dealt with in this Commentary, and so far as the LXX, Th., and Syro-Hexaplar texts are concerned the present editor has based his work on Swete's *O.T. in Greek*, 498–575.

It is, however, our duty to give a short account of the versions by the help of which we can arrive at a more trustworthy text than that of the MT. For from the selection of readings in § 14 (a)–(f), in which the MT. is in the greater number unquestionably inferior to that of the four chief versions taken collectively or of three, or two, or even of one of them, the reader cannot escape drawing the inference that the MT. is to a great extent untrustworthy, and needs to be corrected by these versions.

The chief versions of the book of Daniel are: the Greek versions, i.e. (*a*) the LXX, and (*b*) Theodotion, (*c*) the lost pre-Theodotion, (*d*) the fragmentary remains of Aquila and Symmachus; the two Syriac versions, (*e*) the Peshitto, and (*f*) that of Paul of Tella, (*g*) the Old Latin, (*h*) the Vulgate, (*i*) the Sahidic and Bohairic, (*k*) the Ethiopic.

The Greek Versions—the LXX and Th. These two versions (*a*) and (*b*) are of great value for the reconstruction of the Text, notably the former. As we are aware, the LXX unhappily is preserved only in an almost incredibly corrupt MS., i.e. the Codex Chisianus, attributed by some experts to the ninth and by others to the eleventh century. This Codex once belonged to Pope Alexander VII, a member of the Chigi family, but it

was not till more than a century after his death that the *editio princeps* of this MS. was published in Rome in 1772. Its publication was undertaken by Vincent de Regibus and Joseph Bianchini, and finally carried through the press by the labours of Simon de Magistris (de Maîtres). Many editions have subsequently appeared, the most recent of which is that of Dr. Swete, who, to the great convenience of scholars, prints the versions of the LXX[1] and Theodotion on opposite pages, and appends at the foot of the LXX version the variants from the Syriac version of Paul of Tella. This version is of no slight interest. It was made by or for Paul, bishop of Tella, in the year 616–617 from a hexaplar text. Thus it attests the condition of the LXX text as it existed at the beginning of the seventh century. As regards the date of the LXX version of Daniel, it is probable that it was made in the latter half of the second century B.C. *c.* 145.

(*b*) The date and relations of Theodotion's version of Daniel are far from easy to determine. According to Irenaeus, Theodotion was an Ephesian, but according to Epiphanius, a native of Pontus and a disciple of Marcion, where he adopted Judaism, while Jerome reports that he was probably a Jew who had espoused Ebionitic Christianity. Epiphanius assigns the period of his activity to Aurelius Commodus. As this Commodus reigned from A.D. 180 to 192, and as Marcion flourished about 150, the version of Theodotion, if we may trust Epiphanius, was written towards the close of the second century A.D. The *Paschal Chronicle* follows Epiphanius and ascribes the work of Theodotion to the year A.D. 184. The above date is very doubtful, and is in all probability one or more decades too late. But even if we could establish as early a date as 150, it would not materially lessen the difficulties which embarrass the relations of this version with that of the LXX. For we find that a great variety of readings, which we class under (*c*), and which are peculiar to Theodotion as against the LXX, are found already in quotations from Daniel in the first century of the Christian era.

Before entering, however, on this large question, we should observe that prior to Jerome's time[2] the Church discarded the

[1] Swete reproduces the Codex Chisianus as published in Cozza's *Sacrorum Bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta graeca et latina*, vol. 3, 1877.

[2] *Praef. in Dan.* Danielem prophetam iuxta LXX interpretes . . . ecclesiae non

use of the LXX version of Daniel in favour of that of Theodotion. How this came about Jerome could not tell. The way for such radical action had already been prepared by the action of Origen, whose citations from Daniel, as Dr. Gwynn writes (*Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. 974), 'agree almost *verbatim* with the text of Theodotion now current', a fact that accords well with the announcement made by Origen, in the ninth volume of his lost *Stromata*, that he intended to use this version. (Jerome on Dan. 4^6).

But Theodotion's version was used by several of the Fathers before Origen's time. Clement of Alexandria used Theodotion with occasional readings from the LXX.

In North Africa Tertullian's (*ob.* 240) references to Daniel are based mainly on the LXX version, though in a few cases he cites Daniel according to Theodotion. His contemporary Cyprian (*ob.* 258), Burkitt states, took his citations from the Old Latin translation of Daniel according to the LXX, which was already corrected according to Theodotion's version (cf. *De op. et elem* 5. ed. Hartel, p. 377).[1]

At an earlier date Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenaeus, adopted this version in his Commentary on Daniel about A.D. 202. Hippolytus was here following in the footsteps of his master Irenaeus, who was the first among the Fathers to quote Daniel 9^{24-7} as a Messianic prophecy according to Theodotion's version.

(*c*) *Pre-Theodotion Version.*[2] We have thus far only mentioned writers who lived subsequently to the date usually assigned to Theodotion. But the Theodotion type of text was clearly familiar to writers of an earlier date. Thus in Hermas there is one

legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione et hoc cur acciderit nescio.... Hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet. Cf. *Contra Ruff.*, ii. 33.

[1] See Bratke, *Das neu entdeckte 4. Buch des Dan. Comm. von Hippolyt.*, Bonn, 1891.

[2] In this recognition of a pre-Theodotion version of Daniel I follow in the steps of many scholars of the last hundred years. Credner (*Beiträge zur Einl. in die bibl. Schriften*, 1838, ii. 261–272) put forward the conjecture that there was an Early *Christian* version of Daniel, on which the New Testament quotations were based, as well as some of Justin Martyr's. Gwynn (*DCB*, iv. 976) disagrees with Credner's hypothesis. Strongly influenced by Salmon's view (*Introduction*, p. 548 sqq.) that 'there is no clear evidence that St. John had ever seen the so-called version' of Daniel, he shows by a variety of evidence (with all of which I cannot indeed agree) that the Greek text is clearly a *Jewish* and not a Christian translation. 'Side by side with the Christian LXX, there was current among the Jews from pre-Christian times, another version of Daniel,

undoubted reference (*Vis.* iv. 2. 4) to Theodotion's version of Daniel 6^{22} and possibly to others.

But the existence of Theodotion's readings before the time of Theodotion is still more clearly established by the long extract Justin Martyr (*ob. c.* 163) gives in his *Dial. c. Tryph.* 31 from Dan. 7. This extract while fundamentally in agreement with the LXX, presents us with a score of distinctively Theodotion words and phrases, and at least as many readings peculiar to the LXX. That Justin has quoted twenty verses from this pre-Theodotion Version I have sought to prove in § 25.

That this combination of the two distinct types in not due to pure eclecticism or defective remembrance on the part of Justin has been shown by Burkitt (*Old Latin and Itala*, p. 22 sqq.), since we find the same admixture in the Latin version in Tertullian's reproduction of the same passage. But earlier still, Clement of Rome (1 Cor 34^{6}, *c.* A.D. 96) shows acquaintance (Dan. 7^{10} *ἐλειτούργουν*, LXX *ἐθεράπευον*) with Theodotion in a citation from the passage of Daniel just referred to, and Barnabas (*Ep.* 4^{5}) recalls Theodotion's rendering of Dan. 7^{24} more closely than that of the LXX.

But still more memorable is the attestation given by certain passages of the N.T. to the existence of a pre-Theodotion text.

The citations from the N.T. are here mainly confined to Revelation: but we should not ignore Matt. 21^{44} (=Luke 20^{18}) *λικμήσει* from Th. 2^{44}: Matt. 28^{3} *τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών* from

more deserving of the name, claiming to belong to the LXX collection and similar in general character to the LXX versions of other books of the Hagiographa; that this was the version known to the author of the Book of Baruch (or the Greek translator of it); and to St. Matthew, St. Mark, ... St Clement, and to Hermas; and that it was also the version on which Theodotion founded his.' Swete (*Introd. to the Old Testament*, p. 48 sq.) writes with reserve on this question, but in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, p. cliv sq., he practically accepts Salmon's view and writes: 'the Greek text of Daniel known to the Apocalyptist came nearer to the Theodotionic than to the Chigi text.' Thackeray in his *Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 1921, p. 24 sqq., admits the necessity of assuming a pre-Theodotion translation. The many parallels between 1 Baruch (later half of first century A.D.) and this translation where it diverges from the LXX can thus easily be explained.

Montgomery (p. 50) in closing a discussion of this question concludes that 'there existed some such body of received translation (i.e. Theodotionic) before the Christian age', but he urges that 'we must not too quickly assume a written version'. He advances the hypothesis of 'a Hellinistic oral Targum' But the hypothesis does not explain the facts.

Th. 7^{8}: James 1^{12} *μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει*=Th. 12^{12}(?): Heb. 11^{33} *ἔφραξαν στόματα λεόντων*: cf. Th. $6^{23\,(22)}$ *ἐνέφραξεν τ. στόματα τῶν λεόντων.*

For the existence of a pre-Theodotion text, which was in part based on the LXX and a redacted edition of the Hebrew-Aramaic text of Daniel the following evidence, which could be given in greater fullness, may be adduced.

Revelation. There are several passages in the Apocalypse which show a dependence on a pre-Th. text.

In 1^{7} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* agrees with Th. 7^{13}. Here the LXX has *ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . ἤρχετο.*

In 1^{13} *γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.* Cf. Th. $2^{29,45}$ *γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.*

9^{20} *τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ξύλινα.* Cf. Th. 5^{23} where exactly the same enumeration is given save that the adjectives are all in the masc., being dependent on *τοὺς θεούς.* Here the LXX has only *τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ χειροποίητα.*

10^{4} *σφράγισον.* Th. 8^{26} *σφράγισον τ. ὅρασιν.* LXX different.

10^{6} *ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι* = Th. 12^{7}. LXX *ὤ. τ. ζῶντα.*

11^{7} *ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς.* Th. 7^{21} *ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς.* LXX *πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τ. ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς.*

11^{13} *ἔδωκαν δόξαν τ. θεῷ τ. εὐρανοῦ.* Cf. Th. 2^{19} *εὐλόγησεν τ. θεὸν τ. οὐρανοῦ.* LXX differs.

16^{18} *θλίψις οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἐν τῇ γῇ*— Th. 12^{1} *οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.* The last three words are peculiar to Rev. and Th.

19^{6} *φωνὴν ὄχλου* and Th. 10^{6} *φωνὴ ὄχλου* (LXX *θορύβου*).

20^{4} *κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.* Th. 7^{22} *τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἁγίοις.*

20^{11} *τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς* = Th. 2^{35}: but LXX *ὥστε μηδὲν καταλειφθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῶν.*

In Rev. there are some passages which show the influence of the LXX. I have dealt with these in my Comm. on Rev., and in any case this subject does not call for treatment here.

But the circulation and use of the pre-Theodotion text for nearly a century after the N.T. Apocalyse cannot be ignored. They confirm the conclusions already arrived at.

Ep. Clement, xxxiv. 6 (*c.* A.D. 96) *Μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ.* In Th. 7^{10} we find *χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ καὶ μύρ. μυριάδες παριστήκεισαν αὐτῷ.* Here Th. agrees with the LXX save in reading *ἐλειτούργουν* where the

LXX has *ἐθεράπευον*. Clement as Rev. 5^{11} inverts the order of the numerals, 'thousand thousands' and 'ten thousand times ten thousand'.

Justin Martyr (A.D. 100–163) shows an admixture of Th. and the LXX, or a revised LXX, or the actual use of the pre-Theodotion version in his *Dial.* 31. That neither of the first hypotheses is correct I am fully convinced so far as *Dial.* 31 is concerned, in which we find twenty consecutive verses of Daniel, i.e., 9^{9-28}. Since the problem is a difficult one, I have treated it at some length in § 25 (*a*), and furnished what appears to be conclusive evidence that Justin has in this passage drawn his quotations from the pre-Theodotion version, though in a few other passages he has used the LXX.

Again in *Dial.* 110. 7 he follows the LXX 11^{36} *ἕξαλλα λαλήσει* where Th. has *λαλήσει ὑπέρογκα*.

Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.* iv. 2. 4 (A.D. 140–155), *Ὁ Κύριος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ . . . οὗ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν Σεγρί, καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μή σε λυμάνῃ.* Here Hermas follows a pre-Th. text. In Th. $6^{23(22)}$ we have *ὁ θεός μου ἀπέστειλεν τ. ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐλυμήναντό με.* I have underlined the words in Hermas dependent on a pre-Th. text. Even the word *Σεγρί*, as Rendel Harris has pointed out, recalls the verb סגר 'shut' (the mouth). See *DCB.* iv. 601. The clause containing this word may have originated in a gloss. Here the LXX is different.

Irenaeus (*c.* A.D. 180) *Adv. Haer.* v. 25. 4 quotes Th.'s version of Dan. 8^{25}, as well as v. 25. 3 from Th. 7^{23} sqq.

Clem. Alex. (A.D. 150–210), ed. by Stählin, 1906).

Dan. 2^{27-8}: *Strom.* i. 4 (330 P). Purely Th. save for the addition of *δύναμις τοῦ* before *ἀναγγεῖλαι*.

7^{9}: *Paed* ii. 10 (235 P). *ἐτέθησαν, φησί, θρόνοι καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ χιὼν λευκόν.* Here Clem. reproduces Th. over against the LXX. But it does more: it gives the true apocalyptic designation of God *ὡσεὶ παλ. ἡμερῶν*, though all other authorities save the LXX 7^{13} omit the *ὡσεί* or its Aramaic original.

8^{13-14}: *Strom.* i. 21 (408 P) = Th.

9^{24-7}: *Strom.* i. 21 (393 P) = Th. with some divergences. He corrects Theodotion's *καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι* into *καὶ τοῦ ἀπαλεῖψαι καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι*. The first verb was originally a gloss.

12^{11-12}: *Strom.* i. 21 (409 P) = Th. with one or more slight divergences.

For the existence of two such versions we have a partial analogy in the two Books of Esdras in the LXX. A further and better analogy to the existence of two different versions of the Book of Daniel, which in fact represent in a minor degree two recensions of that book, may be found in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, of which there are two distinct Greek versions, one of which is represented by three MSS., and the other by six.

If the scope of this work admitted of it, we should now have to inquire: did these two versions go back to different Semitic originals; or did the notable variations between these two versions arise within the Greek itself? But though we cannot advance here the detailed evidence of the Semitic text and of the Greek versions, we can state the conclusions arrived at from the above evidence. These are, that if the Semitic text in its present form is as old as the Christian era, or even as ancient as 50 B. C., then there existed side by side with it another and earlier form of the Semitic text, of which the LXX form in the Chigi MS. presents us with a valuable, though corrupt rendering. It is possible to prove that the vast majority of the corruptions in this version can be traced to a Semitic background.

This statement holds in regard to chapters 1–3, 7–12, and its cogency has been recognized to a considerable extent by all the foremost scholars.

(*d*) But with regard to chapters 4–6 the case is different. Here the foremost scholars have in most cases relinquished the study of these chapters in despair. Thus Bevan writes on p. 46: 'In chapters 3–6 . . . the original thread of the narrative is often lost in a chaos of accretions, alterations, and displacements.'

The same view is practically set forth by Behrmann on p. 30 seq. of the introduction to his edition. Bludau (*Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Daniel*, p. 154, 1897) states as his opinion, after a critical examination of the LXX, that chapters 4–6 are to be named 'a revision rather than a translation'. This verdict is quoted with approval by Marti in his edition, p. xix.

On p. 31 Bludau includes chapter 3 in this criticism. It is

less corrupt indeed than 4–6. In regard to these the translator is said to have sometimes filled the role of a translator, sometimes of a paraphrast, and sometimes of an epitomizer. To these adverse critics of 4–6 we may now add Montgomery, *Book of Daniel*, p. 38, 1927. He thinks (p. 37) that 3–6 circulated as an independent and pre-Maccabean collection of stories, as Bevan had already suggested.

But with the above conclusions the present writer cannot agree. A long sustained and minute study of the text and versions has led him to conclude that it is just in these chapters that the LXX makes its greatest contribution to the recovery of the original text over against the late redacted text of the MT. particularly in chapter 4 and to a less extent in 5. The bulk of the evidence for this conclusion cannot of course be given here, but some of the grounds are enumerated in the introduction to chapters 4–6. The LXX, however, which has been reproduced in Hexaplaric form, needs to be critically edited.

In fact, in many instances it attests an older and purer form of the LXX text. It retains the critical signs introduced by Origen into the text, i.e. the asterisk, and obelus, and the metobelus, which have as a rule been omitted in the Codex Chisianus.

(*e*) I have occasionally referred to the fragments of the versions of Aquila and Symmachus in the Commentary, but have no space to deal with them here.

(*f*) *The Peshiṭto Version* belongs to the same type of version as Theodotion, and therefore agrees for the most part with the Massoretic text. It is reproduced from practically identical texts in the London and Paris Polyglots and by Lee in 1823. A photographic reproduction of the Ambrosian MS. was published by Ceriani in 1876. Of course it diverges at times from all known authorities, and in one case may single-handed represent the original, i.e. in 11^4.

(*g*) *The Syriac Version of Paul of Tella.* This slavishly literal rendering of Origen's Hexaplaric text was made at Alexandria in the years 616–617 by Paul of Tella. It is preserved in an eighth century MS., and was published by Bugati in 1788.[1]

[1] This version was first made known to the world of scholars by Andreas Masius (*ob.* 1573) from a MS. which has since been lost. But another MS. was preserved at Milan, which Ceriani published in photographic facsimile, *Codex*

This Syriac version is of great value in the correction of the Codex Chisianus.

(*h*) *The Old Latin.* According to Burkitt (*Rules of Tyconius*, p. cxvi) 'The Old Latin brings us the best independent proof we have that the Hexaplar signs introduced by Origen can be relied on for the reconstruction of the LXX. Passages in Hexaplar MSS. to which is prefixed the asterisk (※) profess to be no part of the original LXX but to have been added from other sources. *No such passage is found in any genuine form of the African Latin.*' For a very extensive list of O.L. Patristic quotations see Ranke, *Fragmenta versionis sacrarum scripturarum latina antehieronymiana*, Vienna, 1868; *Par palimpsestorum wirceburgensium*, 1871 (i.e. the Wurzburg Fragments); *Stutgardiana versionis sacrarum scripturarum latinae antehieronymianae fragmenta*, Vienna 1888; Dold, Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten, Leipzig, 1923, in *Texte u. Arbeiten herausgegeben durch die Erzabtei Beuron*, 1 Abt., Heft 7–9; also Montgomery's enumeration (in his Comm.) of O.L. Fragments from all sources, p. 29 seqq., which he says amounts to three-fourths of the entire book. A comprehensive and critical study of these fragments and their bearing on the LXX is much to be desired.

(*i*) *The Vulgate Version.* This version was made in the years 319–405. It is most closely related to the Massoretic text and to Theodotion. Sometimes it agrees with the Massoretic against Theodotion, and sometimes conversely, whilst in others it seems to take an independent line. In $6^{25\,(24)}$ it may be the only authority which preserves the original text. In 9^{24} it apparently does so also in conjunction with the LXX.

(*k*) The Sahidic and Bohairic versions are translations of the Th. as Sir Herbert Thompson informs me. I have not been able to make any use of them.

(*l*) The Ethiopic version of Daniel, published last year in Paris by Oscar Löfgren, appeared too late to be of service to this edition. It is itself a version of Th., and a very free and at times unintelligible version of it. It differs from Th. in reading 'vision' and not 'visions' (4^2, 7^{15}). It reproduces the non-Semitic expression 'vision of the head' in 2^{28} (COW) 4^2 ($A_1 A_2 L_2$), 7^{15} and certain MSS. of 7^1.

syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus 1873. See Swete, *Introd. to the Old Testament*, pp. 112–13.

§ 14. *The Massoretic Text—its essentially secondary character.*

The Massoretic text of our author may on the whole be regarded as representing the substance of the original, but in scores or rather hundreds of passages it is wholly untrustworthy as to the form of the original and occasionally as to its subject-matter. But to be more definite, we are obliged to maintain that it is very often inferior to the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg., and that, if it is our aim to recover as far as possible the original Aramaic of 2^{4b}–7, or the primitive form of the Hebrew version of the remaining chapters, we must have constant recourse to the above versions.

The great scholars of the past and present, who have devoted their energies to the recovery and interpretation of Daniel, have as a rule overlooked the fact that this work belongs not to the prophetic type of O.T. literature but to the Apocalyptic, and that, whereas O.T. prophecies, which dealt with contemporary nations and individuals under their actual designations, were *first spoken and then committed to writing* under the names of their respective authors, Jewish apocalypses were *first written and not spoken,* and written, moreover, under the names not of their actual authors but of various ancient worthies who lived some 400 to 4000 years (according to Jewish chronology) before the actual period of the respective authors of these apocalypses.

Jewish apocalypses thus dealt in the main with the individuals and nations of the past down to their authors' actual period and *generally with these under symbolic designations. When the writer approaches his own period this rule held absolutely.* Personal or national names were then absolutely eschewed and only symbolic designations used. Hence, as we shall see later, the clauses in Dan. $11^{41, 44}$ mentioning nations contemporary with the writer of Daniel are, as even tyros in apocalyptic literature will recognize, interpolations made 161 or at latest before 145 B.C., when the LXX was translated, and when the Jews could hold their own with their national enemies. Since Jewish apocalypses after the third century B.C. were in all cases pseudonymous,[1] this pseudomity must for some years, if not for one or more generations, have exposed the text to corruptions, interpolations, dislocations, and

[1] Not so the great Christian Apocalypse. See my Comm. I, p xxxviii sqq.

manifold other evils incident to the reproduction and circulation of pseudonymous works. In the case of Daniel, not only was it composed in secret as all Jewish apocalypses, but the earliest scribes who copied it must have worked in secret—not only to escape discovery on the part of the agents of Antiochus and the Hellenizing Jews, but also of the main body of the faithful remnant, to which the writers themselves belonged. During this period, when Daniel was being copied by scores of scribes, some of whom were not improbably illiterate, errors of every kind must have crept into the text. This fact cannot be ignored, when we come down to the LXX version, which, though made within twenty years after the composition of the original, teems with corruptions of every variety. But, notwithstanding these, no student of Daniel can fail to recognize that this version is invaluable to him in his efforts to recover the oldest form of the text. This fact will grow in impressiveness as his study advances, till at last he reaches the conviction, based on unquestionable evidence, that between the earliest form of this text which is preserved in a mutilated form in the LXX and that which is preserved in the MT there yawns a deep and at times an impassable gulf. Furthermore, he wins the assurance that, whereas the MT and the versions, which support it, represent the editing and recasting of the text by a scholar, or rather by a body of scholars through successive generations from possibly as early as 145 B.C. down to A.D. 400, the LXX represents the honest attempt of one, or possibly more scholars, to render into Greek the corrupt bilingual text of Daniel, a text so corrupt that they found the task of giving an intelligible version at times utterly beyond them, and so had to content themselves with simply reproducing in Greek the bilingual text that lay before them with its innumerable corruptions and with its frequent dittographs or occasional tritographs.

We have now to justify by actual evidence this general sketch of the relations existing between the early text of Daniel as in the main represented by the LXX and its later edited form, as it appears in the MT.

(*a*) *Corruptions in the MT according to the Versions. The MT is in a dozen of passages without the support of a single version, LXX, Th., Pesh., or Vulg., though the latter three as a rule support it.* This evidence of the later versions suggests that in

certain passages the MT is not older than the fourth century A.D. In some of these passages, the evidence of the context is all but conclusive in itself apart from the documentary evidence.

3^{17}. LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg., and context require two emendations of the MT: 'We have no need to discuss this question; ⌜for⌝ there is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us... out of thy ⌜hands⌝. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy god.' This is the answer of the three Confessors to the king's arrogant question: 'What god is there that shall deliver you out of my hands?' It gives the strongest and fullest reply conceivable. 'We have no need to answer thee in this matter; ⌜for⌝ the God whom we serve can deliver us and He will deliver us out of thy ⌜hands⌝.' Contrast this text with the MT which gives the hopelessly weak text: 'We have no need to answer thee in this matter: †if† our God whom we serve be able to deliver us, he will, &c.' See pp. 68–70.

$7^{7, 13}$. 'Vision of the night': so LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. Th. also in 7^{13}, and in 7^{2} in two MSS. MT wrongly reads 'visions of the night' in $7^{7, 13}$. See Transl. 2^{19} n.

8^{2}. Here the versions require the excision of the clause in the MT ['and it was so when I saw']. This is a mere tautology drawn from 8^{15}.

8^{14}. 'Unto him' as also the context requires: MT 'unto †me†'.

8^{21}. 'The he-goat'. Cf. 8^{8}. Here the MT incorporated a Hebrew gloss השעיר. See p. 216.

9^{20}. 'Sins' (*bis*). MT 'sin' (*bis*).

9^{23}. 'Tell ⌜thee⌝'. Versions + 2 Heb. MSS. MT 'tell'.

9^{26}. 'Together with'. Here one Heb. MS. (עִם) and Aq. support the four versions. MT 'people' (עַם).

10^{19}. 'Be strong and of a good courage (versions + 6 Heb. MSS). MT 'be strong: yea be strong'.

12^{2}. 'The dust of the earth'. MT 'a land of dust'.

(*b*) LXX (original text of), Th., Vulg., Joseph. read 'Mene, Tekel, Peres' while the interpretation in MT 5^{26-28} requires this reading. Yet MT reads 'Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin'. Here the weight of evidence against the MT is no less strong than that under (*a*).

(*c*) LXX, Th. (in part), Vulg., Joseph. (in part).

2^{34}. ⌜'from a mountain'⌝. Only MT and Pesh. om. Justin, *Dial.* 70 and Cypr. Test. II. 17 also contain the phrase. But

the definite phrase 'the mountain' in 2^{45} postulates the previous mention of the indefinite phrase.

2^{45}. ⌜'the clay, the iron'⌝. MT reads 'the iron, the clay'. See note on p. 43.

$6^{25\,(24)}$. 'were cast . . . they, their wives and their children'. The evidence for 'were cast' is found in the four authorities above cited. For 'they, their wives and children' we have the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. אִנּוּן (i.e. 'they') by this emendation of the text is restored to the only usage it has elsewhere in Biblical Aramaic. For the order 'their wives and their children' which is the more normal order in the O.T. we have the support of the LXX, Pesh., Vulg., and Cypr. Test. III. 20, whereas the MT and Th. give the reverse order, which is the normal Greek one. For the Semitic order in the Papyri, fifth century B.C., see Cowley $30^{25,\,29}$, 31^{14}. MT reads 'they cast them (אִנּוּן) . . . their children and their wives'. Pesh. supports MT in reading 'cast them' but disagrees with what follows.

8^{8}. ⌜'horns'⌝. So first three authorities. MT. om.

8^{17}. ⌜'and stood'⌝. So first three authorities. MT. om.

(*d*) LXX and Th.

3^{1}. ⌜'in the 18th year'⌝. MT, Pesh. and Vulg. om. But this dating of the narratives and visions is characteristic of our author. Hence in 4^{1} where only the LXX preserves the date, it must be followed against all the later authorities. See § 4.

$6^{14\,(13)}$. ⌜'before his God'⌝. The LXX and Th. differ in form here but presuppose this phrase. MT om.

$6^{16\,(15)}$. om. 'came tumultuously to the king and'.

8^{13}. ⌜'is taken away'⌝. So LXX and Th. MT om.

10^{13}. '*I left him* ⌜with the prince⌝'. So LXX and Th. MT 'I was left'.

11^{17}. ⌜'But shall make an agreement with him'⌝. LXX, Th., and Vulg. MT 'and upright ones with him and he shall do'.

11^{26}. ⌜'his anxieties'⌝. LXX and Th. MT corrupt.

(*e*) Even a single later version has occasionally to be followed when the context supports it.

Thus in 2^{35} read with Th. 'the clay, the iron'. MT against the entire context reads 'the iron, the clay'.

Again in $6^{25\,(24)}$ with Vulg., *adducti sunt*, read הֵיתָיו 'were brought' and not הֲיָתָיו 'they brought'.

Possibly in 11^{41} we should read with the Pesh. שארית 'remnant'

instead of ראשית, 'chief': and certainly in 5^{19}, it alone amongst the versions reads rightly 'kept alive', where Th. and Vulg. read ἔτυπτεν. Here unhappily the LXX is defective.

(*f*) LXX—even when it stands alone—possesses for the recovery of the text as it existed between 165–145 B.C. a critical value transcending all the other versions collectively.

This version has been quoted already under the first four headings (*a–d*) in conjunction with other versions. I shall now quote some of the passages where it stands alone in preserving the text.

2^{28}, $4^{2\,(5),\ 7\,(10),\ 10\,(13)}$, $7^{1,\ 15}$. In these six passages we have in MT a non-Semitic expression 'visions of the head', where we should expect 'visions of the heart'. Cf. Jer. 23^{16}. But in none of these passages does this non-Semitic expression occur in the LXX. It appears in the addition of the redactor twice in the MT, i.e. in the interpolation $4^{2\,b-7\,a}$ ($4^{5\,b-10\,a}$), which was unknown to the LXX. In $4^{10\,(13)}$ the LXX reads 'in my vision' (ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου) where MT, Pesh., and Vulg. have 'in the visions of my head upon my bed', but Th. 'in the vision of the night upon my bed'. In 7^{1} the LXX reads ὅραμα εἶδε παρὰ κεφαλήν = 'he saw a vision near his head', while in 7^{15} it reads 'in the vision of the night'. The words that follow are as the asterisk shows borrowed from a later version. It is noteworthy that in these six passages the plural 'visions' does not occur in the LXX: nor elsewhere in the original text save in 7^{2} καθ' ὕπνους νυκτός. But in Isa. 29^{7} this pl. renders a Hebrew sing.: see notes on $7^{7,\ 13}$ below.[1]

3^{1}. ⌜'When he had brought under his rule cities and provinces and all that dwell upon the earth from India to Ethiopia.'⌝ This clause gives Nebuchadnezzar's reason for erecting the great image on the plains of Babylon.

4^{1}. ⌜'In the eighteenth year of his reign.'⌝ Here the usage of our author requires a date; see § 4.

$4^{2-7\,b\,(5-10\,b)}$. Here the LXX (supported by Josephus) alone preserves the true order of the text, which brings to light the dislocations, interpolations, and losses of the MT. See Transl., p. 356.

[1] In our author the phrase 'visions of the head' is always secondary: so likewise is 'visions of the night'. He never uses 'vision' in the plural. Our author uses two forms of the phrase conveying this idea. See note on 2^{19} (Translation).

5^{11}. ⌜'Whose name is Daniel, one of the exiles of Judah'.⌝ Here Josephus supports the LXX and the context postulates some such statement. Cf. also Th. 1^{3}, 5^{13}.

$6^{4\,(3)}$. ⌜'And he prospered in the king's business which he carried out.'⌝ So LXX—a clause which explains the king's wish to promote Daniel. It is stupidly transposed to $6^{29(28)}$ by the redactor. See Comm., p. 150, sqq.

$6^{7\,(6)}$. Here with LXX (*ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως*) we should emend 'said to him' (לֵהּ) into 'said before him' (קדמוהי). Cf. 3^{32}, 6^{22}, where *ἐναντίον* is a rendering of קדם in a like context. See note, p. 154, *ad fin.*: also § 20, *w*.

$6^{29\,(28)}$. Here the LXX alone preserves the original. ⌜'So Daniel was set over the kingdom of Darius. And king Darius was gathered to his people. And Cyrus the Persian received the kingdom.'⌝ The MT is a confused medley of two distinct types of text. See pp. 151–2.

7^{7}. 'In a vision of the night.' So LXX, Pesh., Vulg., Th., om. MT reads 'in visions of the night.' In this last passage Th. and Vulg. support LXX, Pesh., om.

7^{8}. ⌜'he made war with the saints.'⌝

7^{13}. 'in the vision of the night.' So LXX, Th., Vulg. Pesh. om. MT reads as in 7^{7}.

7^{17}. ⌜'Shall be destroyed from off.'⌝ MT has the impossible reading, 'shall arise out of'. See pp. 189–90.

10^{11}. [Which is Hiddekel]. LXX om. this false and mistaken gloss in the MT, Th., and Vulg. The Pesh. rightly interprets it as the Euphrates.

11^{34}. ⌜In the city and many in their *several* homesteads.'⌝ MT and dependent versions wholly corrupt: 'Many shall join themselves to them with flatteries'. See note on pp. 310–11.

(*g*) *Dislocations of the text of the MT.*

1^{5a} should be read after 1^{5b}: 1^{20-21} after 2^{49a}: [2^{28a} after 2^{30}:] 3^{31-3} (4^{1-3}) after 4^{34} as the LXX shows: 5^{7-9}, which in the MT is dislocated, interpolated, and defective, should be read as follows with the help of the LXX and Josephus, $5^{7a, b, 8a, 9, 8b, 7c}$. See notes *in loc.* and in translation: $6^{19\,(18)}$ should be read thus, $6^{19a, d, b, c}$: 10^{20-21} in the order $10^{20a, 21a, 20b, 21b}$: $11^{4, a, b, c, d, e, f}$, in the order $11^{4a, b, c, e, f, d}$.

(h) Interpolations in MT, some of which originated in marginal glosses.

1^2. 'to the house of his god': 2^{24}, 'he went': 2^{40} 'and as iron that crusheth': 3^{23}: 4^{3-7a}, these last verses being against the context: also against the grammar of our author and against the LXX which omits them: 4^{7b}: 4^{9b}: 4^{15} (an addition by the redactor to make the text harmonize with the previous interpolation 4^{3-7a}: 4^{31-4}—a recast of the original text by the redactor and in this edition relegated to the notes: 5^7 'and the king answered and said to his wise men of Babylon'. LXX does not admit of this clause. Josephus omits it: 5^{10} 'by reason of the words of the king and of his lords': 5^{12} 'whom the king named Belteshazzar': $6^{5(4)}$ 'neither was there any error or fault found in him'; $6^{13(12)}$ 'concerning the interdict of the king': $6^{16(15)}$ 'came tumultuously to the king and': see note in the Transl. *in loc.*: $6^{29(28)}$ conflate and inconsistent text in MT: see notes *in loc.*: 7^1 'visions of his head' and 'he told': 7^2 'Daniel answered and said': 7^{19} 'and went forth': 7^{11} 'I beheld'—the second one,: 7^{18} 'for ever and': 8^2 'and it was so when I saw': also 'and I saw in the vision': 8^{21} duplicate expression in Class. Heb. 'the he-goat': 8^{24} 'but not by his own power': 8^{27} 'fainted and': 9^{4-20}—the interpolated prayer drawn probably from existing Hebrew liturgies: 10^4 'which is Hiddekel': 10^8 'and I retained no strength': 10^9 'on my face': 10^{10} contains a conflation of glosses: 11^{15} 'not' interpolated before 'withstand' against LXX, Th., Pesh.: 11^{35} 'and to make them white: 11^{41} 'Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon': 11^{43} 'and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be in his train'—these last two contemporary enemies of Judah—being impossible in a pseudepigraph: 12^2 'shame and': 12^{10} 'and make themselves white': 12^{11} and 12^{12-13} are the earliest interpolations in the book.

The reader can find these interpolations dealt with in the foot-notes to the English translation, and at length in the Commentary.

(i) Replacement of one word by another in MT having a different or wrong meaning, or by an earlier Hebrew equivalent.

In $6^{7(6)}$ the MT has seemingly replaced קרבו (so LXX, Th., Pesh., and even the Vulg., though in a corrupt form, and

Josephus; see pp. 152–4). Thus no version or other authority supports הרגשו in this passage from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 4th A.D. In $6^{16(15)}$ the MT, which has against it, the LXX and Th., and the context as it appears in LXX and Josephus, inserted this verb (see p. 154). But the context not only of the LXX and Josephus throughout, but even of MT in $6^{15(14)}$, here presupposes the presence of Daniel's enemies during the whole interview till sunset and not of their departure and tumultuous return according to the inconsistent narrative of the MT.

In $6^{28\,b(27\,b)}$, as the LXX as well as the context prove, the text was recast by some redactor or the Massoretes by a conflation of clauses, which in part belonged originally to $6^{4(3)}$ and $6^{29(28)}$. Hence we must restore הָקִים in place of הצלח which was borrowed from $6^{4(3)}$, and translate 'Daniel was set over the kingdom of Darius' instead of 'this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius'. See pp. 150–2.

In 7^{17} the MT has יקומון מן instead of יאבדון מן as the LXX and the mythical conception behind the text require. The four kingdoms do not 'arise from the earth' but are 'destroyed from off the earth'. Th. has both readings, but corrects the מן into על and so escapes making a statement in glaring contradiction with 7^{3} and the myth in question.

In 9^{24} the original Hebrew rendering למחות (so LXX ἀπαλεῖψαι, and Vulg. *delere*) 'to blot out', 'to forgive wholly' was replaced by an early reviser by the legalistic verb לכפר 'to forgive' (but as a rule not freely, but for a consideration, a sacrifice or penalty of some sort). Montgomery (p. 374) quotes Driver and seeks to justify לכפר as connoting at once the legal and religious implications of this verb. But this seems inadmissible here, seeing that, though the LXX uses about ten verbs to render כפר, it never elsewhere uses any form of ἀλείφειν, simple or compound, to do so. Nor does the Vulg. use *delere* to render it. This conclusion is valuable. When Th. made his version (c. A.D. 150) he found למחות already displaced by לכפר and so he rendered the latter by τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι τ. ἀδικίας. Subsequently a scribe added the LXX rendering of למחות in the margin, i.e. καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι τ. ἀδικίας, which a later scribe incorporated in the text of Th. without adapting it to its new context by inserting τοῦ before the verb. When a few years later Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i. 21 (393 P) quotes 9^{24} from Th. he assimilates the intrusion to its new

context by inserting the τοῦ. Thus in Th. we have a conflate text, which is later reproduced in the Bohairic, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions.

In 11^{24} the LXX reads εἰς μάτην = לְשָׁוְא which is an obvious corruption of לשעה 'for a time', a pure Aramaism (cf. $3^{6, 15}$), which, however, was used in Mishnaic Hebrew. But the Massoretes or some earlier revisers replaced this Aramaic phrase by the Classical Hebrew עַד עֵת.

(*k*) *Misuse of Hebrew words.*

In 10^{4}, $12^{5, 6, 7}$, יְאֹר which is used to denote the Nile throughout the O. T. is used by the Hebrew translator to denote the Euphrates.

In $11^{21, 34}$ †חלקלקות† appears to be either a misuse of this word which means 'slippery places': cf. Jer. 23^{12}; Ps. 35^{6}: or a corruption of חלקות 'flatteries'. See pp. 297–98. But as the LXX shows it is a corruption of חלקתו = κληροδοσία. There appears, therefore, to be no justification for attributing the meaning of 'flatteries' to this word in Hebrew.

In 12^{13} עמד is said in the Lexicons to mean 'to rise in the resurrection'. But this meaning in Hebrew cannot be justified elsewhere, and seems to be due to the interpolation of the appendices $12^{11, 12-13}$. The context requires us to translate 'thou shalt stand' in thy lot, i.e. *live* to inherit it in the coming kingdom. Thus the interpolator has here forgotten that he should be writing from the standpoint of the 6th cent. B.C., and not as a contemporary of the Maccabees, when the coming of the kingdom was due.[1]

(*l*) *Wrong order of words.*

In 4^{15} (18) דנה חלמא should according to our author's usage be translated 'this is the dream', and not 'this dream'. In the latter sense the demonstrative follows (eleven times) and does not precede its noun.

In 4^{15} (18) the MT reads 'King Nebuchadnezzar'. Unfortunately the LXX omits this phrase, but inasmuch as Th., Pesh.,

[1] The LXX renders תעמד here by ἀναστήσῃ just as it renders it in 12^{1} of Michael and seven times elsewhere, where it can have no reference to the resurrection. The technical Hebrew term of the second century B.C. used in reference to the resurrection is הקיץ as in Daniel 12^{2}; Isaiah 26^{19}: or קום Isa. $26^{14, 19}$.

and Vulg. read 'Nebuchadnezzar the King', we may justly assume that the MT has introduced this late order, which does not apparently occur in Semitic texts before the 2nd cent. B. C. For the passages where this late order occurs elsewhere in our author, see § 20 *dd*. The ancient order still persists in our author two times out of three.

(*m*) *Misuse of phrases.*

In 3^{24} the MT and versions corruptly read 'said unto the king' where according to our author's usage we should expect 'said before the king'.

It also commits the astounding error of making Nebuchadnezzar say in $4^{4(7)}$ 'I told the dream before (!) them', and similarly in $4^{5(8)}$, though קדם = 'before' in such contexts in our author can only be used in the case of divine or semi-divine beings. See § 20. *w*. But these verses are an intrusion. They are wanting in the LXX.

In 7^{9} MT with all the versions uses the wrong apocalyptic form עתיק יומין 'an old man'. See note on p. 182. Clem. (*Paed.* ii. 10) quotes the true expression ὡσεὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν = כעתיק יומין 'like an old man', though where he got it I do not know. The LXX, however, in 7^{13} preserves the right apocalyptic form ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν. See note on 7^{9} (Translation).

§ 15. *Textual Authorities of the Book of Daniel and their respective Relations represented on a Genealogical Table.*

Aramaic Archetype of the Book of Daniel, 165 B. C.

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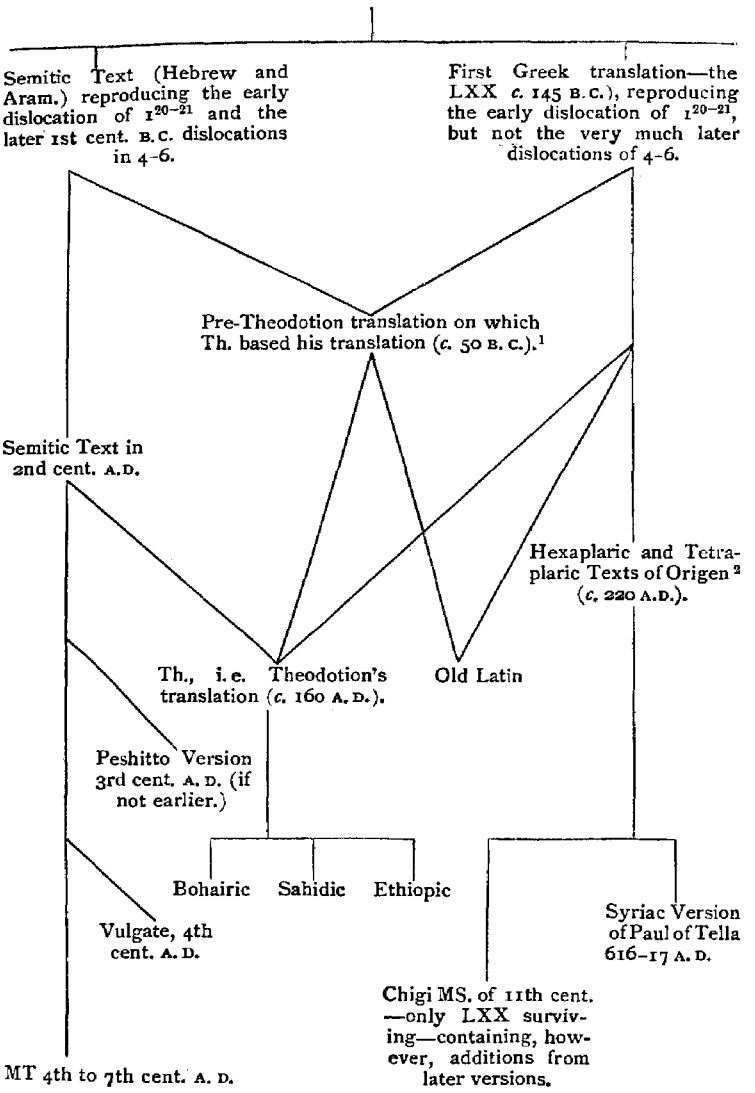
This Archetype reproduced by many scribes with glosses, and dislocations including that of 1^{20-21} from its original context after 2^{49a}, and additions such as those of 12^{11-12} which imply three editions within six months.

|

New edition of Daniel with the translation of $1-2^{4a}$ and 8–12 into Hebrew, in which translation three scholars took part—possibly as early as 161 B.C., but in any case within a decade later.



[1] For 20 verses of this translation (7^{9-28}) see § 25 *a*.

[2] For studies and conclusions as to later Hexaplaric Revisions, see Montgomery, *J.B.L.*, 1925, pp. 289–302, 'The Hexaplaric Strata in the Greek Texts of Daniel'; Benjamin, *J.B.L.*, 1925, pp. 303–26, 'Collation of Holmes-Parsons, 23 (Venetus), 62, 147, in Dan. from Photographic Copies'; Gehman, *J.B.L.*, 1925, pp. 327–52, 'The Polyglot Arabic Text of Dan. and its Affinities'.

§ 16. *Date of the Book.*

As a result of modern research it is now generally agreed amongst scholars that the Book of Daniel was written about or shortly before 165 B.C.

Inasmuch as the Advent of the Kingdom did not take place at the date furnished in 7^{14}, a reviser or possibly the author in a new edition of the book adjourned this date in an appendix 12^{11} which extended the 1150 days to 1290. Subsequently on the failure of this extention, another reviser added a second appendix 12^{12-13}, which extended the original 1150 days to 1335 days. Thus within less than six months three editions of this book appear to have been issued.

The chief reasons for these conclusions as to the date are as follows:

I. *There is no evidence in Jewish literature written before 190 B.C. of the existence of the Book of Daniel.*

1. The position of the book amongst the Hagiographa and not amongst the Prophetical works indicates that the Book of Daniel was introduced into the Jewish Canon after the collection of the Prophets had been closed, and this was done apparently not earlier than the third century B.C.

The Jewish Canon consists of three divisions: first, the Law or Pentateuch, the first formal collection of sacred books; secondly, the Prophets, consisting of the historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Prophets properly so called, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets.

The exclusion of Daniel from this second division is sufficient to prove that this book did not exist when the Canon of the Prophets was completed. Moreover, Daniel's use of the phrase '*the* books' in 9^2, seems to indicate that the prophetic canon was already closed. It is to be observed also that even in the Hagiographa Daniel is enumerated near the end after Esther.

2. The silence of Jesus the son of Sirach (*c.* 190 B.C.) touching Daniel may prove that Daniel was unknown to him. This writer, in his list of Israel's worthies, chapters 44–50 mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets collectively, but says not a word of Daniel. If Daniel had been known to him, with his roll of achievements which were almost

without a parallel in the O.T., the writer could hardly have said, as in 49^{15}, that no one had ever been born like Joseph.

3. External testimonies to the existence of Daniel begin with the years 145–140 B.C., and they increase in number in subsequent years. Testimonies from 145 B.C.–A.D. 120, including the N.T.

1 Enoch. 6–36 there are several parallel phrases to those in Daniel: i.e. in 1 En. 8^3, $14^{14, 18, 19}$, $60^{3, 4}$ 21^5, corresponding to allied phrases in Dan. 5^{12}, $8^{17, 18}$, $7^{9, 10, 16}$; but 1 En. 6–36; is of earlier date than Daniel. In 89^{40}, 90^{20} (before 161 B.C.) the phrase 'pleasant and glorious land' may be partly dependent on Dan. 8^9, $11^{16, 41}$ 'the glorious land' of our text, but it can be wholly accounted for by Jer. 3^{19}; Ezek. $20^{6, 16}$; Zech. 7^{13}; Mal. 3^{12}.

On the other hand 1 En. 104^2 'shall shine as the lights of heaven' (104–95 B.C. or as late as 70–64 B.C.), appears to be suggested by Dan. 12^3 'shall shine as the brightness of the firmament . . . and . . . as the stars'.

Sibyllines III. In the third book of the Sibyllines 388–400 (145–140 B.C.) there is a manifest reference to Antiochus Epiphanes as 'a man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders, fierce, unjust, born of a thunderbolt'. The race he sought to destroy was that of his brother Seleucus IV (186–176 B.C.), by whose son Demetrius I, the son of Antiochus, the 'one root' shall be cut off, Antiochus V, Eupator. The reference to the 'ten horns' in 7^7 of our text is no less obvious. For the Greek text and a fuller treatment of it, see the Comm., p. 167 seq.

Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (109–107 B.C.). The following passages testify to his use of our author, T. Jos. 3^4 *οἱ νηστεύοντες διὰ τ. θεὸν τοῦ προσώπου τ. χάριν λαμβάνουσιν*: cf. Dan. 1^{15}. T. Sim. 2^8 *ἀπέστειλε τ. ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτόν*: Dan. 3^{28}; T. Jos. 13^5 *τρίτος γὰρ ἦν ἐν ἀξιώματι παρὰ τῶν Φαραὼ ἀρχόντων*: Dan. 5^7, 'shall rule as one of three'. T. Jos. 19^{12} *ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία ἔσται αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ παρελεύσεται*, which clearly is based on Dan. 7^{14}, which, however, reads 'dominion' instead. Is this right? T. Lev. 6^2 *συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου*: Dan. 7^{28} 'I kept the matter in my heart', and in the LXX of Dan. in 4^{25} *τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ συνετήρησε*. T. Lev. 16^1 *ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδας*: Dan. 11^{24}. T. Reub. 1^{10} *καὶ οἶνον . . οὐκ ἔπιον καὶ κρέας οὐκ εἰσηλθεν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου καὶ πᾶν ἄρτον ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἔφαγον*: Dan. 10^3; T. Jos. 19^7 *ἐγένετο . . εἰς βοήθειαν* (of Judas Maccabaeus):

Dan. 11^{34} where the Maccabees are said to be a 'little help'. T. Lev. 5^{6}: Dan. $10^{13, 21}$, 12^{1}. T. Benj. 10^{8} *ἀναστήσονται οἱ μὲν εἰς δόξαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν*: Dan. 12^{2}. Here T. Benj. 10^{8} supports the text arrived at in my Commentary.

Thus the Testaments are valuable for the criticism of the text in Dan. 7^{14} and 12^{2}.

The *Book of Jubilees*, which belongs to the same period as the *Testaments* uses throughout the scheme of year weeks—each year week consisting of seven years. This chronological scheme seems to have been supplied by Dan. 9^{24}. The word 'week' (= week of years) has not this sense elsewhere in the O.T., though Lev. 25^{4}, $26^{34, 35}$ had prepared the way for it.

1 Maccabees, *c.* 137–105 B.C. In 1^{9} *ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ* agrees in part with the MT of Dan. and in part with the LXX: see Comm., p. 332 seq. 1^{15} *ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας* = Dan. 11^{30}, where LXX and Th. give different but equivalent renderings of עזבי ברית קדש. 1^{18} *ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί* = Dan. 11^{26}: 1^{54} *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως* = Dan. 11^{31} in LXX but *βδέλυγμα ἠφανισμένον* in Th. In Dan. 9^{27} both the LXX and Th. have *βδ. τῶν ἐρημώσεων*. In 12^{11} LXX and Th. have *τὸ* (<Th.) *βδ. τῆς* (<Th.) *ἐρημώσεως*. None of these renderings are accurate. See Comm. p. 252: $2^{59, 60}$ imply a knowledge of Dan. 3, 6; 4^{43} *ἐκαθάρισαν τὰ ἅγια* = Dan. 8^{14}. There are other echoes of Dan. in this book.

1 Enoch 37–70 (before 64 B.C.). For the unique interpretation of the last oppressors of the Jews designated in Daniel as the fourth kingdom, see p. 168 seq.

Psalms of Solomon (70–30 B.C.). In 3^{16} of this book an exact reproduction of Dan. 12^{2} is found: *ἀναστήσονται . . . εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (so LXX—*ἐξεγερθήσονται* Th.).

Book of Wisdom (50 B.C.–A.D. 10). In 3^{7} it is said that on the day of visitation the righteous 'shall shine' (*ἀναλάμψουσιν*), which is based apparently on Dan. 12^{3}, where Th. has *λάμψουσιν*.

In the *Assumption of Moses* (A.D. 17–29) 8^{1} the words 'such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time' is drawn from Dan. 12^{1}. The writer of this work regarded the Fourth Empire in Dan. as the Roman Empire 10^{8}.

In the *Zadokite Fragments* there are echoes of our text and phrases apparently drawn from it. Thus with העמדים באחרית הימים 6^{2}: cf. Dan. 12^{13} לקץ הימין . . תעמד; with קדושי עליון 9^{33}, cf. Dan. $7^{25, 27}$ קדישי עליונין; with עשה חסד לאהביו ולשמרי (מצותיו) 9^{49}, cf.

Dan. 9^4 שמר . . החסד לאהביו ולשמרי מצותיו; with 9^{49} מרשיעי היהודה, cf. Dan. 11^{32} מרשיעי ברית; with 9^{49} בימי מצרפותיו, cf. Dan. 12^{10} יצרפו רבים: also 11^{35}, with 16^3 יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם 'loose all the bonds of their knots', cf. Dan. 5^{12} משרא קטרין. The numbers of chapters and verse refer to my edition of the *Fragments*. Some scholars assign these *Fragments* to the latter half of the second century B.C.: the present writer to the latter half of the first century B.C.

2 Baruch (27–31) before A.D. 70. Here 2 Bar. 28^1 presupposes Dan. 12^{10}.[1]

4 Ezra. There are in this composite work many allusions to Dan. The most interesting is in 12^{10-12} (A.D. 80–120), where the writer plainly implies that the angel in his identification of the fourth kingdom (Dan. $7^{7-8,\ 17-19,\ 23\ sqq.}$) with the Greek empire was wrong, since it was to be identified with the Roman (see Comm. p. 169)—a view which agrees with that which prevails throughout the N.T. The same identification appears in 11^{38}.

In the following passages 4 Ezra is in certain phrases dependent on Daniel: 5^{15} = Dan. 8^{18}, 10^{10}: 6^{35} = Dan. 10^2: 7^{33} = Dan. 7^9: 7^{97} = Dan. 12^3: 7^{125} = Dan. 12^3: 9^{25} = Dan. 10^3: 10^{29} = Dan. $8^{17,18}$, $10^{9,10,15}$: 13^6 = Dan. 2^{45}. This list could be increased. It shows that in many respects 4 Ezra is more closely allied to Daniel than 2 Baruch. The latter is an early representation of the Talmudic attitude towards the doctrine of works and forgiveness.

[1] In 39^{5-8} the fourth empire is, as in 4 Ezra, identified with Rome: cf. also 36^{6-10}. But 34–40 was written before A.D. 70. Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 7, who follows the older interpreters, identifies the fourth Empire with the Greek (*καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος*). But in the sentence that follows immediately thereon (bracketed by Niese as an interpolation), he gives the later interpretation and identifies this Empire with Rome, as does also Rev. 13: and 'Aboda zara 1^6. In the Jer. Targ. II on Gen. 15^{18} the fourth kingdom is also identified with Rome under the symbol 'Edom', a symbol used by the Talmudists for Rome. The four empires according to the original myth came up from the sea (Dan. 7^3). But a later form of this myth represents them as arising out of the earth as in the late MT text of Dan. 7^{17}, where the LXX, however, preserves the true text, and Th. combines the two conflicting myths in his conflate version. In the very composite work, 4 Ezra, not only does the fourth empire, i. e. Rome, arise out of the sea, 11^1, but in 13^3 even the Messiah is to do so, and 'fly with the clouds of heaven'—a conflation and confusion of thought and expression.

It is unnecessary to pursue this line of investigation farther. Before 165 B.C. Jewish literature shows no knowledge of the existence of such a book as Daniel, whereas from 145 B.C. onwards the use of this book by later writers grows steadily in volume and in their appreciation of its sovereign importance in its bearing on the future destinies of the world.

Thus from external testimony we conclude that the Book of Daniel was written between 190–140 B.C.

II. *Internal evidence as to the date of the book.*

First the writer's inaccurate acquaintance with the events of the exile and the immediately subsequent history; 2. *his accurate knowledge of the third century B.C. and the first thirty-four years of the second century B.C., for which he is accepted by historical critics as an authority of the first rank*; *and* 3. *the vague generalities which mark the transition of the narrative as it passes from the region of history into that of prediction about the years 167–165 B.C. These facts can hardly be explained unless on the assumption that the book was written between the years 167–165 B.C.*

1. The above facts are manifest to every unbiased student of the work, and the proofs of these statements will be found in the Commentary in connexion with the passages concerned. It follows as a matter of course that the author would have a more accurate acquaintance with the history of his own time than with that of preceding centuries. If the book had been written at the time of the exile, the most accurate part of the book would be that which dealt with the events from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Cyrus, but this is just the part of the book which is least historical. The most important inaccuracies are as follows:

(*a*) The transportation of Jehoiachim in the third year of his reign: see note on 1^2.

(*b*) The use of the term Chaldeans, not in its ethnic sense, but as denoting a learned class amongst the Babylonians: see note in 1^4.

(*c*) The assumption that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic: see note on 2^4; but the text here may not be original.

(*d*) The designation of Nebuchadnezzar as 'the king of kings': see note on 2^{37}.

(*e*) The use of the term 'satraps', see note on 3^2.

(*f*) The representation of Belshazzar as the absolute sovereign of Babylonia, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar; whereas he was only a vassal king under his father Nabuna'id: see pp. 108–113, and § 25. b.

(*g*) The mythical Median Empire of Darius, which our author represents as following immediately on that of Babylon and the mythical king Darius: see pp. 138–146.

From the above facts it follows that our author had a very inaccurate knowledge of the history of the Babylonian period as it appears in the Cuneiform records, and that for his knowledge of this period he was indebted to contemporary tradition in which the events of Babylonian history often appear in a distorted form. Of the Persian period his knowledge appears to be scant if not also untrustworthy: see note on p. 273.

2. But when we come down to the Greek period, the case is wholly different and our author becomes here an actual historical source. This holds good whether we consider the sections that deal with the Egyptian campaigns of Antiochus (11^{25-39}) and his persecution of the Jews: his representation of Antiochus, who became to aftertimes the prototype of the Antichrist, his account of the desecration of the altar of burnt offering (Dec. 15, 168 B.C.): his reference to the Maccabean revolt, which he designates as 'a little help' (11^{34})—a fact which shows that he is acquainted with the first Maccabean victories. In this period our author is an historian of the first rank.

3. But at its close he ceases to be an historian. He does not record but predicts the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the details of the prediction both as to time and place conflict with actual facts (see notes on 11^{45}). The rededication of the Sanctuary, Dec. 25, 165 B.C., was to him still in the future. (See note on p. 212.)

The limits of the date are, therefore, easy to determine. The book must have been written before 165 B.C.; for we cannot ascribe the victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Apollonius and Seron to a later date. These victories at all events must be in the background according to 11^{34}.[1]

[1] Other facts point in the direction of a late date. An exilic date for the book is excluded by its use of many words derived from the Persian. Persian words only slowly came to be used in Aramaic. In the Aramaic translation of the Behistun Inscription of Darius I there are none save proper names. The

§ 17. *Ezra considerably earlier than Daniel, though linguistically they have much in common.*

(*a*) *Idioms common to E. and D.*

ל *cum Inf.* = finite verb, expressing purpose, obligation, or the like—not earlier than 400 B.C. See § 20. *t*. But in D. there is a further development of this idiom as is there shown. E. and D. agree in never using בל with suff. after the noun. Both E. and D. use the proleptic suffix: see § 20. *p*—a usage already established in the latter half of the fifth century. E. and D. use suff. with Prep. before a noun—a usage unknown before 400 B.C. Both use אנן (E. once, D. three times) a late formation, where א takes the place of ה and ן of ם: see § 20. *h*. Both agree in using ע for ק and ד for ז exclusively: see § 20. *d*. Both agree in placing the acc. before or after the Inf. that governs it. But this usage goes back to the fifth century. Again, E and D. have two ways in expressing the same idea, and in one of these ways they agree in disagreeing with the like construction in the fifth century B.C. Papyri. Thus (1) in Ezra 5^{13} and 6^{3} we have בשנת חדה לכורש = 'in the first year of Cyrus'. (2) In 4^{24}

fact that nearly half of the Persian words in Daniel consist of names of great Persian officials suggests the hypothesis that the narratives in which seven out of the eight occur, first came into being in the Persian period, and were transmitted partly orally and partly in MSS. down to the Greek period. The Persian words are: אדרגזריא 3^{2}, אודא 2^{5}, אחשדרפניא 3^{2}, אפדן 11^{45}, גדבריא 3^{2}, דת 2^{9}, דתבריא 3^{2}, הדבריא 6^{8}, הדם 2^{5}, המינכא 5^{7} (*Qr.*), זן 3^{6}, נבזבא 2^{6} (5^{17}), סרכין 6^{3} (6^{4-8}), פרתמים 1^{3}, פתבג 1^{5} (11^{26}), פתגם 3^{16}, רז 2^{18}, תפתיא 3^{2}. We should observe that some scholars find 20 Akkadian and 8 Persian words in Ezra, and that G. R. Driver discovers 30 Akkadian and 20 Persian in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley). The original source of many of the words is still a matter of debate.

For a list of loan words from the Akkadian—variously estimated from 12 to 30, many of which have already occurred in the Old Testament books before 200 B.C.—see Montgomery, p. 20. Furthermore there are three words of Greek origin קיתרס (= *κίθαρις*), פסנתרין (*ψαλτήριον*), סומפניא (*συμφωνία*). It is only natural to assume that these words—especially the third—did not obtain currency in the East till after the time of Alexander the Great.

Again, the fact that our author has wrongly combined 2 Kings $24^{1,2}$ with 2 Chron. $36^{6,7}$ (see note on 1^{1}) postulates a date not earlier than 300 B.C., while the eschatology demands a much later date.

Finally, whereas the linguistic evidence does not admit of an earlier date than 250 B.C. it suggests a date more than half a century later, as will appear when the linguistic problems come to be dealt with.

שנת שת למלכות דריוש 'the sixth year of the reign of Darius'. With no. (2) cf. D. $6^{29(bis)}$, and with (1) cf. D. 7^{1} בשנת חדה לבלשאצר. But E. and D. herein differ in every passage but one from the fifth century Aramaic in respect of this construction. This exception occurs in a papyrus dated 495 B.C. (Cowley 1^{1}), where the Aramaic for 'in the 27th year of Darius the king' we find שנת . . . לדריוש just as in E. and D. But nowhere else in that century nor earlier can I find this construction which persists in E. and D. The normal and practically universal construction was that which is found in Cowley 2^{1}, 5^{1}, 7^{1}, 8^{1}, 14^{1}, 20^{1}, 21^{3}, $30^{19,21,30}$, 31^{4}, 32^{7}, $35^{1,6}$. Thus the normal construction was after mentioning the name of the year to add the king's name without its being preceded by ל, but this construction never occurs in E. nor D.

Points wherein E. and D. differ. E. uses אִלֶּה 'these' 5^{15}: cf. Cowley 2^{13}, 7^{10}, 13^{13}, &c., Jer. 10^{11}. But D. uses אלך 'these' $3^{12,13,21,22}$, &c., which E. 4^{21}, $6^{8(bis)}$ also uses. But D. uses the very late formation אלין or אלן $2^{40,44}$, $6^{3,7}$, 7^{17}—unknown to E. or earlier authorities. E. uses דְּךָ 'this' 5^{16}, &c.: but D. uses דא in the same sense, and also דכן 'this', 'that', 2^{31}, $7^{20,21}$ (as the equivalent of either being of common gender).

Archaistic survivals in D.: the jussive forms: see § 20. *s.* מרא: see p. 51. Much of the content of the narratives comes from Persian times through tradition (cf. Persian official terms), but the form is late.

Though D. exhibits a mingling of old and new elements, *it is the newer elements that determine the date.* Since the Aramaic of D. does not admit of any period earlier than 300 B.C., which is that of E. in its present form (though probably brought up to date in certain words and idioms by later scribes), D. must be considerably later, seeing that it contains some of the latest developments in Aramaic. On purely linguistic grounds it would not be unreasonable to fix its *terminus a quo* at 200 B. C. But its exact date cannot be determined on linguistic grounds more nearly than some decades before or after 200 B. C.

(*b*) *Grounds for regarding D. as later than E.*

(1) E. preserves the ancient form המו, but D. always uses the later form המון.

(2) E. uses frequently the ancient suffixes ־כם (six times out of seven) and ־הם: D. uses *only* the latest ־כן and ־הן.

(3) E. uses קדם pretty much in the same general sense as fifth century Aramaic writers, whereas D. has developed a meaning peculiar at all events in the second century, but familiar in later times: see § 20. *w*.

(4) E. uses ל only six times before an acc., whereas D. uses it constantly: see § 20. *l*.

(5) D. uses מנהון . . . מנהון 'some . . . others', $2^{33, 41, 42}$, for the first time (?).

(6) E. has the reflexive prefix *hit-* (i. e. התּ) four times and *'it-* (i. e. את) only once, and that in a noun $4^{15, 19}$, whereas D. has *hit-* seventeen times and *'it-* six. This is instructive. Baumg., p. 108 seq., Bauer-Leander, § 34 (*g*), (*h*), conclude that this prefix was originally *'it-*, but on the analogy of the Hiph'il and Haph'el forms came to be written *hit-* alike in Hebrew and Aramaic. Thus only once is *hit-* found in I^{a} (eighth century: see Cooke 63^{14}). In *Eg. Aram. Eph.* II. 237 (see p. 401, l. 13) we find הזדהרו. But towards the close of the fifth century *'it-* is frequent: cf. Cowley 21^{6} אזדהרו, &c. In course of time the *hit-* was displaced by *'it*. This process is manifest in E. as compared with D. and the later dialects. Thus, to repeat, whereas E. has *hit-* four times and *'it-* only once, and that in a noun; D. has *hit-* seventeen times and *'it-* six. Thus *hit-* occurs relatively more often in E. than in D. In the later dialects it vanishes almost altogether. D. thus here attests a later stage of development in Aramaic. See p. xci, n. 1.

(7) It is questionable whether a Hoph'al form occurs before 400 B.C. It occurs only once in E., but nine times in D.

(8) די (= ὅτι *recitativum*) occurs several times in D., see § 20 (*u*), but not in periods I–III so far as I am aware.

(9) אמר is frequently followed by the indirect narration, i. e. ל *c. Inf.* 2^{46}, $3^{13, 19}$, &c., see § 20. *cc*, but not in $I–III^{a}$. In the latter אמר is followed by the direct narration.

(10) In all inscriptions and papyri before 300 B. C. (or possibly 200 B.C.) and in E., the following order, when a king's personal name and his official designation are mentioned together, is without exception 'So and so the king'. Yet five times in D. we find the late order 'King so and so'. In fact the MT attests this late order six times, but in the sixth all the versions are against it. See p. § 20. *dd*.

(11) In E. גברין 4^{21}, 5^{4}, &c., preserves its original meaning

'men', but in D. $3^{8,12,20}$ it has been so far weakened as to mean only 'certain ones'. This decadence is a sign of lateness.

(12) When כל is connected with a noun in D., it always precedes it, but the emphatic form follows it in E. 5^{7}: see § 20. *r*. In D. the emphatic form is used in D. without a noun: in the Aram. Papyri it precedes or follows its noun.

(13) The equivalent of the English phrase 'named B' would in the Aramaic of Daniel (cf. 2^{26}, $4^{5,16}$) be דִּי שְׁמֵהּ בְּ״. But this is a late idiom, and is found in the Syriac of the N.T. The older Aramaic equivalent would be שְׁמֵהּ בְּ״: cf. Ezra 5^{14}. Ezra (fourth century B. C.) herein agrees with the fifth century B. C. alike of the East and West. See § 20. (*z*).

(14) Proleptic use of suff. ten times in D., only once in E. See p. cvii, *ad med.*

§ 18. *The Differentiation of Aramaic into Eastern*[1] *and Western cannot from existing documents and inscriptions be established before first century B. C., if so early. Aramaic 800 B. C.–A. D. 100 cannot be distinguished into different dialects on geographical grounds,*[2] *but should be treated as a whole as presenting various stages of development.*

To this conclusion I had come some time ago, and I am glad to see that Baumgartner (p. 124), after quoting Wilson with

[1] The distinctive differences between Eastern and Western Aramaic, such as the use of the *n* as prefix instead of *j* in third Sing. and Pl. Impf. and the displacement of the absolute by the emphatic, which thereupon loses its characteristic force, cannot be *proved* to have existed before the Christian Era. No doubt *colloquially* such changes must have taken place earlier but they have not yet been discovered in any kind of literature.

Wilson ('Aramaic of Daniel,' *Princeton Bibl. and Theol. Studies*, p. 268) rightly shows that the preformative in *j* was used very early in Eastern Aramaic. Thus in CIS II. 43^{5}, seventh century, we find ביום יעל = *in diem producet.* He adduces also proper names which attest this form: II. 39^{2} יגבירבן, II. 47 יבחראל, &c. The Assyr. Letter 11 יאתה 'he will come', יהתב 'he will return', &c. Baumg. (p. 124) quotes others from Assyria given by Lidzbarski, *Urk.* 16, 3^{6}, 19, 5^{4}, &c.

[2] As Baumg. (p. 131 seq.) points out, Biblical Aramaic presents a Western Aramaic character, when affinities with the later Western dialects are recognized, such as the Fast Roll (see Dalman, *Gram. d. Jüd.-Palaest. Aramäisch*, p. 8), Targ. Onk. and Jon., though too much weight must not be attached to this fact, whereas the Eastern Aramaic dialects—Babylonian Aramaic, Syr. and Mandaean—are further removed from it. But so also are the later Western Aramaic dialects—i.e. the Palestinian Talmud, the Midrashim, Dalman's 'Galilean' Dialect (p. 16 seqq., 41), and the Christian Palestinian.

approval, which he rarely does, concludes justly: 'So ist tatsächlich in alter Zeit keinerlei Unterschied zwischen Ost und West zu beobachten.' In Bauer-Leander's *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aram.*, p. 5, the same view is expressed: 'Offenbar hat es damals die Unterschiede zwischen Ost-und Westaramäisch noch nicht gegeben, oder diese waren so gering, dass sie in der Schrift kaum in die Erscheinung traten'.

Local dialectical differences of course arose, but in the main the Aramaic of the East and the West was the same, and with some exceptions underwent the same stages of linguistic development. Aramaic as the language of commerce and diplomacy was the *lingua franca* of the ancient world alike in the East and the West. I have dealt with the linguistic question from this standpoint in the sections that follow.

From the above considerations, which I hope to establish in due course, it follows that Daniel could, so far as the language itself goes, have been written in the East as well as in the West. Its place of origin must be determined on other grounds.

§ 19. *Five Periods of Aramaic from 800 B.C. to A.D. 100, of which Ezra (= IIIα) and Daniel (= IV) represent two.*

In dealing with the different stages of development in Aramaic from 800 B.C. to A.D. 100, account will be taken only of such idioms and characteristics in I, II, III, and V as bear on the Aramaic of Daniel, and in a secondary degree of the Aramaic of Ezra.

Before I enumerate the main authorities for I, II, and V, I will state at the outset one main conclusion to which this investigation leads, and this is that, though there are local differences and idiosyncrasies throughout the Aramaic speaking world, *there is no essential difference between the Western and Eastern dialects.* If this conclusion is valid, then it follows that *from linguistic grounds in themselves it is not possible to determine whether Daniel was written in the East or West. On the other hand the comparison of these different periods will serve to fix within narrow limits the date of its composition.*

The authorities, from which these conclusions are drawn, are not exhaustive, but they are so representative that they justify such conclusions. In this study I have not wittingly ignored any important inscription or papyrus bearing on the questions at issue.

I. 800 to 500 B. C.

(α) *Aramaic in the West*—Northern Syria: Zinjirli Inscriptions (Haḍad, Panammu, Bar-rekub, and Zakar). Of these the Hadad and Zakar Inscriptions date before 750 B. C.: the Panammu and Bar-rekub between 745 and 727 B. C. See Cooke 61–63 for the first three, and Lidzbarski, *Eph.* iii. 1–11, for the fourth: also Torrey, *JAOS*, 1917, 35 seqq., for a study of the fourth.

Nerab Inscriptions (S.E. of Aleppo) seventh century: Cooke 64–5.

(β) *Aramaic in the East*, i. e. Assyria. Aramaic Letter (seventh century) in time of Assurbanipal. See Lidz., *ZA*, Bd. xxxi, 1917–18, 193 seqq.: revised and republished independently under the title *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, 1921. Also Aramaic inscriptions on weights, seals, and in contracts: see CIS II. 1–52: in Babylon II. 53–71; in Assyria or Syria II. 73–83—eighth–seventh century, II. 84–107 seventh–fourth century.[1]

II. 500–400 B. C.

(α) *Aramaic in the West:*

Aramaic Papyri (*Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, Cowley, 1923). This most important collection of Aramaic documents from Assuan and Elephantine with the exception of 'The Words of Aḥiḳar' and 'The Behistun Inscription' had their origin in Egypt—mainly in Elephantine. Earlier edited with facsimiles by Sachau, *Aramäische Pap. und Ostraka*, 1911.

Saqqara Inscription: CIS II. 145 (Cooke 76).

(β) *Aramaic in the East.* 'Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons of Nippur on the Euphrates': see *O.T. and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, 1908, I. 287–321, by A. T. Clay: also Lidz., *Eph.* II. 203–210; III. 12–19.

[1] This division overlaps the next in point of time. The inscriptions in CIS II. 1–107 are not in chronological order. Thus while II, 21–31, 30, 40, 42, 46–49 are ascribed to the seventh century, II. 13, 32 are ascribed to the eighth. In the Babylonian inscriptions, while II. 58 definitely belongs to the sixth century, II. 59 is ascribed to the seventh: II. 71 to the fifth century. On the Aramaic in the contracts, see J. H. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes*, 1902: also Lidz., *Eph.* II. 200 sqq.

(γ) *Aramaic in Asia Minor*, i. e. in Kesejek Keojew near Tarsus. Fifth century. See Torrey, *JAOS*, 35, 1915, 370 seqq. Jagdinschrift, fifth–fourth century: Lidz., *N.E.* 446, Cooke 68: Limyra, c. 400 B.C. CIS II. 109. Guzneh, fifth century: see *Eph.* III. 64: Montg., *JAOS*, 1907, 164–167.

(δ) *Aramaic in Arabia*, i. e. the *Tema and Hegra Inscriptions*, fifth century: CIS II. 113–121. For the chief Tema Inscription see Cooke 69.

(ε) Jer. 10^{11}.

III (α). Aramaic sections in Ezra 4^{8}–6^{18}, 7^{12-26}—designated E. Fourth century towards its close: Papyrus Luparensis: CIS II. 146: Cooke 77.

(β). *Lettres d'Uruk* (third century)—Thureau-Dangin, 1922. For the decipherment of this cuneiform script in Aramaic I have followed P. Jensen's *Der aramäische Beschwörungstext in spät-babylonischer Keilschrift*, 1926.

(γ). Inscription in Aram. from Taxila on the Hydaspes: fourth century.

IV. Aramaic section in Daniel 2^{4b}–7: second century—beginning of—designated D.

V (α). Nabataean. CIS II. 157–489: 1472 seqq.: Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II. 73–6; 251–68. First century B.C.—second century A. D.

(β) Palmyrene: see Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II. 77–80, 269–320.

In the above five periods there is on the whole a steady development, which at last reaches its final stage in the Targums. In the East the evidence is only partially adequate.

Amongst the five periods there is the closest connexion between III^{a} (i. e. E.) and IV (i. e. D.). But even in the case of these two documents D. shows definitely a later stage of development than E.

§ 20. *A survey of the grammatical development of the forms of words (including endings and prefixes) and of phrases during these five periods.*

(*a*) *Endings of masc. and fem. nouns in* א *or* ה, whether the absolute or emphatic states during the different periods of Aramaic will be found in Baumg. 90–3. Though the differences are marked they are not decisive enough to be cited on the present question.

(*b*) *Ending of* 1 *Pl. Pf.*

I. Ends always in ן.

II^{a}. Always (?) in ן: cf. Cowley אמרן 40^{2}; גלין 37^{8}; הוין 30^{15}, 31^{14}; הודען 30^{29}; החוין 26^{7}; חזין 30^{17}, 31^{16}.

III and IV. Always in נא (as later in the Fast Roll and Onkelos).

V. In Nabataean always ־נא.

(*c*) *Pronoun* ן־ = 'us' as verbal suffix.

II^{a}. ן־ = 'us': see Cowley 30^{16} החוין (Haph'el) 'caused us to see' (so Cowley) or 'caused us to know' (Sachau). But the later form occurs in the corresponding passage in 31^{15} חוינא (Pa'el).

(*d*) ן־ (noun suffix) = 'our': Cowley 17^{1,5}, 30^{1,2,18,23}, &c. מראן 'our lord'; 20^{10,13}, 30^{15,26} בנין 'our sons': 20^{10,13} בנתן 'our daughters': 38^{8} בתין 'our houses': 37$^{8-9}$ אנפין 'our face': 2^{9}, 20^{8,9} לבבן 'our heart'. And so always in the fifth century. But just as in the case of the verbal suffix, so in that of the noun suffix we find the beginnings of the change of ן־ into ־נא, but not till the fourth (?) or rather the third century B.C. Thus we find תרדמנא 'our dream' in CIS II. 129$^{1(b)}$: ביתנא 'our house' Cowley 81^{110}. The text is uncertain.

III^{a}, IV, and V. In these the above suffix is always written נא, and does not seem to be earlier than the third century (save in III^{a}).[1] Even in respect of the ending of the 1 Pl. Pf. the usage in III^{a} and IV does not date earlier than the close of the fifth century.

(*e*) Certain letters displaced by others in the course of development ז—ד.

I^{a}. ז always in North Syria (so also in Arabia and mostly in Asia Minor, Abydos, Cilicia).

I$^{\beta}$. Assyr.–Babylonian. ז in the Assyr. Letter and mostly in texts in CIS. But as early as the eighth century ד is found: cf. CIS II. 77 B. 2. Moreover there is no doubt that ד was frequently used to transliterate ז in Aramaic names occurring in Cuneiform Inscriptions (see Baumgartner, p. 95).

II^{a}. ד is attested in Egypt as early as 484 B.C.: see Cowley 2^{17,19}, 3^{23}, and occasionally in later papyri. Baumgartner finds 55 in all. In Cowley I find 52, of which 14 are nouns, 12 verbs,

[1] Here as in the case of other forms the present text may owe these to later redactions.

6 pronouns, 7 adverbs, and 3 adjectives. On the other hand ז occurs 300 times or more. It is true that only a small minority of these are verbs, nouns, or adjectives. They are predominantly pronouns, either relative, demonstrative, or personal.

III$^{\alpha}$–IV. ד always save in E. 7^{21}. In D. 6^{23} scholars are divided as to the linguistic origin of זכו—Aram. or Akkadian ?.

V$^{\alpha,\beta}$. ד has displaced ז in Nabataean (save in one inscription: see CIS II. 349^{1,2,4}, which is assigned to 70 B.C.), Palmyrene and late literary dialects.

ז—ד. To return to II$^{\alpha}$ we find within one and the same document and sometimes in actually the same line of the document ז and ד used side by side: thus in 14^{6} (Cowley) we have זי and דכא in immediate conjunction. For various explanations of this change see Nöldeke (*Die semitischen Sprachen*[2] (1899) 32 seq.), who holds that the ז in the Zinjirli and Assyrian inscriptions and documents is due to Akkadian influence, and 'that to the Arabic *ḏ* amongst the Aramaeans a *ḏ* of old corresponded'. This view, Baumg. (*op. cit.* 98), whom I have just quoted, rejects on the ground that the prevalence of this ז over the entire empire from Egypt and Arabia to Asia Minor and India renders it impossible. He is of opinion either that 'im ältesten Aramäisch ז gesprochen, d.h. die Spirante *ḏ* im Kanaanäischen zu *z* verschoben wurde, oder . . dieses ז nur ein Notbehelf war, um den *ḏ*-Laut auszudrücken, für den die phoenikische Schrift eben kein eigenes Zeichen besass'. The fluctuations between ז and ד in the East back to the eighth century favour in his opinion the latter view, and these fluctuations furthermore even in the Cuneiform texts—sometimes with ז but mostly with ד—point to the fact that this specific Aram. *ḏ* sound, being itself foreign to the Assyrians was transliterated now one way, now another. Lidzbarski (*Eph.* II. p. 240: cf. Nöldeke, *ZA*, 20, 138) writes: 'es ist denkbar, dass im V. Jahrhundert der Uebergang von ז (= ś) zu ד in der lebenden Sprache bereits stattgefunden hatte, in der Schrift zwar im Allgemeinen noch nicht zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde, sich aber doch hie und da einschlich': cf. *Eph.* III. pp. 79, 106.[1]

[1] I have given Baumgartner's and Lidzbarski's view at considerable length. But I cannot understand how it is that the change from ז to ד took place in nouns, verbs, and adjectives earlier and more frequently rather than in the pronouns and relatives, which were immeasurably in more constant use. Surely the commonest particles and words would be the first to exhibit this change.

The same change was taking place in the East. ז is still preserved in the Murašû documents (fifth century), but ד takes its place on the Uruk text.

The conclusion then as to the use of ד in D. is that *its use of ד is of no importance whatever in itself: but it is of overwhelming importance that it uses ד only* just as do the Nab., Palm., and literary dialects. *This fact disjoins it from the literature of the fourth century and earlier,* and connects it essentially with that of the second and later centuries. *The transformation of ז into ד is final and complete.*

ק—ע.

ק—ערק in I^{α} (North Syria) ארק: Hadad Panammu and Bar-rekub Inscr. See Cooke, 61^{5}, 62^{14}, 63^{4}: Zakar B^{26}.

I^{β}. In *Assyr. and Baby.* CIS II. 1–4, 7, 11, 28, 35.

II^{β}. *Aram. in East* (i.e. Murašû Indorsements, No. 5).

II^{γ}. Jer. 10^{11}, where it is followed by ארעא in the same verse.

II^{α}. *Aramaic in West*: Egypt. לערקה זי 'to meet' (later Aram. לעורע), see Cowley: Beḥ. 4, 10, 31, 38, 40. On p. 269, No. 3^{6}, we find לערעה זי.

קמר 'wool' Cowley 20^{5}, 36^{3}, 42^{9}, but עמר $15^{7,10}$. Again עק in Cowley 20^{5}, &c., but אע in III^{α}, IV.

ארק Cowley $6^{5-7,12-15}$, 8^{11-24}, $9^{3,5,14}$: but ארעא 5^{5}, 6^{16}, 15^{19}, 30^{9}, &c.

Thus the change of ק into ע, which appears only in D., began in the West in the fifth century, though not found in the East in that century. D appears therefore to be later than 400 B. C. according to existing documents.

ס—שׂ.

I^{α}. שׂ, i.e. שים in I^{α} Zakar $A^{1,9}$: $I^{(\beta)}$ CIS II. 10 פרש (= 'half a mina').

II^{α}. שׂ is the rule, but three or more times in Cowley 37^{7} סברת Aḥ. 100, 104 (סַכִּין), 147 (תסתכל).

III^{α}–IV. ס occurs occasionally (cf. D. 7^{25} יסבר), but the older שׂ is preserved as a rule, and D. is herein older than $V^{\alpha,\beta}$.

V^{α} has שׂ often, and V^{β} less frequently.

שׂ—ת.

שׂ in I^{α} North Syria: Zakar B 15 seq. אשר 'inscription', but אתר in the Safa texts *Eph.* III, p. 10). אשור = 'Assyria', Cooke (Panammu and Bar-rekub) $62^{7,12}$, 63^{9}.

I^{β}. Assyr. Lett. 16 שקל, but in 11 יהתב 'he will give up'.

I^{γ} (Babylonian): CIS II. 13, 14, 43 שקלן.

II^{α}. Cowley 17^{2} אחר 'place': Aḥ. 3–5, 8 אתור 'Assyria'. But שקל is found about twenty-two times and never תקל as in D., though the verb תקל 'to weigh' is found five times. The use of תקל in D. $5^{25,27}$ tends to show that it is later than 400 B. C.

(*f*) Assimilation of *n*. II^{α} נ is preserved frequently in II^{α}. See כנכר (talent) in Cowley 26^{17}, 30^{28}: ענוא 'goat' 33^{10}: Aḥ. 118 (*bis*), 119, 31^{27}: צנפר 'bird' Aḥ. 91, 98, 199: yet כברן in 50^{9}, 83^{29}.

III^{α}. E 7^{22} כברין: so also עזין 6^{17}.

IV. צִפַּר 'bird', $4^{9,11,18,30}$.

(*g*) מרא: so in I^{α}. Cooke $63^{3}+6$ times: Zakar.

II^{α}. Cowley: always and very frequently except in 34^{6} (מריהם).

III^{γ}. In the Taxila Inscription מראן 9, 12.

IV. Four times מרא in Ginsburg's text 1926, even in 2^{47}. But in $4^{16,21}$ the *Qr.* reads מרי 'my Lord' as in $V^{\alpha,\beta}$.

$V^{\alpha,\beta}$ begin to omit the א before suffixes and between the shewa and full vowels. In Syr. and Targ. the א is always omitted.

(*h*) *Pronouns personal and demonstrative.*

$I^{\alpha,\beta}$ אנך 'I' (Cooke 61^{1}), אנכי (62^{19}), אנה (63^{1}). Zakar A^{2}: Lidz., *Eph.* III. p. 3, A^{2}.

II^{α}. אנה always. אנחן and אנחנה 'we'.

III^{α}, IV, V^{α}. אנה. אנחנה (E. 4^{16}) 'we': once אנחנא 5^{11}. In IV always אנחנה.

I^{α}. את 'thou': Cooke 64^{5}, 65^{8}.

I^{β}. Assyr. Letter 2 את.

II^{α}. אנת 'thou': אנתם only with Imper. 21^{4}, $38^{5,6}$, 80.

III^{α}. אנתה (E. 4^{16}, 7^{25}), &c. } Peculiar to E. and D.
IV. אנתא: pl. אנתון D. 2^{8}. }

V^{β}. אנת.

המו 'they'.

In I, II, III^{α} nom. and acc. (in III^{α} nom. once; acc. eight times).

IV always המון (acc. only D. $2^{34,35}$, 3^{22}).

Hence IV, i. e. Daniel—not earlier than 300 B.C. Here a great gulf divides III^{α} and IV.

אנון 'they', 'those', Pl. of הוא.

I–II have no such form.

III–IV. E. 5^{4}: D. 2^{44}, 6^{25}, 7^{17}: only in nom.; for D. 6^{25} is corrupt. But in D. אנון seems to be only a demonstrative since in 7^{17} the clause appears to be an interpolation.

אנון is a late formation with א for ה and ן for ם.

וָךְ, וָךְ 'that'.

II. Before or after noun.

III. וָךְ, דָּךְ after noun only: not in IV.

IV. דכן after noun only and only in D. 2^{31}, $7^{20,21}$.

זנה 'this'.

I. See Zinj. 63^{20} (Cooke). After noun: when it precedes the noun it is not an attribute but the subject itself: cf. Nerab 64^{3}, 65^{2} (Cooke).

II$^{\alpha}$. Fifth Cent. Pap. Always זנה save in 16^{9}, where it occurs as דנה. Always (?) after noun save in 30^{20}, 31^{19} (contrast $35^{7,8}$, 43^{4} for the usual order in this phrase), Aḥ. 60.

II$^{\delta}$. זנה after noun in Tema Inscription: CIS II. $113^{4,22,23}$.

III$^{\alpha}$–IV. Always as דנה, and always after noun except in E. 5^{4}. The other exception occurs in an interpolation in D. 4^{15}. In D. this demonstrative is always after the noun (eleven times). If 4^{15} were authentic we should have to translate 'this is' as in 4^{21}, $5^{25,26}$.

זא 'this' fem. before or after noun in II$^{\alpha}$: after noun in II$^{\gamma}$ CIS II. 113^{13}. But since it does not occur in III$^{\alpha}$–IV it does not call for further consideration here.

אִלֵּךְ 'those': before or after noun.

II$^{\alpha}$. Before (16^{4}, 20^{8}, &c.) or after (Aḥ. 56, 58) noun: CIS II 145 B^{6}.

III$^{\alpha}$, IV after noun: in III$^{\alpha}$ four times: in IV ten times.

אלה 'these'.

II$^{\alpha}$. After noun: Cowley 2^{13}, &c.: II$^{\epsilon}$ Jer. 10^{11}.

III$^{\alpha}$. E. 5^{15} precedes noun.

IV. Does not occur.

דכן IV only and after noun.

אִלֵּין. Pl. of דנה.

IV only: before (2^{44},[1] 7^{17}) or after noun $6^{3,7}$.

V$^{\beta}$. אלן.

Thus D. has המון, דכן, and אלין peculiar to itself. With E. it

[1] But is the position of אלין in 2^{44} due to the fact that it follows כל in the construct כל אלין מלכותא.

has the late form אנון. These facts make the composition of the former unlikely before 300 B.C. But the form המון disconnects D. with the older Aramaic, and connects it definitely with the later.

(*i*) *Suffixes.*

כם־ or כום־.

הם־ or הום־.

I. Oldest forms as above: cf. Cooke, Zinj. Hadad 61[29].

II[α]. כום־ or כם־ always.

הום־ nearly 100 times: but between 435–407 B.C. הן־ occurs six times: i.e. 16[4], 30[11], 31[10], 34[6,7],[1] 37[14]: that is, once in about twenty times. Thus the change of *m* into *n* has just begun to occur *at the close of the fifth century*. Observe that in CIS II. 145[2,3] (Cooke 76), end of fifth century, we find הם־.

II[ε]. Jer. 10[11] הום־,

III[α] (i.e. Ezra). כום־ five times: 5[3,9], 7[17,18,24]. כן־ once: 7[21]. הום־ eleven times: 5[3,4,5,8,9,10(*ter*)], 6[9], 7[16,24]. הון־ thirteen times: 4[9,17,20,23], 5[1,2(*bis*),3(*bis*)], 6[6,13,18(*bis*)].

Thus the suffixes end in *m* sixteen times: in *n* fourteen.

IV. (i.e. Daniel). In this work the *m* never occurs. The final stage is reached.

V[α] (Nab.). כם־ and הם־.[2]

V[β] (Palm.). כן־ and הן־.

The conclusion that D. belongs to the third century or later follows obviously from the above facts. Yet Wilson (p. 280) states that 'Ezra, being composed largely of letters between the Eastern Aramaeans and the Western, uses both (forms)'. Further on p. 279 he writes: 'All Aramaic documents of any age written in the East used *n* instead of *m*.' Let us examine this statement. If it is right, then the parts of Ezra written in the West should have *m* and those in the East *n*. But what are the facts? The narrative portions written in the West, as we presume, have the suff. ending in *n* in 4[9,17,20,23], 5[1,2(*bis*),3(*bis*),6,17(*bis*)], whereas the letters *written in the East* by the king or a Persian

[1] Observe that in 34[6] (*c.* 407 B.C.) we have one suffix ending in *m* and another in *n*.

[2] This survival in Nab. belongs to the beginning of the Christian era: see CIS II. 198[1,2,7]: 199[3]: 202[3]. This solitary survival, however we may explain it, has its analogies elsewhere. Thus of all the languages and dialects which owe their origin to Latin, only one, the Sardinian preserves the original hard sound fo *c* = Greek *κ*.

governor in the West have this ending once in 7^{21}. When Tattenai (Ustani in the Contract Tablets) interrogates the Jews in 5^{3-4} he uses the suff. ending in *m*. After Tattenai's question the narrative is resumed in 5^{5}, in which the suff. ends once in *m*. Then in 5^{6-10}, Tattenai's letter to Darius, the ending in *m* occurs six times and never once in *n*. This is surely strange in the letter to the king from a Persian governor, who according to Wilson always used an ending in *n*. In the informal answer of Darius (521–485 B. C.) to Tattenai these suffixes occur twice ($6^{6,9}$), but 6^{6} is doubtful, and in 6^{9} the ending in *m* is used.

The next Aramaic section 7^{12-26} consists of a letter of Artaxerxes (464–424 B. C.), in which there are eight suffixes, five ending in *m* and three in *n*, according to Ginsburg's text as well as Kittel's. Thus in two letters emanating presumably from the Foreign Office in Babylon in the fifth century six suffixes end in *m* and four in *n*.

The above facts prove that suffixes ending in *m* were used in Babylon in the fifth century, and that the ending in *n* was beginning to displace the *m*, just as it did in the West in the same century.

But there is further evidence as to the form of these suffixes as used in the Foreign Office in Babylon. The Behistun Inscription was made by the order of Darius in 510 B. C. to commemorate the achievements by which he consolidated his power. The Aramaic version of this inscription was according to Cowley (p. 249 seq.) 'no doubt done officially by the great king's own scribes, and sent out to the chief men of the provinces . . . soon after the inscription was engraved . . . the official Aramaic copy sent out by Darius, say about 510 . . . these Jews of Elephantine, being a literary people, thought it worth while to recopy and to preserve it as an historical record'. Now what do we find in this fifth century copy of a Babylonian document? Just this—that the suffix ending in *n* never occurs, whereas the ending in *m* occurs in lines 3, 6, 9, 11, 29, 33, 42, 44. A study of Aḥiḳar's story translated into Aram. in Babylon about 450 B. C. testifies to the same fact; for the suffix ending in *n* is not found in it. The evidence of these two independent documents strengthens the surmise that the *n* ending in Darius' letter is due to later influences.

Hence on purely linguistic grounds we conclude that D., in which the suffix *m* does not occur at all, cannot have been written earlier than the latter half of the third century. On other grounds it must be assigned to the first half of the second century.

Thus alike in East and West *m* was the primitive ending. In the fifth century (if the letters in E. are trustworthy, as I believe on the whole they are) the transition from *m* to *n* begins both in the East and the West, and in D. the transition reaches its final stage.

(*k*) *Causative Forms of Verbs.*

Haph'el.

I$^{\alpha}$. Haph'el exclusively and not Aph'el.

II. Haph'el all but exclusively. Baumg., p. 106, reckons eighty connected with over thirty verbs in II$^{\alpha}$. Aph'el only in one or more exceptional cases: cf. Cowley 34^{6} אתבו (?): Sachau, Tafel 65. 1^{3,4}: Lidz., *Eph.* III. 257 *n.* For further information consult Baumg., p. 106.

III$^{\alpha}$ (i. e. E.). Haph'el 6^{5} תַּחַת: 6^{1}: but Aph'el אחה in 5^{15}. On Bauer-Leander's treatment of this question see pp. 170–5.

IV (i. e. D.). Always Haph'el except in three cases: 3^{1} אַקִימַה, 4^{11} אתרו, 5^{12} אחוית.

V$^{\alpha}$. Nab. Always Aph'el, except in CIS II. 349^{2}: 70 B. C.: 161. 1^{1}.

V$^{\beta}$. Palm. Aph'el with one exception. Baumg., p. 106.

Thus III$^{\alpha}$ and IV are closely allied to I$^{\alpha}$, II. But IV less so than III$^{\alpha}$.

Imperfect and Participial Forms—Haph'el and Aph'el.

I$^{\alpha,\beta}$, II$^{\delta}$. ה (i. e. Haph'el forms) is generally preserved, but syncopated only in Zinj. Hadad 16, 28.

II$^{\alpha}$. Baumg. reckons thirty-eight with ה against nine where there is syncopation. See also Sachau I. 270 sq.

III$^{\alpha}$. The same scholar finds ten with ה against five where it is syncopated.

IV. Baumgartner finds twenty-nine with ה, against sixteen where it is syncopated. Where this syncopation occurs Bauer-Leander (against Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I. 563 sq.) treats the forms as Aph'els. See p. 61 seq. *p–r*, 113 *b*, *c*, *e*.

V$^{\alpha,\beta}$. Aph'el.

Thus III and IV occupy an intermediate stage between I, II, and V. See Baumgartner, p. 107.

Reflexive Stems in התּ and אתּ.

I$^{\alpha}$. Only in the Bar-rekub Inscription (Cooke 63^{14}) do we find התּ and in the Nerab (Cooke 65^{4}) אתּ.

II$^{\alpha}$. Baumg., p. 108, gives several examples in אתּ which belong to the close of the fifth century.

III$^{\alpha}$. התּ four times; only once 4^{15} in a substantival form.

IV. התּ seventeen times[1]: אתּ six.[2]

V$^{\alpha,\beta}$. אתּ.[3]

The later dialects have only אתּ with a very few exceptions.

Baumg. infers from the above facts that אתּ was the primitive prefix alike in Hebrew and Aramaic: that subsequently התּ was developed after the analogy of the Hiph'il-Haph'el in the Perfect, but that ultimately התּ was displaced by אתּ in Aramaic.

(*l*) *Hoph'als.* The Hophals are mainly or only found in III$^{\alpha}$, IV.

I$^{\alpha}$. Is מומת in Cooke 61^{26} (Hadad) a Hoph'al?

II$^{\alpha}$. In Cowley 20^{7} הפקדו is with some doubt taken to be a Hoph'al: Lidzbarski assents. But this does not occur elsewhere in the fifth cent. papyri.

III$^{\alpha}$. Once (i. e) E. 4^{15}.

IV. Nine times: 4$^{33(bis)}$, 5^{13,15,20}, 6^{24}, 7^{4,5,11}.

(*m*) Verbs לא׳ and לה׳.

I$^{\alpha}$. These two classes of verbs are as a rule distinguished. See Baumg., p. 113.

II$^{\alpha}$. Verbs in לה׳ still preserve their characteristics as a whole, while those in לא׳ show a clear tendency to adopt those of the former.

III$^{\alpha}$, IV. In these periods the two classes have practically coalesced, and the distinctions in the use of the א and ה no longer concern the two classes, but rather constitute grammatical categories. Herein III$^{\alpha}$, IV stand markedly aloof from I$^{\alpha}$, II$^{\alpha}$, and have reached almost the same stage as V$^{\alpha,\beta}$ (i. e. Nab. and Palm.).

[1] Baumg. wrongly reckons only 14. But we find the התּ in the following verbs: בהל (3 times), גור (i. e. 2^{34}), זמן (1), חרך (1), מלא (1), רום (1), רחץ (1), שכח (8), i. e. 17 times.

[2] In 2^{45} אתגזרת, 3^{19} Kt. 4^{16}, 6^{8}, 7^{8,15}.

[3] In V$^{\alpha}$ the sense and text are doubtful in CIS II. 186^{4}.

On Wilson's statement (p. 286 sq.) of these relations I cannot refrain from quoting Baumgartner's criticism (p. 115): 'The whole construction is a mass of caprice (voller Willkür): it ignores the general development as a whole, and stands frequently in contradiction with the facts.'

(*n*) *Derived Infinitives.*

II$^{\alpha}$. There is the first, which is absolute and ends in ה, the the second ends in ת in the construct or before a suffix. For the former see Cowley 9^{6} לִזְבֹּנָה 'to sell': for the latter 15^{30} לתרכותה.

III$^{\alpha}$. Both the absolute and construct forms occur in E. For a secondary form of the construct, cf. לְהַנְוָקַת E. 4^{22}. As a noun התנדבות עמא E. 7^{16}.

IV. Absolute להצלה D. 3^{29}, but in 6^{15} להצלותה. Another form of the construct is אֲחֵנָת D. 5^{12} as in E. 4^{22}.

V$^{\beta}$. Palm. and Syr. use the construct for the absolute.

Thus III$^{\alpha}$ and IV herein preserve older forms and usages.

(*o*) *Absolute and Emphatic States.*

Though these are carefully distinguished in III$^{\alpha}$, IV, the usage varies in I$^{\alpha}$, II$^{\alpha}$.

I$^{\alpha}$. Thus in Cooke 62^{14} (Panam.) we have רבעת ארק = 'the four quarters of the earth', whereas in 63^{4} (Bar-rekub) רבעי ארקא with exactly the same meaning. In 63$^{14-15}$ מלכיא, 63^{20} ביתא. There are other examples of the emphatic state, and in the Nerab inscriptions of the seventh century (Cooke 64$^{3,6-7,12}$). Other examples of the absolute, used where later Aramaic inscriptions employed the emphatic, will be found in 61$^{15, 20, 25}$.

II$^{\alpha}$. Here the same uncertainty in the use of these states discloses itself. In 13^{11} we have the absolute בית where III$^{\alpha}$, IV, and generally I$^{\alpha}$ would have used ביתא. Cf. also 8^{8} (ארק) באשה (= 'with fire') in 30^{12} does not differ from באשתא 31^{11}, and yet both are employed exactly in the same context and in describing the same event. Again in 30^{12} we have 'basons of gold and silver' (זהבא וכסף emphatic and absolute states together!), and in 10$^{9-10}$ 'silver and gold, bronze, and iron' all in the absolute state. Yet there are clear signs of a distinction between the two states appearing in I$^{\alpha,\beta}$ which comes to be the rule in III$^{\alpha}$, IV. On the other hand, in III$^{\alpha}$, IV as in Hebrew, words designating

materials known everywhere, or special ideas (Kautzsch, § 79 *c*) [1] appear in the emphatic (except in D. 2^{32}, 3^{1}; E. $7^{15, 16}$) as 'gold and silver' (דהבה וכספא E. 5^{14}), and 'wine' D. 5^{1}. 'Gold' is used nineteen times in E. and D. in the emphatic state, and four times (twice in D. 2^{32}, 3^{1}) in the absolute state, but in D. 2^{32}, 3^{1} the absolutes are rightly used as distinguished from the emphatics in 2^{38} and $3^{5, 7}$, &c. which follow. The same holds good of E. $7^{15, 16}$ as distinguished from 7^{18}. Things which are unique are necessarily in the emphatic state: so שמשא 'the sun' in D. 6^{15}. But in II^{a} out of twelve instances of its occurrence, it is only once in the emphatic state.

From the above facts it follows that there is a steady development from a loose use of these two forms (in I^{a}, II^{a}) to a careful differentiation of them, such as we find in III^{a}, IV. In this respect IV is much later than II^{a}.

Words and Phrases used Idiomatically.

(*p*) *Proleptic use of Suffix* introducing a genitive.

I^{a}. Unknown in the oldest Aramaic.

II^{a}. It appears often in the latter half of the fifth century. See Cowley 15^{18-19} (בביתה זי אסחור 'in the house of Asḥor'), 15^{30} (440 B.C.): $28^{3, 13}$ (411 B.C.): $30^{10-11, 18-19}$ (408 B.C.): 31^{18} Aḥ. 3: Beh. 5, 20, 28, 43.

III^{a}–IV. This use is well established in E. and D.: also in Later Aramaic dialects, in Syriac, also in Ethiopic.

Thus E. and D. can hardly have been written before 450 B.C.

Suffix with Preposition before a Noun.

I^{a}–II^{a}. Unknown in these periods.

(*q*) III–IV. First we have בֵּהּ זמנא D. $3^{7,8}$, 4^{33}, 7^{24}; E. 5^{3} 'at that same time'. Next we have the repetition of the preposition בֵּהּ בְּדָנִיֵּאל D. 5^{12} 'in the same Daniel'. Cf. 5^{30}; E. 4^{11} (after על). This idiom is found frequently in Syriac. Cf. Cur. in Matt. 21^{19}: Pesh. in Matt. 26^{74} ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ 'at the same moment': Luke 2^{8}, &c. II^{a} $3^{7, 8}$ could possibly express the same sense by בזכם זמנא; cf. 9^{2}, 20^{4}, 65^{3}.

[1] Kautzsch, § 79 *c* rightly includes בשׂרא D. 2^{11}, עשׂבא 4^{22}, חמרא 5^{1} under this category, but not דהבה וכספא E. 5^{14}, where the emphatics are due to the relative clause which follows: see *op. cit.*, § 79 *e*.

Thus neither I^{α} nor II^{α} appear to have used this idiom so well known in later Aramaic. Hence E. and D.—not earlier than the fourth century.

(*r*) כל with suff.

I^{α}. כל with suff. after its noun.[1] See Cooke 62^{19} ביתה כלה 'his whole house': also in 62^{17}.

II^{α}. See Cowley Aḥ. 12 יעט אתור כלה 'counsellor of all Assyria': also 55. This idiom is found in Heb.: cf. 2 Sam. 2^{9}; Jer. 13^{19}; Isa. 9^{8}, &c.: in Syr. (where the 'all' with suff. can follow or precede its noun): in Nab. after. Cf. CIS II. 219^{5}, 350^{5}.

III^{α}, IV. But in E. and D. כל is not found with suff. after its noun. In D. 7^{19} it is used with suff. but without a noun בלהון 'them all'. In the emphatic state (כלא) it is used without a noun in D. 2^{40}, $4^{9,18}$, or after its noun in apposition as in E. 5^{7}. In D., when כל is connected with a noun, it always precedes it. It is remarkable that, though as far West as Egypt and East as Babylon in the fifth century כל was used with suff. after its noun, it is never so used in III^{α}, IV.

(*s*) *Jussives used alike in East and West.*

I^{α}. *In the West.* The jussive assumes the following forms: ליתבה (Hadad: Cooke 61^{23} eighth century, 'let him pour it out'). Again in 61^{24} ל(י)מנע 'let him withhold': also in 61^{30} לתנמרו 'make ye an end of': 61^{31} ל(י)בתשה 'let him crush her' (?). This idiom is found also in Sabaean: see Cooke, p. 169. In Arabic the lamedh is placed before the subjunctive to express purpose. It follows from the above facts that in Aramaic when ל[2] was placed before the Imperf. it had a jussive force—both in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and apparently with any verb. Since no Imperf. is found in *-un* in the Zinjirli and Nerab inscriptions it is inferred that at this period only the 3rd pl. ending in *-u* was known.

I^{β}. Assyr. Letter, l. 8 לטחנו 'let them grind'.

$II^{\alpha,\delta}$. The jussive is found in fifth century inscriptions: see

[1] In II^{α} בלא (emphatic) is found before its noun: Cowley 30^{29} or after it 26^{17}, $30^{11,12}$. In 39^{1} we find אלהיא כל—surely a slip for כלא in this fifth century letter.

[2] Lidz., *Eph.* II. 220 finds the form ליקטל 'let him slay' on a papyrus fragment. He thinks it refers to the garrison in Elephantine. Since it contains the pronominal form המו 'them', it seems to belong to the fourth century or earlier. Yet Lidz. connects it with other fragments referring to Mithridates.

Cowley 30[6] (31[6]) יהעדו 'let them remove': Aḥ. 146 אל תהעדי 'remove not'. In the Tema Inscription (II[δ]) (see Cooke 69[14]) we find ינסחוהי 'may they pluck him out'.

III[a], IV. The jussive form recurs in III[a] (E.) 4[12, 13], 5[8], 7[26], and in IV (D. 2[20, 41], 3[18], 5[17]) and elsewhere, but apparently these forms have no jussive force save in D. 2[24] אל תהובד 'do not destroy', 5[10] אל יבהלוך 'let them not trouble thee': זיוך אל ישתנו 'let not thy countenance be changed'. Here the אל has probably been the means of preserving the jussive. Without the אל it occurs in Jer. 10[11] יֵאבֵדוּ (fourth century?). See note on p. 94 seqq.

If we ask why the ל was used in later Aramaic such as E. and D. only with the verb הוה or הוא, Meinhold, Bevan, and others hold that Jewish teachers deliberately adopted this archaism in the case of this verb in order to avoid the likeness of יהוה to the Divine Name. This view may possibly be accepted on the ground that, though ל was originally prefixed to either the 2nd or 3rd persons, from the fourth century onwards it is prefixed only to the 3rd Sing. masc. or the 3rd Pl. masc. or fem. of הוה, and of no other verb; for in the case of no other verb was the 3rd pers. Sing. masc. and the 3rd masc. and fem. Pl. similar to the Divine Name.[1] The 3rd fem. sing. תהוה or תהוא occurs several times in III[a], IV: cf. D. 2[40, 42], &c.: E. 6[8].

In the Palestinian Talmud and the Midrashim such forms are found as לחוי, ליכול, ליפק, but as Stevenson (*Gram. Pal. Aram.*, p. 49) observes: 'they seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after דְּ and דִּלְמָא) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 seq.)'. It is found also in Mandaean and possibly also in Assyrian. See Driver, *Tenses*[3], § 204.

In any case the conclusion is that only a few instances of the jussive survive in IV and there only after אל, and none at all in III[a], if the MT is trustworthy.

(*t*) ל *with Infinitive used independently or after* די *to express purpose.*

I–II. Not found at all so far as I am aware.

III[a]. E. 6[8]. די לא לבטלא 'that they might not be hindered'.

[1] Baumgartner, p. 125 *n*, rejects this view, on the ground that it fails to explain plural forms such as לחוין and לחוין. Yet see Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 1890, p. 183 f.

IV. D. 6^{16}. לא להשניא . . . . די 'that (no interdict) should be changed'.

D. 2^{16}. ופשרא להחויא . . . . די 'that . . . . and so he would make it his task (i.e. 'undertook') to show the interpretation'.

5^{15}. ופשרה להודעתני . . . . די 'that . . . and they made it their task (i.e. 'undertook') to show the interpretation thereof'.[1]

2^{18}. ורחמים למבעא 'and so they made it their task (i.e. 'undertook') to implore compassion'.

It will be observed that in the first two passages (E. 6^{8}, D. 6^{16}) ל *c.* Inf. follows די immediately: in the next two it follows a clause introduced by די and therefore seems to be alike dependent on the די. But to the present writer this does not appear to be the true explanation. Here ל *c. Inf.* and introduced by *vav*, though following a clause dependent on די is not to be regarded as dependent on the די but as constituting an independent clause parallel with like clauses before it. This explanation is confirmed by 2^{18}, where no די precedes this very peculiar construction, but the independent clause חברוהי מלחא הודע . . ל . . דניאל.

Thus this idiom in D. ($2^{16, 18}$, 5^{15}) is a stage farther advanced than in E. (6^{8}, D. 6^{16}) where it is undoubtedly dependent on די.

This idiom, which, so far as I can discover, is not found in I–II is found in Hebrew. It occurs in 1 Chron. 5^{1} ולא להתיחש לבכרה 'and the genealogy must not be reckoned for the birthright'. Cf. also 15^{2} לא לשאת 'none may carry'. Sometimes it denotes futurity without sense of aim or purpose: cf. 2 Chron. 30^{9} ולשוב 'and they shall return'. In Eccles. 3^{15} אשר להיות כבר היה 'what is to be hath already been'. It is frequent in late Hebrew: cf. Aboth 4^{31} (ed. Taylor).

Thus E. and still more D. have developed an idiom unknown in Aramaic before the fourth century so far apparently as existing records go.

In 9^{2} we have, as I take it, another example of this idiom: למלאות . . . אשר 'which were to be accomplished': see note *in loc.*: also Comm., p. 131.

(*u*) די = ὅτι *recitativum*: cf. IV (i.e. D. four times only—2^{25}, 5^{7}, $6^{6, 14}$ (like כי and אשר in Hebrew)), but not in I, II, III, so far as I can discover.

[1] I take this clause—not as dependent on די but as parallel with the preceding clause 'the wise men . . have been brought in before me'.

(*v*) גברין כשראין 'certain Chaldeans': only so used in IV, i. e. D. $3^{8, 12, 20}$. Here ב"נ stands in apposition just as אנשים in Hebrew in Judges 19^{22} where אנשי is corrupt for אנשים: cf. 20^{13}: Deut. 13^{14}.

(*w*) קדם 'before'. The use of this word is very significant in connexion with the verb אמר. ל *c.* pers. is used after אמר about twenty times. In these passages kings use ל after this verb in addressing their officials, officials use it in the same connexion to one another: in a few passages the three Jewish Confessors and the great nobles use it in the MT in addressing the king in 3^{9} MT, Th., Vulg., Pesh., but LXX om., $3^{16, \dagger 24\dagger}$, $6^{7\,(6), 16\,(15)}$. But 3^{9} is an interpolation, being omitted by the LXX: in $6^{7\,(6)}$ we should with the LXX read קדם and not ל. Of the remaining three $3^{16, 24}$, $6^{16\,(17)}$ we can explain the use of ל in 3^{16}. It is used by the three Jewish Confessors, who are facing immediate death for the sake of their faith, and so address Nebuchadnezzar as they would any other man. In $6^{16\,(15)}$ the great nobles having secured a law designed to destroy Daniel are indifferent to the ceremonious language usual in addressing a king, and so in their insolence they use ל and not קדם, though when earlier they were seeking to secure this law $6^{7\,(6)}$ (LXX) they used קדם. Only in $\dagger 3^{24}\dagger$ is this rule not observed. It seems therefore to be a primitive corruption. In 2^{25} קדם has just been used and so ל is used after אמר to avoid a repetition of it. But ל is never used after אמר when God is addressed. Hence not only on this but mainly on other grounds $4^{32\,(35)}$ must be excised as an interpolation. Further, as we have just seen, קדם is used after אמר and not ל, when the king is addressed, unless there are special grounds for not doing so.

The proper preposition which should be used after אמר when addressing God is קדם. See our author. The beginnings of this usage in Aramaic appear in I^{a} i.e. Nerab 2: see Cooke 65^{2} where קדם is used in addressing the god Sahar. In II^{a} it is used mainly when God (Cowley 30^{27}),[1] kings (30^{2}, 32^{5}), or governors (32^{3}, 37^{5}) are addressed: or friends Aḥ. 141. In III^{a} (i. e. E.) קדם is used before the chancellor, 4^{23}, before the king, 4^{18},

[1] In Cowley we find the later usage in connexion with the Egyptian gods: 72^{6} (CIS II. i. 146^{6}) 'before 'Aḥor': 72^{15} 'before Apuaitu' as well as before the God of Israel: קדם אלה שמיא 38^{2-3}. The first papyrus is not dated but the second is fifth century B.C.

before God, 7^{19} (though after a different verb). On the other hand אמר ל is used of Cyrus in addressing his officials, 5^{15}: and likewise of the Persian governors in addressing the Jews, $5^{3,4,9}$. Thus we see a steady approach to the usage in Daniel.

Having grasped our author's usage of this phrase, we recognize that the interpolator of $4^{3-7a(6-10a)}$ had not the slightest conception of it. Thus he represents the great Nebuchadnezzar as saying with regard to the soothsayers and Daniel, whose destruction he had decreed on arbitrary grounds in 2^{13}: 'I told the dream ***before*** them', $4^{4(7)}$: 'I told the dream ***before*** him', $4^{5(8)}$. This passage which is omitted by the LXX contains other idioms conflicting with our author's usage.[1]

(*x*) ל *before the accusative or direct object.*

II$^{\alpha}$. On this use Cowley, p. 14, remarks: 'the use of ל to mark the object is not common in these texts'. Cf. 5^{9}, $13^{2,5}$, [$15^{3,27}$], Ah. 1. It is really very infrequent.

III$^{\alpha}$. In E. it occurs six times $5^{9,10,12}$, 6^{7}, $7^{24,25}$.

IV. In D. ל is used before the acc. about forty times and all but as a rule before personal objects: $2^{10,12,14,19,24,25,48,49}$, 3^{18}, $4^{22(25)}$, &c. (thirty-three times), but not in †$2^{13,18}$†, 3^{28} and †6^{25}†.[2] In $2^{34,35}$, 3^{19}, $5^{2,23}$, 7^{2} it is used before impersonal but defined objects. ל bef. acc. more than twice as often relatively in D than in E.

This usage distinguishes definitely the style of D. from E., and exhibits a much later stage of linguistic development.

(*y*) *Use of* כהל *and* יכל.

For convenience sake we shall consider together these two verbs, which have the same meaning.

I. Not found.

II$^{\alpha}$. When these verbs are used in the Impf., they are followed by another verb in the Impf. without a conjunction: cf. Cowley

[1] On the usage of *before* in relation to the Deity in the Targums and Syriac, see Driver *Samuel*, p. lxx sqq.; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 171-4 (English translation 209-13), who states that in Egypt subjects never spoke 'to' the king but 'in his presence', and that the Targums never represent man as speaking 'to' but 'before' God.

[2] I have bracketed the passages in $2^{13,18}$, 6^{25} as corrupt. There is the authority of some of the versions for so doing in the case of 2^{13}, 6^{25}. In 2^{18} by reading יְהוֹבְדוּן instead of יְהוֹבְדִן (as Lambert, *Rev. des Études juives* 54 (1893), p. 269 sq. proposes) the usage of the author could be recovered. In 3^{28} however the context is against any emendation. See Bauer-Leander, p. 339 sqq.

1^4 (495 B.C.), 5^6 (471 B.C.), 6^{12} (465 B.C.) down to the latest $15^{31\,(35)}$ (441 B.C.), whereas the earliest example of כהל followed by ל *c.* Inf. is to be found in 28^{7-8} (where eleven words separate the verb and the Inf.) (411 B.C.), and Aḥ. 17. Yet in Aḥ. it is twice followed by the Impf. without a conjunctive in 26 (?), 81.

III^a. These verbs do not occur.

IV. When these verbs are combined with another verb in D., the latter is in the Inf. *c.* ל, as in the Targums: cf. $2^{26, 47}$, 6^{21}, &c. Thus the ancient usage,[1] all but universal in II^a is not once attested in IV.

Again this verb is used in the sense of 'to get the mastery of' in D. 7^{21} with ל and a suffix. This usage is not found in I^a, II^a, III^a, though it is frequent in Heb. (with ל and a noun) and in the Targums.

In II^a we have the same early Aramaic usage in connexion with צבי 'to desire' in 18^{2-3} צבית אהנצל 'I desire to take away'.[4] In IV, i.e. D. 7^{19} it is followed by ל *c. inf.* So also in Syr. but not in I^a, III^a, nor yet in Heb.

Thus D. exhibits only the later construction of כהל and צבי in Aramaic.

(*z*) די שמה בלטשאצר 'who was named B.', D. 2^{26}.

In ΠI^a (Cowley) in 28^4 we have פטוסירי שְׁמֵהּ 'one named Petosiri'. Cf. $28^{5, 8-9, 12-13}$, 33^{1-5}. Aḥ. 1, 18; Beh. 2, 7, 12, 22, 25, 27, 35. Cowley on Aḥ. 1 says this is a Persian idiom: but it is Hebr. as well. One example of this idiom occurs in III^a, i.e. E. 5^{14} ששבצר שמה 'one named Sheshbazzar'. The converse order is found in Aḥ. 4–5 and Beh. 17.

As above remarked this idiom is not found in I^a, IV. In D. 2^{26} we have דִּי שְׁמֵהּ בֶּלְטְשַׁאצַּר—an idiom which recurs in $4^{5, 16}$. In the older Aramaic this would have been simply ב״ שְׁמֵהּ. In the Hebrew of D. 10^1 אשר נקרא שמו ב״ we have a partial approach to this. This latter idiom is found in the Pesh. in Luke 19^2, though the Greek has simply *ὀνόματι καλούμενος*. Cf. also Mark 14^{32}; and elsewhere.

In Hebrew there are two constructions in the main. When the proper name precedes, the first idiom runs as follows גלית שמו 'one named Goliath': cf. Sam. $17^{4, 23}$; 2 Sam. 20^{21}, &c.

[1] Yet this ancient usage occurs a few times in Hebrew: see Num. 22^6 אוכל נכה (where we should read נוכל) 'we are able to smite': Lam. 4^{14}.

When the proper name does not precede, the idiom is different. The conjunction always precedes the phrase. though the meaning remains unaffected. ושמו לבן LXX ᾧ ὄνομα Λαβάν 'one named Laban'. Cf. Judges 13^2, 17^1; Ruth 2^1, &c. These two Hebrew idioms are reproduced exactly in the Targums and generally in Syriac.

In D. 5^{12} we have another Aramaic construction די מלכא שָׂם שְׁמֵהּ בל" but this clause comes from the hand of the reviser or a scribe. The construction in Ezra 5^{14} די פחה שָׂמֵהּ 'whom he appointed governor' is different.

Thus the above idioms used in Babylon, Palestine (E.) and in Egypt are not found in D., the idioms of which are late.

The idiom in D. 2^{26}, $4^{5, 16}$ is reproduced literally in the Pesh.

(*aa*) התיב = 'to return' (acc. of answer).

I^a. Not found.

II^a. Used only in the sense of 'to return', 'to restore': Cowley 15^{23}, 20^7.

III^a. $5^{5, 11}$ 'to return' (with acc. of answer).

IV. 3^{16} 'to answer' (without acc.), but in 2^{14} with cognate acc.

In Hebrew השיב = 'to answer' with or without an acc.

(*bb*) מנהון . . . מנהון 'some . . . others'.

I, II^a, III^a. Not found.

IV. i.e. D. $2^{33, 41, 42a}$. Cf. מִנָּהּ . . . מן־קצת 2^{42b}.

(*cc*) אמר followed by direct narration only in I, II^a (about 100 times), III^a (= 'told them: Do so and so').

IV followed by the indirect narration, i.e. ל *c.* Inf. (= 'told them to do so and so') D. 2^{46}, $3^{13, 19, 20}$, $5^{2, 6}$ 6^{24}. There are of course plenty of instances of אמר followed by the direct narration. —$2^{4, 7}$, &c. But D. stands here alone among the authorities mentioned.

(*dd*) נבוכדנצר מלכא 'N. the King'. This is the true ancient order of the words—never 'King N.'.

I^a. Unfortunately the phrase does not occur.

II^a. Always observes the above order.

III^a. So also E.: cf. $4^{9, 11, 23}$(where the order of R.V. is wrong), ^{24}, 5^6, &c.

IV. The ancient order is forsaken in $2^{28, 46}$, 3^{16}, $5^{9, 11}$, 6^{10} for 'King N'. In 3^{16} the MT separates 'King' and 'Nebuchadnezzar', but LXX,[1] Th., Vulg. connect them and in this order,

[1] LXX adds βασιλεῦ.

but not so the Pesh., and also in [4^{15}] against Th., Pesh., and Vulg. That this late order had asserted itself in the second century B.C. is clear from the above evidence as well as from the fact that the LXX has this late order in 2^{48}, $4^{1, 34\,b}$ where the MT omits *βασιλευς*.

This late order appears to be not older than the second century B.C. In reference to oriental potentates it has not been discovered, so for as I am aware, in works *emanating from the East earlier than the second century B.C.* In 1 Macc. we have the older order in 3^{27}, 6^{16}, $10^{15, 48, 55, 59, 68, 88}$, $11^{2, 38, 52}$, 12^{39}, $13^{31, 34}$, 14^{1}, 15^{22}, and the later in 6^{55}, $10^{18, 25}$, $11^{8, 16, 18, 30, 32}$, 13^{36}, 14^{38}, 15^{2}. Now 1 Macc. belongs to the latter half of the second century B.C. In 2 Macc., which was written probably at the close of the second century B.C. or in the first half of the first century the later order appears in 11^{22}, 14^{4} and the earlier in 5^{18}. In 1 Esdras (first century B.C.) both orders occur and likewise in Judith (close of second century B.C.) and in Bel and the Dragon first century B.C. (Th.). The later order appears on the coins of Alexander 76–67 B.C.: Antigonus 40–37 B.C. and Herod the Great 37–4 B.C., See Schürer, *GJV*^{3} I. 287, 355, 397. In Josephus both orders appear without any special significance in either case: cf. *Ant.* x. 10, 3: 11, 1: xi. 1, 3 for *ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβοκοδρόσορος* and x. 11, 4: xi. 1, 3 for the converse order; similarly with regard to Cyrus: xi. 1, 1 and xi. 1, 3. The significance of this idiom is unknown to Josephus: as also to his predecessors back to the second century B.C. In the Greek historians the order is *βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης*: see Herodotus (484–425 B.C.) viii. 24: also Thucydides i. 129: viii. 5, 37 (*bis*). This is the true Western order. In Polybius (204–122 B.C.) the Oriental order is reproduced in his *Hist.* xxvii. 17, 33: xxxi. 11, 1, when speaking of Antiochus Epiphanes, but the Western order when speaking of Ptolemy Philometor, xxviii. 10, 8. Thus Greek historians follow their own usage with regard to this idiom: but Oriental writers observe the older order which was the real order down to the second century B.C.

The evidence of this order of words seems in itself conclusive as to the Book of Daniel being not earlier than the second century B.C.

(*ee*) *Participle used as finite Verb.*

I^{a}. In the 120 lines or thereabouts of the Zinjirli (Hadad,

Panammu, and Bar-rekub) Inscriptions, eighth century, the participle does not appear to occur once: nor yet is the participle used in the two Nerab Inscriptions (Cooke 64, 65) consisting of fourteen and ten lines respectively.

I$^{\beta}$. Assyr. Letter: seventh century. Here also finite verbs are used apparently always.

II$^{\alpha}$. *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley). I have not counted up the occurrences of the participle. But if we should say that it occurs once for every thirty times a finite verb occurs, even that might be considerably beyond the limit. Besides the participle, in many of the cases where it does occur, does not take the place of a finite verb.

II$^{\delta}$. Tema Inscription, fifth century, CIS II. 113. In the seventeen lines preserved of this inscription there are no participles.

III$^{\alpha}$ (i.e. E.). End of fourth century. In sixty-seven verses finite verbs (simple (93) and compounded with הוה (14), occur 107 times: participles occur as finite verbs twenty-four times: i.e. less than once in every five times.

IV$^{\alpha}$ (i.e. D.). In 199½ verses there are 99 participles[1] describing a past action as Historic Pres. or Impf. It occasionally alternates with the finite verb in the same sentence 4^{4}, 5^{1}, 6^{7}, and is used in the statement of general truths 2^{21}. This extended use of the participle is found in the Palestinian Talmud and the Midrashim and to a less degree in the Targums.[2]

Thus D. belongs herein to the later Aramaic, and is absolutely sundered in this respect from the older Aramaic.

(*ff*) כָּל־קֳבֵל in III$^{\alpha}$ and IV. This is merely a corruption of כְּלָקֳבֵל.

II$^{\alpha}$. קבל only twice. לקבל and וי לקבל twelve times. לקבל as early as the sixth to fifth century: see Abydos Ins., Cooke 67.

III$^{\alpha}$. כל־קבל only once as a Prep. in E. 7^{17}, but twice as Conj. 4^{14}, 7^{14} when followed by די. לקבל as Prep. 4^{16}: as Conj. when followed by די 6^{13}.

IV. D. כל־קבל $2^{12, 24}$, $3^{7, 8, 22}$, 6^{10} as Prep. But thirteen times as Conj. when followed by די. לקבל five times as Prep.

As a conjunction כלקבל די occurs twice in E. 4^{14}, 7^{14}, but in D.

[1] See Burney, *Aram. Origin of Fourth Gospel*, p. 89.

[2] Stevenson, *Gram. of Pal. Jewish Aram.*, p. 56.

thirteen times. Thus a form (די) כלקבל which occurs only three times as Prep. or Conj. in E. has become so popular later that it is found nineteen times in D. The corrupt form has been reproduced in the Targums: cf. Ps. Jon.; Gen. 28^{17}; Ruth 4^{4}: and כל־קבל זי in Eccles. 5^{15}.

§ 21. *Order of Words.*[1]

I. In 1^{a} the verb as a rule precedes the subject or object.

In the Hadad Inscription

the verb precedes the subj. (13 times), object (8), subj. + obj. 1 = 22 times.

the subject precedes verb (2), verb + obj. (1), obj. + verb (1) = 4 times.

the object precedes verb (2) = 2 times.

Thus the verb precedes subj., or obj., or both combined nearly four times oftener than the subj., or obj., or both combined, precede the verb. Note, that although the verb nearly always comes first, yet the Inscription shows a freedom in the order of the words which forecasts the later developments: i.e.

(1) Subj. + obj. + verb 61^{23}.

(2) Subj. + verb + obj. 61^{20}.

(5) Verb + subj. + obj. 61^{2-3}.

The numbers (1), (2), (5) point to three of the six different combinations found in IV (i.e. D.).

In the Panammu Inscription

Verb precedes subj. (5 times) or obj. (14) = 19 times.
Subj. ,, verb (2) = 2 ,,
Obj. ,, ,, (2) = 2 ,,

The verb precedes subj. or obj. or both combined five times oftener than the subj. or obj., or both combined precede the verb. We find also the combinations

(4) Obj. + verb + subj. 62^{1}

(6) Verb + obj. + subj. $62^{17, 19}$ but obj. in these cases a suffix.

[1] When the subject is contained in the inflected verb, it is generally not included in the reckonings that follow, unless it is actually added in the text, as it is occasionally, for the sake of emphasis. Similarly in relative clauses. Verbal suffixes are included in the reckonings. Participles, when they represent finite verbs, are treated as such. I do not take account of the constantly recurring words ענה . . ואמר. The subject as a rule follows the first verb. The above numbers make no claim to being literally exact, since the inscriptions are so frequently defective and undecipherable, but they are true in the main.

In the Bar-rekub Inscription

verb precedes obj. or subj. or both combined (4) = 4 times.
subj. „ verb (2) = 2 „

Here the verb precedes subj. or obj. or both combined twice as often as the converse order. We find also the combinations: (2) subj. + verb + obj. 63^{20}: (6) verb + obj. (suff.) + subj. 63^{5-6}.

In the Zakar Inscription

verb precedes subj. or obj. or both combined = 20 (?)
subj. „ verb or obj. = 4 (?)

We find also the combinations (2) subj. + verb + obj. and (6) verb + obj. + subj.

In the Nerab Inscription I verb precedes subj. or obj. 5
subj. „ verb 2 (?)

Here also we find the combinations (2) subj. + verb + obj. and (5) verb + subj. + obj.

I$^{\beta}$. *In the Aramaic Letter from Assyria*, the text of which is defective in many parts, the tendency above represented is more pronounced, and the verb almost as often follows the subj. or obj. as it precedes them.

Verb precedes subj. 2 (ll. 8, 11)
„ „ obj. 7 (ll. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12 (*bis*), 16)
Subj. precedes verb 3 (ll. 10, 11, 17)
Obj. „ „ 2 (ll. 8, 19)
Obj. + verb + subj. 1 (l. 7)
Subj. + verb + obj. 1 (l. 17)

This summary does not claim to be exhaustive. At the best it is only approximately accurate. The numbers will vary accordingly as we restore a very defective text. In this inscription the subj. or obj. or both combined precede the verb 7 times, while the verb precedes the subj. or obj. 9 times.

I propose to deal here with four fifth-century documents given by Cowley, i. e. 27, 30, 37 and the words of Aḥiḳar.

II$^{\alpha}$. *Cowley 27. c.* 410 B. C. This papyrus consisting of twenty-four lines is the draft of a letter to the satrap Bigvai or Arsames, and emanates from the Jewish colony at Elephantine. It complains of the damage done to them and their temple by the Egyptians.

In this papyrus the subj. precedes the verb 12 times.

„ obj. „ verb 3 „
„ verb „ subj. 3 „

Here the verb precedes the subj. or obj. or both once in six times. The combination (1) subj. + obj. + verb occurs twice.

Cowley 30. 408 B.C. Petition to the Governor of Judaea from the Jews in Elephantine.

The subj. precedes the verb 20 times	} 40		
„ obj. „ „ 20 „			
„ verb „ obj.		10	
„ verb „ subj.		1	

Thus the subj. or obj. or both combined precede the verb four times as often as the converse order. We observe also the following combinations—(1) subj. + obj. + verb 1: (2) subj. + verb + obj. 3: (3) obj. + subj. + verb 2. In 30[18] we have the proleptic use of suffix—not found in I.

Cowley 37. *c.* 410 B.C. A letter.

The subj. precedes the verb	7 times.
„ obj. „ „	2 „
„ verb „ subj. or obj.	12(?) „

Thus the verb is oftener first than the subj. or obj. or both combined. We note the following combinations—(1) subj. + obj. + verb 1: (2) subj. + verb + obj. 2: (3) obj. + subj. + verb 1.

Cowley: Words of Aḥikar. *c.* 430 B.C.

I have only taken account of the narrative portion of Aḥiḳar lines 1–78), and not of the proverbs that follow.

Subj.—verb	27	} 33
Obj.—verb	6	
Verb—subj.	7	} 33
Verb—obj. (mainly suffixes)	26	

Thus the verb is just as often first as the subj. or obj. or both combined.

The following combinations occur—

(1) Subj. + obj. + verb 1
(2) Subj. + verb + obj. 4
(3) Obj. + subj. + verb 3
(6) Verb + obj. + subj. 1

Finally the acc. precedes the inf. which governs it in 63, 192, but follows it in 120, 122, 123, 193, and ל precedes the acc. in l. 1 חכם לברה 'taught his son'.

II$^{\gamma}$. *Cilicia* (*S.E.*). Fifth–fourth century. See Lidz., *N.E.* 446: Cooke 68. This inscription consists of six lines.

In l. 5. we have the order obj. + verb + subj., and in l. 6 verb + subj.

Cilicia in neighbourhood of Kesejek Keojew fifteen miles NE. of Tarsus. See Torrey, *JAOS*, vol. 35, 1915, pp. 370–74.

This inscription consists of five lines. In l. 1, obj. + verb + subj.: in ll. 3–4 subj. (a relative) + obj. + verb: in l. 5 verb + obj. (*cum* ל) + subj. In l. 5 we have *vav* before the verb יבעה, which Torrey declares is simply redundant, comparing Kalam l. 12. Is it the *vav* apodosis?

Cilicia—i. e. *Limyra*. See CIS II. 109: Lidz., *N.E.* 446. Limyra in Cilicia. Fifth–fourth century B.C.

Obj. + subj. + verb.

This is a bilingual inscription—in Aramaic and Greek. The Aramaic order diverges from the Greek. In the latter we have [Ἀ]ρτίμας . . . προκατεσκευάσατο τὸν τάφον [τοῦτον], whereas the Aramaic reads: עבד . . . רתים [א]זנה אסתודנא.

III$^{\alpha}$, i.e. *Ezra* 4^{8}–6^{18}, 7^{12}–^{28}. In present form—close of fourth century B.C., but probably earlier idioms are displaced by idioms of a later date.

Subj. + verb 49 } 75.
Obj. + verb 26 }
Verb + subj. or obj. 64.

Thus verb precedes subj. or obj. or both combined slightly less frequently than the subj. or obj. or both combined precede the verb.

The following combinations occur:

(2)	Subj. + verb + obj.	6
(3)	Obj. + subj. + verb	1
(5)	Verb + subj. + obj. (twice with ל)	3
(6)	Verb + obj. + subj.	2

In other words four out of the six combinations of subj., verb, and obj. in D. are found in E., only, nos. (1) and (4) not occurring.

Proleptic use of suff. once, i. e. in 5^{11}. When the Inf. governs an acc. it precedes it seven times: i.e. $4^{21, 22}$, $5^{2,17}$, $6^{8,12}$, 7^{15}; and also follows it seven times: i.e. 4^{14}, $5^{3\,(bis),\ 9\,(bis),\ 13}$, 7^{24}.

IV. i.e. *Daniel* 2^{46}–7.[1]

Subj. + verb *c.* 208
Obj. + verb *c.* 120 } *c.* 328.
Verb + subj. or obj. *c.* 237.

Thus the verb precedes subj. or obj. or both combined about once in three times. The following combinations of subj., verb, and obj. occur two times out of five:

(1) Subj. + obj. + verb 15
(2) Subj. + verb + obj. 29
(3) Obj. + subj. + verb 2
(4) Obj. + verb + subj. 10
(5) Verb + subj. + subj. 5
(6) Verb + obj. + subj. 6

Proleptic use of suff. occurs ten times ($2^{20,44}$, $3^{8,25,26,28,29}$, 4^{23}, $6^{25,27}$), but only once in E.

As in E., the acc. follows the Inf. *c.* לְ sixteen times, i.e. $2^{12,14,24,26,47}$, $3^{2,13,19,20}$, $4^{3,23}$, $5^{2,7}$, $6^{8(bis)}$, 7^{25}; and precedes it twenty-one times: $2^{9,10,16,18,27,46}$, $3^{16,32}$, $4^{15,34}$, $5^{8(bis),15(bis),16(quater)}$, $6^{5(bis),24}$.

Conclusion. In all the above authorities the order of the old Aramaic is essentially the same as in Hebrew, save in the Aramaic letter which Lidzbarski assigns to the time of Assurbanipal (*circa* 660 B.C.). But the change of order which may be due to the influence of Akkadian is slight as compared to that in D. This letter is valuable,[2] but the writer seems to have been subject to different influences. Thus in l. 15 we have שבי שבה three times, which may be explained as Aramaic (Cooke 62^{8}). It is at the same time good Hebrew as to diction, though the order would possibly have been different: i.e. וישב שבי. On the other hand there is the Jussive לטחנו 'let them grind', which is essentially Aramaic. The pronoun המו frequently occurs, which is also old Aramaic.

[1] Baumgarten ('Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel,' p. 128 in *ZAW*, 19) adopts a different method of calculation, and arrives at the following results in D:—

Subj. occurs before predicate as compared with its occurrences after it *c.* 120: 80.

Obj. occurs before predicate as compared with its occurrences after it *c.* 80: 70.

Obj. occurs before Inf. as compared with its occurrences after it *c.* 20: 16.

[2] In l. 12 we have the words which are so important for the right translation of 3^{14} in our text: הצדא הני מליא אלה 'Are these things true?'

So far then as our present authorities go, we may conclude that the change in the order of Aramaic which is so marked in the fifth cent. and later, began in the seventh or at all events in the sixth cent. If we might argue back we might infer that the oldest Hebrew and Aramaic agreed on the whole as to the order of words. Later developments, as we shall see, support this inference.

II. When we proceed to the next period we find that the change in the order of the words already observed in the Aramaic letter from Assyria grows much more pronounced in the centuries that follow, and that in this respect a gulf lies between the period I and its successors from 500 B. C. onwards.

§ 22. *Seeing that the Hebrew sections are translated from an Aramaic original, naturally Aramaisms are discoverable in the Hebrew, especially as the translators were not Hebraists of the first order.*

Aramaisms in $1-2^{4a}$. רב 1^3: מַדַּע 1^4: אשר לְמה = 'lest' 1^{10}: גיל 1^{10}=Heb. דור: חיב not elsewhere in OT. Good fifth-century B. C. Aramaic: מְזֹנָה—late Heb. but good Aram.

Aramaisms in 8–12. אבול $8^{2,3,6}$ (LXX, Pesh., Vulg.) = 'gate', where MT has Heb. אובל 'river', save that Vulg. has a different rendering in 8^3.

צפיר $8^{5,21}$: היך 10^{17} Aram. whereas the Heb. is אֵיךְ: כְּתַב—an Aramaism in late Hebrew 10^{21}: רְשַׁם 'to inscribe'—pure Aramaic —not elsewhere in O.T.: cf. $5^{24,25}$, $6^{10,11}$ sqq.—עמו עם מלך 11^{11}—cf. 5^{12} for this frequent Aramaic duplication of the preposition: מַקֶּף 11^{17}—an Aram. word in late Hebr.: התחברות 11^{23}—an Aramaised Inf.: כמנים 11^{43}.

There are several renderings in the LXX which imply an Aramaic original. It is enough here to refer to the notes on $11^{20,24}$.

§ 23. *Chronological Tables.*

I. *Neo-Babylonian Kings and Notable Events.*

	B.C.
Nabopolassar—at first a viceroy of Babylon under the sons and successors of Assur-bani-pal, but subsequently the king and independent ruler of Babylon on the destruction of the Assyrian empire by the Medes	625–605
Nebuchadnezzar, as crown prince defeats the Egyptian forces at Carchemish (Jer. 46^2) on the Euphrates and recovers all Western Asia	605
Nebuchadnezzar—king of the Chaldaeans (see note on this term, p. 13 seqq.) and of Babylon	604–561
Amêl-Marduk, i.e. Evil-Merodach (2 Kings $25^{27\,sqq.}$) son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar	561–559
Nergal-Sharezer (Neriglissar), having assassinated his brother-in-law Amêl-Marduk, reigned	559–556
Labashi-Marduk, son of Nergal-Sharezer, reigned only nine months, being murdered by his nobles	556–555
Nabuna'id, the last king of the Chaldaeans, who was not descended from Nebuchadnezzar, but the son of Nabu-balatsu-ikbi, seized the throne and became king . .	555–538
Cyrus, king of Anshan (558), overthrows the Median empire (550), becomes king of Persia (*c.* 547) takes Nabuna'id captive, and makes himself master of Babylon, over which Belshazzar, son of Nabuna'id, had been a vassal king .	538
Cyrus thus becomes king of Babylon	538–529
Cambyses, his son, becomes king	529–521
Conquers Egypt (which remains a province of Persia till 332) .	525
Darius I, Hystaspis, king of Persia	521–485
Xerxes (= Ahasuerus in O.T.)	485–465
Artaxerxes	465–425
Darius II, Nothus	423–404
Artaxerxes II, Mnemon	404–359
Artaxerxes III, Ochus	359–338
Darius III, Codomannus	336–331
Conquered by Alexander	333

II. *The earlier Seleucidae.*

The Empire of the Selucidae over Syria and Babylon founded by Selucus I, Nicator	312–280
Antiochus I, Soter	279–261
Antiochus II, Theos	261–246
Seleucus II, Callinicus	246–226

Seleucus III, Ceraunus	226–223
Antiochus III, the Great	223–187
Seleucus IV, Philopator	187–176
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes	175–164

III. *The earlier Ptolemies.*

	B.C.
Ptolemy I, Soter, became ruler of Egypt	322–283
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus	283–246
Ptolemy III, Euergetes I	246–221
Ptolemy IV, Philopator	221–204
Ptolemy V, Epiphanes	204–181
Ptolemy VI, Philometor	181–145
Ptolemy VI, Philometor Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II } reigning conjointly	170–164

IV. *Events in Jewish history from the time of Jehoiakim to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

	B.C.
Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar. Judea laid waste by the inroads of hostile nations including the Chaldaeans (2 Kings 24^{1-4}). [According to 2 Chron. 36^{6-7} Nebuchadnezzar himself invades Judea, and carries off Jehoiakim and some of the vessels of the Temple to Babylon—a tradition thus existed as early as 300 B.C. which in part forms the basis of Dan. 1^{1-2}]	602
Jehoiakim carried captive to Babylon with all the sacred vessels of the Temple	597
Captivity of Zedekiah and destruction of Jerusalem	586
First return of exiles under Cyrus	538
Second return with Ezra	458
Conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great	332
Struggle between Ptolemy I and Antigonus over the possession of Palestine, which results in Palestine becoming a province of Egypt for nearly 100 years	301
The marriage of Antiochus II with Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II (Dan. 11^{6})	248
Fresh wars between Ptolemy III and Seleucus II (Dan. $11^{7\,sqq.}$)	246
Antiochus III makes himself master of Palestine but is forced to retire from it through his defeat at Raphia by Ptolemy IV	217
Conquest of Palestine by Antiochus III	202
Despite the attempts of Egypt (200 B.C.) this conquest maintained (Dan. $11^{13\,sqq.}$) by the battle of Paneion	198
Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III, married to Ptolemy V (Dan. 11^{17})	193

Seleucus IV, acting on information given by Simon, who was at strife with the High Priest Onias III, attempts to make himself master of the Temple treasures through his chief minister Heliodorus (Dan. 11^{20}) 176

Accession of Antiochus IV to the throne of Syria (Dan. $7^{8, 11, 20}$, $8^{9, 23}$, 11^{21}) 175

The High Priest Onias III, leader of the Chasidim, deposed by Antiochus, and his brother Jason, the leader of the Hellenizing Jews, appointed in his stead . . . 175

Jason deposed in favour of Menelaus and Onias III murdered at the instigation of the latter (Dan. 9^{26}, 11^{22}; 1 Enoch 90^{8}; 2 Macc. 4^{33-35}) 171

Antiochus IV invades Egypt in a campaign, the first stage of which ended with the victory near Pelusium, and the second with the conquest of Egypt (Dan. 11^{25-27}; 1 Macc. 1^{16-19}). Jason having in the meantime reinstated himself in Jerusalem by force, Antiochus on his return from Egypt expels him, plunders the Temple, and massacres many Jews (Dan. $8^{9\,b-10}$, 11^{28}; 1 Macc. 1^{21-28}) . . . 170

Antiochus makes his second expedition against Egypt, but is obliged to retire by the Roman legate Popilius Laenas, and to give up his claims on Egypt 169

Jerusalem taken by surprise by Apollonius on the Sabbath day, many Jews slaughtered or driven into exile, and a Syrian garrison established in the citadel. The complete suppression of the Jewish religion ordered by Antiochus. The observance of the Sabbath and circumcision forbidden. Books of the Law burnt, the daily sacrifice abolished, and a heathen altar, i.e. 'a horror that appalleth', set up in the Temple on the 15th of Chislev (December), 168 (Dan. $7^{21, 24\,b, 25}$, $8^{11, 12, 13\,b, 24, 25}$, $9^{26\,b, 27\,a}$, $11^{30\,b-35}$, $12^{1, 7, [11]}$) . . 169–168

Revolt of the Jews against Antiochus under Mattathias and his sons (Dan. 11^{37}; 1 Enoch $90^{9\,sqq.}$; 1 Macc. 2) . . 167

Death of Mattathias. Judas his son defeats and slays the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc. 3^{1-24}), and subsequently routs Gorgias at Emmaus (1 Macc. 3^{25}–4^{27}), and Lysias at Beth-Zur (1 Macc. 4^{28-35}) . . . 166–165

Recovery of Jerusalem, with the exception of the citadel. Cleansing and rededication of the Temple on the 25th Chislev, three years and ten days after its desecration. Successful invasion of Edomites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other Gentile nations (1 Macc. 5) . . . 165

Antiochus, owing to lack of money, attempts to pillage a temple in Elymais in Persia, but is beaten off by the inhabitants of the town, and soon after dies at Tabae in that same country (Dan. $7^{11, 26}$, $8^{14\,b, 25}$, $9^{27\,b}$, $11^{45\,b}$, 12^{7} [$12^{11, 12}$] . 164

§ 24. *Theology.*

(*a*) Although this book is the forerunner and herald of most subsequent apocalyptic developments, it is not by any means the earliest, but it is by far the greatest of the O.T. apocalypses. Its outlook, however, is in the main confined to this world. Its hopes are directed, not to the afterworld, with its retributions for the individual, but to the setting up of a world-empire of Israel which is to displace the heathen, to a Messianic kingdom on earth. Accordingly, it extends neither promise nor threatening to *the individual as such*, but only to those individuals who have *in an extraordinary degree* helped or hindered the advent of the kingdom. But the resurrection is mechanically conceived. It is not represented as the unique prerogative of all the righteous —the martyrs, the saints, and teachers (12^2) as it was originally conceived, but it has been degraded into a mere mechanical device for bringing the pre-eminently righteous into the eternal Kingdom of God, and for bringing due retribution on the Jewish apostates in the form of a resurrection to everlasting contempt, i. e. in Gehenna. As for the majority of the nation, who are neither over-much righteous nor over-much wicked, their lot is of no concern to the writer, and Sheol remains their eternal abode. Sheol, which is called the land of dust (12^2), retains its O. T. heathen character as a non-moral region. It thus possesses a peculiar character in our author. It is the *intermediate* abode of the very good and of the very bad in Israel, and the *eternal* abode of the rest of Israel and of all the Gentiles. The eschatological outlook of the individual is very imperfectly conceived, or at all events very imperfectly delineated. For we might ask, are the risen righteous to live for ever in the Messianic kingdom? The supernatural character of the kingdom certainly implies this (cf. $7^{17,18}$), and yet the description in $7^{17,18}$, where the continued existence of 'the peoples, nations, and languages' as subject to this kingdom is difficult to reconcile with the immortality of the righteous individual upon the earth, is quite reconcilable with the eternity of the Messianic kingdom.

(*b*) *The advent of the kingdom catastrophic.* We have, however, overlooked the manner in which the kingdom is to be introduced. It is to be catastrophic. When evil reaches its culmi-

nation, and the need of the saints is greatest ($7^{21,22}$, 12^{1}), when the Antichrist in the person of Antiochus Epiphanes is warring down the saints, God Himself will intervene, and the throne of judgement be set up (7^{9}), and the world powers overthrown ($7^{11,12}$), and the kingdom of the saints shall be set up, which shall break in pieces all the kingdoms of the world (2^{44}), and make all the surviving nations their subjects. It is to share in this kingdom that all the pre-eminently righteous, among whom of course Daniel and his friends are included, are to rise in the resurrection (יקיצו 12^{2}). But according to 12^{13} quite a different conception is introduced. There (unless we take עמד as meaning 'to rise in the resurrection', which it never does in Hebrew or, as Hitzig has already pointed out, in any Semitic dialect[1]), Daniel hopes *to survive the advent of the kingdom*, and to have his special inheritance in it (ותעמד לגרלך 12^{13}), just as Ezekiel does in Ezek. 29^{21}, and St. Paul in 1 Thess. 4^{15}. But, since it is impossible to entertain the supposition that our author expected to live for over 400 years, then we must conclude either that he has forgotten his rôle as presumably writing in the sixth century B. C., or that 12^{13} is an interpolation from the same hand that inserted 12^{12}. This interpolator writes from the standpoint of the second century B. C. and not from that of the sixth century. The book thus closes in 12^{10} with a special promise that Daniel's prayer in 12^{8}, that he might be enabled to understand, shall be granted—'none of the wicked shall understand, but they that be wise shall understand' (12^{10}). 12^{13} is in part modelled on 12^{9} 'Go thy way, Daniel', and 12^{4} 'to the time of the end'. But the interpolator of 12^{12-13} did not understand the technical meaning of the author's phrase 'the time of the end' (עת קץ) in 12^{4} and also in 12^{9}, 8^{17}, $11^{35,40}$, which has always in his use a reference to the advent of the kingdom. Instead of this phrase, which he should have employed in 12^{13}, he adopted from our author another phrase, which he suppos had the same meaning, i. e. 'the end of the days'. But this phrase, whether written as קץ הימים as in the interpolation in 12^{13},

[1] It will not do to rejoin with Bevan that 'if this belief were new in the days of the author, a fixed technical term may have been wanting'. The belief was not new within a limited circle of Judaism, and the right technical term (i.e. הקיץ) was not wanting; for it appears in our author (12^{2}) as well as in Is. 26^{19}: cf. also Jer. $51^{39,57}$; Job 14^{12} for its use of awaking after death.

or as קצת הימים in $1^{15, 5, 18}$, $4^{34\,(31)}$ never has this technical meaning in our author. In our author it always marks the conclusion of a definite period in the lives of the persons, whose history he is recounting, but it never refers to the advent of the kingdom. He could rightly have used another phrase of our author here 'the latter days' אחרית יומיא 2^{28} in Aramaic and אחרית היומים 10^{14} in Hebrew. But he chose just the wrong phrase for his purpose. Furthermore the Hebrew verb עמד retains its usual and apparently universal meaning, if we interpret the passage aright.

(*c*) *Growing transcendentalism in the conception of God.* God rules the world by a body of intermediate agencies. To these angelic patrons of the nations an almost inconceivable liberty of initiative is accorded. The action of most of them is represented as contrary to the fulfilment of the Divine Will. By means of this conception the writer explains the national reverses, and likewise the delay in the establishment of the Messianic kingdom.

(*d*) *Dualism and determinism in Daniel's conception of the world.* The conflict between the kingdoms of this world and of Israel springs essentially from their irreconcilable religious and ethical aims. But this moral conflict did not originate on this earth but in the supernatural background. Thus Persia has its angelic guardian (10^{13}), and likewise Greece (10^{20}), while the patron angel of Israel is Michael (10^{21}, 12^{1}). Our author uses the dualistic conception of the world to explain Israel's reverses, and likewise the delay in the advent of the Kingdom of God, as we have already pointed out. It is difficult to reconcile this conception with that of the triumphant kingdom of the Saints and the final judgement executed by God in $7^{26, 27}$. Since the efforts of the angelic guardians of the nations are expressly directed against God's chosen people, the dualism of our author's world view cannot be questioned. It is true, however, that he avoids entering into details, and that he teaches that the world of evil is doomed from the outset.

That inconsistencies in the thought of the writer should exist is inevitable. The O.T. prophets dealt with the destinies of this nation or of that, but took no comprehensive view of the history of the world as a whole. No more did any of the Greek or Roman historians. Hence Daniel was the first to teach the unity of all human history, and that every fresh phase of this

history was a further stage in the development of God's purposes. One world empire succeeds another, each transcending its predecessors in wickedness, till at last wickedness reaches its final development and is impersonated in the God-opposing Antiochus, who blasphemously called himself 'God manifest', and made it his express aim to destroy the true religion, that is, the religion of Judaism. Never before had any of the world powers made this their aim. But Antiochus assumes the role of what was subsequently known as the Antichrist. Now in this inevitable strife the faithful bear their part, but at the best they can render but 'a little help' (11^{34}), seeing that the real victory of the righteous is secured in advance by their patron angel. Our author has no consistent theology.

The element of determinism manifests itself frequently. The most obvious instance is to be found in $4^{14(17)}$, where it is declared that Nebuchadnezzar's destiny is settled by the decree of the Watchers. In the attempt to determine at what exact date the end should come the element of determinism again comes to the front. It is not a question of the growth of character in man fitting him for the advent of the kingdom, but the problem is mechanically conceived, and the kingdom is to be realized on the lapse of a certain definite period of time, which comes at last to be declared to be three and a half years. There are other mechanical elements in the theology of Daniel, but it could not well be otherwise, since the prophetic era had passed and apocalyptic had begun its attempt to grapple with the world problems which confronted it—a struggle for which it was not sufficiently equipped.

(*e*) Attention might be called to the following points: The frequent condemnation of idolatry in chapters 3 and 5, the rules as to clean and unclean food (1^{8-16}), the giving of alms and good works ($4^{24(27)}$), the Bath-Ḳol, or voice from heaven ($4^{28(31)}$), the three hours of prayer ($6^{11(10)}$).

Finally it is noteworthy that neither Daniel nor his three friends show any consciousness of sin. Only in the interpolated prayer (9^{4-19}) and the clumsy verse 9^{20}, which was added to connect 9^{4-19} with its new context, is there any confession of sin on Daniel's part. Daniel is convinced of his possessing a conscience void of offence before God and man $6^{23(24)}$.

§ 25. *A Fragment of the pre-Theodotion Version*—Dan. 7^{9-28}.

In the course of my study of the versions I passed from one conclusion to another. At last I arrived at the conviction that in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 31) we have a genuine fragment of the lost pre-Theodotion version, i. e. Dan. 7^{9-28}. In the earlier stages of my studies I had no consciousness of the direction in which I was moving, since the studies were often unconnected, and the problems dealt with in a piecemeal fashion. All I sought was to give to each isolated fact its full value. At last the above conclusion flashed suddenly upon me. Some of the grounds for this conclusion I will now give.

1. First of all I accept by virtue of my own studies as valid the inference already drawn by Salmon, Gwynn, Swete, Burkitt, and Thackeray that there were two pre-Christian Greek versions of Daniel. For this conclusion sufficient evidence is given in the Introd., § 13 *c*.

2. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the same type of text, independent alike of the LXX and Th., is found in the Old Latin (see Burkitt, *Old Latin*, p. 22 seq.). Happily in Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 7) we have a quotation from Dan. 7^{13-14} which I shall quote here over against the Greek in Justin.

Justin (*Dial.* 31).

7^{13}. Καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος· καὶ ἦλθεν ἕως τοῦ παλαίου τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παρῆν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες προσήγαγον αὐτόν. 7^{14}. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ τιμὴ βασιλική, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα λατρεύουσα· καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῇ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ φθαρῇ.

Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 7 (Oehler ii. 130).

Et ecce cum nubibus caeli, tanquam filius hominis [1]veniens, venit[1] usque ad veterem dierum, et aderat in conspectu ejus et qui adsistebant adduxerunt illum. et data est ei potestas regia, et omnes nationes terrae secundum genera et omnis gloria famulabunda et potestas ejus usque in aevum quae non auferetur, et regnum ejus quod non vitiabitur.

Here observe that Justin and Tertullian agree against LXX and Th. in l. 3, save that Justin inserts καί before ἦλθεν: in l. 4

[1] So Cypr. *Test.* ii. 10.

καὶ παρῆν . . . αὐτοῦ: in l. 5 προσήγαγον αὐτόν. Next observe that Justin and Tert. agree with LXX in l. 5 οἱ παρεστηκότες against Th.: in l. 7 seq. πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα . . . λατρεύουσα: in l. 10 ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῇ: in l. 11 φθαρῇ. Thirdly observe that Justin and Tert. agree in only two readings with Th. against LXX, i. e. l. 1 μετά: in l. 3 ἕως τοῦ παλαίου τῶν. In both these readings it reproduces the MT.

Again where Justin and Tertullian agree with the LXX, Th. agrees with the MT. Thus Th. 7^{14} καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, καὶ γλῶσσαι δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ is an exact translation of the MT.

From this comparison it follows that Justin and Tertullian are here making use of a pre-Christian version of Daniel, which is closely allied to the LXX, but only in a very minute degree to Th. The most reasonable explanation of these facts is that the LXX is the older version. The second version, i. e. the pre-Theodotion, was made at a much later date—say provisionally 50 B. C.

3. We conclude, therefore, that there were two Greek versions which were used by the Christian Church down to A. D. 150 and later—the LXX (145 B. C.), and the pre-Theodotion (c. 50 B. C.): that Justin quoted from the second of these, and that Theodotion used this second in making his version, i. e. Th., Justin and Theodotion being contemporaries. The former was martyred in A. D. 163.[1] The version of the latter is attributed to different dates between A. D. 140 and 184.

4. The conclusion that (in *Dial.* 31) Justin quotes twenty verses, not from the LXX but from a *later* version is confirmed by the fact that in reproducing Dan. 7^{15} he uses as in Th. the non-Semitic phrase αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς (see p. 42: notes on $2^{19, 28}$ e Transl.): also that in 7^{13} he quotes the phrase †μετὰ† τῶν νεφελῶν, as does the pre-Theod. and Th., where עם is a corruption of על, and not as ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν as the LXX. It is to be observed that elsewhere Justin always quotes this phrase in the form ἐπάνω τ. νεφελῶν (*Dial.* 14, 120; *Apol.* i, 1, 51). Justin may have found ἐπάνω instead of ἐπί in his copy of the LXX, since the translator of the LXX uses ἐπάνω as a synonym of ἐπί = 'upon' (i. e. על) in 7^{6}.

[1] Justin's *Dial.* is assigned by Hort. to A.D. 142–8, and by Volkmar to A.D. 155.

Again the LXX in 7^{13} *καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν· καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες* †*παρησαν αὐτὸν*† (rd. *παρέστησαν αὐτόν*) represents an older text וכעתיק יומין תמה וקאמיא קרמוהי הקרבוהי 'and one like an ancient of days was there, and they that stood before him presented him'. The translator of the LXX never uses *ὡς* as a preposition but always *ἕως*. Possibly תמה was first corrupted into מטה. This would naturally lead to the change of כעתיק יומין into עד עתיק יומיא in the revised text.

5. From the above facts coupled with those that follow, I conclude that the pre-Theodotion version was based on the Semitic text of Daniel (*c.* 50 B.C.) but that it borrowed its renderings largely from the LXX where the Semitic text allowed of its doing so.

6. In the *Fragment of the pre-Theodotion Version*, which now follows, most of the words and phrases, wherein this version differs from the LXX, agree with the MT. The obvious conclusion is that the Semitic text of Daniel had undergone considerable revision and corruption between 145 B.C. and 50 B.C. or thereabouts.

7. General conclusion. Justin never uses Th. but a pre-Theodotion text. When he quotes short phrases or clauses he apparently uses the LXX. Thus in *Dial.* 70, 76, 114 he quotes *ἐτμήθη* (Dan. 2^{34}) from the LXX, where Th. has *ἀπεσχίσθη*. Again in *Dial.* 110 he derives *ἔξαλλα* from the LXX where Th. has *ὑπέρογκα*. But when he quotes an unbroken passage of twenty verses as in *Dial.* 31, he diverges from the LXX though he has always elsewhere followed it. The natural conclusion is that, though he did not possess Th., he had before him the pre-Theodotion version and in all probability the LXX. The latter probability is practically a certainty.

In the text of Justin that follows, containing a fragment of the pre-Theodotion version, words and phrases common to it with the LXX are printed in thick type: those common to it with Th. are underlined. Synonyms or even loose though equivalent renderings are not underlined, save in a few passages where the words are doubly underlined. Where Justin's text contains additions these are enclosed in round brackets.

JUSTIN.

Dial. c. Tryphone 31 (Otto ed.).

Dan. 7^{9}. Ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου[1] θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο, [2] **ἔχων περιβολὴν** ὡσεὶ **χιόνα** λευκήν, καὶ **τὸ τρίχωμα** τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρόν,[2] ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ[3] **ὡσεὶ** φλὸξ πυρός, [4] οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.[4]

7^{10}. [5] Ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἵλκεν **ἐκπορευόμενος** ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ·[5] χίλιαι χιλιάδες [6] ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ[6] καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ. [7] Βίβλοι ἀνεῴχθησαν, καὶ κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν.[7]

7^{11}. Ἐθεώρουν τότε [8] **τὴν φωνὴν**[8] τῶν [9] μεγάλων λόγων[9] ὧν τὸ κέρας [10] λαλεῖ,[11] [12] **καὶ ἀπετυμπανίσθη**[12] τὸ θηρίον, καὶ ἀπώλετο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ [13] ἐδόθη εἰς καῦσιν πυρός.

7^{12}. Καὶ[14] τὰ λοιπὰ θηρία μετεστάθη τῆς ἀρχῆς **αὐτῶν**[14] καὶ **χρόνος**[15] ζωῆς τοῖς θηρίοις ἐδόθη[16] ἕως[17] καιροῦ καὶ **χρόνου.**[17]

7^{13}. ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ[18] τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος·[19] καὶ ἦλθεν[20] [21] ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν, (καὶ) **παρῆν**[21] (ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ) καὶ [22] **οἱ παρεστηκότες**[22] προσήγαγον αὐτόν.[23]

[1] LXX οτε.

[2] So also LXX save that it rightly reads λευκον after εριον and not after χιονα as pre-Theod. and Th. wrongly do. Th. Και το ενδυμα αυτου ωσει χιων λευκον και η θριξ τῆς κεφαλης ωσει εριον καθαρον.

[3] >LXX. [4] LXX ※τροχοι αυτου πυρ καιομενον ℵ.

[5] LXX ελκων και εξεπορευετο κατα προσωπον αυτου ποταμος πυρος. Th. ειλκεν εμπροσθεν αυτου.

[6] So Th. but LXX εθεραπευον αυτον.

[7] Justin inverts order of these two clauses in LXX and Th.

[8] Th. απο φωνης. [9] LXX and Th. λογ. τ. μεγαλων.

[10] +εκεινο Th. [11] ελαλει ※θεωρων ημην LXX ℵ.

[12] So LXX but Th. εως ανηρεθη. [13] Th. trs. bef. το σωμα.

[14] Justin agrees here with Th. or Pre-Theod. save that he adds αυτων with LXX. Th. των λοιπων θηριων η αρχη μετασταθη. LXX τους κυκλωι αυτου απεστησε της εξουσιας αυτων. [15] Th. μακροτης.

[16] +αυτοις LXX, Th. but Justin gives τ. θηριοις bef. εδοθη.

[17] LXX trs. the two nouns. Th. καιρου κ. καιρου.

[18] LXX επι. But Justin at beginning of *Dial.* 31 has επανω νεφελων.

[19] LXX ηρχετο. [20] Th. εφθασε wh. it reads after ημερων. >LXX.

[21] LXX ὡς παλαιος ημερων παρην. [22] >Th.

[23] LXX παρησαν αυτωι. Th. προσηχθη αυτωι.

7^{14}. Καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ [1] **ἐξουσία καὶ τιμὴ βασιλική, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα λατρεύουσα· καὶ** [1] *ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ* [2] **μὴ ἀρθῇ,** [2] *καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ* [3] *οὐ* [4] **μὴ φθαρῇ.** [4]

7^{15}. [5] (Καὶ) *ἔφριξε τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τῇ ἕξει μου, καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου ἐτάρασσόν με.* [5]

7^{16}. Καὶ [6] *προσῆλθον* [7] **πρὸς** *ἕνα τῶν* **ἑστώτων,** [8] *καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐζήτουν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ* **ὑπὲρ** [9] *πάντων τούτων.* [10] **Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ λέγει μοι καὶ τὴν κρίσιν** [10] *τῶν λόγων* **ἐδήλωσέ** [11] *μοι.*

7^{17}. *Ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ* [12] **μεγάλα εἰσὶ** [12] *τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι,* [13] **αἳ ἀπολοῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς·** [13]

7^{18}. Καὶ (*οὐ*) *παραλήψονται τὴν βασιλείαν* [14] *ἕως* (*αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως*) **τοῦ** *αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων.*

7^{19}. [15] **Τότε ἤθελον ἐξακριβώσασθαι** *ὑπὲρ* [15] *τοῦ τετάρτου θηρίου,* [16] **τοῦ καταφθείροντος πάντα καὶ ὑπερφόβου, καὶ** [16] *οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροῖ καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ,* [17] *ἐσθίων καὶ λεπτύνων καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα* [17] *αὐτοῦ* [18] *τοῖς ποσὶ κατεπάτει.* [19]

7^{20}. [20] **Καὶ περὶ τῶν δέκα κεράτων αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ** (*ἐκ*) **τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ προσφυέντος, καὶ ἐξέπεσον** (*ἐκ τῶν προτέρων*) **διὰ αὐτοῦ τρία, καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο εἶχεν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτοῦ ὑπερέφερε τὰ ἄλλα.** [20]

[1] Th. *η αρχη και η τιμη και η βασιλεια και παντες οι λαοι, φυλαι, και γλωσσαι δουλευουσιν αυτωι.* In the LXX *και τιμη βασιλικη* is preceded by an asterisk and followed by a metobelus. Also after *δοξα* LXX inserts *αυτωι.*

[2] Th. *παρελευσεται.* [3] + *ητις* LXX. [4] Th. *διαφθαρήσεται.*

[5] So Th. save that it inserts *εγω Δανιηλ* after *εξει μου.* LXX *και ακηδιασας εγω Δανιηλ εν τουτοις ἐν τωι οραματι της νυκτος.*

[6] >LXX. [7] Th. *ενι.* [8] Th. *εστηκοτων.*

[9] Th. *περι.* [10] Th. *και ειπεν μοι την ακριβειαν και την συνκρισιν.*

[11] Th. *εγνωρισεν.* [12] Th. *τεσσαρα* B : *μεγαλα τα τεσσερα* A.

[13] Th. *αναστησονται επι τ. γης αι αρθησονται.*

[14] This verse is corrupt in Justin owing first to the loss of *αγιοι υψιστου και καθεξουσι την βασιλειαν* (for *τ. βασιλειαν* Th. reads *αυτην*) LXX, Th. through hmt. and the subsequent insertion of *ου* before *παραληψονται* in order to give some meaning to the text.

[15] Th. *και εζητουν ακριβως.* [15] LXX, Th. *περι.*

[16] LXX *του διαφθειροντος παντα κ. υπερφοβου κ. ιδου.* Th. *οτι ην διαφερον παρα παν θηριον φοβερον περισσως.*

[17] LXX *κατεσθιοντες παντας κυκλοθεν και.* [18] >LXX, Th.

[19] LXX *και περιπατουντες.* Th. *συνεπατει.*

[20] So also LXX, save that after *αυτου* 1° it adds *των* and *του αλλου* after *ενος.* Here Th. differs greatly : *κ. περι τ. κερατων αυτου τ. δεκα τ. εν τη κεφαλη αυτου, κ. τ. ετερου τ. αναβαντος κ. εκτιναξαντος τ. πρωτων, ωι οι οφθαλμοι και στομα λαλουν μεγαλα κ. η ορασις αυτου μειζων τ. λοιπων.*

7[21]. [1] Καὶ κατενόουν τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτούς.[1]

7[22]. [7] Ἕως [2] οὗ ἦλθεν ὁ παλαιὸς [2] ἡμερῶν, καὶ [3] τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῦ ὑψιστοῦ,[3] καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐνέστη,[4] καὶ [5] τὸ βασίλειον [5] κατέσχον [6] ἅγιοι (ὑψιστοῦ).

7[23]. [7] Καὶ ἐρρέθη μοι περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου θηρίου· [7] Βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται [8] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,[8] ἥτις [9] διοίσει παρὰ [9] [10] πάσας τὰς βασιλείας [10] (ταύτας), [11] καὶ καταφάγεται πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν [11] καὶ [12] ἀναστατώσει αὐτὴν καὶ καταλεανεῖ αὐτήν.[12]

7[24]. Καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα,[13] δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται,[14] καὶ [15] ἕτερος ἀναστήσεται (μετ' αὐτούς),[15] [16] καὶ οὗτος διοῖσει κακοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρώτους,[16] καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει.

7[25]. Καὶ ῥήματα [17] πρὸς [18] τὸν ὕψιστον λαλήσει, καὶ ἑτέρους [19] ἁγίους τοῦ [20] ὑψίστου καταστρέψει,[21] καὶ προσδέξεται [22] ἀλλοιῶσαι καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους,[23] καὶ παραδοθήσεται [24] [25] εἰς χεῖρας [25] αὐτοῦ ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιρῶν καὶ ἥμισυ [26] καιροῦ.

7[26]. Καὶ [27] ἡ κρίσις [27] ἐκάθισε,[28] καὶ τὴν [29] ἀρχὴν μεταστήσουσι τοῦ ἀφανίσαι [29] καὶ τοῦ [30] ἀπολέσαι ἕως τέλους.

[1] Th. ἐθεωρουν και το κερας εκεινο εποιει πολεμον μετα των αγιων, κ. ισχυσεν προς αυτους.
[2] LXX του ελθειν τ. παλαιον. Th. ου ηλθεν ο παλαιος.
[3] Th. το κριμα εδωκε αγιοις υψιστου.
[4] LXX †εδοθη†. Th. εφθασεν.
[5] Th. την βασιλειαν.
[6] LXX, Th. add οι.
[7] Th. και ειπεν το θηριον το τεταρτον. For τεταρτου θηριου LXX reads θηριου του τεταρτου, οτι.
[8] Th. εν τηι γηι.
[9] Th. υπερεξει.
[10] LXX πασαν την γην.
[11] >LXX.
[12] Th. συνπατησει αυτην και κατακοψει.
[13] +της βασιλειας LXX. +αυτου Th.
[14] LXX στησονται.
[15] LXX ο αλλος βασιλευς μετα τουτους στησεται. Th. οπισω αυτων αναστησεται.
[16] Th. ος υπεροισει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν. For ουτος LXX reads αυτος.
[17] Th. λογους.
[18] LXX εις.
[19] LXX, Th. τους.
[20] >Th.
[21] LXX κατατριψει. Th. παλαιωσει.
[22] Th. υπονοησει του.
[23] LXX, Th. νομον.
[24] Th. δοθησεται.
[25] LXX παντα εις τας χειρας. Th. εν χειρι.
[26] Th. γε ημισυ. LXX εως ημισους.
[27] Th. το κριτηριον.
[28] LXX καθισεται.
[29] LXX. εξουσιαν απολουσι και βουλευσονται μιαναι.
[30] >LXX.

7^{27}. Καὶ [1]ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία[1] καὶ [2]ἡ μεγαλειότης (τῶν τόπων)[2] τῶν [3]ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν βασιλειῶν[3] ἐδόθη[4] [5]λαῷ ἁγίῳ ὑψίστου[5] [6]βασιλεῦσαι βασιλείαν αἰώνιον.[6] καὶ πᾶσαι [7]ἐξουσίαι ὑποταγήσονται αὐτῷ καὶ πειθαρχήσουσιν αὐτῷ.[7] Ἕως [8]ὧδε τὸ τέλος[8] τοῦ λόγου.

7^{28}. Ἐγὼ Δανιὴλ [9]ἐκστάσει περιειχόμην σφόδρα,[9] καὶ ἡ [10]ἔξις διήνεγκεν ἐμοί,[10] καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ἐτήρησα.[11]

§ 26. *Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus.*

(Selections from Hagen's German translation—'Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des König's Cyrus' in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1894, 215–23, rendered into English.)

The 'Annalistic Tablet' describes, year by year, the events of Nabu-na'id's reign. The top of the tablet is mutilated.

The Babylonian forces in the second year were in the land of Hamath. In the third year the king mustered his forces and marched to the west. In the sixth year of Nabu-na'id (549 B. C.) 'Kûrash (i. e. Cyrus), king of Anshan' (a district in the south or south-west of Elam), is at war with Ishtuvegu (Astyages); but the troops of Ishtuvegu revolted, and surrendered their king into the hands of Cyprus, who thereupon attacked and made himself master of his capital, Agamtânu (Ecbatana). In the seventh year (548 B.C.) Nabu-na'id was in Temâ, and did not visit Babylon, so that the great annual ceremonies of Bel and Nebo on New Year's Day could not take place. In the meantime '*the king's son*,[12] his nobles, and his soldiers were in the country of Akkad' (North Babylonia). The ninth year still

[1] LXX *την βασιλειαν και την εξουσιαν.*

[2] LXX *την μεγαλειοτητα αυτων και την αρχην πασων.* Th. *η μεγαλωσυνη των βασιλεων.*

[3] Th. *υποκατω παντος του ουρανου.* [4] LXX *εδωκε.*

[5] Syr. Vers. but reads LXX *υψιστωι.* Th. *αγιοις υψιστου.*

[6] Th. *και η βασιλεια αυτου βασιλεια αιωνιος.*

[7] Th. *αι αρχαι αυτωι δουλευσουσιν και υπακουσονται.* LXX trs. *αυτωι* 1° after *εξουσιαι.*

[8] LXX *καταστροφης.* Th. *ωδε το περας.*

[9] Th. *οι διαλογισμοι μου επι πολυ συνεταρασσον με.*

[10] So LXX, but it adds *μου* after *εξις.* Th. *μορφη μου ηλλοιωθη.*

[11] LXX †*εστηριξα*†. Corrupt for *ετηρησα.* Th. *διετηρησα.*

[12] The 'king's son' is none other than Belshazzar, who acted as his father's general.

finds Nabu-na'id in Temâ[1] and his son and the troops in Akkad. In this year the king's mother died at Sippar on the banks of the Euphrates. In the month Nisan (March) Cyrus, 'king of Persia', mustered his forces and crossed the Tigris below Arbela; and in Iyyar (April) made conquest of a country, the name of which has not been preserved.

Passing over the tenth and eleventh years in which similar statements respecting the king and 'the king's son' are repeated, we now come to the reverse side of the tablet, of which the part recounting the events of the twelfth to the sixteenth year is lost. In the seventeenth year (538 B. C.) the conquest of Babylon is recorded:

'(12) In the month Tammuz (June),[2] when Cyrus, in (the city of) Upê (Opis),[3] on the banks of (13) the Zalzallat, had delivered battle against the troops of Akkad, he subdued the inhabitants of Akkad. (14) Wherever they gathered themselves together, he smote them. On the 14th Sippar[4] was taken without fighting. (15) Nabu-na'id fled. On the 16th Gubaru, governor of the country of Guti,[5] and the soldiers of Cyrus, without striking a blow (16) marched into Babylon. Owing to delaying Nabu-na'id was made a captive in Babylon. To the end of the month the shield-(bearers), (17) of the country of Guti guarded the gates of E-sagil.[6] No one's spear approached E-sagil, or the sanctuaries, (18) nor was any standard brought therein. On the third day of Marcheshvan (October), Cyrus entered Babylon. (19) Dissensions (?) disappeared (?) before him. The city was secured against damage: peace to all Babylon (20) did Cyrus proclaim. Gubaru, his governor, appointed governors in Babylon. (21) From Kislev (November) to Adar (February, i.e. in 537 B.C.), the gods of Akkad, whom Nabu-na'id had brought down to Babylon, (22) returned to their own cities. On the 11th of Marcheshvan, during the night, Gubaru made an assault (?), and slew (23) the king's son (?). From the 27th of Adar (February) to the third of Nisan (March) there was lamentation in Akkad: all the people smote their heads.'

The rest of the Annalistic Tablet is mutilated, only occasional words and phrases being decipherable.

[1] A suburb of Babylon, or a favourite residence of the king in the country.

[2] Scholars differ in identifying the months. Tammuz (see Comm., p. 112) appears to be an error of the engraver for Tishri. In the *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 3194, Marti identifies Tammuz with July, Marcheshwan with November, Kislev with December, and Adar with March, as also does Driver in his *Comm.*, p. xxix seq.

[3] On the Tigris 110 miles north of Babylon.

[4] Near the Euphrates, about 70 miles north-west of Babylon.

[5] A land and people in the north of Babylonia.

[6] The temple of Marduk in Babylon.

The Cyrus Cylinder.

(*Op. cit.*, pp. 209–213.)

'(7) The daily offerings he (Nabu-na'id) suspended . . . . he made in the cities . . . . The honour of Marduk the (8) King of the gods . . . . (9) On account of their (the Babylonians') complaints, the lord of the gods (Marduk) was very wroth, and [forsook] their province ; the gods dwelling among them left their abodes (10) in anger, because he had brought them to Babylon. Marduk . . . . . (11) . . . . . took compassion. In all lands he made a survey and a quest throughout, (12) and sought a righteous prince, after his heart, to take him by his hand. Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called by name, proclaimed his name for universal sovereignty. (13) Kutu (Gutium), the whole of the Ummân-manda, he subdued under his feet; the black-headed ones, whom he (Marduk) had given into his hands to conquer, (14) he cared for with judgement and right. Marduk, the great lord, saw with joy the protection (?) extended to his peoples, his (Cyrus') beneficent deeds, and his righteous heart ; (15) to his city Babylon he commanded him to march, and made him take the way to Babylon ; like a friend and a comrade going at his side . . . . . (17) Without fighting or battle, he secured his entrance into Babylon. His city Babylon he spared distress. Nabu-na'id, the king, who did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. (18) All the inhabitants of Babylon, the whole of Sumer and Akkad, nobles and governors, bowed themselves before him, and kissed his feet: they rejoiced that he had become king . . . . . (20) I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the heaven . . . . . (22) . . . . . whose rule Bel and Nebo love, whose dominion they desired for the gladness of their heart . . . . . (24) My far-flung armies marched peaceably into Babylon: the whole of [Sumer and] Akkad I delivered from trouble (?) : (25) the needs of Babylon and all its cities I rightly took upon myself . . . . (26) Their sighing I stilled, freed (them) from their troubles. On account of my . . . . . deeds, Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced, and blessed me Cyrus the king who honoured him, and Cambyses, son of my body . . . . (33) And the gods of Sumer and Akkad whom Nabu-na'id, to the displeasure of the lord of the gods, had brought to Babylon, by the command of Marduk, the great lord, (34) I caused to take up their abode safely in their shrines in gladness of heart. (35) May all the deities whom I have restored to their cities pray daily before Bel and Nebo for length of years for me, ... and to Marduk, my lord, speak : &c.'

§ 27. *Bibliography.*

During the first eighteen centuries of the Christian era the authenticity and integrity of the Book of Daniel were assumed as a matter of course, except in the twelfth of Porphyry's fifteen books *against the Christians* (Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν). Porphyry was a neo-Platonic philosopher, and lived about the years A.D. 233–304. This book was intended to prove that the Book of Daniel was written by a Palestinian Jew in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. He pointed out that the prophecies of Daniel are a correct record of events till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but from that time onwards they were simply guesses. This theory of Porphyry was in the opinion of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations so successfully refuted by the counter-treatises of Jerome, *In Daniel prophetam*, ed. Vallarsi, 1768, Methodius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Apollinaris, that it was not fully revived till the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century Sir Isaac Newton in a work on Daniel and Revelation expressly states that to reject Daniel's prophecies 'is to reject the Christian religion' (ed. Whitla, 1922, p. 155). It is true, however, that Collins (*The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, 1726*) argued for the Maccabean date of the book, but apparently for the time without result.

The first serious work to do justice to the historical problems of the book was that of Bertholdt (*Daniel neu übersetzt und erklärt, 1806*). His hypothesis, however, of several distinct authors drew upon him the adverse criticism of Gesenius, Bleek, and De Wette, who, however, accepted the Maccabean date.

Since the time of the above-mentioned works practically all the foremost scholars have maintained the unity of the work, and at the same time its Maccabean date. The upholders, of course, of ecclesiastical tradition laboured hard to maintain the asserted early date of the work. The chief writers of this class during the nineteenth century were Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, and in our own country Pusey. These and subsequent scholars, not only of this school but of that of their opponents, laboured under a complete misapprehension of the nature of Apocalyptic. This appears in all their works, as the following passage from Pusey typical of the orthodox school amply proves:

'The Book of Daniel... is either divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the Book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far even beyond this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered ... In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God.' *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 1.

But the ultra-conservative standpoint of Pusey was not maintained by all the so-called defenders of Daniel, and a whole series of writers adopted an intermediate course, and sought to reconcile the statements of the text with the results of historical criticism. The latest representative of this school has been C. H. H. Wright.

The chief Commentaries for the last seventy years including Bonwetsch's Edition of the early Commentary of Hippolytus, i.e. *Hippolyts Comm. zum Buche Daniel*, 1897, and that of Jerome already mentioned, are as follows: F. Hitzig (in the *Kgf. Handb.*), 1850; H. Ewald in *Die Proph. d. Alten Bundes* (1868), iii. 298 ff. (Eng. transl., v. 152 ff.); E. B. Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*[6], 1880; Keil, 1869; O. Zöckler, 1870; Fuller in the *Speaker's Commentary*, 1876; Meinhold, 1889; A. A. Bevan, *Book of Daniel*, 1892; Behrmann, 1894; Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*), 1895; Thompson, 'Daniel' in the *Pulpit Commentary*, 1897: Prince, *Book of Daniel*, Leipzig, 1899; Driver (*Cambridge Bible*), 1900; Marti, 'Das Buch Daniel' in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, 1901; Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt*, 1904; C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and its Critics and Daniel and his Prophecies*, 1906, 2 vols; Charles, in the *Century Bible*, 1912; Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, 1923; Montgomery, *Book of Daniel*, 1927.

Special Studies: Bevan, E., *House of Seleucus*, 2 vols, 1902; Bludau, *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Daniel*, 1897: Graetz, 'Beiträge zur Sach- und Wörtererklärung d. Buches Daniel', *MGWJ.* vol. 20 (1871), 339-52, 385-406, 433-449; Hölscher, 'Entstehung d. Buches Dan.' *Theol. Stud. Krit.*, 1919, 113: Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1896; Preiswerk, *Der Sprachenwechsel im Buche Daniel*, 1902; Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1899; Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, 1900; Torrey, C. C., 'Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel' in the *Transactions of the Conn. Academy of Arts*, 15 (1909); *Journal of Amer. Oriental Soc.*, 43 (1923), 229; Von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel*, 1895; Wilson, 'Aramaic of Daniel' in *Bibl. and Theol. Studies* (Scribner) (1912), 261-305.

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Besides the above works the reader will find valuable material in the O. T. introductions of Driver, Cornill, König, &c. A very full bibliography is to be found in C. C. H. Wright, *Daniel and its critics*, pp. xviii–xxxvii, and Montgomery, *Book of Daniel*, pp. xv–xxvi.

§ 28. *Abbreviations and Brackets.*

(*a*) *Abbreviations.*

Aq.: version of Aquila.
Baumgartner: *Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel.* See above.
Bevan (i.e. A. A.): *Comm. on Bk. of Daniel*, 1892.
Bevan, E.: *House of Seleucus*, 2 vols., 1902.
CIS: *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881 seqq.
Clem. Alex.: Clement of Alexandria.
Cooke (G. A.): *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903.
Cowley (A.): *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* B.C., 1923.
Dalman: *Gramm. d. Jud.-Palaestinischen Aramäisch.* See above.

Dan. or even D. where the context is clear for Daniel.
DCB: *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*
Driver: *Comm.*, see p. cxvii.
E.: for Ezra where the context is clear.
Ges.-Kautzsch: *Hebrew Grammar.* See Gesenius, p. cxviii.
Ginsburg: Hebrew Bible, i.e. *Kethubim.* See p. cxviii.
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBL: *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
KAT: *Keilinschriften u. das A.T.*^{3}, Zimmern and Winckler, 1905 (earlier editions by Schrader).
KB.: *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Schrader, 1889–1900.
Kautzsch: *Gramm. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1884.
Löhr: Critical Notes in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, pp. 1160–1184.
LXX; Septuagint Version.
Lidz. or Lidzbarski: *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epig.* See p. cxviii.
„ *Eph.* See p. cxviii.
MT: Massoretic.
MGWJ: *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wissenschaft d. Judenth.*
NHWB, Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1876–1889.
Pesh.: Peshiṭto Version.
SBOT: Haupt's *Sacred Books of the O.T.*
Schürer: *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes*, vol. 1$^{3 \text{ und } 4}$, 1901, vols. 2–3^{3}, 1898.
Sym.: Version of Symmachus.
Tert.: Tertullian.
Th.: Version of Theodotion.
Vulg.: Vulgate Version.
ZA: *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie.*
ZATW: *Zeitschrift f. d. ATliche Wissenschaft.*
Zimmern: see under *KAT.*
ZNTW: *Zeitschrift f. d. NTliche Wissenschaft.*
ZWT: *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie.*

(*b*) *Brackets.*

Words or phrases enclosed thus † † are corrupt.
Words or phrases enclosed in brackets ( ) are supplied by the editor and do not belong to the original.
Words or phrases enclosed in brackets ⌜ ⌝ are restored from the LXX or Th., Pesh., individually or from a combination of them.
Words or phrases enclosed in brackets ⟨ ⟩ are restorations of lost original clauses.
Words printed in thick type are emendations.

COMMENTARY

SECTION I

i. e. Chapter 1^{1-19}, in the third year of Jehoiakim.

§ 1. *The Object of this chapter.*

To enforce loyalty to the Law: to set forth the principles of a right education, i. e. obedience to the prescripts of the Law. The young so educated will prove to be best alike in body (ver. 15), and in mind (ver. 17), and also best fitted to face the evils of their time. And, even when they are called to face death by torture in obedience to their faith, as in 3, they will be able to do so with a calm and resolute spirit and fearlessly withal. And yet the emphasis is laid expressly on that element in Judaism which is the least valuable and least essential in true religion—the law of clean and unclean meats. But to the Jews in the days of Antiochus the eating of meats from the kings table appeared as sinful as idolatry itself. See note on 1^{8-10}.

This chapter (1^{1-19}) deals with the discipline of the religious life and its fruitfulness—spiritual and other—for those who adopt it in their private relations.

§ 2. *Unhistorical statements in* $1^{1,2}$. See note *in loc.*

§ 3. *The Hebrew of* $1-2^{4a}$ *and of* 8–12 *from different translators.*

It will be seen later that the translator of 11 did not translate 8–10, 12.

Characteristic differences between the Hebrew of $1-2^{4a}$ and 8–12.

(*a*) In $1^{2, 18, 20}$, we find *vav* apodosis, whereas in 8–12 (containing 133 verses) this rare classical Hebrew idiom does not occur once. The three verbs are וַיָּבִיאֵם 1^{2}, וַיְבִיאֵם 1^{18}, וַיִּמְצָאֵם 1^{20} In the first and third passages the *vav* apodosis with the imperf. follows after a *casus pendens*, in the second passage after a time determination. This fact in itself points to a different translator. Again in 8–12, i.e. as $10^{4, 9}$, we have the *vav* apodosis with the personal pronoun followed by the perf. Now this *vav* apodosis simply introduces the predicate after a *casus pendens* or time

determination. There were two excellent opportunities for the translator of 1–2^{4a} to use this simple *vav* apodosis in 1^{15,17} as the translator of 8–10, 12 did in 10^{4,9}, but he did not avail himself of it. Thus the translators diverge alike in the idioms they use and those they do not use.

(*b*) The translator of 1–2^{4} uses twice the *oratio obliqua* instead of the *oratio directa*—a sign of late Hebrew: i. e. in 1^{3} ויאמר ... להביא, and in 2^{2} ויאמר ... לקרא. Now in 8–12 אמר is never followed by ל with the infinitive. The *oratio obliqua* is not used in 8–12 but the *oratio directa*: cf. 8^{13,14,17,19}, 10^{11,12,19,20}, 12^{8,9}. It is noteworthy that this use of the former is a real Aramaism, occurring as it does in 2^{12,46}, 3^{13,19,20}, 4^{23}, 5^{2}, 6^{24}, though the *oratio directa* is used just as frequently. The fact, however, that this late Hebrew and Aramaic idiom never occurs in 8–12, differentiates 1–2^{4a} very markedly from 8–12.

(*c*) In 1^{4} ספר ולשון כשדים = 'the literature and language of the Chaldeans'. This is bad Hebrew, being only found twice elsewhere in the O.T. See note *in loc.*

(*d*) In 1^{5,19} עמד לפני = 'to serve'. It never bears this meaning in 8–12, where in 8^{4,7}, 11^{16} it = 'to withstand'. This of course may be accidental and apart from (*a*) and (*b*) would have no weight.

(*e*) In 1^{2} the translator uses אדני—not found in 8–12.

(*f*) In 1^{13} the translator uses עשׂה עם as in 2 Chron. 2^{2}, whereas the translator in 11^{7} uses עשׂה ב (cf. Jer. 18^{23}) to express mainly the same idea. The two constructions are only found once elsewhere in the O.T.

(*g*) Strange fondness of this translator for singular forms which have apparently plural suffixes: Cf. משתיהם 1^{16} and analogous forms in 1^{5,8,10,15}. None such in 8–12.

§ 4. *Late Hebrew.*

Use of כשדים as denoting a caste 1^{4}, 2^{4} and not in its earlier ethnic meaning. See note on 1^{4}. עשׂה עם 1^{13}, only here and in 2 Chron. 2^{2}.

§ 5. *Dislocations of the text.*

These have, especially in the case of 1$^{20-21}$, introduced obscurity and unintelligibility into the text. On pp. 52–54, I have adduced the grounds for the restoration of 1$^{20-21}$ to their original context after 2^{49a}. By this restoration sanity is restored to the

text. In 1^5 I follow Marti in restoring 1^{5b} before 1^{5a}. This makes the construction normal.

§ 6. *Date of the Hebrew Version.*

Since the dislocation of $1^{20,21}$, after 2^{49a} was already a *fait accompli*, when the Hebrew translator undertook his task, and since this same disorder of the text persisted when the Greek translator set to work about 145 B. C., we have in this date the *terminus ad quem*. It is most probable, however, that the Hebrew version of $1–2^{4a}$, 8–12, was completed soon after the publication of the original work in Aramaic.

§ 7. *Aramaisms.*

1^3. רב—an early loan-word in Hebrew = שר which our translator uses in $1^{7,9,10,11,18}$. See Cowley, p. 309.

$1^{5,10}$. מְזוֹנָה. Late Hebrew but old Aramaic מְזוֹנִי. See Cowley, 27^9, Ah. 37.

1^{10}. אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה = 'lest': a wholly un-Hebraic, literal translation of an Aramaic idiom.

חַיָּב. Good fifth-century Aramaic, but not elsewhere in O.T. (MT). גִּיל = Hebrew דור: a loan-word from the Aramaic (?).

1^{13}. תִּרְאֶה—an Aramaic vocalization.

§ 8. *Lost words and phrases.*

1^2. ⟨זרע המלוכה והפרתמים ומקצה⟩—lost through hmt. See note *in loc.*

1^3. *The exiles of.* Restored by help of Th. (and LXX) and 2^{25}. See note *in loc.*

1^4. *And literature.* Restored by help of LXX and 1^{17} of our text. See note *in loc.*

§ 9. *Interpolations.*

1^2. MT, Th., Pesh., Vulg., insert 'to the house of his god' against Syr^{h} and the general sense of the context.

1^7. After 'unto Daniel' MT interpolates וישם against the LXX and Th.

§ 10. *Corruptions.*

1^{10}. זעפים corrupt for צעירים. See note *in loc.*

1^{11}. With LXX for "אשר מְזוֹנָה שר הסריסים על ד read שר הסריסים אשר מְזוֹנָה על ד".

§ 11. *Hebrew rendering of Aramaic phrase.*

i.e. לְבוֹ · · · וַיָּשֶׂם 1^8 of לְבָבֵל שָׂם as in 6^{15}.

1^1. *In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, &c.* This book is divided into ten sections, and each section is carefully dated,

eight out of the ten containing the date in the first verse of the section. See Introd. § 4. According to 2 Kings 23^{36} Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, i.e. 608–597 B.C. Now our text states that in the third year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and transported some of the vessels of the house of God to Babylon. The text also implies that Nebuchadnezzar carried away Jehoiakim to Babylon.

The above statements are inaccurate. 2 Kings knows of no siege of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon. It tells only of raiding bands of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites that invaded Judah (24^{2}). The statement that Jerusalem was captured and Jehoiakim carried off to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar appears first in 2 Chron. 36^{6}. But 2 Kings 24^{6} states that Jehoiakim died in peace in Jerusalem, and the LXX of 2 Chron. 36^{8} asserts that he was buried in the garden of Uzza. It is reasonable to conclude that this statement is trustworthy, seeing that it runs directly counter to the prophecy of Jeremiah who foretold for him a shameful end, i.e. that his body would be cast outside the gates of Jerusalem, exposed to the sun by day and the frost by night and, when at last buried, would be 'buried with the burial of an ass' (Jer. 22^{19}, 36^{30}). It is of course possible that, though the writer of Daniel does record the carrying into captivity of the Jewish princes and nobility (wholly or in part), it does not necessarily follow that Jehoiakim was amongst them. But the natural and unforced interpretation of the text is against this.

Again from Jer. 25^{1} we learn that Nebuchadnezzar did not become king till the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. He cannot, therefore, have been king when, according to the text, he took Jehoiakim captive in the third year of the latter. If he did so, he can have only been Crown prince at the time, as in fact he was, when he invaded Egypt in 605 B.C. and defeated the Egyptian forces at Carchemish (604 B.C., in which year Nabopolassar his father died). But the text of Jeremiah knows of no such invasion of Judah in the third year of Jehoiakim, and even in his fifth year this invasion is still in the indefinite future ($36^{6, 29}$). Furthermore in Berosus's account of Nebuchadnezzar's campaign (*c.* 605 B.C., see Josephus, *Ant.* X. 11. 1) there is no mention of any siege of Jerusalem, though there is of some Jewish captives.

Berosus states that hardly had Nebuchadnezzar completed his victorious campaign against Egypt when he learnt of his father's death. Accordingly having settled the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the country (i. e. Coele-Syria and Phoenicia) he put certain of his friends in command of the heaviest part of his forces and bade them escort to Babylon the Jewish, Phoenician, and Syrian prisoners and those of the nations of Egypt, and having done so hurried back to Babylon with only a few attendants.

The statement that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim seems, therefore, to be due to a wrong combination of 2 Kings $24^{1, 2}$, and 2 Chron. $36^{6, 7}$. The former passage tells how Jehoiakim became subject to Nebuchadnezzar for three years and then rebelled—probably at the instigation of Apries-Hophra, the new king of Egypt—and how his rebellion brought upon him successive attacks of †Chaldeans†[a] Ammonites, Moabites, and Syrians, neighbouring nations that still maintained their allegiance to Babylon. The historian records (2 Kings 24^{6}) that Jehoiakim still made good his independence, and that on his death Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead, and that in his reign Nebuchadnezzar came up in person against Jerusalem and carried away captive to Babylon Jehoiachin and all his people (2 Kings 24^{10-15}). On the other hand, 2 Chron. $36^{6, 7}$ testifies to the currency of a tradition of an attack upon Jerusalem in the reign of Jehoiakim.

Nebuchadnezzar. This name is spelt differently in different documents. Here alone in Daniel, if the text is correct, it preserves the silent א, and is written נבוכדנאצר. Elsewhere throughout the book, as in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, this silent א is not used, but otherwise this late and incorrect form with or without the ו appears. The older and more accurate form is Nebuchadrezzar (נבכדראצר = Nabu-kudurri-uṣur, 'Nebo protect the boundary'), as in Ezekiel and generally in Jeremiah. But the later and incorrect form has already secured an entrance into 2 Kings 24–25^{11}, a few passages in Jeremiah, and of course into Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther. See the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon. The same variation appears in the Greek—the older

[a] We should here read 'Edomites'. ארם is here obviously a corruption of אדם as Graetz, Klotz, Benzinger, Burney have already recognized. Hence for 'Chaldeans' read 'Edomites'.

form Ναβουκοδρόσορος in Strabo, and Ναβουχοδονόσορ in the LXX. Is the corruption due to Aramaic influence?

King of Babylon. Since Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, did not die till the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. 25^1, 46^2) the title is here proleptic.

1^2. This verse is corrupt. It has not been transmitted to us as it left the author's (or the translator's) hands. It is clumsy and inconsistent. It is true that it so stood in the second century A.D. as the MT gives it, for Th's. version supports it, but it read differently in the first century B. C., if we can trust Syr^h, i. e. the LXX.

The difficulties of discovering a reasonable sense in the MT are insuperable. First of all the text is wrong in stating that God gave Jehoiakim into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, but only a part of the vessels of the Temple. If we assume with the writer the conquest of Jerusalem, God gave both Jehoiakim and his people and the entire Temple into the hands of the king of Babylon. But, though everything fell into his hands, Nebuchadnezzar took possession only of a part of the sacred vessels, and carried these and the best of the people—the seed royal and the nobles: see ver. 3 sq.—to Babylon. This is unquestionably the thought of the writer. Is it possible to find the *disjecta membra* of the true text in the transmitted text? The present writer is assured that it is. As for the MT it is in some respects defective: in others pleonastic. Before I state what I believe to be the true solution of this problem and thus recover the original form of the text, I will give the solutions offered by Marti, Behrmann, and myself in my small commentary.

(1) If the words 'to the house of his god' are interpolated, as Marti assumes, the text is defective; for though it states that the king carried a part of the vessels of the Temple into the land of Shinar, as the suffix of the verb informs us, it makes no reference to the captives. And yet if the suffix in ויביאם were restricted to the vessels of the Temple, then we cannot explain why the vessels should be definitely and emphatically mentioned at the beginning of the next clause—את הכלים 'the vessels', where any reasonable writer would simply put אותם 'them'. In this case the text would be pleonastic. Thus the last clause 'and the vessels he brought into the treasure house of his god', presupposes a reference to the captives in what has gone before,

and prescribes a special destination for the vessels in contradistinction to that of the captives. Moreover, in ver. 3 sq. some of the captives are specially mentioned as 'of the seed royal and of the nobles'. It is true that Marti maintains that the suffix in וַיְבִיאֵם ('and he carried them') includes both the captives and the sacred vessels, but, since no captives have as yet been mentioned, save Jehoiakim, this interpretation is inadmissible.

(2) Behrmann, recognizing the difficulty of the text, omits the final clause of this verse, 'and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god,' and relates the suffix to the sacred vessels, the destination of which are 'the house of his god'. He further adds that ver. 3 naturally presupposes that the captives also are carried away. But we may ask where are these captives referred to in ver. 2? If they are there referred to, then their only destination is the temple of Nebuchadnezzar. But what have they to do with this temple? Behrmann fails to justify alike his retention of the phrase 'to the house of his god' and his rejection of the final clause of the verse. The text of ver. 2 according to Behrmann runs thus: 'And the Lord gave J. king of Judah into his hand and part of the vessels of the house of God, and he brought them into the land of Shinar into the house of his god'.

(3) For the third solution of the problem, which I gave in my little commentary, I was indebted to Syr^{h}, i. e. the LXX. This version omits the four words after Shinar in the Hebrew text. The translation then runs: 'And the Lord gave J. king of Judah into his hand and part of the vessels of the house of God; and he carried them into the land of Shinar, (and) he brought them into the treasure house of his god'. This gives a perfectly clear text, but it concerns itself only with taking Jehoiakim captive and transferring part of the sacred vessels to Babylon. Also it takes no account of the captives, whom the last clauses of ver. 2 and ver. 3 presuppose. Hence it, like the two former solutions must be rejected.

(4) Before I put forward the solution at which I have arrived, I should state clearly what the actual text presupposes. It presupposes, as we have already seen, that ver. 2 mentioned definitely the transportation of a body of captives to Babylon. But this is not all. The text, as it stands at present, wrongly states that God gave Jehoiakim into the hands of Nebuchad-

nezzar, and a part and only a part of the vessels of the Temple. But this is not so. God gave the king and all these vessels into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, who, however, transported only part of them, and together with them some of the most important classes of the Jewish population to Babylon. This is clearly what the writer meant and what his text should record, if we had it in its original form.

In the next place, if we take 'the house of his god' as standing in apposition to 'the land of Shinar' and as defining more specifically the destination of the things signified by the suffix, then we cannot escape the conclusion that the things in question are the sacred vessels of the Temple; for the statement of old expositors that the Babylonians brought their prisoners to present them before their gods in token of their triumph has no evidence to support it. Hence his phrase 'the house of his god' is to be rejected as the early gloss of a scribe, who interpreted the suffix as referring to the vessels of the Temple only, an interpretation given also by most Christian scholars of the past and by not a few of the present day.

What remains now is to supply the missing words referring to the captives and to account for their early loss. The original text appears on very strong grounds to have been as follows:
ויתן אדני בידו את יהויקים מלך יהודה ומקצת ⟨זרע המלוכה והפרתמים ומקצת⟩
כלי בית האלהים ויביאם ארץ שנער ואת הכלים הביא בית אוצר אלהיו.

Hence we should translate: 'And the Lord gave J. king of Judah into his hand. And part of ⟨the seed royal and of the nobles and part of⟩ the vessels of the house of God he carried into the land of Shinar; but the vessels he brought into the treasure house of his god'.

The words in brackets were early omitted by a scribe through homoioteleuton. They are indispensable to ver. 2 and explain ver. 3. In the next place the words 'and part of ⟨the seed royal and of the nobles and part of⟩ the vessels of the house of God' forms a *casus pendens* and the predicate is introduced by the *vav* apodosis followed by the imperf. i.e. וַיְבִיאֵם. This is good classical Hebrew. See Ges., *Heb. Gram.*, §§ 111 *h*, 143 *d*. The same idiom reappears in vv. 18, 20 of the present chapter. In the Aramaic of Daniel it occurs (?) once, i. e. in 7^{20}. But this is unlikely. It is true, indeed, that in very late Aramaic, when used to translate Hebrew, this *vav* apodosis of

the Hebrew is without exception reproduced. Thus the ו in ותלך in Gen. 22^{24} is reproduced in the Targums of Onk. and Ps.-Jon. and the Syriac, but omitted by the LXX and Vulg. The same is true of Num. 14^{16}, save that the Vulg. presupposes a different text or is corrupt. In Num. 14^{36-37} the Targums, Syriac, and LXX reproduce this *vav*, only the Vulg. omitting it. Again, in Exod. 38^{24} the Targums follow the Hebrew literally, while the LXX, Syriac, and Vulg. omit the *vav*. In 1 Sam. 14^{19}, 17^{24}, 2 Sam. 21^{16}, 1 Kings 9^{20-21}, 2 Kings 25^{22} Targ., LXX reproduce the *vav*, the Vulgate always omits, while the Syriac omits or follows a different text, save in the third passage, where it reproduces the *vav*. In Jer. 6^{19}, 28^{3}, 33^{24}, 44^{25} this *vav* is reproduced by Targ. in the four passages, by the LXX in the three latter (in 33^{24} אAQ), in the Vulg. and Pesh. only in the first. Thus the Targums reproduce the *vav* in all the above passages, the Pesh. in over 30 per cent., the LXX in over 60 per cent., and the Vulg. in less than 10 per cent.

Now we know that the *vav* apodosis occurs in original Syriac, and, further, from the above facts we conclude that the late Aramaic of the Targums had no objection to reproducing this *vav* apodosis. But in original Aramaic before 165 B. C. outside Daniel there is not a single certain instance of this idiom.[a] In the six chapters of the original Aramaic in Daniel it is found (?) once, i. e. in 7^{20}. These facts taken together lead to the conclusion that the Aramaic of Daniel is not as old as that of Ezra; and also to the further highly probable conclusion that the three instances of this idiom in the Hebrew of Dan. $1^{2,18,20}$, where the *vav* with the imperf. introduces the predicate, are due to the Hebrew translator and not to the Aramaic which he was translating. In the remaining five Hebrew chapters (8–12) this *vav* (*vav* apodosis with imperfect) does not occur once—a fact which points to different translators at work.

The Lord, i. e. אדני. This designation of God is used here only in Daniel. See note on 9^{3}. On the solitary occurrence of

[a] Cowley, Ah. 160 (fifth cent.) by his restoration of a hopeless line presupposes its occurrence. The same restoration presupposes עמד to be an Aramaic verb. But there is no evidence for its being so. That the *vav* consecutive is found in the eighth cent. B. C. Zakar Inscription proves nothing, since this inscription is a conglomerate of Aramaic, Canaanitish and Hebrew expressions: Cf. *Eph.* III, p. 3.

Yahweh in 9^2 see note. 'Part of'—מִקְצָת is so punctuated without *daghesh forte* in Neh. 7^{69}, קצת like קצה from meaning the end or extremity of a thing came to be a condensed term for all that was included within the extremities, and hence to be 'the whole'. מִן־קְצָת = 'part of the whole' occurs 2^{42}—a common Aramaic idiom.

Part of the vessels. Nebuchadnezzar raided the Temple three times: first through his great officers in Jehoiakim's reign (see note on ver. 1); secondly, in Jehoiachin's reign (2 Chron. 36^{10}), and finally in Zedekiah's reign (*ibid.* 36^{18-19}). In 2 Kings 24 sq. there is no mention of the king taking the sacred vessels of the Temple in Jehoiakim's reign, whereas in 24^{12-16} it is told that in Jehoiachin's reign he carried off *all* the vessels of the Temple and of the king's house, as well as all the royal family, nobility, fighting-men, and craftsmen.

God. אלהים is always used in our author with the article of the one true God as opposed to Nebuchadnezzar's false god.

The house of God. This is the usual name for the Temple in post-exilic writers. In the earlier books it was always called the 'house of Yahweh'. Our author avoids the use of this divine name, as do other late writers. See note on 9^2.

Carried. If we retain the words 'the vessels' in the following clause, the suffix in וַיְבִיאֵם must embrace not only the vessels but the captives and all the booty taken by Nebuchadnezzar, or rather, as I have shown above, the suffix recapitulates in itself the persons and things captured and already mentioned in the text. If we refer the suffix only to the Temple vessels, as the MT appears to demand, we cannot explain the words 'the vessels' (את הכלים); for in that case we should expect only 'them' (אֹתָם), Moreover, these words are placed in the most emphatic position in the clause, 'and the vessels he brought, &c.' If then these words are original and in their original position, they clearly imply that not only the sacred vessels but also the two classes of captives were definitely mentioned in the preceding clause. Thus the text requires, as we have already shown, the restoration of two phrases in the preceding clause, which were lost through homoeoteleuton.

The land of Shinar. Shinar, or rather Shin'ar, is mentioned eight times: Gen. 10^{10}, 11^2, $14^{1,9}$, Joshua 7^{21}, Isa. 11^{11}, Zech. 5^{11}, Dan. 1^2, and stands for Babylon in the O.T. The word has

not, however, been found in the Inscriptions. For various attempts at its identification see the Bible Dictionaries. It is no archaism, although it occurs as we have seen in Isa. 11^{11} and Zech. 5^{11}. In the LXX the words 'to Babylon' are inserted before 'the land of Shinar'. They are an explanatory gloss. In Exilic times and later, writers spoke of Babylonia as 'the land of Babylon', ארץ בבל (Jer. 51^{29}), or 'the land of the Chaldeans', ארץ כשדים (Ezek. 12^{13}). Syr^{h} omits 'the land of Shinar'.

[*To the house of his god.*] That this phrase must be rejected we have shown above under solution 4. Both Marti and Driver recognize that they are not genuine. They as well as the two words that follow them are omitted by Syr^{h}, i. e. the LXX.

But the vessels, &c. The LXX has here καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτά, 'and he set them up'. But since in Polybius, iii. 92. 9, and often in Plutarch this verb means 'to deposit in', it does not presuppose a text differing from the MT. The verb occurs three times in 1 Esdras 1^{41}, 2^{10}, 6^{18} in the same connexion. The parallel passages in the O.T. to these passages are respectively 2 Chron. 36^{7}, Ezra 1^{7}, 5^{14}, but the Hebrew verbs differ, though in that connexion they are synonymous.

Into the treasure house of his god. The statement in our text is confirmed by Ezra 1^{7}, 5^{14}, 1 Esdras 1^{41}, 2^{10}, 6^{18}. But the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon states that in 2 Chron. 36^{7} היכל is to be rendered 'palace' and not 'temple'. The LXX of 2 Chron. 36^{7}, however, renders it ναός, and carries with it the entire tradition connected with the question.

1^{3-5}. Nebuchadnezzar gives orders to Ashpenaz to have certain noble youths of the Jewish captivity educated for the king's service. The education even of the royal princes in Persia was superintended by eunuchs (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 221). It does not, however, necessarily follow that Ashpenaz was a eunuch. See below.

1^{3}. *Commanded . . . to bring in.* The construction ויאמר . . . להביא belongs to late Hebrew. Cf. 2 Chron. 14^{3}, 29^{21}, 31^{4}, Esther 1^{10}. Earlier writers used the *oratio recta*.

Ashpenaz. The word is corrupt, just as Osnappar is in Ezra 4^{10}, אסנ[ר ב]נפר, i.e. Assurbanipal ('Ασενναφάρ LXX). Its meaning is unknown. The LXX has 'Αβιεσδρί: Th. 'Ασφανέζ, which is a reproduction of the form in the MT. In 'Αβιεσδρί the δ is parasitic as in 'Εσδράς. Hence 'Abiezer', which is preserved in

Syr^{h}, is the form which the LXX presupposes. But the problem is still further complicated by the corruption in 1^{11}.

The master of his eunuchs. רב סריסיו is here the equivalent of שׂר הסריסים in ver. 7. This phrase sometimes denotes a great official, as in 2 Kings 18^{17}, Jer. $39^{3,13}$, or the keeper of the royal harem, who was of course a eunuch. Thus סריס המלך is explained in Esther 2^{3} as שמר הנשים. In our text the LXX, Th., Vulg. take it in the latter sense: the Pesh. in the former. רב is of course the Aramaic for the Hebrew שׂר. This Aramaic word is found in the titles of great Assyrian and Babylonian officials in 2 Kings and Jeremiah. Cf. Rabsaris in 2 Kings 18^{17}. See Oxford Hebr. Lex. *in loc.* סריס does not always mean eunuch. Potiphar, who bore this title, was married: cf. Gen. 37^{36}, 39^{7}.

Children of ⌜*the exiles of*⌝ *Israel.* Since the LXX inserts before τοῦ Ἰσραήλ the phrase τῶν μεγιστάνων, and Th. τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, and seeing that as glosses they are needless, we conclude that the MT is defective here. Th. clearly presupposes בני גולת ישראל: cf. 2^{25} בני גלותא די יהוד, where *both the LXX and Th.* render גלותא by τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. For the Hebrew phrase cf. also Ezra 4^{1}, $6^{19,20}$, 8^{35}, &c. We could then explain τῶν υἱῶν τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ Ἰσ. of the LXX as a rendering of בני גדולי ישראל, where גדולי is corrupt for גולת. This phrase, lost in the MT, limits the selection of the royal pages to the captives of Israel, independently of the further grounds for selection in 1^{4}.

Children of ⟨*the exiles*⟩ *of Israel, both of the seed royal and of the nobles.* The phrase 'children of Israel' has a wider significance than 'the children of Judah' in ver. 7. According to 2 Chron. 11^{16}, it is true, the kingdom of Judah embraced members of all the tribes of Israel. But there was a tendency to identify the two expressions. Certainly in the latter half of the second century B. C. the Twelve Tribes were supposed to be living in Palestine: see the note in my Commentary on *Test. xii. Patr.*, p. 14. The same presupposition underlies the *Letter of Aristeas* (130–70 B. C. ?), according to which Eleazar the high priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy Lagus (322–285 B. C.). The older belief still persisted that the northern tribes were in captivity: see 1 Enoch 89^{72} (*circa* 162 B. C.). Thus in the second century B. C. these two beliefs maintained themselves side by side. The idea of the apostasy and rejection of the Ten Tribes, which appears in the Mishna

(*Sanh.* xi. 3) was then unknown. All Jews came later to be called Israelites, and all Israelites Jews, but our author appears to have believed, as the author of the Testaments, that all the Twelve Tribes had representatives in Palestine, but states that the king limited his choice of royal pages to the captives of the tribe of Judah.

Both . . . and. So ו—ו are to be translated as in 8^{13} Gen. 34^{28}, Josh. 9^{23}, Jer. 32^{20}. גַּם ' ' ' גַּם is more usual in this sense.

Nobles. The Hebrew פרתמים, found also in Esther 1^3, 6^9 is a Persian loan-word: cf. *fratama* = 'first' (in the Achemenian inscription) and the Sanskrit *prathama.* Philologically πρῶτος is akin to these words. The LXX and Aq. agree in rendering it respectively ἐπίλεκτοι and ἐκλεκτοί, but Sym. wrongly as Πάρθοι.

1^4. *No blemish.* The perfection here asserted is physical, as in Lev. 21^{17}. Such perfection could not be asserted of eunuchs. The Hebrew word מאום with א is found only here and in Job 31^7. Elsewhere it appears as מום as also in Aramaic.

Well favoured : טובי מראה. The youths were not only free from any physical blemish but were of goodly appearance.

⌜*and literature*⌝: i. e. וספר, which with the LXX καὶ γραμματικούς and 1^{17} of our text I have here restored.

Cunning. This is simply an archaism in the English Versions for 'knowing', and may be retained. השכיל is only found in Dan. with ב here and in 1^{17}, 9^{13}: elsewhere in the O.T. with acc. אל or על, or ל, save in Joshua 1^7, 1 Sam. 18^{14}(?), Ps. 101^2.

Science. This word מַדָּע is borrowed from the Aramaic, but it is found also in 2 Chron. $1^{10,11,12}$, and in the later work Ecclesiastes.

The literature and the tongue, i. e. ספר ולשון כשדים—an un-Hebraic idiom for ספר כשדים ולשונם. It is found, however, twice elsewhere in the O.T., i. e. Ezek. 31^{16}, Prov. 16^{11}. See *Ges.-Kautzsch,* § 128 *a.* But it was current in late Maccabean times as the inscription on the coins shows—ראש וחבר היהודים (Wellhausen, *Pharisäer,* 34). There is no room for doubting that the language of the Chaldeans in Dan. 1^4 means the non-Semitic and Sumerian language in which the books on divination and astrology were written, and not the Aramaic. The Jewish youths were given time to master this language.

Chaldeans. This word has two meanings in Dan.

(1) *It has an ethnic significance,* in 5^{30}, 9^1. The word, which

is spelt Kaldu in Assyrian, in Greek Χαλδαῖοι, appears as כשדים in Hebrew. Before a dental, *l* is often changed into שׂ or שׁ. See C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and his Critics*, p. 6.

The Chaldeans are believed to be alluded to in inscriptions already known as early as 1100 B. C. They are certainly referred to, and that frequently, in inscriptions from 880 B. C. onwards. The earliest mention of this nation is in the O.T. in Gen. $11^{28.31}$, i. e. the name 'Ur of the Chaldees'. Here אור is the same as the Assyrian *urru* or *ûru* (F. Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*). They lived originally to the south-east of Babylonia proper in the land of Kaldu, bordering on the Persian Gulf (Strabo, xvi. 1. 6). Being a vigorous nation they pressed steadily inland into Babylonia, and, despite their repeated defeats by the Assyrians, they so far gained the upper hand as to make a temporary conquest of Babylon under Merodach-Baladan in 721 B. C. For the next hundred years the Chaldeans and Assyrians were constantly at war, but it was not till the reign of Nabopolassar, 'king of the land of the Kaldu' (625–605), the father of Nebuchadnezzar, that the Chaldean dynasty was firmly established in Babylon, and the Chaldeans became the ruling caste in Babylonia. The Chaldean dynasty held the throne till the conquest of Babylon under Cyrus in 538. In the times of the New Babylonian Empire a Chaldean meant a member of the dominant race in Babylon.

For this ethnic use of the term 'Chaldeans', compare Isa. 43^{14}, $48^{14.20}$, Jer. 21^{9}, Ezek. $23^{14.15}$, 2 Chron. 36^{17}. The king of Babylon is never called 'king of the Chaldeans' in the inscriptions (though the designation occurs in 2 Chron. 36^{17}), but 'king of Babylon' or 'king of Babylon, Sumer, and Akkad'.

In Ezek. 23^{23} the term 'Chaldeans' is more comprehensive than that of 'Babylonians', for they embrace Pekod, Shoa, and Koa. The term 'Babylonians', though frequent in later Jewish writings, is found in the O.T. only in Ezra 4^{9}.

(2) *The term Chaldeans denotes a caste of wise men* in 1^{4}, $2^{2,4,5,10}$, 4^{7}, $5^{7,11}$, and probably in 3^{8}. This use of the word is unparalleled throughout the rest of the O.T., and there is no trace of it in the inscriptions. It cannot have arisen till the fall of the Babylonian empire, and, therefore, cannot have come into existence for one or more generations after the conquest of Babylon by the Persians in 538. It is idle to quote Herodotus,

i. 181, 183. For since Herodotus was born in 484, and died about 425, the earliest date we can assign to his history would be 445 B. C. Between 538 and 445 the term 'Chaldean' had ample time to acquire a new and distinct meaning, amply attested in Herodotus,[a] Strabo,[b] Diodorus Siculus,[c] Cicero, Suetonius, Tacitus, Juvenal, and other writers. The student will find an ample list of Latin authorities in Mayor's *Juvenal*, x. 94, xiv. 248 (vol. ii, pp. 104–5, 329–31).

But whereas in Diodorus Siculus the term 'Chaldeans' bears a generic sense, in Daniel it denotes a specific class in every case (1^{20}, $2^{2,4,5,10}$, 4^{7}, $5^{7,11}$), save in 1^{4}. But the several classes of men enumerated in Daniel, of whom the Chaldeans were one, find no real support in the inscriptions. Jastrow (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 656 sq.) mentions a number of classes of magicians and diviners, one of which —the *âshipu*—occurs in Dan. 1^{20}. But the list in Daniel falls far short of that which was current in Judah. Thus in Deut. 18 'no less than eleven classes of magic workers are enumerated'. Hence 'there can be little doubt but that the Pentateuchal opposition against the necromancers, sorcerers, soothsayers, and the like, is aimed chiefly against Babylonish customs' (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 657).

But though this second meaning of the term 'Chaldean' was comparatively late, the practice of divination and astrology belongs to the earliest antiquity. King (*Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, pp. 124, 266) has shown that the study of dreams and their interpretation was pursued as early as 3000 B. C. In 2800 B. C. divination by oil was practised. Zimmern (Hastings,

[a] i. 181: 'The Chaldeans being priests of this god' (i. e. Bel). In i. 183 the Chaldeans are thrice mentioned. In the second passage Herodotus definitely states that 'the Chaldeans consume also every year 1,000 talents of frankincense on the great altar'. The two other statements in this chapter are made on the authority of the Chaldeans (*ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι* and *τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω*).

[b] Strabo (born *c.* 63 B.C.), xvi. 1. 6, describes the Chaldeans as a class of savants in Babylon who directed their studies mainly to astronomy. He mentions also a tribe of Chaldeans who lived near the Arabian or Persian Gulf. Thus even in Strabo's time the two meanings of the word still persisted in the East.

[c] This writer (first century B. C.), speaks of the Chaldeans as forming a caste and possessing a fixed traditional lore. They were not only priests but magicians and astrologers. See ii. 29-31.

DRE 216 *b*) states that 'the texts relating to soothsaying and exorcism are so exceedingly numerous as to form the chief component of the whole Babylonian literature'. When the Chaldeans were subjugated by the Persians and reduced to a subject position, they took over the functions of the priestly diviners and astrologers, which had been practised in Babylonia from prehistoric times.

To return now to our author, we may reasonably conclude that he chose a number of terms denoting workers in magic, and traditionally associated with Babylon, and incorporated them in his work in such a way as to give a general view of the methods in which magical and kindred arts were pursued in Babylon.

1[5]. I adopt here Marti's proposal and transpose the latter half of this verse before the first half. The construction is thus regularized, and the latter half, which begins with the infinitive (ולגדלם), is thus a continuation of the infinitival constructions in vv. 3–4. Thus we have 'And the king commanded Ashpenaz . . . to bring (infin.) . . . and to teach . . . and to nourish them'. The sense also is improved.

Three years. According to Plato, *Alk.* 1. 121 E, the education of chosen youths under the royal teachers began at the age of fourteen. For the previous seven years they had been trained to ride and hunt. At the age of seventeen they entered the king's service.

They should stand before the king. Cf. ver. 19, 1 Sam. 16[22], 1 Kings 17[1], 18[15], &c. The LXX presupposes לפני המלך ⟨ם⟩ יעמיד, i. e. 'to place ⟨them⟩ in the service of the king', as in Esther 4[5]. This would preserve the active construction through vv. 3, 4, and 5 *b*. Thus 5 *a* would close this part of the narrative. In chapter 1 עמד, whether it stands alone as in 1[4] or is followed by לפני as in 1[5,19], means 'to serve'. It never bears this meaning in 8–12. Thus עמד לפני means 'to withstand' in 8[4,7], 11[16], and has the same meaning when followed by לנגד in 10[13]. In 8[15], 10[16] this last phrase = 'to stand before' (locally).

At the end thereof. The מִן in מקצתם has here, as in 1[15,18], a different sense from what it bears in 1[2], i. e. 'after', 'after the lapse of'. See *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 119 *y*, n[3]. The masc. suffix in מקצתם, where we should expect the fem., referring to the fem. noun שנים, occurs not infrequently in the O.T. See *op. cit.*,

§ 135 *o*. This anomaly recurs in 8^{9} of our author, but many manuscripts emend the masc. suffix into the fem.

Appointed. מִנָּה 'to appoint', is poetical (Ps. 61^{8}) and passed into the later prose (1 Chron. 9^{29}). It recurs in 1^{11} of our author, and in the Aramaic as מַנִּי in $2^{24,49}$, 3^{12}. But it is old Aramaic. See Cowley 27^{9}, Aḥ. 37.

A daily portion. דבר יום ביומו has already occurred in Jer. 52^{34}, 1 Chron. 16^{37}. In 1 Kings 10^{25}, 2 Chron. 9^{24} a yearly portion is mentioned.

The king's meat. פתבג ($1^{5,8,13,15,16}$, 11^{26}—only in Daniel in O.T.) is a Persian loan-word, *patibaga*, signifying 'portion', 'offering' from the Sanskrit *prati-bhâga*. This word was transliterated into Greek as *ποτίβαζις*, which, according to a fragment of Dinon's *Persica* (*c.* 340 B. C.), preserved in Athenaeus, xi. 503, consisted of a meal of barley or wheaten cakes and wine: *ἔστι δὲ ποτίβαζις ἄρτος κρίθινος καὶ πύριψος ὀπτὸς καὶ κυπαρίσσου στέφανος καὶ οἶνος κεκραμένος ἐν ᾧῷ χρυσῷ οὗ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πίνει.* In Syriac the word means 'dainties'. But the LXX and Th. do not attempt to render the whole word. Their rendering of *τράπεζα* and *δεῖπνον* give the general meaning of the first half of the word in Hebrew, i. e. פַּת. See note on 11^{26}.

The wine which he drank. מִשְׁתִּיוֹ (as in 1^{8}) is sing. Cf. $1^{10,16;15}$. Cf. Nah. 2^{5}, Isa. 42^{5}, Ezek. 34^{14}. See *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 93 *ss*. These verses introduce the four young nobles of the tribe of Judah with whom the following narratives are mainly concerned.

1^{6}. *Daniel.* There are three other Daniels mentioned in the O.T.: (1) the Patriarch (written דָּנְאֵל) in Ezek. $14^{14,20}$, 28^{3}, who from his juxtaposition with Noah and Job cannot be the Daniel of our narrative, who was a mere boy at the time of the Exile; (2) a son of David, 1 Chron. 3^{1}; (3) a certain Levite, Ezra 8^{2}, Neh. 10^{6}.

Mishael = 'Who is what God is?' Ass. form., cf. מתושאל. See Oxf. Heb. Lex. *in loc.* The names Mishael, Hananiah, and Azariah appear also among the contemporaries of Ezra: see Neh. 8^{4}, $10^{3,24}$, which, as Bevan remarks, is 'probably accidental, since all three occur elsewhere, and we therefore have no proof that the author of Daniel intended to identify "them" with their namesakes in Nehemiah'.

1[7]. The practice of changing a person's name was common on the occasion of a change in his position, circumstances, or nationality.[1] See Gen. 41[45], Ruth 1[20], 2 Kings 23[34], 24[17], and especially Acts 13[9], where Saul's name is changed to that of Paul. As Driver remarks, the change of name 'has the effect in each case of obliterating the name of God: Daniel, "God is my judge"; Hananiah, "Yah is gracious"; Mishael, "Who is what God is?"; Azariah, "Yah hath holpen".' Seeing that in the age of our author Jews were discarding their Hebrew names and adopting Greek names, it is not improbable, as Marti and others suggest, that our text contains an intentional polemic against this custom.

Gave names unto them—וַיָּשֶׂם לָהֶם שֵׁמוֹת. This idiom is not found elsewhere in the O.T. exactly as it is here. Either שׂם is followed by את, Judges 8[31], or without a preposition as in 2 Kings 17[34], Neh. 9[7], and even in the Aramaic of Dan. 5[12].

[*He gave.*] The second וישם is to be omitted with the LXX and Th.

Belteshazzar. This name, which recurs in 2[26], 4[5, 6, 15, 16(bis)], 5[12], 10[1] is not to be confounded with Belshazzar in 5[1] (where see note), as is done in the LXX, Th., and Vulg. Belteshazzar = *balāṭšu-uṣur*, 'protect his life'.

Shadrach. The derivation is uncertain. F. Delitzsch explains it as Shudur-Aku, 'the command of Aku', Aku being the Sumerian equivalent of Sin, the Semitic name of the Moon-God.

Meshach. F. Delitzsch explains this as equivalent to *Mî-sha-Aku*, 'Who is what Aku is?'.

Abed-nego. This is a corruption of Abed-nebo, 'servant of Nebo'—the deity mentioned in Isa. 46[1]. Proper names compounded with Nebo will be found in the Aramaic Papyri of the fifth century (Cowley, p. 298 seq.); a few also in the Palmyrene Inscriptions (see Cooke, 127[3], 134[2] 140 A[4]) of the first, second and third centuries A. D. Thus heathen Syrians (Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 14, line 5, quoted by Bevan) long after the Christian era derived both names from Nebo. The actual name in our text occurs in a bilingual (Assyr. and Aram.) inscription (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.*, p. 429), as Bevan states. The

[1] Psammetichus I. son of Necho, king of Memphis and Sais, had his name changed to Nabu-sizib-anni when he became subject to Assurbanipal, king of Assyria.

more usual form would be Amel-Nebo, 'servant of Nebo,' but 'Abed' or 'Abd' is frequently found in its stead. (See Schrader's *KAT*[3] Index, p. 654.)

1[8–16]. Loyalty of Daniel and his companions to their religion and their consequent superiority physically to the other youths that were being educated with a view to the king's service.

1[8–10]. This loyalty shown in their observance of the laws of their religion regarding clean and unclean meats. The need of this loyalty was felt to be of supreme moment in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was doing his utmost to hellenize the Jews. To eat of unlawful food in such circumstances was as sinful as idolatry itself. Hence the faithful had to abstain from the food of the heathen, not only because the Levitical laws as to clean and unclean animals were not observed by the heathen in the selection and preparation of their food, but also because the food so prepared had generally been offered to idols (Exod. 34[15], Acts 15[29], 21[25], Deut. 32[38]). Thus the observance of these laws, though seen later (Mark 7[18–19], Acts 10[9–16]) to be only of temporary obligation, became an *articulus ecclesiae stantis aut cadentis* under Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. 1[47,48, 62,63], 2 Macc. 6[18 sqq.], 7[1]). Hence in our text Daniel and his friends confined themselves to vegetable products. But generally in heathen surroundings these laws were rigidly carried out by the faithful Jew; cf. Tobit 1[10,11], 4 Macc. 5[3,14], Judith 12[1,2], *Vita Joseph.* 3. In this last passage it is recounted how certain priests that were sent to Rome limited their food on religious grounds to figs and nuts.

1[8]. *Purposed in his heart.* שום על לב means 'to lay it to heart', 'to purpose'. It is found in Isa. 42[25], 47[7], 57[1, 11], and in Mal. 2[2]. It is to be distinguished of course from שום לב על ='to observe', 'pay attention to', Haggai 1[5, 7], Job 1[8]. Probably שום על לב is here a rendering of the original Aramaic שום בל c. inf. Cf. 6[15].

Defile himself. The Hithpa'el of נאל is found only here. נאל is a later and weakened form of נעל. The older Hebrew used חלל or טמא.

1[9]. *Made Daniel to find favour, &c.* ויתן . . את־דניאל . . . לרחמים לפני סר הם. Practically the same Hebrew construction is found in 1 Kings 8[50], Neh. 1[11], Ps. 106[46]. An older form of this idiom is found in Gen. 43[14]—יתן לכם רחמים לפני האיש.

1[10]. *Your drink.* מִשְׁתִּיכֶם is sing. 'In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *ăy* of the termination has been contracted to *ê*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*' (*Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 93 *ss*). There are other like formations in the sing. in Daniel: here and in 1[16] (משתיהם) and in 1[15] (מראיהם). Cf. 1[5,8] for a like formation. See note on ver. 5 above.

Lest. אשר למה. This is not Hebrew, but the literal reproduction of an Aramaic idiom in unidiomatic Hebrew. Cf. שַׁלְמָה (in Cant. 1[7]) = 'lest'. The Hebrew for 'lest' is פֶּן. The Aramaic idiom occurs in Ezra 7[23] דִּי לְמָה: in the Targums דילמא: in the Syriac ܕܠܡܐ—all meaning 'lest'. In Ezra 4[22] למה practically = 'lest' = *μήποτε* (LXX), as also in *Aram. Pap.*: Cowley, Aḥ. 126 למה . . . יסגה 'lest . . . he come'.

Worse liking. The Hebrew word זעפים (which Aq. accepts and renders by *διεστραμμένα*) is used elsewhere in the O.T. in the sense of mental trouble—'to be out of humour'. In Gen. 40[6] it = 'to fret against'; in Prov. 19[3], 'the foolish man fretteth against the Lord'; in 2 Chron. 26[19], 'to be enraged'. Thus in all these passages the word relates to a state of mind and not to the outward appearance as in our text. This may be the meaning attached to it by Th., who renders it by *σκυθρωπά*; cf. Matt. 6[16], where the Pharisees bear a dejected look on account of their fasting. But there are difficulties attaching to the Hebrew word. The LXX has here *διατεταραμμένα καὶ ἀσθενῆ* = 'alarmed and weak', which is most probably a double rendering of what stood in the text. Now what did stand in the text? In Job 31[34] *διατρέπομαι* = 'stand in awe of' appears as a rendering of ערץ. If it is so here, then ערצים is a dittograph of צעירים, of which *ἀσθενῆ* is a bad rendering. And yet *διατεταραμμένα* is not accidental; for it recurs in ver. 13 in the LXX, where however the MT and Th. have a different text. We fall back therefore on צעירים = 'meaner looking'. Jos., *Ant.* x. 10. 2 supports this text, as it reads *εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ἴδοι καὶ κακίον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας. ἀσθενῆ* and *μειωθέντας*, then, both support צעירים. We should therefore translate: 'lest he should see your faces meaner (or worse-liking) than the youths of your own age'. In that case we should reject זעפים as a corruption of the above word. It is noteworthy that צעירה again underwent corruption in 8[9], and is there rendered both by the LXX and Th. as עריצה or עצומה; for they both translate the word by *ἰσχυρόν*.

To confirm the above conclusion we may compare 1^{15}, where the phrase בריאי בשר proves that it was only the physical fitness of the youths that was in question.

Age. The word גיל is borrowed from the Aramaic and corresponds to the Hebrew דור. It is found in the Samaritan of Gen. 6^{9}, 15^{16}, and in the Talmud.

Make . . . forfeit. חַיֵּב is a late Hebrew word, and does not occur elsewhere in the O.T.; for Cornill, followed by Bevan, rejects חוב in Ezek. 18^{7}. The former takes it to be a corruption of שׁוּב, the latter to be a dittography 'the first two letters of חבלתו having been repeated and a ו inserted afterwards'. In the fifth Century Papyri it is found with the same meaning as in our text. See Cowley 2^{15}, 18^{3}. It is in fact a pure Aramaism.

1^{11}. †*The Melzar*†. The word מלצר occurs only in this chapter. Friedr. Delitzsch thinks that it is derived from the Assyrian Maṣṣaru 'guardian', i. e. from the root נצר, the l's indicating the resolution of the doubling of the ṣṣ as in בִּלְשַׁם and *βάλσαμον*. But the context is against the genuineness of the text. The Hebrew ignores the fact that Daniel has already been committed to the care of the chief of the eunuchs, who is expressly named in ver. 4. Furthermore, in this verse it is the prince of the eunuchs that Daniel must have addressed, as a comparison of $1^{3,7-10,18}$ shows (Cheyne in *Encyc. Bib.* i. 334–335), and not a third person called Melzar or 'the Melzar'. The MT in $1^{11,16}$ is therefore secondary. In fact all the forms אביעזרי (which the LXX presupposes in $1^{3,11}$), אשפנז (MT and Th. in 1^{3}), המלצר (MT and Th. 1^{11}), משיצר (? מניצר Pesh. 1^{11}) are all corruptions of some word hitherto undiscovered, which may be called X. Cheyne believes the name to which all these corrupt forms point is בלשאצר 'Belshazzar'. But, though Cheyne's method is right, as Marti agrees, the conclusion at which he arrives is unconvincing.

†*The Melzar . . . appointed over Daniel*†. The LXX, which has rightly identified the chief of the eunuchs in $1^{3,11}$ with the person here mentioned, has also preserved the true text. The LXX reads Ἀβιεσδρὶ τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἀρχιευνούχῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Δ. = שר הסריסים אשר מֻנָּה על דּ = 'the prince of the eunuchs who was set over Daniel'.

1^{12}. *Ten.* This is a round number. Cf. 1^{20}, 7^{7}, Gen. 24^{55}, 31^{7}, Amos 5^{3}, Haggai 2^{16}, Zach. 8^{23}; 3, 4, and 7 are favourite

numbers with our author. נַס is the apocopated imperative for נְסַה.

Let them give. The indefinite personal subject is frequently expressed in Hebrew by the 3rd plural masculine: see *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 144 *f.*

Pulse. זֵרְעֹנִים is a hapax-legomenon as also זֵרְעֹנִים in 1^{16}. The form in the Talmud and in Syriac is זַרְעוֹנִים. Whether the forms in our text are genuine is questionable. On the other hand they may be current phonetic variations. For in our text there are different grammatical forms with no implication of a change of meaning, as Bevan points out p. 62 n.: וחתפעם 2^{1} and ותפעם 2^{3}, תעמרנה and יעמדנה 8^{22}, הרשענו 9^{5} and רשענו 9^{15}, בין and הבין 9^{23}, זרועות 11^{15} and זרעים 11^{31}, חלקלקות $11^{21,34}$, and חלקות 11^{32}. But the latter variations in $11^{21,34}$ in the MT are probably late corruptions. See note on 11^{21}.

1^{13}. *Our countenances.* See note on 1^{10} above.

Thou seest. תִּרְאֶה has the Aramaic vocalization: see *Ges.-Kautzsch.*, § 75 *hh.*

Deal with. עשה עם. The treatment is to be favourable or unfavourable according to the results of the experiment. Only here and in 2 Chron. 2^{2} is this construction found in the O.T., but in 2 Chron. the phrase is used in a favourable sense. Elsewhere this combination of עשה and עם requires an accusative such as חסד or אמת, &c.: cf. Gen. 19^{19}, 24^{12}, Joshua 2^{14}, Judges 9^{19}. In 11^{7} on the other hand עשה is followed by ב in a hostile sense, as in Jer. 18^{23}.

1^{14}. *Hearkened . . . in this matter:* i. e. granted this request. The same construction is found in Gen. 19^{21}, 1 Sam. 30^{24}.

1^{15}. *Fatter in flesh.* Cf. Gen. $41^{2,18}$ בְּרִיאֹת בָּשָׂר for the same phrase used of the fat kine in Pharoah's dream. The plural בריאי is to be explained by reference to the suffix in מראיהם.

1^{16}. †*The Melzar*†. See 1^{11} note.

Was wont to take away . . . and give. The idea of duration is here conveyed by the combination of the substantive verb and the participle. See Driver[3], *Tenses*, § 135. 5.

1^{17-19}. At the end of the three years Daniel and his three companions, who are found to be not only physically superior but also intellectually in knowledge and wisdom to the other youths that were educated with them, are appointed to serve in the court of the king.

The vegetarian diet is helpful also in the direction of spiritual development.

1[17]. *Knowledge.* The same word is rendered 'science' in 1[4].

All literature, i. e. all kinds of books. Cf. 1[4].

Wisdom. As Driver observes, 'Wisdom is used here, in a concrete sense, of an intelligently arranged body of principles, or, as we should now say, *science.* The term must be understood as representing the popular estimate of the subjects referred to: for the wisdom of the Chaldaean priests, except in so far as it took cognizance of the actual facts of astronomy, was in reality nothing but a systematized superstition.'

Daniel had understanding in all kinds of visions. These words serve to introduce the narrative that follows. They recall 2 Chron. 26[5] מבין בראות האל׳. They differentiate at the same time the unique gifts of Daniel even in relation to his three companions. This difference in spiritual endowment is observed in later passages, and, though Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo are ten times wiser than the sages of Babylon 1[20], yet Daniel possesses still higher gifts than theirs, and whereas at the close of chapter 2 the three companions are rewarded with high official appointments, Daniel is clearly set above all the wise men and governors of Babylon; for he sits in the king's gate (2[49b]), i. e. is the Vizier or Prime Minister of the king, and so is not exposed to the risks that his three companions encounter in chapter 3.

1[18]. *Had commanded to bring them in.* A late Hebrew idiom. See 1[3] n.

וַיְבִיאֵם 'the prince of the eunuchs brought, &c.' We have here the *vav* apodosis with the imperf.—an idiom which has already occurred in ver. 2. See note.

1[19]. This verse closes the introduction to the book.

Stood before the king, i. e. became his personal servants: cf. 1[5].

SECTION II

i. e. Chapters 2[1–49a], 1[20,21], 2[49b], in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

§ 1. This chapter has a didactic purpose. As in chapter 1 the Jews are exhorted to be true to the Law, even to its ceremonial requirements, so in this chapter they are encouraged to

hold fast to the national hope of the Messianic kingdom. To justify their belief in this expectation the superiority of the wisdom of the Jews to that of the heathen is shown in the incidents connected with the king's dream and its interpretation. This transcendent wisdom is shown to spring from the direct revelation of the God of the Jews (cp. Isa. 19^{12}), and His supremacy above all gods is accordingly acknowledged by the king. In this dream the succession of the world empires is foreshadowed, and, as these had arisen in the order foreshadowed in his dream and its interpretation, the readers of Daniel were assured of the certainty of the coming kingdom.

The narrative in many respects recalls Gen. 41 (Stade, *Geschichte*, ii. 324). In both narratives a heathen king is visited by a dream which alarms him; in both he sends for his magicians, but they prove helpless; in both a youthful Israelite, who ascribed his wisdom wholly to the help of his God, gives the true interpretation, and is raised to the highest honours. For similarities in point of diction, cf. $2^{1.2.30}$.

As the first chapter dealt with the discipline and fruitfulness of the religious life in its private relations, this chapter exhibits the same characteristics in the public activities of its true adherents, by recounting the triumph of Daniel and his three companions over the collective wisdom of the wise men of Babylon and Daniel's appointment as chief counsellor of the king and his three companions as great officials of the empire.

§ 2. (*a*) *Corruptions in the Hebrew of* 2^{1-49}.

2^{1}. For נהיתה read נדדה.

2^{4}. For ארמית read ויאמרו. See note.

(*b*) *Corruptions in the Aramaic.*

2^{5}. For עָנָה וְאָמַר read עֲנָה וְאָמַר. See note.

2^{13}. For בְּעוֹ read בְּעָו, or else להתקטלה for לקטלה.

2^{23}. For גבורתא (so MT, Pesh. and Vulg., due to a scribe's assimilation of the two adjoining phrases here to those in 2^{20}) read with LXX שכלתנו.

2^{35}. For 'the iron, the clay' with Th. read 'the clay, the iron' against the MT, LXX, Vulg. The context requires this change: also the order in 2^{45} where LXX, Th., and Vulg. attest the right order. See note on 2^{35}.

2^{40}. Here the MT is hopeless. See note *in loc.* I have restored the text in accordance with the claims of the context

and that of 7^{23}, and with the help of the LXX of 2^{40}, though here very corrupt.

§ 3. *Interpolation.*

2^{24}. Excise אזל with LXX, Th. and Vulg.

2^{40}. Excise 'and as iron that crusheth all these' with LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg.

§ 4. *Lost phrases.*

2^{29}. Restore לבך על after סליקו since the language itself requires it.

2^{34}. Restore מטור with LXX, Th., Vulg., and Josephus. See note *in loc.*

2^{40}. See note *in loc.*

§ 5. *Dislocations.*

$1^{20,21}$. These must be transferred after 2^{49a}. See notes, pp. 52–54. The text absolutely demands this transference.

2^{28c} should be transferred after 2^{30}.

§ 6. *Hebraisms.*

2^{10}. יוכל (cf. תוכל 5^{16}). We should read יָכֵל as in 3^{29}.

§ 7. *Late Semitic expressions.*

2^{28}. For חזוי ראשך the older language would have used חזוי לבבך: cf. Jer. 23^{16} חזון לב. In the *Aram. Papyri* the same holds true, though visions are not there referred to. See note on $2^{28\ b-29}$.

2^{33}. מנהון • • • מנהון seems to be late Aramaic.

§ 8. *Very late Aramaic order of words.*

2^{28}. מלכא נבוכדנצר. See note *in loc.*: and on 3^{9}. This order appears to be unknown before the time of our author.

§ 9. *Facts pointing to an Aramaic original.*

2^{11}. LXX renders יקיר by ἐπίδοξος (cf. Ezra 4^{10}) as well as by βαρύς. It has both meanings in Aramaic, but in Hebrew it means 'costly', precious.

2^{40}. πᾶν δένδρον = כל אילן where the אילן is corrupt for an ancient reading אלן.

2^{1-2}. Troubled by a dream Nebuchadnezzar summoned his wise men to make known to him the dream he had dreamed, and also its interpretation.

2^{1}. *In the second year.* This second section of the book begins, as in eight sections out of the ten, with the date of the

events recorded. The events that follow are said to have occurred in the second year of Nebuchadnezzer's reign. In order to bring this statement into harmony with that of the 'three years' in $1^{5,18}$ various hypotheses have been advanced. (1) Josephus (*Ant.* x. 10. 3) explains this second year as the second year after the sack of Egypt' (*μετὰ δὲ ἔτος δεύτερον τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορθήσεως*). (2) Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Zöckler, and others assume that in 1^{1} and Jer. 25^{1} Nebuchadnezzer was reigning conjointly with his father Nabopolassar, and that the second year in the text is the second year after Nabopolassar's death. (3) Ewald, Kamphausen, Marti, and others assume that עֶשְׂרֵה dropped out after שְׁתַּיִם (for a like loss, cf. Joshua 24^{12}), and that the original text was 'in the twelfth year'. (4) Driver ingeniously defends the text. 'There is not, perhaps, necessarily a contradiction here with the "three years" of $1^{5,18}$. By Hebrew usage fractions of time were reckoned as full units: thus Samaria, which was besieged from the fourth to the sixth year of Hezekiah, is said to have been taken "at the end" of three years (2 Kings $18^{9,10}$); and in Jer. 34^{14} "at the end of seven years" means evidently when the seventh year has arrived (see also Mark 8^{31} &c.). If, now, the author, following a custom which was certainly sometimes adopted by Jewish writers, and which was general in Assyria and Babylonia, "post-dated" the regnal years of a king, i. e. counted as his first year not the year of his accession but the first full year afterwards (see Art. *Chronology* in Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*, i 400), and if further Nebuchadnezzar gave orders for the education of the Jewish youths in his accession year, the end of his "three years" of $1^{5,18}$ might be reckoned as falling within the king's second year.'

Dreamed dreams. For the use of the plural i. e. 'visions' where a singular is meant we may compare $4^{2\,(5)}$, 7^{1}. The LXX reproduces the plural, but Th. and Vulg. render it by the singular. On oneiromancy or divination by dreams see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 1118; Hastings, *DRE.* iv. 776.

His spirit was troubled. This phrase (ותתפעם רוחו) which recurs in 2^{3} (ותפעם רוחו) appears to be suggested by Gen. 41^{8}.

His sleep †brake† from him. The Hebrew (שנתו נהיתה עליו) literally means 'his sleep was done for him', i. e. 'left him', and this text is supported by the LXX and Th., *ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. The Niph'al of היה has this meaning twice elsewhere,

i. e. in 8^{27} and Micah 2^4, but in both cases the text is doubtful. The same fact is expressed again in $6^{19\,(18)}$, שנתה נדת עלוהי, where Th. has *ὁ ὕπνος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. Now, since Sym. renders the expression here in our text by the very same words, it is reasonable to suppose, with Behrmann, Marti, and others, that he found in 2^1 the exact Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic in 6^{19}. Hence for נהיתה we should read נָדְדָה. We may then retain the rendering 'his sleep brake from him' as the English equivalent of the emended text. This is the usual verb in this connexion as in 6^{19}, Esther 6^1, Gen. 31^{40}. With this use of עליו, which expresses the dative of advantage or disadvantage, cf. 10^8, והודי נהפך עלי: also 5^9, 7^{28}, Jer. 8^{18}, &c.

2^2. *Commanded to call.* See note on the construction on 1^3.

To call the magicians. The diction of Gen. 41^8 as in the preceding sentence. Th. here supports the MT, but the LXX implies ויאמר . . להביא.

(1) *The magicians.* That the חרטמים stands first in the list of the six classes of diviners is due, as Bevan suggests, to Gen. 41^8. The Hebrew word is probably derived from חֶרֶט = 'graving tool', 'stylus', with the formative termination *-om*. The word, therefore, would properly mean 'writers' originally. The sense in the O.T. would be secondary. This word is used once alone in our author, $4^{6(9)}$, in a generic sense, where Daniel is called 'master of the magicians' (cf. 5^{11}), and six (seven) times in conjunction with other terms, 1^{20}, $2^{2,10,27}$, $4^{6\,(9)}$, 5^{7}, 5^{11}.

(2) *The enchanters*, i.e. אשפים. Probably a Babylonian loan-word, Assyr. *ašipu*, which according to Zimmern (*KAT*³. 590, *n.* 1) means 'the purifier'. This word occurs in the Hebrew only here and in 1^{20}: in the Aramaic in $2^{10,27}$, 4^4, $5^{7,11,15}$.

(3) *The sorcerers.* Only here in our author, but in the earlier books of the O.T. four times. Robertson-Smith derives מכשפים from כשף 'to cut'. Hence these were primarily persons who prepared magical drugs by shredding herbs into a magic brew (*Journ. Phil.*, xiv. 125, 126). Prince (*Book of Daniel*, p. 201) says that this theory has no foundation in fact, and that כשף is a well-known stem in Babylonian. i. e. Kašâpu, *to bewitch*, and that כְּשָׁף *incantation* and כַּשָּׁף *a conjuror* have exact equivalents in the Assyrian *kišpu* and *kaššapu*.

(4) *The Chaldeans.* This, as we have already seen, had an ethnic sense, and subsequently acquired the meaning it generally

bears in our text. See note on 1^4. It occurs five times alone 1^4 (in a general sense), $2^{4,5,10a}$, 3^8, and five times in conjunction with other terms, $2^{2,10b}$, $4^{4(7)}$, $5^{(7),11}$.

(5) *Wise men* חכימין. Eleven times alone $2^{12,13,14,18,21,24\,(bis),48}$, $4^{3(6),15(18)}$, $5^{7,8}$, and twice in conjunction with other terms 2^{27}, 5^{15}.

(6) *Determiners.* גזרין: four times 2^{27}, $4^{4(7)}$, $5^{7,11}$. These were probably astrologers or soothsayers. Probably from גזר, *to cut.* Words with this meaning often occur in the sense of determining. Hence we have גְּזֵרָה $4^{14,21}$, *decree*: later it meant *fate.* The determiners drew celestials, charts, and horoscopes, in which the position of the constellations were shown at the moment of one's birth. Cf. Isa. 47^{13}.

Of the above terms the magicians, enchanters, and Chaldeans occur most frequently together, $2^{2,10}$, $4^{4(7)}$, 5^{11}. A comparison of the passages in which the six classes of wise men are mentioned tends to show that they are used very vaguely. They do not correspond to any division found in the inscriptions, and Lenormant's attempt (*La Magie*, p. 13 sq.) to identify them with certain classes of diviners in Babylon is a failure. For the literature of this subject, see Hastings's *DRE.* viii. 255.

2^{3-11}. The wise men are required to tell the dream and its interpretation. They reply that they are ready to interpret the dream if the king recounts it to them, but that they cannot meet both demands.

2^3. The king had not forgotten the dream, but had determined to test his wise men by requiring them to tell both the dream and its interpretation. Behrmann here mentions an exact parallel to our account in Ibn Hishâm's *Leben Mohammeds* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 9 sq.): 'Rabîa son of Nasr, king of Yemen . . . saw a vision and could not understand it. Thereupon he assembled the diviners, magicians . . . and spake to them. I have had a dream which has terrified me; tell me it and its interpretation. They replied: Tell us the dream and we will declare unto you its interpretation. Then said he: If I tell you the dream I cannot rely on your interpretation; for he who knows not the dream, before I communicate it to him, does not know its interpretation.'

2^4. *Then spake . . . †in the Syrian language†.* If the text of the MT is retained, then it is better to render 'in Aramaic'. The use of the word ידברו *spake* here is very rare. If that

which is said is given, אמר (= *said*) is almost universally used. It is true that in the MT דבר is used with the meaning apparently of אמר in Gen. 41^{17}, Exod. 32^{7}, 1 Kings 21^{5}, Ezek. 40^{4}. Notwithstanding, this usage is abnormal, and the LXX and Vulg. either attest a truer text or emend the existing one in Exod. 32^{7} by presupposing לֵאמֹר, while the Syr. renders דבר in this passage, as if it were אמר. Again the LXX in Gen. 41^{17} presupposes the addition of לאמר, while the Syr. again renders דבר as in Exod. 32^{7}. Again in 1 Kings 21^{5} the Syr. surmounts the difficulty in the same way, and in Ezek. 40^{4} the LXX renders דבר by εἶπεν. Thus the text in Dan. 1^{4} is abnormal, but the corrupt reading ארמית suggests the missing word. Hence Marti and Prince, following the suggestion of Haupt in Kamphausen, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 11, hold that ויאמרו 'and said' should be restored after the words 'to the king', and that this expression was displaced by the corrupt reading ארמית *in Aramaic*. But it is more reasonable to suppose that ארמית is simply a misreading of ויאמרו, the misreading being suggested by the fact that Aramaic did follow.

In any case the words 'in Aramaic' cannot be accepted. Another explanation is offered by Oppert, Lenormant, and others. They suggest that 'in Aramaic' is a gloss, added as in Ezra 4^{7} to designate the language of the chapters that follow; that this was the language in which 2^{4b}–7^{28} were originally composed, and that this language was retained.

If the text meant to affirm (as it does in its present corrupt form) that Aramaic was used at court in official communications, the narrative in chap. 7 would have been resumed in Hebrew, whereas it is continued in Aramaic. Jerome in his Commentary on 2^{4} ('Ab hoc loco usque ad visionem anni tertii regis Balthasar . . . lingua scribuntur Chaldaica) popularized this erroneous view that the wise men spake in Aramaic. Thence arose the false designation of Biblical Aramaic as Chaldee. Biblical Aramaic belongs to the North Semitic branch, which is usually subdivided into (1) Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, which was used by the Christian Syrians, and is found in modified forms in the Babylonian Talmud and the sacred books of the Chaldaeans. (2) Western or Palestinian Aramaic, which is found in Dan. 2^{4}–7, Ezra 4^{8}–6^{18}, 7^{12}–^{26}, the Elphantine Papyri, the Jewish Targums, and the Palestinian Gemara. The nomenclature 'Eastern' and

'Western' is wrong, if taken literally; for, as I have shown in the Introduction, the so-called 'Western' was used by the Foreign Office in Babylon. Aramaic was long the *lingua franca* of the Oriental world.

The wise men would have addressed the king in Babylonian or Assyrian, which is declared in Jer. 5^{15}, Isa. 28^{11}, 33^{19} to be unintelligible to a Jew. Assyria and Babylonia had a distinct Semitic language of their own, which maintained itself long after the fall of this empire. 'The latest connected Babylonian inscription is that of Antiochus Soter (280–260 B. C.). See Prince, p. 11 note. Aramaic had displaced Hebrew *as the popular language* long before the second century B.C.

O king, live for ever. The usual mode of saluting Oriental kings. Here as in $3^{9}, 5^{10}, 6^{6,22}$ the formula is in the second person: in 1 Kings 1^{31}, Neh. 2^{3} in the third person—the older form. It had already been used at the Assyrian Court, and subsequently prevailed amongst the Sassanidae. As Prince (p. 66) remarks, this greeting was common in Babylonian times. Cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i., p. 239: 'May Nebo and Merodach give . . . everlasting years unto the king'.

We will show, נְחַוֵּא. So we read with Ginsburg unless with Marti, *Gram.*[3], § 65 *c.* we transform all the Pa'el forms into Haphel and read נַחֲוֵה. Bauer-Leander prefer the Pa'el.

2^{5}. *Answered and said.* The MT has here two participles עָנֶה וְאָמַר, but Nöldeke (*Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1884, 1021) is most probably right in his suggestion that here and in $2^{8,15,20,26,27,47}$, $3^{14,19,24,25,26,28}$, $4^{16,27}$, $5^{7,13,17}$, $6^{13,17,21}$, 7^{2}, we should punctuate these words as עָנָה וְאָמַר. For this is the Aramaic idiom where the consonants of the words are unmistakeable as in $2^{7,10}$. $3^{9,16}$, 6^{14}, where we have the finite verb followed by the participle עָנוֹ . . . וְאָמְרִין. In 5^{10} these two verbs are in the perfect: and in 3^{24} we have two participles עָנִין וְאָמְרִין.

The thing †is gone† from me, i. e. the matter has left my memory. This misrendering, found already in Th. (ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη and the Vulgate), is now generally rejected. The clause was omitted in the original LXX, but in Origen's text it is supplied from Th. between an asterisk and a metobelus. This rendering originated in the view that אזדא was a dialectical variety of אזלא. Two explanations are given: (1) According to Nöldeke (*KAT.*[2] 617) אזדא is a Persian word meaning 'sure',

'certain'. In this case we should render 'the word from me is sure', i. e. 'what I say shall certainly be carried out'. Cf. 3^{14} note. (2) According to Andreas (Marti's *Gram.*[3], p. 58*) the word is Middle-Persian, and means 'news,' 'intelligence'. In this case we should render: 'the word from me is news', i. e. 'proclaimed'.

Its interpretation. פשר appears in Eccles. 8^{1} as a loan-word from Aramaic.

Ye shall be cut in pieces, תתעבדון הַדְמִין, i. e. 'dismembered limb from limb'. Cf. 3^{29}, where the same phrase recurs and the LXX has διαμελισθήσεται. In 2 Macc. 1^{16} we find μέλη ποιήσαντες, Jos., *Ant.* xv. 8, 4 μελιστὶ διελόντες προὔθεσαν κυσίν.

But the LXX seems to presuppose a different text here as it reads παραδειγματισθήσεσθε. Possibly it reads as in Ezra 6^{11}, where the punishment of hanging is referred to. It is noteworthy that in Num. 25^{4} παραδειγμάτισον is used to translate the Hebrew word הוֹקַע, where a public execution is meant: cf. ἐξηλιάζειν, 2 Sam. $21^{6.9.13}$, but what form the execution took is doubtful. Since the LXX, however, renders the same phrase in 3^{29} of our text by διαμελισθήσεται, and the Pesh. renders the MT in 2^{5}, 3^{29} literally, it seems best to regard the LXX in 2^{5} as a free rendering, as Th. (εἰς ἀπωλίαν ἔσεσθε) and the Vulg. (peribitis vos) certainly are. Instead of the loose rendering παραδειγματισθήσεσθε 2^{5}, the exact rendering would be, as in 3^{29}, διαμελισθήσεσθε. In 1 Esdras 6^{31} we have κρεμασθῆναι in a similar context. Hence the punishment may have been hanging followed by quartering. In Ezra 6^{11} the punishment appears to be crucifixion.

To return to the MT, the word הַדָּם is the Persian *āndām*, in Zend *hañdāma*. From the noun is derived the Aramaic verb הַדֵּים (similarly in Syriac), 'to dismember'.

Your houses בָּתֵּיכוֹן. On the *daghesh forte* in ת and the *metheg* under the preceding letter, see Kautzsch, *Gram.*, §§ 63: 12, 2, *e*.

Be made a dunghill. Cf. 3^{29}, Ezra 6^{11}. This was the greatest disgrace that could be inflicted on the memory of the persons executed. Here again the LXX presupposes quite a different text, for it reads ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. This is the text presupposed in Ezra 6^{11} by the Vulgate, 'domus autem ejus publicetur', and here (2^{5}) 'domus vestrae publicabuntur'. See also 1 Esdras 6^{31}, κρεμασθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά.

2^{6}. *Rewards.* נבזבה is said to be derived from the Persian by Andreas in Marti's *Gram.*[3], p. 79*. It recurs in 5^{17} and later in the Palestinian Targ., Deut. 23^{24}.

Therefore. להן. On the various meanings of this word see note on 2^{11}.

2^{7}. *Its interpretation*: i. e. וּפִשְׁרֵהּ. So Th., Pesh., and Vulg. The MT has 'the interpretation' as in ver. 4.

2^{8}. *Of a certainty.* For the construction מִן־יַצִּיב, cf. מִן־קֳשֹׁט in 2^{47}. יַצִּיבָה recurs in 3^{24}.

Would gain time. The LXX and Th. render καιρὸν ὑμεῖς ἐξαγοράζετε. The same phrase (verb in mid.) is found in Eph. 5^{16}, Col. 4^{5}. But the sense is different. In our text the object of the magicians is to temporize and defer the fatal moment: in St. Paul to utilize every present opportunity to the full.

Because. On כל־קבל־די see Introd., § 20. *ff*, where it is shown that a long development lies behind this later form. †*Is gone*†. See note on ver. 5.

2^{9}. *The judgement upon you is inevitable,* literally, 'there is but one law for you'. Here חדה with the היא following is the same construction as in *Cant.* 6^{9} יונתי אחת היא 'my dove . . . is one', i. e. 'the incomparable', as in our text it is 'the inevitable'. The word דת is derived from the Persian *dâta.* It occurs frequently in Hebrew and Aramaic of the Persian period—Esther, Ezra, and Daniel, but not found in any of the numerous law documents of the fifth-century Papyri B. C.

For lying and corrupt words. I have here as in the R.V. taken this clause as a ground for the king's forcible decision. But it could with Marti be taken as dependent on 'I know' in ver. 8.

Lying, ברבה. The word כרב occurs nine times in the *Aram. Pap. Fifth Cent.* It is of course the same as the Hebrew כזב.

Have concerted. The *Qr.* has here הִזְדַּמְּנְתּוּן (Hithpa'el): the *Kt.* הַזְמִנְתּוּן (Haph'el).

Know, אֶנְדַּע. Here in the imperfect of ידע an epenthetic nun is inserted by way of compensation: Kautzsch, § 11. 2; § 43. 1 *b*. Cf. תנדע 2^{30}, ינדעון 4^{14}, and אֶנְבֵּהּ for אֶבֵּהּ in $4^{9,11,18}$. This is found also in the Targums.

2^{10}. *The earth.* The Aram. is יבשתא = ἡ ξηρά, 'the dry land', as in Gen. 1^{9}, Jonah 1^{9}, but here it is used generally of the earth.

Can. יוּכַל as תוכל in 5^{16} are imperfect Hoph'als. Marti treats

them as Hebraisms (*Gram.*[3], § 59 *b.* 2). The true Aramaic form occurs in 3^{29} יִכֻּל. In 2^{10} the Massoretes allowed the false Hebraism to remain and in 5^{16} corrected it wrongly into תכול.

No king, be he never so great and mighty, or *no great and mighty king.* 'Great King' was a title borne by the kings of Assyria: cf. 2 Kings 18^{28}. The phrase in our text appears to be a reminiscence of the old Assyrian-Babylonian title.

King. מֶלֶךְ here, אֶבֶן 2^{34}, צֶלֶם 3^{5}, קֶרֶן 7^{8}, חֵלֶם 4^{2}, are regarded as Hebraisms: Kautzsch, *Gram.*, § 54. 1, 2^{a}.

2^{11}. *Difficult.* The LXX gives a duplicate rendering of the Aramaic word, βαρὺς καὶ ἐπίδοξος. יקיר has both these meanings in Aḥ. 93, 95, 111, 130 (see Cowley, pp. 215, 216, 217). יקיר means 'dear', 'costly', 'precious' in Hebrew, but not 'honourable'. In Ezra 4^{10} it does mean 'honourable': cf. our text 2^{37}, $5^{18,20}$, 7^{14}, where יְקַר means 'honour'. So far as it goes, this is an argument in favour of the LXX being made from an Aramaic original.

Except. So לָהֵן after a negative here and in 3^{28}, $6^{6,8}$. Cf. Cowley, 8^{11}, 13^{12}, 15^{32}, &c. In 2^{30} it = 'but'. So also Cowley, $9^{6,7,9}$? In Ezra 5^{12} it means 'however' without a preceding negative: cf. Cowley 34^{6}. In $2^{6,9}$, 4^{24} it = 'therefore'.

2^{12-16}. The king gives orders that all the wise men should be slain. At the request of Daniel the execution of this command is adjourned. Daniel, who with his companions was regarded as belonging to the guild of the wise men, promises to find an answer to the king's questions if he is granted time.

2^{13}. *The decree went forth,* דתא נֶפְקַת. The rendering τὸ δόγμα ἐξῆλθε is almost identical with Luke 2^{2} ἐξῆλθε δόγμα.

That the wise men should be slain. Literally, 'and the wise men were to be slain'. Here Th. followed by the Vulg. wrongly renders ἀπεκτέννοντο. The passive participle מתקטלין here does not express a completed act, as it generally does, but as in Hebrew (*Ges.-Kautzsch,* § 116 *e*) it has a gerundive or future meaning. Thus the LXX expresses, though freely, the thought of our author: ἐδογματίσθη πάντας ἀποκτεῖναι. See Kautzsch, *Gram.*, § 76, 3. The Aramaic idiom here represents, in a co-ordinate clause, what would naturally be represented in a dependent and final clause after a verb of commanding. Cf. Ezra 6^{1}.

†*Sought Daniel and his companions to be slain*†. The con-

struction here appears to be an illegitimate combination of two constructions. Hence it is reasonable to infer a corruption of the text. Moreover, the LXX and Vulg. represent one construction, while Th. and Syr. represent the other. Now the LXX has ἐζητήθη δὲ ὁ Δανιὴλ καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ χάριν τοῦ συναπολέσθαι, i. e. 'Daniel and his companions were sought to be slain'. Th., on the other hand, ἐζήτησαν Δανιὴλ καὶ τ. φίλους αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν, i. e. 'they sought D. and his friends to slay (them)'. We have, therefore, either to change the vocalization of בְּעוֹ (= ἐζήτησαν) into בָּעוּ, i. e. the passive of the Peal: cf. רְמִיו 3[21]—a suggestion of Marti's, who made it without noticing that it had the support of two Versions: or emend להחקטלה into לקטלה as in the next verse, and so arrive at the text presupposed by Th. and Pesh., i. e. 'they sought D. and his companions to slay (them)'.

2[14]. *Then.* בֵּאדַיִן is used by our author to introduce a new section or paragraph. Not so אדין of which it is compounded.

Returned answer with counsel and prudence. In Prov. 26[16] the same phrase is found in Hebrew מְשִׁיבֵי טָעַם.

Arioch. An ancient Babylonian name—generally taken to be a corruption of Eri-aku, 'servant of the moon-god'. It is found in Gen. 14[1] as the name of an ancient king of Ellasar (in South Babylonia), whence it is probably borrowed both here and in Judith 1[6]. According to Sayce in Hastings's *B.D.* the name was of the Sumerian period, but not of the later—Nebuchadnezzar's.

Captain of the guard, רב טבחיא. This expression occurs in 2 Kings 25[8 sqq.], Jer. 39[9], 52[12 sqq.], and as שר־הטבחים in Gen. 37[36], 39[1], &c. The word טַבָּחַיָּא here rendered 'guard' originally meant 'slaughterers' or 'butchers' (of animals). Some trace of this may remain in 1 Sam. 9[23,24], where, as in Arabic, it has the signification of 'cook'. The LXX and Th. in the present passage reproduce this meaning and render ἀρχιμάγειρος—a rendering found also in Jubilees 34[11], 39[2]. In later times this official was the captain of the king's life guard.

2[15]. *Severe,* or 'harsh'. The LXX renders πικρῶς, Th. ἀναιδής. מְהַחְצָפָה contracted מַחְצָפָה 3[22]—the Haphel participle of חצף.

2[16]. *Went in.* The Aram. verb is the equivalent of the Hebrew בוא. *Appoint,* ינתן. Cf. תִּנְתַּן Ezra 7[20]. This verb

appears only in the Imperfect and the Infinitive. In 4^{14} of our text the נ is assimilated as in the Targums. Cf. אִנְדַּע, ver. 9.

And (so) it would be his task to show the king the interpretation. This appears to be the only right rendering of ופשרא להחויה למלכא. The Versions vary. The Vulg. omits the ו and renders *ad solutionem indicandam regi.* But this is only shirking the difficulty. Syr^{h} (i. e. LXX) and the Pesh. render καὶ δηλώσει (in Cod. 87 we have δηλώσῃ). Th. καὶ . . . ἀναγγείλῃ. The last rendering is obviously wrong. Our author does not make such an absurd statement as 'Daniel implored the king to give him time that he (Daniel) would show the king, &c.'. Yet Kautzsch, § 102, and most scholars take it to be a final clause. But this seems wrong, and this last clause is co-ordinated with, and not subordinated to, the two preceding clauses 'went in' and 'implored the king'. It does not represent Daniel's request, but rather Daniel's promise to the king—'I will (it is my task to) show the king'. The same construction recurs in ver. 18, where it expresses the sense of obligation as in 5^{2}. Daniel said to his companions: 'You are to beseech compassion', (אתון) רחמין למבעה. In the indirect this becomes literally, 'Daniel went and made known the matter to his companions, and so they undertook to beseech compassion'. On this construction in Hebrew and in Aramaic as early as Ezra, see Introd., § 20. *t.*

2^{17-23}. In answer to the prayers of Daniel and his companions the secret is revealed to him in a vision of the night, and thanksgiving is offered by him in a hymn for the mercy vouchsafed.

2^{18}. *And (so) it was their task to implore compassion,* ורחמים למבעה. It is impossible to render this idiom literally in English. The early Greek and Latin translators experienced exactly the same difficulty. The LXX attempts to render this idiom in half a dozen of different ways. The Vulg. evades the difficulty by rendering *ut quaererent*: so also the Pesh. The LXX presupposes a different text. Th. comes nearest the meaning of this idiom: καὶ οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐζήτουν. This idiom here and in 2^{16} may be a Hebraism in Aramaic: but see Introd., § 20. *t.* Also my Comm. on Revelation, i. 321–2.

The God of heaven. Cf. $2^{19,37,44}$; Ezra 1^{2}, $5^{11,12}$, 6^{9}, Neh. $1^{4,5}$, $2^{4,20}$, 1 Enoch 106^{5} (cf. 13^{4}), Tob. 10^{11}, Judith 5^{8}, 6^{19}, Rev. 11^{13}, 16^{11}. This phrase is found in Gen. 24^{7}, but after the Exile it

became a favourite designation of God owing to the growing transcendence of Jewish thought regarding God. See note on 4^{26}.

2^{19}. *Secret.* רז is a Persian loan-word

Was . . . revealed. גְּלִי, so punctuated in 2^{30}, is the Pe'il, the passive of the Pe'al. It is here punctuated as גְּלִי, and is to be distinguished from the passive participle גְּלֵא.

The vision of the night. For the Hebrew form of this phrase, see Isa. 29^{7}: cf. Job 4^{13}, 7^{14}, 20^{8}. חזוא an emphatic of חֱזוֹ is used, as the particular form in which the revelation was made is definitely stated.

2^{20-23}. *Daniel's hymn of praise consists of four stanzas of tristichs and tetrastichs which alternate with each other.*

2^{20}. *Blessed be . . . God from everlasting to everlasting.* Literally reproduced here in Aramaic from Ps. 41^{13}. But Neh. 9^{5} may have been in the mind of the writer, 'Bless the Lord your God from everlasting to everlasting, and let them bless thy glorious name'.

The name of God. This is equivalent to the Being of God—as revealed or manifested in His dealings with men. Scholars in the past have referred to Cant. 3^{7} מִטָּתוֹ שְׁלִשְׁלֹמֹה: also 1^{6} as pleonastic expressions of the genitive in illustration of שְׁמֵהּ דִּי אֱלָהָא in our text. The idiom in Cant. 3^{7} is an Aramaic one, though approximations to it are found in Hebrew: see *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 129 *h* and § 135 *m* (foot-note). But that this pleonastic method of expressing the genitive is as old as the fifth century B. C. can now be proved from Cowley: see 30^{10}, 46^{11}; Aḥ. 3, 47, 55: Beh. 2–3, 5, 13, 28. It is found in an Aram. inscription of fifth–fourth cent. B. C. in Cilicia: see Cooke 68^{2}. This idiom is quite frequent in Syriac. Since, however, it is not uncommon also in Ethiopic (see Dillmann's *Gram. d. Aethiopischen Sprache*, § 186. δ (*b*): Praetorius, *Aethiopische Gram.*, § 133) it is not impossible that it was a primitive Semitic idiom.

Wisdom and might are his. This sentence is found in Job 12^{13}, save that our text connects with the first clause of 12^{13} the לֹ that belongs to the second clause. The Targum of Job reads almost letter for letter as our text חוכמתא וגבורתא דילה, though it rightly connects the last word with the clause that follows.

The wisdom and the might of God are the theme of the

lines that follow. In 2^{21ab} the exhibition of God's might is represented, and in $2^{21cd,22}$ examples of His wisdom. These attributes are in some measure delegated to Daniel in 2^{23} to meet the present difficulty, though it is difficult to see how the divine might is exercised by Daniel here. The LXX relieves the text of this difficulty by reading *σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν* in 2^{23}, though herein it stands alone against the MT, Th., Pesh., Vulg. On the other hand in 2^{20} Th. stands alone in reading *ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις*, where *σύνεσις* is probably corrupt for *δύναμις*—the reading of Q.

2^{21}. *The times of the world are in the hands of God, and all power and wisdom come from him.*

The seasons and the times (עדניא וזמניא). So LXX and Th. *καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους*. The 'seasons' are critical periods in the space of time as such, which are determined by God. Cf. Acts 17^{26c} *ὁρίσας προτεταγμένους καιρούς*. This distinction appears in Neh. 10^{34} *εἰς καιροὺς χρόνων*. In 7^{12} of our text the order of the Aramaic words is reversed זמן ועדן, and so the LXX *χρόνου καὶ καιροῦ*. The phrase has probably been borrowed in Acts 1^{7}, 1 Thess. 5^{1} from our text. But it should be observed that a definite distinction between these words cannot be established either on the ground of etymology or use. The Targums generally reproduce מועד by זמן and עת by עדן.

Removeth kings and setteth up kings. Though 'kings' (1) is omitted by LXX, Th., and Vulg., the number of beats require it. Cf. 2 Chron. 20^{6} 'Art not thou ruler over all the kingdoms of the nations?'

Giveth wisdom. Cf. Sir. 1^{1} *πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ κυρίου*. Wisdom is given to him that already possesses it in some measure, and knowledge to them that study to have understanding. Cf. Prov. 4^{1}.

2^{22}. *Revealeth the deep . . . things.* Cf. Job 12^{22}, where this phrase is found.

נְהִירָא. So the *Kt.*, which the *Qr.* corrects into נְהוֹרָא, which is the ordinary form in the later Jewish Aramaic (cf. Dalman, *Gram.*, § 28. 6). The absolute form נְהִירוּ occurs in $5^{11,14}$.

What. Here מה as in Ezra 6^{9} can be used as the equivalent of מה די, just as in the *Aram. Pap.* (see Cowley $38^{6,9}$, Aḥ. 79, 163, 177).

Dwelleth. שְׁרָא is here a participle, passive in form but not

so in meaning. 'This use of the passive participle is frequent in Syriac, e. g. ḳĕne "having obtained" . . . as contrasted with ḳānē "obtaining"—similar is Hebrew לָבוּשׁ "having put on"' (Bevan). Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 280. The thought of the clause is put conversely in 1 John 1^{7} *αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ φωτί*, and in 1 Tim. 6^{16}.

2^{23}. *God of my fathers.* This phrase occurs in 2 Chron. 20^{6} as 'God of our fathers', and in Deut. 1^{21}, 6^{3}, 12^{1}, 26^{7}, &c. as 'God of thy fathers'. Daniel closes his hymn with a thanksgiving to the God who, unchanged among all the changes and chances of the world's history, had always been the Defender and Saviour of His people. Daniel uses these words in remembrance of the great deliverances Yahweh had wrought for Israel in the past. Cf. 2 Chron. 20^{6-12}. אֲבָהָתִי, and not the Hebraized אֲבָהָתַי, is to be read.

Wisdom and insight. I have here followed the LXX, which reads *σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν*. The corruption can be explained through a scribe's assimilation of the phrase here to that in 2^{20}. *φρόνησις* implies שֻׂכְלְתָנוּ (cf. 1^{17} where it is a rendering of the Hebrew השכל), which our author uses in $5^{11,12,14}$. The MT reads גבורתא.

Hast given. With the shortened form יְהַבְתָּ, which is given by Ginsburg and Strack, we may compare תְּקִפְתָּ 4^{19}, עֲבַרְתָּ 4^{32}, and תַּשְׁפִּלְתָּ 5^{22}. Marti edits יְהַבְתָּ, and certainly the longer form is more usual in Biblical Aramaic: cf. חֲזַיְתָה *bis* in 2^{41}.

Hast made known, i. e. הוֹדַעְתָּנָא (so most editions). The MT has הוֹדַעְתָּנָא, which Marti, *Gram.*[5], § 50 *b* (foot-note) regards as a Hebraism, but Kautzsch, § 37. 2, as a pausal form of הוֹדַעְתַּנָּא which gives the correct form of the first personal suffix with pathach.

2^{24-30}. *Daniel is brought at his own request by Arioch into the king's presence, and declares his readiness to make known the dream and its interpretations.*

2^{24}. *Went in.* According to Loehr 10 Hebrew MSS. omit עַל, but he adds wrongly that the LXX and Th. do so also; for the LXX, Th., and Vulg. support 'went in' by their respective renderings *εἰσῆλθε*, *ἦλθεν*, and ingressus, but all three omit אֱזֵל, which is the ninth word later in the Aramaic text. Marti agrees with Loehr, and treats the verb עַל as a dittograph of the preposition עַל which follows. He further adds that אזל

often stands at the close of the sentence in Aramaic. The last argument is of no weight. Outside the present passage in Biblical Aramaic אזל stands at the beginning of three clauses. D 6^{19}, E 4^{23}, 5^{8}, and at the close in two, D 2^{17}, 6^{20}. But the LXX, Th., and Vulg. are against the omission of על, as we have just seen. Only the Pesh. supports the MT with both על and אזל. The MT cannot, so far as the Versions go, be older than the Pesh. It should be noted also that the LXX renders the neuter and active moods of עלל by *εἰσέρχεσθαι* or *εἰσάγειν*, but אזל by *ἀπέρχεσθαι* or *πορεύεσθαι*. It is true that the Haph'el of עלל is followed by ל with acc. of person in 2^{25}, or by acc. without ל 6^{19}. Hence the fact that the Pe'al is followed by על with person is not surprising. This construction is found in the Targ. of Isa. 54^{14}, but not in the Fifth Cent. Papyri. This preposition (= Hebrew אֶל) is used in 6^{7} in the same sense as it is used here. Even in Hebrew על is used in a few passages after בוא (of which עלל is the Aram. equivalent): cf. 2 Sam. 15^{4}, 1 Chron. $12^{23,24}$, and after הלך in 1 Sam. 2^{11}. In Jer. 19^{15}, 26^{15} עַל is used apparently interchangeably with אֶל in the Hebrew.

Had appointed. מני (cf. 2^{49}, 3^{12}) is found in this sense in the *Aram. Pap.* See Cowley 27^{9}, Aḥ. 37, and also in the sense of 'to number' in 21^{4}, as also in our text 5^{26}.

[*He went.*] See preceding note.

Bring me in. In הַעְלָנִי the suffix is added directly to the verb, without the pathach which generally precedes the suffix. Cf. יְשֵׁיזְבִנְּבוֹן in 3^{15} and יְשֵׁאלְנְכוֹן in E 7^{21}, which Marti (*Gram.*^{3}, § 50 *b*, note 2) calls energetic Haph'el imperfects with ־כוֹן.

2^{25}. *Brought in*—הַנְעַל. See note on 2^{9} on the epenthetic nun.

Said thus unto him. We should expect 'said thus before him', but our author has used the phrase '*before* the king' in the preceding clause: see notes on 3^{9}, $6^{7(6)}$, and Introd.

I have found. הַשְׁכַּחַת. This form of the Haph'el is due to the throwing back of the tone (as in חַתְנַוָּרַת 2^{34} for הִתְנַוָּרַת) and the influence of the guttural ח.

Children of the exiles. Cf. 1^{3}, where the text has been restored by the help of Th. (and the LXX), together with this passage.

Judah, i. e. Judaea. יְהוּד is found in the *Aram. Pap.*: see Cowley 30^{1}, 31^{18}. Bevan and Marti (*Gram.*^{3}, § 68 *b*) take this to be a secondary formation from יהודי, and to mean collectively 'the Jews'. But the *Aram. Pap.* are decisively in favour of its

being a territorial designation. So also the LXX, Th., and Vulg. in this passage.

The interpretation = the dream and its interpretation as in $2^{16,24}$.

2^{26}. *Able.* כהל has been taken by Bevan, Behrmann, and others to be a secondary formation from the Hebrew כול and יבל. Indeed Behrmann and Prince assert that it is peculiar to Daniel, its subsequent appearance in the Targums being due to Daniel. But this word is found nearly a score of times in the *Aram. Pap.* of the fifth century.

2^{28}. *It is not wise men,* &c. The separation of the negative from the verb is done with an object. It is placed before 'wise men, enchanters, &c.' to emphasize that they cannot, but God can, make known what the king requires.

Determiners. See note on 2^{2}.

2^{28a}. *In the latter days* (באחרית יומיא = Hebrew באחרית הימים = in Targums בסוף יומיא), lit. 'in the end of the days'. The meaning of this phrase, which occurs fourteen times in the O.T., varies according to the outlook of the writer. In Gen. 49^{1}, Num. 24^{14}, Deut. 31^{29} (4^{30}), Dan. 10^{14} it is used of various crises in Israel's history from the settlement in Canaan onwards down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In other passages, as in Ezek. 38^{16}, Hos. 3^{5}, Isa. 2^{2} (= Mic. 4^{1}), Jer. 48^{47}, Dan. 2^{28}, &c., it refers to events and periods still in the future connected with the Messianic age. This biblical phrase recurs in the Zadokite Fragments 6^{2}, 8^{10}, 2 Bar. 10^{3}, 25^{1}. It assumes many forms: 'the end of the ages', T. Lev. 14^{1}, 2 Bar. 59^{8}; 'the last days', 4 Ezra 13^{18}; 'the consummation of the time(s)', 2 Bar. 13^{3}, 19^{5}, 21^{8}, 27^{15}, 29^{8}, 30^{3}, 59^{4}; 'the time of the end', Dan. 12^{4}; 'the end', Dan. 7^{26}; 'the end of the first age', 4 Ezra 6^{7}; 'the end of this age', 4 Ezra 6^{113}. For further forms of this phrase see the Index to my edition of the *Apoc. and Pseudep.*, vol. ii, under such headings as 'Consummated', 'Day', 'End', 'Hours', 'Times'.

The above phrases exhibit different nuances according to the contexts in which they occur, but they all agree in having an eschatological meaning. But there is another point to be remarked. The phrase in our text is an early Hebraism; for in all the passages in the O.T. where the Targums reproduce it they render אחרית by סוף.

King Nebuchadnezzar (so LXX and Th.). This order of the words is not found in Aramaic before the time of our author. In the *Aram. Papyri* of the fifth century B. C. the order is invariably 'N. the King'. So also in Ezra. Hence so far as our text gives the above order, it is unquestionably late. See note on 3^{9}, where it gives the right order: also Introd.

2^{29}. *As for thee, O king.* These words follow naturally on 2^{28b}: 2^{28c} is clearly an intrusion in its present position, but full of significance if restored after 2^{30}.

Afterwards. אחרי דנה. אחרי used to be regarded as a Hebraism for באחר, but it is of frequent occurrence in the *Aram. Pap.*

2^{30}. *But as for me.* These words following 'as for thee, O king', ver. 29, bring prominently before us the two chief actors in the scene.

Here, as Joseph in Gen. 41^{16}, Daniel declares that the power of interpretation comes not of his own wisdom but from God.

Is . . . revealed. גְּלִי. See note on 2^{19}.

To the intent that. על דברת די. Cf. Eccles. 3^{18}, 7^{14}, 8^{2}.

May be made known. יהודעון 'they shall make known'. The 3rd pers. pl. active is often used where in English we should use a 3rd sing. passive, and so LXX rightly renders ἕνεκεν τοῦ δηλωθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ. This use of the plural recurs in 3^{4}, $4^{12,(16),22(25),29(32)}$, $5^{20,29}$. It is, as Bevan remarks, a favourite construction in the Mishnah.

2^{28c}. I have restored this sentence to its most reasonable place after 2^{30}. It forms an immediate introduction to 2^{31} sqq. The text underwent corruption early and likewise transposition. Thus the LXX omits through hmt. $2^{28b-29a}$, i. e. what appears in MT, Th., Vulg. as τὸ ἐνύπνιόν σου . . . μετὰ ταῦτα. But happily it has been preserved in Syro-Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella. It is as follows: βασιλευ εις τον αιωνα ζηθι. το ενυπνιον και το οραμα της κεφαλης σου επι της κοιτης σου τουτο εστι· συ βασιλευ κατακλιθεις επι της κοιτης σου εωρακας παντα οσα δει γενεσθαι επι εσχατων των ημερων. Where the text has רעיונך על משכבך סליקו, Syr^{h} has as its equivalent κατακλιθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου ἑώρακας. It seems impossible to recover the original here. It is noteworthy that the Vulgate translator experienced a difficulty here, since it reads as follows: 'cogitare coepisti in strato tuo'. In the midst of this confusion and doubt it will perhaps be most prudent to retain סליקו and

regard it as defective, for the phrase we actually find in the Syr. Version of this passage—a well-known O.T. expression. Cf. ס״ על לבך Isa. 65^{17}, Jer. 3^{16}, Ezek. 38^{10} (יעלו · · על לבך). The same phrase recurs in 4 Ezra 3^{2}, 'cogitationes meae ascendebant super cor meum': Acts 7^{23}. The heart was regarded as the seat of thought by our author as by the Hebrew writers: cf. 2^{30} 'thoughts of thy heart': also 7^{28}. The seat of visions, however, was the head: cf. 2^{28}, $4^{2,7,10}$, $7^{1,15}$. This expression I cannot find before Daniel. The older prophets would have spoken of חזון לב as Jer. 23^{16}. In the *Aram. Pap.* לבב is used as the seat of emotion and thought: see Cowley, p. 294. ראש is never so used in the Papyri.

Thy dream and the visions of thy head . . . are these. These words can claim only here to be in their appropriate context. On grammatical grounds Marti raises the objection that דנה הוא can only refer to חלמך, But, as Kautzsch (§ 97. 1 (*b*)) points out, the connexion between the subject and predicate is at times so loose as to amount to an anacoluthon. On 7^{1}, where the same two phrases recur, Bevan regards 'the visions of thy head' as a further specification of the dream.

Visions of thy head. See close of first paragraph on 2^{28c}.

2^{31-35}. The king's dream.

2^{31}. *Behold.* אֲלוּ also in $4^{7,10}$, 7^{8}—and the form of ארו $7^{2,5-7,13}$. הלו is found in an inscription (4th cent. B.C.) on a fragment of pottery at Elephantine. See CIS. ii. 137. A^{1}, B^{4}: Assyr. Lett. 9, 11, 13 (7th cent.): Cf. Lidz. *Eph.* ii. 230.

A. חד has here the meaning of the indefinite article as in Ezra 4^{8}. But it has this meaning also in the *Aram. Pap.*: see Cowley $30^{19,29}$, &c. The Hebrew אחד is similarly used in 1 Sam. 6^{7}, 24^{15}, 1 Kings 19^{4}.

Its brightness. זיו is believed to be a loan-word from the Assyrian 'zîmu'. See Oxford Heb. Lex.

2^{32}. *As for this image.* Since הוא is not properly a demonstrative pronoun, its literal rendering would be 'it, the image', just as in 2^{29} אנתה מלכא = 'thou the king'.

His breast. חדוהי from חדי found in the Syr., Targums, and New Hebrew. In Hebrew the form is חָזֶה, which is used only of sacrificial animals: Exod. 29^{26}, Lev. 7^{30}, &c.: so also in the Targums. The root occurs in Arabic. See Kautzsch, § 10. 1 (*a*).

His belly. מעוהי has the same meaning here as מעין in Cant. 5^{14}.

2^{33}. *Part . . . part.* *Qr.* reads here מנהין ' ' מנהין. This idiom is not found so far as I am aware in Earlier Aramaic. It is found exactly as here in the Syr. of 2 Tim. 2^{20}. In our text it recurs in 2^{41}.

Clay. חסף is found in most of the Semitic languages.

2^{34}. *Was cut out.* הִתְגְּזָרַת as הִדְקָת, which follows in the next clause, and אֶמְרַת 5^{10} are segholate formations for הִתְגְּזָרַת, &c. Behrmann thinks that אבן is a Hebrew loan-word here. But it is found in the Aram. Pap. fifth cent. frequently.

From a mountain. After אֶבֶן we should restore the lost phrase מִטּוּר with the LXX, Th., and Joseph., *Ant.* x. 10. 4, all of which read here ἐξ ὄρους after λίθος. The Vulg. supports these Versions by reading 'de monte'. The Aramaic text 2^{45} requires the above restoration; for there we find the emphatic form מְטוּרָא, a fact which implies that *the mountain in question was previously mentioned.*

Smote. Ginsburg and Baer read מְחַת instead of מְחָת. The verb itself is found in the *Aram. Pap.*: Cowley, Aḥ. 82.

2^{35}. *The clay, the iron.* I have with Th. thus changed the order of these two expressions. I have followed Th. against the MT, LXX, Vulg. on the two following grounds. The first is that in 2^{45}, where the same text recurs, the LXX, Th., and Vulg. attest the order given in Th. in 2^{35}. The second is still stronger. If we look back to $2^{32,33}$ we see that the constituents of the image are mentioned in the following order (according to the MT and all the versions) as the narrator enumerates them from the head to the feet—head of gold, arms of silver, belly of brass, legs of iron, feet of iron and clay. Now, if the narrator wishes to enumerate afresh these substances, he would do so naturally, either in the order already given from the head downwards (as Joseph., *Ant.* x. 10. 4)—gold, silver, brass, iron, clay; or since the destruction began with the feet of clay, he would more fittingly enumerate them backwards, i. e. from the feet upwards. Thus we should have clay, iron, brass, silver, gold, as in Th. in 2^{35}, and in the LXX, Th., and Vulg. in 2^{45}. Accordingly both in 2^{35} and likewise in 2^{45} the order of the MT must be corrected as we have above seen. We may remark that the Pesh. follows the MT in both verses, and that Joseph., *Ant.* x. 10. 4, omits the clay constituent.

Broken in pieces—דַּקּוּ to be so punctuated from דקק. See Kautzsch, § 46. 3: Marti, *Gram.*[3], § 66 *c*.

Together. כַּחֲדָה. This idiom is found in *Aram. Pap.*: Cowley 28[3]: also in late Hebrew באחד—Ezra 2^{64}, 3^{9}, Eccles. 11^{6}, Isa. 65^{25}. In the Classical Hebrew the phrase was יַחְדָּו. It is rendered by Th. by εἰς ἅπαξ, and by the LXX by ἅμα or ὁμοῦ, as also in Isa. 65^{25}. It must not be confounded, as it has been by some scholars, with the Greek classical phrase καθ' ἕνα or καθ' ἑνα ἕκαστον = 'one by one'. The Hebrew for the latter would be לאחד אחד Isa. 27^{12}: cf. Eccles. 7^{27}.

Threshing-floors. אִדְּרֵי occurs here for the first time, but it is of common occurrence in later Aramaic (Targums and Syr.).

Summer. קיט where Hebrew is קיץ, just as טור (=mountain) is the equivalent of the Hebrew צור.

No place was found for them. Reproduced exactly in Rev. 20^{11} τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. Behrmann, followed by Marti, attaches to אתר the meaning of 'trace' by connecting it with an Arabic root. But אֲתַר does not admit of this meaning in Aramaic. In Aramaic it means 'place' as in Ezra 5^{15}, $6^{3,5,7}$. It is also found in *Aram. Pap.* fifth cent. The LXX has here ὥστε μηδὲν καταλειφθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῶν. Here the translator did not find אתר in his text. But there is a further anomaly. Seemingly the translator has rendered הִשְׁתְּכַח as if it were a Hebrew word, the Hithp. of שׁכח, which in Hebrew means 'to forget', but in Aramaic 'to find'. The Hebrew verb is twice rendered by καταλείπω in the LXX in Isa. 17^{10}, 23^{15}, just as in our text. This slip is strange, seeing that several times (cf. 2^{25}) in this book the translator renders it correctly. Hence we are obliged to assume the other alternative, and this is that instead of השתכח the translator found the corrupt form השתביק.

Filled. מְלָאת (so Baer and Bevan): Ginsburg and Strack read מְלָאת.

A great mountain. This is a symbol of the Messianic kingdom: cf. Ezek. 17^{22-24}.

2^{36-45}. The interpretation of the dream.

2^{36}. *We will tell.* Daniel here acknowledges the spiritual help of his friends 2^{13}, just as in 2^{17} he asks them to implore the help of God: in 2^{23} he acknowledges that God has made known to them the thing they besought of Him. It follows naturally, therefore, that 1^{20-21} should be restored to its right position

after 2^{49a}; for in 1^{20-21} we are told that the king found Daniel and his three brethren ten times better than all the wise men of Babylon. The interpretation of the dream by Daniel with the help of his three brethren justifies this conclusion of the king.

2^{37}. *King of kings.* This was the usual title of the Persian kings: cf. Ezra 7^{12}. It is applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. 26^{7}, though 'Great king' was the usual title among the Assyrians: cf. Isa. 36^{4}. Bertholet and others doubt the genuineness of the title in Ezek.

Unto whom the God of heaven hath given. As already in 2^{21} our author declares that all kings owe their sovereignty to God. This was already the assured belief of Jeremiah, 25^{9}, 27^{6}, as well as of the later Isaiah, 44^{28}, 45^{1}.

2^{38}. *Wheresoever the children of men dwell . . . hath he given into thy hand.* The Aramaic of this clause was a source of difficulty to the Greek, Syriac, and Latin translators, as it has been some of our modern scholars. The Aramaic of the MT is as follows: בכל די דארין בני אנשא. The difficulty lies in בכל די. Pesh. and Vulg. presupposes כל אתר די דארין בה בני אנשא, save that the Vulg. omits אתר. But Th., which reads *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὅπου κατοικοῦσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τ. ἀνθρ.*, supports the Pesh. save that it does not omit ב before כל. The LXX renders freely *ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων.* All these versions define the extent of the sphere over which the king rules. Hence it follows that the definition of this sphere is given in the phrase בכל די, which the English Bible has rendered by 'wheresoever'. But Marti questions this rendering, and both he and Behrmann maintain that we have here an anacolouthon. They explain this anacolouthon by suggesting that, when our author began with בכל די, he was intending to make these words the object of the second verb השלטך, but then, without thought of what he had already written, inserted יהב בידך. He then resumed the various things subject to the king's sway under the phrase בכלהון. But this explanation lands us in the following impossible text: 'Over all that dwell, the sons of men . . . he hath made thee to rule'. This gives no sense. The sphere of the king's rule is not defined. It is said to be 'men that dwell'. But where do they dwell? Hence we must find the note of locality in בכל די, and the whole clause that it introduces must be taken loosely as the object of

יהב בידך. בכל די is a difficult phrase, but it is not beyond explanation. די in Ezra 6^3 = 'where', but the Hebrew relative אשר never has this meaning. Hence when we find באשר meaning 'where' in Hebrew (Ruth $1^{16,17}$, Job 39^{30}, Eccles. 8^4), it is due to the ב. In Hebrew we find an exact parallel to בכל די, i.e. בכל אשר in Joshua $1^{7,9}$, Judges 2^{15}, &c., but in every passage this latter phrase means not 'where' but 'whither'. Hence the Hebrew and the Aramaic phrases differ in meaning, though each individual particle of the phrase in the one has the same general meaning as in the other. Since the Pesh. presupposes כל אתר די, and Th. and the LXX presuppose בכל אתר די, it is not improbable that the text once read as בכל אתר די—which would not however differ in meaning from the MT.

Dwell. 'Instead of the older דארין · · the *Qr.* has דירין, which is the ordinary form in Syriac, cf. also קאמין (*Qr.* קימין) 3^3, ואעין (*Qr.* זינין) 5^{19} . . . but in the stat. emph. of the Plural the א is allowed to stand (קאמיא 7^{16}).' Bevan. See Kautzsch, § 45. 3 *d*: Marti, § 13 *b*. Formations without א appear to have maintained themselves in use exclusively as nouns.

The beasts of the field. Derived from Jer. 27^6, 28^{14}.

The fowls of heaven. Cf. Judith 11^7, 1 Bar. $3^{16,17}$. The latter passage refers implicitly to Nebuchadnezzar and so to our text.

2^{39}. The second and third kingdoms, which are here briefly referred to, are the Median and Persian. According to the view of our author Darius 'the Mede' (5^{31}, 9^1, 11^1) received the kingdom on the overthrow of Belshazzar. How long he reigned we are not told. Only his first year is referred to definitely in 7^1. On his death he was succeeded by Cyrus 'the Persian' (6^{28}, 10^1). The Median kingdom is said in this verse to be inferior to the Assyrian, and in 8^3 to the Persian.

Another. אחרי the absol. stat. feminine of אחרן. The ת has been lost as in מַלְכוּ for מַלְכוּת.

Inferior to thee, מנך ארעא. Cf. Targ. on Ruth 4^4 מן ארע: also עִלָּא מִן 6^3 of our text.

2^{40}. Our author becomes more definite in his account of the Fourth Empire—the Macedonian. This kingdom is symbolized by iron in reference to its power under its founder Alexander. Its division into several kingdoms and the relative strength and weakness of these are symbolized by the mingling of iron and clay.

Shall be strong as iron. By an oversight the LXX omitted *ὡς ὁ σίδηρος*, which was restored to it from Th. most probably.

Forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things: [and as iron that crusheth] all these (וכפרזלא דיממרעע) *shall it break in pieces and crush.* So the MT, which is obviously corrupt. The clause in brackets is either a dittograph of the preceding clause, or it is possibly a corruption of a phrase belonging to the close of the verse, the original of which is found only in the LXX. In any case the clause in brackets must be rejected. It has against it the united testimony of Th., Pesh., and Vulg., which in all other respects support the MT, save that they presuppose כן = 'so' before כל אלין.

When this bracketed clause is excised, we must connect כל אלין with the words that follow contrary to the accents, and we attain thereby a better text: 'Forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things, (so) all these shall it break in pieces and crush'.

But can this text be right? It certainly was the accepted text from A. D. 150 to 300. But it is hard to explain the corrupt text of the LXX from it. And still more important, *it does not supply the conclusion that the context requires.* For what can the phrase 'all these' possibly mean? It does not mean the preceding three world empires; for the fourth has already taken their place. Instead of the vague and unmeaning phrase 'all these', *the preceding verses, with their clear definition of the extent of the sphere of rule exercised by the first and third empires, lead us to expect something equally clear and intelligible.* As 2^{38} states that God had assigned the sovereignty over all men and beasts and birds under heaven to the first empire, and 2^{39} that the third empire should bear 'rule over all the earth', so here 2^{40}, since the fourth empire is described as being as 'strong as iron that shattereth all things', we should expect to find in 2^{40} two statements: (1) that the fourth empire would be a destructive power: (2) that it would exercise this power over all that came beneath its sway, i. e. *all the earth.* Such is the conclusion that we are led to expect by what precedes. Now to justify this conclusion we can appeal to the LXX, which in this verse is otherwise very corrupt.

The LXX reads as follows: *ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος ὁ δαμάζων πάντα καὶ*

*ὡς ὁ σίδηρος[1] πᾶν δένδρον ἐκκόπτων· καὶ σεισθησέται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. First of all, δένδρον = אילן, which is obviously a corruption of אלין = 'these'. Now if we omit ὡς ὁ σίδηρος and the preceding καί, the LXX reads: ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος ὁ δαμάζων πάντα, πᾶν †δένδρον† ἐκκόπτων. How did the ἐκκόπτων originate? Since the corruption in the Aramaic (אילן = δένδρον) made the text meaningless, it led to the false correction of מהדק which precedes into מגדד = ἐκκόπτων. Cf. 4[11] of our text, where the MT has actually this phrase גדו אילנא (LXX ἐκκόψατε αὐτό, Th. ἐκκόψατε τὸ δένδρον). Thus to begin with the LXX presupposes כל קבל די פרולא חשל כלא כל אלין תדק = 'Forasmuch as iron shattereth all things, all these shall it break in pieces'. Thus so far, the LXX presupposes a text agreeing word for word with the text presupposed by Th., Pesh., Vulg., save that it omits 'breaketh in pieces and', and agrees with the MT. in reading the unsatisfactory 'all these' or the equally unsatisfactory 'so all these' with the Pesh. and Vulg.

But the LXX adds the clause καὶ σεισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. Is this clause an interpolation or is it original? A comparison of this verse with 7[23] is in favour of the latter view. In both passages we have an interpretation of the fourth kingdom and its powers. In 7[23] this kingdom it is said 'shall consume the whole earth . . . and break it in pieces' (ותאכל כל ארעא . . . ותדקנה). Surely this passage throws light on the last clause of this verse in the LXX καὶ σεισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. σεισθήσεται (= תְּזַע: cf. Targ. Is. 24[19]) is here wholly unsuitable, and implies a corruption in the Aramaic. וְתִזַע (intransitive), is an easy corruption of וְתִרַע. But the reading of the MT πᾶσα ἡ γῆ in the LXX still calls for explanation. Since תִּרַע is transitive we must read πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. But how are we to account for כל ארעא (i. e. πᾶσα ἡ γῆ)? However it is to be explained, I accept it as the original text. The evidence of the LXX, where the translator was translating a corrupt and unintelligible text, and of the almost perfect parallel in 7[23] supporting the reading כל ארעא is sufficiently convincing. It is possible that even the MT preserves in the rejected clause די מרעע a corruption of the original text. Even the כל אלין (in the LXX כל אילן) which the MT has preserved may be a corruption of the original כל ארעא. It is a matter of demonstration that the Semitic MSS. of Daniel sometimes contained three

[1] Originally wanting in LXX and supplied from some version. The metabolus is wanting in the MS. but not the asterisk.

different forms of this same phrase, two of which were corrupt. The translator of the LXX rendered literally the text he had before him, however corrupt.

The conclusion of this long discussion then is that, whereas די מרעע of the Mass. must be rejected either as a dittograph of a preceding phrase or rather as a corruption of כל ארעא, we must further excise כל אלין in MT, Th., Pesh., Vulg. as a corrupt dittograph of the same phrase. The LXX alone preserves the original phrase, but, as is frequently the case in this version, it also contains in כל אילן another corruption of the same phrase.

We have thus arrived at the following satisfactory text: 'And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things, so shall it break in pieces and crush the whole earth.'

2^{41}. *Whereas.* So די also in 2^{43}, $4^{20,23}$.

Part. On מנהון see 2^{33} above, and 2^{42} following.

A divided kingdom. These words refer to the dismemberment of Alexander's kingdom among his Diadochi. See 11^{5} note.

Strength. The dismembered kingdom shall still possess elements of strength since together with clay iron forms a main constituent of the feet. נצבתא 'strength': cf. the root in יציב, 2^{45}, 2^{8}, 6^{13}, 7^{16}. This is the more likely meaning than that of 'root' as in Th., Pesh.

Miry clay. טינא is possibly a gloss. Th. omits. But the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. attest it.

2^{42-43}. These two verses are omitted by Josephus, *Ant.* x. 10. 4.

2^{42}. *Part.* מן־קצת. Cf. 1^{2}. This expression is identical in meaning with מִנָּהּ that follows. It is found in the *Aram. Pap.*, Cowley, 29^{8}, 35^{4}.

2^{43}. This verse refers to the marriages between the Seleucidae (i. e. the iron) and the Ptolemies (i. e. the clay). For the details see notes on $11^{6,17}$.

They shall mingle themselves, i. e. by marriage alliances. The kingdoms are here regarded as impersonated in their kings. Hence the masculine.

On the form לָהֵוֹן, see Introd., § 20. *s.*

Seed of men. The phrase זרע אנשא may be derived from Jer. 31^{27}.

Even as. In וְאַכְדֵי we have a demonstrative particle prefixed to כְּ for greater definiteness. So Oxf. Heb. Lex.

2^{44}. *In the days*: i. e. of the Seleucidae, more particularly of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) during whose reign the advent of the kingdom was expected.

Those. אנון. See Introd., § 20. *h.*

Shall . . . set up. יְקִים. Here as in 4^{14} we have the shorter form of this verb. Cf. תקים 6^{9}: in 5^{21}, 6^{16} the fuller form יהקים (see Kautzsch, § 45. 4 *b*).

The kingdom: i. e. מַלְכוּתָה. The LXX has *αὕτη ἡ βασιλεία*, which supports the text and rendering. Th. reads *ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ*, i. e. מַלְכוּתֵהּ. This is followed by the R.V. which renders 'the sovereignty thereof'.

Shall be left, i. e. תִּשְׁתְּבֵק. Since the LXX reads *ἐάσῃ* it found תִּשְׁבֵק which has exactly this sense in Ezra 6^{7} and also in our author in $4^{20(23)}$, where Th. renders it by *ἐᾶν*, as the LXX does here.

2^{45}. *The clay, the iron, the brass.* So LXX, Th., and Vulg. MT. wrongly transposes 'the clay' after 'the brass'. See note on 2^{35}.

A great God. In the presence of a heathen monarch Daniel uses the indefinite expression of our text. The MT, Th., and the R.V. wrongly render it 'the great God'.

The dream is certain. Daniel concludes with a solemn affirmation of the truth of the dream and its interpretation after the manner of Apocalypses: cf. 8^{26}, 11^{2}, 10^{1}, Rev. 19^{9}, 21^{5}, 22^{6}.

Sure. מְהֵימַן, which recurs in 6^{5} is the Haph'el participle of חֵימַן.

2^{46}. That the homage rendered to Daniel by the king was not simply such as was paid to Haman in Esther 3^{2} is clear from his command 'to offer an oblation and sweet odours' to Daniel. As Bevan well remarks: 'We need not stop to inquire whether a strict monotheist would suffer himself to be thus worshipped, for the whole description is evidently ideal—Nebuchadnezzar at the feet of Daniel represents the Gentile power humbled before Israel (cf. Isa. 49^{23}, 60^{14})'. We have a good parallel in the legendary account of Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8. 5), according to which Alexander prostrated himself before the Jewish high priest, and justified himself for doing so, when Parmenio, one of his generals, remonstrated with him, in the words: 'I did not adore (*προσεκύνησα*) him, but that God who had honoured him with his high priesthood'. Porphyry, according to Jerome (*In Dan.* 2^{46}),

attacked this passage on the ground that the proudest of kings would not have worshipped one of his captives. Jerome supports the text by referring to the attempt of the Lycaonians to worship Paul and Barnabas, and justifies the action of Nebuchadnezzar in practically similar terms to those he found in the above passage of Josephus: 'Non tam Danielem quam in Daniele adorat Deum, qui mysteria revelavit.' The word 'worshipped' is ambiguous in itself; but, as we have already observed, the close of the verse represents Daniel as accepting, or at all events as not refusing to accept, divine honours in contrast to the Apostles in Acts 14^{13-18}. And yet the king's homage though ostensibly offered to Daniel was in reality paid to Daniel's God, as 2^{47} declares.

Fell on his face. 'A mark of respect—whether to God, as Gen. 17^{3}, or to man, 2 Sam. 9^{6}, 14^{4}' (Driver).

Worshipped. This word (סגד) is used also in $3^{5,6,7,10,11}$, &c. As Driver points out, it is used in the Targums 'of obeisance done to a human superior (as 2 Sam. 14^{33}, $18^{21,28}$, 24^{20}); so that it does not necessarily imply the payment of divine honour'.

Sweet odours—Th. εὐωδίας. Only here and in Ezra 6^{10} is ניחחין used absolutely instead of the usual sacrificial expression 'odour of a sweet smell' (ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας ריח הניחח) as in Gen. 8^{21}, Lev. 1^{9}, &c.

2^{47}. *Of a truth.* See note on 2^{8}.

A God of gods and a Lord of kings. So the Aramaic here אֱלָהּ אֱלָהִין is to be rendered and not 'The God of gods'. See Kautzsch, § 80. 1. This indefinite title recurs in the Hebrew in 11^{36}. The above English would imply אֱלָהּ אֱלָהַיָּא.

Lord. מָרֵא. This is the right orthography, and not מָרֵה. See Cooke 63^{3}: Cowley 30^{15}.

2^{48}. *And to be chief governor.* רב סגנין must be regarded as the accusative governed by the verb הַשְׁלְטֵהּ in the preceding clause. Since the Aramaic has no real equivalent of the Hebrew עשה, our author would possibly have used מַנִּי יָתֵהּ (or יְתֵיהּ) here, had he thought it necessary.

Governor. סגן is an Assyrian loan-word in Aramaic as well as in Hebrew (only in plural). It is found five times in our author and eight times in the *Aram. Pap.*

2^{49a}. Seeing that Daniel owed largely to the spiritual intercessions of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego his power both

to recall and interpret the king's dream, he naturally requests the king to reward them also. With this request the king complied by setting them over the affairs of the province of Babylon. The exact nature of their office is not defined by a special term in this passage, nor yet the still higher distinctions they received at the close of chapter 3, owing to their risking life and limb in defiance of the king's command, when they boldly declared that the God whom they served was able to deliver them and that He would deliver them out of the king's hand; but that, even if He withheld such deliverance, they would not serve the king's god nor worship the image which he had set up.

1^{20}. We have here restored this verse to its original context. The dislocation of this verse occurred before the Hebrew translator set to work, as we shall find presently. We shall also find that 1^{21}, which I have bracketed as an interpolation, was an addition of the Hebrew translator. The Hebrew of that verse is very late and unclassical.

To begin with, let us treat $1^{20,21}$ as if both verses were original. What then do we find? First of all that they follow unnaturally after 1^{19}, which forms the true close to the introduction to the book: 'therefore stood they before the king'. Marti rejects both verses as an interpolation on the ground that 1^{20} ignores 1^{19b}, and resumes the subject matter of 1^{19a}. Next he points out that 1^{21} is parallel to 1^{19b} as 1^{20} to 1^{19a}. We might add that 1^{20} introduces to the detriment of the context a statement which is not justified till the close of chapter 2.

But 1^{20} is not an interpolation. It is simply an intrusion in its present context, having through some accident or misunderstanding been transposed from the close of 2^{49a}—to which context I have now restored it. 1^{20} is at variance with all that precedes it in chapter 1, and with all that follows it in chapter 2 down to 2^{49a}. If the king had found the Jewish youths *ten times wiser than all the sages of Babylon,* he would naturally have consulted them before these sages, and not have waited till in 2^{16} Daniel volunteered his help—a help dependent largely on that of his three companions. We ought to add further that, even if the king had consulted the Babylonian sages first, as a matter of policy, he would not, when they proved helpless, have failed to call in the Jewish youths, who according to the traditional order of the text were 'ten times better' than they. Hence our

author, who represents the king as giving orders for the destruction of all the wise men of Babylon, in the number of whom Daniel and his three companions were included, 2^{12-13}, could not have inserted 1^{20} in its present position. Such an order could only have been issued after the failure of the chiefest of the wise men of Babylon.

1^{20} could not have stood after 1^{19}, or before chapter 2. But 1^{20} is not an interpolation. In the original text it follows with perfect fitness after 2^{49a}.

When restored to its original context we have to assign to 1^{20} a new interpretation, and thereby recover the original meaning it was designed to convey by its author. In 2^{49a} Daniel, having himself received great gifts and the supreme authority in Babylon next to the king 2^{48}, makes a request of the king on behalf of his three companions to whom he was so deeply indebted (see note on 2^{36}), and so the king appointed them as great officials over the affairs of the province of Babylon. Hereon follows 1^{20}, *which concerns his three companions only and not Daniel.* In their new capacity as great officials these three companions were naturally brought into close relations with the king, who consulted them when the occasion demanded, and found these three ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in all his realm. In the ancient monarchies no important step was taken without consulting the gods or the stars.

Wisdom and understanding. So the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. The MT reads 'wisdom of understanding'.

He found. Here for the third time in the Hebrew of the translator of $1-2^{4a}$ we have the *vav* apodosis, followed by the imperf. Cf. $1^{2,18}$. Since the Hebrew of 1^{20} is obviously from the same translator as 1^{1-19}, it follows that this translator found 1^{20f-21} already transposed from its original position after 2^{49a}. The dislocation had already taken place when the Hebrew translator set to work on chapter 1.

Ten times. The plural of יד 'hand', is used in this sense in Gen. 43^{34}. The idiom is not found in Aramaic. See my reconstruction of the Aramaic of this verse below.

Than. על is used in this comparative sense in 11^{5}, Eccles. 1^{16}, Ps. 89^{8}, &c., and also in Aramaic. Cf. our text 3^{19}, 6^{4}.

Magicians and Enchanters. See note on 2^{2}. Nearly all the

Hebrew manuscripts omit the 'and', but not so the LXX, Th., and Vulg.!

1^{20} probably ran as follows in the original Aramaic: כל מלת חכמא ובינא די בעא מנהון מלכא ישכח להון חד עשרה על כל חרטמיא ואשפיא די בכל מלכותה. Five out of the first seven above Aramaic words occur in the *Aram. Pap.*, Cowley 38^{6}: מלה זי צחו יבעה מנכם 'the matter concerning which Zeḥo inquires of you'. But instead of מלת we should rather, perhaps, read פתנם: cp. our text 3^{16}, 4^{14}. See 3^{19} on חד שבעה.

1^{21}. There is no justification for the presence of this verse at the close of the first chapter. Chapter 1 has already closed with 1^{19}. If it had any justification it should be a link between 1^{19} and 2. But it has no reference of any kind to 2 which follows, nor has it any connexion with what precedes. In 1^{19} the pre-eminence of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah over all the other youths of their race is emphasized. There seems, therefore, to be no reason for this fresh reference to Daniel in 1^{21}, unless it mentioned some additional and distinctive merit on his part. In support of this verse it has been urged by Hengstenberg that Daniel lived to see the beginning of the new era initiated by Cyrus, who permitted the Jews to return to Palestine (Ezra 1^{1}, 5^{13}, 6^{3}). But, as Bevan rejoins: 'If the author of the book attached such importance to the Restoration in the first year of Cyrus, it must appear somewhat strange that he never alludes to the event, except indirectly in 9^{25}'. He might have added also that, when we come to 9^{25}, Daniel learns that centuries must elapse before the restoration and building of Jerusalem. Hence 1^{21} cannot be *justified* on this ground. But it may come from the hand of our author from the wish to impress on the reader that Daniel actually lived through the period of persecution to the advent of Cyrus.

I have given it the benefit of the doubt. If it could appear in Daniel at all, its fitting place would be at the end of 2^{49}, and to this place I have relegated it, but enclosed it in brackets ⟨⟨ ⟩⟩ in order to make it clear that its originality is not beyond question, though it has the support of the Hebrew and all the Versions with slight variations.

And Daniel continued. These words must be interpreted in the sense that Daniel lived at the court until (עד) the first year of Cyrus, and that no notice is taken of the years he lived

beyond that date. Cf. the use of עד in 1 Kings 11[40], 2 Chron. 5[9]. There is therefore no need to emend ויהי into ויחי.

The Hebrew of this verse is late. It is either a rendering of the Aramaic by the Hebrew translator of the rest of the chapter, or it is a gloss of this translator, or a Hebrew rendering of an Aramaic gloss. It is very pointless. It should be a link between 1[1–19] and 2. But this, we saw, 1[20–21] was not. Nor again, when 1[20] is rightly restored after 2[49a], does 1[21] form a fitting sequel to 1[19], which tells all that needs to be told as yet of the four Jewish youths serving as pages in the royal court. Nor does it serve as an introduction to chapter 2.

Continued. The use of היה to mean 'to exist' is unusual in Hebrew. In Classical Hebrew היה expresses the copula, or forms part of a compound tense, or is used with a note of place. When it means 'to continue', 'to exist', it is generally used in Hebrew with a word or phrase denoting locality. Cf. Deut. 22[2], 1 Kings 11[40], 2 Chron. 5[9]. Job 3[16] and Isa. 23[13] have been cited as supporting the usage in our text. But these passages are regarded by scholars as hopelessly corrupt—not to speak of the uncertainty of their dates. In Gen. 5[5], 1 Sam. 1[28], Ps. 89[37], however, the verb connotes the idea of existence without any added note of place.

But though it can occur in Hebrew, it is unknown in this sense in the Aramaic of Ezra and of Daniel, and in about eighty passages where it occurs in the *Aram. Pap. Fifth Cent.* (save possibly an approach to it in 32[8], where, however, הוה is a slip for הוה בנה as in 30[25], 32[5], 33[9]) linguistic evidence is against the origination of the gloss in Aramaic.

The first year of Cyrus the king. The year designed here is the first year of Cyrus's reign as king of Babylon in 538 B. C., the seventieth year after the date of Daniel's captivity.

2[49b]. *But Daniel was in the gate of the king.* Cf. Esther 2[19,21] These words define Daniel's position over against that of his three companions. They held high offices under the crown, but Daniel was, to use a later phrase, the Grand Vizier. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo were of like rank with the satraps, deputies, governors, and other high officials, but Daniel stood alone and in a unique position of rank and authority next to the king himself—a position which serves in part to explain his immunity from the danger that his three companions had to

encounter in the next chapter. But this exalted position did not carry with it immunity from danger, as we shall see in chapter 4.

SECTION III

Chapter 3, in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

CONDITION OF THE TEXT, §§ 1–4.

§ 1. *In this as in the preceding chapters the MT is not wholly trustworthy.*

This is apparent from the very first verse on several grounds.

(1) Our author's method of dating each section whether it consist of narratives or visions is against the omission in the MT of the date in this section. See Introd., pp. xxviii sqq. But happily this date is preserved both in the LXX and Th.

(2) It being our author's practice to date each section, it follows that he would not have left undated such an important event as the consecration, if we may so use the term, of the great golden image, a consecration which was clearly regarded as an event of imperial significance, seeing that all the chief officials of the empire were summoned together to worship it.

(3) If we go further and ask with what object the king erected this golden image, we might reply that it was no doubt twofold: the first to do honour to his god, and the second to celebrate his victories. The erection of such pillars with either or both of such objects was of not unfrequent occurrence under the Assyrian or Babylonian monarchies. 'It was a common practice of the Assyrian kings to erect images of themselves with laudatory inscriptions in conquered cities, or provinces, as symbols of their dominion, the usual expression in such cases being *ṣa-lam šarrū-ti-a* (*šur-ba-a*) *ipu-uš*, "a (great) image of my royalty I made".' See *KB.* i. 69, l. 98 f.; 73, l. 5; 99, l. 25; 133, l. 31; 135, l. 71; 141, l. 93; 143, l. 124; 147, l. 156; 155, l. 26, &c. (all from the reigns of Asshur-naṣir-abal, B.C. 885–860, and Shalmaneṣar II, B.C. 860–825.' (Driver, *Daniel*, p. 35). In our text the object of Nebuchadnezzar was no doubt of this nature—to do honour to his god and to celebrate his victories in the West. Amongst these victories the Jew could not fail to remember was the capture of Jerusalem on the 7th day of the 5th month

586 B. C., when Nebuchadnezzar had all but completed the eighteenth year of his reign. We find this date actually given in Josephus (*C. Apion.* i. 21), 'Nebuchadnezzar in the eighteenth year of his reign laid our temple desolate'.[1] This date is also found in Jer. 32^{1}, 52^{29} (MT), but the latter passage is not found in the LXX. Hence we accept the phrase 'in the 18th year' as coming from the hand of our author.

(4) On the evidence advanced in (3) I have with some hesitation adopted into my translation the clause that is preserved in the LXX, since it obviously gives the grounds for Nebuchadnezzar's erection of the golden image.

Object of Chapters 3–4.

§ 5. The object of these chapters is to encourage the Jews not to acknowledge any heathen religion, but to hold fast at all costs to their own, the truth of which has been acknowledged in the preceding chapter, and to prefer death to apostasy. All true Jews, therefore, are exhorted to be ready to make public confession of their faith, if necessary, as did the three Jewish brethren, and to abide the consequences: 'There is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us . . . and He will deliver us out of thy hand, O king: but if not . . . we will not serve thy gods' (3^{17-18}).

§ 6. The lesson in § 5 is enforced by our author with all the power at his command of vivid narrative and burning words. Surely it is no mere coincidence that the year our author assigns to these events, 586 B. C., is the very same year in which Jerusalem fell through its many years of disloyalty and vice and

[1] In the Babylonian Talmud, *Meg.* 11 *b*, there are very erroneous statements as to the length of the reigns of the Babylonian kings. To Nebuchadnezzar are assigned 45 years; to Evil-merodach 23; to Belshazzar 2. No other native Babylonian king is known to this rabbinical treatise. It further states that Belshazzar was acquainted with Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years exile (Jer. 29^{10}), but that he *wrongly began the calculation of the 70 years with the accession of Nebuchadnezzar.* Adding to these 45 years the 23 of Evil-merodach, and the 2 of his own reign that had already lapsed, Belshazzar according to these Rabbis concluded that Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years' exile of Judah in Babylon was mistaken, for the Jews had not yet returned to Palestine, and so were not likely to return at all. Emboldened by his erroneous miscalculation, Belshazzar laid hands on the sacred vessels of the Temple and applied them to profane uses at a royal feast. Even Daniel is charged with a like miscalculation in *Meg.* 12 *a*.

shame. The discerning eye cannot fail to recognize the implied contrast between the unfaithfulness and doom of Judah collectively as a nation in Palestine and the splendid faith and heroism of the three solitary youths and Daniel on the plains of Babylon. Sixteen years of unbroken prosperity have not corrupted or checked the moral and spiritual growth of the three Jewish brethren and Daniel in Babylon. Their manhood amid all the difficulties that beset success in an alien land has more than fulfilled its early promise. Now that they are called to face the supreme risks that their religion entails—either apostasy, or faithfulness to their people's God in scorn of consequence—they choose their part without hesitation, and so the three brethren are cast into the burning fiery furnace and Daniel into the lion's den. Faith must justify itself even at the cost of what to the heathen beholders appeared to be the supreme self-sacrifice and loss of everything.

§ 7. The difficulty that scholars have found in the fact that Daniel is not mentioned in chapter 3, and that his three companions are not mentioned in any subsequent chapter, does not really exist. This third chapter recounts the perils and triumph of the three Jewish brethren in the earlier part of 586 B. C., whereas chapter 4 recounts the triumph of Daniel in the later months of the same year. But obviously there is only one central figure in the book, and that is the Seer himself. With chapter 3 the significance of his three companions comes to a close. They have made their great confession, and willingly encountered the risks it entailed. Their history prepares us for the still greater achievements of Daniel, who henceforth alone occupies the stage as Judah's Seer.

§ 8. This chapter is evidently based on tradition. It is not a mere creation of our author. That individual Jews were committed to the flames we must infer from Jer. 29^{22}. Amongst the Jews death by fire was restricted to daughters of priests who had played the harlot (Lev. 21^{9}). The infliction of such a penalty on the Jews by the Babylonian authorities for refusal to acknowledge their national deities must have made a lasting impression on the nation. We may find a distant reference possibly to such a penalty in Isa. 43^{2}. Death by fire was a recognized punishment in Persia till quite a late date. It should, however, not be forgotten that Antiochus Epiphanes

resorted to this form of capital punishment when he was trying to suppress Judaism. See 2 Macc. 7^{4-5}.

§ 8. *Corruptions.*

3^{12}. For לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם read with LXX, Th., and Vulg. לא שמעו מלכא לטעמך. See 6^{14}, where the same corruption recurs.

3^{14}. For הצדא read האזדא with Bevan, &c. Cp. $2^{5,8}$.

3^{17}. For "הן איתי read יכל [די] די איתי אלה די אנחנא פלחין.

§ 9. *Interpolations.*

$3^{2,3}$. †Treasurers† appears to be a *vox nulla*. See Appendix, p. 77 sqq.

3^{23}. This entire verse I have relegated to the foot-notes. It is not found in the LXX. It is not supported either by what precedes or what follows.

§ 10. *Omissions.*

3^{1}. This most important date, 'in the eighteenth year', which has been preserved by both the LXX and Th., and is in keeping with the practice of our author at the beginning of each section, I have here restored in my translation.

In the same verse I have on the evidence of the LXX restored a long clause. See note *in loc.*

§ 11. *Late Aramaic forms and order.*

(*a*) *Late forms.* 3^{28} שיזיב. In all earlier Aramaic as of the fifth century B. C. this word was written שזב. Only in our author and in Inscriptions after the Christian era and the Targum is the form שזיב found. See note on 3^{28}.

3^{7} (cf. 2^{43}, 5^{20}, $6^{11,15}$). We have the late Aramaic form כדי, which in the fifth or fourth cent. Inscriptions B. C. is written כזי.

(*b*) *Late order.*

3^{16}. *King Nebuchadnezzar.* So LXX, Th. See notes on 2^{28}, $3^{1,9}$: and Introd., § 20. *dd.* This order is not attested earlier than the second century B. C.

§ 12. *Late words.*

3^{7}. פסנטרין = ψαλτήριον. This word shows the influence of the Macedonian dialect which substituted ν for λ.

סמפניא. As the name of a musical instrument of very late occurrence.

3^{1}. ⌜*In his eighteenth year.*⌝ So LXX and Th. (ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου), but the MT and its dependent versions omit. See Introd., § 4. The LXX uses the genitive of time, as also

does Th. The LXX uses also ἐν with the dat. 10^{1}, 11^{1}, or without it 9^{1} to express a point or period of time.

⌜*When he had brought under his rule cities and provinces and all that dwell upon the earth from India to Ethiopia.*⌝ This clause is only found in the LXX, which runs as follows: διοικῶν πόλεις καὶ χώρας καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως Αἰθιοπίας. It appears to be a rendering of the original Aramaic. It is generally regarded as an interpolation from Esther 1^{1}, 8^{9}. But the only words in common—and they were most probably a popular expression designed to define the universal empire of these Oriental monarchs—are 'from India even to Ethiopia', מהדו ועד כוש. It is difficult to determine what the Aramaic word was, which is rendered by διοικῶν. διοικεῖν in Wisdom 8^{15}, 12^{18}, 15^{1} means 'to rule'. Thus in the first of these passages we have διοικήσω λαούς. In Ezra 8^{36} the noun διοικητής is used to render אחשדרפנים, i.e. satraps. Hence the original Aramaic may have been as follows: בְּמִשְׁלְטָה בקרין ומדינן וכל דירין על ארעא מהנדיא ועד כוש.

Nebuchadnezzar the king. This is the *invariable* order, and never 'King Nebuchadnezzar' in the older Aramaic as in the *Eg. Pap.*: see Cowley 1^{1}, 2^{1}, 5^{1}, 6^{2}, 7^{1}, 8^{1}, 9^{1}, 10^{2}, 13^{1}, 14^{1}, 15^{1}, 20^{1}, $21^{3,10}$, 25^{1}, 27^{2}, 28^{1}, 29^{1}, $30^{2,4,19,21,30}$, $31^{4,19}$, 32^{7}, $35^{1,6}$, 45^{1}: Aḥ. 10, 27, 50, 51, 55, 60, 70, 76, 78: Beh. 7, 12, 37: in Ezra $4^{8,11,23}$, $5^{6,13,14,17}$, $6^{3(bis),13,15}$, 7^{21}: and often in *late* Hebrew: cf. Hag. $1^{1,15}$, Neh. 2^{1}, 5^{14}, Dan. 1^{21}. But in seven passages out of twenty the MT forsakes older Aramaic order: cf. $2^{28,46}$, 3^{16}, 4^{15}, $5^{9,11}$, 6^{10}. But in 4^{15} Th., Pesh., Vulg., support the ancient order. In Classical Hebrew the order is almost invariably 'King David,' &c. Thus the older Aramaic order prevails invariably to 300 B.C., and possibly till early in the second century. In Nabataean Aramaic from 169 B.C. to A.D. 106 the usual order is for the personal name to precede the office. Thus for 'Maliku (or "Rebel") the King', see *CIS.* ii. 161, Col. iii, l. 3, 174, l. 3, 218, l. 4: 'Maliku (or "Rebel," &c.) the King, King of the Nabataeans'. See Cooke 101^{10-11}, *CIS.* ii. 219, l. 7, 220, l. 3, 223, l. 5. On the other hand we find in *CIS.* ii. 195, l. 5, 'King Maliku, King of the Nabataeans'.

On the Maccabean coins the latter order is followed. In the N.T. we find 'King Herod', Matt. 2^{3}, Mark 6^{14}, Acts 12^{1}, and on the other hand 'Agrippa the King' 25^{13}, 'Aretas the King' 2 Cor. 11^{32}. When the king is directly addressed in Acts 25^{26},

$26^{2,19,27}$but not in 25^{24}, the order is 'King Agrippa'. Lidzbarski (*Eph.* ii. 261) gives two Aramaic (Nabataean) inscriptions in this order אגרפס מלכא = 'King Agrippa'. Now in contrast to these varieties of order in later Aramaic the order in Aramaic before 303 B.C., perhaps before 200 B.C., was fixed. The proper name preceded the title. This fact in itself shows the lateness of the Aramaic in Daniel.

An image of gold . . threescore cubits. The image was not necessarily of solid gold. Even the golden altar in Exod. 39^{38} was merely overlaid with gold (Exod. 30^{3}). Such colossal statues were not unusual in the East. Herodotus (i. 183) speaks of a great golden statue of Zeus in the temple of Belus in Babylon.

Plain of Dura. This plain has not yet been identified, though three localities are mentioned in the tablets bearing the name Duru (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur. Oppert (see Driver *in loc.*) suggests that one of the mounds—called Mounds of Dura—near a small river called the Dura, which falls into the Euphrates some six miles below Babylon, may have formed the pedestal of this colossal image. Jahn (*in loc.*) regards the text of the MT as corrupt, and follows the LXX here πεδίῳ τοῦ περιβόλου. Th. simply attempts a transliteration πεδίῳ Δεειρά.

3^{2}. *Satraps.* אחשדרפניא is from the Old Persian *Kshatrapāwan*, 'protectors of the realm'. See Spiegel's, *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. 215. From this Old Persian form arise the Greek forms in inscriptions ἐξαιθράπης, ἐξατράπης, and in Greek writings σατράπης. The title is a Persian one (cf. Ezra 8^{36}, Esther 3^{12}, &c.), and not a Babylonian, and is accordingly an anachronism here.

Governors. פחה (pl. פחותא) is a loan-word from the Assyrian *paḫâti* abbreviated from *bel paḫâti*, 'lord of a district'. The form פחי which is found in the *Zinjirli Inscription* 745–727 B.C. (Cooke 62^{12}) is probably from the same root. פחה occurs also in the Fifth Cent. Papyri (see Cowley 30^{1}, 31^{1}: Beh. 18, 38). It is of frequent occurrence also in Hebrew, especially in the post-Exilic books.

Judges. אדרגזר is a Persian loan-word = *andaržaghar* Middle Iran. = Old Iran. *handarža* = counsellor, a title still in use under the Sassanian dynasty (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 462 *n.*). But Ed. Meyer thinks it is a military title.

[*Treasurers.*] גדבריא. This is a highly doubtful word. It may be a textual corruption of גזבריא: see Ezra 1^{8}, 7^{21}: or, as Graetz, Bevan, and others suggest, a mere error of the scribe, for הרבריא = ministers or counsellors: see $3^{24,27}$, 4^{33}, 6^{8}: or again it may be a dittograph for דחבריא that follows immediately. In favour of this last hypothesis is the fact that the LXX and Th. have each only seven names of officials, whereas our text has eight. See Appendix at close of this chapter, 77 sqq.

Counsellors. דתבריא a loan-word from *dâtabara*, law-bearer. This word has, as Driver observes, been found recently by Hilprecht in the Nippur inscriptions of the time of Artaxerxes I (465–425 B. C.) and Darius II (424–405 B. C.). With these officials we may compare the *βασιλήϊοι δικασταί* of Herod. iii. 14, 31, v. 25.

Sheriffs. תפתיא is found in the form of תיפתיא in Cowley 27[7] between the words דיניא and גושביא. The meaning assigned to this word is uncertain, but it denotes some kind of police or military official. The papyrus passage favours the former.

To come. לְמֵתָא for לְמֵאתָא without the א like לְמֵוָא 3^{19} and לְמֵמַר Ezra 5^{11}.

3^{3}. The officials in this verse are the same as in ver. 2.

Stood. On קאמין see note on 'dwell' in 2^{38}.

3^{4}. *Herald.* כָּרוֹזָא is according to Marti an Aramaic noun formed from כְּרַז, Haphel הַכְרִז 5^{29}. Cook's *Aramaic Glossary*, p. 66, gives כרוז = 'a herald', which is derived from inscription 86 in the *CIS.* ii. Of these inscriptions nos. 73–107 are of 'uncertain origin, ranging from the ninth to the fourth century B.C.' (p. 2). Cook (p. 66) infers from this inscription that the word 'herald . . . is not necessarily derived from *κηρύσσειν*'. But this inference is doubtful. The word there is rather to be taken as a proper name. The Oxford Heb. Lex. regards it as a loan-word from the Greek.

Cried aloud. קרא בחיל. So also in $4^{11(14)}$, 5^{7}. Its equivalent in Hebrew is קרא בחזקה Jonah 3^{8}, or, as in Isa. 40^{9}, בְּכֹחַ. Cf. Rev. 18^{2} *ἔκραξεν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ*, which, however, is not from the hand of the Seer, who uses the form *κράζειν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* 6^{10}, $7^{2,10}$, 10^{3}, &c.

It is commanded. Where we put the impers. passive, the Aramaic puts the 3rd plur. act. (part.) אמרין: cf. $4^{22(25)}$, where both the finite verb and participle are thus used.

Peoples, nations, and languages. This expression recurs:

$3^{7,29,31}$ (4^{1}), 5^{19}, 6^{26}, 7^{14}. Cf. Rev. 5^{6}, 7^{9}, 10^{11}, 11^{9}, 13^{7}, 14^{6}, 17^{15}. The various nationalities and races are represented by great officials.

3^{5}. In $3^{5,7,10,15}$ there are various kinds of musical instruments mentioned. Some of them bear Semitic names, others Greek. First of all the word for 'kind' זְנָא is a Persian loan word = Middle Iran. *zan*, and has *γένος* as its etymological equivalent. It was adopted early into Aramaic, as it is found in the *Fifth Century Papyri* (Cowley, 17^{3}), and into late Hebrew: Ps. 144^{13}, 2 Chron. 16^{14}. Of the six instruments two are of Semitic origin—the horn and the pipe, and three of Greek—the harp, the psaltery, and the dulcimer. Whether the sackbut was originally Semitic or Greek is uncertain, but probably the former.

Cornet, lit. 'horn'. The word קַרְנָא is used here and in $3^{7,10,15}$, and in Syriac in the same sense as the Hebrew shophar שׁוֹפָר.

Pipe. מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא from שׁרק Hebr. Isa. 5^{26}, 'to hiss, whistle'. The word שׁרק occurs in the *Fifth Century Papyri* (Cowley, *Ah.* 100) as an adjective meaning 'sharp'. But it is found in the Targums and in the Syr.

Harp. קִיתָרוֹס (Kt.) should according to Kamphausen be punctuated קִיתָרוֹס. *Qr.* reads קִתָרוֹס, as also in the Targums. This word is borrowed from the Greek *κίθαρις*.

Sackbut. שַׂבְּכָא was a small triangular instrument with four strings. It is identical with the Greek *σαμβύκη*. According to Athenaeus iv. 175 *d*, *e* it was a Syriac invention, and *psaltriae* and *sambucistriae* were according to Livy xxxix. 6 introduced into Rome from the East in 187 B. C. Some scholars would connect the root of this word with that of the Hebrew שְׂבָכָה 'net, lattice-work'.

Psaltery. פסנתרין is derived from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*. For the transliteration of *-ιον* by ין- compare סנהדרין = *συνέδριον*. It will be observed that this loan-word is differently spelt in 3^{7}, i. e. פסנטרין. The latter is more correct than the former; for in Aramaic and late Hebrew ת generally represents *θ* and ט = *τ*: cf. תאטרון = *θέατρον*. The form פסנטרין shows the influence of the Macedonian dialect, which substituted *ν* for *λ*. The psaltery was a stringed instrument, triangular in shape and like an inverted Δ. It had its sounding board above the strings, as the cithara had it below them (see Augustine, iv. 272 B, C.: 521 D, &c.).

Dulcimer, or rather 'bagpipe'. The Aramaic סומפניה $3^{5,15}$, and סיפניא (Kt.) and סופניא (*Qr.*) in 3^{10}, is the Greek *συμφωνία*. This instrument is omitted in 3^{7}. 'It was probably a goat-skin bag with two reed pipes, the one used as a mouthpiece to fill the bag . . . and the other employed as a chanter-flute with finger holes' (*Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3230). The word is first found with the meaning of 'a concord or unison of sound' in Plato and Aristotle, but not as denoting a musical instrument before the time of Polybius (204–122 B. C.). So far, therefore, as the literary evidence goes, the use of this Greek word is peculiar to late Greek. But the value of this evidence does not end here. It is surely an extraordinary coincidence that Polybius mentions this instrument as a favourite instrument of Antiochus Epiphanes. xxvi. 10, *ὅτε δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων αἴσθοιτό τινας συνευωχουμένους ὅπου δή ποτε . . . παρὴν ἐπικωμάζων μετὰ κερατίου* (a. l. *κεραμίου*, 'a jar of wine') *καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν.* A later passage in the same historian (xxxi. 4) tells how Antiochus Epiphanes used to the shame of the onlookers to dance to the sound of this instrument: *τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης, ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο . . . ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν.*

3^{6}. *The same hour.* בַּהּ שַׁעֲתָא. The MT has שַׁ- here where the Syriac has שָׁ-. The suffix in בה is not pleonastic, but is used to give emphasis: cf. $3^{7,8}$ and 4^{30}, 5^{5} for a repetition of the preposition. Originally it meant any small period of time, and only later came to mean an 'hour'. שעה does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, but is found in the Targums and Syriac, New Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Possibly it is a loan-word from the Assyrian.

Into the midst. לְגוֹא. גּוֹא or גַּו is the construct of גֵּו, which has allied forms in Syriac and Arabic, גוא has final א in our author as in one Nabataean inscription: *CIS.* ii. 350[1].

Furnace. אַתּוּן is taken to be a loan-word from the Assyr. *atûna*. Since, however, the root is found in Arabic and Syriac, and the word ʾAttûn = 'furnace' is a common word in Ethiopic, it may be an old Aramaic word.

3^{7}. *When.* כְּדִי has the same meaning in 5^{20}, $6^{11,15}$, but in 2^{43} it means 'according as'. This word has the former meaning in an Aramaic inscription (Cooke, 68[4], 5th–4th cent.), in *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 6^{1}, 8^{24}, 13^{4}, 27^{2}, 28^{13}, 40^{2}); and the latter meaning in the *Aramaic Inscriptions* (*CIS.* ii. 145, C[3]). In these older

documents the form is כוי. See Cowley also in 6^{7}, 8^{25}, where it follows ימא 'to swear', with the meaning 'that'.

3^{8-12}. *The three young Jews accused of not falling down before the image.*

Observe how closely the charge in 3^{12} brought against them resembles that brought against Daniel in 6^{14}. The author's object is to encourage the Jews, who had 'set the king at nought' by refusing to forsake their religion. There is here a contemporary reference to Antiochus Epiphanes.

3^{8}. *Certain Chaldaeans.* On the use of גֻּבְרִין (where the change from *a* to *u* is due to the following labial: cf. פֻּם, שֻׁם) here see Introd. Idiomatically, it = 'certain' as אנשים in certain passages, though the literal rendering is 'men, Chaldeans'.

Brought accusation. The phrase in the original אכלו קרציהון is peculiar: it literally means 'ate the pieces of'. It generally means in Aramaic *to slander, to accuse falsely*, as in Ps. 15^{3} (Targ.): and in Luke 16^{1} as a rendering of διαβάλλειν. Indeed the devil, i. e. ὁ διάβολος is ܣܛܢܐ—the slanderer in chief. A variation of this idiom occurs in a fifth–fourth century B.C. inscription on the Carpentras Stele: *CIS.* ii. 141^{2} כרצי איש לא אמרת, 'thou hast not calumniated any man'. Here the כ, as Nöldeke has shown, has been written instead of ק. But here and in 6^{25} it has a different nuance: it means *to accuse maliciously*—not falsely. In the former meaning it occurs already in the Tel-el-Amarna Letters *akâlu-ḳarṣi*, 44^{25}, &c., and later it is frequent in the Arabic. It was in use almost throughout the entire Semitic world. Lepsius (see Marti, *in loc.*) finds an allied phrase in the Persian; *Der Christliche Orient*, 1897, p. 152.

3^{9}. *Answered and said.* See note on 2^{5}.

[*To Nebuchadnezzar the king.*] The LXX omits this addition: it reads simply ὑπολαβόντες εἶπον. From some later version ※Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ τῷ βασιλεῖ has been supplied. It is true the MT reads אמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא and is supported by Th. and the later versions. But this idiom is foreign to our author. If this phrase came from our author's hand we should have קֳדָם instead of ל before the king's name. Only when the satraps and courtiers act with deliberate rudeness is the expression אֲמַר ל used in our author when the person addressed is the king. See 6^{16} for an example of this nature. There is one exception

to this rule. When קֳדָם has just occurred with a preceding verb, אֲמַר can be followed by ל as in 2^{25}.

O king, live for ever! See on 2^4.

3^{10}. *Hast made a decree.* שַׂמְתָּ טְעֵם. This idiom occurs in the *Aram. Pap.* (see Cowley, $26^{22,23,25}$). Contrast the meaning of this phrase in the MT in 3^{12}.

3^{12}. *Whom.* די ... יתהון. ית used here only in Biblical Aramaic. In the Targums it is very frequently used both with and without pronominal suffixes. ל is the particle used by Aramaic normally in this sense. Like the Hebrew את־ it is used before a definite object. It occurs in the form ות with suffix וחה in the eighth century Zinjirli Inscription. See Cooke, 61^{28}: as ית in Nabat. and Palmyrene: see Lidz., *N. E.*, 263.

† *Have not regarded thee*†. Corrupt: read 'have not obeyed thy command'. The Versions do not support the MT text לא שמו עליך ... טעם. It is true that this same phrase recurs in $6^{14(13)}$. In $3^{10,29}$, $4^{3(6)}$, $6^{27(26)}$ we have שָׂם טְעֵם in its normal sense of 'to command', as also in Ezra fourteen times. But in 3^{12}, $6^{14(13)}$ quite a different sense is required in this phrase, if the MT is correct—'to show deference' or 'respect'. For this meaning there is no authority outside these two passages in Daniel. Elsewhere in Daniel טעם means 'decree' except in three passages. In 5^2 it is used of the 'taste' of wine—an original meaning of the word. In 2^{14} it has a secondary meaning derived from the first, i.e. 'discretion' (as in Hebrew: cf. Prov. 26^{16}), while in 6^3 it means 'report': cf. Ezra 5^5. This phrase שם טעם (= 'to issue a command') occurs also in the Fifth Century Aram. Pap., see Cowley, $26^{22,23,25}$, 27^{21}: but never in the sense attributed to it in Dan. 3^{12}, $6^{14(13)}$. I can find no occurrence of this idiom in the Targums. The general usage of the word is thus against the meaning universally assigned to the phrases in 3^{12}, 6^{14}. Let us now turn to the Greek Versions and the Vulg., and see if they support either this meaning or even the MT text.

	LXX.	Th.	Vulg.
3^{12}.	*οὐκ ἐφοβήθησάν σου τὴν*	*οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, βασιλεῦ, τῷ*	contempserunt, rex,
	ἐντολήν.	*δόγματί σου*	decretum tuum
6^{14}	*missing*).	*οὐχ ὑπετάγη τῷ δόγματί σου*	non curavit de lege tua.

Now first of all in 3^{12} we observe that all three Versions translate טעם as it is translated generally in Daniel, and especially in the phrase שם טעם. In the next place the personal pronoun is connected with this word. In other words, these three Versions prove that the text before them was טעמך, and not עליך טעם. Thirdly, Th. certainly read שמעו (cf. 7^{27} where it renders ישתמעון by *ὑπακούσονται*) and not שמו, which latter it renders in this connexion by *τιθέναι* or *ἐκτιθέναι*. Thus Th. presupposes לא שמעו . . . למעמך 'they have not obeyed thy decree'. The LXX and the Vulg. are loose but not inaccurate renderings of this text. On the other hand Aquila supports the MT but the Pesh. omits טעם. The present corrupt MT text existed therefore early in the Christian era. Next in 6^{14} Th. and the Vulg. are free renderings of the text they presuppose in 3^{12}. In N.T. Greek *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* = *ὑπακούειν* constantly. Hence I read 'have not obeyed thy command'. See also note on 6^{14} on this idiom.

Thy god. Here I follow *Qr.* and read the singular, and not 'thy gods'. See $3^{14,18}$, $4^{5(8)}$.

3^{13}. *Fury.* For חֲמָא we find חֵמָא in 3^{19}. On other variations in pointing see 2^{19} and $7^{4,5}$.

Were brought. הֵיתֵיו (Hêphal, as Ginsburg, Marti, Kamphausen read), has a passive meaning. Cf. הֵיתֵית in 6^{18}. But there is no satisfactory explanation of this passive as Kautzsch (p. 67 *n.*) declares. The active form Haph'el occurs in 5^{3} הַיְתִיו.

3^{14}. *Is it true?* The text reads הַצְדָא, which is generally rendered 'Is it of purpose?' But to obtain this sense the initial ה must be taken as an interrogative, and צדא, which is not found elsewhere in Aramaic, would be a Hebraism from the same root as צָדְיָא (from צדה 'to lie in wait') found in Num. $35^{20,22}$. If so, Kautzsch, § 67. 2, says we should punctuate the word הַצָדָא. But the explanation is far-fetched, and Bevan's conjecture accepted by many scholars explains the corruption and gives good sense. Thus for הצדא we should as in $2^{5,8}$ read הַאֻמָּנָא = *εἰ ἀληθῶς* as in Th. and Pesh. אומנא is a Persian word and is already found in the absolute state in the *Eg. Aram.* (Cowley, 27^{8}). But Montgomery (p. 207) points out now that Lidz., *Altaram. Urk.*, 1921, l. 12, cf. p. 12, has found הצדא (= 'true') on an ostrakon.

My god. For לְאֱלָהִי we should read with the Erfurt MS. לֵאלָהִי 'my god,' i. e. Bel.

I have set up. הֲקִימֶת. The usual form for the first person sing. ends in ת־, but ת֫ is the normal ending in the Haph'el of ע״י.

3^{15}. *Well.* The construction is here elliptical. After the conditional sentence there is an aposiopesis. The missing word could be graphically replaced by a gesture. For similar aposiopesis in Hebrew and Greek, cf. Exod. 32^{32}: 1 Sam. 12^{14} seq.: Luke 13^{9}: Iliad 1^{136}.

What god is there? מן־הוא אלה. The הוא simply strengthens the מן, and the two are contracted in the Targums and Syriac into מנוּ. See Kautzsch, § 87. 3. The king's challenge recalls those of Sennacherib and Rabshakeh, Isa. 36^{19-20}, 37^{11-12}, while the answer of the three Jews in the next verse recalls those of the seven brethren in 2 Macc. 7.

Shall deliver you. יְשֵׁיזְבִנְכוֹן. Probably a Shaph'el form derived from the Assyr. *šûzubu*. It is of frequent occurrence in our author whether as perfect, imperfect, infinitive, or participle. It was early adopted into Aramaic, as it is found in the *Eg. Aram.* See Cowley 38^{5}, 54^{9}, Aḥ. 46.

3^{16}. The three Jews refuse to discuss a question which must be left to God.

No need. לָא חֲשִׁחִין—the participle is to be preferred, though the MT favours the adjective חַשְׁחִין.

To answer thee in this matter. Cf. 1 Kings $12^{6,9}$ for a like construction.

3^{17}. †*If it be so*† . . . *to deliver us.* The king has asked: 'Is there any god who can deliver you?' To this question this verse should supply the answer, but in such a way as to harmonize with 3^{16}, where the three Jews have refused to debate the question. Hence 3^{17} should explain 3^{16} while answering 3^{15}, and hence, further, we should expect 3^{17} to begin with 'for' or some such word. 'We have no need to answer thee in this matter; for the God whom we serve either will or will not save us.' Deeds not words will answer the king's question. If this is the meaning of the context, it is clear that the words in the MT 'If it be so, our God whom we serve, &c.' cannot be right. Furthermore, that we have rightly interpreted the context follows from the four Versions—LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg., all of which begin 3^{17} with 'for'.

But almost all modern scholars, following the Massoretic punctuation, give a different rendering of 3^{17}: 'If our God,

whom we serve, be able to deliver us, &c.' But there are two insuperable objections to this form of the text. (1) It can hardly be that such strong champions of their God would for a moment admit that He was unable to deliver them, and that to a heathen king. They could admit the possibility of His not intervening to save them, but not His inability to save. (2) If we may infer our author's usage from other passages where he combines איתי with a participle, we may learn that, when איתי forms one idea with the participle, they should not be separated by any intervening word. Thus in:

2^{26}. הַאִיתָיִךְ כָּהֵל 'Art thou able'.

3^{14}. לָא אִיתֵיכוֹן פָּלְחִין 'Ye will not serve'.

3^{15}. הֵן אִיתֵכוֹן עָתִידִין 'If ye are ready'.

3^{18}. לָא־אִיתָנָא פָּלְחִין 'We will not serve'.

This holds also in the Syriac: cf. Duval, *Grammaire Syriaque*, 323–5: and in the Hebrew with יֵשׁ and אין Cf. *Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 116 *q*. In the Eg. Aram. this usage does not occur save once in one emended passage: see Cowley, Ah. 159, where the two words are separated and the editor remarks on the unusual structure of the Aramaic. But our author's usage appears clearly to be against separating these two words if they express one idea. If this conclusion is right, then it is wrong to combine these words as do Kautzsch, § 67. 8, and Marti and others, and translate 'If our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us'. The rendering should be: 'If our God, whom we serve, exists, He is able'. But this idea is highly unsatisfactory: contrast 2^{28} 'There is a God'.

Since, therefore, the MT may be regarded as corrupt, let us turn to the Versions:

LXX. *ἔστι γὰρ Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἷς κύριος ἡμῶν, ὃν φοβούμεθα, ὅς ἐστι δυνατός*

Th. *ἔστιν γὰρ Θεός, ᾧ ἡμεῖς λατρεύομεν, δυνατός.*

Pesh. = *ἔστι γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡμεῖς λατρεύομεν, ὅς δυνατός ἐστι.*

Vulg. 'Ecce enim Deus noster, quem colimus, potest.'

In these Versions we observe first that all agree in reading דִּי = 'for' instead of הֵן = 'if', save the Vulgate 'ecce enim', which attests the conflate text הן די, but 'ecce' is a mistranslation of הן, or presupposes the variant הָא: cf. 3^{25}. For neither in Biblical nor earlier Aramaic can this word be so translated. It may, therefore, be regarded as conclusive that the הן of the

MT is a late corruption or correction. In the next place the LXX and Th. require אֱלָהָּ and not אלהנא as the MT (supported by the Pesh. and Vulg.) reads. Thirdly, the LXX and Pesh. read ὅς before δυνατός. Thus we are led to conclude that the text originally stood as follows: (די ?) די איתי אלה אנחנא פלחין יכל 'For there is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us'. This provides exactly the answer that the context requires. When the king asks, 'What god can deliver you out of my hands?' the three companions reply: 'We have no need to discuss this question; for there is a God, whom we serve, who will deliver us, &c.' They answer first that there is such a God, and next that it is the God whom they serve. See p. 354.

The φοβούμεθα in the LXX above = דחלין a corruption of פלחין as in the MT.

3[18]. *But if not*: i. e. if He will not deliver us.

Thy god. Here read the singular לֵאלָהָךְ, as in v. 12, and not the plural לאלהיך is to be read. Bel was the patron deity of the king: cf. 4[5(8)]. The LXX has here τῷ εἰδώλῳ σου, but Th. and Vulg. have reproduced the plural in the MT. The Pesh. in all three cases rightly has the sing.

3[19–27]. *The deliverance of the three faithful Jews from the burning fiery furnace.*

3[19]. *Form.* צֶלֶם (construct) which is elsewhere punctuated as צֶלֶם. Strack (*Gram.*[6], § 8 *c*: Marti, *Gram.*, § 71 Anm.) draws attention to the artificial forms introduced by the scribes to bring out the difference between the use of צֶלֶם (constr.) 3[19] and צֶלֶם 3[5] and טַעַם Ezra 6[14], 7[23] and טְעַם (three times) to distinguish the idol (3[5]) from the form of the human face (3[19]), and God's will from that of man.

Was changed. If we read אשתנו with Kautzsch § 47. 4, Ginsburg, Strack, the plural is to be construed with אנפוהי: cf. 1 Sam. 2[4], 2 Sam. 10[9]. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 146 *a*. The *Qr.* reads the singular אִשְׁתַּנִּי.

To heat. See 3[2] note. With the suffix at the close מֶזְיָהּ.

Seven times, i.e. חד שבעה. With this peculiar Aramaic expression cf. *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 30[3]) חד אלף = 'a thousand times'. It is a Syriac expression: cf. 11[8,13], Exod. 22[7] in Pesh; or it takes another form חד בשבעא Gen. 4[24]; cf. Duval, *Gram.*, p. 353: Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.*, p. 166.

Wont. חֲוָה ('wont', 'fitting') is frequent in this sense in the

later Aramaic, especially in the form חֲוִי. Cf. Onk., Lev. 5^{10}, 9^{16}, Num. 29^{6}. See Driver, *in loc.* Later Hebrew was analogously רעוי.

3^{20}. *And to cast.* The 'and' is not found in the MT, LXX, or Th. Hence the infinitive לְמִרְמֵא is generally taken as dependent on the preceding infinitive. But Marti rightly suggests that the ו has been lost after the preceding ו in ננו.

3^{21}. On the perfect passive כְּפְתוּ and in the next clause וְרְמִיו see note on 2^{19}.

Their mantles. The meaning of סרבל is doubtful. The authorities waver between 'mantles' and 'trousers'. It bears the former sense in the Aramaic (Talmudic), whence it was borrowed by Arabic in the form *sirbāl* (see Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886, p. 47: Levy, *NHBW.* iii. 584). On the other hand the Versions support the latter meaning. Thus LXX ἔχοντες τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν (but in $3^{27(94)}$ σαράβαρα): Th. σὺν τοῖς σαραβάροις αὐτῶν: Aq. τ. σαραβάροις: Sym. ἐν ταῖς ἀναξυρίσιν αὐτῶν: the Pesh. and the Vulg. *cum braccis suis.* These σαράβαρα were worn by the Persians and Scythians. The word appears to have meant both *mantles* and *trousers* originally in Persian—in Modern Persian still as Shalwar = *trousers*, Arabic *Sirwal*, Syr. *Sharbhala.* See S. A. Cook, 'Articles of Dress mentioned in Dan. 3^{21},' *Journ. of Philology*, xxvi. 306–13 (1899), who supports the former meaning on the ground of the mantle being loose and easily inflammable: cf. 3^{27}. On the other hand, Bevan, Hitzig, and Ewald render the word by 'their trousers'.

Trousers. The exact meaning of פטישיהון is wholly uncertain. The later Jews and Syrians had no certain tradition as to whether it meant 'trousers' or 'tunic'. Payne Smith, *Thes.* 3098, gives both meanings for the Syriac, and Levy, *NHWB.* iv. 34 the meaning 'trousers' in Talmudic Hebrew. If this meaning is right, then the order in Th. τιάραις καὶ περικνημῖσι (so Vulg. should be transposed into περικνημῖσι καὶ τιάραις. The Pesh. is also out of order, and the LXX has ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν = בראשיהון, which Montg. has plausibly recognized to be a corruption of פטישיהון, which it then transposed to the third place to give the sense 'hats on their heads', i. e. τιάρας ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν. Cook regards this word as a later interpolation. Citations in the Latin Fathers do not know of this article of attire: cf. Tertull., *De Res. Carnis* 58; but see Montg., *in loc.*

Hats. Following the conjecture in the last note as to the derangement of the order in Th., I identify *τιάραις* as the rendering of כרבלתהון. כרבלתא appears to mean 'hat' as in post-Biblical Hebrew: Levy, *NHWB.* ii. 395. Marti, *Gram.*[3], p. 75*, derives it from the Assyrian *Karballatu*, which according to the Persian translation on the inscription of Darius I (Naḳš-i-Rustam, l. 15) means 'helm' or 'hat'. In the later Jewish Aramaic and Syriac it 'signifies 'cock's comb'. The Gk. Vers. correctly renders כרבל by *κυρβασία*, which is likened to a cock's comb in Aristoph., *Av.* 487. Cf. Herod. v. 49; vii. 64. The RV. in assigning the meaning 'mantles' to this word has trusted too much to the doubtful connexion of the word with the Hebrew in 1 Chron. 15^{27} מְכַרְבֵּל.

Their garments. לבושיהון. This term is added to include all the rest of their garments.

3^{22}. *Urgent.* On מחצפה see note on 2^{15}.

Exceeding. יַתִּירָה occurs as an adverb also in the *Eg. Pap.* (Cowley, Aḥ. 96).

Hot. The passive participle אְוֵה is for אֲוֵה. Cf. Ezra 5^{15}, where אְוֵל = אֲוֵל. See Kautzsch, § 15 *e*.

The flame of the fire. שביבא די נורא. Cf. 7^{9}, and see note in Bevan on this phrase in 3^{22}.

[^{23}. I have bracketed this verse as a later interpolation, and relegated it to the foot-notes. Not a phrase of it is preserved in the LXX,[1] and, so far is it from contributing a single fresh fact to the narrative beyond what is already said in 3^{21b}, that it reproduces a weaker version of it. Nor, again, does it serve as an introduction to 3^{24}, which is perfectly intelligible without it. It is also noteworthy that in this verse נפל is used in the sense of 'to be cast down', whereas our author uses רמא ten times elsewhere, when it is necessary to express this idea. Finally the form תְּלָתֵיהוֹן is unexampled in the Eg. Papyri as well as in Biblical Aramaic. It is, however, found in the Syriac *t*^{e}*lâthaihôn*, which may have been formed on the anology of *t*^{e}*raihôn*, 'they two'. On the other hand Cowley 38[8] restores the text by

[1] Seeing that both Tischendorf and Swete represent the LXX as containing this verse I will here print it for the sake of my readers: *τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας τοὺς συμποδίσαντας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν ἐξελθοῦσα ἡ φλὸξ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου ἐνεπύρισε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνετηρήθησαν.* This is beyond question a recasting of 3^{22} and does not contain a single statement of 3^{23}.

reading ם[תריה]ל = 'for both', similarly as we have the Hebrew שניהם. The construction is a well-known Hebrew one, and has already occurred in our author 1^{17}. Cf. 1 Sam. 20^{42}.

But how are we to account for its interpolation? I know of no satisfactory explanation. But that it is an interpolation, the language, as I have just shown, seems to prove. The context is also against it. In 3^{21a} we are told the men were 'bound': in 3^{21b} that they 'were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace', a penalty which entails their immediate destruction, as it did that of their executioners in 3^{22}. After this it would be the height of absurdity to say, as in 3^{23}, that they 'fell down bound', seeing that they had been 'hurled' into the midst of the furnace. The use of נפל by our author implies that the persons of which it is predicated had been standing before they fell. So even in 7^{20}. Next to describe how fierce the furnace was, as well as to suggest the speedy retribution that befel the executioners, the writer diverges from his main theme for the moment in 3^{22}. But in 3^{24} he resumes his theme, and in such a way as to emphasize the antagonism existing between the incidents just related in 3^{21} and their actual consequences in 3^{24} so wholly contrary to all expectation. Moreover, in 3^{24} the king repeats the two most prominent phrases in 3^{21}—the men were 'bound' and 'cast . . . into the midst of the fire'.

Next, who was the interpolator? It was probably the scribe, who interpolated the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of Azariah and his two companions in the LXX, for the LXX does not contain 3^{23}. We can only fall back on a hypothetical account of the difficulties at issue. These two additions written in Aramaic were inserted at an early date in some manuscripts of Daniel, but not in others. Hence there came to be current in the Jewish world two editions of Daniel, the shorter of which was ultimately adopted into the Canon. The Greek translation of these additions was made by some other hand than that of the translator of the LXX. Somewhat different forms of these Additions are reproduced in the LXX and in Th.—the latter version being of course based on a much older one, which was however much later than the LXX. But in Th. 3^{23} stands as it does in the MT. The progenitor of Th. was made from an Aramaic text no less certainly than the LXX, though it was main guided in its renderings by that

early version. This Aramaic text, as Th. testifies, contained 3^{23}. There were thus variations and alternatives in the larger text of Daniel.

In my small commentary I accepted the suggestion of von Gall, Bludau, and Rothstein that vv. 46–50 originally stood in a Semitic form between 3^{23} and 3^{24}. But, even if this were true, it would only be partially so; for in 3^{46} the king's mighty men are still represented as busily engaged in supplying the furnace with naptha, pitch, tow, and wood, although according to 3^{22} they had already been destroyed by the furnace. In the present commentary I have abandoned the above suggestion on the following grounds. First of all the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children are independent works. The Prayer of Azariah was not originally composed in connexion with the incident of the Three Children. If it had been so, the speaker would have been not Azariah but Hananiah, that is, Shadrach, who is always the foremost of the Three. Again, in the Prayer itself, there is nothing to connect it with the events in the Book of Daniel. Next, as regards the Song of the Three Children, it too has no direct allusion to the Book of Daniel or its events save in 3^{88}, which was introduced to connect the Song of the Three Children with the Book of Daniel. It will be observed that the interpolator changes the order of the Three Children—an order which like that of the Medes and Persians was immutable, and recites them as follows: Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. Furthermore with a view to adapting the interpolated 3^{88} to its new context, the interpolator introduces certain changes. The last few verses will provide sufficient evidence to prove that the interpolator of 3^{88} has rearranged 3^{82-7} in order to bring 3^{88} into harmony with its new context.

As a rule the original writer of the Song of the Three Children wrote it in couplets, and in such a way as to carry on the thought of the reader from one couplet to another. Let us examine 3^{82-7} from the standpoint of this fact. 3^{82-3} call first on the sons of men, and then, as the theme advances, on Israel 'to bless the Lord, praise Him, and magnify Him for ever'. In 3^{84-5} the priests of the Lord and next the servants of the Lord are called to do likewise, or rather first the servants of the Lord and then His priests. But however this may be as to 3^{84-5}, there can be no doubt as to 3^{86-7}. This couplet was

unquestionably written originally as follows, since in 3^{86} we arrive at the climax:

3^{87}. O ye holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord,
Praise Him and magnify Him for ever.

3^{86}. O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord,
Praise Him and magnify Him for ever.

But when the interpolator wished to add 3^{88} and to bring Ananias, Azarias, and Misael into the foremost ranks of the living among 'the holy and humble men of heart', he was obliged to invert the order of 3^{86-7}, and so destroy the growing order of thought, which rightly found its climax of praise amongst 'the spirits and souls of the righteous'.

If then we omit the interpolated 3^{88} and restore the original order of the couplets in 3^{86-7}, we may feel very confident that we have in some measure recovered the original form of this noble song, which then rightly closes in the fine doxology of 3^{89-90}.

But this Song had no connexion of any kind with our author, any more than had the Prayer of Azariah. The insertion of these works in the text of our author is due to some unknown scribe, who most probably added 3^{23} to preface his interpolations.

The details of these interpolations are. After 3^{22} came first 3^{23}, which has survived in the MT. and the later Versions, but not in the LXX. Then follows sixty-seven verses, i.e. 24–90: vv. 24–45 the Prayer of Azarias: a descriptive passage recounting the destruction of the executioners, the descent of the angel, the doxology pronounced by the Three Children, and the hymn known as the *Benedicite*, 57–90. Thereupon we return to 3^{24} of our author's text.]

3^{24}. The LXX in 3^{91} resumes the long addition it contains with the words *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἑστὼς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας· τότε Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε.* This is very Hebraistic. Th. adds only *ἤκουσεν ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καί.*

Counsellors. הדברין is peculiar to Daniel; 3^{27}, $4^{33\,(36)}$, $6^{8\,(7)}$. The original form and meaning are alike doubtful.

They answered. עָנִין is most probably an ancient corruption of עָנוֹ. See note on 2^{5}.

3^{25}. *Loose.* The fire had merely destroyed their bonds.

Walking. Here and in $4^{34(37)}$ we should read the Pa'el מְהַלְכִין instead of the Haph'el מַהְלְכִין (see Kautzsch, § 33. 2).

A son of the gods, i.e. an angel. Cf. Gen. 6^{2}, Job 1^{6}. When the true God is designated the sing. אלה, and not the plural אלהין, is used.

3^{26-30}. *The three men come forth unhurt from the fiery furnace, and the king thereupon recognizes them as servants of the Most High God, and issues a decree that any nation that speaks against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego should be destroyed.*

3^{26}. *Most High God.* Cf. 3^{32} (4^{2}), $5^{18,21}$. The title 'Most High' is found in $4^{14,21,22,29,31}$, 7^{25}. It was used by Jewish as well as by heathen writers: cf. Isa. 14^{14}, Tob. 1^{13}, 1 Esdras 2^{3}, 6^{31}, Mark 5^{7}, Acts 16^{17}. It is of very frequent occurrence in 1 Enoch, Test. xii Patriarchs, Jubilees, Ass. Moses, Wisdom, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Philo, and Josephus. אֱלָהָא עִלָּיָא is the equivalent of the Hebrew אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, *θεὸς ὕψιστος*. That עליון was a proper name is clear from the fact that it never has the article even after prepositions. In the quotation from Philo Biblius in Eus., *Praep. Evang.* i. 10, we are told that among the Phoenicians Ἐλιοῦν was used as a name for God: Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος. In our text the king recognizes the God of the Jews, not as the only God, but as the supreme God: cf. 3^{29}. Cf. the Divine name עליונין $7^{18,22,25,27}$.

3^{27}. The gradation is obvious: the hair is not singed, the flowing mantles not hurt, and even the smell of fire had not passed upon them.

Saw. Here חזין is a participle, as is also the word translated 'being gathered together'. Asyndeton is characteristic of Biblical Aramaic. Hence we could translate here: 'assembled together and saw': cf. 3^{7}.

The fire had no power. Here and in 7^{9} נורא is construed as masc. but in 3^{6} as fem., as it usually is, as in Syriac.

Bodies. 'The Western MSS. have נשמיהון (plur.) in the *Kt.*, but נשמהון (sing.) in the *Qr.*, while the Eastern MSS., have the latter rendering in both *Kt.* and *Qr.*' (Wright, *Daniel and his Critics*, p. 63). The *Qr.* has changed נשמיהון (*Kt.*) into נשמהון apparently because of the following ראשהון.

Passed. In עדת we have another anomaly. ריח its subject is never fem. in Hebrew or Syriac, though it is treated as so here.

3^{28}. *Doxology of the king.*

Sent his angel and delivered his servants. These two clauses

are quoted in T. Sym. 2^8 *ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτόν*: also in Acts 12^{11}.

Delivered. שֵׁיזֻב probably Shaph. as a loan-word from Assyr. *šûzub(u)*. The earlier form of this borrowed word in Aram. is שזב: cf. Cowley 38^5, 54^9, Ah. 46: also *CIS.* ii. 113 in the proper name צלמשזב. These are fifth cent. B.C. But in later Aram., as in our author and in the Imtân Inscription (A.D. 93) Cooke 101^{12-13}, we have the form שיזב as well as in the Targums. This fuller form appears in the Syr. as ܫܝܙܒ.

Trusted in him. רחץ על is frequent in the Targums and in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic. It is derived from the Ass. *raḥâṣu*. There is no evidence of its existence in the older Aram.

Set at nought, i. e. שְׁנִיו. Cf. the Haph'el of this verb with the same meaning in Ezra 6^{11}.

Have given their bodies (to the fire). I have restored 'to the fire' with the LXX and Th. *παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμπυρισμόν* (Th. *εἰς πῦρ*). This passage seems to have suggested the form of words in 1 Cor. 13^3, which Montg. compares *καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσωμαι.*

3^{29}. *Decree of the king.*

Anything amiss. So *Qr.* שְׁלוּ as in 6^5. But since the *Kt.* reads שלה, this is probably with Hitzig to be punctuated שְׁלָה, i.e. שְׁאֵלָה = דבר = 'word', 'thing': cf. 1 Sam. 1^{17} and $4^{14(17)}$ in our text. In Cowley 7^6, 76^4 it retains the meaning of 'request'.

Shall be cut in pieces, &c. See note on 2^5.

Shall be made. ישתוה. In 2^5 the verb is יתשמון.

3^{30}. *Caused . . . to prosper.* הצלח: that is, he caused them to prosper in the offices they already held in the province of Babylon: cf. LXX 6^4: also pp. 151–2.

Appendix to Verses $3^{2,3}$.

The Eight (?) Classes of Royal Officials.

In $3^{2,3}$ the Aramaic gives a list of eight classes of royal officials in both verses. Since several distinguished scholars have maintained on various grounds that originally there were only seven, and appealed to the LXX and Th. in support of this view, some examination of the Versions on this question is

necessary. For a full examination see Bludau, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Daniel*, pp. 99 seq.

1. First of all we observe that the Pesh. supports the Aramaic text both in respect of the order and number of the eight classes.

But the evidence of the LXX, Th., and Vulg. diverge here. In 3^2 these three Versions give only seven classes, while in 3^3 Th. gives apparently only six, while the Vulg. gives seven.

Let us compare the three Versions with regard to the fifth and sixth classes, remembering however that the LXX is borrowed from Th. by Origen in 3^3.

	LXX	Th.	Vulg.
3^2.	διοικητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν κατὰ χώραν	2. τυράννους καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν	2. tyrannos et praefectos
3^*	τύραννοι μεγάλοι ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν	3. τύραννοι μεγάλοι οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν	3. tyranni et optimates qui erant in potestatibus constituti

Here we observe that μεγάλοι occurs in ver. 3 in the LXX and Th., which in these Versions is only an epithet, but that in the Vulg. it represents a distinct class. It is only reasonable to infer that the Versions are here corrupt and have compressed two classes into one, if we compare ver. 3 with ver. 2 in each Version, even if we fail to consider the presence of μεγάλοι. But, if we take it into account and the optimates in the Vulg., we may go further and infer that Th. in 3^3 has compressed *three* classes into one. But it is to be observed that these officials 3^3 were omitted in the LXX and borrowed by Origen from Th.

The renderings are loose and divergent: yet it is possible to identify them with the Aramaic which they profess to translate. The third of these classes οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν (Th.) appearing only as ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν in the LXX and qui erant in potestatibus constituti in the Vulg. are clearly the תפתיא 'sheriffs'; since in all three versions they correspond in order. Next the τύραννοι, μεγάλοι, οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσίων are most probably renderings of דתבריא, הדבריא, תפתיא. The absence of the conjunctions in the Greek reflects the characteristic absence of conjunctions in the Aramaic.

Thus it is highly probable that there were originally seven

names in ver. 3. But the evidence is not conclusive. Symmachus gives really eight names in 3^2, and transliterates three of the Aramaic words thus: *τοὺς γαβδαρηνούς, τοὺς θαβδαρηνούς, τοὺς θαβθαιούς.*

SECTION IV

i. e. Chapter 4, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

§ 1. *There are two forms of this Chapter.*

Both cannot be right. There is of course the possibility that the order of both texts is wrong. An examination, however, of the conflicting orders and texts will show that the LXX has in the main preserved the true order of the text and its original character, although it is very inaccurate in details and exhibits frequent mistranslations and dittographies. In fact, though it omits the later additions from the hand of a reviser, yet through its frequent dittographies it contains nearly 40 per cent. more words than the MT and the Versions dependent upon it. In this estimate no account is taken of the three well-known additions, *Susanna and the Elders*, the *Prayer of Azariah*, and the *Song of the Three Children.* This great lengthening of the text in chapter 4 is unique in the LXX of Daniel. In the next chapter the LXX text is 30 per cent. shorter. Let us now compare the two conflicting texts.

(*a*) *The Massoretic text.* In this text, which is followed by Th., Pesh., Vulg., the entire narrative is given *in the form of a prescript or imperial pronouncement which Nebuchadnezzar issues to all his subjects.* It begins with a greeting to 'all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth', and proceeds to state the king's desire to make known to them 'the signs and wonders that the Most High God had wrought upon him, and that His kingdom is a kingdom for everlasting' (3^{31-33}). He then recounts a dream which had troubled him, and tells how he had summoned the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers to make known its interpretation (4^{1-4}); and how on their failure Daniel was brought before him (4^{5-6}). Thereupon the king set forth his dream (4^{7-15}), which Daniel forthwith interpreted (4^{16-24}). Within a year Daniel's interpretation of the dream was fulfilled, and the king driven

forth to live with the beasts of the field (4^{25-30}). At the end of seven times the king's reason returned to him, and he was restored unto his kingdom, and so he praised and honoured and extolled the God of heaven (4^{31-4}).

(*b*) *The LXX.* Turning now to the LXX we observe first of all that it omits the first three verses in the MT, which transform the next thirty-four into an imperial prescript. This chapter begins simply, in the LXX, with the words $4^{1-2\,(4-5)}$: 'In the eighteenth year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar said: I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house . . .'. Then follows *in the same narrative form* $4^{7b-34\,(10b-37)}$, in which the king is represented as the speaker; $4^{3-7a\,(4-10a)}$ it rightly omits as we shall see presently, and gives quite a different version of $4^{15(18)}$. At the close of $4^{34(37)}$ comes the equivalent of the royal prescript, which in the Massoretic is placed at the beginning of the section, 3^{31-3} (4^{1-3}). It must be confessed that the order and contents of the prescript in the LXX are confused beyond conception, as we shall see presently. Notwithstanding, we shall discover that the LXX, and not the MT followed by the versions of Th., Pesh., and Vulg., has preserved the true character of this chapter and the right order of thought in the main, as it left the hands of our author. In this chapter as in chaps. 3 and 6 the king issues his prescript as a result of his spiritual and psychical experiences. Thus the same order of thought is observed by the LXX in chaps. 3, 4, and 6.

Let us summarize the evidence in support of the order of the text as preserved in the LXX.

(*a*) The order of the text in 4 follows the analogy of 3 and 6. Chap. 3. gives an account of Nebuchadnezzar's experiences in relation to the three young Hebrews, and then appends, as their natural sequel, the king's edict in which the king acknowledges the God of the Hebrews as the Most High God, and commends the faithfulness and heroism of His servants in worshipping Him at all costs, and secures by a decree (3^{29}) their right to do so without let or hindrance henceforth. 6^{1-24} tells of the plot of the satraps and presidents against Daniel, in the course of which they persuade the king to issue a decree, forbidding anyone to ask a petition of God or man for thirty days. Daniel refused obedience to this decree, he was cast into the den of lions, but delivered uninjured the next morning.

Thereupon (6^{25-8}) Darius issued a decree enjoining all his subjects to stand in awe of the God of Daniel. *The analogies of chaps. 3 and 6, therefore, support the order into which the matter is cast in the LXX in chap. 4. First comes the king's psychical experiences, and thereupon follows his royal prescript in the LXX but not in the MT.*

(β) But not only is the order in the LXX the more reasonable in itself and also confirmed by the analogy of chaps. 3 and 6, but traces still survive in the MT, which show that it is a secondary form or recast of a text which observed the same order as the LXX, that is, a narrative of thirty-four verses followed by a royal prescript; for in vv. 16, 25–30 (19, 28 sqq.) the narrative form persists in which the king is spoken of *in the third person. The redactor has here forgotten to transform these features of the narrative form in the third person into that of the prescript form in the first.*

(γ) The LXX alone of all the authorities preserves the date of Section IV (recalled in 4^{19}), and that, as is our author's all but universal method, in its opening sentence. Here Th., which alone supported the LXX in 3^{1}, fails us. And the explanation is not far to seek. When once the wrong and fatal step of transposing the royal prescript from the end of chap. 4 to the beginning was made by a reviser of the MT, the next step of omitting the date in $4^{1(4)}$ followed naturally. On their author's practice of dating each Section, see Introd., § 4.

(δ) The LXX shows its superior text in omitting vv. 4^{3-7a} $^{(6-10a)}$, which recount the assembling together of the wise men at the king's command to interpret his dream, their failure to do so, and finally Daniel's appearance before the king, who asks Daniel to interpret his dream. The relative positions of Daniel and the wise men during Nebuchadnezzar's reign[1] were settled once and for all in chap. 2. There was, therefore, no occasion to summon the wise men when Daniel was at the king's right hand; for Daniel was ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief governor of all its wise men (2^{48}). The LXX, by thus omitting all mention of the wise men and representing the king as at once consulting Daniel in $4^{15\,(18)}$, puts the action of the king in a reasonable light. It would have been wholly in-

[1] The situation is quite different in 5^{8}. Nebuchadnezzar had died more than twenty years before the time of chap. 5.

congruous to summon Daniel's subordinates apart from himself, where the use of gifts was called for, in the possession of which gifts Daniel was absolutely unique, as alike the king and people knew only too well.

$4^{3-7a\,(6-10a)}$, then, appears to be an early addition made by a scribe, who, though he knew the text of the book, was not a master of its thought, nor yet of its phraseology. And the more the book is studied, the more convinced the student becomes of the clear and masterful mind of its author. 4^{3-7a} is composed of a variety of phrases drawn from the other Aramaic chapters in Daniel, but there are three misuses of the author's style in $4^{4,5,6\,(7,8,9)}$. There is only one phrase לא אנס 4^{6} which is not found elsewhere in our author. Observe also that the four classes of wise men are drawn from 5^{11}. Again we find in $4^{31(34)c-32(35)}$ another addition of the reviser, in which the unity of the text is broken up as before, and where again the reviser betrays his ignorance of our author's phraseology (see 4^{31} sqq. note)). Thus the evidence of the text and that of the context agree in rejecting these additions of the reviser, and both conspire to prove that here our author is pursuing the order he observes in chaps. 3 and 6.

§ 2. *The source of the historical statements in this chapter.*

It is now generally agreed that there is nothing to be found in the inscriptions or in ancient history relating to Nebuchadnezzar's insanity. On the other hand, it is no less certain that the author of this chapter was following a popular tradition, another form of which is preserved by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, ix. 41) from the Assyrian history of Abydenus, who lived about 200 B.C. 'I found also the following statements concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the work of Abydenus, *Concerning the Assyrians*:

"Now Megasthenes (*floruit* 300 B.C.) says that Nebuchadnezzar was braver than Hercules, and made an expedition against Libya and Iberia, and, having subdued them, settled a part of their inhabitants on the right shore of Pontus. And afterwards, the Chaldeans say, he went up to his palace, and being possessed by some god or other uttered the following speech: 'O men of Babylon, I Nebuchadnezzar here foretell to you the coming calamity, which neither Belus my ancestor nor queen Beltis is able to persuade the Fates to avert. There

will come a Persian mule, aided by the alliance of your own deities, and will bring you into slavery. And the joint author of this will be (the son)[1] of a Median woman, in whom the Assyrians glory. O would that before he gave up my citizens some Charybdis or sea might swallow him utterly out of sight; or that, turning in other directions, he might be carried across the desert, where there are neither cities nor foot of man, but where wild beasts have pasture and birds their haunts, that he might wander alone among rocks and ravines; and that before he took such thoughts into his mind, I myself had found a better end.'

"He after uttering this prediction immediately disappeared, and his son Amil-Marudocus became king. But he was slain by his kinsman Iglisar, who left a son Labassoarask. And when he died by a violent death, Nabannidochus, who was not at all related to him (*προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν*) was appointed king. But after the capture of Babylon, Cyrus presents him with the principality of Carmania"' (Gifford's edition III. i. 484–5).

We have here clearly a legend of Babylonian origin referring to the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus 'the mule', and the part borne therein by Nabu-na'id, the last of the Babylonian kings.

I have quoted the above passage in order to show on the one hand certain small points of contact between the history in Daniel and that in Abydenus, and on the other their hopeless divergence on the question of historical truth.

First as regards the resemblances, Nebuchadnezzar is represented in both as being on the roof of his palace: in both a divine voice makes itself heard (in the former work to the king, in the latter through him): and finally the doom pronounced in both is similar though its object differs. But neither form of the story is borrowed from the other, though that of Abydenus is more primitive, while that in Daniel has been transformed to serve a didactic aim.

Next as regards the divergence between these two lines of tradition. The popular tradition made the last Babylonian king a son of Nebuchadnezzar, whose wife, according to Berossus in

[1] I have here, after Schrader, Bevan, and others' example, introduced von Gutschmid's conjecture of *υἱὸς Μήδης* for **Μήδης**—son of a Median woman, e.g. Nabu-nā'id.

Joseph., *C. Apion.* i. 19, had been brought up in Media, and so may (?) have been a Median (*τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ . . . τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις*). Herodotus apparently identifies Labynetus II with Nabūnā'id (i. 77), and makes the latter the son of Labynetus I, i. e. Nebuchadnezzar (i. 188). In our author this same tradition is reproduced: see 5^2 note. But Abydenus whom I have just quoted and Berossus (Joseph., *C. Apion.* i. 19) give the list of Nebuchadnezzar's four Babylonian successors ending with Nabūnā'id, and definitely state that the Nabūnā'id was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar; nay more Abydenus states that he was not in any way related to him (*πρυσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν*). If Nabūnā'id had married the widow of Nebuchadnezzar, such a union, with all the rights it entailed, would have made Abydenus's statement impossible.

§ 3. *The object of Chapter 4.*

The object of chapter 4 is not, as 3 is in part, to admonish the Jews against idolatry, but to show the sheer helplessness of the heathen powers over against the true God. However irresistible the power of Antiochus might seem to the Jews, our author teaches through the lips of the great king of Babylon, that the mightiest monarch, who resists the will of God, has no more power than the meanest of mankind, and can in one moment be reduced, not merely to the position of the latter, but even to that of the brute. The obvious lesson involved is that the Jews are not to fear the power of Antiochus Epiphanes; for that God rules, and nothing can fall out but what He permits. As the pride of Nebuchadnezzar was humbled, so would be that of the Syrian king. As the king learnt the lesson of religious toleration through the faithfulness of the three Jewish Confessors in iii, so now through that of Daniel he learns that the God of Israel is the supreme God.

§ 4. *The text.*

It may be at once confessed that it is impossible to recover the text in the form in which it left the author's hand. We have already recognized in § 1 that this chapter has been transmitted in two quite distinct forms, the more original being that in the LXX, seeing that the order of events in the LXX corresponds with that in chaps. 3 and 6. In other words the author observed a special order in developing his theme, and this order

has been preserved in the LXX, but not in the MT, in this chapter. But, when we have necessarily conceded the greater originality of the LXX in this respect, we cannot but confess that the text of the individual passages in the LXX is often hopeless. A minute comparison of the LXX, which in many respects goes back to 145 B.C., with the MT, leads the student to conclude that the reviser or editor found this chapter in an appalling state of corruption, and that he acted drastically, reconstructing it from start to finish so far as its primitive character went, and making additions of his own, which it is not difficult to detect, as he was not wholly familiar with his author's style.

(*a*) *Omissions.*

4^{1}. 'In the eighteenth year of his reign.' Preserved in the LXX. This note of time is characteristic of our author at the beginning of each section.

(*b*) *Interpolations.*

$4^{3-7a\,(6-10a)}$. See note *in loc.*

$4^{15\,(18)}$. The reviser has excised the original $4^{15(18)}$ (preserved in LXX) and replaced it by a verse of his own composition in order to justify the large interpolation of $4^{3-7a\,(6-10a)}$. It begins with a construction unexampled in our author. Next, if the phrase 'king Nebuchadnezzar' is faithfully transmitted, then this order of the words is rare in Daniel and apparently unknown before Daniel.

4^{31c-32}. These verses are not found in the LXX. The two closing lines of 4^{31} are contrary to our author's mode of quoting them. See note *in loc.* Again in $4^{32\,e}$ יֵאמַר לֵהּ is wholly at variance with our author's usage, who would here have said יאמר קדמוהי. See note *in loc.* and Introd., § 20. *w*.

(*c*) *Late Aramaic.*

$4^{5(8)}$. דִּי שְׁמֵהּ ב". Not (?) in Aramaic before 200 B.C.

$4^{23(26)}$. שמיא = God. Not in O.T. outside Daniel, but in Apocrypha and late Hebrew.

$4^{16\,(19)}$. אשתמם. The א is late for ה.

(*d*) Jussive forms (3rd plur.) lost unless in 4^{16}, 5^{10} after אל. I am convinced that in Ezra the jussive forms without final *nun*, even when not preceded by אל, occurred in $6^{5,7}$, but that they were subsequently assimilated to the ordinary 3rd plur. imperfect

by scribes. In our author these forms have survived in three passages owing to the fact that they were preceded by אל. But it is probable that in the Aramaic of our author these forms had disappeared unless after the negative. Thus the 3rd plural imperf. ending in *nun* had to fulfil the double function, i. e. of a jussive, as in $4^{13(16),22(25),29(32)}$, and of an ordinary imperfect or future indicative elsewhere.

$4^{1,2,(4,5),7b-14(10b-17)}$. *The king recounts his dream in his royal pronouncement.*

$4^{1(4)}$. ⌜In the eighteenth year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar said⌝. In the introduction to this chapter I have shown that both the external evidence of the LXX, the internal inconsistencies of the MT, and the method pursued by our author in 4 require us to transfer 3^{31-33} (4^{1-3}) to the close of the chapter. The words which I have introduced in brackets at the beginning of 4^1 are from the LXX. When the original order of the text was altered by the reviser, who sought to give the entire chapter the form of a royal prescript with the grounds on which it was based, the sentence in brackets being in the *third* person was obviously out of place amongst a succession of sentences in the *first*. Moreover, the retention of the date in this transformed context would have been incongruous.

At rest—contented and at ease—in a good or in a bad sense according to the context: Ps. 122^6, 73^{12}.

Flourishing. The word רענן, which is properly used of a tree, was possibly suggested by Ps. $92^{11,15}$, where, as here, it is used figuratively of persons. It is used indifferently of the prosperity of the righteous, Ps. 52^{10}, or of the wicked, Ps. 37^{35}.

$4^{2(5)}$. *Which made me afraid.* וירהלנני. The use of the imperfect for the perfect as here is rare in Biblical Aram. (cf. $4^{17,33}$, 5^6, 6^{20}, 7^{16}), and not in the Targums according to Bevan. The LXX adds here καὶ φόβος μοι ἐπέπεσεν, which appears to be a loose duplicate rendering of וירהלנני.

And thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me. These two clauses were lost in the Aramaic MS. from which the LXX was translated, and the loss was caused by homoioteleuton יבהלנני ..... וירהלנני. All the words are those of our author (save הרהרין), and the phrases are used as our author uses them.

Thoughts or imaginations, i. e. הרהרין—derivatives of which occur in the Targums, Syr., and late Hebrew. Since Th. renders ἐταράχθην Bertholdt conjectures that he had הִרְהֻרַת from הִרְהֵר, i. e. *I had evil fancies* or *thoughts*.

Visions of my head. Cf. 2^{28}, $4^{7(10),10(13)}$, $7^{1,15}$.

[4^{6-10a}. This passage I have relegated to the foot of the page in my translation, as an addition of the reviser who transformed this chapter from being a narrative, in which the king is spoken of in the third person followed by an edict, into a royal pronouncement in which it was the intention of the reviser to make the king speak throughout in the first person, but failed to transform the text thoroughly in this respect. See Introd. to this chapter, § 1 (δ), p. 81 sq.

$4^{3(6)}$. *Made I a decree.* Cf. $3^{10,29}$, $6^{27(26)}$.

To bring in, i. e. להנעלה, Haph'el inf. of עלל. This is the form of the Haph'el always found in the Fifth Cent. Pap. (see Cowley $15^{6,7,24}$, 42^{12}). In 5^{7} we find הַעְלָה. In 2^{25} we have the perfect הַנְעֵל.

To bring in all the wise men of Babylon. Though Daniel was the chief of all the wise men, he was not summoned along with them. The reviser who added 4^{3-7a} is not conscious of this inconsistency, though in 4^{6} he makes the king address Daniel as 'master of the magicians'.

All the wise men of Babylon. The same phrase in $2^{12,48}$, cf. $5^{7,8}$.

That they might make known, &c. Cp. 2^{30} for the same phrase.

$4^{4(7)}$. *Came in.* עללין *Kt.*, *Qr.* עָלִין. On the latter form see Marti, *Gram.*, § 66 *e*. The participle is found in 5^{8} in the same connexion.

The magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. These four classes are enumerated in 5^{11} and there only.

I told the dream before them. The phrase 'tell the dream' is found in $2^{4,7}$. The whole clause is אמר אנה קדמיהון. Now this use of קדם before any person less than God or the king, as again in the next verse קדמוהי אמרת, where it replaces לְ, is against the usage of our author. The interpolator should have used ל after אמר here. קדם is found after אמר or some other verb when God or a king or a dynasty is spoken of or is addressed. See Introd., § 20. *w*.

$4^{5(8)}$. †*At the last*†. This rendering of עד אחרין is doubtful. Michaelis and Bevan, adopting the *Qr.*, read עַד אָחֳרָן, 'yet another'. See Kautzsch, § 69. 10; Marti, §§ 87 *c*, 94^{b}, 98.

Whose name was B. This idiom דִּי שְׁמֵהּ בֵּ֫ is found also in 2^{26}, 4^{16}. It is unknown, so far as I can discover, in earlier Aramaic. In the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, $28^{4,9,13}$, 33^{1-5}, Aḥ. 1, 4–5, 18, Beh. 2, 7, &c.) the דִּי is always omitted. See Introd., § 20. *z*.

According to the name of my god, i. e. Bel. This is a mistake. The name Belteshazzar is not derived from Bel. See note on 1^{7}. This statement is a development of what is said in the revised text in 5^{12}, where we read 'Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar'. But according to 1^{7} it was not the king but the prince of the eunuchs who gave this name to Daniel, and apparently Nebuchadnezzar had no personal knowledge of Daniel at all until after he had been trained by the prince of the eunuchs for the king's service. The LXX knows nothing of the false etymology here recorded, nor in 5^{12} does it know anything of the false statement that the king had named Daniel Belteshazzar.

In whom is the spirit of the holy gods. This clause here as also in $4^{6,15}$ is borrowed from $5^{11,14}$. Cf. $6^{4(3)}$.

I told the dream before him. See note on 4^{4} on the interpolater's misuse of קדם.

Th. omits חלמא 'the dream'. We should then translate 'I said before him'. This omission, it is true, removes the inconsistency between this verse and the next, where the king according to the Aramaic *requires Daniel to tell him the dream*, though according to the clause, with which we are immediately dealing, the king has just declared 'I told the dream before him'. Now either this statement or the statement in the next verse is false. But the first statement is evidently that of the reviser; for according to 4^{4} the king has already told the dream to the wise men. The corruption, therefore, lies in the latter half of 4^{6}.

$4^{6(9)}$. *Master of the magicians.* Here again the reviser has borrowed a phrase from 5^{11}, רב חרטמיא, where alone it is used to designate Daniel beyond the present borrowed phrase. In 2^{48} the king makes Daniel 'chief governor over all the wise men' רב סגנין על כל חכימי בבל.

No secret troubleth thee. Behrmann observes that these words כל רז לא אנס לך read almost like an Aramaic version of Ezek. 28^{3}, where Ezekiel says of the prince of Tyre: 'Behold thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from

thee'—כל סחום לא עממוך. The Targum on Ezek. here gives כל רז לא יתכסא מנך.

[Hear] the visions of my dream . . . and tell the interpretation thereof. Here I follow Th., who inserts ἄκουσον. The Aramaic reads as follows: 'Tell the visions of my dream . . . and the interpretation thereof'. This is clearly corrupt. Even the reviser could not have been guilty of such an obvious self-contradiction as this text would create between this statement and the two different statements in $4^{4,5}$. Hence on the strength of Th. we assume the loss of שְׁמַע in the Aramaic, as Marti has done in his translation in Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift*[2]. In his commentary Marti abandons this emendation of the text, and, rejecting חזוי as the slip of a scribe, regards the resulting expression 'my dream and its interpretation' as a hendiadys. This would restore consistency to the text, but the method requires too many suppositions. It would be simpler with Giesebrecht (*GGA.* 1. 895, 598) to take חזוי as a corruption of אֲחַוֵּה 'I will recount my dream and do thou tell me its interpretation'.

Visions of my dream. This expression is not found elsewhere in the Aramaic of Daniel. Partly on this ground Giesebrecht, whom I have quoted in the preceding note, would emend it. But, since on other grounds we have concluded that 4^{3-7a} is the addition of a reviser, who borrows all his phrases save one from our author, but misuses some of them, it is best to regard this phrase as persisting in the form in which it left the reviser's hand. This phrase, which both the Aram., Th., and Vulg. preserve, is contrary to the usage of our author, who speaks of ח״ חזוי ליליא 2^{19}, 7^{2}, and ח״ ראשי 2^{28}, $4^{2,7,10}$, $7^{1,15}$, but never of ח״ חלמי. The Pesh. = בחזוי חלמי חזית חזוי ראשי ופשרה אמר לי, which shows another attempt to emend the Aramaic.

$4^{7a(10a)}$. *And the visions of my head.* These words though not found in Th. appear in the Aramaic, as the close of the addition made by the reviser. They have already occurred in the beginning of the interpolation in 4^{2}, and thus resume that narrative where the addition broke off. We might compare his additions in $4^{34c-35,36a}$.

$4^{7b-14\ (10b-17)}$. In this dream of the king the imagery is clearly borrowed to a great extent from Ezek. 31^{3-14}, where the glory of the Assyrian is likened to that of a cedar in Lebanon, in the boughs of which all the fowls of heaven made their nests, and

under the branches of which all the beasts of the field brought forth their young, and under the shadow of which dwelt all great nations. This great tree, like that in the king's vision, was suddenly destroyed. Behrmann and Driver compare the dream of Xerxes recorded in Herod. vii. 19, in which he saw himself crowned with a shoot of an olive tree, the boughs of which cover the whole earth.

$4^{7a\,(10a)}$. *Upon my bed I saw.* So Th. and MT, though the Massoretes connect the word 'upon my bed' with the clause that precedes 'Thus were the visions of my head'. In some form and most probably in this form these words belong to the original text, since the LXX also has corresponding words, though probably corrupt, *ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου ἐκάθευδον.*

$4^{7\,b-9}$. These verses form, as Marti has recognized, two stanzas of four lines each. But in the first stanza the second line is bracketed as a dittograph of line 4, and in the second stanza the second line is a dittograph of line 5.

$4^{8(11)}$. *Began to reach.* Here the imperfect follows the perfect as in $4^{2,31}$.

The sight thereof. The form of חֲזוֹתֵהּ is difficult. Kautzsch (§ 61. 4 Anm.) and Bevan think that it may be a mistake for חֲזוּתֵהּ. The sense also not satisfactory. It should mean not 'height' but 'extent' as the renderings of the LXX and Th. *τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ* suggest.

$4^{9(12)}$. *The leaves thereof.* With עָפְיֵהּ compare עֳפָאִים Ps. 104^{12}. On the form of אִנְבֵהּ see note on 2^{9}. Prince (*in loc.*) thinks that this is the original form of the word, and compares the Assyr. *inbu*, 'fruit'.

Meat, i. e. מָזוֹן. Also in Heb. Cf. Gen. 45^{23}, 2 Chron. 11^{23} (of Aramaic origin). The long syllable in the preformative of this word, as also in the same word in Syriac, is not found elsewhere in Aramaic. Yet Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.*, § 110. 3) regards this as the ancient form.

For all. לְכֹלָּא־בַהּ. On the daghesh forte see Kautzsch, § 12. 2 *d*: 17. 1.

Were sheltering . . . dwelling . . . was being fed. As Driver remarks, these tenses 'denote what was habitual, and therefore might be observed as taking place at the time of his dream'.

Were sheltering. תמלל is a rare example of verb ע״ע not being

contracted in the Haph'el. Cf. Kautzsch, § 46. 3: Marti, § 66 *a*. Contrast תַּדִּק $2^{40,44}$.

Dwelling. For יְדֻרוּן the *Qr.* substitutes יְדֻרָן, since the nom. צ״ is usually feminine. Cf. 4^{18}.

$4^{10(13)}$. *Saw*: literally 'was seeing', as in $4^{7(10)}$, $7^{4,7,9,11,13,21}$.

A watcher. Cf. $4^{14(17),20(23)}$. The word עיר is transliterated as εἴρ by Th., and translated by the LXX by ἄγγελος, and by the other versions by ἐγρήγορος. This last word appears frequently in the Greek version of 1 Enoch. See 1^5 n., 6^2, $10^{7,9,15}$, &c., where it designates two classes of angels: (1) archangels (unfallen); (2) fallen angels. The distinction of the Watchers into these two classes seems to be already implied in our text; for there are not two heavenly beings who are referred to here but only one. Hence the compound phrase 'the watcher and that a holy one' (so also in $4^{20(23)}$) = 'a holy watcher'. Bevan seeks to discount this conclusion by comparing it with the phrase גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב. But even in this phrase the second noun qualifies the meaning of the first. The גר had civil rights. The תושב had apparently none. Hence the second noun minimizes the force of the first. It is used in the sense of 'angel' also in Syriac. It is not impossible that the word originally occurred in Ps. 82^7, and that for שָׂרִים 'princes' we should read עירים. Aramaic words are of not infrequent occurrence in the Psalms. We should then translate:

> 'I have said, ye are gods
> And ye are all the sons of the Most High;
> Nevertheless ye shall die like common men
> And perish like one of the Watchers.'

In Isa. $24^{21,22}$ the heavenly patrons of the nations are punished for their offences: cf. Ps. 58^1: in 1 Enoch 10^{11-13}, 14–16, 88^1, Jubilees 5^{10}, the punishment of the faithless Watchers is recorded. They shall be cast down into 'an abyss'.

The term 'Watcher' recalls the words שֹׁמְרִים = 'watchmen' in Isa. 62^6. These 'watchmen' are not prophets but heavenly beings commissioned by God to put him in remembrance of the walls of Zion.

An holy one. This designation denoting an angel—cf. 8^{13}, Job 5^1, 15^{15}; Ps. $89^{6,8}$, &c.—is very frequent in 1 Enoch, where see the note on 1^9 in my edition.

Came down. With נָתַת where the primitive *ĭ* is retained cf. יָכֹל 3^{17}, נָזַק 6^{3}, דָּלַק 7^{9}.

Cried aloud. See note on 3^{4}.

$4^{11(14)}$. The words of the watcher form a stanza of four lines.

From under it. For תָּחְתּוֹהִי (a Hebraistic pointing) read תְּחֹתוֹהִי as in 4^{9}.

$4^{12(15)}$. *Stump.* עִקַּר should here as well as in $4^{20,23}$ be punctuated עִקָּר (Kautzsch, § 59 *c*, who draws attention to the long vowel in the Syriac).

With a band of iron and brass. The meaning is somewhat obscure. A hope of restoration remained since the stump was left in the ground, but the band of iron and brass seems to be 'a figure of speech for the stern and crushing sentence under which the king is to live' (Bevan), so long as his punishment was to last. The words refer to the king only, as the next verse shows, and not to the second and third world powers, as has been suggested. Otherwise the clause may be a figure for the restraint which the king would have to endure during his malady (Prince).

$4^{13(16)}$. *Let his heart be changed from man's,* &c. That is, 'let him receive the understanding of a beast (imagine himself an animal)' (Driver). The heart here denotes of course 'the intellect'. The heart, in Hebrew psychology, is the seat of the intellect: cf. Jer. 5^{21}, 'foolish people and without understanding' (וְאֵין לֵב): Hos. 7^{11}.

Man's. Here and in the next verse the *Kt.* reads אנושא (a Hebraism—not in the Fifth Cent. Pap., nor in the Zinjirli Inscription eighth cent. (see Cooke, 62^{23}), but the *Qr.* אנשא as in $2^{38,43}$, $4^{22,20}$. On the construction מן אנושא for מן לבב א״ cf. 1^{10}. Cf. the use of מן in 1 Kings 15^{13}.

Seven times: i. e. seven years as the LXX renders it. Cf. 7^{25}, 12^{7}. So also Joseph., *Ant.* x. 10. 6.

Changed. In Hebrew (cf. 1 Sam. 21^{14}), Assyr. and Syriac the verb שׁנא is used of mental derangement. See Prince *in loc.* יְשַׁנּוֹן—an active verb is used impersonally to express the passive as in 3^{4}.

$4^{14(17)}$. *The decree of the watchers,* i. e. עירין for עיריא in imitation of poetical style. In $4^{21,24}$ it is said to be 'the decree of the Most High'. In the OT. the angels form a kind of heavenly council (Ps. $89^{6,8}$ קהל and סוד קדשים), Job $1^{6,12}$, $2^{1,6}$,

Jer. 23^{18}. This idea was developed in later Judaism to an extravagant and even blasphemous degree, in accordance with which God was represented as doing nothing without consulting this council (Sanh. 38^{6}, where this statement is made and this passage of Daniel quoted). When God wished to make Hezekiah the Messiah His council successfully resisted Him (Sanh. 94^{a}), and when He purposed to admit the descendants of Nebuchadnezzar into the Jewish Community, the angels of service would not suffer it. See Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 175 sq.

By the word. Here the preposition is to be repeated from the preceding clause: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 119 *hh*, as Michaelis pointed out,

Decision. שְׁאֵלְתָּא is found in the *Fifth Cent. Pap.* (Cowley, 7^{6}) in the sense of 'petition'. It also means 'question'. But, as Montg. *in loc.* has shown, it bears here the above meaning.

Men, i. e. אנשים, is pure Hebrew due to a thoughtless scribe. Read אנשא. Cf. the *Kt.* אלפים in 7^{10} and מלכים in Ezra 4^{13}.

$4^{15(18)}$. I have here given the translation of the LXX in the text, since it alone admits of a consistent view of the entire chapter, though the last clause seems corrupt. The LXX runs as follows:

σφόδρα ἐθαύμασα ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ ὁ ὕπνος μου ἀπέστη ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου. καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἐκ τῆς κοίτης μου ἐκάλεσα τὸν Δανιὴλ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν κρινόντων τὰ ἐνύπνια, καὶ διηγησάμην αὐτῷ τὸ ἐνύπνιον, καὶ ὑπέδειξέ μοι πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ.

The form and the contents of the Aramaic here calls for attention. (1) As regards the form דנה חלמא, if we are to translate it 'this dream', this is against the usage of our author in the other eleven passages where this pronoun occurs. It should follow not precede its noun. See Introd., § 20. *h*. Again the order 'king Nebuchadnezzar' is rare in our author. Out of nineteen instances the Aram. observes this order only in seven, one of which is the present passage. But the LXX supports the Aram. in only three out of these seven passages. Its text differs in the rest. Thus in addition to the overwhelming difficulties of the context, the text itself is not wholly free from difficulty, though outside the points criticized the idioms are quite those of our author. (2) The contents of the Aramaic stand or fall with $4^{3(6)-7(10a)}$. Since both the LXX omits this latter passage, and the context itself is against it, the present form of

the Aramaic of 4^{15} must be rejected as the work of the reviser who added $4^{3-7\,a}$, and the LXX accepted in default of a better.

I was alarmed, i. e. תְּוִיַת. Cf. 3^{24}. *My sleep departed*, &c., i. e. שִׁנתי נדת. Cf. 6^{19}. *Arose early*, i. e. קמת בשפרפרא: cf. 6^{20}. *Chief of the wise men*, i. e. רב חכימיא: cf. 2^{48}, 5^{11}. *The master* (? סגן: cf. 2^{48}). *Interpreters of dreams*, i. e. די מפשרין חלמין: cf. 5^{12}. *Told him the dream*, i. e. אמרת לה חלמא: cf. $2^{4,7}$.

And he made known to me all its interpretation = והודע לי כל פשרה. We should expect τοῦ ὑποδείξαι = להודעתני 'in order that he should make known'. Or else ἠρώτησα αὐτὸν ὑποδείξαι = שאל אנה לה".

[*Text of the above verse in the Massoretic.* This verse is mainly composed of phrases drawn from the rest of our author. But the reviser was not fully acquainted with our author's style. Thus he says דנה חלמא 'this dream', whereas our author always put the demonstrative after the noun. See Introd., § 20. *h*. Again the reviser writes מלכא נבוכנצר 'king Nebuchadnezzar', whereas our author barely once in three times uses this late order. He usually puts the personal name before the official, i. e. 'N. the king'. This latter argument would in itself be wholly uncertain, but that it occurs in connexion with the former which is certain. On the other hand since Th., Pesh., and Vulg. reverse the order of the Aramaic in this verse, it follows that our author used the later order only in six out of nineteen instances in the original text.

$4^{16(19)}$. Observe that in this verse there is still a survival of the name.

Was appalled. אֶשְׁתּוֹמֵם. Hebraism (Kautzsch § 36), cf. 8^{27}, and the only instance of such a form in Biblical Aramaic. But Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1876, p. 326, holds it to be a true Aramaic form.

For a while. In כשעה חדה, חדה (as in 2^{31}, 6^{18}) has an indefinite meaning. So also in the Fifth Cent. Pap. (Cowley, 30^{29}, &c.) אחד has the same indefinite meaning in Hebrew: cf. 8^{13}, Exod. 33^{5}, רגע אחד. The phrase may mean 'for a moment'. Later it came to mean 'for an hour'.

The king answered . . . trouble thee. Both the LXX and Th. omit—probably through hmt.

Let . . . not trouble thee. Here and in $5^{10\,d}$ the jussive יְבַהֲלוּךְ has maintained itself after אל with a suffix and in $5^{10\,e}$ without a suffix אל־ישתנו. See Marti, *Gram.*, § 52^{a}, 32^{b}. The jussive

is distinguished from the usual imperfect through the non-insertion of the *-in* before the suffix here, and in $5^{10\,d}$ and in $5^{10\,b}$ without the final *nun* where no suffix follows. In the Eighth Cent. B.C. *Zinjirli Inscription* (Cooke, $61^{4,7,12}$) the third pl. imperf. ends also without the *nun*. Cooke holds that these are not jussive in meaning, but they appear to be jussives. In the Seventh Cent. B. C. *Nerab Inscriptions* (Cooke, $64^{9,11}$, 65^{9} the 3rd pl. imperf. without the final *nun* has a jussive force: יסחו 'let them pluck': יכטלוך ויהאבדו 'let them kill thee and destroy': יהבאשו 'let them make wretched'. Thus in the seventh century this distinction is observed in the Nerab Inscriptions (in North Arabia). In the inscriptions of the fifth the jussives are well attested. In a Tema (N. Arabia) inscription Fifth Cent. B.C. (Cooke, 69^{14}: *CIS.* ii. 113) ינסחוהי 'let them pluck him', and [יהנ]פקון (69^{21}) is also a jussive. In the fifth century papyri and documents, the 3rd pl. imperf. without final *nun has a jussive force.* Thus in *Eg. Pap.* (Cowley, 30^{8}, 31^{7}) ינדשו = 'let them destroy': (30^{6}, 31^{6}) יהעדו = 'let them remove': (26^{5}) יעבדו = 'let them make': (26^{6}) ינתנו = 'let them give'. In 30^{25} and 32^{9} יקרבון should have a jussive meaning, but in each passage the word is written over an erasure. יומיך יארכון in Beh. 58 is to be construed simply as an indicative. In another Elephantine papyrus (Cooke, 73 B^{3} = *CIS.* ii. 137: 4th cent. B.C.) we have יאכלו = 'let them eat'. In Jer. 10^{11} we have יֵאָבְדוּ 'they shall perish'.

This jussive form was, therefore, in use from the seventh (if not from the eighth) century B. C. down to the fourth or third. In Ezra $6^{5,7}$—an old Aramaic fifth century document—however, we have יהתיבון and יבנון where we should expect jussive forms without the final *nun*. It may be reasonably concluded that the present forms are not original but adapted to later usage; for this distinction was lost in later Aramaic (Stevenson, *Gram. of Palestine Jewish Aramaic*, § 29. 10: 38). Also in Ezra 4^{12} יחיטו may with many scholars be taken as corrupt for יהיטון. In respect of this old Aramaic idiom the text of Ezra seems untrustworthy; for not in a single passage does it preserve this ancient distinction of form and meaning. In Daniel, as we have already seen, this jussive form has been preserved in three passages 4^{16}, $5^{10\,(bis)}$, but only after אל, and no doubt owed its preservation to this prohibitive particle,

which does not occur in Ezra. This tends to show that the later language was losing its knowledge of the jussive forms, and the imperf. indicative ending in *nun* had to serve both as an indicative and a jussive. If the Aramaic of our author were sixth or fifth century Aramaic, we should expect יְשַׁנּוּ in 4^{13}, יַחְלְפוּ in $4^{22,29}$, יטעמו in $4^{22,29}$; perhaps also יקומו in 7^{24} and יקבלו in 7^{18}, יהעדו, ישתמעו and יפלחו in $7^{26,27}$. This distinction is lost in later Aramaic.

My lord. מראי. So *Kt.* *Qr.* has מרי. But see note on 2^{47}. The retention of the א shows that it still possessed its consonantal sound, as in the Fifth Cent. Pap. (Cowley, 16^{8}, 37^{17}, 38^{2}, &c.).

$4^{17-18(20-21)}$. Repeated with remarkable effect from ^{8,9}.

$4^{18(21)}$. *Were dwelling.* תדור corresponding to 'were sheltering', חטלל in 9, as in the next clause יְשַׁכְּנָן to יְדוּרָן.

$4^{19(22)}$. *Art grown*, i. e. רְבֵיתְ. *Qr.* reads רְבַית—a 3rd fem. form. *Is grown and hath reached*, i. e. רְבַת וּמְטָת.

The LXX makes a large addition to this verse, part of which appears to be original. The part, which contains a reference to the date of the chapter, i. e. the eighteenth year of the king's reign, when he destroyed Jerusalem—the head and front of his offending from a Jewish standpoint, I subjoin here: *ὑψώθη σου ἡ καρδία ὑπερηφανίᾳ . . . καθότι ἐξερήμωσας τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*—'thy heart is uplifted with pride . . . forasmuch as thou hast laid desolate the house of the Living God'.

$4^{20(23)}$. See $4^{10-13(13-16)}$.

$4^{21(24)}$. *Has come*, i e. מְטָת (*Qr.*). The *Kt.* has מטית—a scribal error.

$4^{22(25)}$. *Thou shalt be driven . . . shalt be wet.* מטרדין . . . מצבעין. Here active participles are used where in English we use the passive verb. Intermingled with the participles are two futures 'shall be' (להוה) and 'they shall make (thee) to eat' (יטעמון)—a strange medley. See note on 3^{4}. On להוה, which has here generally a future sense, as its context shows, see Introd., p. xcv. The dream is of the nature of a prophecy, and the disasters foretold may be escaped through reformation of life: cf. 4^{24}.

As oxen. תור occurs in *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley 33^{10}).

$4^{23(26)}$. *Commandment was given*: lit. 'they commanded'. אמרו. Plural here used as in the preceding verse.

The heavens. This term is best taken with Bevan and Driver as a synonym for God—a meaning not found in the O.T., but in the Apocrypha, 1 Macc. $3^{18,19}$, $4^{10,24}$; 2 Macc. 9^{20}; Aboth (ed. Taylor) $1^{3,12}$, $2^{2,16}$, 4^{17}; Mark 11^{30}; Luke 15^{18}; John 3^{27}. Behrmann and Marti less justly identify it with the inhabitants of the heaven, i. e. the watchers: cf. $4^{14(17)}$.

$4^{24(27)}$. *My counsel.* מלכי is used in Assyrian *milku*, 'counsel': also in late Hebrew as a loan-word: Neh. 5^{7} יִמְלֹךְ: in the Syriac, and Targums.

Be acceptable unto thee. Here שפר is followed by על, but in 3^{32} by קדם.

Break off, or 'redeem'. This meaning is found in the kindred root פרק in Hebrew in Ps. 136^{24}; Lam. 5^{8}. The metaphor is taken from the breaking of a yoke: cf. Gen. 27^{40} and Aboth 3^{8}, הפרק ממנו עול תורה 'he who breaks off from him the yoke of Thorah'. The counsel here given agrees with that of Sir. 3^{30-31}, Tob. 4^{7-11} and that of Aboth 4^{15}, 'He who performs one precept has gotten himself one advocate, and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser'. But Sir. 3^{30} which reads צדקה תכפר חטאת shows no dependence on, or knowledge of, our text here. Rabbi Aqiba said (Baba Bathra 10[a]) that God left the feeding of the poor to the faithful in order that the latter might be saved from the judgement of hell thereby.

Righteousness. This word means here 'good works', and at this date almsgiving was the chief of these. In Deut. 6^{25}, 24^{13}; Isa. 1^{27}, 59^{16}; Dan. 4^{24}, 9^{16}; Ps. 24^{5}, 33^{5}, 103^{6}, צדקה is rendered by *ἐλεημοσύνη*. In Prov. 10^{2} צדקה תציל ממות 'righteousness delivereth from death', is reproduced in Tob. 4^{10}, 12^{9} by *ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται*. This perversion of the original meaning is found in late Hebrew, in Aramaic, in Targums, Syriac, and Talmud. Cf. Aboth 5^{19}, where נותני צדקה means 'almsgivers'. Even in Matt. 6^{1} *δικαιοσύνη* came to be interpreted as 'almsgiving'. Nay more the original *δικαιοσύνη* was dislodged by *ἐλεημοσύνη* 'alms', in many of the later MSS. It is significant that, as the chief Hebrew virtue 'righteousness' degenerated in course of time into the mere act of almsgiving, so the chief Christian grace, *ἀγάπη*, *caritas*, 'charity', incurred the same fate. Contrast the meaning of צדקה in 9^{16}, where it means God's righteousness exhibited in his dealings with Israel, and where

the LXX rightly renders it by δικαιοσύνη, but Th. wrongly by ἐλεημοσύνη.

Thine iniquities. The absolute sing. עויה does not occur. The text is variously written עֲוֵיתָךְ and עֲוִיתָךְ.

By shewing mercy to the poor. Cf. Prov. 14^{21} מחונן עניים. Marti derives עֲנָיִן with tone on penult from עֲנָא = Hebrew עָנִי, as נְקָא 7^{9} = Hebr. נָקִי. But see Bevan. The mercy here designed would include other works of mercy, such as lending to the indigent, visiting the sick, &c., which were in later times described גמילות חסידים. See Weber (*Jud. Theol.*²) 285.

A lengthening of thy tranquillity. שלוחך presupposes שְׁלָוָא. Cf. the adjective שְׁלֵה in 4^{1}. But the rendering of this word in Th. (παραπτώμασιν), Vulg. (delictis), suggested to Ewald that for לְשַׁלְוָתָךְ we should read לְשַׁלְוֹתָךְ, and for אַרְכָה read אֲרֵכָה (cf. Isa. 58^{8}). Thus we should have the text presupposed by the A.V. *marg.* and the R.V. *marg.*, 'an healing of thine error'. There is some support for the assignment of this meaning to ארכה in the LXX, which gives ἐπιείκεια δοθῇ σοι. But in 7^{12} we have אַרְכָה 'length', 'duration'.

All this. The emphatic state כֹּלָּא has the force of a demonstrative here.

$4^{26(29)}$. *On (the roof of) the royal palace.* Cf. 2 Sam. 11^{2}, where the word גַּג = 'roof' (Aram. אִגָּר) is expressed in the text.

$4^{27(30)}$. *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built.* In these words of the king there is a large element of historical fact. Nebuchadnezzar was a great builder. He did not rebuild Babylon literally, but he restored its walls, temples, and palaces. 'Nearly every cuneiform document now extant dating from this monarch's reign treats, not of conquest and warfare, like those of his Assyrian predecessors, but of the building and restoration of the walls, temples, and palaces of his beloved city of Babylon' (Prince, p. 31). Cf. *KB* iii. 2, p. 39: 'Then built I my palace, the seat of my royalty': and vii. 34, p. 35: 'In Babylon my dear city which I love'. See Koldewey's *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (Eng. tr. *Excavations at Babylon*, 1915: King's *History of Babylon*, 1915; ch. ii.

Great Babylon. Cf. Rev. 14^{8}, 16^{19} in a figurative sense.

Have built. We have here the singular form בְּנֵיתַהּ. Kautzsch, § 15 *e*, holds that we should read בְּנֵ״, and Strack has found the latter in two manuscripts.

A royal dwelling place. Cf. Amos 7^{13} בית ממלכה.

By the might. For בִּתְקָף we should expect בִּתְקַף. Bevan suggests that the former is due to assimilation to the following לִיקָר.

$4^{28(31)}$. *Fell a voice from heaven.* This voice, called by the later Jews a Bath-ḳol, 'daughter of a voice', is referred to in T. Lev. 18^{6}; T. Jud. 24^{2}; 2 Baruch 13^{1}, 22^{1}; Matt. 3^{17}; Mark 1^{11}; Luke 3^{22}. With this phrase 'fell a voice' we might compare Isa. 9^{7}. See Weber, *Jud. Theol.*², 194 sq.; *Jew. Encyc.* ii. 588–92.

$4^{29(32)}$. This verse is a repetition of $4^{22(25)}$, save that one of its clauses is omitted.

$4^{30(33)}$. The king's outward form and actions are adapted to his inward transformation.

Like eagle's feathers. כְּנִשְׁרִין is elliptical, as is also the next phrase. Cf. מן־אנושא in 4^{13} for the same elliptical phrasing.

$4^{31-34(34-37)}$, 3^{31-33}, (4^{1-3}). At the close of the appointed time Nebuchadnezzar recovers his reason and acknowledges the sovereignty of the Most High (4^{31}). He is restored to all his former greatness (4^{33}), and, in grateful recognition of His power (4^{34}), he issues a proclamation to all the nations of the earth in which he sets forth the power and goodness of God, and the everlastingness of His dominion (3^{31-33}).

$4^{31-33(34-36)}$. The LXX gives quite a different text here, which is most probably more original than the normalized text of the MT. In the LXX there is a considerable section to which there is no parallel in the MT, yet in the main the clauses and idioms of this section are those of our author. They are more idiomatic than those of the MT. But towards the close of this chapter before the Edict there are many clauses repeated (?) apparently from $2^{21,23,47}$, 4^{3}, &c.

$4^{31(34)}$. *The days,* i. e. the 'seven times' in $4^{13,20,22,29}$.

Lifted up mine eyes to heaven. Bevan draws attention to the interesting parallel in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (1265 seqq.): where Agave on looking up to heaven in her madness has her reason restored. The female Bacchants like Nebuchadnezzar are, in some measure, assimilated to animals: they wear their skins and suckle young fawns. In Susanna 9, the downward look of the Elders is associated with an ethical perversion: *διέστρεψαν τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.*

Him that liveth for ever. Cf. 12^{7}; Sir. 18^{1}; 1 Enoch 5^{1}.

His dominion is an everlasting dominion and his kingdom is with generation and generation (עם דר ודר). This doxology is framed on that in Ps. 145^{13}, 'His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom (מלכות כל עלמים) and his dominion endureth throughout all generations' (בכל דור ודר). But it is noteworthy that the order of the nouns is reversed, and that עם is used instead of ב. But it is still more noteworthy that Ps. 145^{13} is literally reproduced save for the use of עם instead of ב in 3^{33}. Hence since the Aramaic in 3^{33} is supported both by the LXX and Th., we may reasonably conclude that the order of the words 3^{33} is that which came from our author's hand, and, since the order in 4^{31} contravenes both the order of the text in 3^{33} and Ps. 145^{13}, and since the LXX omits 4^{31}, we may regard the variation of Ps. 145^{13} in 4^{31} as well as in other clauses as an interpolation from another hand. Yet see note on Transl. $4^{31(35)}$ and cf. 7^{14}.

Again in 4^{32} in the original of the clause 'none . . . can say unto him' (לֵהּ): our author's usage would require קדמוהי. See Introd., § 20. *w*. Hence 4^{31c-32} are not a parenthesis as Bevan suggests, but an interpolation, which conflicts both with the order of the context and the linguistic usage of the author. Marti suggests that יתוב עלי . . . ליקר should be excised and הדרי וזיו be taken as the subject of the verb. But if we make this excision, we must go further, and excise 'and mine understanding returned unto me' in 4^{33}, since this clause has already occurred in 4^{31}. We should then take מלכות הדרי וזיו as the subject of the following יתוב: cf. LXX 4^{34}, *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκατεστάθη ἡ βασιλεία μου ἐμοὶ καὶ ἡ δόξα μου ἀπεδόθη μοι*, and 4^{34b} *ἐν τῷ λαῷ μου ἐκράτησα καὶ ἡ μεγαλοσύνη μου ἀποκατεστάθη μοι*, which supports in the main the above suggestions. Thus instead of the text as it stands now in 4^{31-33} we should read: 'And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, | And mine understanding returned unto me, | And at the same time my kingdom and my majesty | And my splendour returned unto me, | And my lords sought unto me, | And I was established in my kingdom, | And excellent greatness was added unto me.'

$4^{32(35)}$. *As persons of no account.* כלה חשיבין. But Th. renders *ὡς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθησαν*. So also the Jewish expositors. In that case לה (elsewhere written לא) would be taken as 'nothingness'. But there is no authority for taking לא as a substantive. Hence

it is best with Bevan to take לא חשיבין as a single conception, as לא יכלין in 4^{15}. Bevan compares Isa. 55^{2} לוא לחם 'that which is not bread', and the Targ. on Isa. 63^{3} לא חשיבין 'not respected'. The Targums use כלמה 'as nothing' to render the Hebrew כאין: cf. Isa. $40^{17,23}$.

[*And among the inhabitants of the earth*]. This, as Marti has remarked, is a repetition of the phrase in the first line by a scribe who thought by this addition to make the thought of this second line complete, but did not observe that all that it implied was already conveyed in the first.

Army of heaven. חיל שמיא, the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew 'host of heaven', צבא השמים, i. e. the angels or the stars: cf. צבא המרום, Isa. 24^{21}; 1 Kings 22^{19}. The phrase was equivalent to both. The stars were regarded as conscious: cf. 1 Enoch 41^{5}, 18^{13-16}, 21^{1-6}.

None can stay his hand or say unto him, What doest thou? These words refer to the judgment of the heavenly powers by God. In 1 Enoch 18^{14} 'a prison for the stars and host of heaven' is mentioned. The entire line is found in the Targum of Eccles. 8^{4}, מן הוא גברא דמחי בידיה וימר ליה מה עבדתא, as two alternative renderings of מִי יֹאמַר־לוֹ מַה־תַּעֲשֶׂה. Behrmann thinks that the words in our author are borrowed from this passage in Eccles., but Driver takes the opposite view. If, however, $4^{31\,c-32}$ is a later addition then Behrmann may be right. In any case the combination in our text of the two phrases which are ditto-graphic renderings in the Targ. of Eccles. 8^{4} of one and the same phrase is strange. This idiomatic phrase recurs in the Mishna (*Pesach* iv. 8), and is common in later literature (Dalman, *Dialectproben*, p. 5).

Stay his hand, lit. 'smite his hand'. מחא is here Pa'el, in $2^{34,35}$ Pe'al.

None can . . . say unto him. לא אתי די . . . יאמר לה. Instead of לה our author would have written קדמוהי.

What doest thou? Cf. Isa. 45^{9}; Job 9^{12}; Eccles. 8^{4}. The words are literally found in Job and Eccles.

$4^{33(36)}$. *Mine understanding returned unto me.* This clause is to be omitted. See note on 4^{31}. Its repetition is due to the interpolator of 31c–32 (34c–35). We must also excise וליקר 'and for the glory' as Marti has already suggested. It is omitted in the LXX.

My majesty, i. e. הדרי. Th. here read הֲדָרַת, i. e. ἦλθον. Hence his rendering is εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου ἦλθον.

My splendour, i. e. זיוי. A loan-word from the Assyrian, used chiefly of the countenance. Cf. 7^{28}, $5^{6,9}$.

Sought. Since the Pa'el of this verb does not occur elsewhere, Bevan and Marti would read יְבָעוֹן.

I was established, i. e. הֲתַקְנַת. Hoph'al 1st pers. sing. But the better attested reading is הֲתַקְנַת (3rd pers. fem.). If this reading is adopted, then, as Marti states, על must be emended into עלי and the text rendered 'and on me (i. e. for me) was my kingdom established'. See Bauer-Leander, *Gram.* 115 seq.

Other Hoph'al forms are הוסכח which follows immediately and in $5^{13,15,20}$, 6^{24}, $7^{4,11}$.

$4^{34(37)}$. *Extol.* מְרוֹמֵם, a Hebraism. But it is found also in the Targums—Ps. 34^{4}, 37^{34}, 75^{8}, &c., and in the Chr. Pal. See Schultess, *Lex.* 191. The Hithpa'lel occurs in 5^{23} of our text.

Truth. קשט is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew אמת, though the stem is found in Prov. 22^{21} (where, however, it is said by some scholars to be an Aramaic gloss).

Walk. Rd. מְהַלְּכִין. See 3^{25}.

LXX iv. 34-34[a] (*First form*).

English Numbering.

τῷ ὑψίστῳ ἀνθομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ . . . ὅτι αὐτός ἐστι θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων, ὅτι

iv. 2 αὐτὸς ποιεῖ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα . . . οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἰσχὺν . . .

3 ποιῆσαι σημεῖα καὶ θαυμάσια

2 μεγάλα καὶ φοβερὰ . . . καθὼς ἐποίησεν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . ὅσοι [ἐλάλησαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ][1] ὅσοι ἂν καταληφθῶσι λαλοῦντές τι, τούτους κατακρινῶ θανάτῳ.

[1] A doublet of the next clause.

LXX iv. 34[b] (*Second form*).

English Numbering.

iv. 1 Ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ[1] ἐπιστολὴν ἐγκύκλιον πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἔθνεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ γλώσσαις πάσαις ταῖς οἰκούσαις ἐν πάσαις ταῖς χώραις, γενεαῖς καὶ γενεαῖς. Κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αἰνεῖτε . . . Ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων ἀνθομολογοῦμαι αὐτῷ ἐνδόξως, ὅτι οὕτως

2 ἐποίησε μετ' ἐμοῦ.

[1] The order Βασ. Ναβ. occurs four times or thereabouts out of eighteen in the LXX. Elsewhere Ναβ. βασ. In Th. once out of every three times.

Able to humiliate. לְהַשְׁפִּלָה. The same verb recurs in connexion with Belshazzar in 5^{22}, where it is rendered 'to humble'. Here the sense is different: it clearly means 'to humiliate'. The adjective occurs in 4^{14} with again a different nuance—'humble' or 'low in station of life'.

The Edict of the King.

3^{31-33} (4^{1-3}) (its three forms in the LXX and its form in the MT). Having recounted his experiences, the king now issues his proclamation, as at the close of chap. 3, and as Darius does at the end of 6. This proclamation has been wrongly transposed to the beginning of this chapter by the reviser of the Aramaic and the verses dependent upon it. But the LXX, though its text is almost incredibly confused, corrupt, defective (especially in the first and second forms), and interpolated, preserves the right order of events. After a series of additions, drawn in part from $2^{21,23,47}$, 3^{29}, 5^{19}, it gives the proclamation in practically three forms, the first two of which are defective in part. I shall give these and that of Th. side by side, and number them as they are in Swete's edition. *Where the Greek is a rendering of words in the Aramaic it is underlined.*

LXX iv. 34[c]. (*Third form.*)

English Numbering.

1 Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ βασιλεὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ πάσαις ταῖς χώραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν αὐταῖς· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη ἐν παντὶ
2 καιρῷ. [καὶ νῦν ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν][1] τὰς πράξεις ἃς ἐποίησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας· ἔδοξε δέ μοι ἀποδεῖξαι ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς σο-
3 φισταῖς ὑμῶν ὅτι ἔστι θεός, καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ μεγάλα· τὸ βασίλειον αὐτοῦ βασίλειον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γενεῶν εἰς γενεάς. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὰς περὶ πάντων τῶν γενηθέντων αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ.

[1] We have here a dittograph of what follows: ἔδοξε δέ μοι ἀποδεῖξαι.

Th. iii. 98–100. MT

English Numbering.

iv. 1 Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ ὁ βασιλεὺς πᾶσι iii. 31
τοῖς λαοῖς, φυλαῖς, καὶ γλώσσαις, τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ
2 γῇ Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη. τὰ 32
σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἃ ἐποίησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος ἤρεσεν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ[1] ἀναγγεῖλαι
3 ὑμῖν. ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ἰσχυρά· 33
ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιος, ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν.

[1] A right rendering of קֳדָמַי.

The Edict of the King.

The reader will observe that in the LXX the king's proclamation is preserved in three different forms. The third of these I have quoted in its entirety. At its close there is a statement to the effect that the king sent to his subjects with the proclamation a complete account of *all that had befallen him.* This implies that chap. iv in its entirety was sent by the king to all his people. The second form of the proclamation is very fragmentary. It preserves nothing of value, save that it confirms the clause γλώσσαις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ of the MT and Th. 3^{31} (4^{1}), though with a slightly different rendering, and the clause ἐποίησεν μετ' ἐμοῦ. The first form is fuller than the second, and supports other clauses of the MT and Th. though with different renderings. It concludes with the punishment that is to be visited on any of the king's subjects who speak against the God of heaven—a passage which recalls 3^{29}.

From the above comparison we may reasonably conclude that the text of the MT and its translations are trustworthy so far as they go. But it appears to be defective in two respects. (1) When the king's edict, which followed on the close of the narrative of his experiences was mistakenly transposed from the end of this chapter to its beginning by a reviser, the reviser naturally omitted such an ending as is given in the first form of the edict in the LXX or in its third form, since either would have been out of place in its new context. Which of these two endings is the original? The ending in the first form is questionable, since it is unsupported by any other version of this passage, and also recalls 3^{29} too closely—which may be its source. On the other hand, the explanatory addition at the close of the third form from καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὰς κτλ. comes naturally from the hand of our author at the close of the section. Besides it receives confirmation from the statement in form two that the king sent an 'encyclical letter' to all his subjects (ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . ἐπιστολὴν ἐγκύκλιον πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἔθνεσιν). (2) Twice in chap. 4 it is definitely stated that the penalty inflicted on the king was inflicted with solely one end in view, i. e. 'to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men' ($4^{14(17)}$); and this penalty was to be in force 'till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the

kingdom of men' ($4^{22(25)}$). Now it is strange that no reference is made to this fact in the proclamation as it appears in the MT and its versions. On the other hand, in the third form of the LXX this fact is referred to shortly: *ἔδοξε δέ μοι ἀποδεῖξαι ὑμῖν . . . ὅτι ἔστι θεός, καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ μεγάλα.* But here the first defective form supplies what we should expect—namely, an acknowledgement from Nebuchadnezzar of the fact that 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men' (4^{22}). Thus it ends: 'I thank and praise the Most High . . . for He is the God of gods, and Lord of lords, and King of kings; for He doeth signs and wonders. For the gods of the nations have no power in themselves . . . to do signs and marvels great and terrible . . . as the God of heaven hath done unto me.'

3^{31-33} (4^{1-3}). On the defectiveness of the text see above.

3^{31} (4^{1}). With the first words of the edict, cf. the first words of the edict of Darius in $6^{26(25)}$.

Dwell. On דארין see note on 2^{38}.

Peace be multiplied unto you (שלמכון ישגא). Cf. $6^{26(25)}$, 1 Pet. 1^{2}, 2 Pet. 1^{2}. In Ezra 5^{7} we have the formula 'all peace'. In Cowley (17^{1-2}) we find the earlier equivalent of this phrase: [ישאלו שגיא] שלם מראן אלהיא = 'may the gods see to our lord's peace abundantly': cf. $3^{0^{2}}$, $3^{1^{2}}$.

3^{32} (4^{2}). *It hath seemed good unto me.* שפר קדמי. On this phrase see technical use of קדם, cf. 6^{2} and Introd.

Signs and wonders. So also in the decree of Darius $6^{28(27)}$. With אתיא ותמהיא cf. אתות ומפתים in Deut. 4^{34}, 6^{22}, Isa. 8^{18}, *Sir.* 36^{6} ומופת אות, and *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* in Mark 13^{22}, Rom. 15^{19}.

Most High God. Rather 'God the Most High'; see note on 3^{26}.

3^{32-33} (4^{2-3}). The Aramaic appears to be defective here. As I have shown on p. 104 the sole end of God's visitations on Nebuchadnezzar was that he and all men living might know that 'the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men'. An acknowledgment of this fact is to be looked for. Now the insertion which the reviser has made in $4^{31c-32,33aα}$ meets this expectation to some extent, but there are three objections to this insertion. (1) It has no support from the LXX; (2) its form is awkward—the bulk of it being of the nature of a parenthesis, as its strongest supporters must allow; (3) some of its phrasing, which is intended to express the same thought that

is elsewhere expressed in our author, is not that of our author. Hence we conclude that the original of 3^{32} contained some such statement as the LXX in 4^{34} attests. It is possible also that $4^{32(35)}$ originally followed, which is omitted by the LXX and was, if original, recast and inserted in the long parenthesis in the Aramaic in $4^{31a-33a}$ by a reviser. It is of course *impossible* to recover the exact form or even substance of the original, seeing that, even where the Aramaic, the three forms of the LXX and Th. agree more or less in substance, they differ verbally. The following verses from the LXX and Aram. contain possibly the substance in some degree of what the author wrote.

2. 'I thank and praise . . . the Most High, for he is the God of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings; for he doeth signs and wonders (from LXX 4^{34}). It hath seemed good before me to declare the signs and wonders that God the Most High hath wrought toward me. How great are his signs! | And how mighty are his wonders! | His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, | For his dominion is from generation to generation (from Aram. 3^{32}). 3^{a}. And all the inhabitants of the earth are as persons of no account, | And he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth. | And none can stay his hand, | Or say before him What doest thou? (Aram. 4^{32}). 3^{b}. And he sent letters regarding all the things that had befallen him in his kingdom to all the nations that were under his sovereignty' (from LXX 4^{34c}).

$3^{33}(4^{3})$. *His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom.* This is the form in which our author reproduces Ps. 145^{13}, and not that in the interpolation in 4^{31} (4^{34}). Yet see 7^{14}.

SECTION V

i.e. Chapter 5^{1-30}, in the last year of Belshazzar[1]. The year is not mentioned, as it was in all probability unknown to the author, as well as any real knowledge of that person.

[1] Our author may have known of three kings of Babylon—Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar. But if so, he does not mention the second. The Talmud (*Meg.* 11^{b} seq.) knows nothing about Nergalsharezer, Labashi Marduk or Nabuna'id, but like Daniel confuses Belshazzar with his father Nabu-na'id. The Talmud (*op. cit.*) limits Belshazzar's reign to two years. As we know from the inscriptions and independent historians, Nabuna'id, with whom Belshazzar is often confused, reigned seventeen years.

The events of this section take place within twenty-four hours.

INTRODUCTION.

Historical inconsistencies. This chapter is notable for its historical inconsistencies. But before we enter on an account of these, we must devote a few words to the character of the Aramaic text under § 1, while the larger question of the historical misconceptions of our author will be dealt with under § 2.

§ 1. (*a*) *Dislocations.*

There is a *dislocation* of the text in 5^{7-9}. The true order of events is preserved in Josephus, who had access to a more trustworthy form of the LXX than is accessible to us. Even in the solitary manuscript of the LXX the true order of events is with the exception of some details rightly preserved. The Aramaic is altogether confused. See notes *in loc.*

(*b*) *Omissions.*

5^{3}. After 'the golden' restore with Th. and Vulg. 'and the silver'.

5^{11}. After 'in thy kingdom' restore 'whose name is Daniel' on the ground of the context of the LXX and Josephus. See note *in loc.*

(*c*) *Interpolations.*

5^{10}. The clause 'by reason of the words of the king and of his lords' is an interpolation. The form of the text of the LXX and Josephus cannot admit this clause: Th. omits it. The context is really against it, and further the very grammar makes it more than doubtful. The word לקבל elsewhere in Daniel does not mean 'by reason of' but 'before'. Hence I regard the clause as an interpolation of the reviser.

5^{12}. The clause 'whom the king named Belteshazzer' is an interpolation. The king did not give Daniel this name. See note *in loc.*

(*d*) *Corruptions.*

The inscription as given in the Aramaic in 5^{25} is without the support of the most ancient versions and Josephus. Furthermore the interpretation of the inscription in 5^{26-28} presupposes

a shorter inscription, and lends no support to the form transmitted in the Aramaic in 5^{25}.

§ 2. *Historical misconceptions of our author in this chapter.*

(*a*) *Who was Belshazzar in the view of our author?* According to 5^{2} Nebuchadnezzar was his father. In 5^{11} the same statement is made by the queen-mother three times, one of which is no doubt an interpolation of the reviser. If this were not enough, Belshazzar reiterates it in 5^{12}, and Daniel himself confirms it twice in the presence of Belshazzar $5^{18,22}$.

It appears to be impossible, therefore, to conclude otherwise than that our author regarded Belshazzar as the son (or grandson) of Nebuchadnezzar.

Much controversy has raged round this personage. Before the discovery of the Cyrus Cylinder, his name was unknown as the last king of the Babylonian dynasty save in Daniel and in 1 Bar. 1^{11}, and other late authorities dependent on Daniel. Our author, however, accords him the title of king, and represents him as the son (or grandson) of Nebuchadnezzar. But from all the inscriptions discovered and published till the year 1924, the only conclusions that could be drawn were that Belshazzar was the eldest son of Nabuna'id, that he was as such the crown prince and commander-in-chief of the armies of the Babylonian empire, but *never king of Babylon.* Furthermore, it was reasonably concluded that no tie of blood existed between Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar.

But a new Persian verse account of Nabuna'id, which was published in 1924 by Sidney Smith in the *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 84 sqq., provides us with fresh information, which in large measure justifies the account of Daniel in regard to Belshazzar. This text (Sidney Smith, *Bab. Hist. Texts*, p. 88) Col. II, ll. 18–21 reads as follows:

'18. One camp he (Nabuna'id) put into the charge of his eldest child (Belshazzar).

19. The troops he sent through the land with himself.

20. He struck his (Belshazzar's) hands, he entrusted the kingship to him.

21. While he himself set out on a far journey.'

The words 'struck his hands' denotes a symbolic investiture. Notwithstanding Nabuna'id retained the supreme power in his

own hands, and with the bulk of the forces made in 552 his expedition against Tema', i. e.. the Teima in Arabia Felix in the third year of his reign. It was in this year that Belshazzar was invested with royal authority, most probably, as king of Babylon.

That the kingship of Belshazzar is not recognized in the Cyrus Cylinder may be explained from the fact that Cyrus regarded himself naturally as the successor of Nabuna'id, the supreme sovereign of the Babylonian empire, and not of the vassal king, Belshazzar.

Belshazzar, then, was the son of Nabuna'id, and also the (vassal) king of Babylon. *How then does our author represent him to be the son of Nebuchadnezzar?* That he was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar we have already remarked above. That he may have been the grandson through the marriage of his father Nabuna'id with a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar is possible, but there is no evidence of this marriage, and the fact that the usurper Nabuna'id never made such a claim in any existing record, where such a claim would have been natural as justifying his position as the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, relegates this hypothesis into the limbo of unwarrantable conjectures. On the other hand about 140–150 years after the extinction of the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar we find Herodotus (i. 188) representing Nabuna'id, whom he calls Labynetus, as the son of Nebuchadnezzar (i. 74, 77), whom also he designates as Labynetus. This relationship of Nabuna'id to Nebuchadnezzar is flatly denied by Abydenus in his *History of Assyria* (Euseb., *Praep.* ix. 41), and herein Abydenus has the support of the ancient texts.

How in the face of these facts are we to regard the historical statements in Daniel, who, as we have shown at the beginning of this section, obviously regarded Belshazzar as the actual son or grandson of Nebuchadnezzar?

We must therefore leave this question as one of the unsolved problems of history.

This difficulty is not a modern one. It was evidently discussed in the first century of our era. At all events Josephus, the most learned Jewish historian of earlier days, found himself in the same dilemma as our modern Fundamentalists. He found that the Book of Daniel required him to represent Bel-

shazzar as an ἔγγονος ('grandson' or 'descendant') of Nebuchadnezzar, and so in his *Ant.* x. 11. 4 he honestly describes him as such. But Josephus was not wholly dependent on Daniel; for he quotes at least twenty non-Jewish authorities, some of whom were Greek and some Babylonian historians. We have not yet done with Josephus's solution of his difficulties. We shall return to them after a brief consideration of the quotation he makes from Berosus, a Babylonian historian (*c.* 250 B.C.), in his *Contra Apion.* i. 20. This quotation gives a short but trustworthy account of the kings of Babylon who succeeded Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil Merodach, who after a reign of two years was murdered by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar. Neriglissar reigned four years, and was succeeded by his son Laborosoardochus, who was assassinated by a body of conspirators, one of whom was Nabonnedus, who in the seventeenth year of his reign was defeated and dethroned as the last native king of Babylon by Cyrus. So far for Berosus, whom Josephus quotes, and accepts as an authority. That Josephus was familiar with this statement when a few years previously he wrote his *Antiquities* is unquestionable; for it led him to attempt an unhistorical reconciliation between Berosus and Daniel. According to the former Nabonnedus was the last independent king of Babylon: according to Daniel it was Belshazzar. Josephus accordingly surmounts the difficulty by a hypothesis for which he could advance no evidence, and identifies Belshazzar with Nabonnedus, i.e. Nabuna'id of the inscriptions. Josephus (x. 11. 2) thus writes: 'The succession . . . passed to Belshazzar, who was called Nebo-andelus by the Babylonians . . .' (x. 11. 4) 'under whom Babylon was taken when he had reigned seventeen years'. But Josephus may not have been the first to identify Belshazzar and Nabuna'id; he may therein only have been giving a larger currency to traditions that had been accepted by the best educated classes in Judaea.

We conclude, therefore, that, though Josephus and his predecessors (?) were wrong in identifying Belshazzar with his father Nabuna'id, Josephus interpreted accurately *the belief of our author* as to Belshazzar being a son (or grandson) of Nebuchadnezzar, and also as to his being the last king of the Babylonian dynasty. Cf. 1 Bar. 1^{11}, where Belshazzar is said to be

the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus the traditions on which our author was dependent were in some respects trustworthy from an historical standpoint.

(*b*) *Was Belshazzar an absolute sovereign in the view of our author?* We have already seen that Josephus took this to be the only natural interpretation of the text of Daniel. In fact we can hardly doubt that the author of Daniel regarded Belshazzar as the last native and absolute king of Babylon. If the author of Daniel was acquainted at all with Nabuna'id's name his identification of Belshazzar with Nabuna'id was inevitable—an identification attested in *Ant.* x 11. 2. But Josephus had not sufficient historical data. To prove that Belshazzar was the supreme ruler in the eyes of our author, it is sufficient to state that he dates documents by the year of Belshazzar's accession in 7^1, 8^1—a practice that could not be reconciled with the hypothesis that our author knew that his father was alive and held the place of sovereign authority, as we know he did from the tablet recording the events of Nabuna'id's reign of seventeen years.[1] Certain apologists seek to evade this argument by the plea that, since Belshazzar invests Daniel with *the third place* in the kingdom 5^{29}, it follows that Belshazzar is himself not the supreme ruler but the second. But such an argument involves a self-contradiction; for the man 'who can of his own authority make any one he pleases "third ruler in the kingdom" must obviously be supreme in the state' (Bevan, p. 19).

§ 3. *Did the author of Daniel know that Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil Merodach?*

Our author may have been acquainted with this fact, since it is recorded *once* in the part of the O.T. that was accessible to him, i. e. 2 Kings 25^{27}.[2] *But it is quite possible that this single reference escaped him, and that he knew only of Nebuchadnezzar through the O.T. and of Belshazzar through tradition, and regarded the latter as the actual son of the former.* For there are certain statements in this chapter which show that our author was

[1] See pp. 108 sq.; also Introd., § 26, for an account of the inscriptions regarding Nabuna'id and Belshazzar.

[2] This king is also mentioned in Jer. 52^{31}, but this chapter of Jeremiah was not added to this book till after 200 B.C.; for it is not found in the LXX and is merely an appendix added late to the work, consisting of 2 Kings 25.

drawing his materials from tradition, which agree in some slight measure with the inscriptions and records of Babylon. The main facts recorded in the inscriptions can be summarized shortly as follows. Cyrus, who became king of Anshan in 549, and was called 'king of Persia' in 546 or earlier, in the year 538 attacked Babylon. He defeated Nabuna'id at Opis (Babylonian Upê on the Tigris in Tishri = October (so with Meyer, *ZATW.*, 1898, p. 340 sq., we must read and not Tammuz, i. e. July, since September has already been reached two lines earlier), captured Sippar on the Euphrates on Tishri 14, and on the 16th his general Gubaru entered Babylon without striking a blow, and made Nabuna'id prisoner. On Marchesvan 3 (= Oct. 27) Cyrus made his entry into Babylon, and on the 11th (= Nov. 4) Gubaru slew the king's son (? the text is here defective) in a night assault.

Further, in the inscriptions of the first eleven years of Nabuna'id's reign, Belšaruṣur (= 'Bel protect the king'), of which Belshazzar is a corruption, is definitely named as 'the king's son' several times. *Later* 'the king's son' is mentioned, but no proper name attached. Whether 'the king's son' so mentioned is Belšaruṣur cannot be determined, since Nabuna'id may have had another son named Nebuchadnezzar. At all events there was an early tradition that there was such a son. But this tradition did not reach our author.

Amongst the historians who recount details reproduced (?) by our author is Herodotus (i. 188: cf. i. 74, 77), who names the last king Labynetus (Λαβύνητος = Nabuna'id), and seems to have regarded him as the son of Nebuchadnezzar (see *KAT.*[3], p. 288).[1] He represents (i. 191) Cyrus as diverting the waters of the Euphrates and entering Babylon by the river bed, while the inhabitants were celebrating a festival. In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (vii. 5. 15-31) a similar account is given, though here the city is surprised by Gobryas and Gadates.

§ 4. *Conflict between the statements in our author and in the inscriptions and the historians.*

Now, if we compare the account in our text with those we have drawn from the Babylonian inscriptions and the Greek

[1] But according to Abydenus (Eus., *Praep. Evang.*, ix. 41), Nabuna'id was not related to Nebuchadnezzar in any way (προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν).

historians, it is clear at a glance that it agrees most with the latter. With the former it has nothing in common but the name Belshazzar. In the inscriptions Belshazzar is not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but is only the son of the last king Nabuna'id, a usurper, and not descended from Nebuchadnezzar. Belshazzar as a vassal king of Babylon under Nabuna'id is represented as making a desperate resistance in some fastness of the city, after the city as a whole had been surrendered and Nabuna'id taken prisoner. In a night attack shortly after Cyrus's arrival this fastness was stormed and apparently Belshazzar was slain. But in Daniel Nabuna'id is not mentioned, and Belshazzar is represented as the sole and supreme authority, and that for at least three years (cf. 5, 7^1, 8^1). There is nothing to suggest in 5 that the greater part of the city was already in the hands of the enemy. On the contrary Belshazzar made a great feast, summoned to it 1,000 of his lords, called for the services of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers, and made Daniel ruler of one third of the kingdom, though according to the inscriptions not a single city of that kingdom was any longer subject to him, and his authority did not extend beyond the palace or arsenal in Babylon in which the feast was given. Further, whereas our text represents Babylon as being captured by force, the inscriptions state that it was surrendered peaceably to the generals of Cyrus.

On the other hand our text agrees with the tradition, recorded both in Herodotus and Xenophon, that Babylon was taken *in the night, while the inhabitants were celebrating a feast.*[1] Further, if, as it seems, Herodotus believed Labynetus (i. e. Nabuna'id) to have been a son of Nebuchadnezzar, we have here an approximation to the statement in our text that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar, though Abydenus, as we have already seen, flatly denies this.

(5) *The purpose of our author is didactic.* The unhistorical statements made by our author *were made in perfectly good faith. His book is not fiction.* He made the best use of the traditional

[1] This idea in the popular account may have arisen from a misinterpretation of the joy with which the Babylonians received Cyrus as Marti suggests. On the 'Annalistic Tablet' of Cyrus it is stated that when Cyrus entered Babylon 'Dissensions (?) were allayed (?) before him. Peace for the city he established: peace to all Babylon did Cyrus proclaim'.

materials accessible to him. His purpose with regard to Belshazzar was didactic. And yet even the Jewish Rabbis (*Meg.* 12 *a*) thought that Daniel had misinterpreted certain facts contained in chap. 5. But, though they wrote centuries after our author and with opportunities of learning the facts not available to our author, they made no use of them, and are almost as much at sea as our author; for they recognized only three Babylonian kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, and Belshazzar. Our author's purpose was as we have stated didactic. If Belshazzar was overthrown, in part at all events, for his profanation of the vessels brought to Babylon from the Temple—as also the Talmud in *Meg.* 11 *b* teaches—what would befall the king who (like Antiochus Epiphanes) offered heathen sacrifices on the very altar of God in the Temple?

§ 5. *Omissions in the MT.*

5^{3}. 'And silver.' Restored in accordance with Th. and Vulg.

5^{11}. 'Whose name is Daniel.' Restored in accordance with the requirements of the context: implied by the LXX and found in Josephus.

§ 6. *Interpolations in the MT.*

5^{7}. 'And the king said to the wise men of Babylon.' LXX does not admit of this addition and it is not found in Josephus.

5^{10}. 'By reason of the words of the king and of his lords.'

5^{11}. 'The king thy father.' Not found in the LXX, Th., or Josephus.

5^{12}. 'Whom the king named Belteshazzar.' This is a false gloss. It is not found in the LXX or in Josephus. This clause is Hebraic in character דִּי מַלְכָּא שְׁמַהּ בַלְטְ. Cf. 2 Kings 17^{34} for this idiom.

§ 7. *Corruptions in the MT.*

5^{6}. For שנוהי עלוהי read שנו עלוהי with Bevan.

5^{7-9}. MT corrupt, defective, interpolated, and confused as to order. See notes *in loc.*

5^{12}. For מְפַשֵּׁר and מְשָׁרֵא read מְפַשֵּׁר and מְשָׁרֵא.

5^{23}. For 'silver and gold' read 'gold and silver'.

5^{25}. For MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN read MENE TEKEL PERES—with LXX, Th., Vulg., and Josephus.

5^{1}. *Belshazzar* = the Babylonian Bel-šar-uṣur, 'Bel, protect the king', just as נרגל שראצר (Jer. $39^{3,13}$) = Nergal-šar-uṣur, 'Nergal, protect the king'.

The king. From one of the inscriptions Belshazzar appears to have been a vassal king of Babylon (see Introd. to this chap., p. 108). It is a matter of inference and not of demonstration that in the inscriptions Belshazzar was slain after the capture of Babylon.

Made a . . feast. With עבד לחם cf. the Hebrew עשׂה לחם Eccles. 10^{19}, and the N.T. expression *ἐσθίειν ἄρτον*. עשׂה משׁתה = 'to give a drinking bout' or 'feast' is the usual Hebrew expression: cf. Gen. 19^{3}, 21^{8}, 26^{30}, &c., and the Greek *συμπόσιον κατασκευάζειν*. The *συμπόσιον*, however, properly followed the *δεῖπνον*.

Drank wine before the thousand. Our author appears to lay emphasis on the evil example of Belshazzar. As Driver writes, 'we have little or no information respecting the custom of the king at state-banquets in Babylon; but something similar is reported . . . of royal banquets among the Persians (*Athen.* iv. 26, p. 145*c* . . .) and Parthians (*Athen.* iv. 38, p. 153 *a–b*)'.

5^{2}. *While he tasted the wine*: i. e. in the midst of the revel. This is the usual rendering, and if it is right, then טעם, though occurring about thirty times in Biblical Aramaic, is used here only in a literal sense. Hence Prince takes it in a metaphorical sense and renders it 'under the influence of wine', and adduces the rendering of the LXX *ἐνυψούμενος* (*sic* for *ἀν-*) *ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου*, Vulg. 'iam temulentus', and Ibn Ezra 'at the bidding of wine'. The king is well on in his cups before he orders the sacred vessels to be used at the feast.

The golden and silver vessels. See 1^{2} note. The word מאניא (= 'vessels') is Old Aramaic. Cp. Cowley 20^{5}, 72^{4}, Aḥ. 109 of the Fifth Century: and Cooke 65^{6} (Nerab II) Seventh Century.

Nebuchadnezzar his father. If we compare this statement with its threefold reiteration in $5^{11,13,22}$ we cannot escape inferring that our author took Belshazzar to be an actual son (or grandson) of Nebuchadnezzar. But Belshazzar's father was Nabuna'id, the son of Nabu-balâṭsu-ikbi, who was a usurper, and wholly unconnected by blood with Nebuchadnezzar. Since, however, according to Hebrew usage, the word 'father' could be used in the sense of grandfather (Gen. 28^{13}, 32^{9}), or of great-grandfather (Num. $18^{1,2}$), or great-great-grandfather (1 Kings 15^{11}), it is of course possible that Nabuna'id married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar in order to strengthen his position, and in such a case Belshazzar would have been a grandson of the great king. But, if Nabuna'id really made such an alliance, there would surely have been some reference to it in one or more of the several inscriptions relating to Nabuna'id. But there is not even the shadow of an allusion to such an alliance. See Introd. to this chapter, p. 108 sqq.

That . . . might drink. וְיִשְׁתּוּן. Cf. 2^{13}, 6^{2} for the same idiomatic use of ו. See Introduction.

His wives and concubines. Th. here and in 5^{23} reverses the order of these two phrases. LXX omits both. According to Curtius, v. 1. 38 women were admitted to such feasts as that in our text amongst the Babylonians in the time of Alexander: Babylonii maxime in vinum et quae ebrietatem sequuntur effusi sunt. As regards the Persians the accounts differ. Herodotus, v. 18 states that it was customary for the concubines and wives to sit side by side with the men at great feasts. Plutarch (*Sympos.* i. 1) and Macrobius (vii. 1), on the other hand, assert definitely that the Persians allowed their concubines but not their wives to be present on such occasions (*μὴ ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἀλλὰ ταῖς παλλακίσι συμμεθύσκεσθαι*). Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xii. 1) relates that *μετὰ . . . τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι τροφῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τῷ τε οἴνῳ . . . ἀποσχολάζουσι.* During one of these feasts four Greek virgins were brought to Cyrus, three of whom had been thoroughly trained in the *ἑταιρικὰ . . . ἔργα.* The narrative in Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6. 1) supports the latter view; for it states that Vashti out of regard to the laws of the Persians (*φυλακῇ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων*) refused to go to the king at the feast. It is worth observing that the LXX omits this phrase both here and in $5^{3,23}$.

Wives. The word שִׁגָּל is rare, occurring in the O.T. only in

Neh. 2^6, where the wife of Artaxerxes is spoken of, and in Ps. 45^9. It is not found in the Targums, and, in the few passages in which it occurs in Rabbinic Hebrew, it does not preserve the honourable meaning of wife. *Concubines,* לחנתא is found in the Aramaic of the Targums in the same sense as in our text. In Cant. 6^8 queens and concubines are mentioned together.

5^3. ⌜*And silver.*⌝ Restored in accordance with Th. and Vulg.

5^4. For 'the gods of gold . . . and of stone' the LXX reads simply *τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῶν,* but adds *καὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ εὐλόγησαν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῶν.* The substance of these words recurs in 5^{23} in the Aramaic and all the versions, though here again the LXX diverges from all the other authorities in charging alike the king and his nobles with this offence, whereas the Aramaic and the versions other than the LXX name the king only as being the chief offender. This repetition is a Semitic characteristic. Hence the words in the LXX may be original. It is to be observed that the LXX *πνεῦμα* presupposes נְשְׁמָא here as in 5^{23}, just as in 10^{17} it renders the Hebrew נְשָׁמָה. The LXX in this verse is in no way derived from 5^{23}, where we have *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ,* though here (5^4) the LXX seems to give a free and different rendering of the same Aramaic clause which occurs in 5^{23}, save for the difference of suffixes. Such varieties in rendering are characteristic of the LXX. *τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῶν* presupposes די שליט בנשמתהון בידה, or possibly די שליט בנשמתהון.

5^5. *In the same hour,* בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא. The suffix preceding the noun used in the sense of a demonstrative pronoun: Kautzsch, § 88. Cf. $3^{6,7,8}$, $4^{30,33}$, 7^{24}: also in 5^{12} (cf. 5^{30}) with the repetition of the preposition בַּהּ בְּרַנְיֵאל. The same idiom is found in connexion with מן 7^{24} and על Ezra 4^{11}. See Stevenson, § 5. 14, where a repetition of the preposition ל is given in the Palestinian Aramaic. See Introd. § 20. *q.*

Came forth, נפקו. *Qr.* corrects into נְפָקָה on the ground of gender, just as in 7^{20} it corrects נפלו into נפלה. There is a like correction in 7^8. But the *Kt.* may be the original. There seems to be no example of the 3rd pl. fem. in the Eg. Pap. with fem. nouns as their subject. Yet in the Targums and occasionally in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim the 3rd pl. fem. of the perf. ends in א or ן. See Stevenson, § 17. 3. Kautzsch (§ 23. 2) is

of opinion that the Massoretes introduced the distinction of the 3rd fem. pl., which was familiar to them in the Targums. In any case, as the participle כתבן which is co-ordinated with נפקו shows, the latter form is used as a feminine.

Candlestick, i.e. נברשתא: in Syr. *nabreshtâ* and in the Targums—a foreign word of unknown origin.

The plaister, lit. *the chalk*. This word (גיר) appears once in Biblical Hebrew, Isa. 27^9, where it is probably borrowed from the Aramaic. It is found in the Syr. The walls of the Babylonian palaces were probably as the Assyrian, lined with white alabaster for several feet from the ground, as Driver remarks, appealing to Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*[5], i. 254–7, 262 sq.

Palm of the hand. The hand appeared above the couch where the king was reclining (Bevan). In Hebrew in which it occurs five times in one phrase it means either the *palm* of the hand or the *sole* of the foot. It is also used in the Targums in the same connexion.

5^6. *Countenance*. זיו is taken to be a loan-word from the Assyrian *zimu*, pronounced later as *ziwu* in Middle Iran.

Was changed. As Kautzsch (§ 89. 2) points out, there is an incorrect use of the verbal suffix here in שנוהי עלוהי. He proposes that we should read שנין עלוהי as in 5^9. But it is better with Bevan to read שנו עלוהי. Other forms of the phrase are found in 5^{10} ישתנו and in 7^{28} ישתנון עלי. 'Was changed' is a more idiomatic English rendering of the phrase than 'was changed in him'. Similarly in 7^{28}. The phrase is found in Job 14^{20} משנה פני, but in a different sense, i. e. of changing the face in death. The עלוהי in 5^6 (7^{28}), if translated at all, should perhaps be rendered to his cost': i.e. 'was changed for the worse', as in Gen. 48^7, Rachel died to my cost' (מתה עלי) or simply 'Rachel died'. The Targum reproduces this idiom, and also the Pesh. An Irish peasant says at the present day 'my wife died on me' where we have exactly the same idiom as in Gen. 48^7,

Alarmed. Cf. 4^{19}.

The joints of his loins, lit. *the joints of his loin*. קְטָרֵי חַרְצֵהּ. This phrase is found in the Targ. Jon. on Gen. 50^{11}. We should have expected חרצוהי. חרצא is the same word as the Hebrew חלצים. It is uncertain whether the *r* or the *l* is the

older; for the Arabic supports the Aramaic, as Bevan observes, though with a transposition of the last two consonants. We might compare the frequent Homeric phrase *αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα*, *Od.* iv. 703, *Il.* xxi. 114.

Were loosed, i. e. מְשַׁתְּרִין. As Bevan observes we should expect מְשַׁתְּרְיָן, since in Bibl. Aram. שְׁרִי (Ezra 5^2) means 'to begin'. But in Syr. both the Ethpa'el and the Ithpe'al have this meaning: see Brockelmann, *Lex. in loc.* In Syro-Pal. Syr. only the latter tense appears to occur. Schulthess, *Lex.*, p. 215.

His knees smote, &c. Cf. Nah. $2^{11(10)}$ It is noteworthy that for ארכבתה we have ברכוהי in 6^{11}.

5^{7-9}. The text of these verses is in certain details uncertain. The MT (with its versions), the LXX, and Josephus differ from each other, but the LXX supported by Josephus gives clearly the right order of events, though its text is very corrupt. As the MT stands, the wise men appear twice on no intelligible grounds before the king. Thus in 5^7 the king summons them and *on their coming before him* he tells them the gifts that he would give to the successful interpreter of the mysterious writing. But 5^8 begins as though no such event had taken place, and reads 'Then came in all the king's wise men'. In the LXX and Josephus there is no such incoherency. According to both these authorities (LXX 5^{7a}) the king first of all summoned the wise men to interpret the writing. These came in due course, but were unable to do so. Then were King Belshazzar and his companions greatly alarmed (this last sentence has been wrongly transferred into 5^6 by the LXX but not by Josephus, whereas the MT has relegated it to 5^9). *Then and not till then* (5^{8b}) the king issued a proclamation setting forth the rewards that would be conferred on the man, whosoever he might be, who should make known the writing to the king (5^{8c}). The wise men are not summoned again; for they had failed. The invitation is now general, but, tempted by the great rewards, the wise men presented themselves before the king in the hope of discovering the interpretation of the writing, but again failed.

It is obvious that we have here in the LXX (followed by Josephus) the rational order of events. But, though the order is that of our author, the text of the LXX is very corrupt.

Notwithstanding, we must here follow the LXX, though not necessarily its corruptions.

Before I give the full textual evidence, I must mention a clever suggestion by Loehr. He proposes the transposition of the first clause of 5^{8} 'Then came in all the king's wise men' before 5^{7b}. This certainly provides us with a smooth text: 5^{7a} 'The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. 5^{8a} Then came in all the king's wise men. 5^{7b} The king spake and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read . . . in the kingdom. 5^{8b} But they could not read the writing, &c.' But the order of events in the LXX and Josephus furnishes conclusive evidence against this proposal. The MT and Th. attest a text that is not only dislocated but defective as well. Besides, this account is not at all in keeping with the high-handed action of a Babylonian despot, even when reduced to the plight of Belshazzar. It was the duty of the wise men to solve the enigma, and purely a matter of grace on the king's part to reward the successful. Hence the offer of such extrava-

Th. and the MT.	LXX (the order of the words is that of the MS., the numbering is mine—not Swete's.)
5^{6} Τότε τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ μορφὴ ἠλλοιώθη, καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτοῦ συνετάρασσον αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ σύνδεσμοι τῆς ὀσφύος διελύοντο καὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ συνεκροτοῦντο.	5^{6} Καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη [καὶ φόβοι] καὶ ὑπόνοιαι αὐτὸν κατέ- (5^{6c}[d]^{e} = Th.^{g}) σπευδον. ἔσπευσεν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς [καὶ ἐξανέστη καὶ ἑώρα τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην], καὶ οἱ †συνεταῖροι† κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ †ἐκαυχῶντο†.
5^{7a} Καὶ ἐβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἰσχύι τοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν μάγους, 5^{7b} Χαλδαίους, γαζαρηνούς, [+ ἀπε- 5^{7c} κρίθη MT] καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς σο- φοῖς Βαβυλῶνος Ὃς ἂν ἀναγνῷ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν γνωρίσῃ μοι, πορφύραν ἐνδύσεται, καὶ ὁ μανιάκης ὁ χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τρίτος ἐν τῇ 5^{8} βασιλείᾳ μου ἄρξει. Καὶ εἰσε-	5^{7a} Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφώνησε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καλέσαι τοὺς ἐπαοιδοὺς καὶ φαρμακοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ γαζαρηνούς, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὸ σύγ- 5^{8a} κριμα τῆς γραφῆς. καὶ εἰσεπορεύοντο ἐπὶ [θεωρίαν] ἰδεῖν τὴν γραφήν, καὶ τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς οὐκ ἐδύναντο συγκρῖναι τῷ βασιλεῖ. 5^{8b} τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέθηκε πρόσ- 5^{8c} (= ταγμα λέγων Πᾶς ἀνὴρ ὃς ἂν Th.^{7c}) ὑποδείξῃ τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς,

gant rewards could only naturally be made when, as in the LXX and Josephus, the wise men really failed to read and interpret the writing. Then it was that the king and his nobles were confounded and that the time had come to offer a guerdon beyond the dreams of avarice. Cf. the failure of the wise men in Gen. 41[8] to interpret Pharaoh's dream, and the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar with the wise men of Babylon and his edict for their destruction on a like occasion in our text 2[3-12].

With a view to clearness I shall treat 5[7-9] first *in regard to the order of events* in the text, and with a view to the discovery of the original order of events in the text, I shall arrange Th. (i.e. the MT), the LXX and Josephus accounts in parallel columns. This will be followed by a translation of the restored text. Secondly, I shall treat 5[7-9] afresh as regards some textual difficulties and their interpretation, though many of these must necessarily be dealt with under (i).

5[7-9]. (i) *The order of events:*

Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 2.

Ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους . . . ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα. τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τὴν χώραν τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον χρύσεον καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν . . . καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς. τούτου γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες . . . πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν. ἀθυμοῦντα

Order of events in Josephus.

(*a*) The king's alarm at the vision (ταραχθεὶς . . . ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως) = LXX 5[6a, b]: Th. 5[6].

(*b*) The king summons the wise men to interpret the writing (συνεκάλεσε ... ὡς ἂν .. δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα) = LXX 5[7a]: Th. 5[7a].

(*c*) The wise men come but are unable to interpret (τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων) = LXX 5[8a]: Th. 5[8].

(*d*) The king moved with anguish and trouble causes the proclamation to be made that the interpreter of the mysterious writing will be rewarded with a chain of gold, a purple robe, and a third part of his kingdom (ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ...

Th. and the MT.	LXX.
πορεύοντο πάντες οἱ σοφοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο τὴν γραφὴν ἀναγνῶναι οὐδὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν γνωρίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.	στολιεῖ αὐτὸν πορφύραν, καὶ μανιάκην χρυσοῦν περιθήσει αὐτῷ καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου
5^{9} καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Βαλτασὰρ ἐταράχθη, καὶ ἡ μορφὴ αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ συνεταράσσαντο.	5^{8c} μέρους τῆς βασιλείας. καὶ εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ ἐπαοιδοὶ καὶ φαρμακοὶ καὶ γαζαρηνοί, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο οὐδεὶς τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς
5^{10} καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βασίλισσα.	5^{10} ἀπαγγεῖλαι. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὴν βασίλισσαν.

The order of the events in the above three authorities has been preserved rightly by Josephus throughout but in a compressed form. His text is obviously based on the LXX. The solitary LXX manuscript has also preserved the order of the original version of the LXX, save that it has through some accident transferred two clauses which originally followed 5^{8a} *ἔσπευσεν . . .* †*ἐκαυχῶντο*† to the close of 5^{6}. Josephus clearly used a manuscript in which this dislocation in the text of the LXX or of the Aramaic had not occurred. These two clauses should be restored after 5^{8a}. The last half of 5^{6} of the LXX has not only two clauses which originally followed 8^{a} and a clause also which belonged originally to 5^{5}. This last (5^{d}) is *καὶ ἐξανέστη καὶ ἑώρα τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην.* The first two words (*καὶ ἐξανέστη*) look like a mistaken addition by a scribe who did not understand the meaning that *ἔσπευσεν* had here, i.e. that it was a rendering of מחבהל which Th. renders *ἐταράχθη.* That *ἔσπευσεν* is a legitimate rendering we shall show presently. Now as to the remaining five words *καὶ ἑώρα τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην,* these are a rendering of וחזה כתבה דנה, which

Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 2.

δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεασαμένη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμμη αὐτοῦ παραθαρσύνειν ἤρξατο.

Order of events in Josephus.

ἐκήρυξε . . . τῷ τὰ γράμματα . . . σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος . . .) = LXX $5^{6c,d}$ which has been wrongly transposed from its original position after 5^{8a}, and in Th. i.e. the MT has been transposed after 5^{8} and is numbered 5^{9}. The LXX should be read thus: 5^{8a}, $6^{c,e}$, 8^{b} and Th. $5^{9,7c}$, but it omits before 5^{7c} the indispensable clause given in LXX 5^{8b}.

(*e*) When this proclamation was made, the wise men rushed hastily to make another attempt to decipher the enigma, but were no more successful than before (*τούτου τοῦ κηρύγματος . . . οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες . . . οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν*) = LXX 5^{8c}: Th. i.e. the MT wanting.

is an abbreviation and corruption of the clause in 5^{5} i.e. וחזה ' ' ' ידא which the translator found as וחזה כתבה דנא כתבה. It is thus a dittograph from 5^{5}, and should be excised.

Let us now return to the two clauses $5^{6c,e}$ which should be restored after 5^{8a} and which are identical with 5^{9} of Th. (i.e. the MT), save that 5^{9} contains an additional clause. The two clauses are *ἔσπευσεν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ †συνεταῖροι† κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ †ἐκαυχῶντο†*. First of all *ἔσπευσεν* is the normal rendering of the Aramaic בהל: cf. 3^{24} where *σπεύσας* = בהתבהלה, though here it has a different sense. But *κατασπεύδω* is used in 4^{16} to render the Pa'el of בהל where Th. uses *συνταράσσω*. Th. never uses either *σπεύδω* or *κατασπεύδω* as renderings of בהל in the sense of causing alarm or being alarmed. But the LXX so uses it in this sense in Exod. 15^{15}, Judges 20^{41}, 1 Sam. 28^{21}. Next *συνεταῖροι* = חברוהי (as in 2^{17}), which may be a corruption of הרברוהי. If so, the latter as in Th. 3^{24} could be rendered *οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ*. But if the versions can be trusted then חברוהי is a corruption of

רברבנוהי since μεγιστᾶνες is the rendering of this word in 5^{23}, 6^{17} of the LXX and in $5^{1,2,3,9,23}$ of Th. Once more it is clear that ἐκαυχῶντο is corrupt. By retroversion the source of the corruption is discoverable. This word = משבחין. The Targum on Jer. 9^{23-24} renders התהל five times by שבח where the LXX has καυχᾶσθαι. But משבחין is impossible here, and is evidently a corruption of משתבשין, which stands in the MT and is rightly rendered by Th. by συνεταράσσοντο.

We have now proved that $5^{6c,e}$ of the LXX points back to the present text of the Aramaic, save that it has lost one of its clauses. We have further seen that these clauses have been dislocated from their original position after 5^{8a} both in the LXX and in the MT and the versions dependent on it.

Again in Th. (i.e. the MT), 5^{7b} ('The king answered and said to the wise men of Babylon') is clearly an interpolation. There is no place for it in the original text.

The list of the classes of the wise men in the MT. and Theodotion in 5^{7a} seems to be imperfect. These should give four classes as the LXX does and as the MT and Th do in 5^{11}.

We are now in a position to give a translation of a text superior to that of the MT, and also to that presupposed by any individual version. In the translation that follows, which is that of the Aramaic, passages enclosed in ⌜ ⌝ are restored from the LXX: passages enclosed in ⌜ ⌝ are not found in the LXX.

5^{7a}. 'The king cried aloud to bring in the ⌜magicians⌝, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers ⌜that they should make known the interpretation of the writing⌝. 5^{8a}. Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could ⌜not read⌝ the writing, ⌜nor⌝ make known to the king the interpretation. 5^{9}. Then was King Belshazzar greatly alarmed ⌜and his countenance was changed⌝, and his lords were confounded. 5^{8b}. ⌜Then the king made a decree, saying:⌝ 5^{8c}. Whosoever shall ⌜read⌝ this writing ⌜and⌝ declare to me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck and shall rule as one of three in my kingdom. ⌜And the magicians, and enchanters and soothsayers came in, but none could make known the interpretation of the writing⌝.'

The preceding narrative is at once intelligible and vivid. Only one clause of the Aramaic is omitted i.e. 5^{7b} 'and the king answered and said to the wise men of Babylon'. The LXX does

not admit of it and Josephus omits it. In 5^{7a} the clause restored from the LXX is supported by its repetition in the next verses in all the authorities. The words in 5^{8a} 'not read' and 'nor' (LXX) are probably original; for in ver. 5^{17} (in all authorities) Daniel 'reads' the writing which the wise men could not. It is true that this clause is omitted in ver. 5^{8c} in the LXX. Probably at close of verse 8c we should read 'none could read nor make known', instead of 'none could make known'.

5^{7-9}. (ii) *Some textual difficulties and their interpretation.*

5^{7a}. *To bring in*, i.e. הֳעָלָה: in 4^{3} הנעלה.

⌜*The magicians*⌝. Since the LXX so reads, and since in 5^{11} the same four orders of wise men are mentioned, we may reasonably infer that the phrase belongs to our author's original text.

5^{8a}. ⌜*Read . . . and*⌝ The MT and Th. are no doubt right in this reading. Though the solitary manuscript of the LXX omits it (save in 5^{17} i.e. 5^{25}), it appears to be referred to in the text of Josephus τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων. These words imply that the wise men could neither make out the script nor interpret it. 5^{17} confirms this view, where Daniel undertakes to decipher the script and interpret it. The 'reading' of the script is referred to also in $5^{15, 16}$.

5^{9}. On the position of this verse in the text the Aram., LXX, and Josephus disagree. The LXX is clearly wrong in making it a part of 5^{6}. Josephus appears to be right in describing the consternation of the king as following on the first failure of the wise men. Thereupon the king issues a proclamation of the great reward to be won by any one who could interpret the writing.

Purple. The successful wise man was to be clothed with purple—a privilege which gave him a royal dignity among the Persians (Esth. 8^{15}) and the right of being called the king's friend (1 Macc. $10^{20, 62, 64}$ 11^{58}, &c.). The Aramaic ארגון is the same word as the Hebrew ארגמן Num. 4^{13}, Judges 8^{26}, and the Assyrian *Argamannu*. We find the Aramaic form in 2 Chron. 2^{6} ארגון. The derivation is doubtful.

Chain of gold. הֲמוֹנִיכָא (*Qr.*), המוניכא (*Kt.*). The *Qr.* is according to Marti a later Aramaic form. The word is either borrowed from the Greek μανιάκης (Kautzsch, § 64[4]), or, according to Andreas (see Marti, *Glossar* 67*) from the Persian *hamyânak*, diminutive from *hamyân* (in Aram. הֲמְיָן), *girdle*, whence it was borrowed by

the Greeks. It should be punctuated הַמְנִיכָא. But the change of meaning is difficult. It is found in Syr. in the same form: in the Targums in the abbreviated form מניכא. Pharaoh presents the same gift to Joseph (Gen. 41[42]): and Cambyses to the Ethiopians (Herod. iii. 20), and the younger Cyrus to Syennesis (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 27). According to the last writer (*Cyr.* xiii. 5. 18) such chains could only be worn when presented by the king. Thus they were distinctive of a certain royal order. Polybius (ii. 31) explains the *μανιάκης* as *χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον, ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται.*

Rule as one of three (?). The A.V. and the R.V. 'be the third ruler' is inaccurate here as in $5^{16,29}$. Neither the word תַּלְתִּי translated 'third' nor תַּלְתָּא in $5^{16,29}$ is found elsewhere as an ordinal. The ordinal for 'third' in our author, the Targums and the Aramaic parts of the Talmud is תליתי, though only the feminine of this numeral occurs in our author, i. e. תליתיא 2^{39}. Hence we cannot give the meaning of 'third' to the MT forms תַּלְתִּי or תַּלְתָּא. It is true that Th. in the second century A. D. in $5^{7,16}$ renders the text *τρίτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου*. But Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 2) in the first century paraphrases the text thus: *δώσειν . . . τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς*—a phrase which is repeated in x. 11. 3, and which was possibly influenced by the second century B. C. paraphrase of the LXX: *δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας* (5^{9}. Cf. $5^{16,29}$).

How then is this perplexing clause to be translated? The most satisfactory explanation appears to be that of Driver. He takes תלתי or rather תלתא to be the same as תַּלְתָּא or תִּלְתָּא, which both in the Targums and the Syriac means 'a third part'. Cf. 2 Kings $11^{5,6}$ 'a third part of you' תִּלְתָּא מִנְּכוֹן: 2 Sam. 18^{2}. 'Hence', he concludes, 'the literal rendering appears to be "shall rule as a third part in the kingdom", i. e. . . . be one of the three chief ministers, "rule as one of three".' Now this rendering of תלתא certainly receives support from the oldest version. The Pesh. also gives in the three passages 'rule as a third part in the kingdom'. Thus the LXX and the Pesh. presuppose תלתא in all three passages.

Loehr suggests that we should emend תַּלְתִּי into תְּלָתִי = 'third'. But Bevan objects to the disappearance of the long *i* in the emphatic state.

If the rendering 'be third ruler in the kingdom' were possible,

Driver's explanation then would be that the successful interpreter would 'have a third part of the supreme authority in the country' as one of his three chief ministers, With this we might compare 1 Esdras 3^{9} *οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Περσίδος*. Now in 6^{3} of our text the institution of three supreme officers is mentioned, and as Daniel is presupposed to be one of them, the explanation of Driver seems good.

On the other hand Marti regards תַּלְתָּי as = *triumvir*, being derived from תלת *a third*. In this case he would regard Daniel as coming third after the king and the queen-mother. Prince and others explain Daniel as the third after Nabuna'id, but, as Marti rightly rejoins, Prince herein forgets that in vv. 2 and 13 of this same chapter Nebuchadnezzar is definitely said to be the father of Belshazzar. See my note on 5^{2}.

תַּלְתָּי is a unique word if it is a genuine word. But probably it is a corruption of תַּלְתָּי or תַּלְתָּא : cf. $5^{16,29}$. Apparently the early translators found one and the same word in $5^{7,16,29}$. At any rate they recognize no such difference as the present text presents. Kautzsch (§ 65. 1. Anm. 3), it is true, regards תַּלְתָּא as an abnormal emphatic state of תַּלְתָּי—a view which Bevan condemns as still more inaccurate than the view of Gesenius. Gesenius regarded תַּלְתָּא as the emphatic state of a form תְּלַת, *third rank*—a view which Kautzsch brands as undoubtedly wrong.

5^{8b}. Wanting in the MT and Th.

5^{10}. The text of the MT 'the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords came' is more than doubtful. Th. omits 'by reason of the words of the king and his lords'; the LXX does not admit of this phrase. Moreover לקבל which occurs four times elsewhere in our author, means 'before' and not 'by reason of' as here. It has this meaning once in the Aramaic of Ezra, but not in our author, as we may reasonably conclude on many grounds. See Introd., § 20. *ff*. The text of the MT is here very difficult. It represents the queen as coming into the banqueting chamber purely on her own initiative owing to the exclamations of alarm on the part of the king and his lords that had penetrated the rest of the palace. The LXX on the other hand represents the king as at once summoning the queen on his second failure to secure an interpretation of the writing—*τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὴν βασίλισσαν περὶ τοῦ σημείου*. Still another

version is given by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 2), who represents the king's grandmother (or mother) (μάμμη) as a guest (?) at the banquet. We should observe that Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 2, identifies Belshazzar with Nabuna'id (Βαλτασάρην τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις), and in x. 11. 4 as an ἔγγονος of Nebuchadnezzar. Recognizing the deep dejection of the king she encouraged him by her account of Daniel.

Since the oldest authorities are thus in conflict with each other, it is difficult to determine what exactly the original text was, though clearly the LXX preserves the essence of the original; the king sent for the queen. We have seen how Josephus took this queen to be the grandmother of Belshazzar, that is the mother of Nabuna'id. But according to the Annalistic Tablet ii. 13 (*KB.* iii. 2, p. 131; *R.P.*² v. 160) this lady died eight years previously at Sippara in the ninth year of Nabuna'id. Origen takes her to be the mother of Belshazzar. The text of the LXX could admit of this view, though it does not necessarily involve it. See end of note. Porphyry accepts this view, but he refuses to take the question seriously, and, ridiculing the whole story, says that Belshazzar's wife knew more about the matter than her husband ('illudit plus scire quam maritum'—Jerome *in loc.* See vol. v. 520). Boutflower (*In and around the Book of Daniel*, p. 117) thinks that the queen in question was the widow of Nebuchadnezzar, whom Nabuna'id had married in order to strengthen his position, as he was not of the blood royal. Other writers maintain that this queen was the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. But in the absence of all evidence as to any such alliance of Nabuna'id with either a daughter or widow of Nebuchadnezzar in the tablets dealing with Nabuna'id, where there was every reason for emphasizing it if it existed, the hypothesis has no foundation. See note on p. 108 sqq.

That this queen was the queen-mother is certainly to be inferred from the Aramaic text. She is not included among the wives of the king ($5^{2,3}$), and in the next place she speaks apparently from personal knowledge of the events of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (5^{11}). Furthermore the LXX does not proscribe this view, nor yet that she was the king's wife. Its text admits of either view. In Israel and Judah the queen-mother enjoyed great influence: see 1 Kings 15^{13}, 2 Kings 10^{13}, 24^{12}. Herodotus (ix. 109) speaks of the influence exerted in this respect by

Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, and also of Nitocris, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, i. 185–8.

Let not . . . alarm thee. On the jussive forms יִבְהָלוּךְ and יְשַׁתַּנּוֹ see note on $4^{16(19)}$.

In the days of thy father. These words, though in a slightly different connexion, occur also in the LXX and also in the other versions.

⌜5^{11}⌝. *Whose name is Daniel.* Some such words (= דִּי שְׁמֵהּ דניאל, cf. 2^{26}, $4^{5,16}$) must be supplied, since the phrase 'in the same Daniel' in the next verse implies that Daniel's name had just been mentioned. The LXX is corrupt in some respects, but it preserves the beginning of the queen's address to the king in the indirect narrative, *ἡ βασίλισσα ἐμνήσθη πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλ, ὃς ἦν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Ἰουδαίας*; Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 2) confirms this reading, but gives it in the direct: *ἔστι τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος . . . Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ* κτλ. It is not improbable that after the addition I have already made to the text on the authority of the LXX and Josephus we should add the further clause from the LXX ⌜'who was one of the exiles of Judaea'⌝ (*ὃς ἦν* [indirect for *ὅς ἐστι*] *ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Ἰουδαίας* = דִּי מִן גלותא דִּי יהוד. See ver. 13.

In whom is the spirit of the holy gods. This phrase here and in 5^{14} is the immediate source whence it was borrowed by the reviser and utilized in $4^{5(8),\ 6(9),\ 15(18)}$. The clause is most probably suggested by Gen. 41^{38}, 'A man in whom the spirit of the gods is'. Its equivalent, though in a non-polytheistic sense, is found in the LXX and Th. on the present passage.

The holy gods. The queen speaks as an idolater. Contrast Joshua 24^{19}.

Holy gods. It has been urged by Lidzbarski (*Ephem.* iii. 255) that, since in Aḥ 126 (Cowley: Pap. 56^{1} in Sachau) אלהיא is construed with a singular verb, the plural should be construed in the sing. as 'God', and that in Aḥiḳar אלהן always bears this meaning. But in Aḥ 115 and 124 it is construed with a plural verb. Hence Cowley and Perles are no doubt right in considering the singular verb as merely an error. In 34^{7} (Cowley: *c.* 407 B.C.), 56^{1} (Cowley), אלהיא is followed by a plural verb. In $30^{2,27}$, 31^{2}, 32^{3}, 38^{35}, 40^{1} the sing. אלה or אלה שמיא is used of Ya'u or Yahweh, the God of Israel. On the other hand when the heathen gods

are referred to we find אֱלָהִי מצרים used as a plural in $7^{1}{}^{8,26}$ (Cowley). See also $3^{0}{}^{14}$, $3^{1}{}^{13}$.

[*The king, thy father.*] An intrusion. It is not found in Th. nor any first-class authority such as the LXX or Josephus. But the intrusion may be due to the reviser, who would thus emphasize this idea of our author as to Belshazzar being the son or grandson of Nebuchadnezzar: cf. $5^{2,11}$ (*bis*),^{13}.

Master of the magicians. This phrase is the source whence the reviser borrowed his in $4^{6(9)}$.

Magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers. Here as in 5^{7a} (LXX) four orders of wise men are mentioned. From this chapter the reviser borrowed this clause to insert in $4^{4(7)}$.

5^{12}. *Interpreting . . . loosing.* These two participles in the text מְפַשַּׁר and מְשָׁרָא are undoubtedly corrupt for מְפָשַׁר and מְשָׁרָא respectively, as most scholars now admit.

Solving of riddles. אַחֲוָת אחידן. אחוית is here the construct of אחויה (Inf. Aph'el: Kautzsch, § 60. 1). This phrase is drawn from Judges $14^{14,15,19}$. The Hebrew in 14^{14} is להגיד החידה = 'to solve the riddle', which the Targum renders לחוואה חודיתא, which is practically the same phrase as in our text. The Hebrew synonym, which is etymologically the same, means 'riddle', Num. 12^{8}, or 'hard question', 1 Kings 10^{1}, or 'problem' or 'enigma of life', Ps. 49^{5}. That the Aramaic word originally maintained itself in the Hebrew version of 12^{8} I have given reasons for believing.

Loosing of spells. The A.V. and R.V. wrongly render 'dissolving of doubts'. Bevan rightly recognized that קטרין meant 'magic knots', although unaware of the parallel in 1 Enoch 8^{3}, where we have the Greek equivalent, i. e. *ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον* = 'the resolving of enchantments'. In the same work 95^{4} we have 'anathemas which cannot be reversed'. Th.'s rendering of our text confirms this view—*λύων συνδέσμους*.

Were found in the same Daniel. The Aramaic בֵּהּ בְּדָנִיֵּאל implies that Daniel's name had already been mentioned by the queen, but owing to the faulty text has been lost. I have restored it in 5^{11}. This use of the pronominal suffixes before a noun serves as the equivalent of a demonstrative pronoun to emphasize the noun, *the previous mention of which it presupposes* (Kautzsch, § 88).

[Whom the king named Belteshazzar, i. e. ב' די מלכא שם שמה.] This is a false gloss. It was the prince of the Eunuchs who gave

this name to Daniel before the king was personally acquainted with him. There is no hint of this clause either in the LXX or in Josephus. It may come from the hand of the reviser, or a scribe. The right form of such a clause is given in 10[1] in Hebrew, and in Aramaic would be די שְׁמֵהּ בל״ as in 2^{26}, $4^{5(8),16(19)}$ according to our author, and not די מלכא שְׁמֵהּ בל״ as here, seeing that the statement itself is not true. The idiom itself is certainly word for word Hebraic. Cf. 2 Kings 17^{34} אשר שֵׁם שמו ישראל. Possibly the idiomatic Aramaic would be די מלכא קרא שמה ב״ or שְׁוִי instead of קרא. Pesh., however, reproduces this idiom literally.

5^{13}. *Art thou Daniel?* Daniel, though retained in the service of the state (see 8^{27}) was personally unknown to Belshazzar. The rendering 'that Daniel' (R.V.) is wrong. The הוא here serves only to emphasize the אנתא that precedes it: 'Art *thou* Daniel?' (Kautzsch, § 87. 3). The interrogative ה readily falls away before a guttural as here according to Kautzsch, § 67. 2. But it is retained in 2^{26}. The ground for such omission was alleged to be considerations of euphony. But in Ges.-Kautzsch, § 150 *rem.*, this statement is contradicted, seeing that הַ or הָ occurs before a guttural 118 times. So in Aramaic the interrogative is not necessary, where the natural emphasis is enough to indicate an interrogative sentence.

Art thou Daniel . . . whom the king my father brought, &c. Nebuchadnezzar is clearly here implied to be Belshazzar's father. Had our author taken him to be the grandfather or great-grandfather of Belshazzar, he would naturally have represented Belshazzar as saying 'Nebuchadnezzar my father' in order to distinguish him from his actual father.

5^{15}. *That they should read . . . and they undertook to make known.* Here די = ἵνα expressing purpose. But the second clause is not subordinate to the די as in 6^{16}, but is parallel to the principal clause, 'the wise men were brought in'. Cf. 2^{18}, where this idiom expresses the idea of purpose or obligation without any preceding די. In 2^{16} this idiom—ל *c.* Inf.—is, as here, to be taken as a finite verb, not as dependent on the preceding די but as parallel to the principal verb that precedes, i. e. בעא, 'Daniel implored the King . . . and undertook to show.' See Gen. Introd., § 20. *t.*

5^{16}. *Interpretations*, i. e. פשרין. In 5^{12} the text has חלמין, but the reading in 5^{16} has the support of the LXX and Th.

As one of three. See note on 5^{7}.

5^{17-24}. Before interpreting the writing, Daniel reminds the king of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar his father, and recalls the fact that, nowithstanding the nemesis of such pride, he went on his way, and giving free reins to his pride challenged the power of the God of heaven by the profanation of the sacred vessels of the Temple.

5^{17}. *Let . . . be.* On לֶהֱוֵין see Gen. Introd. *in loc.*

Rewards. On נבזביתך see note on 2^{6}.

5^{18}. *Thou O king* is a Nominativus pendens and is resumed in the suffix in אבוך. Cf. 2^{29} for a similar construction. This construction emphasizes the relation in which Belshazzar stands to Nebuchadnezzar. To him the Most High God gave all the glory he possessed and yet though all this glory was taken from him because of his pride, yet thou 'his son Belshazzar' (5^{22}), hast not humbled thyself, though thou knewest all this.

5^{19}. *Trembled.* זַאֲעִין: with א from זעע. See note on 2^{38}.

Whom he would he slew. For like expressions cf. 1 Sam. 2^{7}, Ps. 75^{7}, Sir. 7^{11}, Tob. 4^{19}.

Kept alive, i.e. מַחָא Aph'el part. of חיה. Some versions and editions wrongly punctuate מָחָא = 'striking'. So Th. ἔτυπτεν and Vulg. *percutiebat.* But the parallelism is against the latter. See Bauer-Leander, § 49, k. This verb belongs to the ע״ע class.

5^{20}. *Was lifted up.* Kautzsch, § 45. 1. d takes רם here as a participle as שׂים in 3^{29} $4^{3(6)}$. But Marti, following Bevan, and so Strack § 24, regards it as a perfect with intransitive vocalization. Cf. Hebrew מת, Syriac ܡܛ.

Was deposed. With the Hoph'al הָנְחַת, cf. 4^{36}, Kautzsch, § 42. 1; Marti, § 58 c.

Throne. כָּרְסָא. This form is found in the Zinjirli inscription (Cooke 63^{7}), in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley 6^{2}, Aḥ 133). But the Assyr. has *kussu* and the Hebrew כִּסֵּא. The word is thought to be an Akkadian loan-word according to Schrader (Bevan).

His glory. For וְיָקָרָה 'the glory' read with Pesh. as Rosenmüller (followed by other scholars) suggests: וְיָקָרֵהּ.

They took. The Aramaic uses the 3rd m.pl. Haph'al הַעְדִּיו (cf. הַחְסִנוּ 7^{22}) where we should expect הַעְדִּיו. Cf. Bauer-Leander, § 39, f.

5^{21}. This verse summarizes statements made in $4^{22\,(25)}$, $29\,(32)$, $30\,(33)$.

From the sons of men. We have here מן בני אנשא replacing מן אנשא in $4^{22(25),\ 29(32),\ 30(33)}$, but Th. renders ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων in all cases.

Was made: literally 'they made' שַׁוִּיו (*Qr.*). But the *Kt.* has שוי. Th. has certainly the passive ἐδόθη here, but in the next clause we find again the 3 pl. impersonal. *Kt.* has שוי which may be read as שָׁוִי or שֻׁוִי. See Bauer-Leander, § 47, s.

Like the beasts. On the elliptical construction here, cf. מן אנשא $4^{13(16)}$ and in note on 1^{10}.

The wild asses. These animals are specially named here because they are the wildest and shyest of creatures (Job 39^{5-8}). The king was to avoid all contact with mankind as much as they. Five manuscripts read אֲדָרִיא 'flocks' instead of אֲרָדִיא 'wild asses', and are followed by Haupt and Prince.

Until he knew, &c. Cf. $4^{22(25)}$.

5^{22}. *Thou his son.* Cf. $5^{11, 18}$.

Though. Only here has כל קבל די in Biblical or earlier Aramaic this meaning.

5^{23}. *Hast lifted up thyself.* With הִתְרוֹמַמְתָּ, cf. the other Hebraistic form of this verb in 4^{34}.

The vessels. See note on 5^{2}.

Gold and silver. With Th. and the Pesh. I have transposed the order of these words. Unfortunately the LXX is defective here; but in 5^{2} where all the authorities exist, the order is as it is here in Th. and Pesh.

Which see not, &c. The unreasonableness of idolatry is elsewhere dwelt on: cf. Deut. 4^{28}, Isa. 44^{9}, Ps. $115^{5, 6}$, 135^{16}, Rev. 9^{20}, &c.

Him hast thou not glorified. The MT has here connected לֵהּ with the דִּי which precedes, so that the English would run as follows: 'in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways'. Cf. Jer. 10^{23} 'O Lord I know that the way of man is not in himself'. But the Th. and the LXX (though it gives a somewhat different text) rightly regard the לֵהּ here as emphatic and as the object of the verb that follows. So Kautzsch, § 84. 1.

5^{25-28}. *The writing and its interpretation.*

The writing may have consisted of ideograms; for according to the text even expert Babylonian scholars could not decipher it. The inscription therefore had to be read or translated into ordinary symbols of speech. This seems the obvious deduction

from 5^{7}, where it is said that the wise men could neither 'read' the writing nor make known its interpretation, whereas in 5^{17} Daniel declares that he will both read and interpret it[1]: cf. also $5^{15, 16}$. The text of the LXX is confused, and less trustworthy than the MT and Th. Thus 5^{17} is clearly transposed from its original context in 5^{25-8} as a duplicate interpretation of the words Μανή, φαρές, θεκέλ. 5^{25} of the LXX which contained these words has unfortunately not been preserved in the solitary manuscript of the LXX. But that the LXX originally contained the equivalent of 5^{25} is indubitable; for at the close of the title (or table of contents) of this chapter we read as follows: Μανή, φαρές, θεκέλ. (Did the translator understand these words as weights as Prince suggests, and accordingly transpose them?) ἔστι δὲ ἑρμηνεία αὐτῶν· μανή, ἠρίθμηται· φαρές, ἐξῆρται· θεκέλ, ἕσταται. The interpretation 'numbered . . . taken away . . . weighed' admits of explanation even as to its order.

The title, therefore, of this chapter of the LXX agrees with, and confirms, the text of Th. in 5^{25} though in a different order. Similarly, Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 3 has Μανή . . . θεκέλ . . . φαρές. Since Josephus has in the earlier verses followed the LXX, we may reasonably conclude that here also he was following a more trustworthy form of the LXX than that which has come down to us. Furthermore, Josephus in the interpretation of μανή uses the words χρόνον . . . ἠρίθμηκεν ὁ θεός. See ἠρίθμηται in the title of this chapter given above on the LXX. Since Th. uses ἐμέτρησεν ὁ Θεός, Josephus was here obviously using the LXX.

The above facts throw serious doubt on the originality of the words *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.* Let us first deal with the

[1] 5^{17} (i.e. 5^{25}), of the LXX preserves a reference to Daniel's reading in the inscription: τότε Δανιὴλ ἔστη, κατέναντι τῆς γραφῆς, καὶ ἀνέγνω, καὶ οὕτως ἀπεκρίθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Αὕτη ἡ γραφή Ἠρίθμηται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξῆρται. There are two points to be observed here. First the actual transliteration of the inscription is not given but only a translation of it, and this translation is defective; for ἠρίθμηται and κατελογίσθη are duplicate renderings of מְנָא, and there is no rendering at all of תְּקֵל, although even the table of contents at the beginning of this chapter contains the three enigmatical words. Again in $5^{26, 28}$ there is no mention of תקל. 5^{26} contains ἠρίθμηται a rendering of מנא: ἀπολήγει and συντετέλεσται are dittographic renderings of תַּשְׁלֵמָה: whereas συντέτμηται, which is wrongly inserted between the last two verbs is a rendering of פריסת and should be transposed to the beginning of 5^{28}. We should then read φαρές, συντέτμηται ἡ βασιλεία σου καὶ τ. Μ. καὶ τ. Π. δίδοται.

repetition of the first words. Against such a repetition we have the authority of the LXX, Th., Vulgate, and Josephus, and finally we observe that the interpretation in 5^{26-7} takes no account of such a repetition. Furthermore, Jerome here states definitely: Tria tantum verba in pariete scriptura (scripta — so Erasmus) signaverat: Mane, Thecel, Phares. Next as regards the fourth word, we discover that the same authorities are unaware of the form ופרסין and undoubtedly read פרס.

Let us first take the words as they stand מְנָא מְנָא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין and see what can be made of them.

(1) The usual interpretation is 'counted, counted, weighed and pieces'. But though מְנָא as passive participle of מנא might mean 'counted' תְּקֵל cannot mean 'weighed' (i.e. תקל), and פְּרֵס cannot mean 'divided' (i.e. פרים) as the interpretation in 5^{27-8} demands. Moreover, the interpretation takes account of פרס and not really of פרסין. These words תְּקֵל (the absolute of תְּקֵלָא = Heb. שֶׁקֶל) and פְּרֵס as at present vocalized are not participles but substantives. From these facts it has been inferred that no close connexion exists between the inscription and its interpretation, and that therefore the words themselves were not arbitrarily invented by our author but borrowed from some other source. In that source they appear to have stood in some relation to the events in the text, else our author would hardly have incorporated them in his account, since the interpretation in 5^{26-8} is a real *tour de force*, resorted to in order to give them a meaning in regard to the present crisis.

But the interpretation in 5^{26-8} cannot, as we have seen, be adopted, since the translation does not admit of it. If we may anticipate we might with Haupt and Prince render: 'There is counted (מְנָא) a mina (מְנֵה), a shekel and two half minas'. The mina would refer to Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel (=one sixtieth (or later one fiftieth) part of a mina) to Belshazzar and the half-minas probably to the Medes and Persians. See Prince *in loc.* To a modification of this interpretation we shall return.

(2) Owing to the difficulties of the text and its interpretation many modern scholars, including Nöldeke, Bevan, Driver, Prince, and Marti, have accepted the explanation put forward by Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal Asiatique*, Mane, Thecal, Phares, 1886), who pointed out that mᵉnê is the Aramaic equavalent of the Hebrew מָנֶה, which was borrowed by the Greeks and written μνᾶ, by the

Latins *mina*. פרס he recognized to be the equivalent of פרש which he found on half-mina weights,[1] and which therefore he concluded must mean a half-mina. As regards the term תקל he was undecided, but Nöldeke (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, i. 414–18) rightly identified it with the shekel. In a fifth century Pap. B. C. (Cowley 10[5]) תקל is used as the equivalent of שקל.

Thus the inscription runs: *a mina, a mina, a shekel, and two half-minas.* Here מנה can mean 'mina' but also 'numbered'. So Daniel shows his skill in interpreting it as meaning that Belshazzar's days are numbered. תְּקֵל (= shekel) might be written תקיל (= weighed): hence 'Thou art weighed': and פְּרֵס or rather פְּרֵס could suggest פרים = 'divided' as well as פרס 'a Persian'. But this interpretation does not account for פרסין.

(3) So far we have kept to the MT in 5^{25}. But as we have shown at the beginning of the note, the MT of 5^{25} is not supported by the LXX, Th., Vulg., Josephus, or Jerome or even by the interpretation given in 5^{26-8} of our text. These six authorities agree in the main in one and the same text—מנא תקל פרס—or as in Th., LXX, Josephus, *Μανή, θεκέλ, φαρές.*

The MT. ופרסין (i.e. 'and half minas' or 'and Persians') would then be understood as an explanatory marginal gloss, which simply meant 'Persians' but which subsequently displaced the original פרס.

There would then be two ways of taking these words, following the guidance of $^{27-8}$, or a third if we considered the probable meaning of the proverbial saying by itself.

(*a*) Let us take the third first. The three words duly punctuated would mean 'a mina, a shekel, half a mina' and these three weights would contain a veiled allusion (as a proverb originating in later Persian circles and passing subsequently into Jewish) respectively to Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the Persians —the relative values of the two monarchs being exhibited by the comparison of the mina and shekel, and the sequence in time of the Persian on the great Babylonian Empire.

[1] In the eighth century B. C., Zinjirli Aramaic inscription (Cooke, 62[6]) פרס is found with the meaning of half a mina: Cf. *CIS.* II. i. 10, where פרש in the Assyrian version is explained as 'a half mina'. In Eduy. III. 3; Yoma, iv. 4; Peâ, viii. 5 מנה ופרס = *a mina and a half.* פרס is found in this sense in an Egyptian papyrus 450 B. C. See Cowley 45[8] where it means 'half'.

(*b*) But, if this existed as an early proverb with the meaning suggested in (*a*), it would of course assume fresh significance in its new context without wholly losing its old. *Mane* (so Versions, though it should be read *mana* מָנָא) would mean 'mina', but would suggest m^{e}nē (מְנֵא) 'numbered'. Hence Belshazzar's days are numbered. *teḳēl* (תְּקֵל) means 'shekel' but could be interpreted as pointing to תָּקִיל 'weighed'. Hence 'thou art weighed, &c.'. *Pares* or rather p^{e}ras (='half') could suggest p^{e}rês (פְּרֵס) 'divided' and also פָּרַס = 'Persian'. Hence 'thy kingdom is divided and given to the Persians'. There is thus a double play on the word in 5^{28}.

(*c*) It is also possible that the text of the Versions is wrongly punctuated for מָנָא תְּקֵל פָּרַס, i.e. 'a mina, a shekel, half a mina', where 'half a mina' would be a comment on Belshazzar as a worthless son of a great father. This use of weights to denote the value of persons is attested in the Talmud. It may have originated before the time of our author, and been borrowed from Persian sources. Thus in Ta'an. 21 b we have: מוטב יבא מנה בן פרס אצל מנה בן מנה ואל יבא מנה בן מנה אצל מנה בן פרס.

'It is more fitting that a mina son of a half-mina should come to a mina son of a mina, rather than that a mina son of a mina should come to a mina son of a half-mina.'

The text of the inscription cannot, therefore, be determined with certainty. The textual evidence, however, is decidedly in favour of its consisting simply of the three words given under (*c*). It was most probably an ancient proverb referring to the events with which our author was dealing and which he incorporated in his text and interpreted as he thought right.[1]

5^{27}. *In the balances.* מאזנים so some editors: others write מאזניא.

5^{28}. *Divided . . . given.* פְּרִיסַת . . . יְהִיבַת—both 3rd pers. fem. sing. Pe'il.

The Medes and Persians. The Jews regarded the Medes and Persians as closely associated. Hence we have our author speaking three times of the 'laws of the Medes and Persians' (6^{9} (8), 13 (12), 16 (15)). From the Greek standpoint their conflicts with Darius and his successors were indifferently designated as τὰ Μηδικά or τὰ Περσικά.

5^{29}. *Made proclamation.* הכריזו. See note on 3^{4}.

[1] The student should consult Clermont-Ganneau, *Journal Asiatique*, 1886, pp. 36 sqq., Nöldeke, *Z. f. Assyr.* i. 414 sqq.

5^{30}. The story closes here summarily with the mention of the murder of Belshazzar, and 5^{31} properly belongs to the next narrative.

SECTION VI

i. e. 6^{1-29} (5^{31}–6^{28}), dating from the first year of the reign of Darius, and giving an account of the events that followed immediately on the conquest of Babylon.

1. *Unhistorical character of this chapter.*

The historical difficulties of this chapter are all but incredible. Those connected with Belshazzar we found very great, but they are trivial and immaterial when compared with our author's records regarding 'Darius the Mede'.

We have here to investigate briefly the historical sources contemporary with the years preceding and succeeding the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B. C. in order to discover the identity of 'Darius the Mede', whom our author represents as being appointed king of Babylon in 538 B. C., and to come to a definite conclusion as to whether such a person existed. Next, if we conclude that no such person was known to history, we must account for the origin of this mythical personage.

(*a*) *Short sketch of the history of Media down to its conquest by Cyrus the Persian, and his subsequent conquest of Babylon.* The Medes lived in the mountainous regions north and north-east of Babylon and south-west of the Caspian. Four of their kings are mentioned by Herodotus (i. 96–130), the first of whom is Deioces 699–646, who may have been an individual or a dynasty. The real founder of the monarchy was Phraortes, 646–624. The Medes were organized by his son Cyaxares (624–584) into a strong power. The latter sought to avenge the defeats of his father by the Assyrians. In his first attempt to do so in 614 he was unsuccessful, but in his second campaign in 612 against the Babylonians and Scythians[1] he destroyed the Assyrian capital, Nineveh. Cyaxares was succeeded by Astyages (584–550), who was betrayed by his own troops into the hands of Cyrus. Cyrus had been a vassal of Astyages.

[1] See Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1923, based on the recently discovered 'Chronicle of Nabopolassar'.

(*b*) *The historical outlook of the author of Daniel in regard to the Median and Persian empires, and particularly in regard to Darius and Cyrus.* The empire of the Medes, thus absorbed into that of the Persians, became the Medo-Persian empire, the supreme factor of which was henceforth the Persian, which had hitherto been a subordinate power. Cyrus became the king of the united monarchies in 538 when he effected the conquest of Babylon.[1]

In our author the two peoples are sometimes represented as united (5^{28}, $6^{9(8),13(12),16(15)}$; cf. 8^{20}), but in other passages the distinctness of the two nationalities is emphasized, and this especially in regard to the heads of the empire. Thus on the fall of Babylon Darius the Mede (6^{1}, $5^{(31)}$, 9^{1}, 11^{1}) 'received the kingdom' and the title of *a supreme, not of a delegated, kingship* ($6^{3,4,7,8,9,13,14\ (2,3,6,7,8,12,13)}$ &c.); exercised all the functions of a plenary and paramount jurisdiction ($6^{2,3,16,26,27\ (1,2,15,25,26)}$); as sole ruler divided his vast empire into 120 satrapies, $6^{2(1)}$; which empire embraced all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell upon the earth ($6^{26\ (25)}$); as absolute despot sentenced to death the rulers of such satrapies as had accused Daniel $6^{25(24)}$; and at the close of his reign—it does not say his death except in the LXX ($6^{29(28)}$—was succeeded by Cyrus 'the Persian' ($6^{29(28)}$: cf. 10^{1}). And yet, though prerogative after prerogative and every divine right that marks and hedges in a king are piled on Darius, the Median empire is felt to be a kind of unintelligible episode in the history of Babylon—even by those whose historical knowledge is limited to the O.T. Our author though a convinced believer in this tradition of a Median Empire is perfectly aware that it is weaker, 8^{3}, than the Persian which he held succeeded it, 2^{39}.

(*c*) *Our author presupposes that the Medes conquered Babylon and that 'Darius the Mede' immediately succeeded to the throne of Babylon.* One underlying presupposition of the entire Book of Daniel is that Babylon was stormed and captured mainly by the Medes (5^{28}, 7^{5}, 8^{3}), though in 5^{28} Medes and Persians are

[1] Thus Cyrus, who was 'the King of Countries', i.e. of the entire empire, and who *appointed* apparently only for one year his son Cambyses as 'King of Babylon', leaves no room for Darius. Yet the traditionalists would identify Darius *this mythical ruler of the whole earth* with this temporary king of one of the lands over all of which Cyrus ruled. See *Introduction.*

mentioned together. Cyrus 'the Persian' has, so far as the narrative goes, no part in its overthrow. It is, therefore, perfectly in keeping with the positive statements of our author, as well as with the general implications of his work, that a Median prince should be appointed the first king of conquered Babylon. It is noteworthy that there is not a hint that he received the kingdom from the joint victors: much less is there the slightest foundation for the statement that the words 'Darius the Mede received the Kingdom' mean or imply that Darius was appointed by a superior. The LXX and Th. here render παρέλαβε(ν) τὴν βασιλείαν. This merely means that he received the kingdom in accordance with the will of God, the Ruler of all. The very same phrase is used of Cyrus in the LXX in $6^{29(28)}$, where it diverges from the MT, and where it records that, on the death of Darius, Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. Cf. 5^{31} for the same phrase. In Bel and the Dragon (ver. 1) the same phrase recurs in the version of Th. in connexion with Cyrus, and in 2 Macc. 4^{7} (παραλαβόντος τ. βασιλείαν), 10^{11} with Antiochus Epiphanes and his son respectively. Josephus uses it (βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει) of Evil Merodach and of Neriglissar (*Ant.* x. 11. 2). In Bernstein's *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 110, 'Ex Bar Hebraei Chron.' Dyn. x. 491 we have this phrase used of the accession of Ucataeus ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܩܒܠ. Hoffmann, *Julianos der Abtrünnige*, p. 5 (see Bevan, p. 20) has found the same phrase קבל מלכותא used by a Syriac author in describing the accession of Julian the Apostate.

From the above it is simply incontestable that our author honestly believed that Darius was the sole and independent sovereign of the Babylonian empire after its conquest by Cyrus. The figure of Darius, a sovereign unknown, outside our author, to sacred or profane history, whether the latter be Greek or oriental, dominates the thought of our author; for a whole chapter, i. e. 6, is devoted to one episode in his life, while, outside that chapter, he is mentioned three times (6^{1} (5^{31}), 9^{1}, 11^{1}), whereas the great historical figure Cyrus, who from 558 to 529 dominated in growing measure the fortunes of eastern kingdoms, alike large and small, is only mentioned twice, i. e. $6^{29(28)}$, 10^{1}; for $1^{21\,b}$ appears to be a later addition. But, if outside our author Darius is unknown to the O.T., Cyrus is mentioned by prophet and historian nineteen times—though the passages in

which it occurs are conflicting at times. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 978–982.

(*d*) *It is also incontestable that our author believed that a Median empire succeeded immediately on that of Babylon and preceded the Persian empire.* Of such a Median sovereignty after the fall of Babylon neither Berosus nor any ancient writer oriental or Greek knows anything, and recent research has shown that in the annals of Nabuna'id and the Cyrus Cylinder, Cyrus is the immediate successor of Nabuna'id on the throne of Babylon. No more does the O.T. outside Daniel know anything of a Median empire after the fall of Babylon. In the post-Exile Isaiah 40–48 Cyrus is represented as being expressly called to execute the divine judgements on Babylon, to set the Jewish captives free, and to restore Jerusalem and the Temple ($48^{14,15}$, 44^{28}, 45^{13}).

(*e*) *How then did this mythical king and this mythical empire gain a footing in history?* Is it possible to explain this strange phenomenon in O.T. history, or rather on O.T. Apocalyptic? It is perfectly easy for those who have made a study of Jewish Apocalyptic. Scholars have recognized the fact that O.T. prophecy foretold the conquest of Babylon by the Medes (Isa. 13^{17}, 21^{2}; Jer. $51^{11,28}$), and have (see Bevan, p. 109) suggested that such prophecies may have given rise to the tradition that the Medes had in fact conquered Babylon. But what these scholars have failed to see is that this is not one out of the many possible explanations, but that it is *the explanation.* In my Jowett Lectures on *Eschatology*, 1899, pp. 168 sqq., I pointed out that one main source of Apocalyptic was to be found in prophecy, or rather indeed in unfulfilled prophecy, and developed this principle further in the second edition in 1913, pp. 184 sqq. Since study and reflection entered largely into the life of the apocalyptist, and his chief studies were confined to the sacred books of Israel, it follows that a not unimportant element in apocalyptic is that of unfulfilled prophecy. Unfulfilled prophecy was, as we know, a matter of religious difficulty to the prophets themselves as early as the Exile, and so such unfulfilled prophecies of the older prophets came to be re-edited by the later. The first notable reinterpretation is due to Ezekiel. Jeremiah 4–6[1] had foretold the invasion of Judah by

[1] Cf. Isa. 10^{5-34}, $17^{12\ sqq.}$; Mic. 5^{11}; Zeph. 3^{8}.

a mighty people from the north. But this northern foe failed to appear. And since inspired prophecy in his view could not remain unfulfilled, Ezekiel re-edits this prophecy and adjourns its fulfilment, and declares that the host, of whose coming the earlier prophets had foretold, was Gog: 'Thou art he of whom I spake by my servants the prophets of Israel, which prophesied . . . for (many) years that I would bring thee against them'[1] (Ezek. 38^{17}).

In the same work I have shown that the non-fulfilment of prophecies as to the date of the Messianic Kingdom was a predominant source of apocalyptic. Thus Jeremiah prophesied that after seventy years (25^{11}, 29^{10}) Israel would be restored to its own land ($24^{5,6}$) and there enjoy the blessings of the Messianic Kingdom under the Messianic King ($23^{5,6}$), but this period passed by, and things remained as of old. Ezekiel cherished a similar expectation, but this no more than that of Jeremiah reached fulfilment. The same theme was dealt with afresh by Haggai and Zachariah, but their prophecies no more than those of their greater forerunners attained realization. In chapter ix of our author we shall return to this theme and discuss the fresh reinterpretation by our author of this old prophecy of Jeremiah, and recount subsequent attempts of other writers.

In this belief on the part of our author that unfulfilled prophecy must yet be fulfilled we have the means of solving the otherwise inexplicable problems of chapters 5–6. According to the two greatest prophets of the past, Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Medes were to overthrow Babylon. This prophecy could not be falsified. Hence round these prophecies the thoughts of Judah's seers revolved, till gradually there was evolved a tradition resembling no doubt in its main features Dan. 6, but assuredly recast by our author to suit the main purpose of his work.

Here we have the explanation of the thought underlying the greater part of the work of our author, i. e. his belief that Babylon was conquered by the Medes in 538, and that a Median prince became king of that great empire.

So far the solution of the problem holds good. There must have been, according to apocalyptic, a *Median conquest* of Babylon

[1] So LXX and Vulg. which omit the interrogative in this verse.

in 538, and following thereon a *Median empire*. That these were as truly historical facts as the most assured events in the past, the O.T. seers were convinced, starting from the same axiom as Ezekiel and subsequent prophets, the axiom that every prophecy of the past was inspired and must therefore be fulfilled. To them such a statement was a self-evident proposition. We have here, therefore, not free invention but rather logical inferences from an unquestioned axiom. The seers may have been long in arriving at such conclusions, but sooner or later such conclusions under the circumstances were inevitable, and the more so as their knowledge of the actual events of history was meagre and uncertain. In our author these conclusions have won a place in sacred literature.

(*f*) *But how is it that Darius came to be named as the king of this Median Empire?* There was no oracle of the past that foretold not only the conquest of Babylon by the Medes, but also the name of the Median prince who led them. Since, therefore, ancient prophecy failed to provide the name of this prince, these seers had to fall back on the history contained in their sacred books and probably in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes, which was broadcasted in several languages throughout the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia. An Aramaic translation of this inscription, belonging to the fifth century B.C., has recently been found far up the Nile in Elephantine (see Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 248 seqq.). In this inscription Darius, the son of Hystaspes[1], recounts his victories—especially over the provinces that had rebelled against him, and amongst them he twice reduced Babylon. Here then were both the conqueror of Babylon and his name ready at hand. That his date (521–495) did not tally with the conquest of Babylon in 538 was no real difficulty to men with very elementary ideas of dates and chronology in general. That they called this Darius 'Darius the Mede' was only a further development of their reconstruction of the history of the conquest of Babylon in 538.[2] The very

[1] The origin of 'Darius the Mede' in Darius Hystaspes was first suggested by Marianus Scotus, a Benedictine monk in the eleventh century of our era. See Berthold, *Dan.*, p. 844, quoted by Prince, p. 54.

[2] Names are sometimes used loosely in ancient authorities. Thus Tomyris queen of the Massagetae (according to Herod. i. 206) in rejecting Cyrus' proposal of marriage addresses him thus: ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων.

acts attributed to this mythical Darius recall the later Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

Thus our author tells us that this Darius set 120 satraps over the kngdom, which Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 4) says consisted of 360 provinces. Herodotus (iii. 89 sqq.) records that Darius, son of Hystaspes, divided the kingdom into twenty satrapies, and that this was first done under this king. In Esther 1^1, 8^9; Esdras 3^2; Add. to Esther 2^1, 5^1 there are said to have been 127 provinces.

The source then of the *name* of the mythical Darius appears undeniable. This Darius is a reflexion into the past of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. In 9^1 of our author this 'Darius the Mede' is said to have been the son of Ahasuerus (אחשורוש) mentioned in Ezra 4^6 and Esther *passim*. This is the Hebrew form of the Persian Khshayārshā, the Greek Xerxes, the Aramaic חשיארש (see Cowley 5^1), and חשירש (*op. cit.* 2^1). But Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was the father and not the son of Ahasuerus.

Finally the author of this myth *not knowing any real Median names gives two Persian names* to his two kings; for not only is Ahasuerus of Persian origin, but so also is Darius = Hebrew דריוש, Old Persian Darayava'ush.

Josephus is fully aware how the accounts in Daniel conflict with some non-Jewish authorities as to this Darius. We have in an earlier page (109 sqq.) found him identifying Belshazzar with his father Nabuna'id in an attempt to reconcile the statements of Greek and Oriental historians with conflicting statements in Daniel. Here again he shuffles, and writes (*Ant.* x. 11. 4); 'When Darius with the help of his kinsman Cyrus put an end to the hegemony of the Babylonians, he was sixty-two years old . . . but he was called by another name among the Greeks' (ἕτερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα). This no doubt was Gobryas (Old Pers. Gaubaruva, Bab. Gubara), governor of Gutium, whom Cyrus, immediately after the fall of Babylon, made viceroy over the province of Babylon. But the father of Gobryas, however, was named Mardonius and not Xerxes. This Gobryas, or Gubaru, according to the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus appointed governors in Babylon as the mythical Darius is said to have done. Shortly after he was superseded, as viceroy, by Cambyses, the Persian. That Cambyses is the 'other name' implied by Josephus is hardly worth consideration.

With Cambyses *the Persian* Josephus could not have identified 'Darius the Mede',[1] though he might have identified him with Gobryas, but thought it unnecessary to mention him.

With Cambyses Josephus deals later on with his succession to the throne of Cyrus (*Ant.* xi. 1. 2).

Winckler, the learned Assyriologist (*KAT.*[3], p. 287), and those who accept his identification of 'Darius the Mede' with Cambyses, fail to recognize one of the main contentions of our author, and this is that a *Median*, and not a Persian, became king of Babylon immediately after its conquest in 538, and that this Median king was the ruler of a Median empire before Cyrus the Persian and the Persian empire came into power. It was owing to Winckler's ignorance of one of the essential elements of apocalyptic that this blunder of his is due. One of the aims of our author is to show that the unfulfilled prophecy of Isaiah and Jeremiah, that the Babylonian empire would be overthrown by the Medes, was in very deed fulfilled. Hence Cambyses *the Persian* cannot be identified with 'Darius the Mede'. Something might be said for the partial identification of Gobryas with this mythical king, as we shall see in the next paragraph.

(*g*) *The mythical Darius is derived from the blending together of historical facts associated with three* (?) *distinct persons—Darius, son of Hystaspes, Gobryas, and Cambyses* (?). Under (*f*) we have shown how to this mythical personage the name of Darius was given in the course of tradition. In the same section we have mentioned the fact that Gobryas was made viceroy of Babylon immediately after its capture in 538 B.C., and that according to the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus he appointed governors in Babylon as the mythical Darius is said to have done. The acts of Gobryas were thus in the course of tradition transferred to this mythical Darius. Again the fact that statements in our author which seemingly assign only one year to the reign of the mythical Darius over Babylon may (?) be due to the fact (transmitted

[1] Ctesias, it is true, in his *Persica* (excerpts 2 and 10) relates that Cyrus after defeating Astyages and making himself master of Ecbatana, the capital of Media, married Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, and that Cambyses was the fruit of this marriage. It has been urged that Cambyses could be called a Median on the ground of the nationality of his mother, but his nationality would naturally be that of his father, Cyrus the Persian. Further Cyrus' sovereignty over the Medes was not due to a marriage alliance but to conquest by force.

through tradition) that Cambyses was made king of Babylon for only one year during the life of Cyrus, and that the year immediately following its conquest.

There is still another feature in this tradition calling for treatment. Whether we follow the MT or the LXX, it is clear that Darius is conceived as a man in the sixties if not older. This feature in the tradition cannot be derived from Darius, son of Hystaspes, who after his accession reigned for thirty-six years. Nor yet can it be derived from Cambyses, who even when he fell by his own hand can hardly have reached the sixties. It may, therefore, be derived from Gobryas or Gubaru who is mentioned in the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus as the supreme governor in Babylon after Cyrus' conquest of that city.

§ 2. *Our author's aim in this chapter as distinguished from his aim in chapter 3.*

In 3^{1-30} the aim of our author was to direct his people how to act in their relations to *heathen religions* and to admonish them not to acknowledge or share in their worship, but rather to prefer death to apostasy. In this chapter it is his aim to enforce the duty of observing *their own religion.* And since during the exile this observance could not extend beyond acts of *private and personal* worship, it is just this side of the Jewish religion that has to be brought forward here, and it is the necessity of emphasizing this side that obliged our author to introduce certain unlikely or incredible features into his story, such as the king's issuing such a preposterous edict as that in the text in order to render Daniel's acts of private devotion a capital offence, and his failure to consult the chiefest and wisest of his great officers before issuing such an edict. These and other such features, however, appear no longer unreasonable when they serve to manifest Daniel's faithful observance of his religion *in private.* By such a story or parable our author sought to encourage his countrymen, who under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes were precluded in the main from all acts of public worship, to be true to their national faith and hold fast to the life of private devotion, even as Daniel had done.

§ 3. (*a*) *Corruptions of the MT.*

6^{1b-2b} ($5^{31b-6^{1b}}$). See notes *in loc.*

$6^{7(6),\ 12(11),\ 16(15)}$. In these three passages the MT reads הרגשו,

and modern scholars render it in all three passages 'came tumultuously' and wrongly in all. The LXX, Th., Pesh., and Josephus require קרבו in $6^{7(6)}$. The context also is against הרגשו having been originally in the text. In $6^{12(11)}$ the MT is right and was rightly rendered by the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg., as 'kept watch'—a meaning attested in Aramaic and late Hebrew but not earlier than the 2nd cent. B.C. Daniel's enemies were spying upon him in order to discover him in the act of breaking the law. In $6^{16(15)}$ this verb is an interpolation. Both the LXX and Th. omit it. Furthermore, the context itself makes its presence impossible. Daniel's enemies did not leave the king's presence the entire day, while the king was striving to save Daniel.

$6^{13(12)}$. For לא שם עליך מלכא טעם (='regardeth (?) not thee, O king') we should read לא שמע על טעמך ='obeyeth not thy decree'. No ancient authority supports the MT. See notes on $6^{13(12)}$ and 3^{12}.

$6^{19(18)}$. See note *in loc.*

$6^{25(24)}$. For הַיְתִיו read הֵיתַיוּ and for רְמוֹ read רְמִיו. See note *in loc.*

$6^{29(28)}$. The Massoretes or a reviser replaced the original הֲקִים =LXX κατεστάθη) by הצלח, and so framed a conflate text from two independent texts. See notes on $6^{4, 29}$.

(*b*) *Interpolations.*

$6^{5(4)}$. 'Neither was there any error or fault found in him.' LXX and Th. om.

$6^{8(7), 13(12)}$. 'or man'.

$6^{13(12)}$. 'Concerning the edict of the king.' Omitted by LXX, Th., and Pesh.

$6^{16(15)}$. 'Came tumultuously to the king and.' LXX, Th. omit. Context against its presence absolutely.

(*c*) *Dislocations of the text.*

$6^{19(18)}$. See note *in loc.*

(*d*) *Omissions.*

$6^{14(13)}$. 'Before his God'. So LXX and Th.

(*e*) The Massoretes or individual revisers have dealt summarily with the original text of this chapter. Thus they appear to have introduced הרגשו in $6^{7(6)}$ instead of קרבו: to have added it against the early versions and the context in $6^{16(15)}$: to have conflated two distinct types of text in $6^{4, 29}$.

6[1](5[31]). *Darius the Mede received the kingdom.* The origin of this mythical personage, Darius the Mede, was due as we have shown in the introduction to this chapter (see § 1 *c*, *e*) to a fundamental article in the creed of post-Exilic writers—especially of apocalyptic writers—that non-fulfilled prophecy must in due time be fulfilled: hence the prophecy of the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes, as foretold by Isaiah and Jeremiah, is in part recounted and everywhere presupposed by our author (see Introd. to this chapter, § 1 *e*). But, since the reinterpretation of such unfulfilled prophecies began more than 300 years before our author's time, the rewriting of history in order to bring it into accord with such prophecies followed soon and inevitably on the heels of this earlier practice, especially when the dates of the fulfilment of such prophecies had long expired. Since the Medes had lost all their influence centuries before our author's time, the fulfilment of Isaiah and Jeremiah's prophecies with regard to them must, if they were fulfilled at all, have been fulfilled in the past. The rewriting of history to authenticate these prophecies was naturally in most cases a slow process, and, when our author sat down to write, he most probably found the myth—as to Darius the Mede and the kingdom of the Medes following immediately after that of Babylon—already fully developed and at his disposal. The myth is composite and reflects features that in part belong to Gobryas, to Cambyses, and to Darius Hystaspes, as we have shown in the Introd. to this chapter § 1 (*g*).

Received the kingdom. The attempt to show that this phrase implies an authority delegated to a subordinate prince by a supreme prince completely breaks down: see evidence as to its real meaning in the Introd. to this chap. § 1 (*c*).

†*Being about threescore and two years old.* 6[2(1)]. *It pleased Darius*†. As far back as the eleventh century of our era these words have been a source of difficulty to Jewish scholars (Rashi, &c.), since they imply that the father of Darius must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar, when he plundered the Temple. Besides the mention of the exact age of Darius is without a parallel in the rest of the book. Further, these words do not appear in the LXX, which in their stead reads καὶ Δαρεῖος πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει = ודריוש סָבַע יומין ושפיר בסיבו. From this text we might hypothetically explain the MT. Thus

סב may have been misunderstood as expressing a number (so Behrmann) i. e. 62 and so came to be expanded into שתין ותרתין. This once done, יומין could easily have been changed into שנין, since in Aramaic and Hebrew they are in such a connexion synonyms. We have then to suppose that the corrector rewrote ושפיר . . . ודריוש סבע as ושפר קדם דריוש,[1] modelling his correction on 3^{32} (4^{2}) where this phrase occurs. This is of course quite hypothetical. But if we are to reach some explanation, we must apparently begin with the expansion of סב. If such an expansion did take place, the text had necessarily to be rewritten. What it was originally must be left as an unsolved problem. This, it will be said, is a complicated explanation of the text: but so is the textual problem. Since the difficulties of the Aramaic and Th. are so great I propose to follow the LXX instead, though itself uncertain: 'And Darius was full of days (or rather "years") and glorious in old age'.

The attempt to explain *πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει* as a doublet by retroversion into Hebrew is open to manifold objections. The evidence for an Aramaic as against a Hebrew original is overwhelming. In any case such a solution is not open to a scholar who presupposes an Aramaic original. But, even if we accepted the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, the solution offered is improbable—to most minds incredible. This solution is that *ἔνδοξος* is a rendering of גַּבְּר: but the LXX never so renders it save in a single doubtful passage in Job 34^{24}: and that *πλήρης* is a rendering of גַּבְּר on the ground that the LXX so renders it once out of nearly a hundred passages, where its rendering is different.

$6^{2(1)}$. *An hundred and twenty satraps.* On 'satraps' see note on 3^{2}. Some sort of division of Babylon is recorded on the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus, where it is said that Gubaru, governor of Babylon under Cyrus, 'appointed governors in Babylon'. But the division *into 20 satrapies* of the whole empire is attributed to Darius Hystaspes by Herodotus iii, 89 sqq. In Esther 1^{1} and 8^{9}, 1 Esdras 3^{2}, Add. to Esther 2^{1}, 3^{1} the number of satrapies is increased to 127. But these numbers are in-

[1] In 6^{3} Daniel is said to be *ἔνδοξος ἐναντι Δαρείου* = שפיר קדם דריוש. This appears to be a dittograph of the first clause in 6^{1} MT. שפר קדם דריוש = 'it pleased Darius'.

accurate according to the inscriptions of Darius, which ascribe his division of his empire successively into 21, 23, and 29 satrapies. Our text does not literally assert that 'Darius the Mede' was the first to institute the 120 satrapies.

Over them עֲלֵהֶן מִנְּהוֹן. This phrase does not occur in the Aram. Pap. Possibly the Old Aram. would have been עלוי: cf. Cowley $5^{6,9}$. מן עלא occurs as an adverb: *op. cit.*, $5^{10,13}$, 25^{6}, 48^{2}. The phrase in our text occurs in the Targ. on Isa. 14^{14}.

Three presidents. סרבין is generally taken to be a loan-word from the Persian sâr, *head, chief.* It is found also in the Targums סרכא as a rendering of שַׂר, &c. With this triumvirate we might compare 5^{7} (note).

Give account—מעמא . . . יהבין, a phrase only here in Biblical Aramaic. For this meaning of the noun, cf. Ezra 5^{5}, and for a parallel to the whole phrase the Targ. on Prov. 26^{16} יהבי מעמא, though with a different nuance.

Should have no damage = נָזֵק . . . לא. The Haph'el of נזק occurs three times in Ezra $4^{13,15,22}$: the noun once in Hebrew in Esther 7^{4} and occasionally in the Targums. The Pa'el (?) is found in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 37^{14}): also in Assyrian.

$6^{4(3)}$. *Was distinguished*, i.e. מתנצח. This word is found in Hebrew: also in the *Aram. Pap.*, Beh. 60, exactly in the same sense as in our text. See Cowley, p. 254.

Thought, i.e. עֲשִׁית. 3rd masc. perf. but according to Nöldeke part. pass. with an active meaning as in Syriac. In the Ethpa'el it has this meaning: cf. *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 30^{23}). This Aramaic verb has been adopted in the Hithpa'el into Hebrew in Jonah 1^{6}.

⌜*And he prospered in the king's business which he carried out*⌝. I have restored this clause to the text from the LXX, which reads *καὶ εὐοδούμενος ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ βασιλέως αἷς ἔπρασσε*. Since the LXX *uses εὐοδοῦν six times out of seven, more or less, as a translation of* צלח taking the Hebrew and Aramaic together, we may safely conclude that *εὐοδούμενος* is here a rendering of הצלח (or Hebrew הצליח). For the rendering in this word by *εὐοδοῦν* in the Aramaic passages, cf. Ezra 5^{8} and in the Hebrew of Daniel in $8^{12,24,25}$, $11^{27,36}$. Th., on the other hand, renders the Aramaic הצלח by *κατευθύνειν* in 3^{30}, 6^{28}, and, similarly, the Hebrew הצליח in $8^{24,25}$, $11^{27,36}$. Only in 8^{12} has Th. been influenced by the LXX and rendered it by *εὐωδώθη*. From this investigation it follows that *εὐοδούμενος* in the LXX here is a rendering of הצלח.

From this verse, where its occurrence is justified in every respect, it was borrowed by an early reviser of the text, whose revision is here at all events represented by Th., and who transferred it to 6^{29} where he replaced by it the original verb הקים. Thus not only has a false text been established in $6^{29(28)}$ but a conflate type of text introduced thereby. 6^{29} *should represent the king's realization of his intention which is expressed in* 6^{4}. See next note.

Thought to set him over the whole realm. The text is doubtful. At all events there are two readings. The above text is supported by the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. Only Th. is opposed to it with the reading *κατέστησεν αὐτόν*. At first sight this seems to be a simple error for *ἐβουλεύσατο καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ* (LXX and other Versions as well as the Aram.). But a further study of the entire chapter—especially $6^{4, 29}$ ($6^{3, 28}$) reveals the fact that either the LXX as a whole is right, or Th. as a whole is right, and that the MT (with Pesh. and Vulg.) is a confused medley of the two types of text. (1) First of all the LXX in 6^{4} records that the king 'thought to set Daniel over the whole realm', and repeating this clause in 6^{4} (*ὅτε δὲ ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστῆσαι τὸν Δανιὴλ ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ*) dwells on the fact that this intention of the king was due to Daniel's successful dispatch of the king's business and at the same time brought about a plot against Daniel. Then, when we pass on to $6^{29(28)}$ after the plot was defeated and Daniel's enemies destroyed, we read as we should expect: *καὶ Δανιὴλ κατεστάθη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Δαρείου*. Here the LXX stands alone against Th. (and the rest) which reads *καὶ Δανιὴλ κατεύθυνεν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Δαρείου*. (2) The second consistent type of text is that of Th. Instead of *ἐβουλεύσατο καταστῆσαι* (LXX = MT, Pesh., Vulg.), Th. reads *κατέστησεν*. Here the king's intention is represented as an accomplished fact. In $6^{29(28)}$ it therefore consistently records that after the plot was defeated 'Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius' (see the text above). (3) Passing from these two consistent types of text we come to the third—that of the MT followed by the Pesh. and Vulg. Here, it is stated in $6^{4(3)}$ that the king 'intended to set Daniel over the whole realm', and accordingly we expect to find after the shipwreck of the conspiracy, a clause in 6^{29} to the effect that the king *did carry out his intention* and set Daniel over the kingdom as in the LXX, but we find no such clause but only

this rather colourless statement that 'Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius', a statement which is in itself a conflation of a clause in 6^3 of the LXX though differently worded *καὶ εὐοδούμενος ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ βασιλέως αἷς ἔπρασσε* (=והצלח בעבידת מלכא די עבד) and the original text in 6^{28} ודניאל הקים על מלכות דריוש. The reviser has borrowed הצלח from this clause in the original Aramaic behind the LXX of $6^{4(3)}$ and replaced הקים in $6^{29(28)}$ by it. In 6^4 the clause restored from the LXX is given as one of the reasons for the king's determination to set Daniel above all the rest. $6^{29(28)}$ represents the king as carrying this determination into effect.

From the above facts it follows that we must adopt either (1) or (2). Since, however, the documentary evidence for (1) is so strong and since Th. not only stands alone but has the appearance of being a late emendation, we must adopt (1) and accordingly in $6^{29(28)}$ read *καὶ Δανιὴλ κατεστάθη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Δαρείου* i.e. ודניאל instead of ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש הֻקִים על מלכות דריוש.

An excellent spirit. Cf. 5^{12}.

$6^{5(4)}$. *Find . . . against Daniel.* להשכחה לד". For this meaning of ל, cf. Cowley 27^2 לן אשתכח ⟨לא⟩ מנדעם מחבל = 'nothing disloyal was found against us'. In the next verse we find על in the same construction.

Fault. i. e. שחיתה. Cf. 2^9. *Faithful,* i. e. מהימן. See 2^{45}. *Error,* i. e. שלו. See 3^{29}.

[*Neither was there any error or fault found in him*]. Since both the LXX and Th. omit these words, I have with Behrmann relegated them to a foot-note as a marginal gloss on the preceding words.

$6^{6(5)}$. *Shall . . . find any occasion.* Here עִלָּה is to be understood—after השכחנא.

Except, i. e. לָהֵן. The perfect (הַשְׁכַּחְנָא) here and in 7^{27} only in Biblical Aramaic has the sense of a future just as after כִּי אִם in Hebrew: cf. Gen. 32^{26}.

Law. Here as in Ezra $7^{12,14}$ sq. דָּת denotes the Jewish religion at the period when law constituted the chief element in religion.

$6^{7(6)}$. *Drew near to.* So the LXX *προσήλθοσαν* [1], Th. *παρέστησαν* 'presented themselves'; but Hippolytus who follows Th. reads *προσῆλθον*; Pesh. ܩܪܒܘ. These two or rather three versions imply קְרִבוּ and not הרגשו in the text. The Vulg. *surripuerunt*

[1] קרב is rendered by the LXX by *προσέρχεσθαι* in $3^{8,26}$, 7^{16}, and by Th. in $3^{8,26}$, 6^{13}, 7^{16}; by *ἐγγίζειν* by the LXX (Syr. mg.) in 7^{16}, and by Th. in 6^{21}. Once elsewhere the LXX renders it by *ἐντυγχάνειν* 6^{13}, and Th. by *προσάγεσθαι* 7^{13}.

which is either corrupt or an alternative form[1] for *surrepserunt* supports קרבו; though it describes the approach of the nobles to the king as furtive and underground, in order to ensnare him into their conspiracy against Daniel. Jerome approves of the rendering: 'pulchre dixit *surripuerunt* (i. e. surrepserunt). Non enim hoc locuti sunt quod agere cogitabant, sed per honorem regis, inimico moliuntur insidias.' Jos. (*Ant.* x. 11. 5) supports the LXX *πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλον αὐτῷ*.

Thus no version or other authority from the second century B. C. to the fourth A. D. supports הרגישו in this passage in any sense that can be assigned to it. The context is also against it. Hence we reject it as a late introduction into the Aramaic text by some Jewish scribe or reviser in the place of the original word קרבו.

But הרגשו recurs in $6^{12(11),16(15)}$, where it cannot be translated as 'came tumultuously' with the main body of scholars, nor as 'assembled'[2] with the R.V.—which last meaning does not appear to belong to the verb in any case. Here the context is against this meaning 'to come tumultuously', and may be accordingly disregarded. The courtiers have succeeded in getting a law enacted against Daniel. Their next object is obviously to discover Daniel in the act of breaking this law. What sane writer, let us ask, would in such a case represent them as 'coming tumultuously'[3] to Daniel's house in order to *detect* Daniel in the act of transgressing the law? Thus the context itself exposes the absurdity of this rendering. But not only does the context come to our help, but also the versions. The latter attach the meaning of 'to keep watch upon', 'to spy upon' to הרגשו. Thus the LXX reads *ἐτήρησαν*, Th. *παρετήρησαν*, Pesh. ܨܒܝ (= Th.), Vulg. 'curiosius inquirentes'. Now this meaning of הרגש is actually found in the Jer. Targ. on Exod. 2^{3} מַרְגְּשִׁין עלה = 'watched her', 'perceived her': Nidda 13^{a}; Shabb. 129*a*, Aph'el ארגיש 'he observed'. Cf. also late Hebrew in Meg. 15*b* ירגיש 'will observe': Shabb. 13*b*: Ned. 13*a*. This is a common

[1] Cf. Plautus, *Mil.* 2. 3. 62, where the converse change is found i. e. surrepsit for surripuerit.

[2] I can find no authority for the meaning 'assembled', assigned to this word in the R.V. The word has two established meanings, the later of which only is found in $6^{12(11)}$, the other meaning not occurring.

[3] In the Targ. on Ruth 1^{19} this meaning is found ארגישו כל יתבי קרתא עלויהן 'All the inhabitants of the city were stirred up about them'.

meaning of the word in Syriac, and also in Mishnaic Hebrew: cf. J. Tal. *Ber.* v. 9*a*. Erub. i. 19[b]. It is implied also in Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 6: διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ διατήρησιν. Hence I have rendered the text in $6^{12(11)}$ 'Then these men kept watch and found Daniel'.

In *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, Aḥ. 29) we have שגיא ירגש 'will be greatly enraged', where the verb may be in the Haph'el so far as the form goes. In Hebrew it occurs in Ps. 2^1 רגשו = 'are enraged', or 'are in a tumult'. Thus, the meaning of הרגשו in $6^{12(11)}$ = 'kept watch' is not attested earlier than the date of our text, whereas the other meaning is attested in the fifth cent. B.C.

There remains now the third passage, i.e. $6^{16(15)}$. Here both the LXX and Th. omit הרגשו. The Vulg., however, reads 'intelligentes', which implies this reading, while the Pesh. gives the other meaning ܐܪܝܒܘ = *tumultuati sunt.* The latter meaning is in part suitable to the context. The enemies of Daniel have secured evidence of his breach of the law, and this breach must lead to his destruction.

But there is a difficulty. Th. omits[1] the words 'came tumultuously to the king and'. The LXX differs throughout in details, but it and Jos., *Ant.* x. 11. 6, *presuppose the presence of the satraps and presidents throughout the whole interview*, 6^{11-15}. The omission in Th., to which we have just referred, involves the same presupposition. Furthermore even $6^{15(14)}$ of the MT cannot be interpreted apart from this presupposition; for it implies the presence and active exertions of Daniel's adversaries throughout the entire day. This being so, $6^{16(15)}$ cannot begin 'Then those men came tumultuously to the king and said'. In fact neither possible meaning of this verb is admissible in this context. Hence I have excised the clause 'came tumultuously unto the king and' as an interpolation, which has no support before the fourth century A. D., and is also against the context.

Said **before** *him.* Thus with the LXX εἶπαν ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως we must emend אמרין לֵהּ into אמרין קדמוהי. When subjects address the king the idiom always (twenty-three times) is as I have emended, save in $6^{16(15)}$, where the adversaries of Daniel are deliberately rude to Darius, and in 2^{25} where our author having used קדם in the clause immediately preceding does not repeat

[1] A few MSS. of this version add as in Aramaic παρετηρήσαντο ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καί.

it after אמר. In 3^{9} 'said to Nebuchadnezzar' אמרין לנב", the text is corrupt. See § 20. *w*.

$6^{8(7)}$. *All the presidents.* Is this misrepresentation made deliberately in order to lead the king to believe that Daniel had taken part in this appeal to the king? But according to the LXX 6^{4} only the two colleagues of Daniel conspire against him; for according to 6^{3} (LXX) the fact that they are specially mentioned as being put under Daniel made them naturally hostile to Daniel. Accordingly in $6^{25(24)}$ it is only these two men that are cast into the den of lions. This is a much more reasonable form of the story, but Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 6) here follows our text.

The deputies and satraps. See note on 3^{2}.

That the king should establish a statute. So Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Marti, and others (following the MT punctuation). This the king does in $6^{10(9)}$. מלכא stands at the end, as Marti observes, in order not to separate לקימה קים, which corresponds to לתקפה אסר. Compare a similar construction in Hebrew in Isa. 5^{24}, 20^{1}, &c., where the object follows immediately after the infinitive and then the nominative of the subject. Another rendering is 'to establish a royal statute'. So Th. *στῆσαι στάσει βασιλικῆ*. This rendering is supported by Ewald, Bevan, Behrmann, and others: cf. 6^{13} אסר מלכא 'the king's interdict'. But this second rendering ignores the emphatic מלכא, whereas we have the emphatic form in 6^{13}.

Make a strong interdict. תקף occurs in Hebrew, Job 14^{20}, 15^{24}, Eccles. 4^{12}, as a loan-word from Aramaic. אֱסָר is practically the same word as the Hebrew אִסָּר in Num. $30^{3,4}$, &c.

Any god. Aramaic adds here 'or man'. But since בָּעוּ can be used not only of prayer but of any sort of petition, the statement that no man should be allowed for thirty days to make a single request of any of his neighbours is too extravagant to be taken seriously. The text is concerned only with prayer directed to a god. This does not include requests directed to the king, who was regarded as a demi-god. Moreover Daniel's enemies admit that they can find no occasion against him save in respect to his worship of his God. Finally we remark that the LXX and Josephus omit this phrase. The text of the LXX thus flatters Darius by implicitly ranking him with the gods. Antiochus Epiphanes regarded himself as a god. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 5), however, states that the decree forbade requests to the king.

Den of lions. The Assyrian and Persian kings kept lions in enclosures for hunting purposes. But $6^{18(17)}$ where the mouth of the גֹּב is said to be covered by a stone, and the stone, sealed with the signet of the king and of his lords, suggests that the writer is here thinking not of a fenced-in enclosure but of a *pit* which is its proper meaning: cf. Targ. on Gen. 37^{22}, Jer. $38^{6,7}$, where it is a rendering of בור. But in such pits animals could not have lived save for a very short time. The tradition which our author was using probably contained no definite conception of the 'den' or 'pit' in question.

Lions. אַרְיָוָתָא, pl. of אריא 'exactly agrees with the Syriac form as vocalized by the East Syrians (Nestorians); the West Syrians pronounce *aryawâthâ* with short *a* in the second syllable' (Bevan). The former punctuates ַ for ָ before a *vav*: cf. כָּרְסָוָן 7^{9} from כרסא.

$6^{9(8)}$. *Establish the interdict and sign the writing.* Here two distinct actions are mentioned. First the king gives his sanction to the interdict: next the interdict is issued in written form with the royal signature. In $6^{10(9)}$ 'the writing and the interdict' means the writing which contains the interdict; cf. Jer. 36^{27} ('the roll and the words', i.e. the roll which contained the words).

That it be not changed. On the construction די לא לחשניא see Introd., § 20. *t.*

Which altereth not. Cf. Esther 1^{19}, 8^{8}.

$6^{11(10)}$. *Now his windows,* &c. This clause is parenthetical. Literally it runs: 'now he had in his chamber windows opening'. כַּוִּין pl. of כַּוָּה: Targ. כַּוְּתָא (emphatic state). The windows were of the nature of lattices: cf. Prov. 7^{6}: 2 Kings 1^{2}, opposed to closed windows Ezek. 41^{26}.

His chamber, i.e. עִלִּיתֵהּ = Heb. עֲלִיָּה — a roof-chamber: see *Enc. Bib.* I. 509. Cf. LXX and Th. ὑπερῷον. This chamber was constructed on the flat roof of the house: cf. Acts 10^{9} ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα. Such a chamber was specially used for prayer, mourning, and acts of devotion: cf. Isa. 22^{1}, Ps. 102^{8}, Acts 10^{9}, Judith 8^{5}. It was such a chamber (עֲלִיָּה) that was built on the roof for Elisha by the Shunammite, 2 Kings 4^{10}. But this latticed chamber may have been over the gateway: see *Enc. Bib.* II. 2131, or rather 'a room attached to the wall by a separate stair' as the Press Reader suggests.

Toward Jerusalem. The custom of turning to Jerusalem became usual, no doubt, from the Exile onwards. Cf. Tob. 3^{11}, 1 Esdras 4^{58}. The practice is referred to in the Mishnah—Berakh. iv. 5, 6. Authority for turning to Jerusalem was to be found in 1 Kings 8^{44}, towards the Temple in $8^{38,48}$. Cf. Ezek. $8^{16\ sqq.}$, Ps. 5^{7}, 28^{2}. See Schürer, *GJV.*[3] ii. 453.

Was wont to kneel, i. e. הָיָה בָּרֵךְ. So Baer, Bevan, Marti, &c., with eleven manuscripts. But most manuscripts read הוא ברך. Cf. 1 Kings 8^{54}, Ezra 9^{5}—the posture for prayer, but it was usual later to stand when praying: cf. Matt. 6^{5}, Mark 11^{25}, Luke 18^{11}, Berakh. v. 1.

Three times a day. Cf. Ps. 55^{17}, 'at evening and at morning and at noonday': 2 Enoch 51^{4}. In later times the hours of prayer were not, as it has been wrongly inferred from Acts 2^{15}, 3^{1}, $10^{3,9,30}$, the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, but the three actual hours of prayer were (1) the early morning at the time of the morning offering תפלת שחר; (2) in the afternoon—the ninth hour (our 3 p.m.) at the time of the evening meal offering תפלת מנחה; cf. 9^{31}: (3) in the evening at sunset תפלת הערב: cf. Berakh. iii. 3, iv. 1. See Schürer, *GJV.*[3] ii. 293. Yet in 1 Chron. 23^{30} only morning and evening prayer are prescribed. See *Jewish Encyc.* x. 164 sqq.

Prayed and gave thanks. On מצלא cf. Cowley 30^{15}: on מודא see 2^{23} of our text.

Before his God. On our author's use of קדם see note on $6^{7(6)}$: and Introd., § 20. *w.*

As he did aforetime. This can also be translated 'forasmuch as he had been wont to do aforetime'. The king's interdict did not affect the fulfilment of Daniel's religious duties.

$6^{12(11)}$. *Kept watch.* That this is the right translation of הרגשו here, see the evidence given in the note on $6^{7(6)}$. This is the later meaning of this verb. Its earlier meaning is inadmissible in this context.

$6^{13(12)–18(17)}$. The adversaries of Daniel arraign him before the king for his breach of the royal interdict. Notwithstanding the reluctance of the king, he is obliged in accordance with the law to condemn Daniel to the den of lions. The text clearly implies that the struggle between the king and the adversaries of Daniel *continued without break throughout the entire day.* There is no withdrawal of the latter from the palace after they have made

their charge and no subsequent return as the corrupt text of the MT represents. These six verses represent *a single scene* in the drama of this narrative.

$6^{13\,(12)}$. *Concerning the king's interdict; hast thou not.* This text is very doubtful. The LXX reads simply 'Darius (> Th.) O king hast thou not'. Th. 'O king': the Pesh. 'O king live for ever: hast thou not?' Only the Vulg. supports the words but not their connexion: *super edicto: Rex, numquid non.* We should best read with the LXX, 'Darius O king, hast thou not'. The order of the words 'Darius the king' is the older one: see Introd., § 20. *dd.*

Any god. Here as in $6^{8\,(7)}$ the Aramaic wrongly interpolates 'or man'. LXX omits. See note on $6^{8(7)}$.

$6^{14\,(13)}$. *Hearkeneth not, O king, to thy decree.* In the note on 3^{12} I have dealt with this corrupt passage and shown that for the corrupt MT לאשמעליכמלכאטעם = ('regardeth not thee, O king'?) we should read לאשמעלטעמך 'hearkeneth not to thy decree'. Since the LXX omits this clause, and Th. and Vulg. omit מלכא, and and none of these authorities recognizes the MT, we must mark it as corrupt and read as above suggested. The Pesh. pursues a different course in each passage, but agrees with no other authority. Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 6, twice supports the above restoration. Thus he states that the nobles accused Daniel of being 'the only person that transgressed the decrees': *παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ Δανιήλου τὰ προστεταγμένα*, and again in the next clause *καταφρονήσαντι τῶν ἐκείνου προσταγμάτων*. All the other subjects of the king took care *τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ παραβῆναι*.

In the Biblical Aramaic only the Hithpa'el 7^{27} ישתמעון is used in the sense of *obeying*. But the evidence of the Greek versions goes to prove that the Pe'al of שמע had also this meaning. In Hebrew שמע is followed by על 2 Kings 22^{13}, &c., or ל 1 Sam. 8^{7}, &c., with a noun = 'to obey'.

⌜*Before his God.*⌝ We should with the LXX *δεόμενον τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ* and Th. *αἰτεῖ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτοῦ* restore קדם אֱלָהּה. The words, 'before his God', are important here. Daniel is accused—not of making vague but of making definite petitions to his God in direct contravention of the law. Now since in $6^{11(10)\,,12(11)}$ this phrase is found in thisconnexion, and since the LXX and Th. support this full form of the text, we have restored it as above.

$6^{15(14)}$. *Was sore displeased,* i. e. שגיא באש עלוהי = Hebrew רעע לו רעה גדולה: cf. Neh. 2^{10}, Jon. 4^{1} (רעע אל). For the expression of the opposite emotion see $6^{24(23)}$ note.

Set his heart. Here only in Biblical Aramaic is לֵב found meaning 'heart'. But it occurs in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, Aḥ. 97) and in the later Syriac and Palestinian Aramaic. In Hebrew cf. שים לב in 1 Sam. 9^{20}, where it has the same meaning as the phrase in our text.

Till the going down of the sun. עד מְעָלֵי שמשא is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew עד־בוא השמש.

$6^{16(15)}$. *These men.* The MT adds an impossible clause here—'came tumultuously unto the king'. For the grounds on which I have excised this clause see note on $6^{7(6)}$.

Said unto the king, i. e. אמרין למלכא. This phrase expresses the discourteous attitude of the courtiers to the king. See note on $6^{7(6)}$. At the beginning of the interview, which lasted all day, their attitude was different: see $6^{13(12)}$ 'said *before* the king'. See notes on 2^{25}, 3^{9}.

Know, O king, &c. This is a very discourteous reminder to the king that he is bound by his own law, which has the tradition of the past behind it.

No interdict . . . may be changed. On the idiom לא להשניא see Introd., § 20. *t.*

$6^{17(16)}$. *Continually.* בתדירא is used in the Targums without the ב in the same sense. Also we find עלת תדירא = 'the daily sacrifice' the equivalent of the Hebrew תמיד.

$6^{18(17)}$. *Was brought*—הֵיתַיִת. Passive perfect Haph'el—in reality a Hoph'al. See 3^{13} note.

Laid upon. שְׂמַת is abnormal, and should with Kautzsch (§ 45. 1 *d*), Kamphausen, Bevan, &c., be punctuated שְׂמַת.

Signets. עִוְקָת pl. construct according to the best manuscripts with Baer and with the LXX. But inferior manuscripts and Th. have the singular.

Nothing. לא . . . צְבוּ This word, which originally meant 'purpose', is here used in the sense of 'thing'—a sense in which it is current in Syriac and also in the Palmyrene Aramaic. For similar weakenings in the significance of words cf. שאלתא $4^{14(17)}$ (?): in Hebrew חֵפֶץ Eccles. 3^{1}, 5^{7}. In the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley $15^{25,29}$, and frequently) the verb צבי occurs in the full sense of 'to wish'.

$6^{19(18)}$. *Fasting.* טְוָה is taken to be a feminine noun in the absolute state used adverbially. It occurs in Syriac.

Neither were †instruments of music†. The meaning of the text here is uncertain. It is also most probably corrupt. The meaning of דַּחֲוָן here rendered 'instruments of music' is really unknown. Th. renders it by ἐδέσματα (as also the Pesh.): Ibn Ezra, 'instruments of music': Saadi, 'dancing girls': Berthold and others 'concubines'. It is perhaps best with Bevan, Marti, and Prince to emend the word into לְחֵנָן = 'concubines': cf. $5^{2,3,23}$. These were usually present in oriental courts.

But the entire text may be corrupt. When the Aramaic text (followed by Th., Syr., and Vulg.) states that 'the king passed the night fasting' and that 'neither were *dachavan* brought to him, and his sleep fled from him', the text is inconsistent with itself. Surely if a man passes the night fasting, it follows as a matter of course that he was awake throughout the night. It would be absurd to say that a man who slept throughout the night spent the night in fasting. Hence the clause 'and his sleep fled from him' is either an interpolation, or it should precede the clause 'and passed the night fasting'. In the latter case we should have the natural order of events and language: the king spent a sleepless night, but he had no recourse to food or women. But against this restoration of the text we have the MT, Th., Pesh., Vulg. On the other hand the LXX omits this disturbing clause and reads ηὐλίσθη νῆστις καὶ ἦν λυπούμενος περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλ. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 11. 6) was clearly acquainted with both texts since he combines them together: δι' ὅλης δ' ἄσιτος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄυπνος διῆγεν ἀγωνιῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλου. The last four words here are a reproduction of the last four in the LXX. We have, therefore, to choose between the two forms of text of which these are renderings:

LXX.	MT with the final clause restored to its right place.
'Then the king went to his palace, and he kept grieving about Daniel.'	'(*a*) Then the king went to his palace, and (*d*) his sleep fled from him, (*b*) and he passed the night in fasting, (*c*) and dancing girls were not brought before him.'

And his sleep fled from him. Cf. 2^1 for the same clause in Hebrew. Baer reads שְׁנָתֵהּ, Ginsburg שִׁנְתֵּהּ. עלוהי is not used here for מעלוהי, but constitutes the dative of disadvantage as in 2^1: 'his sleep fled upon him', i.e. to his hurt.

$6^{21(20)}$. *When he drew near*, i.e. בְּמִקְרְבֵהּ. כ is here used of a point of time. ל is used with the infinitive in the same way in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, Beh. 8. 12) למטה='when he arrived'. Is this latter use correct Aramaic? Since it is a Hebrew idiom (cf. Isa. 7^{15} לדעתו = 'when he knoweth': 2 Sam. 18^{29}, Gen. 24^{63}, it may be a true Aramaism. Th. omits 'to Daniel' and 'the king spake and said to Daniel'.

The living God. Cf. Deut. 5^{26}, Josh. 3^{10}, 1 Sam. 17^{26}, &c.

$6^{22(21)}$. *Spake Daniel unto the king.* Here the Aram. is עִם מַלְכָּא = the Hebrew דִּבֶּר אֶל. Generally עם with pers. follows מלל in the Targums and Syriac. It is followed by על c. pers. in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley 69^2). The rule relating to אמר ל and אמר קדם does not hold in the case of this verb. See note on 3^9.

$6^{24(23)}$. *Was . . . exceeding glad.* Contrast this phrase with שניא באש עלוהי in $6^{15(14)}$. The phrase used in the *Aram. Pap.*, equivalent to that in our text, is טיב לבב (Cowley 2^9, 14^5, 15^{15}, &c.). 'The perfect טאב seems', as Bevan remarks, 'to have been formed on the analogy of באש, since in the former word the א does not properly belong to the root'. In the *Aram. Pap.*, though of frequent occurrence, the form is either טיב or טב: in Hebrew טוב. See also Cooke 65^3.

Should take up. Haph. inf. הַנְסָקָה for הַסָּקָה, where the *n* is assimilated. Cf. הנעלה $4^{3(6)}$. In 3^{22} we have הַסְּקוּ: in $6^{24(23)}$ הֻסַּק the Hoph'al as though from a form נסק. See Bauer-Leander § 43, a–h.

$6^{25(24)}$. The destruction of Daniel's enemies with their children and wives in conformity with the primitive conception of the solidarity of the family: cf. Josh. 7^{24-25}: 2 Sam. 21^{5-9}. Note the reaction against this rough method of justice in Deut. 24^{16}, Jer. 31^{29-30}.

†*They cast them*†. Seeing that the LXX (*αὐτοὶ . . . ἐρρίφησαν*), Jos., *Ant.* x. 11. 6 *βληθῆναι*, Th. (*ἐβλήθησαν αὐτοί*), and the Vulg. ('missi sunt') agree in taking the Aramaic here as a passive, we should no doubt emend וְרִמוּ into וְרְמִיו = they were cast. אִנּוּן, moreover, which the MT represents as an accusative = *αὐτούς*, is not found either in Ezra or elsewhere in Daniel in the accusative, and should accordingly be taken as the subject of the

verb = *αὐτοί*. As Marti suggests, for הַיְתִיו we should read the passive הֵיתָיוּ. This suggestion, though Marti did not observe it, has the support of the Vulg. *adducti sunt*. Thus we should render 'and those men were brought and were cast . . . they, their children and their wives'.

Their children and their wives. So MT and Th. But the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. give the reverse order, and perhaps rightly in accordance with the O.T. usage—over seven times out of ten. The MT order is Greek.

Had the mastery of them. Another rendering of שלטו is 'fell upon them', which is the meaning more in keeping with the context. This meaning belongs to שְׁלֶם בְּ in the Targ. on Judges 8^{21}, 15^{12}; 2 Sam. 1^{15}; 1 Sam. $22^{17,18}$, as a rendering of the Hebrew פגע. It occurs in other Targums with the same meaning.

Or ever, &c., lit. 'they did not come to the bottom of the den until' (עד די). So עד זי in *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley 30^{27}, Aḥ 52. 95).

6^{26-29}. Just as at the close of chapter 3 Nebuchadnezzar issues a decree forbidding any people, nation, or language to speak against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, for that no other god could be set beside Him, and at the close of 4 (through a necessary transposition of the text) makes a proclamation to all the peoples of the world to the effect that His power has been manifested in signs and wonders, and that His kingdom is unto everlasting, so here Darius[1] issues a further decree requiring all men that dwell upon the earth to worship the God of Daniel, in that He is the living and eternal God, and His sovereignty one that endureth for ever. This edict is expressed in terms and phrases already used by our author: cf. 2^{44}, 3^{31-33} (4^{1-3}), 5^{19}.

$6^{26\,(25)}$. *Peoples, nations, and languages.* Cf. 3^{29} and 3^{31}, which latter forms the conclusion of 4.

Dwell. On דארין see 2^{38}, n. 3^{31}.

$6^{27\,(26)}$. *I make a decree.* Cf. 3^{29}.

[1] With the words of this decree of Darius: 'King Darius . . . unto all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell on the earth' we might compare the following expressions in the Susian or Elamite version of the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes: 'By the grace of Auramazda I made inscriptions . . . and sent those inscriptions into all lands'. See Cowley, p. 248 sq.

Tremble and fear. The same words are used of the relation of the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar to their king. Just as Nebuchadnezzar was supreme in all matters affecting the lives of his subjects, so the God of Daniel was to be regarded as the Supreme Being alike in heaven and earth. It is not unnatural that the essential character of the historical incidents recorded in the preceding chapters is here at their close set forth in verse.

Steadfast, i. e. קַיָּם. In the Targums it is used often as a rendering of חַי 'living'; cf. Joshua 3^{10}; and in the phrase קים הוא יי 'as Yahweh liveth', Judges 8^{19}.

His kingdom. Cf. 2^{44}, 3^{33}, 4^{31}, $7^{14,27}$. Before די לא we must understand מַלְכוּ.

Unto everlasting, i. e. עד סופא, literally 'unto the end', but essentially means 'for ever'. Cf. 7^{26}.

6^{28} (27). *He delivereth and rescueth*: and not any earthly prince. Cf. $3^{28, 29}$.

Signs and wonders. Cf. $3^{32,33}$ ($4^{2,3}$).

From the power, &c. This expression (מיד אריותא) recalls 1 Sam. 17^{37}, 'from the paw of the lion'.

6^{29} (28 b). *So Daniel was* ***set over*** *the kingdom of Darius.* Thus Darius succeeded in realizing the purpose expressed in 6^{4} (3). That this was the original text I have sought to prove in the note on $6^{4(3)}$. In that note I have given the text of the LXX, of which the above is a rendering. I have there shown the defectiveness of the MT text, which, instead of the above clause reads: 'So that Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius' Here the MT is conflated from two clauses, one in $6^{(3)}$ and the other in $6^{29(28)}$, i. e. והצלח בעבידת מלכא די עבד and והקים על מלכות דריוש.

6^{29} (28 a). ⌜*And King Darius was gathered to his people.*⌝ This clause, which I have restored from the LXX, is wrongly set at the beginning of the verse in that version.

⌜*And Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom.*⌝ So the LXX. The revised text first appears in Th., and then in the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. The LXX presupposes the following Aramaic original—ודניאל הָקִים על מלכות דריוש ומלכא דריוש אִתְכְּנַשׁ לעַמֵּהּ וכורש פרסיא קבל מלכותה.

SECTIONS VII–X. THE VISIONS OF DANIEL. CHAPTERS 7–12

SECTION VII

i.e. Chapter 7, being a Vision of Daniel in the first year of the reign of Belshazzar.

§ 1. The MT is interpolated, defective, and corrupt, but can be corrected in almost every passage by means of the versions and in a few by the imperative demands of its own context.

(*a*) *Interpolations.* In 7^{1} 'he told' (אמר) must be rejected with the LXX and Th. Daniel does not first write down and then tell his visions. See note *in loc.*

In 7^{2} 'Daniel answered and said' is to be excised as an interpolation with LXX, Th., and Vulg.

In 7^{5} 'a second' is to be excised with LXX and Vulg.

In 7^{10} 'and went forth' (ונפק) is to be excised as a marginal explanation of נגד, which apparently occurs here for the first time in literature. The LXX and Th. have only one verb: but the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. are conflate and have two.

In 7^{11} the second 'I beheld' is to be excised with LXX and Th. against MT, Pesh., and Vulg.

In 7^{18} 'For ever and' is to be excised with LXX and Th. against MT, Pesh., and Vulg.

(*b*) *Omissions.* The MT is defective. It omits 'beast' in 7^{6} against LXX, Th., Pesh. At the close of 7^{9} we should restore 'and he made war with the saints' with LXX and the like statements in 7^{21}, and a parallel one in 7^{25}. In 7^{9} for 'the ancient of days' we must in conformity with the custom of Apocalyptic in such matters emend this irreverent and impossible designation of God into '⟨one like⟩ an ancient of days': i.e. ⟨כ⟩עתיק. There is no version or other documentary evidence in support of this restoration, but none the less it should be made. See note *in loc.* Finally in 7^{22} for 'judgement was given' we should with Ewald, and other scholars, &c. read 'judgement ⟨was set and dominion⟩ was given'. There is no authority for this emendation but the requirements of the context.

(*c*) *Corruptions.* Some of these corruptions are very serious and mislead the reader of the text on important questions:

others are only important from the standpoint of a correct text and do not essentially affect its sense. I shall enumerate them in the order of their occurrence. The evidence bearing on these corruptions is given in adequate fulness in the notes.

In 7^2 for 'in my vision in (עם) the night' we should with LXX, Th., and Pesh. read 'in my visions of the night'.

In 7^9, by the wrong (probably accidental) transposition of the word 'white' (חִוַּר) from its right place at the close of the stichos to the third place, we arrive at the corrupt text 'His raiment was white as snow and the hair of his head like spotless wool'. This rendering based on the Massoretic accentuation is now abandoned by most scholars, who render the second clause 'was spotless as wool' in accordance with Th. (Pesh. and Vulg.). But the sense is wholly unsatisfactory. Wool is not of necessity either 'spotless' or 'white'. Hence we should with the LXX restore 'white' to the close of the clause. Thus we recover the original text and a wholly satisfactory meaning: 'His raiment was as snow, and the hair of his head was spotless as white snow'. Cf. 1 Enoch 46^1, Rev. 1^{14}.

In 7^{13} the MT 'with (עם) the clouds of heaven' appears corrupt for 'on (על) the clouds of heaven'. So LXX and Pesh. The clouds are the chariot of the supernatural figure and *not his companions,* just as they form the chariot of God in Ps. 104^3. There is no evidence for the existence of this unsatisfactory text of the MT before the beginning of the Christian era. Unhappily both the corrupt text has found its way into the N.T. as well as the original. See note *in loc.*

In 7^{15} I have rendered 'therewith' in accordance with the LXX and Vulg. i. e. בנו דנה which was subsequently corrupted into בנו נדנה which is rendered 'in the midst of the sheath' or 'its sheath' by a change of vocalization. As Marti observes, this is unintelligible. See my note *in loc* for the emendation I have made, which is supported by earlier and later Aramaic usage.

7^{17}. In this same verse we have the most disastrous corruption of all in this chapter. The MT reads 'these great beasts . . . which shall arise out of the earth'. This is a radical misstatement of Jewish tradition, according to which these monsters arose out of the sea (see my note *in loc.*), and so our author asserts plainly in 7^3. How this corruption in the MT arose is

as mysterious as many other corruptions in the same text. We must here undubitably follow the LXX here 'which shall be destroyed from the earth'. Th. is conflate and gives a rendering of the original and also of the corrupt text.

§ 2. *Evidence of an Aramaic original.*

In 7^{6}, though the sole LXX MS. (11th cent. A.D.) has lost the last clause of this verse, happily it has been preserved by the Syriac version of it made in the beginning of the seventh century. It presupposes γλῶσσα ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. The MT, however, has here שלטן which Th. rightly renders ἐξουσία. γλῶσσα is the rendering of a corruption of שלטן, i.e. לשן. This corruption could not be explained on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original.

In 7^{7} ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ ὑπερφέρων ἰσχύι is due to a corruption in the Aramaic: see note *in loc.*

On the other hand in 7^{8} Jahn urges that the corruption in ἐξηράνθησαν could easily be explained on the ground of a Hebrew original: see my note *in loc.* This is quite true. But it is not necessary to go back to the Hebrew. As it has already been pointed out, it could be explained as a corruption of ἐξήρθησαν. Now ἐξαίρω is used at least four times as a rendering of עקר.

§ 3. *Peculiarities of Syntax and Vocabulary.*

In 7^{20} it is said that we have *vav* apodosis in ועינין לה, an idiom not elsewhere found in Biblical Aramaic, nor (?) in the *Aram. Pap.* See note *in loc.*

§ 4. The vision in this chapter is parallel with that in chapter 2. The four world kingdoms followed by a fifth—that of the Saints—are the subject of both, the four kingdoms being symbolized by the four parts of the great image in 2 and the four beasts in 7.

Three questions call for consideration. These are (1) The four world empires; (2) The ten horns; (3) The horns plucked up.

(1) *The Four World Empires.* Only the two interpretations that gained the suffrages of the centuries immediately following the publication of Daniel have real claims to consideration here, though I mention a third that appears in 1 Enoch. The first, of which only a few, but indubitable, traces survive, identified the fourth kingdom with the Greek empire, the other,

which is attested in the first century of the Christian era, but probably originated earlier, identified it with the Roman empire. *It goes without saying that if the latter had been first in the field, it would never have gained a hearing after the close of the second century* B. C.; for then the Roman and not the Greek empire was all powerful in the East. This first interpretation, which is also the true one, passed out of currency just because history had failed to confirm it. In this as in other instances of unfulfilled prophecy, the believers in the infallibility of verbal inspiration applied themselves anew, as they do now, to study the prophecy in question, and so a fresh interpretation of the four kingdoms was issued, which discovered in the fourth kingdom the empire of Rome.

Since this is a simple statement of historical fact, it will be unnecessary to enter here on the vagaries of medieval and modern hermeneutics on this chapter. It will be sufficient to give briefly the evidence for the above statements.

(*a*) According to the older and true interpretation the four kingdoms were (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Greek or Macedonian. The identification of the Seleucidae or Greek rulers of Syria with the fourth kingdom first appears, though in a veiled form, as befits the character of the work, in the Sibylline Oracles, iii. 388–400. This portion of the book, which was written not later than 140 B.C., refers to the ten horns of our text.

III. 388 ἥξει καί ποτ' ἄπιστος ἐς Ἀσίδος ὄλβιον οὖδας
ἀνὴρ πορφυρέην λώπην ἐπιειμένος ὤμοις
ἄγριος ἀλλοδίκης φλογόεις· ἥγειρε γὰρ αὐτοῦ
πρόσθε κεραυνὸς φῶτα· κακὸν δ' Ἀσίη ζυγὸν ἕξει
πᾶσα, πολὺν δὲ χθὼν πίεται φόνον ὀμβρηθεῖσα.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς πανάιστον ἅπαντ' Ἀίδης θεραπεύσει·
ὧν δήπερ γενεὴν αὐτὸς θελει ἐξαπολέσσαι,
395 ἐκ τῶν δὴ γενεῆς κείνου γένος ἐξαπολεῖται·
ῥίζαν ἴαν γε διδούς ἣν καὶ κόψει βροτολοιγός
ἐκ δέκα δὴ κεράτων, παρὰ δὴ φυτὸν ἄλλο φυτεύσει,
κόψει πορφυρέης γενεῆς γενετῆρα μαχητὴν
καὐτὸς ὑφ' υἱῶν ὧν ἐς ὁμόφρονα αἴσιον ἄρρης
400 φθεῖται· καὶ τότε δὴ παραφυόμενον κέρας ἄρξει.

I have here followed Geffcken's text, which is uncertain in

III. 399. But the uncertainty of the text here does not affect the interpretation as a whole.

In these verses we have the interpretation *that was put on the ten horns in the fourth kingdom* about 140 B.C. and the interpretation takes the passage in Daniel as referring to the Greek empire beyond the possibility of doubt. It may not, it is true, agree exactly with any modern identification of the ten 'horns' or kings, but it is at one with them in regarding the 'horns' as kings of the Greek empire. In the Sibyllines 'the man clad with the purple cloak' is Antiochus Epiphanes. The race, which Antiochus Epiphanes wished to destroy, was that of his brother Seleucus IV, Philopator (187–175 B.C.). But the son of the latter i. e. Demetrius I (162–150 B.C.) shall put to death the 'one root' (ῥίζαν ἴαν) which Antiochus left, i. e. Antiochus V, Eupator (164–162 B.C.), or, in the words of the Sibyl, 'shall cut (him) off from among ten horns'. Demetrius I was in turn slain by 'the side shoot' (φυτὸν ἄλλο), i. e. Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and reigned from 150 to 146 B.C. He was attacked and defeated by Demetrius II and Ptolemy VI, Philometor, and afterwards murdered (1 Macc. 11^{8-19}, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 4. 8) by an Arabian prince named Zabdiel. The horn growing alongside (παρὰ δὴ φυτόν) is Trypho who had his ward Antiochus VI removed and reigned in his stead from 142 to 137 B.C. The text of the Sibyllines is not free from corruption.

(*b*) A second and very different interpretation was apparently given to the fourth kingdom in Dan. 7, by the author of 1 Enoch 37–70. This section of Enoch (written before 64 B.C.) knows nothing of the Romans. The last oppressors of the Jews are the later Maccabean princes (see my note on 38^{5}). The writer does not attempt a detailed exposition of the text of Dan. 7, but he uses and even quotes it as in $46^{1,2}$ 'And there I saw One who had a head of days | And His head was like white wool[1] | And with Him was another being whose countenance was as the appearance of a man, | And his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me ... concerning that Son of Man ... why he went with the Head of Days?' The judgement will ensue immediately and

[1] So it should be translated and not as in my Commentary 'Was whit like wool'. The latter is possible grammatically.

'the kings and the mighty', i. e. the later Maccabean princes will be judged according to their deeds (cf. $48^{5,\,8-9}$, 53^{3-5}, $62^{3,\,11}$). The same right interpretation of the fourth kingdom as referring to the Greek empire (though it is not spoken of as 'the fourth') is quite definitely set forth in Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 7 *ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος.* Antiochus Epiphanes thus fulfills the prophecies of Daniel in chap. 8. There follows a statement in Josephus' text that Daniel wrote also about Rome as the destroyer of his country, but this sentence is excised by Niese. Again, the Syriac Version of Daniel actually identifies in 7^{7} the fourth kingdom with that of the Greeks.

Next in 4 Ezra 12^{10-12} (A.D. 80–120), we turn to a very different document. This work *interprets the fourth kingdom of the Roman empire,* but states quite definitely that *this interpretation is not the interpretation which the angel gave to Daniel,* i. e. *that which identified the Greek empire with the fourth kingdom, and which till Rome became mistress of the East had been the accepted one.* The passage in Ezra runs: 12^{10} 'And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 11. The eagle which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom, which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. 12. But it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted it'. To this passage I shall return later. In 4 Ezra 11^{1} the eagle comes up from the sea, i. e. the Roman Empire.

This interpretation was still prevalent in the third century A.D.; for it was recognized by Porphyry (A.D. 233–304), and in the fourth by Ephrem Syrus (A.D. 300–350).

According, therefore, to the authentic interpretation of Daniel 2, 7, and 8, the symbols are to be identified as follows:

Chapter 2. *The great image.*	Chapter 7. *The four beasts.*	Chapter 8.	
The golden head	= Lion with eagle's wings	=	Babylonian empire
Silver breast and arms	= Bear with three ribs in its mouth	= First and shorter horn of ram	Median empire
Brass belly and thighs	= Leopard with four wings	= Second and longer horn of ram	Persian empire
Iron legs, feet, and toes, partly iron, partly clay	= Beast with iron teeth and ten horns, among which arose a little horn	= Goat with one horn followed by four horns out of one of which arose a little horn	Greek empire (Alexander and his successors)

(*c*) The third interpretation which thus arose on the failure of the first (for the second interpretation never gained the public ear), and identified the Roman empire with the fourth kingdom is found in the New Testament. But it probably originated in the 1st cent. B.C.; for with the assertion of the power of Rome in the East this reinterpretatian was inevitable. Probably from Pompey's time onward Rome came in certain circles in Palestine to be identified with the fourth kingdom. Thus in the *Psalms of Solomon* 2^{29}: *τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ*,[1] Pompey is called 'the dragon'—a term associated with the Antichrist. He impersonated the power of Rome, as Nebuchadnezzar did that of Babylon. In the LXX of Jer. 28^{34} (Hebr. 51^{34}) the latter is compared to a dragon.

The way was thus prepared for the almost universal reinterpretation of the four kingdoms in the 1st cent. A.D. The oldest work of that century where this reinterpretation appears is the Assumption of Moses (A.D. 7–30). In chapters 8–9 of this work there is an account of the calamities endured under Antiochus Epiphanes. But that period is past so far as the author of the Assumption is concerned, and his gaze is fixed on the immediate future and on the power that threatens his own people. That this power is the Roman empire, there is no room for doubt. Thus in 10^{8} we have the following passage, the reference of which, even though corrupt, cannot be mistaken. It predicts the overthrow of Rome symbolized as 'the Eagle':

'Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy
And thou shalt †mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle
And they shall be ended†.'

Here the phrase *cervices et alas* (i.e. *alae*) have been accidentally transposed from the third to the second line: by restoring them we shall have:

'And thou shalt go up against the eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'[2]

In the passage just dealt with, Rome (or the fourth empire) is referred to under the symbol of the eagle, instead of that used

[1] *τοῦ εἰπεῖν* = לאמר corrupt for להמיר. Hence the clause = 'to turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour' (Wellhausen).

[2] See details in my edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* for the Oxford University Press, vol. ii. 422.

by our author, i.e. 'a beast dreadful and terrible'. He has herein followed Ezekiel in symbolizing this fourth world empire by 'a great eagle with great wings' (17^3), though in Ezekiel it is a symbol of Nebuchadnezzar.

The reason for the adoption of the definite symbol of the eagle instead of the indefinite one of our author 'a beast dreadful and terrible' (7^7) is due to the fact that the military emblem of Rome was the eagle. The indefinite symbol in Daniel has now become definite through the reinterpretation of the fourth kingdom and its identification with Rome, whose symbol was that of the eagle.

We shall next quote 2 Bar. $39^{3,4}$ (before A.D. 70) where the text is definitely based on Daniel and the new interpretation of the fourth kingdom set forth.

'Behold the days come and this kingdom (i.e. Babylon) will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it (i.e. the Persian or Medo-Persian). Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third (i.e. the Greek), will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time and will be destroyed. And after these things a fourth kingdom (i.e. the Roman) will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it.'

In a slightly later work (already referred to above) 4 Ezra 12^{11-14} (A.D. 69–79 or A.D. 96–97) this reinterpretation is not only given but it is distinctly stated that *the angel, that instructed Daniel as to the fourth kingdom being Greek, was wrong:*

'The eagle which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. But it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee. Behold the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms that were before it.'

If we advance to later Jewish writings, we find that Rome was taken by them to be the fourth kingdom. This is definitely stated in the Aboda zara 2^b. Rome is here plainly identified with the fourth kingdom. See also Cant. rab. ii. 12; Gen. rab. xliv. 20; Lev. rab. xiii.; Midr. Teh. Ps. 80^{14} (*Jewish Encyc.* x. 394).

Turning now to the Christian Church, we find the first identification of the Roman empire with the fourth kingdom in Daniel

in the Little Apocalypse in Mark 13 (=Matt. 24=Luke 21) as it is edited by Luke 21^{20}; for, whereas Mark 13^{14}, Matt. 24^{15} take the phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως as referring to the profanation of the Temple by the Antichrist, Luke interprets it as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans—ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ. Thus the role of the fourth kingdom is connected by Luke with Rome. The date of this reinterpretation is probably between A.D. 70 and 80 In Rev. 13^{1}, sqq. this reinterpretation is reinforced in terms drawn from our author. The first monster, which emerges from the sea with seven heads and ten horns is the Roman empire. The same view is to be found in *Ep. Barn.* iv. 4 (*c.* A.D. 100–120) and in Hippolytus ix. (*c.* A.D. 220).

Some modern scholars have advocated this view, but it is wholly untenable. The former view is now accepted by the whole world of scholarship.

(2) *The ten horns.* The 'ten horns' represent ten kings (cf. *v.* 24), and not ten kingdoms as in 8^{8}, where the four horns stand for kingdoms. Now, since after these ten horns there arises another horn, the 'little horn', and since this little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, it follows that the ten preceding horns are kings. But owing to the paucity of our information it has not yet been determined definitely who these ten kings are. They have been taken to represent the successors of Alexander by many scholars; and so we have (1) Seleucus I, Nicator (312–280 B.C.); (2) Antiochus I, Soter (279–261); (3) Antiochus II, Theos (261–246); (4) Seleucus II, Callinicus (246–226); (5) Seleucus III, Ceraunus (226–223); (6) Antiochus III, the Great (222–187); (7) Seleucus IV, Philopator (186–176); (8) Heliodorus; (9) Ptolemy VII, Philometor (182–146); (10) Demetrius I, Soter. These last three had all stood in the way of Antiochus Epiphanes and had either directly or indirectly suffered at his hands in his efforts to secure the throne and establish his power. But as Hitzig, Kuenen, Bevan, and others urge, the list should begin with Alexander, since the fourth beast represented the Greek supremacy. Hence they begin the list with Alexander the Great and reckon the last three as (8) Seleucus IV, Philopator; (9) Heliodorus; (10) Demetrius I, Soter.

(3) *The three horns plucked up.* Of the ten horns three were to be 'plucked up' (*v.* 8), overthrown (*v.* 20), or 'put down'

(*v.* 24), by the eleventh horn, i.e. Antiochus Epiphanes. These were most probably the last three in the list of ten just given.

Antiochus Epiphanes would appear to the Jews, as may be inferred from our text, to have instigated the removal of Seleucus Philopator by Heliodorus. The latter, we know, he crushed through the help of his friends Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamum. The grounds are less cogent with regard to Demetrius Soter. It is true that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, but he was kept out of his inheritance by Antiochus. He could hardly, therefore, be said to have reigned before Antiochus or to have been slain by him. On these grounds it has been objected that Demetrius Soter cannot be rightly included in the above list. Instead of Demetrius Soter it has been suggested by Gutschmidt that the last of the three horns was not this Demetrius but a brother of his, who was executed by the orders of Antiochus according to John of Antioch (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 558, quoted by Bevan). If we accept this suggestion the last three princes satisfy fairly the conditions of the problem.

SECTION VII

i.e. Chapter 7.

7^1. *In the first year of Belshazzar.* The narratives came to a close with the last chapter. A series of four visions begin herewith, the first two of which are assigned to the reign of Belshazzar, and recounted in 7–8.

Daniel saw. As in 10^1 the author here begins in the third person in accordance with his practice in the narrative sections, but forthwith represents Daniel as speaking in the first person. In 1 Enoch $1^{1,3}$ and in 92^1, 91^1 we shall find these sections introduced by the author speaking in the third person and then going on to speak in the first. So also in 2 Bar. $1^{1\ sqq.}$, $78^{1\ sqq.}$: Test. xii Patr., Test. Reub. $1^{1\ sqq.}$, &c.

Even visions of his head upon his bed. This phrase defines the nature of the dream. It has already occurred in 2^{28c}, which I have restored after 2^{30} as the context requires.

He wrote the dream. From 7^2 onwards to the end of the book Daniel speaks in the first person except in 10^1, as already

observed. But the words are important here. At the beginning of this new section of his book Daniel is represented like other members of the apocalyptic school as writing down his visions. Thus in 1 Enoch 14^1, which belongs to the oldest part of this book, i. e. before 170 B. C., we find 'The book of the words of righteousness', and in 15^1, 12^3 Enoch is called 'the scribe of righteousness'. Again in 82^1 the text runs: 'And now my son, Methuselah, all these things *I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee*, and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these; so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hands and (see) that thou deliver them to the generations of the world'. In 81^6 Enoch is bidden 'to write down' the visions he had seen, but according to 1^2 these were 'not for this generation but for a remote one which is for to come'. With these directions from 1 Enoch we might compare 8^{26} in our author: 'Shut thou up the vision; for it belongeth to many days to come', and similarly 12^4, 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book, even unto the time of the end'. It is presupposed throughout our author, as we infer from the last quotation, that he committed his visions and teachings to writing.

(*Even*) *a complete account.* The Aramaic text ראש מלין אמר cannot be right, and the interpretation assigned to it is just as inadmissible. First of all as to the text. Daniel does not first 'write down' his vision and then recount it *orally*. The word אמר has always the meaning of speaking orally and presupposes generally, and certainly always in our author the presence of a hearer or hearers: cf. $2^{4,7,9,36}$ [$4^{4(7),5(8)}$ 5^7, 6^{13}, 7^{16}. It is, therefore, an intrusion here. If, however, we retain it we should invert the order of the verbs and read: 'he told the dream, and wrote down a complete account'. Cf. the passage from 1 Enoch 82^1 (quoted in the preceding note). But there is no ground for supposing that Daniel is addressing any one. Hence אמר is an intrusion, and this hypothesis is confirmed by the LXX and Th. Th. omits the entire clause 'told a complete account'. But the LXX is, no doubt, right in omitting only 'told'. It reads τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν ἔγραψεν εἰς κεφάλαια λόγων. Hence we must retain ראש מלין as original, while we excise אמר as an interpolation.

The phrase, therefore, ראש מלין is original. The next question is: what does it mean? Bevan, followed by Marti, renders with

the English version '"the sum of the matters", that is, the essential import of the revelation', and compares Ps. 119[160]. ראש דברך = 'the essence of Thy word'. But would not this rendering and interpretation require ראש מליא? Hence, since מלין is undetermined, the meaning seems to be 'a summary of matters' or 'a complete account' (so Behrmann).

7[2]. The MT begins this verse with a gloss 'Daniel answered and said'. Both the LXX, Th., and Vulg. omit them. Jerome takes no account of them, nor yet does Hippolytus in their commentaries on Daniel. Only the Pesh. supports the MT. I find that Bludau and Marti have recognized this gloss.

I saw: literally 'was seeing'. LXX and Th. *ἐθεώρουν*. See note on 4[13].

†*In my vision by night*†: i. e. בחזוי עם לילי. Here LXX, Th., and Pesh. presuppose בחזוא די לילי. Since this latter phrase recurs twice in this chapter, i. e. in 7[7,13], it appears to be the original one here. I cannot find any such temporal use of עם in the *Aram. Papyri* nor yet in the inscriptions. The parallels that have been cited in our text 3[33], 4[31] are not quite of the same nature as in this passage. In the Talmud it has a temporal meaning, i. e. 'towards' but not 'in': Shabb. ii. 7: Joma 87 *b*: see Levy, *Ch. W.*, p. 222.

Four winds of heaven. Cp. 8[8], 11[4]; Zech. 2[6], 6[5]; 4 Ezra 13[5].

Stirred up the great sea. This, as Levy (*Ch. W.*, p. 136) and others have already shown, appears to be the truer rendering of מגיחן לימא רבא. The other rendering 'brake forth upon, &c.' would require עַל or בְּ instead of לְ. Although 'the great sea' here recalls Num. 34[6,7], Joshua 9[1] הים הגדול, i. e. the Mediterranean—elsewhere called the הים האחרון Deut. 11[24], 34[2], &c., yet this sea is not referred to in its geographical but in its mythological character, as in Isa. 51[10], Ps. 74[13 sq.] As Marti here rightly suggests, 'the whole representation from 7[2] onwards points to the elements of the old mythological cosmogony, which from the earliest times was known not only in Babylonia but also in the west of Asia'. In 1 Enoch 18[2] the 'four winds which bear the firmament' are mentioned.

7[3]. *Four great beasts.* The symbolism here goes back to ancient mythology, according to which beasts came up originally from the sea, which was the seat of evil: cf. Isa. 27[1],; 1 Enoch 60[7]; 2 Bar. 29[4]; Rev. 13[1]; 4 Ezra 6[49,50], 11[1], 12[11]. In 4 Ezra 13[3]

the text seems conflate; for it represents the Messiah 'which flew with the clouds of heaven' as arising from the heart of the sea. The Latin version rightly omits this statement, though the Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian versions support it. It seems to be due to an early scribe, who did not understand the Antichrist tradition.

7^4. *The first was like a lion and had eagle's wings.* The first and greatest empire is that of Babylon which appears as a lion with eagle's wings—the lion being the noblest of animals, the eagle the greatest of birds. In $2^{32,38}$ it is symbolized by gold, the most precious of metals. The symbol of the winged lion is a fitting one for the empire of Nebuchadnezzar. Such sculptured figures were familiar to these ancient empires. But of the mythological meaning or origin of these symbols it is probable that our author knew nothing. The symbol came to him from tradition with its own associations. He could find materials for its construction in the prophets of the past. Nebuchadnezzar was compared by them to a lion Jer. 4^7, 49^{19}, 50^{17}, and his armies to an eagle because of the extraordinary swiftness of their marches, Jer. 49^{22}, Hab. 1^8, Ezek. 17^3. Its distinguishing characteristics belong naturally to the animal world. But after a time these animal characteristics disappear. Its wings—which figure its brutal swiftness—are taken from it, and so its speed of conquest is checked: nevertheless it is raised from the earth and made to stand erect like a man, and a man's heart is given to it. Hitzig, Ewald, Keil, Driver, Prince, &c., recognize in these changes the growing humanization of the Babylonian kingdom in the person of its head, i. e. Nebuchadnezzar. In this symbolism these scholars think they can detect a reference to the experiences of this king in chap. 4, Nebuchadnezzar being here, as in 2^{38}, identified with the kingdom of Babylon. By the loss of his reason the powers of Babylon were maimed. Throughout the king's illness he is described as having a beast's heart, $4^{13\,(16)}$, which in due time was removed from him. Thereupon his reason returned unto him, $4^{31\,(34)}$, and a man's heart was given unto him, 7^4, and he glorified the God of heaven, $4^{31,34}$. But the comparison of the two passages is in this respect irreconcilable. In 7^4 Babylon has the heart of a beast during its career of conquest: it is not given a man's heart till this is over and it is made to stand erect upon its feet, 7^4. But in $4^{13\,(16)}$

Nebuchadnezzar is not deprived of his man's heart till his career of conquest and statesmanlike achievements is over. Then and not till then is the beast's heart given unto him. When a period of seven times is passed his understanding is restored, $4^{31\,(34)}$. From this insurmountable conflict of ideas it follows that it is idle to attempt to combine things that are really incompatible. So far as 7^4 refers to the growing humanization of Babylon, it has no point of contact with the temporary illness of Nebuchadnezzar in $4^{13(16)}$. Moreover in 7^4 we are dealing with symbols relating to the empire of Babylon: in $4^{13\,(16)}$ with a concrete fact in the life of Nebuchadnezzar.

Made to stand. הָקִימַת is a passive perfect Hoph'al—not a Hebraism.

Two feet. רַגְלַיִן is here a dual as elsewhere in our author.

7^5. The Median empire, which is referred to here as succeeding the Babylonian, is, as we have seen, a mythical one. (See p. 141 (d): also Introd. to this chapter, § 4, pp. 166 sqq.). Our author has drawn his history from tradition. There was of course a great Median empire, but it was the forerunner, not the successor, of the Babylonian.

This empire appears in the form of a bear. As the bear is inferior in strength to the lion, so the Median empire, which in 2^{30} is symbolized by silver, $2^{32,39}$, was inferior to that of Babylon, which is symbolized by gold, $2^{32,38}$. This statement holds true of the actual Median empire, which preceded the Babylonian.

[*A second.*] This word I have bracketed as a gloss on the word 'other' which precedes it. It is omitted by the LXX, which reads *μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλο* = אחריה אחרי (a mere dittograph), and Vulg. The text in 7^6 'and lo another' supports the LXX. Th. (Hippol. *εἰς τ. Δαν.* iv. 1) and the Pesh., on the other hand, omit 'another', and read 'a second one'. The MT is conflate and gives both readings. But for the strong documentary evidence of the LXX and the text in 7^6 we might have accepted the reading of Th. Cf. 7^7.

It was raised up, i. e. הָקִמַת with some manuscripts, LXX and Th. The MT reads הָקִמַת 'it had raised up'. The difference is immaterial so far as the meaning goes, which is far from obvious. Perhaps the words point to its inferiority in respect to the first kingdom, 2^{39}.

On one side, i. e. לְשִׁטְרַר־חַד. The rendering of the A.V. and

R.V. mg. follows the corrupt reading of a few manuscripts לְשִׁטַּר־חַד = 'raised up one dominion'.

Three ribs were in its mouth. These words point to the ravenous nature of the beast—an idea suggested by those passages of the prophets in which the Medes are summoned to ravage Babylon (Isa. 13^{17}, Jer. $51^{11, 28}$). This interpretation is confirmed by the words with which this symbolic account of this kingdom closes: 'Arise, devour much flesh'. The later interpretation, which was unknown till the first century of our era (see Introd. to this chapter, § 4. (1)), and which regarded the bear as symbolizing the Medo-Persian empire, took the three ribs to denote Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt—the first two of which were conquered by Cyrus and the third by Cambyses. But this interpretation is merely one in the long line of reinterpretations of unfulfilled prophecy. It has nothing to do with the original thought of our author.

It was said. The Aramaic idiom here אֲמִרִין 'they say'.

7^6. *Another* ⌜*beast*⌝. I have here with the LXX, Th., and the Pesh. restored חֵיוָה before אחרי. The last word always follows its noun in our author. Hence here ἕτερον θηρίον (Th.) as in 2^{39} is wrong as to order, whereas the LXX has θηρίον ἄλλο.

Upon the back of it, i. e. גַּבַּהּ the *Qr.* For this meaning of גב compare the Hebrew גַּב. The *Kt.* reads גַּבַּיהּ which Bevan, Behrmann, and Driver derive from גנב, Syr. ܓܢܒ, and render 'on its sides'. The four wings are regarded as indicating the might of the Persian empire as extending to the four quarters of the earth, and the four heads as symbolizing the four Persian kings, 11^2.

In על גבה is rendered by LXX ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ and in Th. by ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς. This meaning על גב bears in the Targ. Jon. ii on Lev. 1^{17}.

And dominion was given to it. Cf. 2^{39}, where Persia is described as ruling 'over all the earth'. The LXX is here defective, but a corrupt equivalent of the clause is preserved in the Tellan Syr. = καὶ γλῶσσα ἐδόθη αὐτῷ. This clause of the original LXX is interesting. γλῶσσα = לִשָּׁן, which is a corruption of שָׁלְטָן, as Bludau has observed. This corruption is not explicable from a Hebrew original.

7^{7-8}. *A fourth beast,* i. e. the Greek empire—'too fearful to be likened to any known creature; both in strength and fierce-

ness it far surpasses its predecessors' (Bevan). No creature or combination of creatures (as in 7^4) could adequately express them.

7^7. *Terrible* (אֵימָתָנִי) *and strong exceedingly.* The LXX has a strange rendering here *ὁ φόβος αὐτοῦ ὑπερφέρων ἰσχύι*, which, however, can be easily explained, as due to a corruption of the Aramaic text. Thus it=אֵימְתַהּ בְּתָקְפָא יתירה which is a corruption of אימתני ותקיפא יתירה. אימתא (emphatic state of אימא) is found in the Aramaic of the Talmud and the Targums. For 'terrible' the R.V. has 'powerful', which is a rendering of אֲמָתְנִי—a *ἅπαξ λεγ.* or rather a corrupt reading.

It was diverse from all. These words give the impression created in the oriental mind by the conquests of Alexander. While the preceding empires had left local traditions and customs untouched, the Greek empire overthrew the older civilizations and transformed them. It did its task with thoroughness, 'it devoured and brake in pieces and trod the residue with its feet'.

It had ten horns. These are ten kings (cf. 7^{24})—most probably successors of Alexander on the throne of Antioch. In Jewish apocalyptic the horn is used as a symbol of a king 7^{24}, $8^{5, 8a, 9, 21}$, or a dynasty of kings $8^{3, 6, 7, 8b, 20, 22}$. In 1 Enoch 90^9 'the great horn' denotes Judas Maccabaeus. 1 Enoch 83-90 was written while Judas was still warring.

7^8. *Came up.* For סְלָקַת read סְלָקַת as in 7^{20}.

Among them i. e. בֵּנֵיהוֹן which the *Qr.* corrects into בֵּנֵיהֵין on the ground of the gender of קרן. See 5^5 for like changes.

Another horn, a little one. The 'little horn' is Antiochus Epiphanes here as in 8^9. He was 'little' to begin with. His success was due to his seizing the crown by treachery (11^{21}).

Three of the first horns. On the identification of these three horns see Introd. to this chapter, § 4 (2). These three were probably (1) Seleucus IV (Philopator) murdered by his minister Heliodorus; (2) Heliodorus who was soon removed after his usurpation by Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamum; (3) Demetrius I (Soter), who was the son and lawful heir of Seleucus IV (Philopator).

Were plucked up by the roots, i.e. אתעקרו. Here the LXX has *ἐξηράνθησαν*. This is adduced as a proof that the original was Hebrew; for this word=נְשַׁתּוּ, which could be an easy corruption

of נִתְּשׁוּ. But, unless numerous examples of this nature could be produced, it can only be regarded as a coincidence. For ἐξηράνθησαν can be most easily explained as a corruption of ἐξήρθησαν, which latter is a rendering of נתש in Deut. 29^{28}, Jer. 12^{17}, 18^{7}, 2 Chron. 7^{20}. Moreover, we find this corruption elsewhere in the LXX. Thus in ἐξήρανα τὸν κάρπον Amos 2^{9} the verb is undoubtedly corrupt for ἐξῆρα (ואשמיד). The same corruption is found in Joel 1^{16}, Zech. 10^{2}, Sir. 10^{17}, Jer. 28^{36} (51^{36}) in one or all the Greek MSS. This corruption was first explained by Scharfenberg: see Nestle, *Marg.* 40, who has recognized Jer. 28^{36}, Zech. 10^{2} of the above.

Eyes like the eyes of a man. These symbolize his intelligence and shrewdness. In 8^{23}, 11^{21}, the use he made of such powers is represented; he was double dealing, 8^{23}, and a flatterer when it served him, 11^{21}. עֵינַיִן is here a dual though a plural in form. The dual construct is עֵינֵי and with the suffix עֵינֵי $4^{34\,(31)}$.

A mouth speaking great things. Cf. Ps. 12^{3} 'the tongue that speaketh great things', Obad. 12, Rev. 13^{5}, 2 Bar. 67^{7}. These words are especially appropriate to Antiochus Epiphanes. In 1 Macc. 1^{24} it is recounted that he and his followers 'spake very presumptuously' (ἐλάλησαν ὑπερηφανίαν μεγάλην) after they had robbed the Temple of all its treasures. His conduct is described in analogous terms in 2 Macc. $5^{17, 21}$. In our text he is described in 11^{36} as one who would 'Speak marvellous things against the God of gods'.

⌜*And he made war with the saints*⌝. I have with the LXX (καὶ ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους) restored this clause to the text, as Rothstein has already proposed. This war upon the saints forms the crowning sin of the little horn, and the context requires it. For where the description of the little horn recurs in $7^{21, 25}$, in addition to the mention of the mouth speaking presumptuous things, there is mentioned the fact that he 'made war with the saints and prevailed against them', 7^{21}, or 'wore down the saints', 7^{25}. Hence at the close of this verse we should add the following Aramaic clause: ועבדה קרב עם קדישׁיא; cf. Rev. 11^{7}, 12^{17}, 19^{19} on the violent measures taken by Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews, cf. $8^{10-14, 24, 25}$.

7^{9-14}. *Divine judgement of the heathen powers.* As in 7^{1-8} Daniel saw in a vision on the earth in the first year of Belshazzar the four kingdoms that would successively hold the world in

thrall, so here at their close his vision is carried from earth to heaven, and he learns in the final judgement of God the right explanation of the course of the world's empires and their history. At this judgement, which he foresees in his vision, the thrones are set for the heavenly powers, the assessors of the Judge, and the Almighty Himself appears seated on a throne of fire and encompassed with myriads of angelic beings. The books are opened and the fourth beast is slain because of the horn that spoke great things, and the power of the other three beasts is taken away, though their lives are prolonged for a time. Then there comes on the clouds of heaven a being like a son of man and to him is given an everlasting dominion and a kingdom that cannot be destroyed.

7^{9}. *Thrones were placed*, i.e. for the angelic assessors. On the expression cf. Ps. 122^{5} 'thrones for judgement'. Here as in 4^{17} the heavenly powers take part with God in the judgement. With רמיו 'were set' we may compare יריתי 'I have set', Gen. 31^{51}. Cf. 1 Enoch 90^{20} 'I saw till a throne was erected . . . and the Lord of his sheep sat thereon'. The Ethiopic here = ᾠκοδομήθη. But our text may have suggested the passage in Enoch.

⟨*One like*⟩ *an ancient of days*. As the texts stands עתיק יומין means literally 'one aged in days'—an aged being. In the Syriac version of Wisdom 2^{10} we find a close approach to the phrase in our text ܣܒܐ ܥܬܝܩ ܝܘܡܬܐ which is a rendering of πρεσβύτου . . . πολιὰς πολυχρονίους. Cf. Gen. 24^{1} בָּא בַּיָּמִים. But there is an essential difference. In our text there is no reference to a *human* being but simply to a being. The emphasis, moreover, lies on the time element in the expression. Hence it *suggests but is not equivalent to* such expressions as 'the first and the last', Isa. 44^{6}, 'He that is enthroned of old' (ישב קדם) Ps. 55^{19}, and 'the Eternal One' (ὁ αἰώνιος), 1 Bar. $4^{10, 14, 20}$. But the expression in our text does not contain the element of eternity. It emphasizes the idea of longevity, while its context presupposes but does not express the idea of eternal existence. Hence it is an extraordinary expression to apply to God, and accordingly, if we take into account the fact that, throughout this and all other Jewish apocalypses, every reference to or description of God is couched in terms of the utmost reverence, we find it impossible to accept this irreverent designation of God as original in its present form. If this be so, it is more than probable that, instead of 'an ancient

of days' the text originally read 'one like an ancient of days'. This would be the true apocalyptic form of expression, resembling that in Ezek. 1^{26}. In this latter passage, it is true, the idea of humanity is present 'the likeness as it were the appearance of a man' (דמות כמראה אדם) but not in our author. On the above grounds I suggest that כעתיק יומין 'one like an ancient of days', was an apocalyptic designation of God in Aramaic. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 10 alone attests this expression: ὡσεὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν and LXX 7^{13} of our text. When this designation was once accepted, the next stage in its development was possible, i.e. to drop the comparative particle and therewith to transform the *indefinite apocalyptic* form of expression into a *definite non-apocalyptic* i. e. instead of 'like an ancient of days' we have 'the Ancient of Days' ($7^{13, 22}$) i. e. עתיק יומיא. We have an exactly similar development in the case of 'like a son of man' (7^{13}) and 'the Son of Man' (1 Enoch 46^{2}, &c.). The latter has no meaning apart from its development out of 'like a son of man'. The phrase 'an ancient of days' denotes simply, as above said, *an aged being.* But the apocalyptic phrase 'like an ancient of days' affirms at once a likeness and an unlikeness. The likeness consists in the longevity and probably the dignity that goes therewith, the unlikeness in the fact that the Being so described is not one whose age is measured by years but one who is at once 'the first' and 'the last', the Everlasting. I have accordingly inserted כ before עתיק, and so brought the expression into conformity with its context.

His raiment was as snow and the hair of his head was spotless as white wool. There are three ways of dealing with the text. (1) The Massoretic: 'His raiment was as white snow and the hair of his head like spotless wool'. This is practically abandoned by scholars. (2) 'His raiment was white as snow and the hair of his head was as spotless wool'. This departure from the Massoretic accentuation has the support of Th. (Vulg., and Pesh.) τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ χιὼν λευκόν καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὡς ἔριον καθαρόν. But, though this rendering is preferable to (1) in the first clause, it is most unsatisfactory in the second. For wool is neither necessarily spotless or white. Hence we must fall back on (3), which has the support of the LXX. (3) 'His raiment was as snow and the hair of his head was spotless as white wool': or 'as white spotless wool'. Since the LXX reads ἔχων περιβολὴν ὡσεὶ χιόνα (*al.* χιὼν) καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον

λευκὸν καθαρόν, it is clear that in the Aramaic it presupposes the חִוַּר (= λευκός) as belonging to the second clause and not to the first and as following immediately after בעמר. This is, we may justly conclude, the original text. It has the support, moreover, of Rev. 1^{14} ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν—a free rendering of the Aramaic text presupposed by the LXX. There is a still earlier testimony in 1 Enoch 46^{1} which = ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν (or λευκή). Both renderings are possible, but in my translation of 1 Enoch I ought undoubtedly to have adopted the first. The Aramaic therefore should be read נקא בעמר חור= 'spotless as white wool'. נקא means 'cleansed', 'free from spot', but not 'white'. Hence, since wool may have two or more colours, it requires the epithet 'white', i.e. חִוַּר.

His throne was fiery flames. We might compare 1 Enoch 14^{18-22} (pre-Maccabean in date) with 7^{9-10} of our text.

18. 'And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne:
Its appearance was as crystal,
And the wheels thereof as the shining sun,
And there was the vision of cherubim.

19. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire,
So that I could not look thereon.

20. And the Great Glory sat thereon,
And His raiment shone more brightly than the sun,
And was whiter than any snow . . .

22. The flaming fire was round about Him,
And a great fire was near unto Him . . .
Ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him:
Yet He needed no counsellor.'

The wheels thereof burning fire. Cf. 1 Enoch 14^{18} quoted above and Ezek. $1^{15\ sqq.}$, 10^{2}.

7^{10}. *A fiery stream . . . [went forth] from before Him.* Cf. 1 Enoch 14^{19} ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου ἐξεπορεύοντο ποταμοὶ πυρὸς φλεγομένου.

Flowed [and went forth]. It is a question whether the original text was וְנָגַד וְנָפַק; for the LXX has only ἐξεπορεύετο=נפק and Th. only εἵλκεν (Hippol. εἰς τ. Δαν. iv. 1) = נגד. Pesh. and Vulg. incorporate both readings as does the MT, while Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph*, 51) reads εἵλκεν ἐκπορευόμενος. Since the Pesh. and Vulg. are confessedly the latest of these authorities and the MT in its present form often very late, the natural conclusion is that

they contain here a conflate text. Which of the two readings is then the original? Since נגד is a late word and appears here apparently for the first time in Aramaic, though it occurs in many senses, as well as in that which it bears here, and in the Targums and Syriac, it appears most reasonable to regard נפק as an explanatory marginal gloss upon נגד. נפק is found in a fifth century inscription B.C. (CIS. ii. 113. 21) and very frequently in the fifth century *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 30^5, 31^4, &c.) though not in exactly the same connexion as in our text. Hence I have relegated 'and went forth' to a foot-note, though with some hesitation.

Thousand thousands . . . stood before him. Possibly derived from 1 Enoch 14^{22} (before 170 B.C.) μύριαι μυριάδες ἐστήκασιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. On the other hand the phrases 'thousand thousands . . . yea ten thousand times ten thousand' seem to have been the source of 1 Enoch 40^1 (before 64 B.C.) 'thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand', $71^{8, 13}$, Rev. 5^{11}, though in this last passage the order of the phrases is reversed. Cf. Deut. 33^2, 1 Enoch 1^9, 40^1, $71^{8, 13}$, Jude 14, 15. For the *Kt.* רבו read רִבְבָן. The *Qr.* רִבְבָן is a Hebraism. See Kautzsch § 65. 4.

The judgement was set. The judgement here = 'those who judge', just as in Jer. $23^{18, 22}$, Ps. 89^8, Job 15^8 'council' (i.e. סוד) = 'those who deliberate'.

The books were opened. There are several kinds of books in the Old Testament and later Jewish Literature.

(1) The book of life (or its equivalents 'God's book' in Exod. 32^{32} sq. 'Blot me I pray thee out of thy book'; 'book of the living', Ps. 69^{28}) was a register of the citizens of the Theocratic community. To have one's name written in this book implied the privilege of participating in the *temporal* blessings of the Theocracy, Isa. 4^3, while to be blotted out of this book meant exclusion therefrom. In the O. T. this expression was originally confined to *temporal* blessings only, but in our author 12^1 it is transformed through the influence of the new conception of the Kingdom, and distinctly refers to an immortality of blessedness. This meaning it has in 1 Enoch 104^1, 47^3, Jub. 30^{20} sqq. In the N.T. the phrase is of frequent recurrence, Phil. 4^3, Rev. 3^5, 13^8, &c.

(2) Books in which the deeds of men were recorded. For those wherein good deeds were recorded, cf. Ps. 56^8, Mal. 3^{16},

Jubilees 30^{22}; wherein evil deeds were recorded, cf. Isa. 65^{6}, 1 Enoch 81^{4}, $89^{61-64, 68, 70, 71}$, &c., 2 Bar. 24^{1}; wherein both good and evil deeds were recorded, cf. 7^{10} of our author, Rev. 20^{12} (*βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν*), Asc. Is. 9^{22}, Aboth 2^{1}. For a completer treatment of this question see the note on my edition of 1 Enoch 47^{3}; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 169 seq; *KAT.*^{3} ii. 405; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judenthums*, 247; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*^{2} 242, 282 seqq.; Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie*, 93 seq., 266, 316.

7^{11}. The fourth beast, i.e. the Greek Empire, is destroyed once and for all because of the blasphemies of Antiochus Epiphanes (7^{8}); for the measure of its guilt has now become full (8^{23}).

I beheld at that time, i.e. חזה הוית באדין. This order is without a parallel in Daniel or Ezra. באדין or אדין occur taken together fifty-one times elsewhere in Daniel and always at the beginning of the clause and not as here after the verb. But both the LXX and Th. support this abnormal order—*ἐθεώρουν τότε*: so also does Justin Mart., *Dial. c. Tryph.* 31 who in the main follows the LXX here. But the Vulg. omits 'at that time' and the Syr. the entire first clause but through *hmt*. But I retain the above order, since I find in 1 Enoch 83–90 (a vision written before 161 B.C. and that by a seer acquainted with the work of our author) that the order 'after that I saw' occurs four times $89^{13, 30, 72}$, 90^{2}, and, 'I saw at that time' only in 90^{26}; similarly, 'again I saw' $86^{1, 3}$ 87^{1}, $89^{2, 7}$, but 'I saw again' in $89^{3, 51}$.

Because of the voice, &c. These words give the reason for the destruction of the beast which is mentioned in the dependent clause. They would more naturally have followed in that clause.

Horn spake. The MT. here adds 'I beheld' חזה הוית, but it is clearly uncalled for. It is omitted both by the LXX (as the Syr^{h}. proves) and Th. and Justin Mart. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 31). On the other hand the MT has the support of the Pesh. and Vulg. It is thus a late insertion.

Destroyed. הובד Hoph'al from אבד.

He was given to be burned by fire. This is the final place of punishment—a place of fire as in 1 Enoch 10^{6}, 18^{11}, 21^{7-10}. These passages are older than our text. Cf. 91^{24-27}, which belongs to a Maccabean section.

7^{12}. The apparent meaning of this verse is that the three remaining beasts are not destroyed forthwith as the fourth beast. In 2^{32-35} the four empires are destroyed simultaneously, but

there owing to the *nature of the vision* their destruction is represented as taking place contemporaneously, though in reality it was not so. The great image representing in itself the four kingdoms falls all at once, and so implies a simultaneous destruction. But here the first three heathen powers survive the loss of their dominion as *nations*; as empires, they cease to be: as for the fourth empire it was to be utterly destroyed. The remaining Gentile nations are not doomed to this annihilation, but are to exist for an indefinite time and to become subject to the kingdom of the saints ($7^{14,27}$).

The rest of the beasts. The LXX has here τοὺς κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, where the MT has שאר חיותא. This is not an isolated anomaly; for in 7^{7} and 7^{19}, where we have κύκλῳ and κυκλόθεν respectively, the MT has simply שארא. Possibly κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ in 7^{12} is a rendering of שְׁתַרְנוֹתִי, which may be a corruption of שאר חיותא. I am writing ש for ם. It is wholly impossible to explain the corruption from the hypothesis of a Hebrew original.

$7^{13,14}$. *The eternal kingdom of the saints.*

7^{13}. *Came on the clouds of heaven.* Here I follow the LXX ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν . . . ἤρχετο, and not Th. which has μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν . . . ἐρχόμενος. The LXX and Pesh. preserve here the original text. The 'one like a son of man' comes not 'with' but 'on the clouds'. The clouds are not his companions (μετά), but the chariot as it were on which he approaches the Ancient of Days. The figure is suggested by the O.T., Ps. 104^{3}, 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot': cf. Is. 19^{1}. But על (='on') which the LXX attests was corrupted—*perhaps not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era* into עם ('with'). The text presupposed by the LXX is followed by the Pesh., also by Matt. 24^{30}, 26^{64} (in both cases ἐπί); Rev. $14^{14,16}$, Justin, *Ap.* i. 51, *Dial.* 120 (ἐπάνω in both); Didache 16^{8} (ἐπάνω). Mark 13^{26} (ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως) and Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 26, are doubtful, but should probably be classed here. The reading of the MT עם = μετά is followed by Th., Mark 14^{62}, Rev. 1^{7}, 4 Ezra 13^{3}, Justin, *Dial.* 31, Tert., *Adv. Marc.* iii. 7, and also by the Vulg. Thus the corrupt reading had established itself in Mark, Rev., 4 Ezra within the first century in our era, but Matt. (*bis*), Justin (*bis*), the Pesh., and the Didache (authorities of the first three centuries) still attest the primitive text first found in the second century version B.C., i. e. the LXX. Cf. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 198

One like unto a son of man, i. e. כבר אנש. On the subsequent history of this phrase in Jewish Apocalyptic see my edition of 1 *Enoch*[2] 46[2], n. 48[2] n., pp. lxiii.—vi, 306–9. In apocalyptic visions where men are symbolized by beasts, angels and other supernatural beings are symbolized by men. This symbolism will be found on a large scale in 1 Enoch 89–90. If, therefore, the expression is to be taken strictly, it undoubtedly suggests a supernatural being or a body of such beings. Since the beings thus referred to are, according to the interpretation of the angel, the people of 'the Saints of the Most High' ($7^{18,22,25,27}$), we are to infer that the faithful remnant of Israel are to be transformed into heavenly or supernatural beings as in 1 Enoch 90^{38} (161 B.C.) and in later apocalypses, which expect an everlasting kingdom upon earth, whose members will be clad with garments of light: cf. 1 Enoch $62^{15,16}$, 108^{12}. The peculiar expression קדישי עליונין, 7^{18}, confirms the above view. See note *in loc.*

They brought him near before him. This is the reading of the MT, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. The LXX οἱ παρεστηκότες παρῆσαν αὐτῷ presupposes a different text, i. e. קאמיא קרבו קדמוהי 'They that stood by drew near before him'. These, i. e. 'they that stood by', are mentioned again in 7^{16}. This reading is supported by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii. 7, 'qui adsistebant', and Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 26, 'qui adsistebant ei'. In 7^{16} there is apparently an order of angels in immediate attendance on the Ancient of Days. If we might insert קאמיא before קדמוהי in the MT, we could interpret this class of angels as a like order in attendance on 'the one like unto a son of man'. This use of קום קדם has already occurred in 7^{10}. The text then would run 'they that stood before him (i. e. the Son of Man) brought him near to him (the Ancient of Days)'. So at all events Justin understood the text. Thus these attendants are angels of the Son of Man, *Apol.* i. 31, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ. These, as his escort, present him to the Ancient of Days: *Dial.* 31 οἱ παρεστηκότες προσήγαγον. The text is uncertain.

7^{14}. The sovereignty of the Saints ($7^{18,22,27}$) is described as everlasting and in terms used elsewhere of the sovereignty of God: cf. 3^{33} (4^{3}), $6^{27(26)}$. There is no personal Messiah. The writer of the Parables of 1 Enoch 37–71 was the first student of our text, so far as existing literature goes, to interpret 'one like a son of man' in this passage as relating to an individual.

The moment he did so he rose to the conception of a superhuman Messiah, by following the natural method of interpreting the vision. See second note on preceding verse.

7^{15}. *And my spirit . . . even of me Daniel.* The original רוחי אנה דניאל is literally 'the spirit of me Daniel'. This construction of the pronoun with the suffix is common to both Aramaic and Hebrew. For the former cf. Ezra 7^{21} מִנִּי אֲנָה אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא, and for the latter in 8^{1} of our author and 1 Sam. 25^{24} בִּי אֲנִי 'on me'. Cf. Cowley 81^{14} where אנה = 'of me'.

Was distressed. In אִתְכְּרִית the daghesh in the *yodh* is to call attention to its being a consonant here. The Hebrew rendering of this verb combined with רוחי occurs in 2^{3} רוחי וַתִּפָּעֶם—a phrase which occurs in Gen. 41^{8}. In 2^{1} of our text the translator uses the Hithpa'el רוחי וְתִתְפָּעֶם.

Therewith. So the LXX ἐν τούτοις. Here the MT reads בגו נדנה, which is rendered 'in the midst of the sheath' if we punctuate נִדְנָה, or 'in the midst of its sheath' if we punctuate נִדְנַהּ or נִדְנָהּ. The word is of Persian origin *nidâna* (Bevan). It is found in later Hebrew—1 Chron. 21^{27}, where it bears the meaning of the 'scabbard' or 'sheath' of a sword. It is strange that, when it means the sheath of a sword in the Targums, it is written לִדְנָא or לְדָנָא: cf. 2 Sam. 20^{8}; Ezek. $21^{3,4,5}$; Jer. 47^{6}; Ezek. $21^{3,4,5}$; except in 1 Sam. 17^{51}; Ezek. 21^{30}. In the former of the last two passages according to Levy, *Ch. W.* i. 403: ii. 93 both readings are found: in my copy of the Targum נדנא is given. The latter seems a corruption of the former. We may reasonably conclude that לדנא was always used to mean sheath of a sword. Turning to the use of נדנא we find that Levy gives only two passages where it occurs in the same connexion as in our text, i. e. Sanh. 108^{a} (שלא ' ' לנדנה = 'that their soul should not return to it sheath') and Ber. rabba, § 26, which, as Driver recognizes, are in all likelihood based on our text. But if our text is itself corrupt, these two passages are as worthless as their original.

Noting the singular character of this phrase, Weiss, Buhl, Marti, and Driver emend בגו נדנה into בגין דנה 'on this account'. But Driver recognizes that בגין occurs only in the Jerusalem Targums. To this we may add the further fact that it is unknown in the Aramaic inscriptions and the *Aram. Papyri.* Hence I conclude that this attractive suggestion is of doubtful worth, and suggest

in its stead that בנוגרנה is to be taken as a corruption of בגורנה, of which the LXX *ἐν τούτοις* and Vulg. *in his* would be exact renderings. The corruption lies, therefore, in גרנה and not in the בגו, which occurs *as a preposition* in our text in 3^{25}, 7^{15}, but in 4^{7} and in Ezra in 4^{15} in the form בגוא. Furthermore it occurs in the *Aram. Pap.* frequently *as an adverb* = 'therein' or 'therewith', and in a connexion exactly similar to that in our text. Thus in 2^{29} טיב לבבן בגו 'our heart is content therewith': as also in $15^{6,15}$, 20^{9}. It is thus a familiar phrase, and בגו was thus used for the first time in Aramaic hitherto known as a preposition in Ezra 4^{15}, 6^{2} (with suffixes and also in the Persian period with nouns, Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, p. 211, b^{2} בגו בירתא = 'in the fortress', as in our author, later in the Targums). Thus on the basis of the LXX supported by the usage of the phrase in older Aramaic and the grammatical use of בגו in our author I have emended as above, and therefore translate 'therewith' or 'in this matter'. Is גרנה a real Aramaic word? It is found once in late Hebrew in the O.T., i. e. 1 Chron. 21^{27}.

7^{16}. *One of them that stood by.* This appears to be one of the angels in attendance on God (7^{13}). The angel gives at first a short and summary answer (7^{17-18}), and afterwards a full interpretation in answer to Daniel's request for further information. In the visions of the earlier prophets God Himself spake to the prophets (Amos 7, 8; Isa. 6; Jer. 1, &c.) but in the later prophets the part of the interpreter is discharged by an angel in Zech. $1^{7-6^{8}}$; Daniel 1; Enoch; Test. xii Patriarchs; Jubilees; 2 Baruch; 4 Ezra. In Ezek. 40–48 we have a combination of both methods, and this section accordingly marks the period of transition from the one method to the other.

7^{17-18}. *The angel's interpretation of the vision in* 7^{11-14}.

7^{17}. *Kings.* Here the LXX, Th. (*βασιλεῖαι*), and Vulg. read 'kingdoms'. But this is only an interpretation and not a translation, seeing that in 8^{20} 'kings' are used as synonymous with kingdoms.

[*Which are four.*] This phrase is omitted by the LXX. It is certainly unnecessary; for the seer knows perfectly well the number of the kingdoms. It may be due to a corruption of the original text attested by the LXX. See next note.

⌜*Which shall be destroyed from the earth*⌝. So the LXX *αἱ*

ἀπολοῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. So also Justin, *Dial.* 31. Here the LXX is certainly right and the MT hopelessly wrong. To say that these kingdoms 'arise from the earth' is contrary to the traditional idea as to the origin of these kingdoms; for as we know from Jewish tradition these kingdoms arose from the sea; cf. Rev. 13^{1} ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον; 4 Ezra 11^{1} 'ascendebat de mari aquila'; cf. 12^{10-11};[1] also Rev. 11^{7}, 17^{8}, where the beast comes from the abyss, or 13^{11} where it denotes the priesthood of the imperial cultus. But it is not only contrary to tradition but to the belief of our author himself. For in 7^{3} we read that 'four great beasts came up from the sea'. But this is not all. Even Th. preserves in its conflate text the earlier reading, as we shall see presently, and the later redactional addition.

Again let us observe how wholly incongruous is the text of the MT. The angel interprets the vision in 7^{17-18}, and tells Daniel that these kingdoms 'shall arise' out of the earth. But it cannot be said of the Babylonian empire, even from the assumed date of the Seer (i.e. 6th cent. B.C.), that it 'shall arise'; for it has already arisen and is fast nearing its end. But this is not all. Immediately after this incorrect statement as to the *future* rise of the heathen empires, the angel proceeds to declare, without a single allusion to their subsequent destruction, that the Saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom. Yet in the vision itself an entire section 7^{11-14}, prior to the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, is devoted first to the destruction of the *power* of the beasts, and then to that of the beasts themselves.

Now the way out of the above *impasse* lies before us in the LXX: 'These great beasts are four kingdoms, which shall be destroyed from off the earth', the relative clause of which is a translation of מן ארעא (or יהובדון, cf. 7^{11}) די יאבדון. Of the correctness of this retroversion we may feel reasonably confident, seeing that in 2^{24}, $7^{11, 26}$ ἀπολλύναι is a rendering of אבד.

If this was the original text, we ought to be able to explain some of the corruptions in the other versions. With the Vulg. we need not concern ourselves, since it is almost a reproduction of the MT. The Pesh. follows the MT closely but it does not admit that the beasts arose 'from the earth': it changes this

[1] 4 Ezra 13^{3} which represents the Messiah as arising from the sea is against Jewish tradition and should be excised as an interpolation. All the versions except the Latin contain this interpolation.

into 'on the earth' and so escapes creating a violent contradiction with the statement in 7^3. We have now to deal with Th. (reproduced by Hippolytus in his commentary on Daniel (*c.* 210–230) iv. 10 *ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ τέσσαρα, τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἳ ἀρθήσονται. ἀναστήσονται* is a rendering of יקומון, but, as the Pesh., Th. has changed 'from the earth' to 'on the earth'. As we have already observed, Th. is conflate, as the relative clause *αἳ ἀρθήσονται* proves. It has all the appearance of the addition of a later hand. At all events *αἴρω* is not used by Th. elsewhere with the meaning it clearly bears here; for this clause = 'which shall be destroyed' (= יאבדון) or 'pass away' (= יעדון). The LXX renders די לא יעדה by *ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῇ* in 7^{14}, and תְּאַבֵּד by *ἦρας* in Isa. 26^{14}. This addition to Th. was made by a scribe who was acquainted with another form of the Aramaic text than that which Th. reproduces. This text preserved יאבדון, which the LXX presupposes, or possibly יערון a corruption of it. Thus Th. in its present form reproduces the meaningless text of the reviser *ἀναστήσονται*, but a later scribe adds the original reading in a relative clause. We can now rewrite the text which not only Jewish tradition on this question, but also the actual text of our author in 7^3 and the LXX and even Th. require, and this text was אלין חיותא רברבתא אנין ערבעה מלכין די יאבדון מן ארעא 'These great beasts are four kings which shall be destroyed from off the earth'.

7^{18}. *Saints of the Most High.* Cf. $7^{22a,25,27}$. קדישי עליונין (rendered by the LXX and Th. by *ἅγιοι ὑψίστου*) is a peculiar designation for the Saints; for in 4^{10} קדיש is used of an angel. This phrase is entirely different from חסידי עליונין. In the Psalms (30^4, 31^{23}, &c.) the Saints are the חסידים. But our author has chosen the phrase in our text to express the divine or supernatural character of God's people as contrasted with the other peoples of the earth. In $7^{21,22b}$ 'the Saints of the Most High' are spoken of simply as 'saints'. See note on 7^{13}. עליונין may here, as Hitzig and other scholars explain it, be due to the plural preceding. Cf. בְּתֵּי כְלָאִים as the plural of בית כלא (Isa. $42^{7,22}$. Other scholars with Driver take עליונים as plural of majesty, and compare the use of קדושים for God in Prov. 9^{10}, also Joshua 24^{19}. עליון is not Aramaic but Hebrew. The Aramaic equivalent for it is עִלָּיָא, עִלָּאָה, $4^{14\,(17),\,21(24)}$.

The kingdom. Though the phrase 'kingdom of God' is not

found in Daniel, we have here substantially the thought for which it stands. The thought here is not 'the divine sovereignty'—the meaning it bears all but universally in the N.T. and Rabbinic writings, but 'a divinely organized community'. This is clear from 7^{14}, where the rule of the saints is described in terms that are elsewhere used of the rule of God Himself: cf. $4^{31\,(34)}$, 6^{26}.

Possess. החסן is found often in the *Arm. Pap.* (Cowley, 7^2, 8^2, &c.). The Hebrew also has nouns and adjectives derived from this Aramaic (?) root. As Cowley remarks (p. 20) it is the regular word for 'holding property'.

The kingdom. MT, Pesh., and Vulg. add 'for ever and' against LXX and Th.

7^{19}. *To know the truth.* לְיַצָּבָא is the Pa'el inf. of יצב. We have the adjective יַצִּיב = 'certain', 'true' in $2^{8,45}$, and a substantive יציבא in 7^{16}.

Nails of brass. The absence of this phrase in 7^7 is strange.

7^{20}. *That had eyes.* In ועינין לה it is said that we have the solitary instance of *vav* apodosis in Biblical Aramaic. But in Cowley's edition of the *Aram. Pap.* Aḥ. 160 we have a fifth century B.C. example of this idiom in Aramaic, if his restoration of the passage is valid, which is doubtful. In the Hebrew in 8^{10} we have another use of *vav*, i.e. *vav* explicative. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 154 *a*, n. *b*.

Appearance was more stout, &c. The small horn (7^8) grew quickly to a great size (8^9).

7^{21-22}. *A recapitulation of* $7^{8-12,\,13-14}$. The only addition is the clause 'and prevailed against them'. This is repeated in another form in 7^{25}, where the little horn is to 'wear down the saints'. The clause 'made war with the saints' has already occurred according to the original text.

7^{21}. *Prevailed against them*: till the intervention of the Most High.

7^{22}. *The Ancient of Days,* i.e. עתיק יומיא. Here the apocalyptic form of the expression (see 7^9 note) is dropped as in 7^{13}.

Judgement (*sat and dominion*) *was given.* I here follow Ewald and other scholars in restoring יתיב ושלטנא before יהב. Cf. $7^{10\,b,\,14,\,26,\,27}$. Otherwise a different meaning must be assigned to דינא here (i.e. 'judgement', i.e. 'justice') from that which belongs to it in $7^{10,26}$, i.e. 'judgement was given in favour of the saints'.

The saints do not judge, but God alone. They are His assessors.

The time came, i. e. the time fixed by God as the limit of heathen rule. Cf. Luke 21^{8} *ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν*.

Take possession of. On this meaning of החסן see note on 7^{18}.

7^{23}. *A fourth kingdom . . . diverse from all the kingdoms*. This kingdom was different in the eyes of the Seer from all the kingdoms that went before, and more terrible in its destructive activities.

The whole earth. This is to be understood rhetorically as in 2^{39}.

7^{24}. *Shall be diverse*, &c. The eleventh king shall be diverse from the ten not only in removing his three predecessors, but in his blasphemies against the Most High and his persecution of the saints.

7^{25}. *Speak words against* (לצד) *the Most High*. Cf. 11^{36} 'Speak marvellous things against (על) the God of gods'.

Against. Though לצד is derived from the Hebrew צד, it bears a meaning which has no parallel in the Hebrew. In the sense of 'against' the Hebrew would be לנגד as in 10^{13}, Prov. 21^{30}, ל after certain verbs (Gen. 27^{42}; 2 Kings 5^{7}, &c.), or על as in the parallel passage in our author in 11^{36}. Nor in the Targums does לצד appear ever to be used in a hostile sense. Hence the word may be simply a corruption of על, which bears a hostile sense in $3^{19,29}$ (יאמר · · על), 6^{5}. By this word the Pesh. renders the preposition that stood in the text and the Vulg. by *contra*. The LXX and Th. have here respectively *εἰς* and *πρός*, which show no sign of the presence of such a peculiar word as לצד. In 3^{19} Th. has *ἐπί*, 3^{29} *κατά*, as renderings of על. In 3^{29} the LXX renders על (= 'against') by *εἰς*, in 3^{19} by *ἐπί*.

Wear out. The Pe'al of בלא occurs in the sense of 'to be worn out' in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley 26^{1}). Here it is the Pa'el, and 'shall wear out' expresses the meaning well. Cf. LXX *κατατρίψει*, Th. *παλαιώσει*. There is no ground, therefore, for taking it to mean 'shall afflict', as Bevan suggests, who compares 1 Chron. 17^{9} where לבלתו is substituted for לענותו, cf. 2 Sam. 7^{10}. Driver compares the Targ. on Isa. 3^{15}, 'the faces of the poor ye wear away' (מְבַלְיִן).

Shall think: i. e. יסבר. This word occurs in the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 37^{7}).

The times and the law. Antiochus attempted to suppress the religious festivals of the Jews and the law: cf. 1 Macc. 1^{44-9}. The law (דת=Hebrew תורה) here is the Mosaic law as in $6^{6(5)}$, and the times are the set times for all the Jewish religious observances, as well as their great festivals. Antiochus interfered also with the heathen cults: cf. 1 Macc. $1^{41,42}$, a passage which is confirmed by our text in 11^{37}.

A time and times and half a time. The same expression in its Hebrew form recurs in 12^{7} and in Greek in Rev. 12^{14} *καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ*. A time here means a year as in 4^{16} (see note). Hence this period during which the Jewish religion was to be suppressed was three and a half years. This was the traditional limit assigned to the kingdom of the Antichrist. Here this period began with the legation of Apollonius about June, 168, 1 Macc. $1^{20,29}$, and terminated in 165 B.C. on the 25th of Chislev (i.e. Dec.) on the rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. $4^{52,53}$). The edict of Antiochus (1 Macc. 1^{41} seqq.) was issued contemporaneously with or later than the legation of Apollonius and was enforced on Chislev (Dec.) 15, 168 (1 Macc. 1^{54}). If we assume that the edict of Antiochus followed immediately on the legation of Apollonius, then the rededication of the Temple occurred exactly three years after its desecration. In any case this prediction was fulfilled with reasonable accuracy. For like predictions cf. that of Jeremiah relating to Hananiah in Jer. 28^{16-17}, or of Isaiah in relation to Damascus, Isa. 8^{4}, which was fulfilled within three years or so (Montg.). See note on 8^{14}, where another suggestion as to the beginning of this period is given.

Times. עִדָּנִין has here a dual sense, cf. עִדָּנִין in 7^{8}.

7^{26-27}. *At the close of the three and a half years the judgement will take place, and the kingdom of the Saints be established, which is to embrace every country under heaven and not merely the fourth kingdom.*

7^{26}. *The judgement shall sit.* Cf. $7^{10\,b,11\,b,22}$. יְתִב Imperfect of יָתַב.

His dominion shall be taken away. Literally 'they shall take away his dominion'. Cf. 7

So that it may be consumed, &c. לְהַשְׁמָדָה, Active to be rendered passively in English.

Unto everlasting. עד סופא ('unto the end') as in 6^{26}.

7^{27}. *Of the kingdoms*, i.e. מַלְכְוָת which is in the construct before

the preposition תחות and the following words—all which are treated as a substantive—in Aramaic a unique construction. In Hebrew we find the construct case frequently before prepositions: before בְּ in Isa. 9^2 שִׂמְחַת בקציר 'the joy in the harvest'; 2 Sam. 1^{21}; also before לְ, אֶל, מִן, עַל. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 130 *a*. This construction is frequent in Syr.

Under the whole heaven. Cf. 9^{12} and Deut. 2^{25}, 4^{19}, &c., whence this phrase is derived.

Shall be given. The perfect יְהִיבַת is used for the future to express certainty. Cf. 6^5 השׁכחנא and 11^{36} נעשׂתה.

Its kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. The kingdom is that of the Saints. On this phrase see note on 4^{31}. The same terms are applied to the kingdom of the Saints as to the kingdom of God. They ultimately come to be one and the same.

7^{28}. *Here,* lit. 'hitherto' = Hebrew עַד־כֹּה Exod. 7^{16}; Josh. 17^{14}

My thoughts, &c. Cf. $4^{16\,(19)}$, $5^{6,10}$.

Changed upon me. Or, since 'upon me' is a *dativus ethicus* simply read 'changed'. Cf. $5^{6,9}$.

Kept the matter in my heart. Cf. LXX 4^{25} (*τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ συνετήρησε*): Gen. 37^{11}, T. Lev. 6^2, 8^{19}; Luke 2^{19}.

SECTION VIII

i. e. Chapter 8, the Vision of the Seer in the third year of Belshazzar.

The introduction to this chapter deals wholly with the MT, the LXX, and other Versions. and the help rendered by the versions towards the recovery of the original Hebrew version or even of the Aramaic original.

§ 1. *Hebrew renderings in the MT of Aramaic phrases which have already occurred in* 2^{4-7}.

8^5. הייתי מבין והנה a rendering of משתכל הוית ואלו in 7^8.

8^7. ירמסהו ,, ,, ברגליה רפסה $7^{7,19}$. In these two passages exactly the same events are recorded of Antiochus.

8^9. קרן אחרת צעירה (emended) a rendering of קרן אחרי זעירה 7^8.

יֶתֶר ,, ,, יתירה 3^{22}, $7^{7,19}$.

8^{15}. ואבקשה בינה ,, ,, צבית ליצבה 7^{19}.

§ 2. *Interpolations in the MT.*

8^2. ויהי בראת where it has a different meaning from that which it has in 8^{15} and usually. See note *in loc.*

8^{2}. ואדאה בחזון. See note *in loc.*

8^{21}. השעיר interpolated after הצפיר. First appeared as a marginal gloss, explaining the Aramaism.

8^{24}. ולא בכחו.

§ 3. *Corruptions in the MT emended by means of the LXX and other versions.*

8^{5}. צפיר [ה]עזים, LXX, Th. *τράγος αἰγῶν.*

8^{8}. חזות corrupt for אחרות, LXX *ἕτερα.*

8^{11-13}. MT very corrupt. Read ועד שר הצבא הגדילה וממנה הורם התמיד ותשלך מקום ומקדש יצדה. 12. וינתן על ⌜מזבח⌝ התמיד הפשע וַתֻּשְׁלַךְ אמת ארצה ועשתה והצליחה. 13^{b}. . . . התמיד ⌜מורם⌝ והפשע השמם נִתָּן וקדש יצדה מרמס.

LXX *ἐξήρθη θυσία καὶ ἐρράχθη ὁ τόπος [αὐτῶν] . . . καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται.* 12. *ἐγενήθησαν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι . . .* 13. . . . *ἡ θυσία [ἡ] ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως [ἡ] δοθεῖσα καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐρημωθήσεται εἰς καταπάτημα.* So the LXX, save that I have reversed the order of the first two verbs in ver. 11, and transposed *θυσία καί* before *ἐρράχθη* as *καὶ θυσία.* See notes *in loc.*

8^{14}. אלי corrupt for אליו (so LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg.).

8^{22}. מנוי corrupt for מגויו (so LXX, Th., and the context).

8^{23}. כְּהָתֵם הַפֹּשְׁעִים corrupt for כְּתֹם פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם (LXX and Th. (Pesh. and Vulg.)). Here there were three variants in the Hebrew version. כהתם could be retained in an intransitive sense. But this would be against the translator's usage.

8^{24}. נפלאות ישחית corrupt (?) for נ״ יחשב. This corruption has already occurred in the MT. in 2 Sam. 20^{15}; it is equally possible in the Aramaic; see note *in loc.*

§ 4. *Words lost in MT restored.*

8^{8}. קרנים (with LXX, Th., Vulg.).

$8^{12, 13}$. See under § 3.

8^{17}. ויעמד before אצל (with LXX and Th.).

§ 5. *Dittographs in the original Hebrew Version, before the translator of the LXX, some of which may be duplicate renderings of the original Aramaic text.*

8^{7}. *συνέτριψεν* in the LXX = ירססהו (an Aramaic word) where the true reading is attested by the MT. ירמסהו = Th. *συνεπάτησεν.* The original Aram. verb was most probably רפס: cf. $7^{7,19}$.

8^{11}. LXX has *ἕως ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν* = עד שר

הצבא הציל השבי. Here the MT has עד שר הצבא הגדיל. This doublet may have arisen within the Hebrew version, in which case השבי would be a dittograph of הצבא and הציל of הגדיל.

8^{11}. LXX here implies dittographs in the Hebrew: *τὰ ὄρη τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος* = הרי התמיד and *ἐξήρθη θυσία* = הורם תמיד.

8^{11-12}. LXX *εὐωδώθησαν καὶ ἐγενήθη . . . ἐποίησε καὶ εὐωδώθη* (= MT) והצליחו ונעשתה and MT ועשתה והצליחה. These are variants inside the Hebrew version.

8^{16}. See note *in loc.* where the Hebrew presupposed by the LXX and the MT are given together. It is possible that these two may be due to an internal corruption in the Aramaic original. LXX *ὁ ἄνθρωπος· ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα* = גברא לדברא, MT = גבריאל הסבר, The entire last clause of 8^{16} in the LXX is a doublet of the preceding nine words. The preceding nine words are an exact translation of the MT.

$8^{24c-25a}$. See notes *in loc.*

§ 6. *Aramaisms in the MT or the Hebrew presupposed by the LXX.*

8^{2}. אבול (so LXX, Pesh., Vulg.) = 'gate' where the MT has אובל = 'river'.

8^{5}. צפיר is really an Aramaism.

8^{7}. *συνέτριψεν* (LXX) presupposes an Aramaic verb. See § 5 above.

8^{1}. *Unto me Daniel*, i. e. אלי אני דניאל. This idiom is both Hebrew and Aramaic. See 7^{15} note.

After that which appeared. In הַנִּרְאָה the Massoretes regarded ה (before the perfect Niph'al) as the equivalent of אשר as in Joshua 10^{24}; 1 Kings 11^{9}; 1 Chron. 26^{28}, &c.: but Ges.-Kautzsch (§ 138 *i, h*) regards הַנִּרְאֶה (the participle) as the most probable reading.

Aforetime, i. e. בתחלה 'at the first', first in a series: cf. 9^{21}, Gen. 13^{3}, 4^{21}, $43^{18,20}$.

8^{2}. The seer is carried in a vision to Shushan, as Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem, Ezek. 8^{3}–11^{24}, 40^{2} sqq.

And I was in Shushan. Here the MT inserts before these words the clause וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹתִי (drawn from 8^{15}). Hence we may translate '[Now it was so when I saw] that I was in Shushan'. But I have omitted the bracketed words since they are not to be found in the LXX, Th., Pesh., or Vulgate, nor in Hippolytus' Commentary on the text of Th. Moreover the interpolated

clause adds nothing to the text. It is a mere tautology. This interpolation must have been made not earlier than the third or fourth century A.D. according to the evidence of the Versions. It is found in a few late Greek MSS. and in Chrysostom and Theodoret.

The idiom ויהי בראתי ' ' ' ואני is good Hebrew, though the action or event introduced by the *vav* clause is here contemporaneous with that expressed by בראתי: cf. Gen. 19^{29} ויהי בשחת ויזכר ' ' '. This, so far as I am aware, is a very rare usage. The action or event introduced in the second clause is almost always subsequent to that expressed by ב with the inf. after יהי: cf. Gen. 4^{8}, 11^{2}; 1 Sam. 30^{1}; 2 Sam. 1^{2}; 1 Kings 8^{10}, 18^{4}; 1 Chron. 15^{26}; Esther 2^{8}, 3^{4}, and 8^{15} in our text. But in the present passage it seems justifiable to regard this construction with its exceptional meaning as due to an accidental interpolation, and not as one authenticating this exceptional idiom.

Shushan the palace or 'castle'. This is the regular description of Shushan in the O.T.: Neh. 1^{1}; Esther $1^{2,5}$, $2^{3,5}$, &c. The word for 'castle' or 'citadel' is בירה—late Hebrew, and probably a loan-word from the Assyrian bîrtu, 'fortress' (Delitzsch, *Ass. H.*, p. 185: quoted by Driver), and found elsewhere only in 1 Chron. $29^{1,19}$; Ezra 6^{2}; Neh. 2^{8}, 7^{2}. This citadel of Shushan, i. e. Susa, was celebrated for its strength in ancient times (Herod. v. 49). As the citadel, it is distinguished from the city in Esther 3^{15}. Shushan was in later times probably the capital of Elam. The first Susa with its palace was destroyed by Assur-bani-pal (668-626 B.C.). See *K. B.* ii. 203 seqq. To this Susa there is no reference in the O.T. It was refounded by Darius Hystaspes (521–485 B.C.), and according to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 6. 22) 'was the winter residence of the Persian kings, the rest of the year being spent by them at Babylon and Ecbatana' (*Encyc. Bib.*, IV. 4499 sq.).

Elam. Shushan is here said to be in Elam, but in Ezra 4^{9} it is distinguished from it.

After Elam the MT adds 'and I saw in the vision'. This clause appears to be a dittograph of the opening clause, and the fact that the LXX (according to Syr^{h}) and Th. and Hippolytus (*Comment. in Dan.* xxv) omit it transforms this possibility into a practical certainty.

The †river† Ulai. The versions here diverge from the MT.

Th. omits Ulai and reads simply οὐβάλ here and in vv. 3, 6. So far as it goes, however, it supports the MT אובל, which is merely a phonetic variation of יובל in Jer. 17^{8}. But the LXX (*πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ*), Pesh., and Vulg. presuppose not אובל but אבול = 'gate' here and in vv. 3, 6 (Vulg. not in ver. 3, where it reads 'paludem'). The latter is an Aramaic word (J. Aram., Syr. ܐܒܘܠ, Assyrian *abullu*), and it is possible that it was originally in the text. The phrase would then mean the 'water gate of the Ulai'. The Ulai flowed close to Shushan. This reading would suit in ver. 3; for the ram representing Media and Persia would then be standing in front of the water gate that commanded the entrance to Shushan, while ver. 6 represents the he-goat (i. e. Alexander the Great) as attacking the ram who stood in front of the water gate. We know that Nearchus brought reinforcements up this river to Alexander.

Ulai. This is the Eulaeus on which, according to Pliny (*H.N.* vi. 27), Susa was situated, though Herodotus (i. 188, v. 49, 52) places it on the Choaspes. Three rivers flow from the north near Susa into the Persian Gulf: the Kerkha (= the ancient Choaspes); the Abdizful (= the Coprates) which falls into the Karun = the Pasitigris); and the Eulaeus, 'a large artificial canal . . . which left the Choaspes at Pai Pul, about twenty miles NW. of Susa, passed close by the town of Susa on the N. or NE., and afterwards joined the Coprates' (Driver).

8^{3}. *I lifted up my eyes and saw,* i. e. in the vision: cf. Gen. 31^{10}, Zech. 2^{1}, $5^{1,9}$, 6^{1}.

+*River*+. See note on ver. 2.

A single ram, i. e. איל אחד. So the words should be rendered. The אחד is here a definite numeral as on 10^{5}: cf. König, *Syntax,* § 291 *d.*

Ram. The ram was a well-known symbol of might and dominion: cf. Ezek. 17^{13}, 39^{18}; 1 Enoch 89^{43-49}, $90^{13,14,16,31}$ (before 161 B. C.). But though a single ram is a symbol of the kingdoms of Media and Persia in our text, since they are regarded as akin to each other, their diversity is brought forward. The ram has two horns, the stronger which comes up later represents Persia, while the earlier and weaker represents Media. Cf. 2^{39} for a like distinction.

Horns. קְרָנַיִם and קַרְנָיו ver. 7 are duals, but the vocalization follows the analogy of the plural. Elsewhere we find always קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיו: see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 93 *n.*

8^4. The conquests of Cyrus and Cambyses.

The eastern conquests of the Achaemenidae were of no interest to the Jew, and it is urged that on this ground they are not mentioned. Seeing, however, that the LXX reads *πρὸς ἀνατολάς* before *πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ μεσημβρίαν*, the phrase may belong to the original text, since the Seer is represented as seeing in vision the actual conquests of the Persians, which of course extended to the east as well as to the other quarters of the earth.

Thrusting, i. e. butting: used of animals Exod. 21^{28}, and then applied figuratively to nations 11^{40}—symbolized as animals: cf. Deut. 33^{17}; Ps. 44^5.

No beasts could stand before him. For this idom יעמדו לפני cf. Judges 2^{14}; 2 Kings 10^4: also in our author 8^7, 11^{16}. For this idiom with quite a different meaning cf. 1^5.

Neither was there any that could deliver, i. e. וְאֵין מַצִּיל. In ver. 7 there is an equivalent phrase. But the LXX and Th. presuppose 'neither was there the one that could deliver', i. e. הַמַּצִּיל.

According to his will, i. e. his caprice. Cf. $11^{3,16,36}$, Esther 9^5.

Magnified himself. Cf. vv. 8, 11, 25. There is a nuance of arrogance and insolence to the word: cf. Ps. 55^{12}, Jer. 48^{26}.

8^{5-7}. An he-goat (= the Greek empire) attacks the ram and overcomes it, especially in the two great conflicts at Issus and Arbela. The goat had a notable horn between its eyes, i. e. Alexander the Great (8^{21}).

8^5. *Was observing and behold.* Here הייתי מבין והנה is the Hebrew equivalent, and no doubt the rendering of the Aramaic מִשְׁתַּכַּל הֲוֵית וַאֲלוּ—a phrase which has already occurred in 7^8 in a like connexion.

An he-goat. Since the LXX and Th. have here *τράγος αἰγῶν*, and further since in apocalyptic visions significant terms and phrases are on their first occurrence mentioned without the article, but on their recurrence with the article, we should correct צפיר עזים into צפיר העזים (2 Chr. 29^{21}). In proof of the usage just mentioned many illustrations could be quoted from 1 Enoch and other Jewish Apocalypses, but the reader can verify this usage in Rev. 4^{6-8} *τέσσαρα ζῷα . . . τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα*: 5^{6-8} *ἀρνίον . . . τοῦ ἀρνίου*: $15^{2a\,b}$ *θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην . . . τ. θαλ. τ. ὑαλ.*, &c. Marti wrongly observes that the article in the Hebrew is due to the fact that the beast here is the well-known beast. Apocalyptic usage is

against this statement, no matter how important the thing may be. When this expression recurs in ver. 8 it necessarily has the article. Even in this verse we have a further illustration of this usage, i.e. '*a* notable horn'. Now as to the antiquity of this phrase, צפיר or צפיר עזים occurs only in late Hebrew such as Ezra 8^{35}; 2 Chron. 29^{21}; in Biblical Aramaic Ezra 6^{17}; in the Targums, in Talmudic Hebrew, and in Syriac. צפיר, therefore, appears in Hebrew to be a loan-word from Aramaic. The classical Hebrew word for he-goat is עתוד, which, however, is only used in the plural. As the word in our text, it is used figuratively of princes and leaders: cf. Isa. 14^{9}, Ezek. 34^{17}.

And touched not the ground. Here וְאֵין נוֹגֵעַ should be taken as וְאֵינֶנּוּ נוגע, which is Classical Hebrew. Cf. ver. 27 for a like phrase, and 12^{8} for the idea. The words themselves recall the swift march of Cyrus in Isa. 41^{3}, 'with his feet he treadeth not the road'.

A †notable† horn. קרן חזות = 'a horn of conspicuousness'. In vv. 8 and 21 it is called 'the great horn'. We have somewhat analogous expressions in 2 Sam. 23^{21}, 'a goodly man' (lit. 'a man of appearance' איש מראה); 1 Chron. 11^{23} איש מראה = 'a man of great stature'. For חזות, which Th. omits, the LXX reads ἓν = אחת. There is no early attestation of חזות. The Vulg. supports it: 'cornu insigne'; the LXX θεωρητόν is asterisked as a later addition: in Th. it appears in the manuscripts A Γ. Hence I have marked this reading as doubtful. Perhaps we should read with the LXX 'a horn'.

This notable horn is Alexander the Great, who crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C., overthrew Darius Codomannus at Issus in 333, traversed Palestine, reduced Egypt, and finally crushed Persia at Arbela in 331. After further victorious campaigns in the far East and in India, he died of fever in 323 B.C.

8^{7}. *Come close unto.* אֶצֶל after a verb of motion, denotes closer proximity than does עַר in the preceding verse. אצל is not used after verbs of motion save in this verse, in ver. 17, and 2 Chron. 28^{15}. Levy (*NHWB.*) cites no instance of the use of this preposition after verbs of motion from the Talmudic writings. It seems, therefore, to have been of late origin and confined to a limited area.

Was moved with choler, i.e. יתמרמר. The Hithpalpal of מרר is not found elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew save here and in 11^{11}.

It is used seldom in late Hebrew. Th.'s rendering ἐξηγριάνθη here (cf. 11^{11}) is good.

Trod upon him. רמס, which is used in 2 Kings 14^{9} allegorically of a wild beast 'treading down' its enemy, is here and in ver. 10, it can hardly be doubted, a Hebrew rendering of the Aramaic רפס, which is used in $7^{7,19}$ in describing exactly the same action on the part of Alexander the Great. I have, therefore, in all four passages rendered these two verbs by the same English verb. Since the LXX has συνέτριψε in this verse, and καταπατεῖν in 8^{10}, 7^{7}, it possibly found יְרַסְּסֵהוּ instead of ירמסהו. But the former is an Aramaic verb = the Hebrew רצץ.

8^{8}. Death of Alexander and the division of his empire into four kingdoms.

The great horn was broken. Alexander was struck down by a fever when he had reached the summit of his power.

Others, *(even) four* ⌜*horns*⌝. The MT reads ארבע תָּחוּת which Hitzig and others render 'four conspicuous (horns)', and Ewald 'as it were four horns'. But Graetz, Bevan, Kamphausen, Loehr, Driver, &c., rightly reject both renderings. Both are questionable renderings, and as a matter of fact the former is at variance with our author's own statement in ver. 22, where they are described as lacking in the power of Alexander. But the LXX with its rendering ἕτερα τέσσαρα κέρατα enabled Graetz, followed (herein) by most recent scholars, to emend חזות into אַחֵרוֹת. Hence the above rendering. Further, since the LXX, Th., and Vulg. include 'horns' in their renderings I have restored it. Th. and Vulg. give no equivalent for חזות. The corruption in the MT arose probably from ver. 5. The אחרות must be taken as standing in apposition to the number that follows, as in my rendering. Otherwise we should expect ארבע קרנים אחרות: cf. 12^{5}, Ezra 1^{10}, &c. But in 8^{13} we have a like construction.

On the death of Alexander his empire became the cause of endless rivalries and wars amongst his generals, which raged over twenty years before a final settlement was arrived at through the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia in 301. By this settlement Egypt was confirmed to Ptolemy in the south; Asia Minor including Paphlagonia and Pontus to Lysimachus in the north; Seleucus received Syria, Babylonia, and other eastern provinces as far as the Indus in the east; Cassander, Macedonia, and Greece in the

west. These four new kingdoms rose on the ruins of Alexander's empire and are symbolized by the 'four horns'.

8^{9-14}. The 'little horn', i.e. Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), 175–164 B.C. Cf. 1 Macc. 1^{10}, Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11. 7.

8^{9}. Our author passes over without mention all the Seleucidae from 301–175 B.C. His sole concern is with Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he regarded as the last and greatest enemy of the Jews and of their faith.

Of them, i.e. מהם where the suffix is masc. though 'horns' are fem. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 135 *o* : also note on 1^{5} of our text, Some manuscripts read מהן.

Came forth. With יָצָא before a feminine subject. Cf. 1 Kings 22^{36}.

***Another** horn, a little one*, i.e. קֶרֶן אַחֶרֶת צְעִירָה—being Bevan's emendation of the MT קֶרֶן אַחַת מִצְּעִירָה. Here we have the Hebrew rendering of the Aramaic phrase קֶרֶן אָחֳרִי זְעִירָה 7^{8}, just as in 8^{5} above we have another Hebrew rendering of a clause in the Aramaic of 7^{8}. Bevan's restoration of the text is accepted, or regarded as the best as yet proposed, by Marti, Kamphausen, Loehr, and others. The MT is generally regarded as corrupt. Ewald emends מִצְּעִירָה into מַצְעִירָה='showing smallness'. Graetz would excise the initial מ. König's explanation (*Syntax*, § 352 z) of the MT as 'a horn less than small' is unsatisfactory. Bevan's restoration is a real recovery of the original. Even the LXX and Th. which represent a corrupt original support Bevan's restoration: i.e. *κέρας ἰσχυρὸν ἕν* (Th. *ἓν ἰσχ.*); for *ἰσχυρόν* = עצומה an easier corruption of צעירה than of מצעירה.

Waxed exceeding great. With יתר תגדל cf. Isa. 56^{12} and the use of יַתִּירָה (Aram.) in 3^{22}, $7^{7, 19}$ in our author. The LXX has *καὶ ἐπάταξεν* = וַיַּךְ corrupt for יתר.

Toward the south, i.e. Egypt, cf. 11^{25}, 1 Macc. 1^{16-19}.

Toward the east, i.e. Elymais in Persia, invaded by Antiochus in the last year of his life. Cf. $11^{25\text{ sq.}}$, 1 Macc. $3^{31, 37}$, 6^{1-4}. But how can the Seer from his vantage ground in Susa refer to Persia and Media as the east? It lay to the east of Syria. In 1 Macc. 6^{1} Elymais is described as 'a city renowned for riches': in Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 9. 1 as 'a very rich city in Persia'.

Towards the glorious land. Cf. $11^{16, 41}$. In Ezek. $20^{6, 15}$ Palestine is called 'the glory of all lands' (צבי היא לכל הארצות): in Zach. 7^{14} 'the pleasant land' (ארץ חמדה); in 1 Enoch 89^{40}

'a pleasant and glorious land'. Cf. Jer. 3^{19}. The text before the LXX had צפון i.e. *βορρᾶν*, and Th. had הצבא i.e. *τὴν δύναμιν*—both corruptions of הַצֶּבִי.

8^{10}. 'The host of heaven' in this verse represents the people of God. The *heavenly* character and destiny of Israel as distinguished from those of the nations is here accentuated as elsewhere in our author (see $7^{13,18}$ nn.). The phrase 'the stars of heaven' is a definition of 'the host of heaven', and the *vav* that introduces it is the *vav* explicative (cf. 7^{20}). This is not infrequent in Hebrew, cf. Gen. 4^{4}; Exod. 24^{12}, 25^{12}; Isa. 1^{1} 'Judah and (= and particularly) Jerusalem'), 2^{1}: see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 154 *a*. n. *b*. In 1 Enoch 46^{7} 'the stars of heaven' denote the righteous Jews. Elsewhere in the O.T. 'the host of heaven' means the stars or the celestial beings in attendance on God. See Driver in Hastings, *DB*. ii. 429 seq.

Our text here refers to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes and possibly to the murder of the high priest Onias III, who is referred to more definitely in 1 Enoch 90^{8}.

8^{11-13}. These verses form one of the most difficult passages in Daniel owing to the corruptions of the text. Some of the foremost scholars regard the text as impossible. Bevan is of opinion that 'no plausible emendation has been suggested'. But this hopeless view of the text, if corrected and restored by the help of the LXX and Th., does not appear to be well founded. It is true that these two versions are themselves very corrupt—the LXX being 'hopelessly confused' according to Bevan—but it is possible in the opinion of the present writer to recover the original text in the main. In doing so the accounts of the same incidents in 1 Macc. are decidedly helpful.

Let us study the LXX and Th. of $8^{11, 12a}$ side by side with the MT.

MT	LXX	Th.
ועד שר הצבא הגדיל וממנו הורם התמיד והשלך מכון מקדשו 12. וצבא	ἕως ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος †ῥύσεται† [τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν] καὶ δι' αὐτὸν [τὰ ὄρη τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος] ἐρράχθη, καὶ ἐξήρθη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν καὶ θυσία, [καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν ἕως χαμαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν] [καὶ εὐωδώθησαν καὶ ἐγενήθη]· καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται.	καὶ ἕως ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος †ῥύσηται† [τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν], καὶ δι' αὐτὸν θυσία ἐράχθη, [καὶ κατευοδώθη αὐτῷ]· καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται.

There are *in ver. 11* of the LXX many dittographs of phrases and clauses *belonging to ver. 12* and even two in Th., as we shall show herewith. These (with the exception of the first) were originally alternative renderings of the translator which he placed in the margin, but which a subsequent copyist incorporated in the text and *in the wrong verse.* First of all τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν in the LXX and Th. = השבי which must be a dittograph of הצבא. ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος = שר הצבא. שר in this sense is never translated in the LXX or Th. by ἀρχιστράτηγος unless צבא follows it. The insertion of this dittograph in the Hebrew led to the emendation of הגדיל into הציל: cf. LXX $8^{4,7}$ where ὁ ῥυόμενος is a rendering of מציל. We thus see that in the first clause these three authorities agree.

The next dittograph τὰ ὄρη τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος = הרי התמיד, which is a dittograph of הורם התמיד.

There are two other dittographs, the first καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν ἕως χαμαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν contains a dittograph within itself; for ἕως χαμαί and ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν are duplicate renderings of ארצה. ἔθηκεν αὐτήν seems a loose rendering of וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ. In other words we have in ver. 11 a duplicate rendering of ארצה ותשלך ... which belongs to ver. 12. Finally καὶ εὐωδώθησαν καὶ ἐγενήθη as another dittograph of the last words in ver. 12, ועשתה והצליחה, though the order is reversed and other changes made.

But the LXX still presents a confused text, and the confusion may have originated in the LXX. Thus we can make nothing of δι' αὐτὸν ἐρράχθη καὶ ἐξήρθη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν καὶ θυσία as it stands. But the solution of the difficulty is obvious. There is a transposition of the two verbs. ἐξήρθη should be connected immediately with θυσία; for in 8^{13} we have ἡ θυσία ἡ ἀρθεῖσα. Hence as in the MT the LXX should be read καὶ δι' αὐτὸν θυσία ἐξήρθη καὶ ἐρράχθη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν.

Thus the Hebrew presupposed by the original text of the LXX = †מקומם† והשלך התמיד הורם[1] וממנה ועד שר הצבא הגדילה = 'Even unto the prince of the host it magnified itself, and by it the continual burnt offering was taken away and †their† place cast down and the sanctuary laid desolate'.

This I am convinced was almost to the letter the original text of ver. 11 save in the case of מקומם. But we have still to justify the last two clauses; for in their stead the MT has והשלך מכון

[1] Emended from הגדיל and ממנו as קרן is feminine.

מקדשו וצבא = 'and the foundation of his sanctuary was cast down. 12. And the host'. Instead of מכון מקדשו the LXX presupposes מקומם ומקדש. מקום has the support of two MSS. of the MT., the Vulgate, and of 2 Macc. $5^{16, 17, 19, 20}$, where Jerusalem is called ὁ τόπος in connexion with the attacks of Antiochus on Jerusalem. In 1 Macc. 1^{31} it is recorded that Antiochus had the houses and the walls thrown down; καθεῖλεν τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς. I conclude then first of all that מכון (never elsewhere translated by τόπος in the LXX) of the MT is a corruption of מקום. Secondly, that the original was מקומומקדש which through the transposition of the two underlined letters became the text presupposed by the LXX מקוממוקדש and by the loss of the first of them and further corruption became the present MT מכון מקדש. Thirdly, the LXX and Th., both of which read καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται as the final clause of this verse, enables us to recover the Hebrew before them, i.e. (or יצדא) ומקדש יִצָּדֶה. This verb[1] is really Aramaic, but this is no solid objection in a Hebrew translation of an Aramaic original. Besides it had already been adopted once into Hebrew, cf. Zeph. 3^{6}. It corresponds constantly in the Targum on Ezek. to ἐρημοῦν in the LXX. But since LXX and Th. omit וצבא at the beginning of the next verse, they seem to have read יצדא in its stead.[2] Now in support of the LXX and Th. we may quote the remarkable parallel in 1 Macc. 1^{39} τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτῆς ἠρημώθη. This is an exact equivalent of the clause in the LXX and Th. Again in 4^{38} of the same book it is said that Judas and his companions found τὸ ἁγίασμα . . . ἠρημωμένον. Finally in the LXX of our author in 8^{13} practically the same clause recurs τὰ ἅγια ἐρημωθήσεται.

Hence if the corruption arose in the Hebrew, the Hebrew of 8^{11} originally was[3] ועד שר הצבא הגדילה וממנה הורם התמיד וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מקום ומקדש יצדא 'Even unto the prince of the host it magnified itself, and by

[1] So Bludau; but the corruption may have arisen through a dittograph in the Aramaic. Thus ומקדשאיחול (So LXX καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται) was rewritten (?) ומקדשא וחילא, whence the MT. For חלל = 'to destroy' cf. Cowley Aḥ 168– a secondary meaning, it is true – and not the original or ordinary one. The LXX presupposes the Hebrew ומקדשיִשֹּׁם.

[2] So Irenaeus *De Antichristo*, xxv, et sanctum desolabitur; (12) et datum est in sacrificium peccatum.

[3] The MT read ומקדשו 'and his sanctuary'; LXX and Th. 'and the sanctuary'. Perhaps the article should be restored before the last two nouns 'place' and 'sanctuary'.

it the daily burnt offering was taken away and (the) place cast down and (the) sanctuary laid desolate'.

Prince of the host, i.e. God. The host is the host of heaven.

Took away (הֵרִים the *Kt.*), but the *Qr.* reads הֻרַם 'was taken away'.

The daily burnt-offering. The full expression was עולת התמיד as in Exod. 29^{42}, Ezek. 46^{15}, &c., but owing to familiar use it came to be spoken of simply as התמיד 'the continual' or 'the daily' in later Judaism—in the Mishna, as in Daniel, but not elsewhere in the O.T.

Cast down. So וְהֻשְׁלַךְ of MT with LXX and Th.

The sanctuary laid desolate. On this text which we owe to the LXX and Th. see notes above.

8^{12}. In our criticism of ver. 11 we arrived at the conclusion that the oldest authorities did not read וצבא at the beginning of this verse but read יצרא or יצדה instead and connected it with the preceding verse.

The MT calls for further correction, but before we proceed to do so, let us compare the attempts of the chief Hebraists to make sense of the MT as it stands. Von Lengerke renders: 'And an host is delivered over together with the continual burnt offering on account of iniquity'. Here צבא is construed as a feminine noun. The verb could of course be emended. But there is another difficulty. על is here apparently against all Hebrew usage rendered 'together with'. There are passages indeed where על has this meaning; but in such passages there is a community of nature between the things linked together by the על; cf. Exod. 35^{22} האנשים על הנשים='men together with women', i.e. both man and woman; see also 1 Kings 15^{20}; Jer. 3^{18}; Gen. 32^{12}; Lev. $2^{2, 16}$, 3^{4}, &c. Hence we must reject this rendering of Von Lengerke. There is no natural community between a warlike host and a burnt offering. Hitzig and Driver: 'And a warfare was undertaken against the continual burnt offering with transgression'. Ewald (and so practically the second marginal rendering of the R.V.): 'And armed force is imposed upon the daily sacrifice through transgression.' Here Hitzig, Driver, and Ewald attach a meaning to צבא in ver. 12 different from that which it bears in ver. 11. But further, the meaning they wrest from these renderings is unsatisfactory. They are explained to mean that Antiochus had recourse to violent

measures and established a garrison in Jerusalem to suppress the sacred rights of the Jews. But the words are not adapted to convey this sense. The armed force is directed against one specific detail of Jewish worship, whereas they should mean that it was directed against every detail of Jewish worship. The R.V. has: 'And the host was given over (to it) together with the continual burnt offering through transgression.' The R.V. is in one respect, as we have already shown in our criticism of Von Lengerke, impossible, and in another worse.

As Bevan and Marti remark, the text as it stands admits of no satisfactory rendering. Bevan abandons the attempt to emend it in despair. Von Gall, Marti, Moore, and Loehr reject וצבא as impossible, and propose its excision, and cite the LXX and Th. as omitting it. But, as we have seen in the notes on the preceding verse, these two versions attest a reading which I take to be original text, of which וצבא is merely a corruption, and rightly assign it to the close of ver. 11.

The MT, however, is still corrupt, but the task of emendation is easy, and has already in part been achieved by Von Gall and Marti in dependence on the LXX and Th. Thus for תִּנָּתֵן עַל־התמיד בְּפִשַׁע וְתַשְׁלֵךְ אמת we should read with the LXX and Th. וַיִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד הַפֶּשַׁע וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ אמת = 'and the transgression was placed on the daily burnt offering and truth cast down to the ground'. Th. *καὶ ἐδόθη ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἁμαρτία καὶ ἐρίφη χαμαὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη.* The text seems to refer to the facts recorded in 1 Macc. 1^{54} *ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον*, and in 1^{59} where the Syrians are described as *θυσιάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.*

But what sense can we assign to the words 'the transgression was placed on the daily burnt offering'? 'The daily burnt offering' was not a place. Hence, if the text is so far correct, it must be recognized as defective, and we must restore מזבח before התמיד[1], i. e. 'and the transgression was offered on the ⟨altar of the⟩ daily burnt offering': or else assume an original corruption of על in the Aramaic original such as חלף = 'instead of', of which תחת would be the Hebrew rendering. We should then have 'and the transgression was offered **in place of** the

[1] The Aramaic would then be מדבחא די תמידא. The loss of the first word would then be accidental. The lost (i. e. the first) word contains three letters in common with the second.

daily burnt offering'. The context requires emendation, and either of these suggestions would harmonize the text with the facts of history. But the former is much to be preferred. It provides us with a text that is satisfactory—grammatically, contextually, and historically.

The transgression: i. e. הפשע emended in accordance with the LXX (*αἱ ἁμαρτίαι*) and Th. (*ἡ ἁμαρτία*) from בפשע. 'The transgression' is, in all probability, the offering of heathen sacrifices and specially of swine upon the altar: cf. 1 Macc. $1^{44,46,47}$ *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βιασιλεὺς βιβλία ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων . . . μιᾶναι ἁγίασμα . . . καὶ θύειν ὕεια.* But if this reconstruction of the text under the guidance of the LXX and Th. is right, it follows that it is hardly justifiable to identify 'the transgression' with 'the abomination that maketh desolate' in 11^{31}, 12^{11} as do some scholars. The latter appears to be the heathen altar that was built on the altar of burnt offering. See notes *in loc.* The Seer does not necessarily give a complete record of the series of events in each case—as for instance the profanation or desolation of the sanctuary (8^{11}, 11^{31}), the building of the heathen altar on the altar of burnt offering (11^{31}, 12^{11}) and the offering thereon of abominable sacrifices 8^{12}.

Did its pleasure *and prospered.* It acted with effect. Cf. ver. 24: 2 Chron. 31^{21}. See note on 11^{32}.

8^{13-14}. Dialogue between two angels overheard by the Seer, through which he receives information as does the Seer in Zech. 1^{12}. What the first angel said is not recorded, but the answer by the second to his unrecorded question is given.

8^{13}. Here as in Zech. 1^{9-12} the Seer receives information from an angel.

I heard. The form וְאֶשְׁמְעָה is due to the influence of the gutteral ע: see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 10 *h*. The cohortative form with *vav* consecutive 'occurs only at rare intervals except in two or three of the later writers, some ninety instances of its use being cited altogether. . . . It is principally found in . . . Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, where the narrative is told in the first person. . . . In Dan. 8–12 there occur ten cases with *-ah* against eight without it (verbs ל״ה of course not reckoned)' (Driver, *Tenses*[3], § 69).

A holy one, i. e. אחד קדוש. This un-Hebraic order is according to König (*Syntax*, § 310 *b*) caused probably by the antithesis

'one . . . another'. In 10^5 אִישׁ אֶחָד represents the Hebrew order, but the addition of the אחד to איש makes it 'expressly indeterminate', as Ges.-Kautzsch, § 125 *b*, observes, and gives it the sense of our indefinite article 'a man'—a rare idiom in the O.T. See also 8^3 above. It is always postpositive when it bears this meaning in Hebrew, but not so in the Mishnah as Bevan (p. 30) points out. On the other hand in the present verse where the אחד is prepositive, it is in apposition to קדוש—'one, an holy one'. Cf. the emended passage in 8^8, where אַחֵרוֹת stands in apposition to the number that follows.

That certain one. The Hebrew פַּלְמוֹנִי, which is found here and nowhere else, is taken to be a contraction or conflation of פְּלֹנִי and אַלְמֹנִי, which words occur only together as in Ruth 4^1; 1 Sam. 21^3; 2 Kings 6^8. The LXX, Th., and Pesh. transliterate the word, as they do not understand it. The Vulg. renders 'alteri nescio cui': Symmachus τινί ποτε.

How long (shall be) the vision? The words which follow are to be taken in apposition, as Driver points out, to indicate the contents of the vision, and to this we must add its duration.

While the daily burnt offering is taken away. Here the MT is defective, as most scholars recognize, and we must with the LXX and Th. ἡ θυσία ἡ ἀρθεῖσα insert מוּרָם after הפשע. So Bevan, von Gall, Moore. Here the second article may be disregarded, as the LXX and Th. are very arbitrary in inserting or omitting the article.

And the transgression that appalleth set up. Here again we have to fall back upon the LXX and Th. ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως ἡ δοθεῖσα. The second article may be disregarded as in the preceding clause. In that case δοθεῖσα implies נָתָן. Cf. 11^{31}, 12^{11}. Hence we should read with Von Gall, Marti, Loehr, and others, though they omit the article, הפשע הַשֹּׁמֵם נתן. שֹׁמֵם is the abbreviated Po'el participle for משמם. For examples of the Pu'al participle without the preformative see Ges.-Kautzsch, §§ 52 *s*, 55 *c*. Bevan led the way in this reconstruction of the text by restoring מורם and emending שמם into שִׁים. Hence he rendered 'while the daily sacrifice is taken away and the Iniquity is set up'. But the former reconstruction seems preferable.

And the sanctuary laid waste to be trodden under foot. I have here (with some hesitation and yet with a conviction that, if either represents the original, it is the LXX and not the MT)

followed the LXX καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐρημωθήσεται εἰς καταπάτημα, i. e. וקדש יצדא מרמס, instead of the MT וצבא מרמס וק״. This expression is found in 1 Macc. 3^{45} καὶ τὸ ἁγίασμα καταπατούμενον. This is the second time that the LXX has ἐρημωθήσεται where the MT has וצבא. See note on ver. 11 above. קדש as representing the only sanctuary can dispense with the article as עיר stands for Jerusalem. If we do not accept the LXX here, there are two other possible texts.

(1) The MT which = 'and the sanctuary and host (וצבא) to be trodden under foot'. As to the meaning of 'host' here scholars are divided. Some take it to be 'the host of heaven' as in ver. 10: others to be the army of the Israelites. Others again (including Bevan and Oxford Hebr. Lex.) render צבא by 'service',[1] i. e. of the temple. As the MT stands צבא occurs five times in 8^{10-13} and with different meanings. In ver. 10 it appears twice to mean Israel, the heavenly people as distinguished from the nations of the earth. In ver. 11 to mean 'the angels', though it could be interpreted in the same sense as in ver. 10. In ver. 12 some scholars take it to mean the army of the Israelites (as in R.V.) given over into the power of the enemy: others, doing more justice to the context, as the Syrian force established in Jerusalem against the Jews. With the different meanings assigned to it in ver. 13 we have dealt above. But if we accept the LXX, we escape these difficulties. It attests צבא in the first three passages in vv. 10–11, where the same meaning can be assigned to it in all three, and for וצבא reads יצדא in the last two, in the former of which it is supported by Th. In any case it attests an ancient text of the second century B. C., which bears just such a meaning as the context requires and 1 Macc. supports, whereas there is no external authority earlier than the second century A. D. which supports the text of the MT. No scholar is satisfied with the MT, and few scholars agree as to its exact meaning.

8^{14}. *Unto him.* So the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. read אֵלָיו. The MT incorrectly reads אֵלַי 'to me'.

[1] In the sense of 'religious service' the Aramaic חילא is used as a translation of צבא in the Targ. on Lev. $4^{3, 23, 30, 35}$, but this use of it is not acknowledged in Levy's *NHWB*. It is also used twice as a translation of צבא in the sense of 'military service' or rather 'the hard service' of life, in Job 7^{1}, 40^{2}. But these meanings are in all probability due to the word חילא renders and not to itself.

Two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings. The phrase ערב בקר is to be explained in accordance with ver. 26. It is not the equivalent of νυχθήμερον and so to be taken as a unit of time, i. e. a period of twenty-four hours (Gen. $1^{5,8}$, &c., but as in ver. 26 ערב ובקר are to be reckoned as 'successive evenings and mornings' (Ewald, Hitzig, Bevan, &c.). This peculiar mode of reckoning 1,150 days is due to the fact that the Seer regards the suppression of the evening and morning sacrifices as the chief of the many outrages offered by Antiochus to religions. Accordingly he counts up the omitted sacrifices, i. e. 2,300 = 1,150 days.

This time determination is of importance in settling the date of our author's work. It is clear from the preceding two verses that he wrote after 'the transgression had been offered "on the (altar of the) daily burnt offering" (8^{12})' or after the erection of the heathen altar (11^{31}, 12^{11}) on the 15th of Chisleu, 168 B. C. (12^{11}), and *before* the dedication of the new altar on the 25th of Chisleu (= Dec.), 165 B. C. (see 1 Macc. 1^{54}, $4^{52\ seq.}$); for the period between these two amounts only to three years and ten days. Now, if we reckon the year at 360, 364, or 365 days, three years and ten days will amount to 1,090, 1,102 or 1,105 days respectively, i. e. in all cases less than the predicted 1,150 days. Hence we conclude that the book was written before the dedication of the new altar, since otherwise the period of 1,150 days would be unintelligible. This is the view of Wellhausen, Bevan, Driver, and most scholars. The 1,150 is therefore a *bona fide* prediction.

With this period of the suspension of the daily sacrifice we are not to confound the three and a half years (7^{25}, 12^{7}) during which the entire persecution was to last. See note on 9^{27}.

Then shall the sanctuary be justified: i. e. ונצדק. The Jewish sanctuary after the lapse of the above period will be vindicated and restored. Here only in O.T. Hebrew is צדק found in the Niph'al.

8^{15-19}. *The appearance of Gabriel.*

Sought to understand (it). This expression has its equivalent in the Aramaic in 7^{19} לציבה צבית 'I desire to know the truth'.

Stood before me: i. e. עֹמֵד לְנֶגְדִּי. Cf. 10^{16}; Joshua 5^{13}. See note on 1^{5}.

As the appearance of a man. We have in 'as the appearance

of' the apocalyptic form of expression already found in Ezek. $1^{13,14,26,27,28}$, 8^{2}, &c. He is called 'the man Gabriel' in 9^{21}. With the phrase here כמראה גבר we should compare כמראה אדם in 10^{18} and in Ezek. 1^{26}. The word used for man גבר (= *ἀνήρ*, *vir*) is apparently chosen as a play on the name Gabriel = גבריאל 'man of God'. But it is worth observing that גבר is an old Aramaic word, whereas אדם (= *ἄνθρωπος*, *homo*) is rare in later Aramaic and the Targums, and does not occur at all in the older (or any?) Aramaic inscriptions, nor in the *Aram. Papyri*. Did the name originate in Aramaic? The Hebrew גֶּבֶר, mainly poetical, occurs over sixty times in the O.T., but the Aramaic גְּבַר nearly forty times in the few Aramaic chapters in the O.T. Gabriel is mentioned only here and in 9^{21} in the O.T. In 1 Enoch 9^{1}, 10^{9} (before 170 B. C., and originally written in Aramaic) the name of Gabriel is found, and in the later Parables of Enoch 40^{9}, 54^{6} written originally in Hebrew in the first century B.C. In the Targ. of Jonathan on Gen. 37^{15} Gabriel is said to have guided Joseph when looking for his brethren. Here the same play on words recurs: גבריאל בדמות גברא. In the Targ. on Job 25^{2} he is said to stand on God's left hand, Michael on His right.

The LXX carelessly renders the phrase in our text by ὡς ὅρασις *ἀνθρώπου*. Instead of *ἀνθρώπου* Th. has the exact rendering *ἀνδρός*. It is worth noticing that in 1 Enoch 'the Son of Man' in the Ethiopic = 'filius viri' 62^{5}, 69^{29}, 71^{14}, and 'filius hominis' in $46^{2,3,4}$, 48^{2}.

8^{16}. *A man's voice.* Since the voice so described is heard in a vision, it is not improbable that the words signify 'an angelic voice'; for in a vision an angel is described as a man: cf. 10^{5}. Marti compares 2 Sam. 7^{14}, where God is spoken of as chastening men 'with the rod of men' שבט אנשים.

Between the banks of *the Ulai.* The LXX rightly renders *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Οὐλαί*. The voice was heard above the river: cf. 12^{6} sq.

Gabriel. Gabriel is mentioned in 1 Enoch 9^{1}, 20^{7} as one of the four and seven archangels respectively. This section of Enoch is older than the book of Daniel. See note above.

This man, i. e. הַלָּז, abbreviated as in Judges 6^{20}; 1 Sam. 17^{26}, &c. from הַלָּזֶה: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 34*f*.

At the close of this verse in the LXX we have a dittographic

rendering of the preceding clause: *καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος Ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα ἐκεῖνο ἡ ὅρασις.* In the first rendering of the Hebrew Th. follows the LXX: *καὶ ἐκάλεσε καὶ εἶπεν Γαβριήλ, συνέτισον ἐκεῖνον τὴν ὅρασιν.* This first rendering (1) is acknowledged by the Hexaplaric text as borrowed, and the second rendering (2) is no doubt the original version of the LXX. Here it chances that in rendering הבין the LXX uses (as does Th.) *συνετίζειν*, though its usual rendering of בין or הבין is *διανοεῖσθαι* (twelve times). But this is no reason for inferring that the rendering (1) in the LXX is a late interpolation from Th. The usual rendering of this Hebrew verb by Th. is *συνιέναι* (sixteen times). Yet the LXX once uses this rendering in 11^{33}, where there is no probability of the LXX being affected by Th. Both the LXX and Th. have other renderings of this verb.

Thus LXX (2) =

גברא לדברא = ויקרא ויאמר הַגֶּבֶר אֶל הַדָּבָר הלו הַמראה

MT (LXX (1), Th.)

גבריאל הַסְבֵּר = ויקרא ויאמר גַּבְרִיאֵל הָבֵן לַהלו אֶת־המראה

With the construction הָבֵן with ל = 'make to understand' cf. 11^{33}: it is usually found with את.

I have underlined the text of the two where they differ. Here again as in 8^{11} we have a dittograph rendering from the hand of the original Greek translator of the Hebrew Version. But the *dittograph already existed in the Hebrew*; for the MT does not admit of these two Greek renderings. The Greek is that of the translator of the LXX. *πρόσταγμα* is his rendering of דבר in $9^{2,12,23\,(bis),25}$, but this Hebrew word is never so rendered by Th. But further the two Hebrew renderings may (?) be alternative renderings of a corrupt Aramaic original: read variously as גבריאל הסבר, where אסבר = 'make to understand' in the Targums. The Pa'el is used in the sense in the Targ. of Isa. 40^{14}: or as גברא על דברא.

8^{17}. *Came* ⌜*and stood*⌝ *near where I stood.* I have with the LXX, Th. (*καὶ ἔστη*), and Vulg. restored וַיַּעֲמֹד before אצל. Hippolytus xxv reproduces Th.

This combination of עָמַד and עָמֹד is found twice elsewhere in our text, 8^{18}, 10^{11}, and 2 Chron. 30^{16}, 34^{31}, 35^{10}; Neh. 13^{11}. It is a late Hebrew expression. The Classical Hebrew for על עמדי in

ver. 18 would be תַּחְתָּי: cf. 1 Sam. 14^{9}. It is strange that the translator uses the Classical Hebrew in $8^{3,22}$.

Was affrighted. The Niph'al נִבְעַת is found only in late prose: 1 Chron. 21^{30}; Esther 7^{6}.

Fell upon my face. On the appearance of the angelic visitant the Seer falls upon his face through fear: cf. Ezek. 1^{28}, 3^{23}, 43^{3}; Rev. 1^{17}.

Son of man. A natural designation of a human being by an angelic one: cf. Ezek. $2^{1,3,6}$, &c. This designation has nothing in common with the Messianic one, 'Son of Man'.

For the vision belongeth to the time of the end. Cf. ver. 19 and Hab. 2^{3}, 'For the vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end'. Gabriel bids the Seer give heed to the vision, inasmuch as it dealt with no less a crisis than the final one of the world's history. For the writer this was the age of Antiochus. Time was then to give place to the kingdom of the Eternal, $7^{14,18,22,27}$, $12^{2,3}$. In our text we have 'time of the end' 8^{17}, $11^{35,40}$, $12^{4,9}$ (cf. 2 Bar. 29^{8}, 59^{4}), 'the end' 9^{26}, 12^{13} (7^{26}), 'the appointed time of the end' 8^{19}. The O.T. expression 'the end of the days' is the oldest eschatological expression. See note on p. 394.

8^{18}. During the revelation of Gabriel to Daniel the latter loses consciousness: cf. 10^{9}. Not till the angel touches him is his consciousness restored: cf. $10^{10,16,18}$, 1 Enoch $60^{3,4}$, 4 Ezra $5^{14,15}$; Rev. 1^{17}.

Made me to stand. Instead of יעמידני the LXX found וַיָּעֵרֵנִי, which it rendered by ἤγειρε. Since the Seer had fallen into a deep sleep this word is very appropriate to the passage. It is noteworthy that in 10^{10}, where the MT has וַתְּנִיעֵנִי, both the LXX and Th. have καὶ ἤγειρε = וַתָּעֵרֵנִי, and the Pesh. and Vulg. 'et erexit' = ותעמידני. It is not improbable that, as Jahn suggests, the text here originally contained both these verbs. If so, we should render 'he waked me and made me stand where I had stood'.

Made me to stand where I had stood. See note on preceding verse on this late idiom.

8^{19-26}. *Gabriel's explanation of the vision.*

8^{19}. *The latter time of the indignation,* or 'the last time'. The word 'indignation', i. e. זעם, is the technical term for the wrath of God, which Israel and Judah had incurred according to the

teaching of the pre-Exilic prophets (cf. Isa. 5^{25}). This wrath had manifested itself in Israel's subjection to the nations. After the Exile it was expected to come to an end in the immediate future, but this consummation was ever deferred, till in the time of our author the faithful did not hope for its close till the final judgement, and the advent of the kingdom of the saints. According to our author the divine wrath was to be fully satisfied by the persecution Israel endured under Antiochus; for according to 11^{36} Antiochus 'shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished'. Cf. Isa. 10^{25} 'For yet a very little while and the indignation shall be accomplished'.

8^{20}. *The kings of Media and Persia.* Here 'kings' undoubtedly represent kingdoms as also in 7^{17}. The same irregular use of symbols recurs in the next verse.

8^{21}. *The he-goat.* צְפִיר הָעִזִּים. This is the reading required by the LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg., and Hippolytus *εἰς τ. Δαν.* xxvii. as in ver. 8. In ver. 8 the LXX and Th. have *ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν.* Since צפיר is a loan-word from the Aramaic (cf. Ezra 6^{17} צפירי עזין), some scribe added the Hebrew synonym הַשָּׂעִיר (= 'the he-goat') in the margin as an explanatory gloss. This was incorporated by a later scribe after צפיר, but, so far as external testimony goes, not before the 4th cent. A.D. But some modern scholars have adopted this late conflate text and rendered it 'the rough he-goat', since שָׂעִיר = 'hairy', cf. Gen. $27^{11, 33}$, and also 'he-goat', apart from the addition העזים.

King of Greece. Here מַלְכוּת stands for 'kingdom' but in the next clause for 'king'. On Greece (Hebrew יָוָן) cf. 10^{20}, 11^{2}; Zech. 9^{13}. The Hebrew word is formed from the Greek Ἴαονες, originally Ἰάϝονες. This was the name by which the Greeks were known to the Assyrians, Old Persians, and Egyptians, since they dwelt on the west coast of Asia Minor and came through their advanced civilization and commerce early into contact with these empires.

The first king, i.e. Alexander the Great.

8^{22}. *And as for that which was broken and, &c.* This is not a real example of the *casus pendens*, which indicates a condition, the occurrence of which involves further consequences, cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116 *w*. It summarizes shortly 8^{8b} in order to make its interpretation the clearer in this context.

Kingdoms, i.e. מַלְכֻיּוֹת. With this peculiar plural, cf. חֲנֻיּוֹת, Jer. 37^{16}, see Ges.-Kautsch, § 87 *i*.

Shall arise. Most manuscripts read יעמדנה, but since the correct form תעמדנה occurs in the preceding clause, this anomalous form should with two manuscripts be replaced by the correct one. עמד is only used in the later books in the sense of קום 'to arise': cf. 8^{23}, $11^{2,3,4,12}$; Neh. 7^{65} = Ezra 2^{63}; Ecclus. $47^{1,12}$. Cf. Ps. 27^{3} תקום ' ' ' מלחמה with the later reproduction of exactly the same fact in 1 Chron. 20^{4} תעמד מלחמה.

His nation, i.e. גויו. So LXX, Th., and Vulg. *τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ.* As Bevan remarks this restoration, first made by Graetz, is confirmed by the following phrase ולא בכחו. The suffix in each case refers to Alexander the Great. The MT wrongly reads גוי 'the nation'.

Not with his power. None of the four kingdoms (see note on 8^{8}) which were to arise on the division of Alexander's empire would be of like power. The ב in בכחו is used similarly in 8^{6}. As a standard of measurement ב is used in 2 Sam. 14^{26}; Deut. 3^{11}.

8^{23}. *Their kingdom,* i.e. מַלְכוּתָם where the suffix is masc. where it should be fem. Cf. מהם in 8^{9}. The four kingdoms were to come to an end with the death of Antiochus.

When their transgressions are come to the full, i.e. כְּתֹם פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם as in the LXX and Th. *πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.* The Pesh. and Vulg. support this text save that they omit the suffix. It is strange that Ewald, Bevan, Von Gall, Marti, &c., follow the later versions in omitting the suffix. But not only do the LXX, Th., and the context support the suffix, but also a doublet of this clause in Cod. of the LXX (see Field, ii, p. 924) which reads *ὡς ἂν σφραγίσονται τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν* = כְּחָתֹם פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם. פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם is we may safely conclude, the original text. The wrong text arose simply through the misplacement of the ה. Next on the basis of the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. we may accept כְּתֹם as also original, though the MT כהתם could stand, if we emend הַפִּשְׁעִים into פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם = 'when they had completed their transgressions'. From כהתם arose the variant כחתם above referred to, cf. 9^{24}. In 9^{24}, and generally, the Hiph'il of תם is transitive and has its object expressed (save in 2 Sam. 20^{18}; Isa. 33^{1}). Thus, unless we read פשעיהם it is best to regard כהתם as secondary. Of course we might take התם as intransitive as in Isa. 33^{1}, but our author uses the Hiph'il transitively in 9^{24} as it all but universally is used. Our text then will refer to the heathen whose sins had reached their climax under Antiochus.

If we follow the MT we should render 'when the sinners (הַפֹּשְׁעִים) fill up their measure'.

Insolent. עזי־פנים seems to be borrowed from Deut. 28^{50}. The LXX and Th. render *ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ*: cf. Prov. 7^{13} where the verb is used of the harlot.

Skilled in double dealing. So Bevan. The sense is that he was skilled in ambiguous expression, a master of intrigue: cf. 11^{21}. The same idea is partly to be found in 11^{21}, where he is said to have 'obtained the kingdom by flatteries'. Otherwise render literally 'skilled in dark sayings'.

8^{24}. [*But not by his own power*]. These words are interpolated after 'his power shall be mighty'. They imply, if rendered as they are here, that Antiochus would be strong by the permission of God. If the phrase belongs to the original it is best to render it 'but not by his power', i.e. but by his intrigues. But, as Bevan suggests and as Marti and others adopt the suggestion, the phrase should be excised as an intrusion from ver. 22. It is omitted by Th. The phrase, which in ver. 22 applies to all the successors of Alexander, is an idle repetition here.

Shall devise presumptuous things. The combination נפלאות ישחית is, as Marti observes, so astounding that we must recognize in ישחית a corruption due to השחית which follows a few words later. Job 37^{5} is quoted in support of נפלאות as an adverb, but Duhm, Driver, and Buchanan Gray and others rightly regard the text in Job as corrupt and take the word as a noun in the acc. So Bevan, Marti, and others do here. Bevan emends יַשְׁחִית into יָשִׂיחַ. This gives a good text: 'shall utter presumptuous things'. Bevan compares 11^{36} ידבר נפלאות. We should compare also $7^{8,20}$ מְמַלֵּל רבֹרבן. But the word is purely poetical in this sense, and the construction before us does not occur with this meaning: cf. Ps. 105^{2} = 1 Chron. 16^{9}. Hence I propose to emend ישחית into יחשוב, seeing that the very same corruption occurs in 2 Sam. 20^{15} of חשב into שחת, and furthermore that חשב is used twice in $11^{24,25}$ in reference to the designs of Antiochus. Accordingly we render 'shall devise presumptuous things'. This corruption may have arisen even in the Aramaic original whence the Hebrew is translated; for שחת is found in Aramaic inscriptions of the 8th cent. B.C. and in *Aramaic Papyri*, and חשב is also Aramaic, cf. 4^{32} in our text and the *Aram. Pap.* 81^{1}, where we find a noun derived from it.

$8^{24\,c-25\,a}$. This passage is corrupt as a number of the foremost scholars have recognized, but happily the LXX provides us with the means of emending it, though even the LXX includes two renderings of one and the same phrase. Where this dittograph in the text may have originated we shall consider later. The MT text והשחית עצומים ועם קדושים ועל שכלו והצליח מרמה (which is generally rendered 'And he shall destroy the strong (or 'the many') and the people of the saints, and through his policy he shall cause fraud to prosper') Bevan flatly declares is impossible to translate grammatically. Let us here give the LXX and the Hebrew text it presupposes:

LXX

$8^{24\,c}$. *καὶ φθερεῖ δυνάστας καὶ δῆμον ἁγίων* = והשחית[1] עצומים ועם קדושים

$8^{25\,a}$. *καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐυοδωθήσεται* ועל קדושים שכלו והצליח

By this retroversion of the LXX into Hebrew we can easily recognize that ועם קדושים and ועל קדושים are doublets in the Hebrew, or possibly duplicate renderings of the Aramaic קדישין ועם—one of them in the text and the other in the margin—where the עם in the second case was a corruption of על. The context requires the excision of עם קדושים and 11^{28} supports על ק״ 'his heart shall be against the holy covenant'. So Graetz, Bevan, Marti, &c. Our author could hardly say that Antiochus would 'destroy the holy people' and then weakly add that 'his policy would be directed against them'. When this doublet has been removed, the interpretation, as Bevan points out, is clear. The עצומים or 'mighty ones' are 'the political enemies of Antiochus, who, being a usurper, naturally had many opponents among the the upper classes (see 11^{22-4}). It was not until he was firmly established on the throne that his hatred of the Jewish religion began to show itself (Bevan)'. Thus the Hebrew text should be read as follows: והשחית עצומים ועל קדושים שכלו והצליח. It should be added here that Driver seeks to defend the MT and renders 'and on the basis of his understanding he will cause deceit to prosper'. This is rather forced, but he cannot do better with

[1] The ו before השחית and after על שכלו is very difficult of explanation, if it is at all explicable, and in his *Hebrew Tenses*, §123 γ, Driver mentions it as an example of the perfect with *vav* consecutive. But the true text does not attest this *vav*.

the MT. On the other hand he makes no attempt to reconcile the fact that in 8^{24} it is stated that Antiochus 'shall destroy the holy people' and yet after a prosperous career of intrigue it is said in 8^{25} that he shall only succeed in causing the destruction of some by taking them unawares. His objection also to Bevan's acceptance of the reading of the LXX on the ground that שׂכל does not signify *διανόημα* or 'mind' is of no weight; for though Bevan so translates, it is not necessary for his emendation. 'Policy' or 'astuteness' will serve just as well. There can be no doubt, moreover, that *διανόημα* is here the LXX's rendering of שׂכל; for in 11^{35} we find *διανοηθήσονται* as a rendering of וישׂכילו, the original text of which the MT יכשלו is a corruption.

8^{25}. *And he shall cause . . . to prosper.* Having recovered what we conclude to be the original text in the preceding notes, we see that in והצליח we have no example of *vav* consecutive with the perfect following after an adverbial phrase—as the corrupt Massoretic text represents it and as Driver interprets it (*Tenses*, § 123 *γ*)—and therefore not admitting of translation. The *vav* here is to be translated.

Magnify himself in his heart. Cf. $8^{4, 8, 11}$.

In their security shall he destroy many. Antiochus will attack them when off their guard. But בשלוה can also be rendered 'unawares'. The text probably refers to the treacherous attack on Jerusalem recounted in 1 Macc. $1^{29, 30}$, where the Greek word *ἐξάπινα* is used, which Greek word is twice used in the LXX of Dan. $11^{21, 24}$ as a rendering of this very Hebrew expression.

Prince of princes, i.e. God. Cf. 8^{11}. The princes are the angelic chiefs. Cf. 12^{1} 'Michael, the great prince', also 10^{20}.

Broken without hand, i.e. by Divine intervention. Cf. 2^{34}. According to Polybius xxxi. 11, Antiochus died suddenly of madness (*δαιμονήσας*) at Tabae in Persia in 164 B.C., a few months after the rededication of the Temple, 25 Chisleu, 165. See note on 11^{45}. The term 'broken' which was applied to the horn in 8^{8} is used frequently in the O.T. of the destruction of a kingdom (Jer. 48^{4}), of an army (2 Chron. 14^{13}), and of individuals (Jer. 17^{18}, our text 11^{26}).

8^{26-7}. A solemn affirmation of the truth of the vision and the conclusion, cf. 10^{1}, 11^{2}, 12^{7}. In Rev. 21^{5c} God's testimony to John's book is given, in 22^{6} Christ's attestation of its truth, and John's own in 22^{8}.

8^{26}. *Vision of the evenings.* Cf. ver. 14.

Shut thou up the vision. This vision, which is placed by the Seer in the third year of Belshazzar, relates really to the time of Antiochus. It is to be 'sealed', i.e. kept secret. This command is intended to explain how this revelation made to Daniel was not made known till the days of Antiochus—in other words till the actual time of its author. Cf. $12^{4,9}$. Besides, the Seer declares that only the wise of that period will be able to understand it, cf. 12^{10}. On this command to reserve the revelation for a distant age, the aim of which we have just explained, cf. 1 Enoch 1^{2}, 93^{10}, 104^{12-13}; 2 Enoch 33^{9-11}, 35^{3}; 2 Ezra 14^{46}; and contrast with it the command in the Christian Apocalypse 22^{10}: 'Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand'. The Christian Seer was not obliged to use an ancient name to win confidence in his message.

Belongeth to many days, i.e. refers to a distant age. The same Hebrew phrase occurs in Ezek. 12^{27}; cf. $8^{17,19}$, 10^{14} of our text.

8^{27}. *Was sick.* The MT reads נֶהֱיֵיתִי וְנֶחֱלֵיתִי. The first word here, which occurs in 2^{1} and Micah 2^{4} and is in both passages corrupt, I have excised as a dittograph of the second. It is omitted by the LXX.

None understood it. The vision was sealed up, i.e. withheld from Daniel's contemporaries, it cannot refer to them. But since it was fully explained to Daniel according to $8^{16,19}$, it can hardly be said that he did not understand *the vision.* Marti, following Bevan, regards the phrase as defective for 'I did not understand', i.e. אֵינֶנִּי מֵבִין instead of אֵין מ״. He further maintains that Daniel understood the vision; for its explanation made him ill, but that he could not understand why it should be kept secret for many days. This further knowledge is provided in 9^{24-7}, by Gabriel, who declares in 9^{22} that he had come to give Daniel complete understanding. Yet see 12^{8}.

SECTION IX

i.e. Chapter 9, being the explanation of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years given to the Seer in the first year of Darius by the Angel Gabriel to the intent that the seventy years meant seventy weeks of years.

In this section a prayer in Hebrew (9^{4-19}), drawn mainly from existing liturgies, was unskilfully interpolated before 145 B.C.,

while the Aramaic was being translated into Hebrew, or after the translation was completed.

The introduction to this chapter deals almost exclusively with the MT, the LXX, and other versions, and the help rendered by these versions towards the recovery of the original Hebrew version or even of the Aramaic original, where such an original existed. In the case of 9^{4-19} there can be no question of an Aramaic original. This prayer consists mainly of extracts from existing Hebrew liturgies. A comparison of 9^{4-19} with Neh. $1^{5\ sqq.}$, $9^{6\ sqq.}$; 1 Baruch 1^{15}–2^{15} shows that these writers have not borrowed from each other but from existing liturgical forms. Thus observe that, though in Jer. $32^{20, 21}$ it is stated that God had gotten Him a name as at this day and brought forth his people out of Egypt, these two statements are reproduced literally, but in the reverse order in Dan. 9^{15} and 1 Baruch 2^{11}. This and other like evidence go to prove that such passages are drawn independently from existing liturgies. But the compiler of this prayer has also frequently drawn materials directly from the Old Testament, cf. 9^{6} with Jer. 44^{21}.

§ 1. *The interpolated Hebrew prayer.*

In the note under 9^{4-19} I have given the grounds on which this passage must be treated as an addition made to the text, either when the Aramaic $9^{1-3, 21-27}$ was being translated into Hebrew or after this translation was completed. It was interpolated at latest before the version of the LXX was made about 145 B. C. 9^{20} was added to connect it with what follows.

In this prayer the prophets and the priests are deliberately excluded from the list of the unfaithful classes in Israel: not so in Jer. 2^{26}, 5^{31}, 13^{13}, 14^{14}, 26^{7-8} nor in Neh. 6^{14}; see note on 9^{6}. In Neh. 9^{34} the priests, but not the prophets, are declared to be as disobedient as the kings, princes, and fathers.

This prayer is a mosaic of passages from the O.T. Thus for instance 9^{6-7} are drawn almost verbally from Jer. 7^{9}, 44^{21}, 4^{4}, 25^{26}, 16^{15}; Lev. 26^{40} (Ezek. 17^{20}).

The prayer was compiled by a Jew resident in Judaea. See note on 9^{16} and the full note on the prayer as a whole on 9^{4-19} p. 226–7.

§ 2. *Hebrew renderings of Aramaic phrases which have already occurred in* 2^{4-7}.

It should be remembered that only $9^{1-3, 20-27}$ is translation Hebrew, the rest was Hebrew to begin with.

9^{23}. יצא דבר a rendering of מאמר נפק in 2^{13} (4^{14}).

9^{27}. See § 3.

§ 3. *Emendation through retranslation into Aramaic.*

9^{27}. והנביר כרית—a mistranslation of וקים יחקף. The Hebrew translator has here given the wrong of two possible renderings of קים. Earlier scholars have taken הנביר to be corrupt. But this verb has the support of the LXX, Th., Aq., Symm., Pesh.(?), and Vulg. Moreover, this documentary evidence is confirmed by the fact that this is really a Hebrew translation of an analogous Aramaic phrase found in 6^{8} לחקפה אסר following immediately after לקימה קים.

§ 4. *Corruptions in the MT emended by means of the LXX or of other versions.*

9^{24}. לכפר עון. Here the LXX and Vulg. require למחות עון. The reading of the MT is not here a corruption but a deliberate change. There is no evidence for its existence before the 2nd cent. A.D.

9^{25-26}. For בצוק העתים 'in troublous times' read with LXX (in the main) בקץ ה" 'at the end of the times'.

9^{26}. For עַם='people' with 1 MS. and LXX, Th., Pesh., Aq., Vulg. read עִם 'with'.

9^{27}. For ישבית 'cause to cease' read with LXX, Th., and Vulg. יִשְׁבּוֹת 'shall cease'.

§ 5. *Emendations demanded by the context.*

9^{25}. For להשיב ולבנות read לשוב ולב" 'to rebuild'.

9^{27}. For על כנף read על כנו 'in its stead'.

§ 6. *Lost phrases restored through LXX* or other versions.

9^{15}. See note *in loc.*

9^{21}. We should with the LXX, Th. (and Vulg.) restore והנה 'behold' before האיש גבריאל. This is the only passage in Dan. 8–12 where the *vav* apodosis occurs. Text is corrupt in 8^{25}, where it reads the perfect with *vav* consecutive after an adverbial phrase. In 9^{26a} we have *vav* explicative.

9^{23}. Insert with Th., Vulg., and Sym. איש before חמודות. Cf. $10^{11, 19}$.

§ 7. *Very late Hebrew.*

9^5. עָוִינוּ—only elsewhere in O.T. in Esther 1^{16} for the older העוינו: and הִרְשַׁעְנוּ: cf. also 11^{32}, 12^{10} when used intransitively for the older רשענו. Yet the interpolated prayer contains in 9^{15} the older form רָשָׁעְנוּ—a fact which need not surprise us.

9^1. *Darius.* See Introd. to 6, § 1. *b–g* (pp. 139–146).

Son of Darius. Ahasuerus is a transliteration of the Hebrew אחשורוש (cf. Ezra 4^6; Esther $1^{\text{sqq.}}$, which in Greek took the form of Xerxes. But, since the Persian word was *Khshayârshâ*, the original was no doubt transliterated אחשירש. In the *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 5^1, 64. 20, 29) it is found three times in its Aramaic form as חשיארש, the first of which is dated 471 B.C., and as חשירש in 2^1 (484 B.C.). Xerxes I, who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C., was the son of Darius Hystaspis (521–485 B.C.).

Was made king. הָמְלְכָה the Hoph'al of מלך occurs only here. Just as it has been shown on 6^1 (also pp. 139–141) that קִבֵּל does not imply a delegated authority, no more does המלך do so here. The fount of the authority of Darius according to the Seer is God; as is clear from 5^{28} 'Thy (i.e. Belshazzar's) kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians'.

9^2. Daniel is represented as reflecting on Jeremiah's prediction of the seventy years' exile. The author of the book was profoundly conscious that this prediction had not been fulfilled except in a very minor degree. Since, however, no such prophecy could fail (see Introd. to chap. 6, p. 141 sqq.), he necessarily concluded that it had been misinterpreted and therefore needed to be interpreted afresh. This new interpretation is given in the vision in 9^{24-27}. The probability, that this reinterpretation was suggested by a comparison of Lev. $26^{18\,\text{sqq.}}$ (where it is said that the Israelites are to be punished *seven times* for their sins) and Jer. 29^{10}, 25^{11}, does not invalidate the reality of the vision nor the possibility that this reinterpretation was actually received in a vision. For the mind of the Seer necessarily works with the materials accessible to him, however he may draw from other sources. The Seer has already pondered on the possibility of this explanation. In his vision he is assured that he is right.

Understood. With the form בִּינוֹתִי cf. רִיבוֹתָ Job 33^{13}. Ges.-Kautzsch (§ 73 *a*) is inclined to take these as shortened forms of the Hiph'il, but in a note this hypothesis is withdrawn in favour

of the view that it is 'a secondary formation' from the Imperf. Qal יבין, which was wrongly taken as an Imperf. Hiph'il. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* xxxvi, pp. 525 sqq.) shows that it cannot be a shortened form of the Hiph'il. We have, therefore, to regard בינותי here, as בין in 10^{1}, as irregular forms of the Perf. Qal, or take it to be an error for בָּנָתִי.

The books. The books here are the sacred books, i.e. the Scriptures. The phrase implies the formation of a definitè collection of O.T. books, but how extensive this collection was cannot be determined from the present statement. The immediate books referred to are no doubt Leviticus, i.e. 26^{18} sqq. and Jeremiah, i.e. 29^{10}, 25^{11}. That the threefold division of the O.T., the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa already existed in some form we know from the Preface to Sirach.

The word of **God**, i.e. דבר אלהים. Since 9^{4-20} did not belong originally to the text, as we shall see presently, this would be the only verse in our author where the Divine name Yahweh is used. Von Gall excises it on this ground, and compares $9^{23,25}$ for the use of 'word' standing in this sense by itself. Marti would retain it on the ground that the writer is using a citation from Jeremiah. But, since the LXX reads ὅτε ἐγένετο πρόσταγμα τῇ γῇ = אשר היה דבר לאדמה, it seems that לאדמה is corrupt for לארני, and that the Hebrew read אדני here as in 1^{2} and not יהוה. Th. renders the phrase by λόγος κυρίου, therein supporting the MT in 9^{2}. So the LXX and Th. render אדני in 1^{20}, &c. Hence I read here דְּבַר אלהים or דָּבָר לאלהים. It is to be noted that the phrase recurs in 9^{23} where the LXX has πρόσταγμα παρὰ κυρίου. But the παρὰ κυρίου is not found in the MT nor in the versions.

Came to Jeremiah . . . seventy years. Cf. Jer. 25^{11-12}, 29^{10}.

Which according to the word of the Lord . . . were to be accomplished: lit. 'which, the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, were to be accomplished'. The אֲשֶׁר here is the subject of לְמַלֹּאות; for this construction is in the Aramaic of our author a familiar one: see notes on $2^{16,18}$, 5^{15}, 6^{16} and Introd., p. § 20. *t.* It is also a familiar construction in Hebrew. The words of Jeremiah 25^{12} כְּמַלֹּאות שבעים שנה are clearly in the mind of the writer. אשר is not therefore to be rendered as if it were an acc. of limitation as in the RV., i.e. 'Whereof the word of the Lord came to J. . . . for the accomplishing': and in Marti, Behrmann, &c. The clause 'the word of the Lord came to J. the prophet'

are then parenthetical, if they are not a marginal gloss incorporated in the text, or a circumstantial clause. Deut. 5^5 is such a clause consisting of nineteen words, intervening between דִּבֶּר and לֵאמֹר. See Driver, *Tenses*, § 161.

On the form למלאות see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 74 *h*.

9^3. *Set my face*, i. e. וָאֶתְּנָה את פני as in 10^{15}. For this phrase cf. 2 Chron. 20^3. But observe שם פנים in 11^{17}.

God. Here the interpolator of 9^{4-20} seems to have inserted אדני before אלהים owing to the frequent occurrence of the former in the interpolated prayer: i. e. $9^{4,7,8,9,15,16,19\,(bis)}$ and not elsewhere in the book save in 1^2. In $6^{11(10)}$ where we have a parallel expression אלהים is used.

To seek by prayer: literally 'to seek prayer'. Cf. Zeph. 2^3.

With fasting, i. e. as a preparation for the reception of a revelation; cf. Exod. 34^{28}; Deut. 9^9; Esther 4^6.

Fasting and sackcloth and ashes. As in Neh. 9^1 save in the last phrase, where our author writes אפר where Neh. has אדמה.

9^{4-19}. These verses, as Von Gall (123–6) and others have recognized, are an interpolation. The interpolation was made before the book was translated into Greek, but after it was translated from Aramaic into Hebrew. Some of the grounds for excising these verses as an interpolation are: (1) They betray the hand of an interpolator since they are unnecessary repetitions of $9^{3,\ 20\ sq.}$ (2) The conclusion of the chapter *takes no account of the subject of the prayer*, which supplicates for forgiveness and deliverance. Here a prayer for illumination and not a liturgical confession is required by the context: cf. $9^{21\ sqq.}$, which proceeds to explain *the prophecy of Jeremiah*. (3) The prayer contains clear evidence that it was written by one who consciously expressed himself as a resident in Palestine—and not in Babylon, as the author of the book as a whole represents himself as being. Thus in 9^7 it speaks of those 'that are near and that are far off in all the countries whither thou hast driven them'. Those 'that are near' are obviously the Jews in Palestine as opposed to those that are far off in all the countries whither they had been carried into exile. Again in 9^{16} the words 'because for our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have become a reproach to all that are *round about us*', betray the hand of a resident in Judaea, especially those in italics. In 1 and 2 Baruch analogous pheno-

mena occur, as we shall discover as we advance. (4) The name Yahweh is found in these verses, but not elsewhere in Daniel, except in 9^2, where it is an interpolation, and where Adonai was the original Hebrew as the corrupt text of the LXX shows. In 9^2 the divine name Yahweh owes its presence to a later scribe, who was influenced by its occurrence five times in 9^{4-20}.

(5) In 9^{4-19} there are no Aramaisms. But Aramaisms are, as we have seen, not infrequent throughout the rest of the Hebrew sections in Daniel.

(6) The prayer asks for the immediate advent of the kingdom: cf. 9^{17-19}. But, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, Daniel knew that the deliverance of the Jews could not come for 'many days', 8^{26}, i.e. till some distant future.

(7) A critical comparison of 9^{4-19} with Neh. 1^{5} sqq., 9^{6} sqq.; 1 Bar. 1^{15} sqq., shows that repeatedly the verses in Daniel agree word for word with those in the passages just mentioned, and that the writers of these passages have not borrowed from each other but from existing liturgical forms, which each writer adapted more or less fully to his own requirements.

On the above grounds, which will be strengthened as we advance, we conclude that 9^{4-19} is an addition to the text, 9^{20} serving to connect it with what follows.

9^4. *Prayed . . . and made confession.* Cf. Neh. 1^6 'pray . . . and confess'. הַתּוֹדָה stands here absolutely as in Ezra 10^1; Neh. 9^3. It is only used in late Hebrew.

O Lord the great and dreadful God . . . commandments. These clauses agree literally with Neh. 1^5. Cf. also 9^{32}. It was clearly a current liturgical form. The words 'which keepeth covenant and mercy with them . . . that keep his commandments' are drawn word for word from Deut. 7^9: cf. Exod. 20^6. The particle אָנָּא rendered 'O' is a strong expression of entreaty, 'Ah, now'. It is found in the same connexion in Neh. 1^5, where the R.V. renders it 'I beseech thee'.

Love thee . . . thy commandments. So the LXX, Th., and Vulg. The use of the second person is supported by the next verse. The MT reads 'him' and 'his'.

9^5. *Have sinned . . . and done wickedly.* Our text חטאנו ועוינו והרשענו has its equivalent in 1 Bar. 2^{12} *ἡμάρτομεν, ἠσεβήσαμεν, ἠδικήσαμεν*: and in Ps. 106^6 with an additional phrase. The ultimate source is 1 Kings 8^{47} חטאנו והעוינו רשענו, where this confession

is commanded in Solomon's prayer exactly as in our text, save that the writer of this confession in our text has replaced the Hiph'il, which is the older form, העוינו ('dealt perversely') by the Qal עוינו, which is late Hebrew—only once elsewhere in O.T., Esther 1^{16}, and רשענו by הרשענו, which is late Hebrew, when used intransitively: cf. 11^{32}, 12^{10}. Yet in 9^{15} we find רשענו an example of the classical use which has survived in this compilation from ancient liturgies.

And turned aside, i. e. וְסוֹר. The infinitive absolute here replaces the finite verb: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 113*z*. מצותך is written defectively: see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 91 *n*.

9^{6}. Two classes are distinguished, the nobility embracing the kings, princes, and fathers, and the people of the land. This latter phrase—עם הארץ—came in later Judaism to denote the uncultured and ignorant laity. The term 'fathers' here denotes not 'forefathers' but 'leaders'.

Neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets. Cf. Neh. 9^{34} 'Neither have our kings, our princes . . . nor our fathers . . . hearkened unto thy commandments'. Cf. Jer. 26^{5} 'to hearken to . . . my servants the prophets': also 29^{19}, 35^{15}, 44^{4}, all of which include the phrases 'servants the prophets' and 'have not hearkened'.

To our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land. This clause is borrowed almost literally from Jer. 44^{21} 'Your fathers, your kings and your princes, and the people of the land'. In the confession in Neh. 9^{32} there is a different enumeration of the classes concerned: 'on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people'. So again in Neh. 9^{34}, with the omission of 'and on all this people', and in 1 Baruch 1^{16} with the same omission of 'and on all thy people'. Here clearly the writer follows Jeremiah where he differs from later writers. It is remarkable that the compiler of this prayer excludes the prophets and the priests from the list of the unfaithful, and represents the sin of Israel and Judah as originating in their disobedience to the guidance of the prophets: cf. $9^{6,10}$. Not so Jer. 14^{14}, and frequently Neh. 6^{14}. In Neh. 9^{34} the priests but not the prophets are mentioned as guilty.

9^{7}. *Righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as it is this day; to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants*

of Jerusalem. These words are found also in 1 Baruch 1^{15} τῷ κυρίῳ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιωσύνη, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχύνη τῶν προσώπων ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη, ἀνθρώπῳ Ἰούδα καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἰερουσαλήμ. The phrase 'confusion of face' is found Jer. 7^{19}; Ps. 44^{15}; 2 Chron. 32^{21}; Ezra 9^{7}.

To the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This combination is peculiar to Jeremiah (eight times 4^{4}, &c.) and 2 Kings 23^{2} (= 2 Chron. 34^{30}) in the O.T. outside the present passage. It is reproduced in 1 Baruch 1^{15}, as we have shown in the preceding note just as in our text.

That are near and that are far off. Cf. 2 Chron. 6^{36}.

In all the countries whither thou hast driven them. From Jer. 16^{15}, $23^{3,8}$, 32^{37}. This clause is reproduced in 1 Baruch $2^{4,13,29}$.

Their unfaithfulness wherein they have dealt unfaithfully. The words connote treachery rather than trespass. They are found in Lev. 26^{40}; Ezek. 17^{20}, 18^{24}; 1 Chron. 10^{13}.

9^{8-9}. These two verses are expansions of the introductory clauses in 9^{7}.

9^{8}. *O Lord,* i. e. יהוה. So Ginsburg, Baer, with many manuscripts, but Kittel אדני.

To us . . . confusion of face. Cf. 9^{7} note.

To our kings, &c. See 9^{6} note.

9^{9}. *Forgivenesses* Cf. Neh. 9^{17} 'a God of forgivenesses' (הַסְלִיחוֹת as in our text).

9^{10}. *Neither have we obeyed the voice . . . which he set before us.* Almost word for word from Jer. $26^{4\,c-5\,a}$. The phrase 'law which I set before you' is found in Deut. 4^{8}, 11^{32}; Jer. 9^{13}, 44^{10}.

To walk in his laws which he set before us by his servants the prophets. Here it is to be observed that the writer uses the plural of תורה, i. e. תורתיו 'his laws'. When this word is used in the plural it has a general meaning of instructions and teachings, whether attributed to God directly or to the prophets or priests. It occurs only about thirteen times in the plural, and in the plural 'the laws' were never defined as 'the laws of Moses'. When the Law of Moses or Deuteronomy, which was ascribed to Moses, is referred to, the singular is always used as in $9^{11,13}$, in the words that follow. In Neh. $9^{13,14}$ we have exactly the same succession of the plural 'laws' and 'a law by the hand of Moses thy servant'. In Neh., however, the 'laws' are not those made known by the prophets as in our text, but are those which in conjunction with 'judgments', 'statutes', and

'commandments' God gave on Sinai. In 1 Baruch 1^{18}, 2^{10} we find *πορεύεσθαι τοῖς προστάγμασιν Κυρίου οἷς ἔδωκεν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν*, without any mention of the prophets in this passage, though they are referred to in 1^{21}, $2^{20, 24}$. Moreover in $1^{20, 21}$ the activities of Moses and the prophets are distinguished just as in our text.

The prophets occupy a high place in this prayer. They are never blamed. They are regarded as the leaders of the nation into fresh truth and higher obedience. Where the law of Moses is mentioned, the prayer deals mainly with the penalties that Israel has brought upon itself by disobedience to 'the law of Moses', though this law is identified with the law of God in 9^{11}.

To walk in his laws. But in Jer. 26^{4}(32^{23}, 44^{10}) the sing. 'law' and not 'laws' is used. The LXX, which reads *κατακολουθῆσαι τῷ νόμῳ σου ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐνώπιον* [*Μωσῆ καὶ*] *ἡμῶν*, is corrupt. Th. and the Pesh. support the MT, and therein these three agree rather with Neh. $9^{13, 14}$ (see preceding note) than with Jer. 26^{4}.

9^{11}. *The curse . . . and the oath.* Cf. Num. 5^{21}; Neh. 10^{29}.

The curse . . . that is written in the law of Moses. Cf. Deut. 29^{20}; 1 Baruch 1^{20}.

Hath . . . been poured out, i.e. וַתִּתַּךְ. Cf. 9^{27}; Jer. 42^{18}, 44^{6}; 2 Chron. 12^{7}, $34^{21, 25}$. The expression is Aramaic also. Cf. the *Zinjirli Inscription* (Cooke, 61^{23}) והדד חרה ליתכה 'Let Hadad pour out wrath upon him'. In Rev. 16^{1} we have the same metaphor: *ἐκχέετε τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*.

Moses the servant of God. Cf. Neh. 10^{29} and the form 'M. the servant of Yahweh', Deut. 34^{5}; Josh. $1^{1, 13}$, &c.

9^{12-13a}. Cf. 1 Baruch 2^{1-2} *καὶ ἔστησε Κύριος τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἡμῶν τοὺς δικάσαντας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνθρωπον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα, τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κακὰ μεγάλα, ἃ οὐκ ἐποιήθη ὑποκάτω παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθὰ ἐποιήθη ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ, κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωυσῆ*. Here we have several clauses which reproduce Dan. 7^{12-13a} and clauses out of Dan. $9^{7, 8}$, and differ mainly in the order of their occurrence. Furthermore the Greek of Baruch differs both from that of the LXX and of Th. Here the writer of 1 Baruch, as does our author, appears to make use of the same liturgical source. 1 Baruch may be as old as the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., though scholars are divided on this question. They are as a whole agreed that 1 Baruch $1–3^{8}$ was written in Hebrew.

9^{12}. *Hath confirmed his words.* This clause is found also in Neh. 9^{8}, Deut. 9^{5}, as also in 1 Baruch $2^{1, 24}$.

Judges. A general term for rulers as in Amos 2^3; Ps. 2^{10}, but in the parallel passage in 1 Baruch 2^1 the term is used of the Judges in Israel that preceded the kings.

Bringing upon us a great evil. Cf. Jer. 35^{17}, 36^{31}.

For under the whole heaven hath not been done, &c. Cf. 1 Baruch 2^2 for the same clause, also Exod. 9^{18}, 10^6, 11^6.

9^{13}. *As it is written in the law of Moses.* This phrase occurs three times earlier in the O.T., i.e. 1 Kings 2^3, 2 Chron. 23^{18}, 35^{12}. Cf. 'book of law of Moses', Joshua 8^{31}, 23^6, &c.

All this evil is come upon us. The אֵת before כל הרעה had best be excised. Behrmann takes this clause as the acc. after להביא. Bevan explains the את as due to the preceding passive בָּתוּב, and compares Num. 32^5; 1 Kings 2^{21}. But this explanation leaves difficulties in the text. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 117 *m* regards את־ as here almost equivalent in sense to the Latin *quod attinet ad,* and so as introducing the noun with some emphasis.

Entreated the favour, i.e. חִלִּינוּ אֶת־פְּנֵי יי. A familiar phrase in O.T. Cf. Jer. 26^{19}; 1 Sam. 13^{12}; Exod. 32^{11}. With 9^{13} cf. 1 Baruch 2^{7-8} *πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα . . ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Καὶ οὐκ ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ προσώπου Κυρίου τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρᾶς,* which appears to be derived from the same liturgy as that on which our author drew.

To have discernment in thy truth, i.e. to gain insight into God's revealed will as Driver and Prince explain. Or it may be rendered 'to deal wisely through thy truth', that is, to become wise through God's truth; so Von Lengerke and Behrmann.

9^{14}. Found almost verbally in 1 Baruch 2^{9-10}, 1^{18}.

Watched over the evil and brought it upon us. Cf. Jer. 1^{12} 'I watch over my word to bring it to pass', שקד אני על דברי לעשתו, see also 31^{28}, 44^{27}, and 1 Baruch 2^9 *ἐγρηγόρησεν . . . ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ ἐπήγαγε κτλ.* This means that God is not mocked. His judgements are duly executed.

For the Lord our God is righteous in all his works, &c. Cf. Jer. 12^1; Ezra 9^{15}.

Righteous in all his works, i.e. in regard to all his works. Cf. Neh. 9^{33} where the same peculiar use, as Driver observes, of על is found. 'Thou art righteous in regard to all that is come upon us'. See also 1 Baruch 2^9.

9^{15-19}. *Prayer for deliverance* follows on the confession just made.

9^{15}. The first two clauses of this verse are borrowed ultimately

from Jer. $32^{20, 21}$, but in reverse order. The first is from 32^{21} and the second from 32^{20}. 1 Baruch 2^{11} reproduces Jer. $32^{20, 21}$ but inverts the order as does our text: ἐξήγαγες τὸν λαόν σου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ . . . καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη.

Thou hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand [*and a stretched out arm*]. Cf. Jer. 32^{21}. I have with the LXX added the clause in brackets, but the LXX omits 'with a mighty hand' which the MT, Th., and Pesh. attest. Both phrases are found in Jer. 32^{21} and also in 1 Baruch 2^{11} though separated from each other (ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ . . . καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ). It is hardly credible that the translator or a copyist of the LXX would replace the one phrase by the other, though he might inadvertently omit one or other of the two. Accordingly I conclude that the text originally was ביד חזקה ובאזרוע נטויה. The same combination is found in Deut. 26^{8}, Jer. 32^{21} in the same connexion. If 1 Baruch 1^{15}–3^{8} is dependent on Daniel, then we have an external testimony to the presence of these two phrases in our text. If it is not dependent on Daniel, then it attests their presence in the liturgy on which both Daniel and 1 Baruch drew. In Deut. 6^{21}, 9^{26} only the first phrase occurs.

Gotten thee renown. Cf. Jer. 32^{20}; Neh. 9^{10}; 1 Baruch 2^{11}; also Isa. $63^{12, 14}$; 2 Sam. 7^{23} (here שׂום instead of עשׂה). The remembrance of God's deliverances of Israel in the past was still a strong factor in their faith during the Maccabean age.

We have done wickedly. On רשׁענו see note on 9^{5}.

9^{16}. *Thy righteous acts,* lit. 'righteousnesses' (צְדָקֹתֶךָ without ' of plural as מצותך in 9^{5}), cf. Judges 5^{11}; 1 Sam. 12^{7}; Mic. 6^{5}; Ps. 103^{6}. The Seer implores Yahweh, as he calls to mind His interventions on behalf of Israel in the past, to intervene now on their behalf in their present sore distress, and to turn away his anger from Israel who now confessed their sins and were repentant. The turning away of His anger was synonymous with the removal of their reproach in the sight of the heathen. It was at once an act of mercy as well as of justice, and as such, by virtue of His covenant with Israel, Israel claimed His help. It is noteworthy that Th. and 1 Baruch 2^{12} imply בכל־צדקתיך instead of "ככל־צר and that the latter connects the phrase with the words in the preceding verse, and so we have ἠδικήσαμεν . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν σου. This forms a better parallel to the close of 9^{16}. Eleven Hebrew manuscripts read בכל instead of ככל. But רשׁע is

not followed by ב in the O.T. But ב could here be rendered 'despite'. If this is right then the first three words of this verse should be construed with the closing words of 9^{15} 'we have done wickedly, O Lord, despite all thy righteous acts'.

Let thine anger . . . be turned away. Cf. Num. 25^4; Jer. 23^{20}, 30^{24}; 1 Baruch 2^{13}.

Thy holy mountain. Cf. Isa. $2^{2sq.}$; Ps. 2^6, 15^1.

Iniquities of our fathers. Cf. Neh. 9^2; 1 Baruch $3^{5,7,8}$. The phrase is found in the earlier books, cf. Jer. 11^{10}; Lev. 26^{39}.

A reproach to all that are round about us. Cf. Ps. 44^{13}, 79^4. These words are spoken from the standpoint of a Jew resident in Judaea, see note on 9^{4-19}. The taunts came from their heathen neighbours, the Edomites, Ammonites, and others. The same phrase is applied in 1 Baruch 2^4 in the confession of the Palestinian Remnant 'round about *us*' (i.e. this remnant), whereas the phrase 'hath scattered *them*' refers to the exiles. Contrast the confession of the Exiles in Babylon 2^{13} 'We are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered *us*'; 3^8 'We are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered *us*'.

9^{17}. *O our God.* So MT. The LXX and 1 Baruch 2^{14} (εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν) read only אדני or יהוה 'O Lord', Th. 'O Lord our God'. If the latter is a conflation, which of the two texts is original?

Hearken unto the prayer. Cf. Neh. 1^6; 1 Kings 8^{28}.

Cause thy face to shine upon. The LXX has ἐπιβλεψάτω τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπί. But ἐπιβλεψάτω cannot be a rendering of הָאֵר. It appears to have read יָרֵא. For the phrase in our text cf. Num. 6^{25}; Ps. $80^{19(20)}$. This petition is the natural sequel to 'let thine anger . . . be turned away' in the preceding verse.

Desolate. שָׁמֵם is used of Mount Zion in Lam. 5^{18} and recalls שֹׁמֵם in 8^{13}. Cf. 9^{27}, 11^{31}, 12^{11}. The expression is probably chosen with reference to שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם 9^{27}, 12^{11}.

For the Lord's sake. This abrupt transition to the third person in the midst of a series of petitions in the second is very harsh, and suggests a corruption in the text. The evidence of the ancient versions turns this probability into a practical certainty. Accordingly we should either with the LXX ἕνεκεν τῶν δούλων σου, δέσποτα, read למען עֲבָדֶיךָ אדני 'for thy servants' sake, O Lord' (comparing Isa. 63^{17} 'return for thy servants' sake), so Bevan. Or with Th. and Vulg. למענך אדני 'for thine own sake, O Lord',

so Kamphausen, Prince, &c. The latter, which recurs a few clauses later, has probably the support of 1 Baruch 2^{14} *εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, τῆς προσευχῆς ἡμῶν . . . καὶ ἐξιλοῦ ἡμᾶς ἕνεκεν σοῦ.*

9^{18}. *O* **Lord** *. . . behold.* These clauses are borrowed literally from 2 Kings 19^{16} (=Isa. 37^{17}). I have here followed the LXX and 1 Baruch 2^{16}, which read *Κύριε* i.e. יהוה as does 2 Kings 19^{16}. Th. of Dan. 9^{18} renders here *κλῖνον, ὁ Θεός μου, τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἄκουσον,* where the LXX has *πρόσχες, Κύριε, τὸ οὖς σον καὶ ἐπάκουσόν μου.* The MT, which reads אלהי (Th. *ὁ Θεός μου*), thus seems to be secondary.

Open. פְּקַח *Kt.*, פְּקַח *Qr.* Perhaps we should punctuate (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 48 *i*) פְּקָחָה as סְלָחָה and שְׁמָעָה in 9^{19}.

Desolations. Cf. Isa. 61^{4}.

The city over which thy name has been called. העיר אשר נקרא שמך עליה. It is best with Driver to render this idiom literally here. It implies that God has conquered it and made it His own: cf. 2 Sam. 12^{28}: also Deut. 28^{10}; Isa. 4^{1}; Amos 9^{12}; Jer. 7^{10}. This expression recurs in the next verse. Cf. the rendering of the LXX and Th. as compared with that in 1 Baruch 2^{26}. Thus אשר . . . עליה is rendered by the LXX of Dan. 9^{18} by *ἐφ' ἧς . . . ἐπ' αὐτῆς* and in 1 Baruch 2^{26} by *οὗ . . . ἐπ' αὐτῷ.*

Present our supplications before thee, i.e. מפילים תחנוניגו לפניך. This idiom is found only in Jer. in the O.T., cf. 38^{26}, $42^{2,9}$, 36^{7}, 37^{20}. The LXX renders freely *δεόμεθα ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἡμῶν.* Th. literally *ῥιπτοῦμεν τὸν οἰκτειρμὸν ἡμῶν,* 1 Baruch 2^{19} *καταβάλλομεν τὸν ἔλεον*—all independent renderings of the same Hebrew liturgical formula. I am quoting 1 Baruch to show that we have in it an independent witness to original liturgical formulae.

Thy great compassions. This expression is found in 1 Baruch 2^{27}; Neh. $9^{19,27,31}$, and in the earlier books: Ps. 119^{156}; 2 Sam. 24^{14}. It was thus a familiar formula in liturgical prayers.

8^{19}. *Hear . . . forgive.* A reminiscence of 1 Kings $8^{30,34,36}$.

Defer not. Cf. Ps. $40^{18(17)}$.

9^{20}. This verse serves to connect 9^{4-19} with its new context. 9^{3} was originally followed immediately by 9^{21}. In 9^{20} we have a summary of the interpolated prayer. It is composed of phrases which have already occurred in 9^{4-19}. Thus for 'praying and confessing', cf. 9^{4}; for 'my sin and the sin of my people Israel', cf. 9^{16}; for 'presenting my supplication', cf. 9^{18}; and for 'the holy mountain of my God', cf. 9^{16}.

My sins and the sins. So LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT reads 'my sin and the sin'.

9^{21}. Resumption of the original text.

In prayer, i.e. בִּתְפִלָּה. For this reading Ginsburg quotes several witnesses, and, as Marti urges, it is to be preferred to בַּתְּפִלָּה of the MT, which means that Daniel was 'repeating a prayer learnt by heart'. The latter reading would suit, if 9^{4-19} belonged to the text. But the text does not include the prayer which Daniel prayed from the depths of his heart with fasting and sackcloth and ashes—the object of which was to learn the true interpretation of the prophecy revealed to him (9^{3}) and which Gabriel assures him he had come to reveal to him. The LXX also presupposes a good text ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ μου בתפלתי.

⌜Behold⌝. Since the LXX and Th. read καὶ ἰδού here and the Vulg. *ecce,* I assume the loss of הנה in the Hebrew. In any case we have the *vav* apodosis, three examples of which occur in chapter 1, but there before a verb, where it is also the *vav* consecutive.

The man Gabriel, האיש גבריאל. Cf. 8^{15} כמראה גבר.

†*Being sore wearied*†. This seems the only admissible translation of מֻעָף בְּיָעָף. The participle is thus the Hoph'al of יָעַף. But the sense is inappropriate as applied to an angel. On the other hand this participle could be the Hoph'al of עוף and the phrase rendered 'being caused to fly swiftly'. But בְּיָעָף is in this case incapable of explanation. It may possibly have originated as a dittograph of מעף. The above rendering, which ignores ביעף, has the support of the ancient versions. LXX τάχει φερόμενος, Vulg. *cito volans,* while Th. gives simply πετόμενος. On the other hand, nowhere else in the O. T. are angels represented as having wings. The first undoubted passage in Jewish literature which bears on this question is 1 Enoch 61^{1}, and even there the angels are not naturally winged but only adopt wings for a special purpose. The idea of wings was in due course taken from the winged Seraphim and Cherubim and included in the conception of angels generally.

If the text is right, then we must connect it with Daniel, as do Meinhold and Keil, and render 'whom I had seen in the vision aforetime when I was sore wearied'. In $8^{17,18}$ Daniel was affrighted, when Gabriel came to him, and lost consciousness. It required the angel to touch him to restore him to consciousness and vigour. On this occasion also the touch of the angel

restores Daniel, who was no doubt overwearied by his prayer and fasting (9^3).

Touched me. נגע אלי should naturally bear the same meaning here as in 8^{18}, 10^{16}, and so Th. renders ἥψατο. The touch of the angel strengthens Daniel. נגע can be used in a good sense as in these three passages. In 8^7, 12^{12} it has a neutral meaning 'to come near to' or 'to come to', which may be followed by unhappy or happy effects subsequently. As examples of the latter may be cited 12^{12}; of the former 8^7; Micah 1^9; Jer. 51^9; *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley) Ah. 165, 166. It could bear the meaning assigned to it in the LXX προσήγγισέ μοι, but that meaning does not suit the context, though Bevan, Behrmann, and Marti adopt it. By so doing, they are obliged to follow the text presupposed by the LXX at the beginning of the next verse.

The time of evening oblation. Cf. 2 Kings 16^{15}; Ezra $9^{4,5}$, &c. See note on 6^{10}. The manuscripts vary between כ and ב before עת.

9^{22}. *Instructed me.* For וַיָּבֶן read ויבינני with Th. (συνέτισέν με) and Vulg. Cf. 8^{16}. The pronoun is all but necessary in the Hebrew. Otherwise with LXX (καὶ προσῆλθε) and Pesh. read ויבא or ויבו = וַיָּבוֹא, as do Bevan and other scholars, comparing 1 King 12^{12}.

Gabriel's sole communication refers to the seventy weeks, but in no single respect to the subjects of the prayer in 9^{4-19}.

To make thee skilful of understanding, i.e. to make thee clear in understanding. The בינה in this phrase השכיל בינה serves to recall ואין מבין in 8^{27}, as Marti observes. בינה is here used adverbially; cf. Deut. $2^{9,24}$ אל תִּתְגָּר בָּם מלחמה. 'Phrases of this kind form the transition from the use of the abstract verbal noun as the object of the verb (as in וַיָּךְ בהם מכה גדולה 1 Sam. 19^8) to the so-called accusative of manner (as in ... Jer. 3^{15}).'—Bevan.

9^{23}. *A word went forth.* The 'word' here does not mean the command given to Gabriel to go to Daniel but refers to the Divine pronouncement made in 9^{24-7}. It is repeated in the closing words of this verse. יצא דבר would be the classical Hebrew equivalent (cf. Isa. 2^2; Mic. 4^2; later Hebrew Esther 1^{19}) of the Aramaic נפק מאמר: cf. 2^{13}, 4^{17}.

After 'went forth' it is possible that with the LXX παρὰ κυρίου we should add 'from the Lord'. מאדני could easily fall out before the next word ואני through homoioteleuton.

To tell (*thee*). After להגיד add לְךָ with two manuscripts and LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg.

⌜*Man*⌝ *greatly beloved.* I have here with Th. (ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν), Vulg., Sym. (ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμητός) restored איש before חמודות. Thus we recover the full phrase which recurs in $10^{11,19}$ (MT, LXX, Th., Vulg.). It is true that the plural by itself can be put as an emphatic predicate: cf. Cant. 5^{16} וכלו מחמדים 'he is altogether lovely'. With the use of the fem. plural חמודות as 'an object of desires': cf. Ps. 21^{7} ברכות as 'an object of blessings': 110^{3} 'thy people is freewillingnesses' נדבות: Ezek. 27^{36} 'Thou art become terrors' בלהות: cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 141 *c*. But Driver (*Tenses*, § 189 (2)) states that it is 'unnecessary and wrong' to supply איש. It is true of course that the idiom in the MT is good Hebrew. Considering, however, the frequent corruptions of the MT of Daniel, and the fact that the full phrase occurs twice in the next chapter, and that in Daniel חמודות is used in our author only of *things* elsewhere (10^{3}, $11^{38,43}$), it is only reasonable to infer that חמודות needed to be more clearly defined, when applied to a man, by prefixing איש. With this phrase in our author we might compare Jer. 31^{20} ילד שעשועים = 'a pleasant child'. Bevan explains the LXX ἐλεεινός (ἄνθρωπος ἐλεεινός $10^{11,16}$) as a rendering of חַסְדוֹת, and compares Jer. Sot. ix. 24^{c} אנשי חסידות.

9^{24} (1) *The criticism of the text.*

This is a most difficult verse. It is worth while devoting some attention to the versions in the hope of throwing some light on our text. First of all Th. makes no contribution. Some of the manuscripts indeed read ἕως τοῦ παλαιωθῆναι τὸ παράπτωμα, καὶ τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν, which presupposes לְבַלֹּא as a doublet of לכלא.[1] This variant is the only one with which Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* viii, is acquainted, 'quoad usque inveteretur delictum'. When we remove καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας,[2] which is a borrowed phrase from the LXX, and which forms with καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας a duplicate rendering of ולכפר עון, Th. has exactly the same number of clauses as in the MT. But τοῦ

[1] Read לְבַלּוֹת with Bevan, Kamphausen, and others. Yet לכלא may be an Aramaized form of it.

[2] Observe that all the infinitives in Th. in this verse are preceded by τοῦ except this borrowed one and also that in the LXX none of the infinitives is preceded by τοῦ.

σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας clearly goes back to לַחְתֹּם חַטָּאוֹת, which is the *Kt.* of the MT. The *Qr.* "להתם ח is supported by Aquila *τοῦ τελειῶσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν.*

Thus the *Kt.* and *Qr.* of the MT in this clause existed in the second century A. D. The Vulg. diverges in two respects from the MT: (1) '(ut) finem accipiat peccatum' = לָהֲתֵם חַטָּאת, which is the *Qr.*; (2) '(ut) deleatur' iniquitas' = לִמְחוֹת עון and not לכפר עון. The Pesh. supports the *Qr.* להתם חטאת.

We now turn to the LXX. It is very corrupt, yet it can give some help towards the recovery of the original text. The first clause *τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* is obviously a rendering of לכלות הפשע (i. e. לכלא). The second clause, *καὶ †τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι†* is corrupt. The order of the words is wrong. In the other six clauses in this verse the verb precedes the noun as it should here. Next, since *ἀδικία* is never in the LXX used as a rendering of חטאת, it follows that חטאת did not occur in the faulty Hebrew manuscript used by the LXX translator. Finally, *σπανίσαι*—so rendered also in the Syr^{h}—appears to be best explained as a corruption of *σφραγίσαι* (so Th.).[2] For *Kt.* חטאות (so also LXX, Th., Pesh.) *Qr.* reads חטאת (so Aq., Vulg.).

The third clause is *καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας.* This corresponds to the Hebrew לכפר עון. But neither *ἀπαλείφω* nor *ἐξαλείφω* is ever used in the LXX as a rendering of כִּפֶּר, but of מחה. Hence the LXX translator, like the translator of the Vulg. as we found above had למחות עון (cf. Ps. 51^{11}, &c.) before him.

The next clause *καὶ διανοηθῆναι τὸ ὅραμα* is clearly wrong. There could hardly be two references to the vision within six short clauses. Moreover, the context is concerned with the various stages of the *fulfilment* of the vision and cannot admit of an otiose reference to the *understanding* of it in the midst of these. The aim of the entire message is to make the Seer understand the vision. Can this unmeaning phrase be explained? I can

[1] מחה occurs thirty-four times in the O.T. Of these it is rendered thirty times in Vulg. by *delere*, especially in Ps. 51^{3,11}; Isa. 43^{25}, 44^{22}, where it expresses the full and free Divine forgiveness. Hence we justly conclude that it occurred in Dan. 9^{24}.

[2] So Bevan. C. H. H. Wright says this is incorrect, and suggests that *σπανίσαι* is a rendering of לכלא, but even the translator of the LXX could hardly have been guilty of such a rendering. There seems to be no way of explaining *σπανίσαι* through a corruption of the Hebrew or of the Aramaic original.

only suggest mere possibilities. *διανοηθῆναι* = להבן which may be a corruption of להביא. The converse corruption we found in 9^{22}. If this is the להביא that follows in the next clause, then the intervening words *τὸ ὅραμα καὶ δοθῆναι* are an interpolation. But why were they interpolated? There is still another possibility. The LXX originally omitted *προφήτην* or according to the Syr^{h} *καὶ προφήτην καὶ εὐφρᾶναι*. Is then להביא חזון a dittograph of חזון ונביא which got displaced into this earlier clause and was then emended in order to give some seeming sense? If we could regard *διανοηθῆναι* (i.e. להבן corrupt for להביא) *τὸ ὅραμα* as a dittograph, then by its omission we should attain to a text full of meaning. For *δοθῆναι δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον* (=לתת צדק ע"ם) would mean 'to set up everlasting righteousness', i.e. The kingdom of everlasting righteousness.

Next in the fifth clause *συντελεσθῆναι* = להתם which is corrupt for לחתם—the converse corruption of what the translator of Th. found in the second clause.

Finally, in the sixth clause *εὐφρᾶναι* = לְשַׂמֵּחַ which is corrupt for לְמָשֵׁחַ. Hence read *χρίσαι*. The same error occurs probably in Hos. 7^{3}.

Thus the recovered and emended text of the LXX would run thus: *συντελεσθῆναι* (rd. *συντελέσαι*) *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὰς* [*ἀδικίας*] †*σφραγίσαι*† (rd. *πληρῶσαι*) *καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ δοθῆναι δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον καὶ* †*συντελεσθῆναι*† (rd. *σφραγίσαι*) *τὸ ὅραμα καὶ* ⟨*προφήτην*⟩ *καὶ* †*εὐφρᾶναι*† (rd. *χρίσαι*) *ἅγιον ἁγίων*. Thus the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX and emended is to be translated as follows:

'Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city
To complete the transgression and bring sins to the full,
And to blot out iniquity and to set up everlasting righteousness,
And to seal vision and ⌜prophet⌝ and to anoint a most holy place.'

24 $^{b\,c}$ (restored text) לְכַלּוֹת הַפֶּשַׁע וּלְהָתֵם חַטָּאוֹת
וְלִמְחוֹת עָוֹן וְלָתֵת צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים.

As we have seen above the LXX together with the Vulg. in the third line diverges from the MT in reading 'to blot out' (cf. Ps. 51^{11}) where the MT has 'to make reconciliation for'. Again in the same line we have 'to set up'. Thus the text of the third

line is as old as 145 B.C. There is no external attestation of the text of the MT for this line earlier than the 2nd cent. A.D.

(2) *The interpretation of the text.*

This verse lays down the principle that the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah are to be understood as seventy weeks of years, i.e. 490 years, and that these years concerned God's holy people and city. This is clear from 9^2, where Daniel is said to have observed in the Scriptures that the seventy years of Jeremiah had reference to the desolations of Jerusalem. But since the Seer did not understand why it should not be fulfilled for so many days, he sought illumination through a vision 9^3. In answer to his prayer Gabriel is sent, who explained the years to mean weeks of years. The notion of a week of years was already familiar to the Jews. But the word שָׁבוּעַ which in $9^{24, 25, 26, 27}$ means a week of years, has not this meaning elsewhere in the O.T. It occurs, however, with this meaning some hundreds of times in the Book of Jubilees (bef. 100 B.C.) and in the Mishna (Sanh. v. 1) and the Talmud. But the way had been prepared for the statement in our text by 2 Chron. 36^{21} 'until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for so long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil three score and ten years' (cf. Lev. $26^{34, 35}$). Here the ideas of seventy years and of sabbatical years are brought together.

Weeks. Our author uses the masc. plural שָׁבֻעִים six times, whereas the rest of the O.T. uses שָׁבֻעוֹת.

The transgression, i.e. the heathen worship established in the Temple: cf. $8^{12, 13, 23}$.

Are decreed, i.e. נֶחְתַּךְ, a ἅπ. λεγ. in the O.T. but found in the Mishna and Talmud in the sense of 'to decide'. The singular verb after the plural subject is to be explained on the ground that the seventy weeks are regarded as a unit of time: cf. Gen. 35^{26} for a still stranger example of this idiom. When this period of seventy weeks had passed, then all the blessings mentioned in the next three lines were to be fulfilled.

To complete, i.e. לְכַלֵּא—an Aramaised form for לכלות. So Hitzig, Marti, and others. Bevan, Driver, &c. render 'to make an end of'. But see next clause.

The transgression, i.e. הפישע. Cf. $8^{12, 13, 23}$.

To bring sins to the full, להתם חטאות. So Hitzig, Marti, &c. Cf. 8^{23} where the same Hebrew phrase recurs. Here again

Bevan, Driver, and others prefer to render 'to make an end of', and compare Num. 25^{11}; Ezek. 22^{15}. But the meaning is determined by the correct text in 8^{23}.

To ***blot out*** *iniquity*, i.e. למחות עון. See above p. 237 sq. It is God who here 'blots out iniquity'. This is the oldest attested text according to the LXX. It is also supported by the Vulg. The phrase occurs in Ps. 51^{11}: cf. 51^{3}; Isa. 43^{25}, 44^{22}. It implies a full and free forgiveness. The Massoretic reading לכפר seems to be a late replacement of the earlier phrase. It has generally a propitiatory sense, unless in Deut. 21^{8}, 32^{43}; Ezek. 16^{63}; Jer. 18^{23}; Ps. 65^{4}, 78^{38}, 79^{9}, where it is used without any reference to a propitiatory rite. It is seldom used by the prophets—only once in Jer. 18^{23}, but Duhm and Cornill reject that verse as a later addition. The meaning of this verb differs, as Driver points out, 'according as the subject is the priest or God: in the former case the meaning is to . . . *screen* the sinner by means usually of a propitiatory sacrifice'. It is then generally rendered, as here in Th., by ἐξιλάσκεσθαι. When the priest is the subject, the object of the verb is never the *guilt* as in our text. If the guilt from which the offender is freed is mentioned it is preceded by מן (Lev. 4^{26}, $5^{6,10}$, &c.) or על (Lev. 4^{35}, 5^{13}, &c.). 'In the latter case it means to *treat as covered*, to pardon . . . without any reference to a propitiatory rite' in relation to either the offender or the offence. See passages above referred to. Cf. Driver *in loc.* and *Deut.*, p. 425 sq. Again *kappēr* with a few exceptions (Lev. 5^{20-26}, 19^{19-22}; Num. 5^{6-8}) was only used of the forgiveness of sins committed involuntarily and not deliberately. But the context requires the latter meaning. Hence the usual meaning of the word and the context reinforce the unquestionable evidence of the LXX and Vulg.

Though כפר can be used in the sense of a free forgiveness (cf. Lev. 16^{30}), its implications are generally of a different nature in the distinctively priestly phraseology of the Priest's Code and Ezekiel. The present context is decidedly against any such thought, and, independently of the strong documentary evidence, favours למחות as the original reading. This latter, which appears to be the original reading, helps to determine the meaning of the next clause.

Everlasting righteousness. This expression is without a parallel in the O. T. But starting from the true reading in the preceding clause it may be defined as the eternal ethical righteousness of

the Messianic kingdom If the MT. לכפר עון be retained there is much to be said on behalf of Bevan's suggestion that 'the words כפר and צדק are both legal terms, and that by the "atoning of sin" and the "bringing in of everlasting righteousness" is meant the termination of that controversy ... (ריב) which God has with His people (see Isa. 27^{9} יְכֻפַּר עֲוֹן יַעֲקֹב)'.

To seal vision and prophet, i.e. to confirm the vision of the prophet, cf. John 3^{33}, 6^{27}. This is a sort of hendiadys. The metaphor is taken from affixing a seal to a document to attest its genuineness (1 Kings 21^{8}; Jer. $32^{10, 11, 44}$).

A most holy place. The expression 'holy of holies' (קדש קדשים) is a priestly term and is applied to a great variety of objects but not to persons. Here it denotes apparently the Temple that was to be consecrated in the Messianic age. Cf. Isa. 60^{7}; Ezek. 40 sqq. In Ezek. 43^{12}, 45^{3}, 48^{12} it is used of the temple in Ezekiel's vision. Elsewhere it is used of the altar of burnt-offering, Exod. $29^{36, 37}$, 30^{29}, 40^{10}: of the altar of incense, Exod. 30^{10}; of the tent of meeting, 30^{26-9}; of the sacred incense, 30^{36}; and of many other things connected with the sacrifices. See Driver *in loc.*

9^{25-7}. *The resolution of the 70 years into periods of 7, 62, and 1.*

9^{25}. First of the three periods, consisting of 7 weeks. In this verse as the preceding I will treat first the recovery of the text by critical methods and next its interpretation.

(1) *Criticism of the text.* The MT is decidedly corrupt in two passages of this verse. But in both passages we can recover the original text with the help of the versions backed by the requirements of the context.

To rebuild Jerusalem. I have here emended וְלִבְנוֹת לְהָשִׁיב with the Pesh. and Vulg. into לשוב ולבנות 'to rebuild'. But, even apart from these versions, we are obliged by the context to make this emendation. As Bevan rightly urges, the expressions להשיב ולבנת and תשוב ונבנתה are evidently intended to correspond to each other, that is, are intended to bear the same meaning. But they do not bear the same meaning as the MT stands. Hence 'most commentators translate the former "to restore and to build", and the latter "shall be built again", taking the first in a literal and afterwards in a derived sense' (so Ewald). Von Lengerke and Hitzig try to avoid the difficulty by translating תשוב 'shall be restored'. But Driver objects that השיב though used of restoring exiles is not used elsewhere of re-

storing, i. e. rebuilding a city. In support of Driver's objection I may add that no ancient version so renders it here. Bevan proposes (and Driver regards the emendation as plausible) to read לְהָשִׁיב וְלִבְנוֹת 'to people and to build', and to render the second clause 'shall be peopled and built', and cites Isa. 44^{26}; Jer. 30^{18}; Ezek. 36^{10-11} in support of his emendation. But they are not true parallels. Isaiah declares that Jerusalem will be inhabited and the cities of Judah built: Ezekiel that the cities shall be inhabited and the waste places builded; while Jeremiah is distinctly against Bevan's emendation as it reads: 'the city shall be builded . . . and the palace be inhabited' (so Cornill, &c.). In itself the idea is so obvious as not to call for expression. It is a case of *cela va sans dire*. Some repopulation of Jerusalem must of course precede the rebuilding. We now pass on to the next proposal—that of Marti. He suggests on the ground of Jer. 29^{10} that we should translate the first clause thus: 'to bring back Jerusalem and to build', and explains Jerusalem as meaning the people of Jerusalem and Judaea. This rendering does not meet Bevan's objection and incurs still greater disabilities of its own.

We are thus obliged to emend the MT להשיב, although it is as old as 145 B. C. or thereabouts, seeing that the LXX attests it. But neither the LXX nor Th. could give any intelligible meaning to it: they render it indeed by the word *ἀποκριθῆναι*—a rendering quite possible in itself but quite impossible in this context. I, therefore, emend this ancient corrupt form להשיב ולבנות into לשוב ולבנות, or לשוב לבנות. Cf. Deut. 24^{4}; Jer. 44^{14}. For להשיב may not be translated 'again'. Cf. also Ezek. 18^{7} where the corrupt MT is emended by Cornill and others into שוב ישיב 'restores'.

With square and moat, i. e. רחוב וחרוץ. Bevan with the Pesh. emends this into רחוב וחוץ 'with public places and streets'. These two words are found in parallelism in Prov. 1^{20}, 7^{12}; Isa. 15^{3}; Jer. 5^{1}. Bevan contends that חרוץ, with which it is compared and which occurs in the Mishna and Talmud, does not mean 'trench' or 'moat', but only a ditch in a field or garden (cf. B. Talm., *Kil.* v. 3 : ii. 8 : Jer. Talm., *Shabb.* iii. 5^{c}), and never a trench used for the purpose of fortification. But this is not so. In the Zakar Inscription A. 10 (8th Cent. B. C.), which is in the main Aramaic, but contains Canaanitish and Hebrew elements, חרץ means a trench dug out for this very purpose: הרמו שר מן שר חזרך והעמקו חרץ מן חר(צה 'they raised a wall higher than the

wall of Chazrek and dug a trench deeper than its trench'. Bevan's objection is that a city built on such uneven ground as Jerusalem was could be very imperfectly defended by a moat or trench. But a trench or even a moat is not necessarily constructed to be filled with water. Jerusalem was to be a strongly entrenched city with large public spaces.

It may be added here that the word is found in the Assyrian as *ḫariṣu*. The renderings of the LXX εἰς πλάτος καὶ μῆκος (in the dittography in the first rendering the phrase is omitted) and Th. πλατεία καὶ τεῖχος are simply guesses.

26^a. *And at the end of the times, even after.* Here the MT (so Vulg.) has וּבְצוֹק העתים ו, which = 'even in troublous times and'. Th. has καὶ ἐκκενωθήσονται οἱ καιροί = והוקצצו העתים(?). These two readings appear to be corruptions of בקץ העתים. So the LXX κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν, and also the Pesh. This phrase must be transferred to the beginning of 9^{26}, and the ו before אחרי should not, as Bevan, followed by Von Gall, Marti, and others, proposes, be omitted, but should be retained and rendered by 'even' (i. e. the *vav* explicative).

(2) *The interpretation.* With the emended text this is simple.

The going forth of the word. The text refers to the word of God spoken by Jer. 30^{18}, $31^{38\ sq.}$

The date implied by these words should be 604 B. C. (i. e. from Jer. $25^{11\ sq.}$ combined with 25^{1}), or 596 B. C. (from Jer. 29^{10}). But the writer does not think of these dates, but makes the destruction of Jerusalem the point of departure, i. e. 586 B. C.

Unto an anointed one. The prince here referred to is, as Eusebius, Graetz, Bevan, Marti, and others hold, the high priest, Lev. $4^{3,5,16}$, 6^{22}; 2 Macc. 1^{10}—'the anointed priest'. The word 'prince' is applied to the high priest in 9^{26}, 11^{22}. The first seven weeks, therefore, come to a close with the restoration of the Jewish worship (*circa* 538 B. C.) under Jeshua, the son of Jozadak (Ezra 3^{2}), the first high priest after the return from the Exile, Hag. 1^{1}; Zech. 3^{1}. Others think that Cyrus is meant, but this is less likely.

Second of the three periods, consisting of sixty-two weeks.

9^{26}. *Three score and two weeks*, i. e. during this period. On this period see note on 9^{26-27}.

9^{26-27}. *The seventh week*—171–164 B. C. Since the seventh week must embrace the years 171–164, a difficulty arises as to

the *terminus a quo* of the sixty-two weeks. In the notes on the preceding verse we found that the first seven weeks came to a close in the year 538 B. C. But from 538 to 171 B. C. there is an interval, not of 434 years (i. e. sixty-two weeks of years), but only of 367. In other words there is an error of sixty-seven years. Some scholars have thought to surmount this difficulty by making the first seven weeks of the sixty-two weeks to run parallel with the first seven weeks of the seventy weeks, i. e. 586–538 B. C. But this interpretation fails to explain the anomaly. Of the other explanations offered the best is that supported by Graf, Nöldeke, and Bevan, which is that our author followed a wrong computation. The materials for an exact chronology from the destruction of Jerusalem, 586 B. C. to the establishment of the Seleucid period in 312 B. C., were not at the disposal of a Jew living in Palestine, nor apparently of any Jew. For Schürer (*Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*[3], III. 189 seq.: Engl. Transl., II. iii. 53 seq.) has shown that dates covering this period which are given by professed historians of Judaism, such as Josephus and the Egyptian Jew Demetrius (*floruit ante* 200 B. C.), are untrustworthy in the way of excess, as in our text and that the excess in Demetrius is almost exactly that in Daniel. Thus (1) in the *Bell. Jud.* vi. 4. 8 of Josephus he states that 639 years had elapsed between the second year of Cyrus and A. D. 70. In that case the second year of Cyrus would have been 569 B. C. (2) In *Ant.* xx. 10 he reckons 414 years as having elapsed between the return from the captivity in the first year of Cyrus and the time of Antiochus V Eupator (164–162): and (3) in *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1 he reckons 481 years between the first year of Cyrus and the time of Aristobulus (105–104). Thus according to these three time determinations, Cyrus became king respectively in the years 570 B. C., 578 and 586, whereas his accession to the throne was really in 538. These three statements of Josephus show that he was wrong in his chronology to the extent of forty to fifty years. Schürer *in loc.* and iii. 349-351 draws attention to the historian Demetrius as having made almost exactly the same miscalculation as our author. Thus he states that 573 years[1]

[1] See quotations from Demetrius in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. 141: ἀφ' οὗ δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ αἱ δέκα ἐκ Σαμαρείας αἰχμάλωτοι γεγόνασιν ἕως Πτολεμαίου τετάρτου ἔτη πεντηκόσια ἑβδομήκοντα τρία μῆνας ἐννέα. But the figures are corrupt in the rest of this quotation. For in the same quotation he says that the interval between the captivity of Israel and that of Judah was 128 years and six months, and

elapsed between the exile of the Ten Tribes (722 B. C.) and the accession and the time of Ptolemy IV (222 B. C.), and thus like Daniel reckoned this interval by some seventy years too much. From these facts Schürer concludes that Daniel was following the chronology current in his time.

An anointed one be cut off. The anointed one is the high priest Onias III (son of Simon II), who was removed from the high priesthood in 175 B. C. by Antiochus for a bribe of 440 talents of silver offered by Jason, the brother of Onias (2 Macc. 4^{7-9}). After Jason had held the high priesthood for three years he was supplanted by a Benjaminite (cf. 4^{23} with 3^{4}) named Menelaus, whom he had sent with the 440 talents to the king. Menelaus betrayed his employer, and secured the high priesthood for himself by outbidding Jason by 300 talents. When, however, he failed to pay this money the king summoned him before him. On arriving at the court Menelaus found that the king had gone off to quell an insurrection in Cilicia, and had left Andronicus, one of his courtiers, to act as his deputy. Menelaus availed himself of this opportunity to secure the favour of Andronicus by the gift of golden vessels which he had stolen from the Temple. On learning this latter fact, Onias censured him sharply and withdrew for safety into the sanctuary of Daphne, close to Antioch. Resenting this rebuke Menelaus prevailed on Andronicus to assassinate Onias. Antiochus on his return was so indignant at this crime that he had Andronicus put to death on the very spot where he had murdered Onias. See 2 Macc. $4^{7-9, 23-38}$.

This account of the death of Onias has been generally and rightly accepted by historians such as Ewald, v. 295, 355: Schürer[3], i. 196: Graetz, ii. 2, 203. But on the grounds that 2 Macc. (which undoubtedly contains unhistorical matter) alone records the murder of Onias, and that Josephus[1] gives a con-

that the interval between the Captivity of Judah and Ptolemy IV was 338 years and three months. Thus, according to this second computation the entire interval between the Captivity of Israel and Ptolemy would be 466 years and nine months, and the two computations for the same period would differ to the extent of 107 years.

[1] Josephus not only does not record the assassination of Onias, but in *Ant.* xii. 9. 7 : xiii. 3. 1–3 : xx. 10 speaks of the Onias the son of Onias—brother of the martyred Onias in xx. 10. 1—as fleeing into Egypt and building there a temple at Leontopolis; whereas, in *Bell. Jud.* i. 1. 1, vii. 10. 2, 3, he states that Onias himself, after the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus, fled to Egypt and founded a temple in the district of Heliopolis.

flicting account, Wellhausen (*Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.*[3], pp. 244–47: Willrich, *Jüden und Griechen*, pp. 86, 90, 120 sqq.) brands the whole record of the assassination of Onias as apocryphal. But the grounds are not valid. (1) Josephus' statements not only conflict with those of 2 Macc. but with one another. If we compare *Ant.* xii. 5. 1 with xv. 3. 1: xix. 6. 2: xx. 10. 3 we learn that Menelaus was called Onias, and was also a brother of Jason. Schürer rightly remarks that, if the first statement is right, then the second is very improbable; for in that case two brothers would both have borne the name Onias. That Menelaus was not a brother of Jason but a Benjaminite, as 2 Macc. (4^{23}, 3^{4}) states, there is no justifiable ground for questioning.[1] (2) But it is not true, as is apparently universally assumed, that there is no other evidence than that of 2 Macc. for the assassination of a high priest under Antiochus Epiphanes. In 1 Enoch 90^{8} the only valid interpretation of the words 'the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs and dashed the sheep in pieces' is that 'the one' here referred to is Onias, the son of Simon. By general consent 'the ravens' are the Syrians under Antiochus Epiphanes. 'The lamb' cannot be interpreted of any one of the Maccabean princes, since in that case he would, according to the usage of the writer, have been symbolized by *a horned lamb* or *a ram*: cf. 90^{9}, which refers to the Maccabees under the symbol of 'horned lambs'. 1 Enoch 83–90 was written before the death of Judas Maccabaeus, 161 B. C., and possibly before his purification of the Temple in 165 B. C.

And he shall have no . . The MT is defective, it reads ואין לו. This is sometimes rendered 'and shall have nothing'. But this is the questionable rendering of an uncertain text. The meaning also is unsatisfactory. The LXX καὶ οὐκ ἔσται implies וְאֵינֶנּוּ 'and shall be no more': Th. καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῷ = וְאֵין דִּין לוֹ 'and that without judgement': Fell (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1892, 355–395) and Marti propose ואין אָשָׁם לו 'though guiltless': and Graetz ואין עוֹזֵר לו 'without a helper'.

The city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed, together with a prince. Here with Bevan, Von Gall, and Marti I emend

[1] See also Büchler (*Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden*, 1899, pp. 106–124, 240 sq. and Niese (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher* (1900), p. 96 seq.), who maintain the accuracy of the record of Onias' death in 2 Macc.

יַשְׁחִית ('shall destroy') into יִשָּׁחֵת 'shall be destroyed', and with one manuscript and five versions—LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg., Aquila—עַם 'people' into עָם. The MT reads: 'And the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary'. This would refer to the forces of Antiochus, who made a spoil of Jerusalem, setting it on fire and laying low its houses and walls (1 Macc. $1^{31,32,38}$). The word עַם in this case would mean 'soldiers' as in 2 Sam. 10^{13}, &c. But this text obliges us to take נגיד 'prince' in a different sense from what it bears in the preceding verse, where it refers to the Jewish high priest. This is not an insurmountable difficulty. But the emended text is clearly preferable. But who is the prince referred to? Bevan says Jason, the brother and successor of Onias III. But Jason was the leader of the Hellenizers in Judea, and could not, therefore, be regarded with favour by the Seer. The description of his miserable death in Sparta (2 Macc. 5^{7-10}) would fall in well with our text. It is best, therefore, with Marti to recognize in the indefinite נָגִיד a second reference to Onias III, though in that case we should normally expect הנגיד. With the removal and death of Onias III began the ruin of the city and sanctuary through the Hellenizers in Jerusalem.

9^{26c-27}. The third of the three periods, consisting of 1 week.

And the end shall come. Here I accept the emendation of Von Gall, Marti, and others of הַבָּא וְקִצּוֹ into וּבָא חֵקֶץ, following in the main the LXX *καὶ ἥξει ἡ συντέλεια αὐτοῦ*. 'The end' is a technical expression for the last period of affliction: cf. $8^{17,19}$. Graetz (following the LXX exactly) reads ובא קצו 'and his end shall come'.

With a flood. Cf. Neh. 1^{8}, 'with an overrunning flood (שֶׁטֶף) he will make a full end of the place': cf. Jer. 47^{2}. This metaphor recurs in 11^{22}. It signifies overwhelming war. The war is that of Antiochus against the Saints.

That which is determined of desolations. In the phrase (נחרצת שממות) the first word is the Niph'al inf. construct. It is borrowed from Isa. 10^{23}, 28^{22}, which contain the double phrase at the close of the next verse. The LXX has here *καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἡ ἐρήμωσις* = ונחרצה השממה. Th. had the words but not the syntax of the MT before him. For the desolations referred to see 1 Macc. 1^{39}, 3^{45}, 4^{38}, and cf. note on 8^{11} of our text.

9^{27}. This verse describes the last of the seventy weeks beginning in the year 171 B. C.

9^{27}. *And a stringent statute shall be issued against the many.* Such appears to me the rendering of what was the original text, as I hope to show on many grounds. But first let us deal with the MT והגביר ברית לרבים, which is supported by Th.,[1] and is perforce rendered: 'And he shall make a firm covenant with the many.' If the interpretation of the preceding verses is correct, then Antiochus has not, so far, been definitely referred to, and yet this rendering presupposes him to be the subject of the verb. The text I propose gets rid of this difficulty. But there are other difficulties. Only once elsewhere does the Hiph'il הגביר occur in the sense of 'to make strong' or 'to confirm', i. e. in Ps. 12^5. But this is not an insurmountable difficulty. The real difficulties lie in the second and third of the three words. Of these the second word 'covenant' (ברית) does not occur elsewhere in Daniel in this sense. It does occur in $11^{22,28,30,32}$, where it practically means the religion of Israel alike as a creed and its expression in worship. Those who translate לָרַבִּים (so MT) 'with the many' are obliged to take ברית in the sense of 'covenant', and to recognize 'the many', with whom the covenant is made, as the Hellenizing Jews. Antiochus is in this case the subject of the verb, and he makes a covenant with the Hellenizers. But the Hellenizers and their converts are said to be πολλοί but not οἱ πολλοί in 1 Macc. 1^{11}, and are represented as saying in 1 Macc. 1^{11}, 'Let us go and make a covenant with the nations round about us' (πορευθῶμεν καὶ διαθώμεθα διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ ἡμῶν). But since לָרַבִּים (if the Massoretic punctuation is right, and it is so accepted by scholars) should be translated 'the many' just as in 11^{33}, יבינו לָרַבִּים is to be translated 'shall instruct the many', and in 11^{39} והמשילם בָּרַבִּים 'shall cause them to rule over the many', so here we should render the MT, 'shall make a firm covenant with the many'. Now who are 'the many'? This is clear from 12^3, where the phrase recurs, and where מצדיקי הָרַבִּים is to be rendered 'they that turn the many to righteousness'. This last expression is clearly borrowed from

[1] δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς. The LXX renders the Hiph'il intransitively καὶ δυναστεύσει ἡ διαθήκη εἰς πολλούς.

Isa. 53^{11} לָרַבִּים . . . יצדיק 'shall make the many righteous'.[1] 'The many' then *were not the small body of Hellenizers but the main body of the people.*

If this conclusion is right, then it follows that והגביר ברית is corrupt. Antiochus did not make a covenant with the main body of the Jews but with a minority who were Hellenizers. Recognizing the corruptness of this expression—not on the last ground I have advanced but on the earlier, Bevan holds that 'covenant' should here retain the meaning it has in $11^{22,28}$, &c., and that הגביר should be emended into הופר. This emended text would then be translated: 'And the covenant (i. e. the religion of Israel) shall be annulled for the many:' i. e. there shall be a period of general apostasy. הופר is unlike הגביר. Also Marti thinks that the construction with לְ in this emended text is difficult, and proposes וְתֵעָבֵר 'and religion shall come to an end for the many'.

But, whilst we acknowledge that these two scholars have recognized the impossible character of the MT, it does not follow that הגביר, which is really supported by the LXX and Th., is corrupt. The corruption appears to lie elsewhere. Since the mass of evidence points to the Hebrew of Daniel being a translation from the Aramaic, we may not improbably discover the source of this impossible text in a mistranslation of the Aramaic. והגביר ברית is the literal rendering of the Aramaic וקים יחקף. Now קְיָם has two meanings in Aramaic—i. e. 'covenant' and 'statute'—the former more frequently. The Hebrew translator wrongly rendered it by 'covenant', a rendering which הגביר and the context, as we have seen above, do not admit of. An analogous Aramaic phrase has already occurred in 6^{8}, לתקפה אסר 'to make a stringent interdict' immediately after לקימה קים 'to establish a statute'. Hence we conclude that the original Aramaic was וקים יחקף על[2] שגיאיא. The Hebrew translator here punctuated the verb as a Pa'el instead of as a Qal. Hence his doubly wrong rendering. We should render, 'And a stringent statute shall be issued against the many', i. e. against the mass of faithful Jews. This statute is explained by what follows.

[1] Modern scholars regard this text as corrupt and emend it. It is at all events older than the book of Daniel.

[2] לְ is used in Hebrew after many verbs denoting hostility. Hence I take it here as a rendering of the Aramaic על.

And so for the half, &c. This clause and the rest of the verse deal with the second half of the last week, which embraces the period from the 15th of Chisleu 168 to the 25th of Chisleu 165 B. C. (see 1 Macc. 1^{54} and 4^{52} sq.), during which period (see 8^{14}) the Temple services were suspended. But this period does not coincide with the three and a half years referred to in 7^{25}, 12^{7}, during which the entire persecution was to last. This period may have begun with the expedition of Apollonius against Jerusalem earlier in 168 (1 Macc. 1^{29}; 2 Macc. 5^{24}). On the two different periods given in $12^{11,12}$ see notes *in loc.*

Shall cease. Here with the LXX, Th., and Vulg. ἀρθήσεται we should correct the MT יִשָּׁבֵת into יִשְׁבֹּת. The sacrifice and meat offering include all kinds of sacrifice; cf. 1 Sam. 2^{29}, 3^{14}; Ps. 40^{7}. The latter was the proper accompaniment of the former. Exod. $29^{40,41}$.

In its stead. Here Van Lennep, Kuenen, Bevan, Kamphausen, Driver, Prince, and others emend the unintelligible עַל כְּנַף 'on the wing' into עַל כֵּנוֹ 'in its stead'. The LXX and Th. have the equivalent of עַל הַקֹּדֶשׁ. The metaphor 'on the wing of desolation' is wholly out of keeping with the context. We have parallel passages in 8^{13} and 11^{31}. In the former, 'How long shall be the vision, while the daily burnt offering is taken away and the transgression that maketh desolate set up?': in the latter, 'They shall take away the daily burnt offering and set up a horror that appalleth'.

It has been suggested by some earlier commentators (and this suggestion has been revived by Montgomery: see his *Comm.*, pp. 387 sq.) that כְּנַף should be rendered 'pinnacle', i. e. τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Matt. 4^{5} = Luke 4^{9}). Lightfoot (ed. Pitman: vol. xi, p. 83) is inclined to identify this pinnacle with the אוּלָם or porch of the Herodian temple in this passage. In the present case the porch would of course belong to the earlier temple. But, as Driver observes, 'there is no evidence that the Hebrew or Aramaic כנף acquired this sense'.

Shall be a horror that appalleth. Here for שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם we should read שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם: cf. 11^{31}. The מ was by a slip wrongly repeated, and then שִׁקּוּצִם was written fully as שִׁקּוּצִים: or rather with 12^{11} read שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם.

A horror that appalleth, i. e. the altar and image of Zeus.[1]

[1] Cf. Taanith iv. 6 העמיר צלם בהיכל: 28^{b}, 29^{a}: also Jerome on Dan. 11^{31}

Here שקוץ שמם, as Nestle (*ZATW*, 1884, p. 248) has shown, is a deliberate play or pun on בעל שמים, 'Baal of heaven', the title of the supreme heathen deity. It is found often in Phoenician, Palmyrene (*CIS.* I. 7, 132 B.C. לאדן לבעל שמם: I. 139: Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i. 248, n.: Euting, Nabatäische Insc. 4. 2), and Aramaic inscriptions: Nestle points out that the Syriac version of 2 Macc. 6^2 actually renders Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος by בעל שמין. In Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* (ed. Gifford, 1903, vol. i. 46) i. 10, Philo of Byblus is quoted: Τοῦτον γάρ, φησί, θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησι. Cf. Plaut., *Poen.* v. 2. 67: Balsamen = בעל שמן. Thus שקוץ is substituted for בעל, just as בשֶׁת = 'shame' is substituted for בעל in Hos. 9^{10}; Jer. 3^{24}, 11^{13}; cf. Ishbosheth, 2 Sam. 2^8, which is the equivalent of Eshbaal in 1 Chron. 7^{33}. Next, שֹׁמֵם 'causing horror' is likewise a pun on שמים or שמן. Thus the heathen Semitic 'god of heaven' or the Greek Olympian Zeus is for our writer merely 'a horror that appalleth'.

The LXX and Th. have here βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων (cf. 11^{31}, 12^{11}; 1 Macc. 1^{54})—an impossible rendering.

A consummation and strict decision. The phrase כלה ונחרצה is borrowed from Isa. 10^{23}, 28^{22}. See 9^{26}, 11^{36} also of our text. נחרצה and נחרצת are taken by Barth, *Nominalbildung* 90 (Oxf. Heb. Lex. 358) to be infinitives construct.

Shall be poured out, i. e. תֻּתַּךְ is frequently used of the pouring out of anger or fury: see 9^{11} above.

SECTION X

i. e. Chapters 10–12—the fourth vision of the Seer in the third year of Cyrus, King of Persia. For short summary, see below.

Chaps. $10–11^1$. *Prologue to the vision of the Seer.*

This introduction to the Prologue is concerned wholly with the MT, the LXX, and other Versions, and the help rendered by the latter as well as by the MT towards the recovery of the

mentions this interpretation: 'ab Antiocho missi sunt . . . ut . . . in templo Jerusalem Jovis Olympii simulacrum . . . ponerent'.

original Hebrew version, or, in occasional passages, of the original Aramaic.

§ 1. *Hebrew renderings of the Aramaic:*

in 10^{8} הודי נהפך עלי למשחית recalls in an intensified form זיוי ישתנון עלי in 7^{28}.

§ 2. *Aramaisms in the Hebrew Version:*

10^{17}. חֵיוָ—only elsewhere in O.T. in 1 Chron. 13^{12}. This is Palestinian Aramaic. The older Aramaic of the fifth century in Babylon and in Egypt was איך just as in Hebrew.

10^{21}. כְּתַב an Aramaism not earlier than 400 B.C.—found in Ezra, Chronicles, Esther. רְשׁוּם—a loan word from the Aramaic—here only in O.T.

§ 3.

10^{12}. נָתַתָּ את לבך. Only in 1 and 2 Chron. and Eccles. The translator of chap. 1^{8} uses quite a different and rare Classical Hebrew phrase שים על לב to express the same idea.

10^{16}. עצר כח--not earlier than 1 and 2 Chron.

10^{21}. התחזק עם = 'holdeth with me': in this sense only in 1 Chron. 11^{10}: cf. 2 Chron. 16^{9}.

§ 4. *Interpolations.*

10^{4}. 'Which is Hiddekel'.

10^{10}. 'Upon my knees and the palms of my hands.'

10^{20}. The interrogative ה before יָדַעְתָּ.

§ 5. *Loss of particle.*

10^{5}. כ is to be restored before איש.

§ 6. *Corruptions in the* MT.

10^{10}. וַתְּנִיעֵנִי, 'caused me to totter,' should with LXX and Th. and the sense of the context be emended into ותעירני = 'waked me'.

$10^{5,13}$. See notes *in loc.*

10^{6}. בעין נחשת קלל. Based on Hebrew of Ezek. 1^{7}, which was already corrupt? See note *in loc.*

§ 7. *Dislocation of text.*

10^{20}–11^{1}. Here no words require to be emended or excised, but a clause needs to be restored to its original position. See notes *in loc.*

§ 8. *Use of vav apodosis.*

10^{4}. ואני.

10^{9b}. The vav here before אני is to be rejected with the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg.

Chapter 10 forms the Prologue of this section; the revelation itself (11^2–12^4) consisting of a survey of the world's history so far as it affected Israel from the beginning of the Persian period down to the later years of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Seer foretells the death of this king and the immediate advent of the kingdom of the Saints. This was to be accompanied by the resurrection of the pre-eminently righteous and the pre-eminently wicked Israelites that they might severally receive their due recompense of reward (12^{1-4}). Then follows the Epilogue in which the time of the advent of this kingdom was deferred in the hope that history might confirm the words of prophecy.

10–11^1. *Introduction or prologue to the revelation made to the Seer. His conversation with the angel.*

10^1. *In the third year of Cyrus.* This is the latest date in the book. The LXX reads 'in the first year of Cyrus'. See 1^{21}, which is restored after 2^{49a} in this commentary.

King of Persia. This title was used of Cyrus only before his conquest of Babylon. After this event the title of Cyrus and the other reigning members of the Achaemenidae was 'king of Babylon', 'the king', 'the great king', 'the king of kings', or the personal name preceding the title king (as in Ezra 4^8 'Artaxerxes the king'), 'the king of countries'. If it so pleased the king, he might designate the Crown Prince as 'the king of Babylon', in which case he reserved for himself the title 'king of countries'. This holds true of Cambyses, who for nearly a year was named 'King of Babylon' by Cyrus, as well as of the earlier Belshazzar, as we have seen in ch. 5. After the fall of the Persian empire the title king of Persia was used of its kings to distinguish them from their Greek successors. See Driver, *Introd. LOT.*[9], 545.

On this question I may quote the valuable notes of Driver (*Introd. LOT.*[9]), p. 546 *n.* 'In the extant royal inscriptions "King of Persia" . . . is used once . . . of Cyrus, where there is a reason for it, viz. after his conquest of Persia, when he had just before been called "King of Anshan." . . . In some 1,600 contracts of the Persian period, which have been examined, the

title, "King of Persia" (alone), occurs once only under Xerxes.' And again on p. 554 *n.*: 'Out of some 1,560 contracts dated under Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Artaxerxes, known in 1904 (see statistics in R. D. Wilson, *Princeton Theol. Rev.* 1904, 266–9; cf. 1905, 565 *nn.*), all have one or other of these titles, and not one has "king of Persia": only under Xerxes, out of eleven known in 1905 (*ib.* 1905, 560 f.), and thirty-five known in 1908 (*ZDMG.* 1908, p. 642 f.), the king's name is followed *once* (*ZDMG.* No. 23) by "King of Persia" (alone), and once (No. 9) by "King of Persia (and) Media"; elsewhere his usual title is "King of Babylon, King" (or "and King") of lands", preceded sometimes by "King of Persia and Media".'

Unto Daniel. Daniel is here spoken of in the third person. See note on 7^1, where the same usage occurs.

The thing or 'word': cf. 9^{23}. The LXX inserts before this word 'the vision and'.

True, i. e. אמת as in 8^{26}.

And a hard service. On this use of צבא cf. Isa. 40^2; Job 7^1, 10^{17}, 14^{14}.

Understood: i. e. בין perf. Qal. for בָּן. Cf. בִּינֹתִי in 9^2. בִּינָה, which follows, is a substantive, i. e. 'understanding' as in 1^{20}, 8^5, 9^{22}. The LXX, though it mistranslates the latter half of this verse, yet practically presupposes the text of the MT, with slight variations.

10^2. The ground for Daniel's mourning is not mentioned, but from 10^{14} it is clear that it was due to his concern as to what should befall Israel in the latter days. The fasting prepares him for the vision that follows just as did the fast in 9^3.

Three whole weeks: lit. 'three weeks, days'. For this pleonastic use of יָמִים cf. Deut. 21^{13}; 2 Sam. 13^{23}, 14^{28}; Jer. $28^{3,11}$; and Ges.-Kautzsch, § 131 *d.* The reason for so prolonged a fast is given in 10^{13}.

Was mourning. Cf. T. Reub. 1^{10} *ἤμην πενθῶν*, which is derived from our text as the next verse proves.

10^3. *I ate no pleasant bread.* לחם חמדות as opposed to לחם עֳנִי 'bread of affliction', Deut. 16^3. The whole phrase is quoted in T. Reub. 1^{10} *πάντα ἄρτον ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἔφαγον.* The Seer did not fast absolutely, but avoided all attractive food.

Neither came flesh . . . into my mouth. Quoted in T. Reub.

καὶ κρέας οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου. *Nor wine.* Cf. T. Reub. 1^{10} καὶ οἶνον . . . οὐκ ἔπιον.

Neither did I anoint myself. In fasting all pleasant food and self-indulgence were avoided. So anointing, which was of the nature of a luxury, was likewise shunned. The omission of anointing 'was a sign of mourning, the resumption of the practice a sign that mourning was over': 2 Sam. 12^{20}, 14^{2}; Judith 10^{3}: cf. Isa. 61^{3}; Eccles. 9^{8} (*Encyc. Bib.* i. 173).

10^{4}. *The first month.* That is Nisan, Neh. 2^{1}, or as it was earlier called, Abib, Exod. 23^{15}. Daniel, therefore, with his companions (10^{7}) kept this fast in the month to which belonged the great festival of the Passover (i. e. the 14th day) and that of the Unleavened Bread (15th–21st)—during which the Law prescribed that 'bread of affliction' should be eaten, Deut. 16^{3}.

I was: i. e. ואני הייתי. We have here a form of the vav apodosis.

The great river [*which is Hiddekel*]. I have with Behrmann and Marti bracketed the explanatory clause as a mistaken gloss. The Hiddekel, i. e. the Tigris, is mentioned only here and in Gen. 2^{14}. But 'the great river', according to Gen. 15^{18}, Josh. 1^{4}, and also 'the river', Gen. 31^{21} (cf. Isa. 7^{20}, Jer. 2^{18}), is without doubt the Euphrates, and not the Hiddekel. Furthermore Daniel's companions were with him in Babylon, and Babylon was on the banks of the Euphrates, whereas the Hiddekel was at least fifty miles distant. There is no question, therefore, of both Daniel and his companions *being translated* to a distant river of purely secondary importance such as the Hiddekel. This river is again referred to in $12^{6,7}$, though not by name.

10^{5-9}. The appearance of the heavenly messenger.

10^{5}. The vision follows the fast, as in 2 Bar. 5^{7} (see note in my edition), 9^{2}, 12^{5}, 21^{1}, 47^{2}; 4 Ezra 5^{20}, 6^{35}, $9^{26,27}$, 12^{51}.

Lifted up mine eyes. Cf. 8^{3}.

And looked, and behold. On this and kindred forms of apocalyptic expression see the note on 4^{1} in my Commentary on Revelation.

⟨*One like unto*⟩ *a man.* The MT supported by the Versions here reads איש אחד, which means merely 'a man', some man or other. If we translate this apocalyptical symbol into ordinary speech it means 'an angel', some angel or other. But the magnificent description that follows is absolutely against this

view. The being here referred to is not only a supernatural being, but one holding a pre-eminent dignity amongst such beings. He is not to be identified with Gabriel, though in the two preceding visions Gabriel had appeared to the Seer and instructed him: see 8^{16-18}, 9^{21-23}. In the latter Gabriel is called 'a man', just as in Ezekiel's visions $9^{2,3,11}$, 10^{2}. But, as I repeat, it is not Gabriel that appears to the Seer in this vision. Not only does the description of this unnamed angel transcend immeasurably that of Gabriel in chapters 8 and 9, but the effect of his appearance on the Seer is far more profound. In 8^{17}, when Gabriel appears, the Seer is affrighted and becomes unconscious, but recovers immediately on being touched by Gabriel. In the next vision the Seer is not affected at all by Gabriel's appearance, 9^{21}, whereas in this third vision, where we should expect him to be similarly unaffected, *if it were Gabriel who appeared*, the Seer is continually overcome and requires to be quickened three times, $10^{8,9,15,16,17}$.

But this is not all. The vision in this chapter is one vision, and mediated by one and the same being.[1] And yet when the Seer mentions this being he does not venture to name him. He designates him as 'one like the similitude of the sons of men', 10^{16}, and in 10^{18} as 'one like the appearance of a man'. Hence, since he is not the archangel Gabriel and yet one transcending Gabriel in majesty, I conclude that we should for איש אחד (= 'a man', cf. Exod. 16^{33}; 1 Kings 19^{4}, 22^{9}; 2 Kings 7^{8}, &c.) read כְּאִישׁ א׳. In the Aramaic the Hebrew translator found כגבר. The initial letter which has been preserved in $10^{16,18}$ was early lost here as in 7^{9}. Thus in the three passages, where this mysterious being is referred to, he is not named, but is described as 'one like unto a man', 'one like the similitude of the sons of men', and 'one like the appearance of a man'. In the Test. of XII Patriarchs there is also a nameless angel who is simply called 'the angel of peace', whose office is to 'strengthen Israel' (T. Dan. 6^{5}): to 'guide the soul' of the righteous man (T. Benj. 6^{1}), and at death 'to lead him into

[1] Thus, this being states that he has been sent in consequence of the Seer's prayers, $10^{11,12}$, to make him understand what should befall his people in the latter days 10^{14}. The Seer is again overwhelmed and again revived by his supernatural visitant $10^{17,18}$. It is one and the same being who quickened the Seer and came to tell him 'that which was inscribed in the writing of truth', 10^{19-21}.

eternal life' (T. Ash. 6^{6}). Who is this mysterious being, who is an angel and yet is carefully distinguished from both Gabriel and Michael? In the Test. XII Patr. the nameless angel is the guardian not only of Israel but of all the righteous. See the note on T. Levi 5^{6}.

A man clothed in linen. The phrase is suggested by Ezek. $9^{2,3}$, &c. As a man in apocalyptic technically denotes an angel, so here the linen garment may represent the angelic body as composed of light (cf. Ps. 104^{2}): see Gressmann, *Ursprung d. isr.-jüd. Eschatologie*, 344 sqq.

Fine gold of †Uphaz†: i. e. כֶּתֶם אוּפָז. The second of these two words is borrowed from Jer. 10^{9}, where it is generally acknowledged to be a corruption of אוֹפִיר. So Ewald conjectured. The corruption in our text may, then, be due to the corrupt text in Jer. 10^{9}. But seeing that the LXX has in place of these two words the meaningless phrase ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ φῶς = מתוכו אור, and also that in מתוכו we have the word כתם though the letters are disarranged, we may not unreasonably conclude that אור points to אוֹפִיר rather than to אופז.

10^{6}. Cf. Rev. $1^{14\,b-15}$.

His body: גְּוִיָּתוֹ. The word occurs in Ezekiel's vision in $1^{11,23}$.

Beryl. The LXX renders תרשיש by χρυσόλιθος in Exod. 28^{20}, 39^{13}, and so also Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 5.

As the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as torches of fire. Cf. 2 Enoch 42^{1} (B), 'their faces like extinguished lamps' is said of the fallen angels, whereas of the righteous angels it is said, 1^{5}, 'their eyes too were like a burning light'.

The words in our text were suggested by Ezek. 1^{13}, 'The living creatures . . . their appearance . . . like the appearance of torches . . . and out of the fire went forth lightning'.

His feet like the gleam of burnished brass. From Ezek. 1^{7}. 'Their feet . . . shone like the gleam of burnished brass'. Cf. Rev. 1^{15}, οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ. But כעין נחושת קלל is against the LXX and Latin, which require, as Cornill suggests, קלות ⟨וכנפיהם⟩ כעין נחושת. In this case our text follows the corrupt text of Ezekiel.

Voice of a multitude. Cf. Isa. 13^{4}, 33^{3}.

10^{7}. *Daniel alone saw the vision:* cf. Acts 9^{7}, where Paul alone saw the vision which led to his conversion. Here the MT reads

מַרְאָה for 'vision' as in 10^{16}, but in $8^{16,27}$, 9^{23}, 10^{1} it uses מַרְאֶה in the same sense, while in 8^{15}, $10^{6,18}$ it means 'appearance'.

Fled to hide themselves. The Hebrew בְּהֶחָבֵא is peculiar here. We should expect לְהֵ֫ as in 1 Kings 22^{25}. The LXX ἐν σπουδῇ and Th. ἐν φόβῳ presuppose בְּבֶהָלָה as in Ps. 78^{33} = 'in terror'.

10^{8}. With the effect of the appearance of the angel on the Seer, cf. 8^{17}.

There was left no strength in me. Cf. 1 Sam. 28^{20}.

My comeliness was turned into corruption. The Hebrew literally = 'my comeliness was turned upon me (עָלַי) into corruption'. The words 'upon me' represent a dative of advantage or disadvantage, and cannot really be translated into English, unless in the way of paraphrase—'to my sorrow'. This idiom has already occurred in 2^{1}, $5^{6,9}$, 7^{28}. In some passages it can be translated as in 2^{1}. This idiom is found frequently. Thus in Gen. 48^{7} (cf. 33^{13}, Eccles. 2^{17}) Jacob says, 'Rachel died upon me', i.e. 'to my loss'.

My comeliness, &c. The Hebrew הודי נהפך עלי למשחית recalls the Aramaic וְיִי יְשַׁחֲנוּן עֲלַי in 7^{28}.

Corruption: i.e. משחית. In Isa. 52^{14} we have the exact parallel to this use of the word מראהו . . . מִמְּשְׁחַת, 'his countenance was so marred'. The distich in which this expression in Isaiah occurs is however rejected as a later interpolation by some of the best modern scholars.

[*I retained no strength.*] I have with Behrmann and Marti excised this clause from the text, as a gloss drawn from 10^{16} (where see note), as repeating in a weaker form what has already been said in this verse.

10^{9}. *I fell into a deep sleep with my face to the ground.* With Th., Pesh., and Vulg. I omit ואני of the MT. The LXX omits the ו. If this expression (ואני) is retained, we should explain the whole clause with Bevan as circumstantial and inserted parenthetically. But 8^{18} is against the MT and against this interpretation of it. The unconsciousness in both cases is a result of the appearance of the angel.

With (literally 'upon') *my face to the ground* (i.e. על־פני ארצה). So the MT save that with the LXX (ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν) and Pesh. I have omitted וּפָנַי after על פני. The clause, when this phrase is omitted, corresponds exactly with that in 8^{18}. Some copies of Th. contain the same reading, though the bulk of them

(= καί τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν) presuppose ופני instead of על פני. The MT is conflate.

10[10]. Some scholars identify the angel in 10[10 seqq.] with the angel in 10[5–6]: others regard them as distinct. It is the same being throughout.

Waked me. So I emend alike on the grounds of the context and the attestation of the LXX and Th. the extraordinary text of the MT: †'Set me tottering upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.'† This I take to be corrupt. The incident here in 10[9–11] corresponds very closely and at times verbally with that recorded in 8[17–18]. In 8[17] the Seer, on seeing the angel, falls on his face to the ground, and while the angel talks to him 8[18], the Seer falls into a deep sleep with his face to the ground (ונרדמתי על־פני ארצה). Thereupon the angel touches him and causes him to stand upon his feet (ויעמידני על עמדי): or possibly '(waked him and) caused him to stand upon his feet'.

So much for 8[17–18]. Here we have evidently (or should have, as becomes evident on a study of the context) a corresponding series of events. In 10[9] the Seer, seeing and hearing an angel, falls into a deep sleep with his face to the ground (הייתי נרדם על פני ארצה). In 10[10] the angel touches him and †sets him tottering (ותניעני) on his knees and the palms of his hands†, and in 10[11] bids him to stand upon his feet (so MT). Now, save in the words that I have bracketed as corrupt, the series of events correspond exactly.

The context is thus against the words in brackets. 'Seeing that the Seer is in a deep sleep with his face to the ground, we should expect the angel to awake him 10[10] before he bids him with his own powers to stand upon his feet, 10[11]. Hence instead of ותניעני we should expect וַיָּעִירֵנִי 'and he waked me' (as in 11[25]). And this is exactly what we find in the LXX and Th., i. e. ἤγειρέ με. Thus here we have three events, i. e. 'touched me', 'waked me' (10[10]), and the command 'stand upon thy feet' (10[11], עמד על עמדך), which the text in 8[18] compresses into two, 'touched me and made me to stand upon my feet' (ויעמידני), though even there it is possible that we should restore 'and waked me' after 'touched me'. In Ezek. 1[28], 2[1] we have a good parallel. On seeing the vision Ezekiel falls on his face. Whilst prone on his face (though not asleep as in our text) the heavenly being said unto him: 'Son of man, stand upon thy feet'. In

our text the Seer is first awaked and then bid to stand upon his feet.

Instead, therefore, of 'set me tottering'—a most grotesque result of supernatural intervention on the part of the angel, I restore the reading 'waked me'. Since this is evidently the original text, it is easy to explain the origin of the addition 'upon my knees and (upon) the palms of my hands'. When once תעירני was corrupted into תניעני, this word called for explanation. Hence על ברכי was a redactional addition or a gloss incorporated from the margin added by one scribe in the margin (LXX *ἐπὶ τ. γονάτων*: Th. *ἐπὶ τὰ γονατά μου*), and כפות ידי by another scribe—possibly in a different copy in the LXX. While Th. only recognizes the former addition, the LXX incorporates both, but without a conjunction *ἐπὶ τ. γονάτων ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν μου*. This is in itself a sign of conflation—the conflation of two glosses! The LXX omits also the first *μου* after *γονάτων*. The third stage in the corruption of the text appears in the MT (Aq. and Sym.), which inserts the copula between the two phrases, but does not repeat the על before כפות. The final stage is reached in the Pesh. and Vulg., which presupposes the על omitted by the MT. Various minor variations in these glosses appear in some of the Greek manuscripts and the Syr^{h}.

10^{11}. *Man greatly beloved.* See note on 9^{23}.

Stand where thou hast stood: i. e stand as thou didst before. On this late Hebrew idiom see note on 8^{17}. Now that the Seer is waked he is bidden to stand upright by virtue of his own powers.

Trembling: i. e. מרעיד—intransitive as in Ezra 10^{9}.

10^{12}. *Set thine heart* (i. e. נתת את לבך)— a late idiom found only in 1 Chron. 22^{19}; 2 Chron. 11^{16}, and five times in Ecclesiastes. In 1^{8} we have a different idiom to express the same meaning, i. e. שום על לב (which is classical Hebrew). Both Hebrew idioms are probably renderings of one and the same Aramaic phrase שום בל, c. inf., which occurs in 6^{15}. In 10^{12} the LXX has *ἔδωκας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διανοηθῆναι* = נָתַתָּ את פניך להבין—the same idiom that occurs in our text in 9^{3}, 10^{15}—solitary occurrences, so far as I am aware, in the OT. Is the MT in 10^{12} an alternative rendering of the Aramaic or a substitution of a later synonymous idiom?

To understand, i. e. what was in store for Israel.

To humble thyself (להתענות)—i. e. by the various forms of mortification accompanying a fast as in Ezra 8^{21}. The cognate noun תענית (Ezra 9^5) may mean 'fasting'—a meaning it bears normally in the Mishna. The usual OT. expression is 'to afflict the soul': Lev. $16^{29,31}$; Ps. 35^{13}, &c.

10^{13}. *Prince of the kingdom of Persia.* The doctrine of angelic patrons of the nations appears definitely in 1 Enoch 20 (which is pre-Maccabean), then in our text: cf. $10^{20,21}$, 11^1, 12^1, and next in 1 Enoch 89^{59} seqq. (where see my note). How the idea arose does not concern us here, as the reader can consult the art. 'Angel' in the Encyc. Bib. and Hastings's *B.D.* It appears in Sir. 17^{17} ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον: Deut. 32^8 (LXX) ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. But whereas Sirach and Jubilees 15^{32} speak of God as the immediate ruler of Israel, contemporary and later authorities designate Michael as the patron of Israel. The destinies of these nations and their angelic patrons were closely interwoven, and no nation was punished before the fitting judgement was meted out to its angelic patron: cf. Isa. 24^{21}; Jubilees 15^{32} (in my edition); Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, p. 170.

Withstood me one and twenty days. This explains why the Seer received no answer for the three weeks during which he prayed and fasted. See 10^2.

Michael. This angel is the patron of Israel. So he is first described in 1 Enoch 20^5 (yet only as yet of the saints of Israel), and towards the close of the second century B. C. in the T. Levi 5^6; T. Dan. 6^2, though in the last two passages a still higher role is assigned to him. See also my note on Rev. 12^7 for the later developments in the conception of Michael's functions, and Luecken, *Michael*, 23–30. See also Bible Dictionaries on this angel. On the phrase עמד לנגד see note on 12^1.

I left him alone there with ⌜*the prince of*⌝ *the kings.* I have followed Meinhold, Behrmann, Marti, and Loehr with the LXX and Th. (αὐτὸν κατέλιπον [κατέλειπον Th.] ἐκεῖ) in emending נוֹתַרְתִּי into הוֹתַרְתִּיו, and restored שַׂר after אֶצֶל with the same authorities. Since αὐτόν precedes the verb in LXX and Th. it may be best to emend ואני נותרתי into ואתו הותרתי. The guardian angel of Israel does not contend with the kings of Persia but with their guardian angel. The MT reads 'I remained there with the kings'. Bevan with some hesitation follows the traditional

text, and, taking ואני נותרתו וגו' 'as a circumstantial clause describing the previous situation of the speaker', renders: 'whereas I had been left alone there (contending) with the kings of Persia.' Driver objects, however, that this verb means not *to leave* simply, but *to leave remaining*: 'so that it is doubtful whether it would here be suitable.' If this objection is valid it would be possible to take הותרתיו as a corruption of הנחתיו. But this seems unnecessary; cf. Gen. 32^{25}; Exod. 10^{15}.

10^{14}. *I am come.* Here the closing words of 10^{12} are repeated: cf. 9^{23}.

To make thee understand. Cf. 8^{16}, 9^{23}.

What shall befall thy people in the latter days. Almost a quotation from Gen. 49^{1}.

Yet a vision for the days: i. e. there is yet another vision relating to the last days. The LXX by reading εἰς ἡμέρας supposes לְיָמִים: i. e. 'the vision is yet for days'—a distant period: cf. 8^{26}.

10^{15}. *Set my face toward the ground* (נחתי פני. See note on 10^{12}). Daniel does not fall prostrate but fixes his eyes on the ground and remains silent.

10^{15}–11^{2a}. *The Seer's conversation with the supernatural being.*

10^{16}. *One like the similitude of the sons of men.* This is the same supernatural being as that mentioned in 10^{5}, where see note. The LXX has here ὡς ὁμοίωσις χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου = כדמות יד אדם. But the MT. is supported by 10^{18}.

Touched my lips (i. e. נגע על שפתי). This phrase is suggested partly by Isa. 6^{7}, where a hot coal touches the prophet's lips with a view to cleansing them, and Jer. 1^{9}, where the Divine hand touches the prophet's mouth and so inspires him to deliver his message. Here the touch of the angel's hand restores to the Seer his power of speech.

My pangs have come suddenly upon me: lit. 'turned upon me', נהפכו צירי עלי. This expression is found in 1 Sam. 4^{19} (נהפכו עליה צִרֶיהָ), though there it is used of the pangs of a woman in childbirth. In Isa. 21^{3} the prophet adopts the phrase metaphorically as the Seer in our text: 'pangs (צירים) have taken hold of me as the pangs of a woman in travail'.

Retain no strength. This idiom עצרתי כח is late, and does not occur elsewhere in the O.T. save in $10^{(8)}$, 11^{6}, and 1 Chron. 29^{14}; 2 Chron. 2^{5}, 13^{20}, 22^{9}.

10[17]. *How:* i. e. הֵיךְ only in 1 Chron. 13[12] elsewhere in the O.T. This form is Palestinian Aramaic: see Targums on Gen. 3[9]; Job 21[34]. The older Aramaic form is אֵיךְ: see *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley) 16[7]; Aḥ. 37; and אֵיךְ וְי Beh. 52—which is also Hebrew: cf. Gen. 44[34]; 2 Sam. 1[5,14], &c.

How can the servant, &c.? The first 'this' (זה) is to be taken with 'servant', where it has a contemptuous meaning as in 1 Sam. 10[27], and the second 'this' with 'lord' with an honorific meaning as in Gen. 5[29] (Behrmann). The sense then is: 'How can so mean a servant of my lord talk with so great a one as my lord?'

For as for me †*straightway*† *there remained no strength,* &c. Since Daniel had already deplored his total lack of strength, he cannot well state that 'from now on' (מֵעַתָּה) he had no strength. If we keep to the MT we should translate: 'from now there remained, &c.[1] Since the LXX reads *ἠσθένησα καί,* Bevan suggests that it found מעדתי in the text and adduces Ps. 18[37], where this rendering is found. To this we may add Ps. 26[1]. If this is right, we may render: 'For I tottered: there remained, &c.' Bevan prefers to take this verb to be a corruption of מִבַּעֲתָה 'from terror', and compares 8[17]. It is just as possible that מעדתי is a dittograph of יעמד which follows. Both the Pesh. and Vulg. omit it. If this was so, then the rendering would be: 'For as for me there remained no strength in me'.

10[18]. *Touched me again.* Cf. 10[10,16].

One like the appearance of a man. Cf. 10[16], 8[15]; Ezek. 1[13,14], &c. It is one and the same angel whom the Seer saw throughout this vision, and apparently this angel is not Gabriel. It was Gabriel who instructed the Seer in 8[16], and likewise Gabriel who gave him further instruction in the vision in 9[21]. See note on 10[5].

10[19]. *Greatly beloved.* Cf. 10[11].

Be strong, and of a good courage: the MT reads חֲזַק וְהֶוֵק = 'be strong, yea be strong'. But the repetition of the imperative with a conjunction is exceptional. When the imperative is repeated the conjunction is omitted: cf. Judges 5[12]; 2 Sam. 16[7]; Isa. 51[9], 52[1,11]. Since six Hebrew manuscripts read חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ and the LXX and Th. read *ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυσαι* (*ἴσχυε* Th.), and the Pesh. and Vulg. support this reading, I have with Bevan and Buhl restored it in place of the MT, and accordingly translate:

'Be strong and of a good courage.' The latter expression is of frequent occurrence: Deut. $31^{7,23}$; Joshua $1^{6,7,9,18}$; 1 Chron. 22^{13}, &c. Marti, on the other hand, points out that in Ps. 90^{17} the conjunction is used as in our text. But the cases are not parallel.

10^{20-21}. The text of this passage is confused, weak, and illogical. It is very weak for the divine messenger to say 'Knowest thou wherefore I am come?' seeing that in 10^{14} he had definitely stated that he had come to make the Seer understand what should befall Israel in the latter days, and that his coming had been due to the Seer's prayers, 10^{12}. The Seer, it is true, had prayed for three weeks without receiving an answer, 10^{2}. The reason for this delay, the messenger tells him, was the opposition of the prince of Persia for one and twenty days, 10^{13}.

This passage, then, should deal with two leading facts: (1) The coming of the messenger to instruct the Seer as to the destinies of Israel. (2) The need of despatching this task with all haste, seeing he had to return to his war with the prince of Persia—a war which he had for the moment forsaken on the Seer's account.

Now by dropping the foolish note of interrogation and by the restoration of the words אניד לך את־הרשום בכתב אמת immediately after ועתה, and the relegation of אבל from the beginning to the close of this clause, we can recover a sane and, I believe, the original order of the text. Thus we have (10^{20a}) 'Then said he, Thou knowest wherefore I am come unto thee. And now (10^{21a}) I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth. Howbeit (I must not linger). (10^{20b}) I am returning to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I have done with this task (lit. "go forth"), lo, the prince of Greece shall come. (10^{21b}) And there is none that holdeth with me against these, but Michael your prince.'

Marti had already recognized that 10^{21b} should follow immediately on 10^{20b}. But his and Behrmann's excision of 11^{2a} as an interpolation and their substitution of 10^{21a} in its place seem to me quite unnecessary and unjustifiable.

10^{20}. The text reads: 'Knowest thou', &c. A rhetorical question (cf. 1 Sam. 2^{27}). But such a rhetorical question here after the definite statements in $10^{12,14}$ is so incredibly weak and

unlike our author that I have omitted the interrogative הֲ, and rendered: 'Thou knowest wherefore,' &c.

10[20a]. *And now* (10[21a]) *I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth.* Here 'inscribed' (רשום) is a loan-word from the Aramaic. The Hebrew would be חקוק. The reference is to the heavenly tablets. These tablets, which are mentioned in 1 Enoch 81[1,2], and which Enoch read, contained an account of coming events. They are constantly mentioned in Jubilees, and their contents relate mostly to other than future events, but according to 5[13], 23[30–32], 30[21–22] future events also are recorded in them. See the notes in my editions of 1 Enoch 47[3]; Jubilees 3[10]; T. Levi 5[4]; T. Ash. 2[10], 7[5]. These tablets according to Jubilees contained (1) Laws, Levitical and criminal; (2) A contemporary heavenly record; (3) Predictions and predestined events.

The writing of truth. כְּתָב is an Aramaism: cf. 5[7,8,15], 6[9,10,11], &c.

Howbeit I am returning to fight: i.e. אבל אשוב להלחם. For this restoration of the order of the text see note above. It is just possible that אשוב is a weak rendering of the Aramaic למתב = 'I must return', or 'I have to return'. This idiom occurs in the Aramaic of Ezra 6[8] and four times in the Aramaic of Daniel. See Introd., § 20. *t.* It is also a Hebrew idiom. With our text compare Rev. 12[7], where τοῦ πολεμῆσαι = 'I must fight'. This unnamed angel declares that he must return to resume the conflict mentioned in 10[13].

When I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come, i.e. 'when I have done with the war against Persia, that with Greece will then begin'. The Hebrew verb יצא appears to be used here in the sense of 'when I am free from' or 'done with' as in 1 Sam. 14[41]; Eccles. 7[18]. So Berthold, Hitzig, Bevan, &c. Other scholars take it in its more usual sense 'when I go forth', i.e. to fight with the angel of Persia: cf. Judges 9[29]; 2 Sam. 11[1]; 2 Kings 9[21]. The parallel verbs express the appearance of the angel of Greece on the scene the moment that the nameless angel has triumphed over Persia. For the use of the participles (יוצא and בא) in this 'idiomatic and forcible construction' cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 169.

10[21b]. *Holdeth with me:* i.e. הִתְחַזֵּק עִמִּי, as in 1 Chron. 11[10]; 2 Chron. 16[9].

11[1]. *And as for me.* The LXX omits אני, but it is attested

by Th. and the Vulg. The Pesh. also retains it, but connects it with the close of 10^{21} כי אם־מ״ שרכם ואני.

In the first year of Darius the Mede. So Pesh. and Vulg. For the last three words the LXX reads Κύρου τοῦ βασιλέως and Th. simply Κύρου. It is hard to determine which is the older reading. But several scholars, such as Robertson Smith, Bevan, Behrmann, Marti, regard the whole phrase as 'the fragment of a heading which was wrongly introduced here by a scribe' after the analogy of 7^1, 8^1, 9^1, 10^1. Next it is urged that the LXX and Pesh. represent the speaker as receiving help and not as giving it—in other words, the latter half of 11^1 may read as 'standeth (emending עמדי into עָמַד) as a strengthener and a defence to me' (לי instead of לו).[1] It is further urged that the date so given is unsuitable in an account of wars in heaven among the angelic princes.

But the date may be original so far as these objections are concerned. They do not appear to be justifiable. The fortunes of any nation on earth were according to the beliefs of the time the immediate reflection of what occurred in heaven. Indeed every event on earth was either inscribed from of old in the way of predestination or contemporaneously (see note on 10^{20a}) on the heavenly tablets. There is thus no objection of any kind to the date on this ground. In the next place the speaker, who is the nameless angel (see note on 10^5), states that in the first year of Darius (or Cyrus) he came forward to support Michael. The implication is that it was through his intervention that Darius (or Cyrus) became friendly henceforth in his relations to Israel.

The evidence of the Jewish books of the 2nd cent. B.C., which enforced strongly the immediate relations between each nation and its patron angel, and which taught that the history of nations was recorded in the heavenly books or else determined in advance, justifies every clause in 11^{1-2}, though a change of a letter may be required in one or two words:

[1] Since the LXX renders εἶπέν μοι where the MT has לו . . †עמדי† Bevan rightly concludes that אמר was a corruption of עמד, but wrongly that the לו is a corruption of לי. For, when once עמד was corrupted into אמר (= εἶπεν), the correction of the MT לו into לי followed inevitably, in order to give sense to the passage. The reading אמר would account also for the omission of אני in the phrase ואני at the beginning of the clause.

SECTION X (*continued*).

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER XI.

This is the most difficult of all the chapters in our author, so far as the text goes. The Hebrew throughout this book is late. But in this chapter it is not only late but bad. In former chapters we have remarked the absence of certain classical idioms and their replacement by those of late Hebrew and Aramaisms. In this chapter we recognize not only the absence of certain classical idioms but the actual misuse of certain others—a misuse which does not occur throughout the rest of the book. Finally the text is very corrupt.

I do not propose to deal with the historical questions involved in this chapter, seeing that they are for my purpose sufficiently dealt with in the notes that follow. My concern is rather with the text and its recovery from a study of the general method of apocalyptic writers and of our author in particular, next from a study of the context of the corrupt passages, and lastly by a critical study of the versions which repeatedly preserve the original text, or at all events an older text, where the MT is itself corrupt or meaningless.

§ 1. *Characteristics of the text of this chapter.*

(*a*) *Bad Hebrew.* Jussives are used as simple futures in $11^{4,10,16,17,18,19,25,28,30}$ in this chapter, and not once throughout the remaining five Hebrew chapters of our author. The apparent example in 8^{12} (see note) is absolutely discredited by the LXX and Th. These facts undoubtedly suggest the hypothesis of a Hebrew translator distinct from the translator or translators of the other five chapters.

(*b*) *Late Hebrew.*

(*a*) $11^{7,20,21,38}$. על כנו = 'in his stead' = class. Hebr. תחתיו. This phrase occurs only in this chapter in our author and not elsewhere in the OT. On many grounds (see notes *in loc.*) it would appear that the original Aramaic read תְּחוֹתֹהִי, which the Hebrew translator rendered by על כנו in $11^{(7),21,38}$, but in 11^{20} by לתחיה (where the LXX has *εἰς ἀνάστασιν*) owing to a corruption of the Aramaic into לתחיותא. Since Th. presupposes על מקומו we may conclude that על כנו was not the original rendering in all

four passages $11^{7,20,21,38}$, but that the text was normalized by the Massoretes.

11^{8}. נְסָכֵיהֶם from נֶסֶךְ 'a molten image' here only in this sense. It properly means 'a libation'. But possibly the word is a mispunctuation for נִסְכֵּיהֶם from נָסַךְ.

11^{15}. עיר מבצרות = 'a fortified city'. But Class. Hebrew uses עיר מבצר to express this idea. Jer. 5^{17} uses the plural masc. once in this expression. But the fem. plural is found here and here only with עיר to express this idea.

11^{43}. בְּמִצְעָדָיו 'in his steps'. Here only literally used: in Ps. 37^{23}; Prov. 20^{24} used figuratively of course of life. In the older Hebrew בְּרַגְלָיו (Judges 4^{10}) is used.

11^{45}. ויטע אהלי. Here only in O.T. in this sense, which uses נטה 'to spread out' instead: cf. Gen. 12^{8}, 26^{25}, 35^{21}; Judges 4^{11}, &c. The nearest use of נטע is in Isa. 51^{16}, where it is used of spreading out the heavens as a tent. But נטע means 'to plant'. Hence Duhm, Cheyne, Marti reject לִנְטֹעַ in Isa. 51^{16}, and rightly as a corruption of לִנְטֹת = 'to spread out the heavens'.

11^{7}. עשה בהם 'to deal with in hostile fashion': cf. Jer. 18^{23}. Contrast the Hebrew translator's phrase עשה עם 1^{13} (cf. 2 Chron. 2^{2}) 'in hostile fashion or otherwise'.

(β) $11^{10,25}$. התגרה = 'to wage war', only in Dan. $11^{10,25}$ used absolutely in this sense. In Class. Hebrew 'to excite oneself against', Deut. $2^{5,19}$.

11^{24}. יבזור = 'shall scatter': only here and in Ps. 68^{3}.

11^{32}. מרשיעי ברית = 'those who deal wickedly against the covenant'. This intransitive use of Hiph'il not earlier than 400 B. C.

(γ) $11^{10,11}$. ובא בוא. This idiom is used contrary to grammatical usage. When the inf. abs. follows the verb it implies repetition or continuance.

(δ) $11^{21,32}$. †בחלקלקות† = 'with flatteries'. On various grounds I regard this form as a *vox nulla* for בחלקות in this sense. See note on 11^{21}.

(*c*) *Aramaisms.*

11^{11}. ונלחם עמו עם מלך—where the repetition of the עם is a pure Aramaism, exactly as in 5^{12}.

11^{12}. וְרִבֹּאת—an Aramaic form of the Hebrew ורבבות.

11^{16}. Here the LXX has τῆς θελήσεως = צבותא, where the Hebrew has הצבי. This passage as do many others show that there were alternative renderings of the original Aramaic.

11^{17}. בתקף—an Aramaic phrase. About ten derivatives from this root are found in the Aramaic chapters: in late Hebrew it occurs as noun, verb, or adjective in Job 14^{20}, 15^{24}; Esther 9^{29}, 10^{2}; Eccles. 4^{12}, 6^{10}.

11^{20}. LXX has εἰς ἀνάστασιν. On the implications involved see under I (*b*) (*a*) above).

11^{24}. עד עת (= ἕως καιροῦ Th.). But the LXX has εἰς μάτην, which = לְשָׁוְא, a manifest corruption of לשעה (cf. $3^{6,15}$, $4^{16,30}$, 5^{5})—a pure Aramaism, but adopted in later Hebrew. The Massoretes or rather earlier revisers of the text replaced this Aramaism by a Class. Hebr. phrase.

11^{43}. מכמנים. This is from an Aramaic root.

§ 2. *Emendation of the text of chap. 11.*

(*a*) *Restoration of the symbols which were used by the author for denoting individuals, nations, countries, but which the Hebrew translator in some passages and the translator of the LXX in many passages replaced by the individuals, nations, and countries so symbolized.*

Thus in 11^{8} where the MT reads 'into Egypt' we should restore the original text 'into the south': in 11^{42} where the MT reads 'land of Egypt' we should restore 'land of the south', and in 11^{43} where the MT reads 'things of Egypt' we should restore 'things of the south'. This use of definite geographical terms is contrary to our author's usage: cf. $11^{5,6,7,8,9,11(bis),13,14,15(bis),25,29,40(bis),44}$. So also in the vision in 8^{9}.

In the LXX this replacement of symbols by the things which they symbolized has been much further developed as in $11^{5,6,9,11,14,15,25(bis),29,40}$. Th. in these passages reproduces the MT save that in 11^{24} he too introduces ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον owing to his having found על מצרים in his manuscript instead of על מבצרים. See note on 11^{8}.

(*b*) *National designations must be excised. If the nations so designated have any part in the vision, they could only appear under certain symbols: in the interpretations the symbols could be interpreted, but not in regard to recent history.* See note on 11^{8}.

In 11^{30} ציים כתים 'ships of Kittim' must be unhesitatingly

rejected in its present form. In any case כתים—a gloss—as a national designation cannot appear in the vision. On the probable original text see note on 11^{30}. כתים was already in the text when the translator of the LXX did his task, but neither he nor Th. found ציים.

On like grounds we must reject 11^{41d}, 'Edom and Moab, and the chief (or "rest") of the children of Ammon'. This interpolation, which was possibly a marginal gloss to begin with, makes nonsense of the entire verse. As they stand, they evidently define the peoples who were to be delivered out of Antiochus' hands. But Edom and Ammon were professed and loyal confederates of Antiochus.

For the same reason the final clause of 11^{43} must be excised as an interpolation. It too may have originated in a marginal gloss. The object of such a gloss was to heighten the contrast between Antiochus with all the east and south at his feet and his wholly unexpected overthrow. But this passage belongs to the province of prediction and not of history.

A comparison of 1 Enoch 83–90 (before 161 B.C.) confirms the above rule. There the nations are symbolized by wolves, wild boars, foxes, and Israel by sheep.

(*c*) *Corruptions of the text.* These can be emended (1) by studying the requirements of their respective contexts, where both the MT and the versions are corrupt: or (2) by the help of LXX or the LXX with the further support of the other versions.

(1) 11^{4}. For כעמרו with Graetz and other scholars read כעצמו as in 8^{8}.

11^{6}. For תנתן read תִּנָּחֵשׁ = 'shall be rooted up'. This reading harmonizes with the metaphor in the preceding clause.

For הַיֹּלְדָהּ (MT) I read with Von Gall, Marti, and others יַלְדָּהּ 'her son'. This is indirectly supported by the Pesh. and Vulg. which presuppose 'her sons'.

11^{18}. See note *in loc.*

$11^{22,26}$. Read הִשָּׁמוֹף with Bevan for הַשָּׁטֶף, and compare 11^{26} where יִשְׁטוֹף is to be emended into יִשְׁטֹף.

11^{39}. עִם should be emended into עַם.

11^{40}. בָּאֲרָצוֹת can hardly be right. See note *in loc.*

11^{41}. For רַבּוֹת = 'many' of the countries, read with De Wette, Bevan, &c., רְבֹבוֹת 'tens of thousands'. The punctuation of the

MT is due to the corrupt reading בארצות in the preceding verse.

(2) (*a*) Emendation of the MT by means of the LXX.

11^{13}. For בוא read בו with many manuscripts and the LXX. Cf. 11^{10}.

11^{17}. Omit לו with LXX.

11^{34}. With the LXX read רבים ⟨בעיר ורבים⟩ אחד בחלקתו. See note *in loc.*

(*b*) By the LXX and Th.

$11^{2,15}$. See notes *in loc.*

(*c*) 11^{26}. By LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg.

11^{17}. Read מישרים instead of וישרים.

(*d*) By LXX, Th., Vulg.

11^{5}. See note *in loc.*

§ 3. *Late revision of the text by the Massoretes or earlier scholars.*

Among such passages I would reckon $11^{18,25-26}$, 11^{30} (ציים), and many others.

11^{1}. *The first year of Darius the Mede.* There appears to be no valid objection to the mention of a date in this connexion; for the events of human history are according to our author but reflections of what is occurring in heaven. We can now return to the question with which this note began, did the original speak of Darius the Mede (MT, Pesh., Vulg.) or of Cyrus (LXX, Th.)? The combination of the LXX and Th., when they are clearly independent of each other, is of equal, if not much greater, weight than the combined evidence of the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. That Aquila and Sym. support the MT is what is to be expected. In this conflict of documentary evidence we must fall back on the context and the chronological views of the time. The vision with its prologue and epilogue in Chapters 10–12 takes place in the third year of the reign of Cyrus (10^{1}). Now, in the view of our author, Cyrus is the successor of Darius on the throne. Hence, since the reference in 11^{1} is obviously to a date anterior to this vision, which is ascribed to the third year of Cyrus, and, since further *in our author's view* the Jews first came into favour in the reign of Darius 6^{25-28}, it was natural to conclude that this change was due to the intervention of the nameless angel, when he 'stood up . . . to strengthen' Michael, the prince of the Jews. On these grounds 'Darius the Mede' is to be regarded as the original reading. But the later reading

'Cyrus the king' (LXX) or 'Cyrus' (Th.) could hardly have failed to suggest itself to scribes well read in the earlier books of the O.T., which connected the return of the Jews to Palestine with Cyrus and none other. The reading 'Cyrus the king' is therefore secondary and 'Darius the Mede' original.

I stood up. For עמדי read עָמַד, of which אמר, which the LXX εἶπεν presupposes, is a corruption. Or read עמדתי (with Th. and Vulg.). If we read עָמַד we should restore אני after the *vav* at the beginning of the verse. See foot-note, p. 267).

To confirm and strengthen him. So also Th. (save that it omits 'him') and Vulg. The LXX implies להתחזק ולהתאמץ = 'to be strong and of a good courage'.

11^{26}–12^{4}. *The revelation given to the Seer.*

11^{2}. *And now I will show thee the truth.* Here the heavenly being partially repeats what he had said in 10^{21a}. But this is in keeping with his previous repetitions of 'unto thee am I now sent' 10^{11}, 'I am come for thy word's sake' 10^{12}, 'now I am come to make thee understand' 10^{14}, 'thou knowest wherefore I am come' 10^{20}.

There shall stand up yet three kings. Who are the four kings? Since Cyrus is still reigning, he is necessarily included in the four. Cyrus (558–529) is, therefore, the first of the four. It is no less clear that the fourth referred to in this verse is Xerxes (485–465), who invaded Greece. But who are the second and third? The second should be Cambyses (529–522), and the third Darius Hystaspes[1] (522–485). But Bevan, Marti, and others are probably right in thinking that the four kings mentioned in Ezra 4^{5-7} are here referred to, but in the order Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Artaxerxes, Xerxes, since these are the only four names of Persian kings that occur in the O.T., and since the O.T. was at all events the principal source of information accessible to the writer. If this is right, the reckoning of Xerxes as the successor of Artaxerxes would be one of the historical errors of the book. The author would thus take account of five kings—the first being Darius, of whom we have already treated, and who is regarded by our author as the pre-

[1] Our author probably distinguished the Darius, whom he makes king after Belshazzar and before Cyrus, as 'Darius the Mede', 5^{31}, 11^{1}, or as 'Darius . . of the seed of the Medes', 9^{1}, from 'Darius the Persian', Neh. 12^{22}, or 'Darius king of Persia', Ezra $4^{5, 24}$. Wright (*Dan. and his Prophecies*, p. 244) finds six Persian kings in the O.T.

decessor of Cyrus; for the visions are given in chronological order: the first and second being in the first and third years respectively of Belshazzar, 7^1, 8^1: the third and fourth being in the first year of Darius and the third year of Cyrus respectively, 9^1, 10^1.

When he is waxed strong: i. e. Xerxes. Cf. Herod. vii. 20–99 on the immense forces which Xerxes raised against Greece.

Shall stir up †all against the realm† of Greece. The expedition which terminated so disastrously for Xerxes at Salamis in 480 B.C.

Shall stir up †all against the realm†. The MT—יעיר הכל את מלכות יון—is here most unusual Hebrew, and is without the support of the versions. The LXX and Th. read ἐπαναστήσεται παντὶ βασιλεῖ (πάσαις βασιλείαις Th.) Ἑλλήνων. Here these two versions diverge from each other—the former implying מלך, the latter מלכיות (so also the Pesh.). Again ἐπαναστήσεται πάσαις βασιλείαις presupposes יָעוֹר על כל מלכיות. The loss of על before כל, or possibly after יעור would explain the Pesh. יעיר כל מלכיות. This latter fact favours the originality of the LXX or Th., or at all events their greater antiquity, which of course cannot be disputed. In the next place since Greece in the age of Xerxes consisted of many independent states, the reading of Th. and the Pesh. 'kingdoms of Greece' is preferable to kingdom or realm of Greece (MT). But, if the text presupposed by Th. is original, it should help to explain the extraordinary Hebrew of the MT. Like the text presupposed by the Pesh. the MT has already lost על. The difficult את could be explained as a dittography of the closing letters of מלכיות, i.e. מלכיות את. which words were then transposed into את מלכיות, and כל read as הכל. If Th. is right, then we should render: 'When he is waxed strong through his riches, he shall rouse himself against all the kingdoms of Greece'.

But if we retain the MT we have to explain אֵת. Driver renders יעיר הכל את 'shall stir up all (in conflict) with', and refers to 11^{25}; Isa. 13^{17}; Jer. 50^9, but in these three passages יעיר is followed by the normal preposition על. Behrmann and Marti simply take את to be the equivalent of על, and quote Jer. 38^5 אין המלך יוכל אתכם דבר in support of their view. But even here אֵת has to be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning 'in dealing with', 'towards', as in Isa. 66^{14}; Ps. 67^2; Deut. 28^8,

or rather with the LXX אחכם has to be emended into אליכם. Does אֵת ever mean 'against' unless after verbs of fighting? Bevan conjectures את[קר]ל יערך 'he shall array (his armies) against the kingdom of Greece', and compares 1 Sam. 4^2.

Hence we conclude that the MT is corrupt, and that the text presupposed by Th. is the best we can get. Here Greece can be mentioned definitely and not under a symbol at this early date.

11^3. Alexander the Great (336–323 B. C.).

Do according to his will. Cf. $11^{16,36}$, 8^4.

11^4. *When he is waxed strong.* I have here with Graetz, Bevan, Marti, Driver, taken the MT כעמדו 'when he shall stand up' to be a corruption of כעצמו, which has already occurred in 88. The point of the writer is that the moment Alexander achieved his greatest success he was cut off.

Toward the four winds of heaven. The same words are used in 8^8 regarding Alexander's empire and its division into four kingdoms.

And shall be divided: i. e. וְתֵחָץ. We should here expect וְתֵחָצֶה. The jussive (Niph'al of חצה) is used here 'without any recollection of its distinctive signification' (Driver, *Tenses*[3], §§ 171, 175, *Obs.*). Other instances of this misuse of the jussive are to be found in this chapter: $11^{10,28}$ וְיָשֹׁב: 11^{16} וְיַעַשׂ: 10^{17} וְיָשֵׂם, instead of וְיָשִׂים: $11^{18,19}$ וְיָשֹׁב: 11^{25} וְיָעַר (where however see note): 11^{30} וְיָבֹן. On p. 218 (foot-note) Driver remarks: 'The Hebrew of the book of Daniel is late; and in other respects also the syntax of chap. 11 is much inferior to that of the usual prophetic style.' Only one other example of the misuse of this idiom occurs in our author: i. e. in 8^{12}, where, however, וְתִשְׁלְךָ is as the LXX and Th. show a mispunctuation for וְתִשְׁלַךְ.

Not to his posterity: i.e. לא לאחריתו. But the LXX reads *οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀλκὴν αυτοῦ* = לא בכחו. Alexander, the posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana his wife, and Herakles, his illegitimate son by his mistress Barsine, were both murdered some thirteen years after the death of Alexander. It is to these facts that the MT refers, if it is original. On the other hand the reading of the LXX = 'not with his power' (i. e. לא בכחו) is supported by the parallel expression which follows 'nor according to his dominion wherewith he ruled'. Furthermore the same phrase 'not with his power' is applied to Alexander's

successors in 8^{22}. But there is no reason to suspect the MT, and I cannot explain the LXX.

For it shall be rooted up. These and the words that follow to the close of the verse I have restored to their original position after 'not to his posterity'. I have also transposed ו that follows מלכותו before it. Thus the text reads ולא לאחריתו כי תנתש ומלכותו לאחרים מלבד אלה ולא כמשלו אשר משל instead of the confused order of the traditional text. But there are other grounds than the sense of the context which call for this restoration. נתש is used of the plucking up of individuals and nations, Jer. $12^{14, 15, 17}$; 1 Kings 14^{15}; Deut. 29^{27}, where the object is expressed, but not of the plucking up of an empire, unless where the object is understood. It is once used of the plucking up of a city, Ps. 9^{7}. Hence it seems right to connect the verb here with the posterity of Alexander. After dealing with the fate of Alexander's posterity, the writer next tells of the destiny of his empire and its diminished glories: 'his kingdom shall be for others besides these, but not according to the dominion with which he ruled.' This restored order of the text corresponds exactly with the order of events in 8^{22}, where the same subject is dealt with.

His kingdom shall be, &c. We must here understand היא or תהיה, as Bevan suggests, referring to $8^{19, 26}$; Ps. 16^{8}.

For others besides these. The 'these', i. e. Alexander's generals, have been already implied in connexion with the previous clause 'his kingdom . . . shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven'. The 'others' are 'the dynasties which arose in Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt during the century and a half that followed upon the death of Alexander' (Bevan). Hitzig and Marti interpret the 'these' as referring to Alexander's posterity, and the others to be Alexander's generals. Hence they take מלבד to mean 'to the exclusion of', though it means elsewhere in the O.T. 'in addition to'. But could it mean 'apart from these', and be a rendering of the (Targum) Aramaic בַּר מִן, and so = 'irrespective of these', i. e. Alexander's children?

$11^{5–12}$. The Ptolemies and the Seleucidae before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. These two dynasties contended for the possession of Palestine, which was dominated mainly by the

former during the third century B. C. In 198 B. C. it passed under the control of the Ptolemies at the battle of Panion.

11^5. *King of the South:* i. e. the king of Egypt, Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, one of Alexander's ablest generals, who secured Egypt on the partition of Alexander's empire and ruled it as satrap from 322 to 306 B. C., when he assumed the royal title. He reigned as king from 306 to 285 B. C.

The South. In the O.T. the Negeb (נגב) generally means the southern part of Judah (Gen. 12^9, 13^1). But in this chapter ($11^{5,6,9,11,14,15,25,29,40}$) and in 8^9 it denotes Egypt as opposed to Syria, with its capital Antioch, which is denoted by 'the north'. In $11^{8,42,43}$ the Hebrew translator or a subsequent scribe has interpreted this word by 'Egypt'.

But one of his princes shall be stronger than he. So I render with the LXX and Th. and Vulg., and for ויחזק read יחזק. There is here no *vav* apodosis as in 10^4, where the LXX and Th. attest it. The *vav* is a dittograph. The Massoretic accentuation is here wrong: it requires us to render: 'And the king of the south shall be strong and one of his princes; and he shall be stronger'. For על after חזק in the above sense cf. 1 Chron. 21^4.

One of his princes: i. e. מן שריו. Cf. 11^7; Gen. 28^{11}; Exod. 6^{25}; Jer. 41^1; Ruth 2^{20}; Neh. 13^{28}. This prince or captain is Seleucus Nicator, who was one of Alexander's companions and of Ptolemy, and at the convention of Triparadisus, 321 B. C., was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylon. When required to give an account of his administration in 316 by Antigonus (who in 323 had been placed over Phrygia and two adjoining provinces), he fled for refuge to Egypt, where Ptolemy made him a general and four years later helped him to win the battle of Gaza in 312. With this year, when he recovered also the satrapy of Babylon, begins the era of the Seleucidae (Oct. 1), by which the Jews in later times reckoned their historical events: cf. 1 Macc. 1^{10}; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7.

His dominion shall be a great dominion. By his crowning victory over Antigonus at Ipsus (301 B. C.) Seleucus received vast accessions of territory stretching from Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Syria on the W. almost as far as the Indus on the E. His empire, with Antioch founded as its capital in 300 B. C., thus became the most powerful of those which had been formed out

out of the dominions of Alexander. He was the true heir of Alexander.

But in the redistribution of the provinces, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, were long under the domination, now of this, now of that successor of Alexander. 'At Triparadisus, in 321, Syria was assigned to Laomedon; but Ptolemy got possession of it in 320, only to lose it again in 315 to Antigonus, to recover at least the S. part of it after the battle of Gaza in 312, and to relinquish it a second time to Antigonus in 311. After the battle of Ipsus in 301, Ptolemy, as a matter of fact, obtained Coele-Syria and Phoenicia; but his right to these provinces became a subject of protracted dispute between the later Ptolemies and Seleucidae. On the one hand, it was alleged that after the victory it had been distinctly agreed that Seleucus should have "the whole of Syria"; on the other, it was claimed that Ptolemy Lagi had only joined the coalition against Antigonus on the understanding that he should receive Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (*Polyb.* v. 67; cf. also the quotation from Diodorus in Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 66). Upon the whole, during the period in question, Palestine remained, with short interruptions, in the hands of the Ptolemies till the battle of Paneion in 198, after which it was retained permanently by the kings of Syria' (Driver).

11[6]. Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, 285–247 B. C., and Antiochus II, Theos, 261–246 B. C. Antiochus I, Soter, 280–261 B. C., the son and successor of Seleucus I, is here left out of account.

About the year 249 B. C. Ptolemy II gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus II on the condition that he should put away his wife Laodice and deprive his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, of the right of succession. On the death of Ptolemy two years later Antiochus II divorced Berenice, and took back Laodice. The latter, distrusting the constancy of Antiochus, poisoned him and procured the murder of Berenice, her child, and attendants.

At the end of some years, i. e. thirty-two years after the death of Seleucus I Nicator to the event described. For the phrase לקץ שנים cf. 2 Chron. 18[2].

To make an agreement. For מישרים = 'equity' (LXX and Th. συνθήκας) cf. Ps. 98[9]; 1 Chron. 29[17], 'Thou hast pleasure in

equity' (מ" תרצה). Hence here it means an equitable arrangement, cf. 1 Macc. 7^{12} for the use of *δίκαια*.

But she shall not retain the strength of her arm. This would mean that Berenice would not ultimately prevail against Laodice. Graetz and Bevan, observing that in the phrase עצר כח the word כח is always in the absolute state, and that זרוע is employed metaphorically in $11^{15,22,31}$ and comparing 2 Chron. 13^{20}, would render 'but this support shall not retain strength'.

Neither shall he stand nor his arm. Here Th., Sym., and Vulg. read וְזַרְעוֹ instead of וּזְרֹעוֹ. This gives excellent sense 'neither shall his seed stand': i. e. endure. The reference then would be to the children of Antiochus by Berenice.

She shall be rooted up. The MT reads here תנתן, and many scholars assign to it the meaning of 'shall be given up to death'. But the word without למות, as in Ezek. 31^{14}, cannot bear this meaning.

Hence I have (with the indirect help of the LXX—see below) emended תנתן into תנתש 'she shall be plucked up'—a verb which has already occurred in 11^{4}. This harmonizes well with the metaphor in the preceding clause. The same metaphor is used in the verse that follows, 11^{7}. But this is not all. The LXX has here *ναρκήσει* = תנשת, which is an easy corruption of תנתש—the original text. The converse corruption is found in Jer. 18^{14}, where for the MT ינתשו we must with Cornill, Giesebrecht, &c., read ינשתו: cf. Isa. 19^{5}. Again in Gen. 32^{33}, where the MT has גיד הנשה (= 'the sinew of the thigh vein'), the LXX has *τὸ νεῦρον ὃ ἐνάρκησε*, which presupposes הגיד הַנָּשֶׁת.

They that brought her: i. e. her suite.

Her son. Here I follow Von Gall, Marti, and others in reading יְלָדָהּ instead of the extraordinary הַיֹּלְדָהּ of the MT, 'he that begat her'. There are a few sporadic examples of this abnormal combination of the article with the participle when the participle has a suffix. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116*f*. Some of these abnormalities have been removed by modern scholars. The LXX unfortunately omits the word. Hence we must fall back on the other versions. The Pesh. and Vulg. indirectly support the above emendation, since they presuppose יְלָדֶיהָ 'her sons'. Furthermore, Berenice's father, Ptolemy II, died an old man, possibly of shock at Berenice's fate in Egypt about

this time, and was succeeded by Ptolemy III. See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 183. Thus on every ground the text of the MT is impossible. On the mysterious disappearance or death of Berenice's son owing to the plots of Laodice see Bevan, i. 181–183.

He that obtained her: i. e. Antiochus II her husband: cf. 11^{21} for this use of the verb. If we render it 'he that supported her' then we must interpret the phrase of Ptolemy III Euergetes.

11^{7-9}. *Ptolemy III (Euergetes I), 247–222 B.C., and Seleucus II, Callinicus, 246–226 B.C.* Ptolemy III, with a view to his avenging of the murder of his sister Berenice, invaded the northern kingdom, seized Seleucia, the port of Antioch, overran the greater part of Syria and Babylonia, and returned to Egypt with an immense booty. But his return to Egypt was due to an insurrection there. See Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 189 sq. Two years later Seleucus II invaded Egypt, but sustained an overwhelming defeat and returned with only a handful of his troops (240 B.C.).

11^{7}. The text of this verse is uncertain as the earliest versions show.

A shoot from her roots. Since the LXX reads *φυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ*, Bevan, Behrmann, and Marti (comparing Isa. 11^{1}) read 'a shoot from her roots', i. e. נֵצֶר מִשָּׁרָשֶׁיהָ instead of מִנֵּצֶר שָׁרָשֶׁיהָ = 'out of a shoot from her roots'. But the MT could bear the same meaning as the LXX (cf. 11^{5}).

A shoot: i. e. Ptolemy III, brother of Berenice.

In his place: i. e. כנו. Ptolemy Philadelphus is referred to by the suffix. Bevan and other scholars hold that כנו is here used adverbially with the same meaning as על־כנו $11^{20,21,38}$. But it does not appear that the translator of the LXX had this word before him. He renders *καθ' ἑαυτόν* = בָּמוֹהוּ, while Th. has *ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτοιμασίας αὐτοῦ* = על מכונו (as in Ezra 2^{68}, Ps. 88(89)^{14}, and the Pesh. = על־כנו. Now the translator of the LXX knew how to translate על כנו, since he renders it *ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ* in $11^{21,38}$, as also does Th. (*ἐπὶ τόπου αὐτοῦ* in 11^{38}).[1] If the LXX is right, we should render: 'And one of the shoots of her roots shall arise like unto him', i. e. Ptolemy III, brother of Berenice was to be like her father, Ptolemy II. On the remarkable rendering

[1] But Th. has *ἐπὶ* [11^{7} om.] *τῆς* (*τὴν*) *ἑτοιμασίας* (*-αν*), in $11^{7, 20-21}$. This points apparently to על מכונו in these passages and gives rise to the idea that the Massoretes have normalized the Hebrew considerably.

εἰς ἀνάστασιν of the LXX in 11^{20}, where the MT has על בנו, see note *in loc.*

March against the (*Syrian*) *army:* not 'march unto the army', i. e. his own army to place himself at its head. If there was any thought of the latter it would be naturally expressed with his army (בהחיל), as in 11^{13}. Ptolemy marches against the Syrian forces and the Syrian fortress. But Bevan, followed by Kamphausen, prefers וְיָבֹא אֱלֹהֵ[ם] חֵיל 'and he shall bring an army against them' (i. e. the Syrians).

The fortress: i. e. Seleucia on the coast of the Mediterranean, which remained long in the possession of the Ptolemies.

Deal with them: i. e. עשה בהם. In Jer. 18^{23}; Neh. 9^{24} (לעשות בהם ברצונם) the same phrase is employed with the same hostile significance. In 1^{13} of our text the verb is followed by עִם, where the treatment is to be hostile or otherwise according to the issues involved.

And shall prevail: i. e. והחזיק. Here only in O.T. used absolutely in this sense.

11^{8}. According to Jerome (following Porphyry) Ptolemy brought back to Egypt the statues of Egyptian gods carried off by Cambyses 280 years before. On this ground his subjects conferred on him the title Euergetes. In all he brought back 2,500 precious vessels including the images of the gods, and 40,000 talents of silver. For this and other services the title of Benefactors was conferred on the king and queen. This statement is confirmed by the Decree of Canopus (238 B. C.) in which Ptolemy and his consort are described as 'Benefactor Gods': see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 205, 230. In this Decree, l. 7, the king and queen are designated as Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται.

Molten images. Here only does נְסִיךְ mean a molten image, unless נְסִכֵיהֶם is simply a mispunctuation for נִסְכֵּיהֶם from נֶסֶךְ, 'a molten image', Isa. 41^{29}, 48^{5}, &c.

Their goodly vessels: i. e. כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּתָם—the same phrase as in 2 Chron. 32^{27}, 36^{10}; Hos. 13^{15}.

Of silver and gold. Better with Bevan render 'in silver and gold'—not in apposition, since this would require the articles, but used as 'a term of specification'.

The ***south.*** The MT מצרים reads 'Egypt'. This is not a translation of the original but an interpretation. On a variety of grounds I have restored in its stead the phrase 'the south'.

In the apocalyptic visions of Daniel as in that of the contemporary writer of 1 Enoch 86–90 proper names whether of individuals, nations, countries, or empires are, as a rule, not mentioned. This rule holds rigidly in 1 Enoch 86–90, and also in the visions of Daniel, and even in the interpretations of these visions given by Gabriel or some other angel *especially when the interpretation is dealing with recent events.*

The vision in 7^{1-14} is interpreted by an angel, but the symbolic terms used in the vision are reproduced in the interpretation 7^{17-28}. The vision described in 8^{2-14} is interpreted by Gabriel in 8^{20-26}. When the symbols refer to ancient events Gabriel explains the symbols: thus the ram with the two horns is said to be kings of Media and Persia, 8^{20}, and the he-goat to be a king of Greece. *But when the vision deals with recent or contemporary events, the interpreter refrains from giving any definite information as to name or country; for it was quite needless.* Though 8^{23-26} is highly symbolical, every Jew in Palestine knew the person to whom these verses referred. Again in 9^{22-27}, when Gabriel is solving Daniel's difficulties as to the seventy weeks of which Jeremiah prophesied, the strictest reticence is observed as regards the name and nationality of Antiochus, who is, as in former visions, the subject of these disclosures. And yet his ambitions and aims were a question of life and death for the Jews.

Naturally the use of symbols varies somewhat in the different visions. In 7^{4-7} the four empires are symbolized by animals—a lion, a bear, a leopard, and a monstrous beast: the ten kings by ten horns 7^{7}: Alexander the Great by 'a notable horn', 8^{5}, and in 8^{21} by 'the great horn': Antiochus Epiphanes by 'a little horn' 8^{9}.

Similarly in 1 Enoch 89^{55} the Assyrians and Babylonians are symbolized by lions and tigers, in $89^{15,55}$ the Egyptians by wolves, but in $90^{2,11,13}$ by vultures and kites, in $90^{8,9,12}$ the Syrians by wolves, while in $90^{2,4,13,16}$ the Macedonians are symbolized by eagles.

Passing on now to the disclosures in 11^{2-45} we observe that the same, if not greater, reticence is practised in regard to recent history. The kings of Persia are mentioned and the expedition of Xerxes against Greece in 480 B.C., 11^{2}. Now, though there is a survey of oriental history from this date to that of Antiochus

Epiphanes, there is not a single name mentioned, nor, when we recover the original text, even a single country. Alexander the Great is described simply as 'a mighty king' 11^{3}, and the Seleucid kings as kings of 'the north', while the Ptolemies are described as the kings of 'the south'. Wherever anything more definite appears, we can without hesitation brand it as an *interpretation* or else as an intrusion into the text. 'The south' $11^{8,29}$, 'the land of the south' 11^{42}, is of course Egypt: 'the king of the south' $11^{5,6,9,11,14\lceil15\rceil,25(bis),40}$ is one of the Ptolemies: 'the king of the north' $11^{6,7,8,11,13,15,40}$ one of the Seleucidae.

Having now observed this practice of the period in regard to visions, and the interpretations of them in our author, let us now turn to breaches of this practice in this chapter. Here the interpreter is at work. As a rule, it is the Greek translator who has interpreted 'the south' by 'Egypt', but even the Hebrew translator had already intervened in the present verse and rendered הנגב by מצרים. It is no doubt he also that in 11^{42} renders the Aramaic ערע דרומא before him by ארץ מצרים 'land of Egypt', instead of by ארץ הנגב 'land of the south', and דרומא in 11^{43} by מצרים. Again in the closing words of 11^{41} the use of the proper names 'Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon' is wholly against this convention of our author and of his time.[1] He would have used symbolic terms if he referred to these nations. Besides the clause is very meaningless in itself. Another similar interpolation occurs in 11^{43}. See notes *in loc.*

The practice thus begun by the Hebrew translator in $11^{8,42,43}$ was developed on an extensive scale by the LXX. Thus in addition to the three above interpretations which appear in the Hebrew Version, the translator of the LXX renders הנגב by Αἴγυπτος in $11^{5,6,9,11,14,15,29,40}$. If we turn from the LXX to Th., we find that he reproduces the present Massoretic text, save that in 11^{24} he evidently found על מצרים instead of על מבצרים, which he rendered by ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

Refrain some years from: יעמד ממלך, i. e. from attacking the king of the north. Cf. Gen. 29^{35}; 2 Kings 4^{6}. Others render

[1] In Test. Joseph 19, 2 Bar. 53 there is a similar use of symbols and constantly in 4 Ezra, as well as in other Apocalypses—not to speak of The Apocalypse.

'continue alive longer than', and others 'continue stronger than'. The last rendering is that of Th. *στήσεται ὑπὲρ βασιλέα.*

11[9]. When Seleucus Callinicus re-established his power in Asia (242 B. C.) he invaded Egypt, but was forced to retire with only a remnant of his forces.

11[10–19]. The next ten verses deal mainly with the times of Antiochus III, the Great. Seleucus Callinicus left two sons, Seleucus III Ceraunos and Antiochus. The former after a reign of two years (226–223 B. C.) was murdered during a campaign in Asia Minor. He was succeeded by Antiochus III the Great, 223–187 B. C. Soon after his accession Antiochus attacked Palestine, which was then subject to Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, and in the course of two campaigns conquered the greater part of it. But in 217 B. C. Ptolemy met Antiochus at Raphia and defeated him with great loss. Palestine was thereupon reannexed to the empire of the Ptolemies.

11[10]. *His son.* So the *Kt.* ובנו, i. e. Antiochus. The LXX, as the *Kt.*, reads *ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ* (though it reads *καὶ* before the verb that follows), and uses the singular throughout the verse, and herein I have followed its guidance. So Von Gall, Marti, and others. Does the *καί ... καί* = 'both ... and'. This is in keeping with the usage in 10[11,12,13 sqq.], where the king is the subject, and not the army. Since the *Kt.* reads the plural יתנרו towards the end of the verse, the plural is explained by treating המון חילים, i. e. the army, as singular or plural as the uncertain MT text requires. This is very unsatisfactory. The Pesh. throughout uses the plural, whereas the MT, Th., and the Vulg. use sometimes the singular and sometimes the plural.

If we accept the *Qr.* ובניו, then we must regard the campaign of Seleucus in Asia Minor as the first part of an organized attack of Syria on Egypt. Seleucus himself never invaded Egypt.

Shall war and shall assemble: i. e. יִתְגָּרֶה ואסף. So the LXX, whereas the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. read יִתְגָּרוּ ואספו. In this sense התגרה is used absolutely only in this chapter of Daniel. Cf. 11[25].

And he shall come on. Antiochus attacks Egypt. Seleucus is already dead, having been assassinated by one of his officers during his campaign in Asia Minor. The text could also be taken of the great multitude just mentioned 'it shall come,' &c.,

but the context, as I have pointed out in the first note on this verse, is in favour of a single leader, i. e. Antiochus being the subject. For ובא בוא thirteen manuscripts, and Pesh. read ובא בו. So also the LXX though it erroneously reads *κατ' αὐτήν* for *κατ' αὐτόν*. The same phrase recurs in 11[13], where many manuscripts and the LXX again read בו for בוא. When the inf. absolute follows the verb it elsewhere implies continuance or repetition: cf. Num. 23[11], 24[10]. Hence בוֹ may be right here. In that case we should render: 'he (Antiochus) will attack him' (the king of Egypt).

Overwhelm and pass over: i. e. שטף ועבר, borrowed from Isa. 8[8]. Antiochus's first invasion of Egypt was in 219 B. C.

And he shall again carry the war even to his fortress. Here with the LXX, Th., and the *Qr.* I read יְתִגְּרֶה, where the *Kt.* has יתגרו, and take ישב in the sense of 'again'. There is a reference to Antiochus returning to complete the conquest, after having wintered in Ptolemais and left garrisons in Phoenicia and Coele-Syria (Polyb. v. 66). Some scholars take the subject of the last five verbs of this verse to be the army, which, accordingly as it is treated as a singular or plural, takes a singular or plural verb.

His fortress. Antiochus after rest in winter quarters marches his forces to the south. The fortress is taken by Driver to be Gaza, the strongest Palestinian fortress in the south. In favour of this view Driver recognizes a play on the name of Gaza, i. e. עזה, in the Hebrew word used here for fortress, i. e. מעוז. But this word is used in this chapter of different fortresses: cf. 11[1,10,19, 31,38]. Besides the verb יתגרה presupposes that the fortress in question is the objective of Antiochus's attack. But as Gaza belonged to Antiochus, we must take the fortress to be Raphia, which was Ptolemy's.

11[11]. *King of the south.* Ptolemy Philopator.

Shall be moved with choler (cf. 8[7], where the same verb is used of Ptolemy) *and go forth and fight with him* to resist the advancing forces of Antiochus. But according to Polybius (v. 68–69) a large Egyptian army led by Nicolaus was the first to take the field and march through Palestine, where between Lebanon and the sea it was completely defeated by Antiochus.

Fight with this same king of the north: i. e. נלחם עמו עם מלך הצפון. This is a pure Aramaism—in fact the customary idiom where

the following word is expressly emphasized. See 5^{12}; also Kautzsch, *Gr. d. Bibl. Aram.*, § 81 *e* and § 88. It is true that in Joshua 1^{2} we have להם לבני ישראל: cf. Num. 32^{33}; Judges 21^{7}, &c. (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 131 *n.*). But most of these examples from the standpoint of Hebrew are textually doubtful. There are of course in the later books several such Aramaisms.

He shall raise a great multitude, &c. The subject of the verb here is Antiochus. Hitzig takes the subject to be Ptolemy.

But the multitude shall be given into his hand. Here clearly the same force is mentioned as in the preceding clause, since ההמון must refer to המון רב. This army is that of Antiochus which was defeated by Ptolemy. On the expression נתן בידו, cf. 1 Kings 20^{28}.

Another interpretation is given to the above clauses: 'And he (Ptolemy) shall raise a great multitude and the multitude shall be placed under his (Ptolemy's) command.' In support of this meaning of נתן ביד Gen. 39^{4}, 2 Sam. 10^{10} are adduced. But the sense is very unsatisfactory.

11^{12}. *The multitude shall be swept away.* Here as in the preceding verse the המון is the army of Antiochus. For the use of the verb נִשָּׂא cf. Isa. 40^{24}, 41^{16}; Job 32^{22}; also 2^{35} in our text. Hitzig, as in the preceding verse, interprets this verse of Ptolemy: 'the multitude shall stand up (to fight), its (or Ptolemy's) heart being uplifted.' Here נִשָּׂא is used in the same sense as in Isa. 33^{10}, and the clause ירום לבבו is circumstantial.

And his heart shall be uplifted: i. e. Ptolemy's. ירום לבבו can be taken as a circumstantial clause, but it is best to read וְרָם with the *Qr.*, LXX, Th., and Vulg. On the Hebrew phrase, cf. Deut. 8^{14}, 17^{20}: also 5^{20} (Aram.) in our text.

Shall cast down: i. e. at Raphia, where, according to Polybius (v. 86), Antiochus was defeated by Ptolemy with the loss of almost 10,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and more than 4,000 prisoners.

Tens of thousands. רבאות is an Aramaic form instead of the classical Hebrew רבבות. Contrast the Hebraism proposed by the *Qr.* in the Aramaic in 7^{10}.

Shall not prevail. After his victory at Raphia, Ptolemy IV Philopator recovered Coele-Syria (Polyb. v. 86), but failed to follow up his success. Owing to his effeminate and dissolute

character he had not the energy to complete the overthrow of Antiochus. See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 318–320.

11[13–16]. Twelve years after the battle of Raphia, i. e. in 205 B. C., referred to in the preceding verses, Ptolemy IV Philopator died, leaving only one son, aged five years, who succeeded his father as Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, 205–181 B. C. Antiochus seized on this opportunity of attacking Egypt, and formed a league with Philip of Macedon for this purpose (Polyb. xv. 20). After varying fortunes Scopas (see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 36–37), the general of Ptolemy, recovered possession of Judaea in 200 B. C., but two years later was utterly crushed at Panion (Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 33) i. e. Paneas, now named Banias, the Caesarea Philippi of the Gospels), and forced to take refuge in Sidon, where he was besieged and forced to surrender, but dismissed unhurt.[1] Antiochus invaded Phoenicia and Syria and captured Gaza (Polyb. xvi. 18, 40). On this battle of Panion, Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 37) rightly observes: 'The battle is the landmark denoting the final and definite substitution of Seleucid for Ptolemaic rule in Palestine'.

11[13]. *And again . . . shall raise.* Here ושב . . והעמיד is to be so rendered, as Bevan and Driver do, and not 'and . . . shall return and shall raise'. Antiochus does not return to the south and raise a huge army, but again he raises an army in order to take advantage of the weakness of Egypt.

Shall attack him. Here with many manuscripts and the LXX I read יבוא בו instead of the MT יבוא בוא. Cf. 11[10]. The MT = 'shall come on repeatedly'.

At the end of years. לקץ [העתים] שנים. The עתים is omitted as an intrusion from the next clause. The number of years was, as we otherwise know, twelve. The close of these is definitely referred to in 11[14].

Great army. I have here followed the LXX in reading רב instead of גדול. See note on 11[25].

Substance. Apparently רְכוּשׁ 'camp-baggage' as in Gen. 14[11,12]; 2 Chron. 21[14], &c.

11[14]. *There shall many stand up,* &c. These words refer to

[1] Antiochus besieged Scopas in Sidon, where he had taken refuge with 10,000 men; Cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone . . . donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit et nudus cum sociis dimissus est. Jerome, *Comm. on Dan.* 11[15].

Antiochus, Philip of Macedon, and the many insurgents in Egypt itself owing to the oppressive measures of Agathocles, the chief minister of Ptolemy Philopator, whom Polybius designates ὁ ψευδεπίτροπος Πτολεμαίου (xv. 25). He was ultimately put to death by some soldiers, and thereby rescued from the far worse fate which befel his family (xv. 33).

The children of the violent among thy people. These constituted a faction amongst the Jews, i. e. Tobias and his followers. To Schlatter (*ZATW.*, 1894, 143–151) this identification is due as Marti points out. Ptolemy alienated the affections of the Jews by supporting Joseph, the head of the Tobiadae, by a garrison in Jerusalem. This family got hold of the high-priesthood and robbed the nation by their endless exactions and taxes. Without intending it they contributed by their conduct 'to establish the vision', i. e. to bring about the end foretold, while the result for themselves was no less unintentional, i. e. their own destruction. Bevan regards בני פריצים as impossible Hebrew, but this faction (בני הפריצים) was a corporate body, a troop of robbers, and Marti compares with this expression בני הנביאים. פריץ denotes a robber: hence in Jer. 7^{11} 'den of robbers' מערת פריצים.

11^{15}. *Earthworks* (lit. 'a mound').

A well fenced city. This is Sidon, where Scopas with 10,000 men, after his defeat by Antiochus at Paneas (Jerome, *Comm. on Dan.*, 11^{15}: Polyb. xvi. 18; xxviii. 1), had taken refuge, and which Antiochus captured (198 B. C.). עיר מבצרות is late Hebrew: it is unique in the O.T. The proper Hebrew is עיר מבצר: cf. 1 Sam. 6^{18}; 2 Kings 3^{19}, 10^{2}; Jer. 1^{18}, &c. Only once, i. e. in Jer. 5^{17}, does the plural of מבצר follow עיר or ערי (the construct), and then it is the masculine plural and not the feminine as in our text here. The translator uses the plural masc. in $11^{24,39}$, but not in the phrase we are dealing with.

11^{15a-16}. *Complete overthrow of the Egyptian suzerainty over Syria.*

The forces (cf. $11^{22,31}$) *of the* ⌜*king of the*⌝ *south shall make a stand, even the élite of his troops, but the strength to make a stand shall be lacking.* The one assured conclusion to be drawn from a study of the MT and the LXX, Th., and Vulg. is that not one of them represents the original. The MT = 'the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand'. From a comparative

study of the MT and Versions it is possible to secure a more ancient and authentic text. First of all we should restore מלך הנגב with Th. (*τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ νότου*) and the LXX (*βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου*). Next with the LXX, Th., and Pesh. (which is conflate) we should omit the negative לא before יעמדו. Only the Vulg. herein supports the MT. This negative, therefore, appears to be a late intrusion. Omitting then this לא, what are we to make of what remains? The last three words אין כח לעמד of the MT may be taken as free from corruption (though possibly defective), seeing that the LXX, Th., and Pesh. reproduce them, and also the Vulg., though defectively. The LXX adds לו after כח, and the Pesh. להם.

There remain therefore only the words וְעַם מִבְחָרָיו. Here the LXX (*μετὰ τῶν δυναστῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ*) read עִם בַּחוּרָיו: Th. (*καὶ οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ αὐτοῦ καί*) read ובחוריו. The Vulg. agrees with Th. save that it omits the second *καί*. The Pesh. is conflate and corrupt but has a phrase = מבחר העם. Thus Th. and the Vulg. omit עם. But since this word appears in the LXX and MT, as a preposition in the one case and a noun in the other, and since it has thus the ancient testimony of the LXX, we may reasonably conclude that it was omitted by the late versions. The text thus appears to have been וְעַם מִבְחָרָיו, or regarding the מ as a dittograph we may read וְעַם בַּחוּרָיו. So practically Th., Pesh., and Vulg. In favour of the latter form is the fact that מבחר is not found elsewhere in the plural in the O.T. It is also possible that the LXX may be right: 'the arms of the king of the south (Αἰγύπτου is an interpretation of הנגב, i.e. *τοῦ νότου*) shall withstand with his strongest troops, but he shall have no strength to withstand him'. Marti makes a good emendation. He omits the מ and the ו before אין as dittographs, and thus reads עם בחוריו אין 'but his best troops shall have no strength to withstand'. The text I arrive at omits לא with the LXX and Th. and takes the ו before עַם as explicative, and gives a good sense with a minimum of change.

11[16]. *But he* (Antiochus) *that cometh against him* (Ptolemy).

None shall stand before him: אין עומד לפניו, i.e. 'be able to withstand him'. See note on 1[5] on the different meanings of this phrase in our author.

The glorious land: i.e. אֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי, Palestine. See note on 8[9].

The LXX renders הצבי by *τῆς θελήσεως* here (Syr^{h}) and in 11^{45}, thus deriving it from the sense of the root in Aram. Cf. צבותא.

And in his hand shall be annihilation. Cf. 9^{27} for כלה. Both the LXX and Th. (*τελεσθήσεται*) take בָּלָה as a verb = 'shall be destroyed', but there is a dittography in the LXX—*τελεσθήσεται πάντα* = וכלה כל. The destruction is directed against the Jews or the Egyptian garrisons in Palestine. If for בָּלָה we read בְּלָהּ the above clause would run: 'with all of it in his hand (Bertholdt)'.

11^{17}. *Set his face:* i.e. וְיָשֵׂם פניו 'make it his aim': cf. Gen. 31^{21}; 2 Kings 12^{18}; Jer. 42^{15,17}.

To come with the strength, &c. Antiochus will march with his entire forces against Ptolemy. Antiochus in 197 B.C. mustered his fleet and all his forces to attack the cities on the coast of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, which were in Ptolemy's possession. Driver (*in loc.*) quotes Livy, xxxiii. 19: 'omnibus regni viribus connixus, cum ingentes copias terrestres maritimasque comparasset.' He did not persist in this attack, but made a treaty instead with Ptolemy.

But shall (instead) make an agreement with him. The MT, which reads וְיִשָּׁרִים עִמּוֹ וְעָשָׂה 'and the upright ones with him; and he shall do', is undoubtedly corrupt. We should with the LXX (*καὶ συνθήκας μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεται*), Th. (*καὶ εὐθεῖα πάντα μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσει*), Vulg. read ומישרים עמו יעשה. For מישרים in the sense of 'agreement' or 'equitable conditions', cf. 11^{6}. It is possible that ישרים is the plural of יֹשֶׁר 'uprightness'.

With power: בתקף—an Aramaism: cf. 2^{37}, 4^{27}, &c.

Shall give him the daughter of women. בת הנשים is peculiar, if it is genuine. Can it mean 'the woman' *par excellence,* just as בר אנשא 'the man'? When Antiochus abandoned his designs on Egypt owing to the intervention of Rome, he made an alliance with Ptolemy Epiphanes and gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, with the provinces, or rather the revenues of the provinces, of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine as a dowry. The Egyptians understood the dowry in the former sense, but Antiochus in the latter (Polyb. xxviii. 17). Mahaffy, however (*op. cit.* 306), upholds the claim of the Egyptians. This marriage took place 194–193 B.C. at Raphia (Livy, xxxv. 13).

To destroy it: i.e. Egypt. Antiochus' real motive in giving his daughter to Ptolemy was at once to protect himself against Roman interference and to gain a footing in Egypt, which he

could turn to his own purposes when the opportunity arose. The rendering 'to corrupt her' (לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ) gives no tolerable sense. Cleopatra adopted the cause of her husband, advised him to maintain an alliance with Rome, and lived happily in Egypt. Ptolemy accordingly retained the friendship of Rome, while Antiochus forfeited it wholly. Antiochus was moved by no friendly spirit towards Egypt, but was simply biding his time in the hope of securing it for himself. Hearing at Lysimacheia a false rumour of Ptolemy's death, he set out forthwith to make himself master of Egypt (Livy, xxxiii. 41).

But it shall not stand neither shall it come to pass: i. e. לא תעמד ולא [לו] תהיה. Here we have the later Hebrew reproduction (cf. Ps. 33^{11}) of the same expression as in Isa. 7^{7} לא תקום ולא תהיה: cf. 14^{24}. עמד is used as the equivalent of קום in the sense of 'to be established', 'to maintain itself' here and in Esther 3^{4}. The plan of Antiochus will not succeed. I have with the LXX against the MT, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. omitted לו. It originated most probably as a dittograph of לא, and then it won the support of the Massoretes, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. owing to their wrongly conceiving Cleopatra to be the subject of these two clauses, whereas it is clearly the plan of Antiochus that is the subject. Of course it is possible to incorporate לו into the second clause, but it weakens the impressiveness of the old prophetic words, and the author is not culpable in this respect.

11^{18}. The historical facts behind this verse are, shortly, as follows. In 197 B. C. Antiochus made an expedition into Asia Minor. This expedition was attended with great success, and most of the cities made their submission to him. In the same year he made himself master of the Thracian Chersonese, and, when he had consolidated these conquests, he effected a landing in Greece in 192, and seized parts of Greece north of Corinth. But here his successes came to an end. In 191 his forces were routed by the Romans at Thermopylae, and in the following year his huge army of 80,000 men sustained such an overwelming defeat at Magnesia by the Romans under Lucius Cornelius Scipio (Livy, xxxvii. 39–44: Mommsen, *Hist. of Rom.*, Book III, chap. ix, 270 seqq.) that he had to relinquish his claims to all his European possessions or conquests as well as to all parts of Asia Minor west of the Taurus. The latter

half of 11^{18} deals with this catastrophe. On the events behind this verse see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 88–112.

Turn his face: i. e. וְיָשֵׁב. Here the *Qr.* reads וְיָשֵׂם as in the LXX καὶ δώσει, and in 11^{17} of our text. But, as Bevan remarks, the *Kt.* is to be retained, since here it is not a question of purpose but of actual movement as in 11^{19}, where we have the same phrase repeated. The expedition referred to here is that of Antiochus against Asia Minor. See preceding note.

To the †coast lands†: i. e. לאיים, the islands and coastlands of the Mediterranean. But the LXX here reads ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν = לַיָּם ('to the west'), which is either a corruption of לאיים or vice versa. If the LXX is right the 'many' that Antiochus captured would probably be prisoners. Both on sea and land Antiochus fought against Rome for the independence of the East. If the MT is right, then the 'many' would mean coast lands and provinces on the Mediterranean. But Antiochus' attempts ended in failure.

The two following clauses are very difficult. The foremost scholars turn down the MT absolutely. Their emendations fail, however, to account for the texts presupposed by the LXX and Th. I have attempted a fresh departure and offer two restorations of the text, both of which keep close to the MT and account in the main for the LXX and Th. The second appears the more justifiable.

But a chief shall put an end to his contumely: i. e. וְהִשְׁבִּית קָצִין חֶרְפָּתוֹ. On the Roman commander see first note on this verse. Antiochus offered hospitality to Hannibal, and told the Romans that they had no more business with his doings in the East than he had with theirs in the West: 'Asiam nihil ad populum Romanum pertinere: nec magis illis inquirendum esse, quid Antiochus, quam Antiocho, quid in Italia populus Romanus faciat' (Livy, xxxiii. 40).

So that he (Antiochus) *shall not requite his* (the Roman chief's) *contumely upon him.* The Roman victory was to be so overwhelming as to exclude the possibility of further resistance on the part of Antiochus. The above translation requires the omission of one letter in the MT, and indirectly it serves to explain the variants in the LXX and Th. The MT, LXX, Th., Vulg., and Pesh. run as follows:

MT. והשבית קצין חרפתו לו בלתי חרפתו ישיב לו.

LXX. *καὶ ἐπιστρεψει ὀργὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐν ὅρκῳ κατὰ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ.*

Th. *καὶ καταπαύσει ἄρχοντας ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν· πλὴν ὀνειδισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέψει αὐτῷ.*

Vulg. Et cessare faciet principem opprobrii sui et opprobrium eius convertetur in eum.

Pesh.= *καὶ καταπαύσει τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν ὀνειδίσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέψει αὐτῷ.*

(1) Now first of all we observe that חרפתו occurs in all the authorities in some form twice—in the Pesh. once as a participle.

(2) Next in the LXX *ὀργήν* = קצף, which is an obvious corruption of קצין.

(3) In all the authorities there are two verbs expressed or implied, i. e. השבית and ישיב, except in the LXX, which reads השיב for השבית, and omits ישיב. But, as Bevan suggests, *ἐπιστρέψει αὐτῷ καί* could have easily been lost through homoioteleuton before *ἐπιστρέψει* at the beginning of 11^{19}.

(4) The LXX reads *ἐν ὅρκῳ* where the MT has לו בלחי and Th. *πλήν*, but the Vulg. and Pesh. have no equivalent. Now, it is generally assumed, but wrongly as I believe, that *ἐν ὅρκῳ* here presupposes בִּשְׁבֻעָה, which Bevan takes to be a corruption of שִׁבְעָתַיִם 'sevenfold'. Thus we have 'he shall requite his insults sevenfold'. Marti seeks to improve on Bevan. He reads והשיב (with the LXX), and omitting several words reads והשיב לו קצין חרפתו שבעתים. But this is rewriting the text and not emending it. Besides it furnishes no explanation of the genesis of the MT text. To return to Bevan's suggestion: how can we accept שבעתים as a corruption of לו בלחי, or how can it in any way account for it? Moreover there is not a trace of this proposed Hebrew word in any of the other versions. The conjecture is, I think, not only a counsel of despair, but impossible under the circumstances.

(1) My first proposal. What then does *ἐν ὅρκῳ* represent? Possibly באלה[1] (cf. Prov. 29^{23}; Gen. 24^{41}, Lev. 5^{1}), which comes very close to בלחי. It also is a vain attempt to translate a corrupt original. The *πλήν* of Th., which = אֲבָל, is another emendation of בלחי and an attempt to make something of the

[1] When אלה and שְׁבֻעָה occur together as in Num. 5^{21}; Neh. 10^{30}, the renderings are *ἀρά* and *ὅρκος* (*ἐνόρκιον*). But אלה is occasionally rendered (*ὅρκος*, *ὁρκισμός*) and it alone serves to explain the MT.

corrupt text. For בלתי cannot be rendered 'only' with Ewald, or 'certainly' with Hitzig or 'nothing but' with Drechsler.

What, then, are we to make of the MT בלתי, באלה (LXX), and אבל (Th.)? My first proposal is to read לִבְלָתִי, of which לו בלתי is a corruption. This, though generally a preposition, is used also as a final conjunction: cf. Exod. 20^{20}; 2 Sam. 14^{14} (cf. מן in this sense in Deut. 33^{11}), and so also in the correct text in Jer. 23^{14} (לבלתי ישבו), 27^{18} (לבלתי יבאו). We should then translate: 'And a chief shall so put an end to his contumely that he shall not requite his contumely upon him'. The discomfiture of Antiochus was to be crushing and complete. The above restoration keeps very close to the MT and is indirectly supported by the LXX and Th. By thus keeping close to the documentary authorities we are obliged to take the first חרפתו as referring to Antiochus and the second to the Roman consul.

(2) My second proposal. If it appears unsatisfactory to take חרפתו as referring to two different persons, it is possible to make the two refer to Antiochus alone by emending לו בלתי into לִכְלָה[1] 'for annihilation' (cp. 9^{27}, 11^{16}, Ezek. 13^{13}). לכלה would largely explain the corrupt readings presupposed by the LXX (באלה) and Th. (אבל) and give an excellent sense. In 11^{16} Antiochus was master of the situation. He had in his hand כלה, i. e. 'the annihilation' of Palestine, &c. The tables are now turned. The Romans shall effect the annihilation (כלה) of Antiochus. We should then render: 'And a chief shall put an end to his contumely (even) unto annihilation (לכלה): (yea) he shall requite him with his own contumely.' This emendation does more justice to the context: the former is closer to the text of the MT.

The last three words וחרפתו ישיב לו are derived from Hos. 12^{14}.

11^{19}. In order to meet the vast fine imposed upon him (Polyb. xxi. 14: Livy, xxxvii. 45) Antiochus retired to the fortresses of the East. He had to levy contributions where it was possible, and temples were not exempt from his exactions. After plundering the temple of Bel in Elymais he and his followers were attacked by the inhabitants and slain in 187 B.C. See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 120.

11^{20}. Seleucus IV Philopator, 187–175 B.C. This king im-

[1] Even possibly תכלית which means 'utterly' Job. 11^{7}, 28^{3}, but it is not so close to the MT form.

pressed himself on the memories of the Jews by his attempt to rob the Temple through the agency of Heliodorus. The full account is given in 2 Macc. 3^{1-40}. With this we deal later in this verse. Driver, on the other hand, thinks 'the allusion may be of a general kind: Seleucus had to pay for nine years an annual sum of 1,000 talents to the Romans ... the reference may be to the "exactor" who visited Palestine regularly for this purpose'. An officer of Antiochus Epiphanes who had duties in Judaea was called *ἄρχων φορολογίας* (1 Macc. 1^{29}).

Shall stand up in his place one that shall cause an exactor to pass through with royal splendour. The text is doubtful, and the versions of little or no help, save that they presuppose some form or other of the MT though diversely and corruptly. The LXX reads *καὶ ἀναστήσεται ... εἰς ἀνάστασιν, ἀνὴρ τύπτων δόξαν βασιλέως* = ועמד ... לעמד איש נגע הדר מלך. Here we observe that the LXX omits עלכנו 'in his place', that לעמד replaces מעביר, and אישנגע replaces נגש. But על כנו of the MT is original. It is supported by Th., Pesh., and Vulg., as well as by the context. Hence this phrase must be retained. Th. reads *ἀναστήσεται ... ἐπὶ τ. ἑτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων, πράσσων δόξαν βασιλείας* = ועמד ... על מכונו מעביר נגש הדר מלכות, which, though rather meaningless, supports MT in the main. The Vulg. is hopeless, but the Pesh. is clearly based on an emendation of the current Hebrew text. It = ועמד על כנו מעביר זרוע והדר מלכיות 'there shall stand up in his place one that shall cause the strength and splendour of kingdoms to pass away'.

From the above examination we may reasonably conclude that the MT is trustworthy. All that remains to do is to determine its meaning. נוגש clearly means 'an exactor'. The difficulties lie in the last four words of the Hebrew, which are usually rendered 'one that shall cause an exactor to pass through the glory of the kingdom'. But in no other passage in the O.T. has this verb two accusatives. הדר should be preceded by a preposition על or ב. Furthermore the analogy of הוד מלכות in the next verse shows that we have here not a concrete conception 'the glory of the kingdom' but an abstract one. It can then be translated as an adverbial phrase 'with royal splendour', or with Bevan transpose מעביר and נוגש, and render 'Then shall stand up in his place an exactor who shall cause royal splendour to pass away'. Bevan attaches the same meaning

(cf. 2 Sam. 12^{13}; Esther 8^{3}) to מעביר that the Pesh. does. He would take the 'exactor' to be 'Seleucus, who made himself unpopular by his avarice; Livy speaks of this king's reign as "otiosum, nullis admodum rebus gestis nobilitatum"' (xli. 19).

But the 'exactor' is clearly Heliodorus (2 Macc. $3^{1-13,22-30}$). Simon, a Benjaminite, who was at variance with Onias the high priest, and had charge of the Temple, gave information to Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, that the treasury was full of untold sums of money, and that, as they were not assigned to the maintenance of the Temple sacrifices, the king could secure them. When Seleucus learnt this he at once sent Heliodorus his chancellor (*τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων*) to seize these treasures. But, according to the writer, Heliodorus was prevented from carrying out his sacrilegious purpose through a supernatural appearance.

This account is confirmed by two inscriptions on the bases of two statues erected to Heliodorus before 175 B.C. Of these inscriptions a full account is given in Deissmann's *Bibelstudien*, Eng. transl., 303–307. In the second of these inscriptions Heliodorus is described as being a relative of this king (cf. l. 3 *τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ*), and in both of them as his foster-brother (*σύντροφος*). In both also he is called the chancellor or first minister of the crown (cf. 2 Macc. 10^{11}, 13^{2}) in the phrase *ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένον*, exactly as in 2 Macc. 3^{7}.

Few days: twelve years—short in comparison with the longer reign of Antiochus III. Otherwise the 'few days' are to be reckoned from the mission of Heliodorus to the murder of the king, or from the inception of the plot to its execution.

Shall be destroyed: (lit. 'broken'). Seleucus is the first of the three horns mentioned in 7^{8} of our text. According to Appian, *Syr.* 45, Seleucus met his death owing to a conspiracy set on foot by Heliodorus (*ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου*). See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 125.

In anger (i.e. באפים). It is objected that we should expect באף in this sense; but the dual is used in the sense of anger in such phrases as ארך אפים: cf. Prov. 14^{29}, 15^{18}, &c.: also in 30^{33} מיץ אפים 'the forcing of wrath'. But, as Behrmann points out, 'not in anger' is not what we expect here. Hence he suggests that באפים is used as באנפין in Aramaic (= the Hebrew פנים, cf. Deut. 5^{4}). Hence the phrase would mean 'not openly',

'not in a fair face to face encounter'. This would agree with the fact that Seleucus was the victim of a secret conspiracy.

11[21–45]. Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 175–164 B. C. This Antiochus was the son of Antiochus the Great and the brother of Seleucus Philopator. For fourteen years he had been a hostage at Rome in accordance with the treaty concluded by the Romans with his father, and was treated then, as he afterwards boasted, 'pro rege, non pro obside, omnibus ordinibus' (Liv. xlii. 6). At the request of Seleucus IV the Romans released Antiochus in his twelfth year and took in his stead Demetrius, Seleucus' own son. On his way back to Antioch Seleucus IV was murdered by Heliodorus (11[20]), who sought to become king. But by the help of Eumenes, King of Pergamum, and Attalus, Antiochus seized the throne, which belonged legitimately to his nephew Demetrius.

11[21]. *A contemptible person.* These words express the Jewish verdict on Antiochus IV. The term may be applied to him in derision of the title he assumed, Θεὸς ἐπιφανής—'God manifest', of which Θεὸς ἐπιμανής is a fitting and well-deserved parody.

On whom had not been bestowed, &c. Here ולא נתנו עליו הוד מלכות is to be taken as a relative clause with אשר omitted. The same phrase is found in 1 Chron. 29[25]; cf. Num. 27[20].

In time of security: i. e. shall take them unawares. Cf. 11[24], 8[25].

By flatteries: i. e. †בחלקלקות†. This word recurs in 11[34] with the same meaning, but in 11[32] as בחלקות. The question arises: Were both these forms, bearing the same meaning, used by the Hebrew translator? Th. either found one and the same form in all three passages, or else he identified the form in 11[32] with that in 11[21,34] so far as the meaning is concerned. But the LXX, though corrupt, supplies evidence for the decision of this question. In 11[21,34] it renders ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ omitted in 11[34]) = בחלקה or בחלקתו 'in the (or "his") portion'. In 11[32] its rendering is ἐν σκλήρῳ λαῷ, which is a corruption of ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ through a confusion of Δ and Λ and a transposition of C: i. e. ΚΛΗΡΟΔΟCΙΑΙ is a corruption of CΚΛΗΡΩΙΛΑΩΙ. Thus the LXX in all three passages attests the same Hebrew text. Th. does the same, but does not help to determine which of the two Hebrew forms חלקות or חלקלקות should be read in the three passages. But the LXX does. Its rendering was in the three passages בְּחֶלְקָה or בְּחֶלְקָתוֹ, which, since they are meaningless in

$11^{21,22}$, are corruptions of בְּחַלַקּוֹת and not of בחלקלקות. Hence the latter word in the MT should in 11^{21} be corrected into בחלקות, and in 11^{34} into בחלקתו (see note *in loc.*). There is thus no evidence that the longer Hebrew word ever bore the secondary meaning of 'flatteries' or 'fine promises'. It appears in the O.T. (Ps. 35^{6}; Jer. 23^{12}) only in its original sense of 'slipperiness', and, when the LXX of Daniel was translated, it had not yet displaced the shorter form בחלקות. חַלַקּוֹת is an exceptional pointing for חֲלָקוֹת (Isa. 30^{10}).

11^{22-24}. *Events in Syria during the first five years of Antiochus' reign, 175–170 B.C.*

11^{22}. *Armies shall be utterly swept away.* Here with Marti and others I follow Bevan's emendation of הַשָּׁטֵף [1] into הִשָּׁטֵף, an infinitive strengthening the finite verb which follows—יִשָּׁטֵפוּ. The armies in question were those of Heliodorus and other domestic enemies. The MT זרעות הַשָּׁטֵף 'the armies of the flood' (i.e. overwhelming forces) 'would be a singularly inappropriate designation for the armies defeated by Antiochus'. Some scholars interpret this verse of the forces of Egypt and of Ptolemy Philometor, the son and successor of Ptolemy Epiphanes. But there is no express reference to Egypt before 11^{25}.

And shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant. Marti proposes וישבר גם instead of וישברו וגם. This would connect the verb with the final clause: 'And the prince of the covenant also shall be broken'. The prince, as Theodoret observed, was the Jewish high priest Onias III, who was removed from his office by Antiochus in 175 B.C. and murdered at Antioch in 171. See note on 9^{26}, where Onias is described as 'an anointed one'. Cf. 1 Enoch 90^{8}. The text of this verse is uncertain. Th. supports the MT save in respect of one phrase: see note below. The LXX—*καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας τοὺς συντριβέντας συντρίψει ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῆς διαθήκης*—presupposes והזרעות הנשברות ישבר מלפניו ועם ברית. The first four words of this Hebrew when compared with those of the MT suggest independent renderings of a corrupt Aramaic text.

From before him: i.e. מלפניו—a rendering of the Aramaic מִן־קֳדָמוֹהִי: cf. 7^{10}.

[1] Th. (*τοῦ κατακλύζοντος*) punctuated this word as הַשָּׁטֵף the participle: 'The armies of him that swept down'.

11^{23}. Antiochus outwitted all his friends and confederates.

From the time they shall make a league with him. מִן here used in the same sense as in 9^{25}. הִתְחַבְּרוּת is an Aramaized infinitive: see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 54 *k*: cf. הַשְׁמָעוֹת in Ezek. 24^{26}. The subject is not expressed just as in Ps. 42^{4}. Contrast 42^{11}.

We could also translate: 'by means of their league with him.' The first half of this verse refers to Antiochus overreaching his friends—whether his allies in general, or Ptolemy Philometor, or Jason (see 9^{26}).

$11^{23b-24a}$. *He shall take the field and become strong with a small force. And in time of security† he shall attack the fattest places of the province†.* So the MT, save that with Bevan, &c., I have removed the *vav* before במשמני and placed it before the preceding word. For עלה being used absolutely in the sense of 'to take the field' without a preposition or defining word following, cf. Isa. 21^{2}. The MT is uncertain, and, since the versions differ so much, it is quite impossible to be sure what the original was. However, as $8^{24,25}$ also refer to the earliest acts of Antiochus, these verses may be helpful. Thus in 8^{24} we have והשחית עצומים and in 8^{25} בשלוה ישחית רבים. These two phrases suggest that in our text we should find two statements: first, that Antiochus would destroy mighty ones; and secondly, that he would do it unexpectedly. Now the LXX reads *καὶ ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν ὀλιγοστῷ ἔθνει* (11^{24}) *ἐξάπινα ἐρημώσει πόλιν*. Here these two ideas are reproduced. But עלה (= *ἀναβήσεται*) easily fell out before the succeeding על נוי עצום, as Jahn recognizes. The loss of עלה led next to the deliberate removal of the *vav* which either preceded or followed בשלוה. The LXX then presupposes ועלה על נוי עצום במעט נוי בשלוה ושמם מדינה 'and with a small force he shall take the field unexpectedly against a mighty force and lay waste a province'. In this case ושמם would either be the original or a corruption of במשמני in the MT. But Th., Pesh., Vulg. support the MT. Here as in 8^{24} we could interpret the first clause of Antiochus overcoming his political rivals, and the second of his onset on Palestine. The נוי עצום are the עצומים of 8^{24}. But for נוי we hould expect עם as Bevan remarks. Where the MT has ועצם and the LXX presupposes על נוי עצום, Th. presupposes מהם ועצם.

If we retain the MT we must at all events transpose the *vav* before בשלוה and translate: 'And in time of security he shall attack the fattest places', &c.

Bevan prefers to render משמני מדינה by 'the mightiest men of (each) province', and compares Isa. 10[16], Ps. 78[31]. The words וחשחית עצומים in 8[24] appear to support Bevan.

The MT is thus wholly uncertain. If the translator of the LXX had found במשמני מדינה יבוא, it is inconceivable that he should have left an easy word like יבוא untranslated, unless we regard him as incapable of translating משמני.

11[24b]. *He shall do that which his fathers have not done*, &c. If these words stood alone, they could refer to Antiochus' attempts to Hellenize his subjects and to put down all religions but his own. But if they refer to what follows, they may be explained by Antiochus' prodigal generosity. Cf. 1 Macc. 3[30]: 'He feared that he should not have enough, as at other times, for the charges and the gifts which he used to give aforetime with a liberal hand, and he was more lavish than the kings that were before him.' Cf. Livy, xli. 20: 'Spectaculorum quoque omnis generis magnificentia superiores reges vicit.' According to Polybius, xxvi. 10, he was for ever giving presents of all kinds, even to strangers. In one of his campaigns in Egypt he gave a piece of gold to every Greek in Naukratis (Polyb. xxviii. 17. 11). This characteristic is marked by Livy, xli. 20: 'vere regius erat animus in urbium donis et deorum cultu;' and Polyb. xxvi. 10: *ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμαῖς, πάντας ὑπερέβαλε τοὺς βεβοσιλευκότας.*

Among them: i. e. his adherents apparently. For this vague use of the plural, cf. 11[7].

Shall scatter: יבזור. Only found elsewhere in the O.T. in Ps. 68[31]. The form is Aramaic, a synonym of the Hebrew פזר. The usual form in Aramaic is בדר.

Prey, spoil, and substance. Cf. 1 Macc. 1[19]: *ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα γῆς Αἰγύπτου.*

Devise his devices against, &c., i. e. against the strongholds of Egypt, such as Pelusium—'the gate of Egypt' (Claustra Aegypti, Livy, xlv. 11). Cf. 1 Macc. 1[19]: *κατελάβοντο τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυρὰς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.* But Antiochus' ambition reached further; he sought to be king of Egypt: 1 Macc. 1[16].

For a time: i. e. עד עת and Th. *ἕως καιροῦ*: i. e. the time fixed in the counsels of God. But the LXX has *εἰς μάτην*. How did this last rendering originate? It clearly is a rendering of לַשָּׁוְא (cf. Ps. 41[6], 127[1–2(iris)]; Jer. 2[30], 4[30]), which cannot be other than

a corruption of לשעה. The fact that this word is Aramaic (cf. $3^{6,15}$, $4^{16,30}$, 5^{5}) is not against it. It was used also in late Hebrew (Jer. Talmud). From this it follows that עד־עת is a late replacement of an Aramaism by a classical Hebrew phrase. The time is that fixed in the counsels of God: cf. $11^{27,35}$.

11^{25-28}. *Antiochus' first Egyptian campaign.* In this campaign Antiochus defeated Ptolemy Philometor near Mount Casius, captured Pelusium, the key of Egypt, and with Ptolemy in his suite proceeded to Memphis. Pretending to act in the interests of the latter, Antiochus made himself master of Egypt (1 Macc. 1^{18-20}). In the meantime the Alexandrians had made Ptolemy's brother king under the title of Ptolemy Physcon. Antiochus next besieged Alexandria, but, after many ineffectual efforts to capture it, withdrew to Syria on the approach of three Roman envoys, who had been appointed by the Senate to put an end to the war. On his return Antiochus plundered the Temple in Jerusalem: 1 Macc. 1^{20-24}; 2 Macc. 5^{11-21}. Cf. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 333.

We have thus adopted the view of Wellhausen (*Israels- und Jüd. Gesch.*[3], 1897, p. 246 *n*), who maintains that Antiochus made only two Egyptian campaigns, the third, that of 11^{40-41}, being an unfulfilled prediction. So also Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 494 seq.), who contends that what are commonly regarded as the two distinct campaigns of 170 and 169 B.C. are really two stages in one and the same campaign. Driver favours this view, but points out that, since the persecuting edict belongs to the year 168 B.C., Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem must have taken place in 170 B.C. owing to 1 Macc. $1^{20,29,54}$. Mahaffy (*op. cit.* 495) says that Antiochus 'paid his first hostile visitation to Jerusalem . . . in 169 B.C. at latest'.

King of the South: i. e. Ptolemy VI, Philometor.

11^{25}. *Shall stir up.* The MT reads יָעֵר, a jussive form wrongly used = יָעִיר. See note on 11^{4}, where other examples of this misuse of the jussive in this chapter are given. But since the LXX (ἐγερθήσεται), Th., Pesh., and Vulg. presuppose יָעוֹר, it is probable that this is a corruption of the older text יָעִיר.

With a great army. The LXX has the rendering ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ here as in 11^{13}, whereas Th. has ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ in both passages. In the LXX we find that πολύς in twelve passages out of fifteen is a rendering of רב (the exceptions being $11^{13,25}$,

28,[1] where it seems to be a rendering of גדול if גדול is right. In Th. πολύς in this chapter is in every passage save two (11[28,44]) also a rendering of רב. On the other hand μέγας is always a rendering in Th. of גדול in the Hebrew of Daniel save in 11[5], where it renders רב.

The all but universal usage, therefore, is clear. But why, then, have we ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἐν χρήμασι πολλοῖς in 11[13], where the MT has בחיל גדול וברכוש רב? How are we to explain the repetition of πολύς in two adjoining phrases, if there were different adjectives in the Hebrew? Since the translator of the LXX is to some extent a stylist and tends therefore to avoid the monotonous repetition of the same adjective rather than to perpetrate the contrary offence, i. e. of reproducing different Hebrew adjectives in adjoining clauses by one and the same Greek adjective, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Hebrew text before the translator of the LXX was בחיל רב וברכוש רב. If this is right, then it follows that the variation רב · · · גדול in the MT (followed herein by the Pesh. and Vulg.) was introduced subsequently for the sake of variety in the manuscript from which ultimately the MT was derived. Hence the rendering I have given.

But this is not all. Again in 11[28] the LXX has ἐν χρήμασι πολλοῖς and Th. ἐν ὑπάρξει πολλῇ. On the united attestation of the LXX and Th. here we emend ברכוש גדול into ברכוש רב.

Finally in 11[25], since the LXX reads ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ (supported by the Pesh. = בחילא רבא), it appears that we should read בחיל רב. If these conclusions are right, it follows that where πολύς occurs in the LXX of Daniel (Hebrew section) it always represents רב, and that only once in Th. (i. e. 11[44]) does πολύς represent גדול.

He shall not stand, for they shall devise, &c. Ptolemy Philometor could not maintain the contest owing to the treachery of his followers. Antiochus defeated him near Pelusium and got possession of the border fortress of Pelusium by dishonourable means.

11[26]. *They that eat of his meat,* &c. Possibly Eulaeus and Lenaeus, whose ill-judged advice led to Ptolemy's attempt to reconquer Syria. Ptolemy fell under their influence after the

[1] In the latter part of this note I hope to prove that where πολύς occurs in the LXX of Daniel, רב stood before the translator.

death of his mother Cleopatra in 174 B.C. Cf. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 134–136: Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 332 seq. But the MT text is more than doubtful.

Let us place the MT, the LXX, and Th. in parallel columns:

MT.	LXX.	Th.
וְאֹכְלֵי פִתְבָּגוֹ יְשַׁבְּרוּהוּ	καὶ καταναλώσουσιν αὐτὸν μέριμναι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν αὐτόν.	καὶ φάγονται τὰ δέοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ συντρίψουσιν αὐτόν.

First of all let us deal with the second clauses in the LXX and Th. Here ἀποστρέψουσιν (corrupt for ἀποτρίψουσιν) αὐτόν and συντρίψουσιν αὐτόν are legitimate renderings of ישברוהו. In the next place both the LXX and Th. read וְאֹכְלֵהוּ and not וְאֹכְלֵי. But there is no connexion of any kind between פתבנו and the LXX and Th. renderings μέριμναι αὐτοῦ and τὰ δέοντα αὐτοῦ. On the other hand, it is possible to show a connexion between the originals of the Greek renderings. Thus the LXX is a free rendering of צעריו (Mishnaic Hebrew) or צָרֹתָיו (Classical Hebrew), while Th. = צָרְכָיו. It is, therefore, impossible to explain the MT from the two oldest Greek versions. We must, therefore, conclude that if the MT truly represents the original Aramaic, then the LXX and Th. attest a corruption as early as the middle of the second century.

In $1^{5,8,13,15,16}$ on the other hand the Greek translators of the LXX and Th. found פתבנו, and rendered it either by δεῖπνον or τράπεζα—that is, they gave what they regarded to be the general sense of the first part of the word, i. e. פַּת = 'morsel' of bread, and ignored the rest of the word. Since there is no like attempt to render פתבנ or anything like it here, it seems conclusive that they did not find it in their Hebrew manuscripts. The MT reading פתבנו appears, therefore, to have been suggested by אכלו. The Massoretes found a very corrupt text, and tried to make something out of it. Here then the guidance of the LXX and Th. should be followed. In the original text this and the preceding verse were taken closely together. We should then have 'For they shall devise devices against him; (11^{26}) ואכלוהו צרתיו ושברוהו and his anxieties shall wear him away and work his ruin'. After the defeat of Ptolemy Philometor's army on Mount Casius 'all was given up for lost. The young king was hurriedly packed on board ship to escape,

if he could, to the sacred island of Samothrace.[1] It was a foolish step. Ptolemy was intercepted by the Syrian vessels, and fell into the hands of Antiochus.' (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 136.)

Shall be swept away. For יִשְׁטֹוף (cf. 11[22]) 'shall overflow', we should with Bevan and others read יִשָּׁטֵף 'shall be swept away', i. e. Ptolemy's army. The MT would naturally refer to that of Antiochus.

Many shall fall down slain. In 1 Macc. 1[18] practically the same words are used of the same events: ἔπεσαν τραυματίαι πολλοί.

11[27]. *Their hearts shall be to do mischief,* &c. When Antiochus conquered Ptolemy Philometor, the Alexandrians raised his brother, under the title of Ptolemy Physcon, to the throne. Antiochus, thereupon, took Philometor under his protection, Antiochus on the one side professing that he did so solely in the interest of Philometor (Livy, xlv. 11: 'cui regnum quaeri suis viribus simulabat'), and Philometor, on the other hand, professing that he believed in his uncle's disinterestedness.

Mischief: i. e. מֵרַע in pause from מֵרַע, Hiph'il part. treated as a substantive. Cf. מַשְׁחִית in 10[8].

It shall not prosper: i. e. his subjugation of Egypt, which shall not take place until 'the time appointed'. See 11[43]. But 'the end' in the verse may refer not to this matter but to Antiochus' death.

11[28]. Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem at the close of his first Egyptian campaign on his way back to Antioch. See Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 495.

With great substance: i. e. 'the spoils of Egypt', τὰ σκῦλα γῆς Αἰγύπτου, 1 Macc. 1[19]: Sibyll. iii. 614 seq.,

> ῥίψει δ' Αἰγύπτου βασιλήιον· ἐκ δέ τε πάντα
> κτήμαθ' ἑλὼν ἐποχεῖται κτλ.

The holy covenant: i. e. the Jewish religion. Cf. 9[27] note.

Return to his own land. Cf. 1 Macc. 1[24]; 2 Macc. 5[21].

11[29–39]. *Antiochus' second Egyptian campaign 168 B.C. and his persecution of the Jews.* This campaign was directed against the two brothers Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon, who were now reconciled.

11[29]. *At the time appointed:* i. e. in the counsels of God. Cf. 11[27].

[1] Polyb. xxviii, 21; Diod. xxx. 17.

But it shall not be in the latter time, &c. This campaign shall have a very different issue from the former. On the Hebrew idiom בראשנה ובאחרונה, cf. Josh. 14^{11}; 1 Sam. 30^{24}; Ezek. 18^{4}.

11^{30}. ***Those who go forth from the west:*** i. e. היצאים מים. This is an emendation of the MT which here reads ציים כתים 'ships of Kittim'. There are several objections to the MT. The chief is that individuals and nations are not mentioned in a vision. They are denoted by some symbol taken from the animal world as in chapters 8-9, or by some geographical description as king of the north, king of the south, &c. The second is that כתים is used as an adjective only here in the O.T. It seems to have arisen as a marginal gloss. The third is from the Versions.

The LXX reads Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐξώσουσιν: Th. οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι Κίτιοι: Pesh. = 'acies Chittorum': Vulg. 'trieres et Romani'. We should observe that the LXX in 11^{18} presupposes לַיָּמָּה = ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, where the MT has לְאִיִּים. The text, therefore, cannot be discovered by textual means alone. We shall see reason presently to infer that the Greek translator found מִיָּם instead of ציים. But, if we bear in mind that proper names in such visions are either later interpretations or interpolations, the possibility of recovering the original is not so hopeless. The interpretation as to the quarter from whence the fresh attack on Antiochus comes is no doubt right: it is from the west, and it emanates from Rome; but כתים is not used of Rome in any 2nd cent. B.C. authority. See later on. We may, therefore, dispense wholly with the Pesh. and Vulg., and confine our attention to the MT, LXX, and Th. Since our author is constantly using the geographical designation in order to symbolize the individuals and nations appearing in this vision, we may reasonably conclude that 'the west' was part of the designation of our text: they were 'from the west', מִיָּם: cf. 8^{4-5}. Next Th. with his οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι = היצאים completes the needed phrase—היצאים מים 'those who go forth from the west'. This phrase was rightly interpreted of the Romans by the LXX and Vulg. As regards the proper name כתים it has nothing to do with the original text. It is a late attempt to emend it. For its existence there is no evidence before the 2nd cent. A. D. This emendation of the MT is possibly to be traced to Num. 24^{24}, וציים מיד כתים. It is noteworthy that here the LXX, Vulg., Pesh. imply ויצאו instead of וציים. Again, the LXX rendering of our text καὶ ἐξώσουσιν could

be a rendering of והוציאו, which is closely allied to the text presupposed by Th.

In further confirmation of the above restoration of the text, there is no evidence that a Roman fleet invaded the east. There was simply an embassage composed of C. Popilius Laenas and his suite—who may have come in a single ship. When Antiochus demurred to the demands of the Roman envoy, the latter summarily required Antiochus to leave Egypt. On this notable meeting of Antiochus with Popilius Laenas, see Polyb. xxix. 11; Appian, *Syr.*, 66; Livy, xlv. 12;[1] Velleius Paterculus, i. 10.

Finally, it is rather far-fetched to identify the 'Kittim' with the Romans. This word originally denoted a town in Cyprus, then generally the inhabitants of Cyprus (Gen. 10^4; Isa. $23^{1,12}$), and later the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean (Jer. 2^{10}; Ezek. 27^6). In 1 Macc. 1^1, 8^5; Jubilees $24^{28,29}$, 37^{10}; Josephus (*Ant.* 1. 6. 1) it is used of the Macedonians. Even 1 Macc. and Jubilees late 2nd cent. B. C. books do not use this word of the Romans. If the above restoration of the text is rejected, possibly we should read צירים מים 'envoys from the west', herein adopting Michaelis' suggestion of צירים.

And he shall be cowed: i. e. ונכאה. Cf. Ps. 109^{16}; Ezek. 13^{22}. The words of Polybius, xxix. 27, form a remarkable parallel to the MT. When Antiochus accepted the ultimatum of Popilius Laenas after the expiration of the time appointed for the withdrawal of his troops, according to this historian he did so in the following manner: *ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, βαρυνόμενος μὲν καὶ στένων, εἴκων δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρόν.*[2] See foot-note also. The LXX, however, reads *καὶ ἐμβριμήσονται* = 'and shall threaten him' = וְהִכְעִיסוּהוּ. The Pesh. = וְהַכּוּהוּ: Vulg. reads 'et percutietur' = וְהֻכָּה. It seems therefore that there were different readings here from the 2nd cent. B. C. onwards.

And he shall return. This is the second occurrence of this verb in this verse. The first refers to the retirement of Antiochus from Egypt to Judaea. The present to his march from Judaea to Antioch.

And have regard (וְיָבֵן jussive wrongly used for imperfect) *unto*

[1] Popilius . . . virga, quam in manu gerebat, circumscripsit regem: ac, *Priusquam hoc circulo excedas,* inquit, *redde responsum, senatui quod referam.* Obstupefactus tam violento imperio parumper quum haesitasset, *Faciam,* inquit, *quod censet senatus.* Livy's account is based on that of Polybius.

them that forsake the holy covenant. On his return to Antioch, Antiochus kept up communication with the apostate Jews. It was not Antiochus that took the initiative in the attempt to Hellenize the nation. Before his time a party had arisen among the Jews who, under the renegade Jason, subsequently high priest, had made this their object, and, after the accession of Antiochus, these approached the king and obtained his sanction to construct a gymnasium in Jerusalem and introduce Hellenic customs. 'They had themselves uncircumcised and they forsook the holy covenant' (*ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίαν καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας*: 1 Macc. 1^{15}): cf. 2 Macc. 4^{7-17}: Assumpt. of Moses 8^{1-5}.

11^{31}. *Armies:* i. e. זרעים with masc. plural ending: contrast זרעות 11^{15}. On the forces brought by the chief collector of Antiochus (i. e. Apollonius, 2 Macc. 5^{24}), see 1 Macc. 1^{29}.

Profane the sanctuary. On the profanation of the temple, see 8^{11}. Cf. 1 Macc. 1^{37} *ἐμόλυναν τὸ ἁγίασμα.*

The fortress. The Temple is so designated in 1 Chron. $29^{1,19}$ הַבִּירָה. Cf. Neh. 2^{8}, 7^{2} on the use of this word for a fortress near the Temple. It had fortifications at this period as we may infer from their being afterwards rebuilt according to 1 Macc. 4^{60}, 6^{7}. See 1 Macc. 1^{29} sqq.

And shall take away: i. e. וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד. Cf. 12^{11} הוּסַר הַתָּמִיד. A similar statement is made in 8^{11}, where, however, instead of הסירו, the Hebrew is הוּרַם הַתָּמִיד. These may be alternative renderings of one and the same Aramaic verb, העדי (Haph'el), which is used in the *Aram. Papyri* (Cowley, 30^{6}, 31^{6}) in a like connexion as well as in later Aramaic: cf. Targ. on 2 Kings 18^{4}. In 1 Macc. 1^{41-53} there is an enumeration of the religious rites and usages of the Jews, the observance of which was henceforth forbidden by Antiochus.

Shall set up a horror that appalleth: i. e. the heathen altar that was built on the altar of burnt offering. This was done according to 1 Macc. 1^{54} on the fifteenth day of Chislev (December) 168 B. C., and on the twenty-fifth of the same month they offered heathen sacrifices on this altar which had been built on the altar of God (cf. 1 Macc. 1^{59}: *θυσιάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*). In 1^{54} of the same book we have almost the same words as in our text—*ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.* With regard to the peculiar expression 'a horror that appalleth', see note on 9^{27}.

This phrase, which also appears in 1 Macc. 1^{54} as *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, was first applied to the heathen altar and then probably to the image of the Olympian Zeus beside it. For according to Taanith iv. 6 (העמיד צלם בהיכל) a statue of Zeus was set up.[1] The Greek rendering in the LXX and in 1 Macc. 1^{54}, *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, is at once an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew, and proves that the translator failed to recognize the grim jest designed by our author.

The prophetical writings of the O.T. and many of the Jewish Apocalypse are full of puns. Bevan quotes one on שמים in the Ber. rabba (Sect. 4), where the sky is called שמים 'because the people are *astonished* at it' (שהבריות משתוממים עליהן).

With regard to the grammar of the phrase, we have already corrected הפשע שמם into הפשע השמם in 8^{13}; in 9^{27} שקוצים משמם into שקוץ משמם (see *in loc.*). Here in 11^{31} השקוץ משמם should be corrected into השמם or המשמם, or else the article should be excised in 11^{31} since it is not found in 12^{11}, which is a continuation of the same vision.

11^{32}. *Such as do wickedly against the covenant:* i. e. מרשיעי ברית (cf. 9^{5}, 12^{10}). This intransitive use of the Hiph'il of רשע is not earlier than 400 B. C. or thereabouts. Contrast מצדיקי הרבים in 12^{3}. These offenders are the apostates mentioned in 11^{30}. Bevan prefers to take the Hiph'il transitively and renders 'those who bring guilt upon the covenant' (i. e. the covenanted people), and contrasts it with מצדיקי הרבים in 12^{3}.

Shall he pervert: i. e. (יחניף) into still more evil ways, into sheer irreligion: cf. Jer. 3^{9}, where the Hiph'il should be read 'shall pervert the land'. These are the apostates referred to in 11^{30}. The expression here, therefore, would imply the degradation of character that follows upon the deliberate abandonment of high religious principles. It is out of keeping with the context to render the verb 'make apostates' (Bevan and Driver), seeing that these men were such already.

By flatteries (i. e. בחלקות: see note on 11^{21}). Cf. 1 Macc. 2^{18} which enumerates the advantages to be won by those who

[1] Cf. the quotation from Philo of Byblos in Eusebius, *Praep. Evangel.* I. 10. *τοῦτον γάρ, φησίν, θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησι.* Also Plautus *Poenulus*, v. ii. 67. Gunebel balsamen (ed. C. H. Weis). The speaker is Hanno, the Carthaginian, whose words are here transliterated into Latin.

renounced Judaism. But these perverts have already done so. Antiochus by his flatteries seeks to make them his mere tools, and members of a religion of which he is himself one with the chief deity.

The people that know their God shall be strong (i. e. יֵחָזְקוּ). Cf. 1 Macc. 1^{62}: 'Many in Israel were fully resolved (*ἐκραταιώθησαν* א V) and exerted their strength (*ὀχυρώθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς* probably = התחזקו בנפשותיהם) . . . so as not to profane the holy covenant'.

And do. This absolute use of the Hebrew verb has already occurred in $8^{12,24}$, 9^{19}, $11^{28,30}$. This meaning is found occasionally in the O.T., 2 Chron. 31^{21}; Jer. 14^{7}; Ezek. 20^{9}.

11^{33}. *They that be wise.* These are not the teachers, but the godly—the Chasidim. They were strongly opposed to the Hellenizing party, and constituted the Hasidaeans referred to in 1 Macc. 7^{13}; 2 Macc. 14^{5}. Around them were gathered the soundest elements in the nation. On this party and its attitude to the Maccabeans, see 1 Enoch 90^{6-9}. Cf. 1 Macc. 2^{42-43}, *συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς* (the Maccabeans) *συναγωγὴ Ἀσιδαίων, ἰσχυρὰ δυνάμει ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ, πᾶς ὁ ἑκουσιαζόμενος τῷ νόμῳ. καὶ πάντες οἱ φυγαδεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν προσετέθησαν αὐτοῖς.*

Shall instruct the many (i. e. יבינו לרבים): i. e. 'cause them to understand alike by their teaching and example'. Here the ל with the acc. is a mark of late Aramaized Hebrew: cf. 2 Chron. 35^{3}.

Shall fall by the sword, &c. See 1 Macc. $1^{60,63}$, 2^{31-38}, 3^{41}, 5^{13}; 2 Macc. $6^{10,11,18-31}$, 7. These persecutions are referred to later in Heb. 11^{36-38}.

11^{34}. *A little help.* The help here referred to is that of the Maccabees. The rising of Mattathias and his sons assisted by the faithful in growing numbers, and their early victories, are described in 1 Macc, 2^{42-48}, $3^{11,12,23-26}$, 4^{12-15}, but to our author the greatest victories won by the arm of man are only 'a little help'. He looks for deliverance not from this source but from the Lord.

In 1 Enoch 83–90 (written before 161 B. C.) the rise of the Chasidim and from amongst them the Maccabees is thus described symbolically in a dream vision, 90^{6-12}, 'But behold lambs (i. e. the Chasidim) were borne by those white sheep (i. e. the faithful adherents of the Theocracy), and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried

to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them. . . . And I saw in the vision how the ravens (i. e. the Syrians) flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs (i. e. Onias III), and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs (i. e. the rise of the Maccabees—the horned lambs) and the ravens cast down their horns, and I saw till there sprouted a great horn on one of those sheep (i. e. Judas Maccabaeus). . . . And it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. . . . And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.'

The writer of 1 Enoch 83–90 loosely includes Onias III among the Chasidim, and also the Maccabean family. The Chasidim are distinguished from the Maccabees and their immediate followers in 1 Macc. 3^{13}. They formed an organized body before the Maccabean outbreak, 1 Macc. 2^{42}, 3^{13}. They generally supported Judas, but were at times antagonistic on legal grounds, 1 Macc. 7^{13-14}. It was only after much indecision that they cast in their lot with the Maccabean party, because this movement brought them into opposition with the high-priest of the time, the legitimate and religious head of the nation.

And there shall join them many ⌜*in the city and many*⌝ *in* ⌜*their several*⌝ *homesteads.* The MT reads 'and many shall join themselves unto them with flatteries'. These words are taken to indicate that many joined the national cause from sheer terror, because of the ruthless severities practised by Judas and his party. See 1 Macc. 2^{44}, 3^{5-8}, $6^{19,21,24}$, $7^{6,7,24-32}$ (where Judas takes vengeance on those who had deserted), 9^{23}. But the context, as the following verses show, is against the idea, that the Maccabees had as yet attained much power. In 11^{35} of our text it speaks only of martyrdoms on the part of the faithful, and in 11^{36} the successes of Antiochus during the time allotted to him. The same conclusion follows from the almost contemporary account (before 161 B. C.) in 1 Enoch 90^{16}: 'All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites (i. e. Ammonites, Edomites, Syrians) . . . came together and helped each other to break that horn of the ram' (i. e. Judas Maccabaeus). It would not, therefore, be natural to pay court to a cause struggling for a very doubtful victory. The MT is, therefore, corrupt. Th. is of no assistance here as it is a literal reproduction of the MT. But

the LXX appears to have preserved the original text. It supplies the right thought, and it explains how the corruption in the MT arose. It reads as follows: *καὶ ἐπισυναχθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως καὶ πολλοὶ †ὡς† ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ* = וְנִלְווּ עליהם רבים ⌈בעיר ורבים⌉ אחד בְּחֶלְקָתוֹ. Here בעיר רבים was lost through homoioteleuton. Next *ὡς* is a corruption of *εἷς* = אחד. The corruption of *εἷς* into *ὡς* led inevitably to the excision of *αὐτοῦ* after *κληροδοσίᾳ*. Finally בחלקלקות is as we found (see note on 11^{21}) a corruption for בחלקות or rather בְּחֶלְקָתוֹ = *ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ* ⟨*αὐτοῦ*⟩. Jahn suggests that *ὡς ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ* = כבחלקות, where the כ is a dittograph of the following ב. We should then have: 'and there shall join them many in the city and many in the fields'. In my restoration the חֶלְקָתוֹ ('his portion') is the definite portion of ground assigned to each individual: cf. Deut. 33^{21}.

11^{35}. *Some of them that be wise*, i. e. the faithful. This phrase rendered 'the wise' (cf. 11^{33}, $12^{3,10}$) could just as well be rendered 'the teachers', i. e. those that make wise, as in 9^{22} and possibly in 12^{3}.

†*Shall fall*†: i. e. יִכָּשְׁלוּ. According to the MT (followed by Th., Pesh., and Vulg.) some of the teachers or wise should fall, but that was to be no excuse for despair—their martyrdom would have as its effect the disciplining and perfecting of the faithful wherever found.

But the text of the LXX *διανοηθήσανται* presupposes יַשְׂכִּילוּ. We should then translate 'some of them that be wise shall be wise'. The words that follow in the LXX refer not to the faithful generally but to this pre-eminently faithful minority—*εἰς τὸ καθαρίσαι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐκλεγῆναι* [*καὶ εἰς τὸ καθαρισθῆναι*]. The pre-eminent among the wise will take special measures 'to refine and make themselves pure'—until the time of the end. Thus the LXX presupposes ישכילו לצרוף אתָם וּלְהִתְבָּרֵר. The rendering *ἐκλεγῆναι* is only justifiable in the chronicler's use of ברר 'to choose', 'to select'. Now though Th. presupposes the יכשלו of the MT, yet it supports the LXX in two out of the three verbs that follow: *τοῦ πυρῶσαι αὐτοὺς* (ed. *αὑτοὺς*) *καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι* [*καὶ τοῦ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι* (corrupt for *ἀπολευκανθῆναι*)]. For *ἐκλέξασθαι* we should expect *ἐκλεγῆναι*. It is noteworthy that these two verbs recur in 12^{10} in the passive, and there also it is the wise who are the subjects of the three verbs—the personalities who are spiritually disciplined. Hence I suggest that with the LXX

(and in part with Th.) we should render as follows: 'And some of the wise shall be wise so as to refine and make themselves pure.' Cf. 12^{10}.

So as to refine and make themselves pure: i. e. לצרוף אותם ולהתברר. This, I am convinced, was the original text. The MT is very late לצרוף בהם ולברר וללבן = 'to refine amongst them and to purify and to make white'. The grounds for the above conclusion are as follows. The LXX reads *εἰς τὸ καθαρίσαι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐκλεγῆναι* [*καὶ εἰς τὸ καθαρισθῆναι*]. Now it is obvious that *τὸ καθαρίσαι* and *τὸ καθαρισθῆναι* are here duplicate renderings of one and the same Hebrew phrase. To confirm this conclusion we have only to turn to the MT (12^{10}) where the same combination of three Hebrew verbs recurs but in a different and corrupt order. But the LXX in 12^{10} has only two verbs *ἕως ἂν †πειρασθῶσι† καὶ ἁγιασθῶσι*. Here *πειρασθῶσι* is an obvious corruption for *πυρωθῶσι* as we see in Th., and thus the LXX presupposes עַד יִצָּרְפוּ: cf. 12^{10}. Next *ἁγιασθῶσι* in 12^{10} (LXX) is a rendering of יתבררו. Thus according to the LXX there were *only two verbs* in each passage. It is to be noted that the Pesh. also presupposes only two Hebrew verbs in 11^{35}.

It is not till we come down to Th. that we find three Hebrew verbs presupposed as in the MT. In 11^{35} Th. reads *τοῦ πυρῶσαι ἑαυτούς καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ τοῦ †ἀποκαλυφθῆναι†* (corrupt for *ἀπολευκανθῆναι*: some manuscripts have *ἐκλευκανθῆναι*). In 12^{10} Th. has *ἐκλεγῶσιν καὶ ἐκλευκανθῶσιν καὶ πυρωθῶσιν*; $B^{ab}A$ add *καὶ ἁγιασθῶσιν* which is an alternative rendering of יתבררו and may be borrowed from the LXX. In both passages Th. supports the MT. But the oldest authority is against the MT and Th. in three respects. (1) It has only two verbs, and these two are closely connected with each other. צרף means 'to smelt', 'to refine', so as to get rid of the dross (cf. Isa. 1^{25}). The metaphor is taken from one who works in metals and is used of God in Zech. 13^{9}, Ps. 66^{10}. In many passages of the prophets God is the Refiner (cf. Mal. 3^{2}, where the refining is done with fire). When men are so refined in the fire of affliction 'they are made pure' יתבררו, and the change is an inward one. (2) The LXX retains the right order in both passages: first comes the smelting away of man's impurities, then comes his purity. But, though the MT and Th. preserve the right order in 11^{35}, it is wholly confused in 12^{10}, where the many are to purify themselves, make

themselves white and refine themselves (i. e. undergo the preliminary spiritual smelting—last of all !). (3) The LXX is free from the weaker expression 'make themselves white'. הלבין is used metaphorically in the O.T. of the outward whiteness that follows on inward cleansing. The other two verbs deal with the spiritual transformations of the faithful. Moreover this outward 'whiteness' follows on the internal smelting, rightly, in 11^{35}, but precedes it in 12^{10}! The metaphor originates with the smelting of metals. Has this external whiteness any real *raison d'être* here?

In both passages 11^{35}, 12^{10} the LXX alone appears to attest the original Hebrew version. I may add here that צרף is good Aramaic as well as good Hebrew: cf. Cowley 5^{7}, 28^{11}, 38^{3}.

To refine them (i. e. לצרוף בהם). Here ב in בהם, if we hold fast to the MT, is to be taken in the sense of 'among': cf. Exod. 14^{28}. But we must emend into אֹתָם: see preceding note.

[*To make white.*] For the contracted Hiph'il לְלַבֵּן (i. e. לְהַלְבֵּן) Hitzig and other scholars read לְלַבֵּן. The Pi'el does not not occur in the O.T., but is frequent in post-Biblical Hebrew. This verb, however, is omitted by the LXX, and appears to be a late gloss.

To purify: i. e. לְבָרֵר. Read להתברר with the LXX.

To the time of the end. According to the MT the martyrdoms were to persist to the time of the end: according to the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX the sense would be: they that endure to the end—the same shall be saved.

End . . . time appointed, קֵץ . . . מוֹעֵד. These words are found in the Hebrew of Sir. 36^{8}. They have already occurred in our text in 11^{27}. In Sir. 37^{7} we have possibly an echo of Dan. $11^{36\,e}$ 'Wake up indignation and pour out wrath' (העיר אף ושפך חמה).

When the Jews took this ultimate measure of sacrificing everything to their religious ideals, it was clearly a moment of transcendent importance in their spiritual life, and Bevan (*House of Seleucus,* ii. 174) rightly emphasizes it: 'Under the stress of those days numbers of Jews conformed; those who held fast generally forsook their homes and gathered in wandering companies in desolate places. But there also shone out in that intense moment the sterner and sublimer qualities . . . of uncompromising fidelity to an ideal, endurance raised to the pitch of utter self-devotion, a passionate clinging to purity. . . . It was an epoch in history.'

11^{36-39}. These verses characterize Antiochus, his measureless arrogance and impiety, and show how he set at naught the various national religions, in order to establish the cult of his own god—with whom he identified himself.

11^{36}. *According to his will.* This phrase has been used in 8^{4} of the Persian empire, in 11^{3} of Alexander, and in 11^{16} also of Antiochus.

Exalt himself (i. e. יתרמם). The LXX reads παροργισθήσεται = יתמרמר as in 11^{11}. In Hos. $12^{15(14)}$ καὶ παρώργισεν implies ויַמררני of which the MT תמרורים is a corruption (Marti).

Magnify himself. Again in 11^{37}. Cf. Isa. 10^{15}.

Above every god. Cf. 5^{23}, where Belshazzar lifts himself up against the Lord of heaven. On the coins of the early years of the reign of Antiochus the inscription was simply βασιλεως Αντιοχου with representation of Apollo. Later a star appears on his forehead, which betokens his claim to divine honours, but Apollo is not represented. Still later the star disappears from the coins; but these now bear the inscription βασιλεως Αντιοχου Θεου Επιφανους, or else represent his head as surrounded by a diadem of rays in attestation of his divine dignity. During the closing period Zeus is represented on the coins and not Apollo, and the inscription claims the honours of Zeus himself: Βασιλεως Αντιοχου Θεου Επιφανους Νικηφορου, the last epithet being peculiar to Zeus Olympius. See Driver *in loc.*, whence I have drawn these facts, and the Catalogue of Coins in the National Library in Paris (Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, 1891, pp. xcii–iv). Nestle (*Marginalien*, p. 42) calls attention to the fact that Babelon in the work just mentioned (p. xlviii) states without any consciousness of this passage in Daniel: 'Apollon assis sur l'omphalos disparait presque complètement de la série des monnaies Séleucides après le règne d'Antiochus IV Épiphane; il se trouve supplanté, à partir de ce moment, *par le type de Zeus Olympien*'. See also Gardner's *Coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria*, xi. 2, xii. 13, xi. 9, xii. 11. But to return to Nestle (*op. cit.* p. 42) who further cites Babelon: 'Der olympische Zeus hatte sich schon auf den Münzen der 3 ersten Seleuciden gefunden; aber—um wieder Babelon reden zu lassen: "à partir d'Antiochus ce type disparaît pour ne faire sa réapparition que sous Antiochus IV Épiphane à l'occasion sans doute de l'inauguration de la statue colossale de Zeus Olympien à Daphne." Man sehe nur die wun-

dervollen Tafeln bei Babelon; erst auf der zwölften, eben unter Antiochus Epiphanes, erscheint wieder der olympische Zeus, und es sollte eigentlich keinen Daniel-Kommentar geben, der nicht von diesen Münzen aus eine Abbildung des "Greuels der Verwüstung" bringen würde.'

Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 156 seq.) emphasizes the fact that Antiochus identified himself with Zeus and turned this claim to practical purposes. For as Zeus Olympius whom he identified with the God of the Jews (2 Macc. 6^{2}) he naturally appropriated the treasures of the Temple (1 Macc. 1^{21} seq.), while 'at Hierapolis where the deity was feminine, but identified with Hera (Lucian, *De Syria Dea*), he claimed the temple treasures as his wife's dowry'. The entire chapter ii. 148–161 should be read. Polybius (xxxi. 4, 10) states that 'he plundered most temples' (*τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν*), and his death was due to an unsuccessful attempt to plunder a temple in Persia (1 Macc. $6^{1,4}$).

Speak marvellous things. Cf. 7^{8}, 'a mouth speaking great things': 7^{25}, 8^{24}.

Against the God of gods: i. e. אל אלים, the God of Israel: cf. 2^{47} אֱלָהּ אֱלָהִין, where the phrase is used by an idolator. Contrast the full form in Deut. 10^{17} אלהי האלהים.

The indignation be accomplished (i. e. כלה זעם). Cf. 8^{19} and Isa. 10^{25}, whence the phrase is derived. Since both the LXX and Th. have *ἡ ὀργή* we should perhaps correct זעם into חזעם. In Isa. 10^{25} the word should probably be read זעמי or הזעם (with the LXX).

That which is determined shall be done (i. e. נחרצה נעשתה). The first word is borrowed, as in 9^{27}, from Isa. 10^{23} and 28^{22}. The divine will must be carried out.

11^{37}. The efforts of Antiochus to bring about uniformity in religion and custom throughout the empire (cf. 1 Macc. $1^{41,42}$: *καὶ ἔγραψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἶναι πάντας εἰς λαὸν ἕνα, καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν ἕκαστον τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ*), and his supreme devotion to the Olympian Zeus—no less than his identification of himself with this god in his later years—led him to discredit the local deities, even those whom his fathers and he himself had worshipped. Amongst these was the Greek Apollo, whose form, represented on the coins of his fathers, and on his own coins at the beginning of his reign, was subsequently wholly displaced by that of the Olympian Zeus.

Nor the desire of women. Probably the Phoenician deity

Tammuz, the equivalent of the Greek Adonis, whose cult had been popular in Syria for centuries, especially among women (Ezek. 8^{14}, where the prophet beheld within the precincts of the Temple 'the women weeping for Tammuz'). The XV Idyll of Theocritus is entitled Ἀδωνιάζουσαι, 'Women keeping the festival to Adonis'—τὰ Ἀδώνια. According to Hippolytus, *Refut. Haer.* v. 9, the Assyrians called Adonis the thrice desired, τριπόθητος.

Nor any god. Since Antiochus identified himself more or less with Zeus Olympius, he was superior to all other gods and their treasures were his. It is true that he erected great temples to some gods. They shared with him the rights of divinity. The LXX omits ועל כל אלוה.

11^{38}. *The god of fortresses.* This is apparently Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom Antiochus erected a magnificent temple in Antioch: cf. Livy, xli. 20, 'Antiochiae Jovis Capitolini magnificum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis laminâ inauratum'. According to Livy, xlii. 6, Antiochus sent to Rome golden vessels of 500 pounds in weight, which were distributed amongst such temples as the Quaestors thought fitting.

A god whom his fathers knew not: i. e. Zeus Capitolinus. The preceding Seleucidae recognized Zeus Olympius, indeed as their coins prove. But Zeus in Antiochus' conception of him claimed all the attributes of the Roman Jupiter Capitolinus. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the text.

11^{39}. *He shall †deal with the strongest fortresses by the help† of a strange god.* The beginning of this verse in the MT is, as Bevan declares, unintelligible. Besides the meaning extracted is unsatisfactory. Hence Meinhold, Hitzig, Bevan, Marti, and others change עִם into עַם and render: 'he shall procure for the strong fortresses the people of a strange god'. The reference would be here to the heathen colonists and soldiers settled by Antiochus in the fortified cities of Judaea and in Jerusalem: 1 Macc. 1^{33}, $3^{36,45}$. Driver regards the rendering 'procure' for עשה very questionable here, and objects that the parallels quoted in support of it in 2 Sam. 15^{1}; 1 Kings 1^{5} are hardly parallel. If Driver's objection is valid, we can find in 1 Sam. 8^{16} (ועשה למלאכתו = 'will use for his service'); Exod. 38^{24} excellent parallels to the idiom in our text and an idiom that is also suitable to the context: 'He shall use for the strongest fortresses the people of a strange god'; i. e. as their garrisons, as 1 Macc. $3^{36,45}$ state.

People of a strange god. With this emended text compare עַם כְּמוֹשׁ Num. 21^{29}.

Strange god. Cf. Deut. 32^{12} נכר אל as here.

Whomsoever he recognizes, he shall honour highly. הִכְּיר (which after אשר does not need to be changed into יַכִּיר with *Qr.*, cf. Deut. 15^{14} אשר ברכך יהוה אלהיך תתן לו) bears the same meaning as in Ruth $2^{10,19}$. But the same words could also be translated: 'Whosoever acknowledgeth him, he shall honour highly'.

Cause them to rule over the many and divide the land for a price. The chief offices and confiscated lands were divided amongst the king's adherents, as in 1 Macc. 9^{25}, *καὶ ἐξέλεξεν Βακχίδης τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς κυρίους τῆς χώρας.* Jason purchased the high priesthood, and he was soon displaced by Menelaus, who offered a higher price, 2 Macc. $4^{8-10,24}$.

11^{40-45}. Transition from history of the past in disguised language to actual prediction of the future. Three different interpretations have been given to these verses. (1) They have been regarded as a recapitulation, and as giving a brief sketch of the course of events from about 171 B. C. to the death of Antiochus. But the introductory words, 'at the time of the end', exclude the assumption that we have here a recapitulation. The present belongs to the time of the writer. The time of consummation referred to in 11^{35}, with a view to which the faithful would make preparation (so text of LXX), had now actually begun. (2) They have been taken as relating to historical events following on those already mentioned, i. e. after the year 168 B. C. But our historical authorities know nothing of an expedition against Egypt after this date.[1] The chief events of the reign of Antiochus in 167 B. C. are his institution at Daphne of a great series of games lasting thirty days and rivalling in magnificence those just celebrated by Aurelius Paullus in Macedonia, and his reception of the envoy of the Roman Senate, whose suspicions he succeeded

[1] In dealing with 11^{40-41} Jerome speaks of another expedition against Egypt on the authority of Porphyry: 'Et haec Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemaeum Philometorem dimicaverit.' Further on Jerome says that the clauses in question refer not to Antiochus but to the Antichrist. Returning to the exposition of Porphyry he writes: '(Antiochus) festinans contra Ptolemaeum regem Austri, Idumaeos, et Moabitas, et Ammonitas qui ex latere Judaeae erant, non tetigit: ne occupatus alio praelio, Ptolemaeum redderet fortiorem.' But there is no foundation in history for Porphyry's view.

in placating.[1] In the following year, 166 B. C., he started on an expedition in the course of which he perished. It is true that Porphyry, according to Jerome, does speak of another expedition to Egypt, but the incidents recorded by Porphyry, apart from one or two details, could all have been drawn from the text of Daniel, and the mention of Antiochus pitching his tent at Apedno is due evidently to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew word אַפַּדְנוֹ in 11^{45}. (3) Hence the third hypothesis alone is tenable that this passage is not a description of the past but a forecast of the future. As Driver (p. 197) writes, 'the author draws here an imaginative picture of the end of the tyrant king, similar to the ideal one of the ruin of Sennacherib in Isa. 10^{28-32}: he depicts him as successful where he had previously failed, viz. in Egypt; while reaping the spoils of his victories, he is called away by rumours from a distance; and then, just after he has set out on a further career of conquest and plunder, as he is approaching with sinister purpose the Holy City, he meets his doom'.

11^{40}. *At the time of the end.* The period spoken of in 11^{35} has now come to its close. The author clearly expected another invasion of Egypt after 168 B. C. See last note.

The king of the south: i. e. Ptolemy Philometor. There was no third invasion of Egypt. See Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 494 seq.

Make a thrust against him: i. e. יתנגח עִמּוֹ. עִם = 'against' when it is used with verbs such as נלחם, ריב, &c. In 8^{4} it is used of the butting of the ram in the vision, where the ram is a symbol of the Medo-Persian empire. Here the king of the south is the ram. The very same symbol is used to denote the Chasidim in 1 Enoch $90^{10,11}$ and Judas Maccabaeus in $90^{13,14,16}$—an almost contemporary apocalypse.

[1] At the close of the games Tiberius Gracchus with a suite was sent from Rome to determine the attitude of Antiochus and his alleged ambitions. But as Polyb. xxxi. 5, states, Antiochus received them with such an extraordinary display of friendliness as not only wholly to disarm Tiberius of all his suspicions, but to cause the latter to visit with his disapprobation the persons who had set such suspicions on foot: Οἷς (i. e. the envoys) *οὕτως ἐπιδεξίως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλοφρόνως, ὥστε μὴ οἷον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ὑποπτεῦσαί τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικόν, ἢ παρατριβῆς ἔμφασιν ἔχον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τι τοιοῦτον καταγινώσκειν, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπίας.* And yet Polybius adds that Antiochus was *ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.* Antiochus was a past master in the worst forms of diplomacy.

Storm against him (i. e. יִשְׁתָּעֵר). Antiochus will advance like a whirlwind against Ptolemy. For this use of the kindred verb סער, cf. Hab. 3^{14}.

Come into the countries. This is taken to mean the countries that lay between him and Egypt. If the text which is supported by the Vulg. is right, then this clause summarizes proleptically what is expressed in detail in 11^{41-43}. But the LXX, Th., and Pesh. read בארץ here and not בארצות, the LXX and Pesh. omitting ושטף ועבר. In 11^{10}, where the same three verbs ובא ושטף ועבר occur, the textual authorities differ as to what followed ובא. Taking together the uncertainty of the text and the unsatisfactory sense of the MT, it is possible that the Aramaic original read כִּרְעוּתֵיהּ 'according to his pleasure', which was corrupted into בארעתא = בָּאֲרָצוֹת of the MT, which, if the suggestion offered is right, should be emended into כִּרְצֹנוֹ: cf. 8^{4}, $11^{3,16,36}$. Antiochus shall go where he pleases. This thought is in keeping with his imperious and overweening character. This suggestion has the merit of explaining the corrupt accentuation of רבות in the next verse.

Shall overflow, &c. Borrowed as in 11^{10} from Isa. 8^{8}.

11^{41}. *The glorious land.* See 11^{16}, 8^{9} notes.

Tens of thousands. Here for רַבּוֹת = 'many' (lands) fem. we should obviously with De Wette, Bevan, Behrmann, Kamphausen, Prince, &c., read רִבּוֹת = 'tens of thousands'. Cf. 11^{12}, Neh. 7^{71}. The feminine accentuation of רבות in the MT can be explained as due to the corrupt reading of בארצות in the preceding verse.

But these shall be delivered out of his hand [*Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon*]. As we have already pointed out, the designation of nations by their actual names, especially when the events occur near or in the time of the writer, is contrary to the usage of Apocalyptic. On this ground alone we excise the phrase 'Edom . . . Ammon'. But independently of this fact, the history of the time is against its inclusion. For of these three peoples, two are specifically mentioned in 1 Macc. 5^{1-8} as taking up arms against Judah in furtherance of the policy of Antiochus, i. e. the Edomites and the Ammonites.[1] As enemies of the Jews they are mentioned in Ps. $83^{8-9\,(7-8)}$ and in Judith $7^{8,17,18}$, the latter and probably the former being composi-

[1] In 2 Macc. 4^{26}, 5^{7} Jason the apostate high-priest twice found sanctuary with the Ammonites.

tions of the second cent. B.C. John Hyrcanus conquered the Edomites in 109 B.C. and compelled them to adopt Judaism.

Hence they cannot be regarded as other than confederates of Antiochus, and to speak of them as 'being delivered out of his hand' is absurd. Of the Moabites we have no mention. They were, however, hereditary foes of Israel,[1] and, though they had long disappeared from the stage of history, this is enough to explain their inclusion in an interpolated gloss.

But if we excise, as we must, the mention of these three nations from the text, how are we to explain the clause that precedes? They cannot naturally refer to the interpolated words that follow in the MT. Hence they are to be explained in reference to the words that precede. The writer *expected* Antiochus to make a third expedition. In the course of this expedition, whose ultimate goal was Egypt (11^{42}), Antiochus would overthrow tens of thousands of Judah. We have, therefore, to interpret this victory of Antiochus as a victory indeed, but not as a victory of annihilation. Cf. 11^{34} where the same verb with the same nuance occurs. The clause 'but these shall be delivered out of his hand' is designed to teach the readers of the book that in some way the main body of the Jews should be delivered out of the hands of Antiochus. This is in keeping with the expectations of the writer. It would of course be possible to take אלה as an emendation of an original מאלה (= 'some of these') made after the incorporation of the false gloss above referred to.

[*The* †*chief*†], i. e. ראשית. If this is right, then it means the principal part of Ammon: cf. Amos 6^{1}; Jer. 49^{35}. But Buhl and Marti with the Pesh. emend ראשית into שְׁאֵרִית = 'the remnant of the children of Ammon'. This certainly improves the sense of the interpolation.

11^{42-43}. Conquest of Egypt after the reduction of Palestine.

[1] The ancient Moabites had long disappeared, and their place been taken by Nabataean Arabs, to whom even Josephus gives this designation: *Ant.* i. 11. 5; cf. xiii. 13; xiv. 1. 4. It is significant that Moab is never once mentioned in 1 Macc. On the other hand, in Isa. 24–27 (assigned by many modern scholars to the 2nd cent, B.C.) Moab—only now a name with a religious significance—is mentioned in 25^{10}, probably as typical of Israel's enemies. If the reference is not typical, and the present context is against its being so regarded, then the Nabataean Arabs may have early been regarded as identical with Moab as in Judith 7^{8} and Ps. 83^{7}.

11[42]. *Stretch forth his hand:* i. e. to seize: cf. Esther 8[7].

The land of the south. MT and versions have wrongly interpreted the original phrase into 'the land of Egypt': see note on 11[8].

Shall not escape: i. e. לא תהיה לפליטה. The LXX—*ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγύπτου οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ διασωζόμενος*—makes a far stronger statement: 'in the land of Egypt there shall not one escape'—thus reading בָּהּ פָּלִים instead of לִפְלִיטָה. The phrase תהיה . . . לפליטה is from Gen. 32[9(8)].

11[43]. *Precious things.* The word מכמנים is a *ἅπ. λεγ.*, and is derived from the Aramaic כְּמַן.

The south. MT has wrongly as in preceding verse interpreted the original phrase into 'Egypt'; see note on 11[8].

[*The Libyans and Ethiopians,* &c.] This is another interpolation like that in 11[41]. Since the Libyans and Ethiopians dwelt W. and S. of Egypt and are mentioned as following 'in his train' (lit. 'in his steps' במצעדיו = ברגליו, the classical phrase: cf. Exod. 11[8]; Judges 4[10], 8[5]; 1 Kings 20[10], &c: only here in this literal sense in the O.T.: figuratively in Ps. 37[23]; Prov. 20[24]), Egypt is represented as being beset on all sides. The Libyans and Ethiopians are mentioned in Nahum 3[9] and Jer. 46[9]. The interpolator by such an addition seeks to intensify the contrast between Antiochus with his highest ambitions all but achieved and his sudden overthrow.

11[44]. *Tidings out of the east.* As tidings (שמועה) drew away Sennacherib from Palestine (Isa. 37[7]; 2 Kings 19[7]), so tidings (שְׁמֻעוֹת) from the east and north shall cause Antiochus to retire in haste from Egypt.

To destroy and exterminate: i. e. להשמיד ולהחרים. The LXX has here *ῥομφαίᾳ ἀφανίσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι* = בחרב להחרים ולהשמיד (or ולהמית). Cf. Deut. 7[2]. בחרב is then a dittograph of החרים. The two verbs which occur in this order in 2 Chron. 20[23] would then mean 'to ban and to destroy'. But are not the Hebrew and the LXX here renderings of the Aramaic expression לְהַשְׁמָדָה וּלְהוֹבָדָה, which has already occurred in 7[26]? If this is so, it is best to render as these 'to consume and to exterminate'. Th. *τοῦ ἀφανίσαι* (+ *καὶ τοῦ ἀναθεματίσαι* A Q) support this latter order as found in 7[26], where it renders *τοῦ ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοῦ ἀπολέσαι.* So also the Vulg. 'ut conterat et interficiat'.

11[45]. *Shall plant:* i. e. יִטַּע, used only here in the O.T. in this

sense of pitching a tent, instead of יִטָּה. Cf. Eccles. 12^{11} for a related use. Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, &c., take לִנְטֹעַ as corrupt for לִנְטוֹת where 'the spreading out of the heavens' is the idea, not 'the planting' of them.

The tents of his palace: i. e. אָהֳלֵי אַפַּדְנוֹ. But the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. do not support this text. All four read אהלו = 'his tent'. Th., Aquila, and Vulg. regard אפדנו as a proper name. Though this word passed into Aramaic from the Persian and occurs frequently in Syriac, the Syriac translator could not render it. The LXX reads τότε = Aramaic אדין. The word is derived from Persian *apadâna* = 'treasury' or 'armoury', but 'palace' in Syriac. Text uncertain.

Between the seas and the glorious holy mountain. The 'seas' here is a poetical plural (cf. Judges 5^{17}; Deut. 33^{19}) for the Mediterranean Sea. The mountain is of course Mount Zion. The text here implies that Antiochus died in Palestine between the Mediterranean and Mount Zion, whereas he actually died at Tabae in Persia in the winter of 165–164 B. C. It was a reasonable expectation on the part of the Jews that their greatest persecutor should fall amid the scenes of his greatest crimes. According to 8^{25} he was to perish 'broken without hand'. Moreover, the old eschatological expectations of the prophets fixed on the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This is emphasized in Ezek. 38–39 according to which the nations that were hostile to Israel were to fall on the mountains of Israel: cf. $38^{14-16,21}$, $39^{2,4}$; Joel 3^{2}; Zech. $14^{2\,sqq.}$; 1 Enoch 90^{13-19}. Even the throne of judgement was to be set up 'in the pleasant land', 1 Enoch 90^{20}, and the wicked judged according to what was written in the sealed books.

Yet he shall come to his end. Antiochus made a fresh attempt to get hold of the treasures in the Elymaean temples. He tried to break into a temple of Istar or Anaitis, but the people of the place filled with religious frenzy succeeded in driving off his forces. Soon afterwards he died at Tabae in Persia (Polyb. xxxi. 11; 1 Macc. 6^{1-4}; 2 Macc. 9^{1-2}), as above mentioned. See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 160 seq.

Introduction to Chapter XII.

The conventional division of this chapter from the preceding one is based on a sound judgement. Both chapters constitute,

it is true, one vision, to which chapter 10 forms an introduction. But chapter 11 is wholly concerned with human history already past, 11^{2-39}, or on the eve of realization, 11^{40-45}, whereas chapter 12 passes from temporal to eternal things.

In this introduction I shall briefly draw attention to the methods pursued in order to recover the original Hebrew version and thereby in the main the Aramaic original. In the study of the text it has been found necessary to reject phrases and entire clauses as very early or late additions to the original text: and in the next place to emend by means of the versions—above all by means of the LXX—many corrupt passages in the text. There is a third point which is of no little interest to the student of religious development. In 12^{2} owing to the misunderstanding of an Aramaic expression a new conception of the nature of the joys of the righteous and the sufferings of the wicked arose, helped no doubt by the occurrence of this expression (in part) already in Isa. 66^{24}.

I. *Interpolations.*

12^{2}. לחרפות is to be excised as an explanatory gloss on לדראון. The LXX actually incorporates three renderings of לדראון, one of which εἰς διασποράν is reasonably correct. The other two, εἰς ὀνειδισμόν and εἰς . . . αἰσχύνην, are further efforts of the translator to render in the margin this difficult phrase, both of which unhappily were incorporated subsequently in the text. Th. is here very unfortunate. He rejects the real rendering and adopts the two glosses into his text.

12^{10}. Excise יתלבנו as the gloss of an unintelligent scribe in 11^{35} and here. In both passages the LXX knows nothing of it.

$12^{11,12}$. When the original date fixed for the advent of the kingdom was not realized, either the original author—the style is quite his own, or a reviser in the year 165–164 B.C. in the second edition, added $12^{11,12}$ to correct the original prediction and adapt, if possible, its forecasts to actual events. Possibly 12^{11} was added in the second edition and 12^{12} in the third. If so, we have the remarkable fact that three editions of Daniel appeared in the vernacular, i. e. Aramaic in the course of slightly over three years.

12^{13}. Excise לגורלך with LXX, Th., and context. See note *in loc.*

II. *Emendations* (a) *ancient and at the same time incorrect.* (b) *Emendations of the present corrupt MT under the guidance of the versions, mainly the LXX.*

(*a*) $12^{6,8}$. When $12^{11,12}$ were added in the second and third editions, Jewish scholars after the Christian era (?) recognized their incongruity with the statements in $12^{6,8}$, and so changed ואמר (so LXX and Vulg.) in 12^{6} into ויאמר—a change which made the text questionable Hebrew, and אחוית (so LXX) in 12^{8} into אחרית. A further result of this addition led to the attribution of an unparalleled meaning to עמד in 12^{13}, i. e. 'to rise in the resurrection' = קום.

(*b*) 12^{2}. For ארמת עפר read with (LXX, Th.) Peshˇ. and Vulg. עפר ארמה.

12^{4}. For the very corrupt text ישטטו רבים ותרבה הדעת read under the guidance of the LXX עד ישלמו (יסטו) הרבים ותרבה הרעה. See notes *in loc.*

12^{6}. For ויאמר read with LXX, Vulg., and some manuscripts of Th. וְאמר.

12^{8}. For אחרית with LXX read אחוית—another Aramaism like דראין in 12^{2}. It is found in 5^{12}. See note *in loc.*

12^{10}. For יתבררו ויתלבנו ויצרפו read with LXX עד יצרפו ויתבררו. Cf. 11^{35}, where again the LXX is right. Here Th. supports the restoration of the עד. See note *in loc.*

III. *Aramaisms.*

12^{2}. דראון. See under *Interpolations* above and the note *in loc.*

12^{8}. אחוית אלה = אחוית אלין. Cf. 5^{12}.

12^{11}. ולתת . . . מעת הוסר. Here ל with inf. appears to be a continuation of the preceding finite verb: cf. 2^{16}. But it could be justified by Hebrew parallels. The Aramaic was possibly מן־די אתעדי . . . ולמנתן.

IV. *The Hebrew verb* עמד. This verb is a maid-of-all-work in our author. In 12^{1} it appears with על in a new construction = 'to protect', whereas in 8^{25}, 11^{14} the same phrase = 'to withstand'. In $8^{4,7}$, 11^{16} with לפני it bears the latter meaning, while this same phrase in $1^{5,19}$ = 'to serve'. Again in 12^{13} owing to the interpolation of $12^{11,12}$ it comes to mean unjustifiably 'to rise from the dead'.

V. *A characteristic of Gehenna*—i. e. that the wicked should

suffer in the presence of the righteous arose from a false etymology of דראון. See note on 12^2.

VI. *Hebrew renderings of Aramaic phrases of our author.*

12^7. חֵי עָלְמָא = חי העולם, $4^{31(34)}$.

12^7. עדן וערנין ופלג עדן = מועד מועדים וחצי, 7^{25}.

VII. *Very late use (or misuse) of a Hebrew word.* יְאֹר which *in all OT. writings before 200 B.C. is used only of the Nile*, is in $12^{5,6,7}$, 10^4 used of the Euphrates. In Isa. 33^{21} (assigned to 163 B.C. by Duhm, Bickell, Marti; by other scholars to the middle of the 4th cent. B.C.) it means 'watercourses'. In very late Hebrew and late Aramaic it bears the same meaning.

12^{1-3}. These three verses form the close of the revelation of the angel, and belong to what precedes. In fact 11^{40-45} and 12^{1-3} form a unity, being a description of the last times of all, i.e. the destruction of the great heathen power, 11^{40-45}, followed by tumults and troubles throughout the world, out of which, however, the faithful shall be saved, 12^1. Then shall follow the resurrection of the pre-eminently righteous Israelites as well as of the apostates, and the age of everlasting blessedness on the present earth, 12^{2-3}.

12^1. *At that time*, i.e. the period of the overthrow of Antiochus.

Michael . . . the great prince. See $10^{13,21}$.

Shall . . . stand up: i.e. יעמד, which the LXX read as יעבר, since it renders by παρελεύσεται: just as in 11^1 it read עמד as אמר (i.e. εἶπεν).

Which standeth for the children of thy people, i.e. 'protects': cf. Esther 8^{11}, 9^{16}. This phrase עמד על has exactly the opposite meaning in 8^{25}, 11^{14}, where it = 'to withstand', and is therefore there used as the equivalent of עמד לנגד in 10^{13}, or עמד לפני in $8^{4,7}$, 11^{16}. For quite a different use of the last phrase see note on 1^4.

A time of trouble such as never was, &c. This phrase constitutes a technical description of the last times: cf. Jer. 30^7 'Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it': 1 Macc. 9^{27} καὶ ἐγένετο θλῖψις μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, ἥτις οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οὐκ ὤφθη προφήτης αὐτοῖς: Ass. Mos. 8^1, 'ira quae talis non fuit in illis'; Mark 13^{19}: Matt. 24^{21}: Rev. 16^{18} σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας, οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τηλικοῦτος σεισμὸς οὕτω μέγας. It should be observed here that Rev. 16^{18} adheres more closely to Th. than to the MT or LXX, as Th. reads θλῖψις, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν

ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου. So far as the phrase in itself goes, it occurs in a non-technical sense in Exod. $9^{18,24}$. The phrase 'time of trouble' (עת צרה) has already occurred in Jer. 30^{7}. It refers here of course to the gathering of all the Gentile powers against Jerusalem.

Thy people: the true Israel.

Written in the book, i. e. of life. See note on 7^{10}: also my notes on 1 Enoch 47^{3}. This book of life, which originally was a register of the actual citizens of the theocratic community on earth, has in the present passage become a register of the citizens of the coming kingdom of God, whether living or departed.

12^{2}. In Pss. 49, 73 there are probably the first intimations of the immortality of righteous souls. These psalms are the utterances of mystics. It is probable also that in Ps. 17 we have just such another utterance, while in 39 (i. e. omitting the interpolated verses $39^{9(8),11-14(10-13)}$), though the writer is convinced that every man is at his best estate altogether vanity, yet there is the expression of an unconquerable hope in God: 'And now Lord what wait I for? My hope is unto thee' $39^{8(7)}$.

These psalms were probably not written earlier than the 3rd cent. B. C. and possibly towards its close. They avoid all definition of the nature of the life beyond. But the time came when thought busied itself about the nature of the future life. In 1 Enoch 22, which is pre-Maccabean in date, there is an elaborate account of Sheol and its different divisions corresponding to the moral distinctions between the different classes of men. From this Sheol only the pre-eminently good and bad were to be raised, just as in our text, but the mediocre folk of both classes were to remain for ever in Sheol. Thus in our text and in 1 Enoch 22 there is taught a doctrine of the resurrection which in certain respects is morally conceived.

But this is a comparatively late form—that is logically—of the original doctrine. In the O.T. the resurrection was derived from a synthesis of the hopes of the righteous individual and of the righteous nation. By the resurrection the righteous individual was to be raised to a higher communion (*a*) with God and (*b*) and to be restored to communion with the righteous community. Thus the communion of the righteous individual with God was not temporally conditioned, because it was unbroken by death. This is a truth too generally lost sight of—not only in

Judaism but also in Christianity, and particularly in the case of our Lord. In His case there could be no breach wrought by death in His full and perfect communion with the Father. But to return to our immediate problem. Though the communion of the righteous individual with God is not temporally conditioned, restoration to communion with the righteous community is temporally conditioned as regards its external and complete consummation, but not in its spiritual essence; for the spiritual resurrection can be and is experienced in the present alike in respect to God and man. Hence this life is for the faithful the resurrection life, though but in its beginnings. This is the teaching of the later Pauline Epistles, but as a fact of experience it was true all along.

Thus in Judaism[1] the resurrection in its original form was the prerogative of the righteous, as it is also in the N.T. save in a few Judaistic passages.[2] The doctrine in its essential and pure form—a resurrection of the righteous only—appears in the comparatively late section in Isa. 26^{1-19}. But in our text, in 1 Enoch 22; Test. Benj. 10^{8}; 2 Macc.; 2 Bar.; 4 Ezra there are declensions from the original conception. In these writers the spiritual essence of the resurrection has been lost sight of, and the resurrection—instead of being regarded as at once a Divine gift and a personal achievement—came to be used as a sort of vehicle for bringing certain classes of the righteous and of the wicked before the Final Judgement, and, last stage of all, for bringing all men before the Judgement Seat for the General Resurrection. As generally conceived these latter developments are not Christian.

Many. Not all Israel but many in Israel. See preceding note.

Sleep in the dust: i. e. ישני עפר: cf. Isa. 26^{19} שכני עפר 'those that dwell', &c.

That sleep in the dust of the earth. This rendering of the R.V., though it has the support of the LXX, Th., the Pesh., and Vulg. is not a rendering of the MT, which reads ישני אדמת עפר = 'those who sleep in a land of dust'. Marti explains 'the dust' as defining the term 'earth', i. e. earth which is dust (G.-K.,

[1] Cf. Pss. Sol. 3^{16}, 14^{7}, 15^{15}. There is no mention in these Pss. of the resurrection of the wicked: Sheol is their inheritance, $14^{5a,6}$, 15^{11}, 16^{2}.

[2] See my *Eschatology*[2], pp. 397 seq., 407, 410 seq., 428–30, 444, 448–54: Comm. on Revelation, I, p. cxvi: II, 194–198.

§ 128 *o*). Driver renders 'the dusty earth', which is simply impossible here, where abodes of the departed are spoken of. We must either, then, take עפר as a synonym for Sheol as in Job 7^{21}, 17^{16}, 20^{11}, 21^{16}, and render 'in a land of dust'. The Babylonian Hades, which is the same as that of the ancient Hebrews, is described in the Descent of Ishtar, as 'the dark house . . . the house from which he who enters never emerges—where dust is their nourishment, clay their food'. For מִיְּשֵׁנֵי the usual form would be מִישֵׁנֵי (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 102 *b*).

Otherwise we must for אדמת עפר read עפר האדמה. Cf. Gen. 13^{16}; Exod. $8^{12,13}$, where we find עפר הארץ (=Aram. עפרא דארעא), which the LXX in the two latter passages renders τὸ χῶμα τῆς γῆς as Th. in the present passage. This is the better of the two methods of dealing with the text; for the LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. presuppose this order. There is a difficulty in the text of the LXX but not in the order—ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς. Since πλάτος is a rendering of פתי in Dan. 3^{1}; Ezra 6^{3}, the corruption may have arisen in the Aramaic original, i. e. בפתיא דאדמתא, where פתיא[1] may be corrupt for עפר. But the divergence is too great.

Shall awake: i. e. יקיצו. Used in Isa. 26^{19} in the same sense. In this verse of Isaiah three verbs are used of the resurrection: חיה, קום, הקיץ. Our author uses the third here (and owing to the interpolation of $12^{11,12}$ עמד becomes a synonym for קום in 12^{13}).

Everlasting life. Here only in the O.T., but of frequent occurrence in Apocalyptic literature, in the Targums, the Talmuds, and other Jewish writings. It is found in 1 Enoch $15^{4,6}$, which is older than our author: Pss. Sol. $3^{16(12)}$.

Everlasting rejection: i. e. לדראון עולם. Here the MT retains לחרפות (? לחרפה: so LXX and Th. as Jahn recognizes) without a copula before לדראון, as also does the Vulg. 'ut videant semper'. לחרפה was originally a marginal gloss explaining לדראון, and was subsequently incorporated in the text. Here the MT and Vulg. preserve the first stage in this act of incorporation, before the copula was inserted. The LXX contains two renderings of לחרפה and one of לדראון. It reads οἱ δὲ εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον. Th. reproduces the renderings of the two glosses and omits the rendering of the original word of which they were glosses: οὗτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον.

[1] See *Aram. Pap.* (Cowley, 8^{4}, 79^{2-4}, 26^{18-20}).

The Pesh. with لاحيا = 'in interitum' as its first phrase appears to attest לדראון as that phrase, while it paraphrases the second phrase as 'et opprobrium sociorum suorum aeternum'.

Rejecting, therefore, the explanatory gloss (or glosses) we arrive at the original Hebrew version אלה לחיי עולם ואלה לדראון עולם, the terse antithesis = 'some to everlasting life and some to everlasting rejection'.

Much interest attaches to the Hebrew phrase דראון עולם, which the LXX, when the glosses are rejected, rendered by *εἰς διασποράν*. Here it is manifest that the translator derived דראון from the Aramaic דרי (the Syr ܕܪܐ) = *διασπείρειν* (= Hebr. זרה), and the etymology may be right. At all events זרה is used of the punishment of the wicked in Prov. 20^{26}, and of wickedness 20^{8}, and of wicked nations Ezek. 29^{12}, 30^{26}. The word is generally derived from דרא, of which the Arabic equivalent root means 'to repel'. Thus it comes in any case to mean 'scattering', 'rejection'. This word occurs only once elsewhere in the O.T., i. e. Isa. 66^{24}, where the LXX renders לדראון by *εἰς ὅρασιν*, the Vulg. by 'ad satietatem visionis'. Since the Vulg. renders the phrase לדראון עולם in our text by 'ut videant semper', it clearly follows that the LXX and Vulg. translators of this phrase in Isa. 66^{24} and the Vulg. in Dan. 12^{2} derived דראון from the Hebrew ראה 'to see'. The Targum on Isa. 66^{24e} takes the same view and paraphrases as follows: 'And the wicked shall be judged in Gehenna until the righteous say over them, We have seen enough' (מסת חזינא). The same interpretation of the Hebrew phrase appears several times in 1 Enoch 27^{3} 'In the last days there shall be unto them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever': 48^{9} 'So shall they burn before the face of the holy': 62^{12} 'They shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect'. From the above facts we learn that for nearly 200 years B. C. Jewish scholars derived this rare word in our text from ראה 'to see', and from this mistaken etymology concluded that *Gehenna was to be a place of punishment in the presence of the righteous.* Thus the chief characteristic of this Jewish and subsequently Christian conception was derived from a false etymology.

12^{3}. This verse refers to the teachers and leaders of the faithful. Amongst them would naturally be the martyrs and confessors of Judaism, who with the teachers would be distin-

guished from the rest of the faithful Israelites. Cf. 1 Enoch 104^2:

'Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction;
But now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven:
Ye shall shine and shall be seen,
And the portals of heaven shall be opened to you.'

Cf. also 4 Ezra $7^{97,125}$.

They that be wise. Cf. $11^{33,35}$.

Shall shine: i. e. יָזֹהִירוּ. This verb is found nowhere else in the O.T., though the noun זֹהַר = 'brightness' occurs once: i. e. in Ezek. 8^2. The root has this meaning in some Aramaic dialects and in Arabic.

As the brightness of the firmament: i. e. כזוהר הרקיע. But the LXX has ὡς φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = כמאורי השמים, 'as the luminaries of heaven', i. e. the sun and moon. Does this imply a different text or is it an interpretation of the above phrase in the MT? This question is in part connected with the other suggested in the first note on this verse. Are two classes of the faithful referred to? or only the two forms in which their loyalty to God displayed itself—in the faithfulness *alike by precept and example* in the days of persecution? The things to which the faithful are compared favour the former; for 'the brightness of the firmament', i. e. the sun and moon, are clearly distinguished in glory from the stars.

It is hard indeed to divide them into two classes, and yet the context on the whole favours such a division. 'The wise' or 'the teachers' are of course faithful in their lives; but their distinguishing characteristic is that they are the teachers of the true faith. The rest who are likened to the stars have as their distinguishing characteristic their loyalty to the God of Israel even unto death. They too teach, but more by example than precept. Indeed they may not be more than silent but faithful disciples of the teachers.

To return now to the text. The text of the LXX is at all events a very old one, and not improbably a literal reproduction of the Hebrew version. If so, then זוהר הרקיע may have been suggested by the verb יזהירו in the preceding clause and be due to a reviser or the Massoretes. זֹהַר which literally means 'shining' is far from an apt expression in this context. In Ezek. 8^2—the only passage elsewhere in the O.T. where it

occurs—this meaning is quite apt. But this is not all. When the Aramaic equivalent of זהר occurs in the Mishnah of the Jer. Talmud, it is used only of the moon and not of the sun: see *NHWB.* i. 516.

They that turn many to righteousness: i. e. מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים. It is noteworthy that the LXX has here *οἱ κατισχύοντες τοὺς λόγους μου*, which apparently goes back to (or מחזיקי בדברי (דברי = 'they who hold fast my words'. The text it presupposes should then be rendered not 'they who strengthen my words' but 'they who hold fast my words'. The two classes referred to then would be: 'they who are wise', i. e. have a deep insight into matters like Daniel and are teachers like him: and they who hold fast such teaching at whatever cost.

Turn many to righteousness: i. e. not justify them technically but lead them to righteousness alike by precept and example as in Isa. 53^{11}. The same idea is conveyed by the Aboth v. 26 (Taylor's ed.): 'Whosoever makes the many righteous (המזכה את הרבים), sin prevails not over him; and whosoever makes the many to sin, they grant him not the faculty to repent'.

12^4. *The angel's last commission to Daniel.*

Shut up the words and seal. The book was to be concealed and sealed. The words are repeated in 12^9. With the former injunction cf. 8^{26}.

To the time of the end. The entire book, as it has already been said in $8^{17,26}$, was written in the time of Antiochus' persecution. In that reign the seals were to be removed and the book understood: cf. Isa. $29^{11,12,18,19}$. Contrast Rev. 22^{10}, which is not a pseudepigraph, and was written at the time of the crises with which it deals.

†*Many shall run to and fro*†: i. e. יְשֹׁטְטוּ. The verb is admitted by many modern scholars to be an enigma or a corruption.[1] Two explanations are advanced. The first is that the words signify that many shall run to and fro in the book, i. e. shall diligently study it. But this verb could not be used of an earnest study of the book, but only of a superficial reading of it. Besides, how could it be studied, if it was sealed and

[1] In support of the MT Amos 8^{12} 'Many shall run to and fro (ישוטטו) to seek the word of the Lord' is quoted. But the word in our text is used absolutely and metaphorically, and not so elsewhere in the O.T. Cf. Jer. 5^1; Zech. 4^{10}; 2 Chron. 16^9.

hidden? The second explanation is that many generations would be perplexed as to its meaning, and that only after many generations would its meaning leap to light. But neither explanation meets the difficulty that the book was not to be made known till the very crisis it dealt with had arrived. Nor does either agree with the universal and literal use of this verb elsewhere. Recently, Wright (*Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 322) abandons the metaphorical use of this verb and suggests: 'Why should it not refer to the Jews . . . running to and fro through the world, and gradually increasing in learning the ways and works of God by their weary wanderings? By those wanderings they are even now being prepared more fully to learn the meaning of the visions which so deeply concern them.' But this suggestion also fails to explain how they are to learn the meaning of visions which are not to be disclosed till the hour of the actual events has struck.

Moreover there are still further difficulties. The LXX reads ἕως ἂν ἀπομανῶσιν οἱ πολλοί. The true explanation, if we can arrive at it, should account for the MT and the LXX. The LXX = עד ישׂטו הרבים. Behrmann, following Schleusner, suggests that for ישטטו we should here read ישׂטו, and compares the LXX Ps. 40[5] where μανίας ψευδεῖς is a rendering of שָׂטֵי כזב. This rendering may have been suggested to the translator by the Aramaic שׂטא, the participle of which שָׂטֵי is found frequently and means 'unreasonable', 'foolish'. Perhaps the confusion arose in the Aramaic original, which read (?) עד ישׂטון שׂגיאיא. Here ישׂטון stands for יסטון. If this were so, then the rendering should be 'till the many become apostates'—at all events in Targumic Hebrew. The nearest to יסטון in Hebrew would be ישוטו, which the LXX translator wrongly rendered by ἀπομαίνεω. The MT ישטטו could then have arisen from an accidental duplication of the ט in ישוטו.

Th. has διδαχθῶσιν, which is a corruption of διαχθῶσιν (as in Isa. 55[12]), a bad rendering of the MT. The Pesh. renders the MT metaphorically and the Vulg. literally by 'pertransibunt'. The one thing certain is that the text is uncertain.

†*And knowledge shall be increased*†, i. e. וְתִרְבֶּה הַדָּעַת. Here Bevan takes these words as corrupt. He thinks that the LXX καὶ πλησθῇ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας supplies the solution, which (omitting ἡ γῆ) presupposes וְתִרְבֶּה הָרָעוֹת. This he renders 'and many shall be the calamities'. If the singular verb with a plural noun is

unsatisfactory, we can read ותרבינה הרעת. But Bevan adduces similar constructions in Isa. 34^{13}; Jer. 4^{14}, &c. In support of this restoration he adduces 1 Macc. 1^{9}, which refers to the evils wrought by the Seleucidae and Ptolemies on Palestine: *καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ* = 'and they multiplied evils in the earth'. This conjecture is regarded favourably by Driver, Wright, and others. It is attractive, but these scholars have failed to recognize that in the LXX *πίμπλημι* is never a rendering of any mood of רבה. *πλησθῆναι* means 'to be filled', whereas רבה = 'to be multiplied'. Hence (1) *πλησθῇ* may be a corruption of *πληθύῃ* or of *πληθυνθῇ* as in Th. We should have מלא instead of רבה, if the LXX were right: cf. Gen. 6^{11} ותמלא הארץ חמס and the LXX *καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας*. Perhaps the LXX represents the original text and the MT is only an editorial substitute.

Hence for 'and knowledge shall be increased' we might read 'and evils be increased' or 'and the earth be filled with iniquity'. But here again the only certainty is the uncertainty of the text.

12^{5-7}. Vision of the two angels, one of whom states the duration of the troubles just foretold.

12^{5}. *Other two*, i. e. in addition to the glorious being who appeared to Daniel in 10^{5}, clothed in linen, and who had imparted to him the revelation in $10^{11-14,19}$–12^{4}.

The river: i. e. הַיְאֹר, an Egyptian loan-word, elsewhere in the O.T. the regular name for the Nile. In Isa. 33^{21} it is used, however, of watercourses, and in Job 28^{10} of mining shafts. But where יְאֹר means 'a river' in the O.T., and especially where this word is preceded by the article, it is used only to designate the Nile. Hence its proper use was forgotten when Daniel was written or translated from the Aramaic. In keeping with this fact we note that in the Talmud and Rabbinic writings it bears the general sense of river alike in Hebrew and Aramaic. See Levy, *NHCW.* i. 213. In 10^{4}, where the same river is referred to, the Hebrew designation is right, i. e. הנהר. In the note on that passage we saw just grounds for identifying this river with the Euphrates and not with the Tigris, as apparently is done universally.

12^{6}. *And* ⌜*I*⌝ *said to the man.* The speaker according to the MT is one of the two angels mentioned in 12^{5}. But not only is the form of the Hebrew, which should have been ויאמר אחד מהם or the like, against the above rendering, but from 12^{8} it appears that

Daniel is no silent auditor as in 8^{13} seqq. but asks for an explanation of the angel's answer. The very form of the words 'And I heard but I understood not: then said I, O my lord, &c.', imply that Daniel has already spoken but wishes for more information. There is no nuance of remonstance in Daniel's words, even though they express deprecation of the angel's refusal. Thus both the form of the Hebrew and the context require not ויאמר but וְאֹמַר. Now the LXX εἶπα attests this reading: so also the Vulg. and the manuscripts A Q of Th. The passage in $8^{13,14}$ is not a true parallel. If the dialogue between the two angels in that passage is correct in form, as we may reasonably suppose it is, Daniel does not intervene in any part of it. But he does certainly intervene in 12^{8} here, and no doubt in 12^{6} also.

The man clothed in linen. The same being who is described in $10^{5,6}$.

The wonders: i. e. הפלאות the things prophesied in 11^{31-36}, 12^{1}. The same word is used of the boastings of Antiochus in 8^{24}, 11^{36}.

12^{7}. *He held up his right hand,* &c. The lifting up of the hand as an appeal to heaven in confirmation of an oath is mentioned in Gen. 14^{22}; Exod. 6^{8}; Deut. 32^{40}; and in Rev. 10^{5}, where the speaker is an angel as here. Here both hands are lifted up by the angel in confirmation of this solemn oath.

Him that liveth for ever: i. e. חי העולם. In 4^{34} we have the Aramaic equivalent חי עלמא. The expression is a late one, but it is based on a 6th cent. B. C. one: Deut. 32^{40} חַי אֲנֹכִי לְעֹלָם.

For a time, times, and a half: i. e. מועד מועדים וחצי. Here again we have the Hebrew rendering of an Aramaic phrase of our author עדן ועדנין ופלג עדן in 7^{25}, where see note and on 8^{14}. The three and a half years define the limit of the reign of the Antichrist.

†*And when they have made an end of breaking in pieces the power of the holy people, all these things shall be ended*†. We have here a fresh time determination, and it is entirely vague. It has no apparent connexion with the definite time determination just given by the angel, who has defined the period of evil as limited to three years and a half. But this is not all. The statement is not true in itself. The power of the holy people was not wholly broken in pieces, nor did our author ever expect that it would be. There is also a grammatical difficulty. Elsewhere

when כַּלּוֹת is followed by an inf. the inf. is preceded by לְ. Furthermore, the fact that the Versions take different directions shows that the Hebrew text is secondary. The LXX, as Bevan recognized, shows the way to recover the original of the Hebrew version. The LXX—*ἡ συντέλεια χειρῶν †ἀφέσεως†*[1] *λαοῦ ἁγίου καὶ συντελεσθήσεται πάντα ταῦτα*—is so meaningless as regards the first four words that Bevan reasonably regards them as a literal rendering, and concludes accordingly that the translator found יד נפץ and not נפץ יד. By reading וְכִכְלוֹת יַד נֹפֵץ עַם קֹדֶשׁ under the guidance of the LXX he arrives at the following clause: 'And when the power of the shatterer of the holy people shall come to an end, all these things shall be ended'. Antiochus is to be the last of the oppressors of Israel. The preceding clause defines the temporal limits of the oppression: this clause all but names the oppressor. Bevan thus recovers the thought but not the form of the text. For this use of נפץ he compares Judges 7^{19}; Jer. 51^{20}. For the כִּכְלוֹת יַד cf. Ps. 71^{9} ככלות כֹּחִי. For יד in the sense of power cf. Joshua 8^{20}; Deut. 16^{17}; 1 Chron. 18^{3}, &c. The above combination of the three times and a half with the oppression of Antiochus has already occurred in 7^{25}—a fact which confirms Bevan's restoration of the thought but not of the form[1] of the text.

12^{8}. Daniel, as living at the time of Cyrus, is represented as not understanding this time determination, and as therefore seeking more explicit information. To the readers of the book in the time of Antiochus the meaning of 12^{7} (as it then stood) was of course quite clear. This is the usual interpretation of these words, but it must be confessed that it is not quite satisfactory that Daniel should (as in the MT) again ask 'What is the end of these things?' when he has already been told it most definitely. Thus, when in 12^{6} he asked 'How long shall it be to the end of the wonders?', and has in 12^{7} been told their actual duration and all but the actual name of the last oppressor of the Jews, he cannot reasonably again ask 'What shall be the end of these things?' (אחרית אלה MT and Th.). Driver seeks to get over the difficulty by representing that, whereas קֵץ (12^{6})

[1] For *ἀφέσεως*, which cannot be a rendering of נפץ, as Bevan assumes, is apparently itself a corruption of *ἀφα(νί)σεως*, or even of *ἀφανίζοντος*. Hence read נֹתֵץ and cf. Jer. 4^{26} *ἠφανίσθησαν* (LXX) a rendering of נִתְּצוּ, or מַפֵּץ (= 'hammer' or 'shatterer': cf. Jer. 51^{20}) of which נַפֵּץ may be a corruption.

means the absolute end of a thing, אחרית means the closing or latter part of it, and compares Job 8^{7}, 42^{12}. But the opening words of 12^{8} prepare us for quite a different question. Daniel says 'I heard but I did not understand'. He had heard perfectly what the angel had said, but failing to understand it, he would naturally ask for an explanation of the angel's words. On these grounds I cannot but regard the MT, which Th. supports, as corrupt. The translators of the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. either found a different text or emended the existing one. The Pesh. and Vulg. = מה אחרי אלה 'what will be after these things?' This question, as it appears in Pesh. and Vulg., might apart from its context be reasonable enough. But it is inexplicable alike from what precedes and what follows. Daniel does not want to know *what follows the* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *years of distress* but to have further disclosures on this period, which he is unable to understand. But the angel in 12^{9} definitely refuses to make them. Nor does the reading of the Pesh. and Vulg. accord with what follows; for, if $12^{11,12}$ were original, which they are not, they would be no answer to the reading of the Pesh. and Vulg. Hence we must fall back on the only remaining authority, but happily it is the oldest and at the same time the most satisfactory. The LXX reads τίς ἡ λύσις τοῦ λόγου τούτου; Daniel in these words asks the angel to explain more clearly the words he has just uttered. What then stands behind ἡ λύσις τ. λόγου τούτου? Either (1) the loan-word (אלה) אחות='declaration (i. e. an explanation) of these things'. אחות is found in Job 13^{17}, and is Aramaic both as respects its root and form (an Aram. Aph'el Inf.). Or (2) there may have stood here the actual Aramaic אַחֲוַת אלה, which we find in 5^{12} of our text אחוית אחידין = 'the solving of riddles'. Either word would serve as the original of the LXX and account for the two divergent forms of the text presupposed by the MT and Th. or the Pesh. and Vulg. The Hebrew translator, being perfectly acquainted with the meaning of this Aramaic word and knowing that the Aramaic verb חוי (see Cowley, 30^{16}, 31^{15}, &c.), had been borrowed and used in the Pss. and Job, allowed it to remain in his version. How long it maintained its place we do not know. In the 2nd cent. A. D. at all events, if not earlier, two attempts were made to transform this Aramaic word into a Hebrew one: one survives in the MT and Th., and the other in the Pesh. and

Vulg., as we have seen above. Accordingly I have adopted the rendering of the LXX into my translation. אחויות אלה (or אחות) explains the corrupt MT אחרית אלה and the אחרי אלה which the Pesh. and Vulg. presuppose. λύσις bears in Classical Greek the meaning of 'interpretation': frequently in Aristotle: cf. also Orph. Arg. 37 σημείων . . . λύσεις.

12[9]. The angel refuses to give any explanation of his oracular disclosures as to the things belonging to the end. They are not for the prophet but for the readers of the distant future. The same view of prophecy is expressed in 1 Peter 1[10–12].

12[10]. This verse combines two statements already made. In 12[4] the words of the book are to be shut up and sealed 'to the time of the end, till the many become apostates and the earth is filled with iniquity (so LXX): and in 11[35] 'some of them that be wise shall be wise so as to refine and make themselves pure to the time of the end' (on basis of LXX text restored).

Till many refine and make themselves pure: i. e. עד יצרפו ויתבררו, instead of the corrupt MT. See note on 11[35]. Here as in 12[4] we are to insert עד (LXX ἕως ἄν) at the beginning of the sentence under the guidance of the LXX. Even Th. appears originally to have had the same conjunction, seeing that it is not possible otherwise to explain the subjunctives ἐκλεγῶσιν καὶ ἐκλευκανθῶσιν κτλ. Q[mg] inserts καὶ ἕως before ἐκλεγῶσιν, while Q[N] agrees with LXX in reading only two verbs.

The object of the final woes is twofold—to discipline the faithful so that they may come nearer their highest ideals, and to afford the wicked full opportunity to give full rein to their wickedness.

Here the Niph'al יצרפו is used reflexively just as the Hithp. which follows it. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 51 *c*.

If we omit the 'till', then the sense of the text is changed, and the duty of deliberately choosing suffering and martyrdom is emphasized by our author with a view to the purification of character. But the oldest form of the text is decidedly against this thought.

None of the wicked shall understand, but they that be wise shall understand. The nemesis of wickedness is blindness and self-delusion: but the faithful shall grow in understanding.

Daniel, who in 12[8] deplored his total lack of understanding, is here promised full understanding of the mysteries mentioned

by the angel in 12^{7}. Since in 12^{2} he has been given the promise of everlasting life and here in 12^{10} a divine wisdom in all things that concern the Kingdom, the book naturally comes to a close here. The additions in 12^{11-13}, though called forth by the emergencies of the time destroy the unity of the book, and contain a misuse of a Hebrew verb or else represent the author as forgetting his role as a writer of the sixth cent. B.C.

Here the Book ends, and ends not with the promise of future blessedness to a solitary individual; for that had already been declared to be the guerdon of all those who had been faithful at a great cost (12^{2}): but with the additional promise of spiritual enlightenment to the divinely wise on the dark questions of God's dealings with the faithful and with the world at large. Even in 1^{17} the beginnings of wisdom were already given to the faithful.

Two Early Additions—12^{11} and $12^{12, 13}$.

$12^{11,12}$. Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos* 269) was the first to suggest that $12^{11,12}$ were two successive glosses designed to prolong the term of 1150 days predicted in 8^{14}. This suggestion is obviously right, and is accepted by most leading modern scholars. In 12^{9} the angel definitely refused to give Daniel any further information on the *meaning* of his disclosures (so restored text). But the Massoretes or some earlier reviewer introduced quite a different sense in 12^{8}, and thereby represent Daniel as again asking 'what shall be the end of these things'. To this point we shall return later. In the meantime we find in $12^{11,12}$ two new and different reckonings given by the angel—reckonings, too, which are in direct conflict with the reckoning of 1150 days already furnished in 8^{14}. In 8^{14} 1150 days were to elapse, from the doing away with the daily burnt offering, till the cleansing of the sanctuary. These two reckonings start from the same date, i. e. from the removal of the daily burnt offering. Cf. 8^{14}, 9^{27}, 11^{31}. Both verses are without doubt to be regarded as later additions, which were made successively and possibly by the author himself with a view to bringing the text into accord with history, by adjourning the date of the fulfilment of the prophecy. As such, these additions, therefore, must have originated about 165 B. C. Their style accords also with that of our author. The period mentioned in 12^{11}, i. e.

1290 days, is easy to explain. It obviously defines the duration of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. If in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (= 42 months = 1260 days: cf. Rev. 11^3, 12^6) we insert an intercalary month, we have 43 months in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and if we take these months as consisting of 30 days each, we arrive at the number 1290. How the 1335 days is to be explained otherwise than on the ground of practical necessity, i. e. the fact that the prediction as to the 1290 days had not been fulfilled, I do not see. It amounts to 45 days or $1\frac{1}{2}$ months more than the 1290 days.

To return now to the relations existing between 12^8 and $12^{11,12-13}$. We have seen in the note on 12^8 that the reading of the Pesh. and Vulg., 'What shall be after these things?' is a late attempt to make something of a corrupt text, and likewise an attempt which is at variance with the context. In the same note also we saw that the reading of the MT and Th., 'What shall be the end of these things?' was not the question that Daniel would naturally put in accordance with the context, seeing that Daniel had already put this question in 12^6, and in 12^7 had received an answer, but in 12^8 confessed that he *could not understand.* What Daniel wanted to know in 12^8 was the meaning of the angel's disclosures in 12^7. But owing to the additions made subsequently in $12^{11,12-13}$ it was recognized later in the 2nd cent. A. D., or shortly before, that the text in $12^{6,8}$ needed to be adapted to the additions in $12^{11,12-13}$. Hence the question in 12^6 was transferred by the Massoretes—but not by the LXX nor the Vulg.—from Daniel to one of the angels mentioned; and in 12^8 the original question, 'What is the interpretation of these (difficulties)?' was changed into 'What shall be the end of these things?' These two changes helped in some degree to account for the addition in $12^{11,12-13}$.

FIRST ADDITION—BY THE AUTHOR (?)—12^{11}.

12^{11}. *From the time,* &c.: i. e. מֵעֵת הוּסַר, For the construction cf. Jer. 36^2 מִיּוֹם דִּבַּרְתִּי.

And a horror that appalleth set up: i. e. וְלָתֵת. Here ל with the infinitive appears as a continuation of the perfect הוּסַר in the preceding clause as in Aramaic מִן־דִּי אִתַּעְדִּי . . . ולמנתן. Cf. 2^{16} for a like sequence of verbal forms but with a different nuance. On this sequence in Hebrew, see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses* § 206.

A horror that appalleth. Cf. 8^{13}, 9^{27}, 11^{31}.

SECOND ADDITION—BY A SCRIBE—$12^{12, 13}$.

12^{12}. *Blessed is he that waiteth.* Cf. Pss. Sol. 18^{7}. These verses contain a further extension of the time limit, the first extension having already been inserted in 12^{11}. Thus 12^{12} belongs to the third edition of the Apocalypse.

The thousand three hundred and five and thirty days. This term of 1335 days reappears in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 4^{12}, from my Comm. on which I repeat the following note. In 4^{12} we read: 'He shall bear sway three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.' 'Computed according to the Julian reckoning this period amounts . . . to 1335 days, the actual number found in Dan. 12^{12} and adopted therefrom by our writer. This period points back to the "time and times and half a time" in Dan. 7^{25}, 12^{7}; Rev. 12^{14}; in other words, three and a half years. The same period is otherwise described as forty-two months in Rev. 11^{2}, 13^{5}, or as 1260 days in Rev. 11^{3}, 12^{6}, in which case the month was reckoned at 30 days, or as 1290 days in Dan. 12^{11} and in the Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου.

'The above three and a half years has a special significance in apocalyptic literature as the period of the Antichrist, or the period of the last and worst woes; cf. Rev. 13^{5}, $12^{6,14}$, . . . This apocalyptic period has affected . . . Luke 4^{25} and James 5^{17}. For though the famine in Elijah's time lasted, according to 1 Kings 18^{1}, three years, it is said in Luke 4^{25}; James 5^{17} to have lasted three and a half years.'

12^{13}. The book closes with words susceptible of two quite different interpretations. That this verse is an interpolation see Introd., § 14 k.

Go thou thy way. Here the MT adds לְקֵץ 'to the end'. But since both the LXX and Th. omit this phrase, and since it is completely otiose, seeing that a few words later we have all that it imports asserted in the fuller phrase לְקֵץ הַיָּמִים, I have excised it from the text. Bevan takes it as synonymous with this closing phrase. It is, therefore, tautologous. Robertson Smith, according to Bevan, supposed 'that the first לְקֵץ was wrongly introduced by a scribe, whose eye, passing from the preceding לְךָ, caught the last letters of לְגוֹרָלְךָ in the second half of the verse'.

Rest: i. e. in thy mind, not in the grave as in Isa. 57^{2}, or in Sheol as in Job 3^{17}.

Both the LXX and Th. add here: ἔτι γάρ εἰσιν ἡμέραι καὶ ὧραι (Th. omits last two words) εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελείας. These may go back to the original. They imply that Daniel hopes to see and to share in the new kingdom of God on earth, and that in the flesh. Since the first edition of the book was written some time before the re-consecration of the Temple, such a statement as that in the LXX and Th. is perfectly justified. See note on 8^{14}.

Shalt stand: i. e. shalt live to see and share in the coming kingdom and inherit thy lot therein. עמד thus retains its normal meaning in Hebrew. But, when $12^{11,12,13}$ was incorporated in the second and third editions by revisers in 165 B. C., and when the predictions they contained were not realized, then an *abnormal* and unjustifiable meaning, 'thou shalt arise', came of necessity to be attached to this verb. There is, so far as I can discover, no example of this meaning in Classical or late Hebrew: nor in Aramaic. Indeed it is not an Aramaic verb. Here the interpolator abandons the author's role as a writer in the sixth cent. B. C. and writes as a contemporary of the early Maccabees.

In thy lot: i. e. the Seer's lot in the kingdom whose advent was all but due. This was the original meaning of the words. Even St. Paul and the first generation of the Christian Church hoped to enter into life without passing through physical death.

But when the expectations of the Seer or his revisers were not fulfilled a secondary meaning came to be attached to this phrase—'thy lot'. After death he was to arise to share in the kingdom when it was established on the earth.

End of the days: i. e. קץ הימים, which is not synonymous with אחרית הימים in 10^{14} or אחרית יומיא in 2^{18}, much less with עת קץ 'end of the days', which phrases have an eschatological reference to the advent of the kingdom. See note on 12^{13} (Transl.).

TRANSLATION

SECTION I

i.e. Chapter I i–19, in the third year of Jehoiakim.

I. 1–2. *Jehoiakim in the third year of his reign carried captive to Babylon and also other members of the seed royal and of the nobles.* 3–4, 5[b], 5[a], 6–7. *Nebuchadnezzar orders Ashpenaz to educate certain noble Jewish youths as pages for the king's service, whom Ashpenaz renamed.* 8–17. *Daniel and his companions out of loyalty to the Law refused the food assigned by the king, and on a diet of pulse and water proved their superiority physically, mentally, and spiritually to the other youths who accepted the royal regimen.* 18–19. *When brought before the king, he found none like them, and so they served as pages in the Court of the king.*

I. In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem
2 and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand. And part of ⟨the seed royal and of the nobles and part of⟩[1] the vessels of the house of God he carried into the land of Shinar:[2] but the vessels he
3 brought into the treasure-house of his god. And the king commanded †Ashpenaz† the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring in certain of the children of ⌜the
4 exiles of⌝[3] Israel both of the seed royal and of the nobles; youths in whom was no blemish, but well favoured and skilful in all kinds of wisdom, ⌜and literature⌝,[4] and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability to stand in the king's palace; and that he should teach them the literature and the tongue of
5[b] the Chaldeans: *And that he should nourish them for

[1] Context requires the restoration of these words, lost through homoioteleuton. See Comm. p. 7 sq.

[2] MT adds against Syr[h] and context 'to the house of his god'.

[3] Restored from Th (and LXX here corrupt). See Comm. p. 12.

[4] Restored from LXX: cf. 1[17].

three years, that at the end thereof they should stand
5[a] before the king. And the king appointed for them a daily
portion of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank.[1]
6 Now amongst these were, of the children of Judah, Daniel,
7 Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. And the prince of the
eunuchs gave names unto them: unto Daniel (the name
of) Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah (of) Shadrach; and
to Mishael, (of) Meshach; and to Azariah, (of) Abed-nebo.[2]
8 But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile
himself with the king's meat, nor with the wine which he
drank: therefore he requested the prince of the eunuchs
9 that he might not defile himself. Now God made Daniel
to find favour and compassion in the sight of the prince
10 of the eunuchs. And the prince of the eunuchs said unto
Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your
meat and your drink: lest he should see your faces worse-
liking than the youths that are of your own age and so ye
11 should make my head forfeit to the king. Then said
Daniel to †the Melzar† ⌜the prince of the eunuchs who
had been appointed⌝[3] over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael,
12 and Azariah: Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten
days; and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to
13 drink. Then let our countenances be looked upon before
thee, and the countenances of the youths that eat of the
king's meat; and as thou seest deal with thy servants.
14 So he hearkened unto them in this matter, and proved
15 them ten days. And at the end of the ten days their
countenances appeared fairer, and they were fatter in
flesh, than all the youths which did eat of the king's meat.
16 So †the Melzar† kept taking away their meat, and the
17 wine that they should drink, and gave them pulse. Now
as for these four youths, God gave them knowledge and
skill in all literature and wisdom: and Daniel had under-
18 standing in every kind of vision and dreams. And at the
end of the days on which the king had commanded to
bring them in, the prince of the eunuchs brought them in

[1] With Marti I have transposed 5[b] before 5[a]. This change regularizes the grammar and improves the sense.

[2] Text reads Abed-nego—an obvious corruption of Abed-nebo.

[3] So LXX. MT reads 'whom the prince of the eunuchs had appointed'.

19 before Nebuchadnezzar. And the king spake with them; and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.[1]

SECTION II

i.e. Chapter II 1–49[a], I 20–21, II 49[b], in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar.

II. 1–2. *Troubled by a dream Nebuchadnezzar summons his wise men to make known to him his dream and its interpretation.* 3–11. *They reply that they are ready to interpret the dream, if the king makes it known to them, but that they cannot meet both demands.* 12–16. *Thereupon the king orders them to be slain, but at the request of Daniel, who with his companions belonged to the guild of the wise men, the decree is stayed and Daniel promises to meet the demands of the king.* 17–23. *In answer to the prayers of Daniel and his companions the secret is revealed to him and thanksgivings are offered to God.* 24–30. *Daniel is brought at his own request before the king and declares his readiness to make known both the dream and its interpretation.* 31–5. *The dream.* 36–45. *Its interpretation.* 46–7. *Homage rendered by the king to Daniel.* 48–9[a], I. 20–1, II. 49[b]. *Daniel made chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon. Since Daniel owed so much to the intercessions of his three brethren, he requests the king to reward them also. The king does so and, setting them over the affairs of the province of Babylon, finds them ten times wiser than all the other wise men of his realm. Daniel appointed to be the chief governor next to the king.*

II. And in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams: and his spirit was
2 troubled, and his sleep ***brake from***[2] him. Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans for to tell the king his dreams. So they came in and stood before the king.

[1] I have restored 1^{20-1} to their original context after 2^{49a}. See Comm. pp. 52–4.

[2] So with other scholars I have restored the text as in $6^{19\,(18)}$. Sym. renders both passages alike. MT has 'was done for'—very questionable Hebrew. See p. 26 sq.

3 And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream,
4 and my spirit is troubled to know the dream. Then spake
the Chaldeans to the king ***and said***,[1] O king, live for ever:
tell thy servants the dream, and we will show the inter-
5 pretation. The king answered and said to the Chaldeans
the thing †is gone†[2] from me: if ye make not known unto
me the dream and the interpretation thereof, ye shall be
cut in pieces, and *your houses* be made a dunghill.[3]
6. But if ye declare the dream and the interpretation thereof,
ye shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour:
therefore declare me the dream and the interpretation
7 thereof. They answered the second time and said, Let
the king tell his servants the dream, and so will we show
8 the interpretation. The king answered and said I know
of a certainty that ye would gain time, because ye see the
9 word from me is sure: That if ye do not make known
unto me the dream, the judgement upon you is inevitable:
for lying and corrupt words ye have concerted to speak
before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the
dream, and so I shall know that ye can show me the
10 interpretation thereof. The Chaldeans answered before
the king and said, there is not a man upon the earth that
can show the king's matter: forasmuch as no king, be
he never so great and mighty, hath asked such a thing of
11 any magician, or enchanter, or Chaldean. And it is a
difficult thing that the king requireth, and there is none
other that can show it before the king, except the gods,
12 whose dwelling is not with flesh. For this cause the
king was angry and very furious, and issued a command-

[1] So Haupt, Kamphausen, Marti, &c., emend the corrupt MT text 'in Aramaic'. See p. 28 sq.

[2] Better render 'the thing from me is sure', i.e. shall certainly be carried out. See p. 30 sq.

[3] So MT, but the LXX 'your possessions be confiscated to the crown'. Here the LXX is supported by the Vulg. See p. 31. The same rendering is given in 3^{29} i.e. *ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται* and in Ezra 6^{11}, both by the LXX and Vulg., though in slightly different words, and again in 1 Esdras 6^{31} *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά*. In 2^{5}, 3^{29} of our text Th. renders 'your houses will be destroyed (*διαρπαγήσονται*)'. Jensen, *K.B.*, vi. 363 suggests that נולו (נולי) is a word from the Assyrian *namâlu* (*nawâlu*) 'ruin'. The text is uncertain.

13 ment to destroy all the wise men of Babylon; So the
decree went forth that the wise men should be slain; and
⌜Daniel and his companions were sought to be slain⌝[1]
14 Then Daniel returned answer with counsel and prudence
to Arioch the captain of the king's guard who had gone
15 forth to slay the wise men of Babylon. He answered
and said to Arioch the king's captain, Wherefore is the
decree from the king so severe? Then Arioch made the
16 thing known unto Daniel. And Daniel went in and im-
plored the king to give him time, and so he would make
it his task to show the king the interpretation.[2]
17 Then Daniel went to his house and made the thing known
18 to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions: and
*so they made it their task[3] to implore compassion from
the God of heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel
and his companions should not perish with the rest of
19 the wise men of Babylon. Then was the secret revealed
unto Daniel *in a vision on that self-same night.[4] Then

[1] So LXX and Vulg. See p. 34. The MT has a conflation of constructions: 'sought Daniel and his companions to be slain'. Th. and Pesh. have the active construction: 'sought Daniel and his companions to slay (them)'.

[2] In my note on this verse I have rendered this clause 'and (so) it would be his task to show'. But the rendering above reproduces the peculiar idiom ופשרא להחויא in the text with sufficient accuracy. The idiom expresses intention 'and so he *would* show'. Here the ו = 'and so' as in $2^{24, 9, 24, 49}$, 6^{2}. בעה is never followed by ל and the Inf. in Ezra or Daniel, but by די. Cf. 2^{16}.

[3] In my note I have followed the MT and sought to make the best of a very difficult construction, and to bring it into line with the same idiom in 2^{16}. But the idiom in 2^{16} follows after a request, whereas in 2^{18} it follows after a simple statement of fact. Now our author uses ו to express an intention: after a command in 2^{13}, 5^{2}, 6^{3}, or after a request 2^{49}, in which case it can be rendered 'that', but apparently *not after a mere statement of fact.* The LXX reads *καὶ παρήγγειλε . . . ζητῆσαι* i.e. ואמר . . . למבעא 'and bade (them) . . . implore'. In 3^{4} where *παραγγέλλω* recurs in the LXX it is a rendering of אמר. See Introd. § 20, *t*.

[4] So LXX *ἐν ὁράματι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί* = בחזוא בה ליליא. This is a familiar idiom in our author. Observe also how forcible this text is. Daniel and his companions receive an immediate answer to their prayer, whereas in 10^{13} owing to strife between the angelic patrons of the nations the vision is delayed three weeks. We cannot conceive the translator recasting the text in this fashion. In 7^{2} there is a parallel expression בחזוא עם ליליא (MT, Vulg, where the LXX and Pesh. have the ordinary expression 'in a vision of the night'. Th. omits the phrase). But in 7^{7} (LXX, Pesh., Vulg.: Th. omits), ^{13} (LXX, Th., Vulg.: Pesh. omits) the ordinary expression 'in a vision of the

Daniel blessed the God of heaven. Daniel answered and said,

20 Blessed be the name of God
From everlasting to everlasting;
For wisdom and might are his:

21 And he changeth the seasons and the times:
He removeth kings and setteth up kings:
He giveth wisdom unto the wise,
And knowledge to them that know understanding.

22 He revealeth the deep and secret things:
He knoweth what is in darkness,
And the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers,
Who hast given me wisdom and insight[1]
And hast now made known unto me what we besought of thee;
For thou hast made known unto us the king's matter.

24 Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon,[2] and said thus unto him; Destroy not the wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and so I will show unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the children of the exiles of Judaea that will make known unto the
26 king the interpretation. The king answered and said to Daniel, named Belteshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream which I have seen, and the interpreta-
27 tion thereof? Daniel answered before the king and said, The secret which the king hath demanded, it is not wise men, enchanters, magicians, or determiners, that can show
28 (it) unto the king; but there is a God in heaven that

night' appears to be original. Our author thus appears to use two forms to express this thought but never the third which the MT has in $7^{7, 13}$ 'in the night visions' (בחזוי לילי). Moreover the context is against the plural. 7 contains but one vision, not a series of visions.

[1] So LXX *φρόνησιν*, as the context also requires. MT reads 'might'. See note on p. 38.

[2] MT and Pesh. add 'he went' against LXX, Th., and Vulg.

revealeth secrets, and he hath made known unto the king
29 Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. As for
thee, O king, Thy thoughts came (into thy heart)[1] upon
thy bed, as to what should come to pass hereafter: and
he that revealeth secrets hath made known to thee what
30 shall come to pass. But as for me, this secret is not
revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any
living, but to the intent that the interpretation may be
made known to the king, and that thou mayest know the
28c the thoughts of thy heart. [Thy dream and the visions
of thy head upon thy bed, are these].[2]
31 Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This
image was great and its brightness was excellent: it stood
32 before thee; and the aspect thereof was terrible. As for
this image, his head was of fine gold, his breast and his
33 arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs
34 of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou
sawest till the stone was cut out ⌜from a mountain⌝[3]
without hands, which smote the image upon his feet
that were of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces.
35 Then was the *clay, the iron,[4] the brass, the silver and the
gold, broken in pieces together, and became like the chaff
of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them
away, that no place was found for them: and the stone
that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled
36 the whole earth. This is the dream; and we will tell the
37 interpretation thereof before the king. Thou, O king,
art the king of kings, unto whom the God of heaven hath
given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the
38 glory; and wheresoever the children of men dwell, the
beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he

[1] Restored. See note, p. 41 sq.

[2] I have restored this clause to its natural position if it belongs to the original at all. It is omitted by the LXX. In any case it is wrongly read at the close of 2^{28}. It is noteworthy that neither here nor in $4^{2\,(5),\,7\,(10)}$, $7^{1,\,15}$ does the LXX contain the non-Semitic expression (see Comm., p. 42) 'visions of the head'. $4^{2\,b\,(5\,b),\,7\,(10)}$ occur in the large interpolation $4^{2\,b\,(5\,b)-7\,(10)}$.

[3] Restored with LXX, Th., Josephus, and 2^{45} where in the text definite mention of 'the mountain' presupposes the prior occurrence of the indefinite phrase 'a mountain'. So Justin, *Dial.* 70.

[4] So the order in Th., whereas MT, LXX, Vulg., read 'the iron, the clay' wholly against the sense of the context. See 2^{45}.

given into thine hand, and hath made thee to rule over
39 them all: thou art the head of gold. And after thee shall
arise another kingdom inferior to thee; and another,
a third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all
40 the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as
iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth
all things [1] so shall it break in pieces and crush ⌜the whole
41 earth⌝.[2] And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part
of potter's clay, and part of iron, it shall be a divided
kingdom; but there shall be in it the strength of the iron,
forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.
42 And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of
clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly
43 broken. And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with
miry clay they shall mingle themselves with the seed of
men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as
44 iron doth not mingle with clay. And in the days of those
kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall
never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be
left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and
consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.
45 Forasmuch as thou sawest that a stone was cut out of the
mountain without hands, and that it broke in pieces the
clay, the iron, the brass, the silver, and the gold; a great
God hath made known to the king what shall come to
pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the inter-
46 pretation thereof sure. Then the king Nebuchadnezzar
fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and com-
manded that they should offer an oblation and sweet
47 odours unto him. The king answered unto Daniel, and
said, Of a truth your God is [3]a God of gods[3] and a Lord of
kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing that thou hast

[1] MT adds a dittograph on the preceding words: 'and as iron that crusheth'. LXX defective and corrupt. See note on p. 47.

[2] On this phrase see note on p. 47 seq. Supplied from the LXX: cf. 7^{23}. MT reads corruptly 'forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things: and as iron that crusheth all these, shall it break in pieces and crush'.

[3] Not to be rendered 'the God of gods'. The emphatic forms are not used. Daniel accommodates his words to the views of Nebuchadnezzar. See note on 11^{36} (Transl.) where the Hebrew repeats the same indefinite phrase 'a God of gods'. In 2^{45} we have the unemphatic phrase 'a great God'—not 'the great God' as the R.V. renders.

48 been able to reveal this secret. Then the king made
Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and made
him to rule over the whole province of Babylon, and to
be chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon.
49a And Daniel requested the king to appoint[1] Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nebo over the affairs of the province
I. 20 of Babylon. And in every matter of wisdom and under-
standing, concerning which the king inquired of them, he
found them ten times better than all the magicians and
21 enchanters that were in all his realm.[2] *And Daniel
II. 49b continued unto the first year of Cyrus the king.[3] But
Daniel was in the gate of the king.

SECTION III

i. e. Chapter III. 1–30, in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

III. 1–7. *In his eighteenth year Nebuchadnezzar dedicates a golden image to do honour to his god and to celebrate his conquests from India to Ethiopia—including the conquest of Jerusalem in this year* (see p. 56 seq.), *and summons the rulers of all the subject states to worship the image.* 8–12. *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo accused before the king of refusing to render this worship.* 13–18. *Despite the king's threats they maintain their loyalty to the God of Israel.* 19–27. *Therefore they are cast into the burning fiery furnace, but are delivered unharmed therefrom.* 28–30. *The king then recognizes them as servants of the Most High God and issues a decree against any nation that speaks against their God.*

III. 1 ⌜In the eighteenth year⌝[4] Nebuchadnezzar the king,
⌜when he had brought under his rule cities and provinces
and all that dwell upon the earth from India to Ethiopia⌝,[5]

[1] Literally 'requested the king and he appointed'. This Aramaic idiom where the following coordinate clause expresses the fulfilment of the request or command in the preceding clause recurs in 5^{29}, $6^{2, 17, 25}$. See notes on $2^{16, 18}$.

[2] On the necessity of transferring 1^{20-21} to their original position here, see p. 52 seq.

[3] This is probably a later addition.

[4] Restored to text in accordance with LXX and Th.

[5] Restored from LXX. These clauses supply the reason for the erection of the great image by the king.

made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in
2 the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon. Then Nebuchadnezzar sent to gather together the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, the judges, †the treasurers†,[1] the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which
3 Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. Then the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, the judges, †the treasurers†,[1] the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set
4, 5 up. Then the herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set
6 up: But whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be·cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.
7 Therefore at that time, when all the peoples heard the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, all the peoples, the nations, and the languages fell down and worshipped the golden image that
8 Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and brought accusation
9 against the Jews. They answered and said[2]: O king,
10 live for ever. Thou, O king, hast made a decree that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer and all kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the golden image:
11 and whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall be
12 cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. There are certain Jews whom thou hast appointed over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and

[1] Rejected by many scholars on various grounds. See p. 62.

[2] MT and all versions but the LXX (Th. is defective) add 'to Nebuchadnezzar the king', but the idiom of our author requires 'before' and not 'to' where a Divine or semi-divine being is addressed. See p. 65; also Introd., § 20. *w*.

Abed-nebo; these men, O king*, have not hearkened unto thy decree:[1] they serve not 'thy god',[2] nor worship the
13 golden image which thou hast set up. Then Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo. Then these men were brought
14 before the king. Nebuchadnezzar answered and said unto them, Is it true,[3] O Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nebo that ye serve not my god, nor worship the golden
15 image which I have set up? Now if ye be ready at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, pipe, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music to fall down and worship the image which I have made (well): but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the

[1] So with Th. (and also LXX and Vulg.) we should read לא שמעו מלכא לטעמך and not as the MT 'have not regarded thee'. See p. 66 sq.

[2] So *Qr.* לֵאלָהֵךְ i.e. Bel. (*Kt.* לאלהיך): so also read in 3^{18}. In 3^{14} read לֵאלָהַי with Erfurt MS. (MT לֵאלָהַי): cf. 4^{5} אֱלָהִי. Next in $4^{5,6,15}$, 5^{11} רוח אלהין קדישין = 'spirit of the holy gods'. Here Nebuchadnezzar speaks as an idolator. (Grotius, Driver, Behrmann, Marti, &c.). But Montgomery (p. 153), maintains that אלהין means 'god' and not 'gods', and quotes Sachau's edition of the *Aram. Pap.*, i.e. Aḥ. 126 (where the plural has a sing. verb). But Cowley always takes אלהן (whether in its absolute, construct, or emphatic forms) as a plural, and adopts Perles' suggestion that, in this solitary case out of twenty or more, אלהיא is a corruption of אלהא. Montgomery quotes the Phoenician inscription of Eshmunazar (fourth to third cent. B.C.) *CIS.* I. $3^{9,22}$ האלנם הקדשם, which (p. 227) he recognizes as polytheistic), yet he refers to Aḥ. 115 (Cowley) as supporting the sing. meaning of אלהן, and claims Lidzbarski, *Eph.* iii. 255 and Epstein as maintaining the same view, though he does not quote the Aramaic phrase. But Lidzbarski, Epstein, and Cowley agree in rendering this word as a plural: the first of the three translating רחים אלהן by 'götterliebend', Nöldeke, Epstein, and Cowley by 'beloved of (the) gods'. Similarly in 3^{25} בר אלהין means 'son of the gods'. Montgomery finds that the plural *ilâni* 'gods' is used as a sing. in Akkadian, and tries to trace the like supposed use. But this fact still further strengthens the grounds for taking אלהן as a pl., seeing that in Aḥ., which was translated into Aramaic under Akkadian influences, the word is always, save in one corrupt passage, i.e. l. 115, treated as a pl. Bauer and Leander, *Gram. d. Biblisch. Aram.*, p. 305, writes: 'Hier bedeutet אלהן und אלהיא immer "(die) Götter", nur $6^{17,21}$ hat eine Lesart (unrichtig) אלהיך = "dein Gott"'. Ginsburg in both these passages reads the sing. form אלהך and אלהא.

[3] See note on p. 67, where Lidzbarski is quoted as showing that הצדא ('true') is an Aramaic word and not of Persian origin.

midst of a burning fiery furnace; and what god is there
16 that can deliver you out of my hands? Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nebo answered and said to [1]king
Nebuchadnezzar,[1] We have no need to answer thee in this
17 matter. ⌜For⌝[2] there is a God whom we serve who is able
18 to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will
deliver us out of thine hands, O king.[3] But if not, be it
known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy god,
nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.
19 Then was Nebuchadnezzar filled with fury, and the form
of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach,
and Abed-nebo: (wherefore) he spake and commanded
that they should heat the furnace seven times more than
20 it was wont to be heated. And he commanded certain
mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nebo, ⟨and⟩[4] to cast them into the
21 burning fiery furnace. Then these men were bound in
their mantles, their trousers, and their hats, and their
other garments, and were cast into the burning fiery
22 furnace. Therefore, because the king's commandment
was urgent and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of
the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach,
24 and Abed-nebo.[5] Then Nebuchadnezzar was alarmed,
and rose up in haste: he spake and said unto his coun-
sellors, Did we not cast three men bound into the midst
25 of the fire? They answered and said †unto†[6] the king,
True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, I see four
men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have
no hurt; and the aspect of the fourth is like a son of the

[1] I have followed the LXX, Th., and Vulg. in connecting the two words 'King Nebuchadnezzar'. The MT separates them 'to the king: O Nebuchadnezzar'.

[2] So LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. The MT reads corruptly 'if' and spoils the force of the reply of the three Confessors. See p. 68 sqq.

[3] So LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT reads 'hand'.

[4] Restored on Marti's suggestion. See p. 71.

[5] The MT adds here against the LXX and the context 'And these three men Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo, fell down bound into the midst of the fiery furnace'. Seeing that they were 'hurled' into the furnace, it is more than gratuitous to add that they 'fell down bound'. See p. 72 sqq.

[6] Here our author's usage requires 'before'. See Introd., § 20.

26 gods. Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of
the burning fiery furnace: he spake, and said, Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nebo, ye servants of the Most High
God, come forth, and come hither. Then Shadrach,
Meshach, and Abed-nebo came forth out of the midst of
27 the fire. And the satraps, the deputies, and the governors,
and the king's counsellors, being gathered together, saw
these men, that the fire had no power upon their bodies,
nor was the hair of their head singed, neither were their
mantles changed, nor had the smell of fire passed on
28 them. Nebuchadnezzar answered, and said, Blessed be
the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo, who
hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted
in him, and have changed the king's word, and have
yielded their bodies ⌜to the fire⌝,[1] that they might not
serve nor worship any other god except their own God.
29 Therefore, I make a decree that every people, nation,
and language which shall speak anything amiss against
the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nebo, shall be
cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill:
because there is no other god that is able to deliver after
30 this sort. Then the king caused Shadrach, Meshach,
and Abed-nebo to prosper in the province of Babylon.

SECTION IV

i.e. Chapter IV and III. 31–3, in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar—the same year of his imperial conquests—the nemesis following quickly on the heels of his self-glorification.

IV. 1–2. *Nebuchadnezzar in the midst of his prosperity has a dream, which* 7[b] (10[b])–15 (18) *he recounts and requests Daniel, the chief of his wise men to interpret.* 16 (19)–25 (28). *Daniel gives the interpretation.* 26 (29)–30 (33). *Its fulfilment within a year.* 31 (34)–34 (37). *The king's repentance and restoration.* [*Here the text has been so drastically revised that the recovery of its original form is impossible, though the substance may be accepted as trustworthy*]. III. 31–33 (MT=LXX iv. 34 c) *The king's Edict—closing the section as in* III. *and* VI.

[1] Restored from LXX and Th. Cf. 1 Cor. 13^3.

IV. 1 (4) ⌜In the eighteenth year of his reign⌝[1] Nebuchadnezzar said: I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and
2 (5) flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream which made me afraid; and ⌜fear fell upon me.⌝[2]

7ᵇ (10ᵇ) Upon my bed I saw and behold a tree in the midst of the earth,
[And the height thereof was great:][3]
8 (11) And the tree grew and became strong,
And the height thereof began to reach unto heaven
And the sight thereof to the end of all the earth.
9 (12) The leaves thereof were fair and the fruit thereof much
[And in it was meat for all:][4]

[1] This note of time is preserved only by the LXX. It is in keeping with our author's method throughout the book. See note on 3^{1}: also Introd., § 4. *a–e.*

[2] Restored from LXX: IV. 2^{b}–7^{a} (5^{b}–10^{a}). *The MT and the Versions dependent on it make the following interpolation which is omitted by the LXX and contains idioms at variance with our author's usage, to which attention is drawn in the notes on pp. 79–82, 87–9. Observe the flagrant misuse of 'before' in* $4^{4\,(7),\,5\,(8)}$ ad fin. *The interpolator or redactor has also thrown the text into confusion by abandoning the order of events observed in chapters 3 and 6, in both of which the prescripts of the king are preceded by a large body of narrative. The LXX which knows nothing of* $4^{2b-7\,a\ (5b-10\,a)}$ *preserves the original order of the text, according to which the king in his difficulty at once consulted Daniel,* $4^{15\,(18)}$, *and not first Daniel's subordinates and then Daniel. Again the LXX preserves the narrative form and adds the imperial prescript at the end of the chapter as in 3 and 6, whereas the MT attempts to cast the entire chapter into the form of a prescript, but the redactor carelessly forgets in* $4^{16,\ 25-30\ (19,\ 28\ seqq.)}$ *to transform the narrative form in the third person into that of the prescript form in the first.*

IV. 2^{b}–7^{a} (5^{b}–10^{a}). 2^{b} (5^{b}) And thoughts upon my bed and the visions of my head troubled me.
3 (6) Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of
4 (7) the dream. Then came in the magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did
5 (8) not make known unto me the interpretation thereof. But †at the last† Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my god, and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods: and I
6 (9) told the dream before him: O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I myself know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and no
7 (10) secret troubleth thee, ⌜hear⌝* the visions of my dream that I have seen, and tell the interpretation thereof. And the visions of my head.

[3] Bracketed as a dittograph of 8 (11) γ. A gloss from $4^{18\,(21)}$.

[4] Bracketed as a dittograph of 9 (12) ε.

* Here with Th. I insert 'hear', i.e. ἄκουσον (= שְׁמַע). Even the interpolator of $4^{3-7\,a\ \ 6-10\,a)}$ could not make the author represent the king as

The beasts of the field were sheltering under it,
And the fowls of the heaven dwelling in the branches thereof,
And all flesh was being fed of it.

10 (13) I saw* in the vision[1] of my head upon my bed and behold a watcher, even a holy one, came down from
11 (14) heaven. He cried aloud and said thus,

Hew down the tree and cut off his branches
Shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit:
Let the beasts get away from under it,
And the fowls from his branches.

12 (15) Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth,
Even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field,
And let it be wet with the dew of heaven,
And let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth:

13 (16) Let his heart be changed from man's,
And let a beast's heart be given unto him;
And let seven times pass over him.

14 (17) The sentence is by the decree of the watchers, and by the word of the holy ones is the decision,[2] to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the lowliest of men.

[1] So Th. LXX reads 'in my vision' (?) (ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου): MT, Pesh., and Vulg. corruptly 'in the visions ("vision" Pesh. and Vulg.) of my head upon my bed'—from the same hand as $4^{2b\,(5b)}$ apparently. Perhaps the LXX is simply an abbreviation of the text preserved by Th. Cf. LXX 7^{1} for a like use of ὕπνος. See § 14. *f.*

[2] Montgomery (p. 237) appears to be right in assigning this meaning to שאלתא. He compares שאילת דיניך in the Targ. of Jer. 12^{1} where it renders משפטים. Its parallel above פתגמא 'decree' supports this rendering.

requiring Belteshazzar to tell him the dream in $4^{7a\,(10a)}$ seeing that the king begins forthwith in the next clause, 4^{10b}, to recount his dream. See p. 89.

LXX (see MT in foot-note).

15 (18) I was greatly alarmed at these things and my sleep departed from my eyes. And I rose up early from my bed and called Daniel, the chief of the wise men and the master of the interpreters of dreams. And I told him the dream and he made known to me all its interpretation.[1]

16 (19) Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was appalled for a while, and his thoughts alarmed him. The king answered and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream or the interpretation alarm thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation to thine adversaries.

17 (20) The tree which thou sawest, which grew and became strong, whose height began to reach unto heaven, and the
18 (21) sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair and and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field were dwelling and upon which the fowls of heaven were having their habita-
19 (22) tion: it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong; for thy greatness is grown, and hath reached unto heaven,
20 (23) and thy dominion unto the end of the earth. And whereas the king saw a watcher, even an holy one, coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree, and destroy it; nevertheless leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven
21 (24) times pass over him; this is the interpretation, O king, it is the decree of the Most High, which is come upon my

[1] For $4^{15\,(18)}$ I have given a rendering of the LXX. The MT reads as follows: 'This dream I King Nebuchadnezzar have seen: and thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation; forasmuch as all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation; but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in thee'.

On p. 93 I have shown that the MT here stands or falls with $4^{2b-7a\,(5b-10a)}$. It contains the form חלמא דנה 'this dream' a solecism in our author who elsewhere always places this pronoun after its noun (11 times). Further it contains another example of the late order 'King Nebuchadnezzar' instead of 'Nebuchadnezzar the King'. Here, however, it may be the Massoretes to whom this late order of the words is due, since the Pesh. and Vulg. support the older order

22 (25) lord the king: that thou shalt be driven from men, and
thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and thou
shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and shalt be wet with
the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee;
until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom
23 (26) of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. And whereas
commandment was given to leave the stump of the tree
roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that
24 (27) thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule. Where-
fore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and
break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities
by showing mercy to the poor; if there may be a lengthen-
25 (28) ing of thy tranquillity. All this came upon Nebuchadnezzar
26 (29) the King.[1] At the end of twelve months he was walking
27 (30) on the roof of the royal palace of Babylon. The king
answered, Is not this great Babylon, which I have built
for a royal dwelling place, for the might of my power, and
28 (31) for the glory of my majesty? While the word was in the
king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, To thee it is
spoken, O Nebuchadnezzar the king: the kingdom is
29 (32) departed from thee. And thou shalt be driven from men,
and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field;
thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and seven times
shall pass over thee; until thou know that the Most High
ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever
he will.
30 (33) The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchad-
nezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass
as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven,
till his hair was grown as eagles' feathers, and his nails
as birds' claws.

[1] The A.V., R.V., and even the latest Commentary—that of Montgomery—misrepresent the MT, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. by transposing the words and rendering 'King Nebuchadnezzar'. This point is important since the latter order is late. The Aramaic of our author gives the late order once in three times, but there is no justification for wrongly exaggerating the lateness of the Aramaic. The offence is repeated in the A.V. and R.V. in 4^{28}.

MT

The MT IV. 31–4 (34–7) with the Versions in agreement with it can only be regarded as a redaction of the original. It reads as follows. The LXX varies greatly but observes the idioms of our author, whereas the MT does not always do so.

IV. 31 (34) And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes to heaven
And mine understanding returned to me,
And I blessed the Most High,
And praised and honoured him that liveth for ever.
For his dominion is an everlasting dominion,
And his kingdom from generation to generation.[1]

32 (35) And all the inhabitants of the earth are as persons of no account:
And he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven,
[And among the inhabitants of the earth][2]
And none can stay his hand,
Or say unto him[3] What doest thou?

33 (36) At the same time mine understanding returned unto me;
And for the glory of my kingdom my majesty and my splendour returned unto me,
And my counsellors and my lords sought unto me;
And I was established in my kingdom,
And excellent greatness was added unto me.

34 (37) Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven:[4]
For all his works are truth, and his ways judgement:
And those that walk in pride he is able to humiliate.

[1] If this couplet came from our author we should expect (though it has some support from 7^{14}, see below),

'And his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom
And his dominion from generation to generation',

as it occurs in 3^{33} MT, the genuineness of which is unquestioned. See p. 100 for a possible restoration of the text. In 7^{14} however, we find:

'His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.'

But see note on Transl. 7^{14}.

[2] An obvious dittograph and a weakening of the context. See line 1.

[3] Our author's usage here would require: 'say before him'.

[4] This title is not assigned to God by our author elsewhere. Is it also due to the redactor? Our author uses the phrases 'God of heaven', $2^{18, 19, 44}$ or 'Most High' $4^{21\,(24)}$, 7^{8}, or 'God of gods' 2^{47}, or 'Lord of kings' 2^{47}, 'Lord of heaven' (5^{23}), 'Most High God' 3^{26}, 5^{18}, &c.

LXX

There is nothing in the MT IV. 31–4 corresponding to the following clauses in the LXX. And yet all the clauses or expressions save two or three are those of our author. There is no misuse of his idioms such as we find in the MT IV. 31, 32. I have given Swete's numbering, but rearranged the order of the clauses. There is no hope of recovering the original form of IV. 31–4.

IV. 30[a] I Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was bound for seven years. They made me eat hay (*χόρτον*) as an ox,[1] and I eat of the grass of the earth.

30[c] And my hair became as the †wings of an eagle, my nails as (the claws) of a lion.†[2] My flesh was changed and my heart (also).[3] I walked naked along with the beasts of the earth.[4]

30[b] And after seven years I gave my soul unto prayer and I made supplication regarding my sins before[5] the Lord the God of heaven[6]—yea I prayed regarding mine iniquities[7] to the great God of gods.[8] And at the end of seven years[9] the time of my redemption came, and my sins and mine iniquities were paid in full before the God of heaven.[6]

30[d] I saw a dream and thoughts took hold of me, and after an interval a deep sleep[10] seized me and a heavy slumber[11] fell upon me. And behold an angel called unto me from heaven[12] saying Nebuchadnezzar serve the holy God of heaven[6] and give glory to the Most High.[13] The
33 (36) sovereignty of thy nation is restored unto thee. At that time my kingdom was restored unto me and my glory given back unto me.
34 (37) To the Most High[14] I give thanks and praise.

[1] Cf. $4^{30\ (33)}$.
[2] Cf. $4^{30\ (33)}$.
[3] Cf. $4^{13\ (16)}$, 5^{21}.
[4] Cf. $4^{13\ (16)}$, $^{22\ (25)}$.
[5] I. e. *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, i e. קֳדָם. Contrast this correct idiom with the blunder in MT $4^{32\ (35)}$.
[6] Cf. $2^{18, 19, 37, 44}$.
[7] Cf. $4^{24\ (27)}$.
[8] Cf. 2^{47}.
[9] Cf. $4^{13\ (16)}$, $^{23\ (26)}$.
[10] Cf. 10^{9}.
[11] Cf. 10^{9}.
[12] Cf. $4^{23\ (26)}$.
[13] Cf. 3^{26}, $4^{17\ (20)}$, $^{24\ (27)}$, &c.
[14] Cf. $4^{33\ (36)}$.

(Edict of Nebuchadnezzar the King.)

MT

III. 31 Nebuchadnezzar the King, unto all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: 32 Peace be multiplied unto you. It hath seemed good before me to declare the signs and wonders that God the Most High hath wrought towards me.

33 How great are his signs!
And how mighty are his wonders!
His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,
And his dominion is from generation to generation.

LXX (third form of this Edict. See p. 103).

LXX IV. 34c, i.e. MT (III. 31) Nebuchadnezzar the King, unto all the nations and lands and all that dwell therein; (III. 32) Peace be multiplied alway. The deeds which the great God hath wrought towards me, it hath seemed good to me to declare unto you and to your wise men that he is God and that his wonders are great.

(III. 33) His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation. And he sent letters concerning all that had befallen him to all the nations which were beneath his sovereignty.

SECTION V

i.e. Chapter V. 1–30, in the last year of Belshazzar.

V. 1–4. *Belshazzar's feast,* 5–7 a, ⌜7 b⌝, 8 a, 9, ⌜8 b⌝, 7 c, 8 c—*handwriting on the wall: the king's alarm: wise men summoned but retire when they prove unable to interpret the writing: the king then offers extraordinary rewards: wise men return and again fail to interpret the writing.* 10–16. *The queen-mother summoned, by whose advice Daniel, as the chief of the wise men under Nebuchadnezzar, is brought before the king.* 17–24. *Daniel reproves the king for his pride, though he knew what had befallen Nebuchadnezzar for the same offence, and for his idolatry.* 25–28. *The writing and its interpretation.* 29–30. *Daniel rewarded and Belshazzar slain.*

V. Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of
2 his lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, whilst he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden

and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken out of the temple that was in Jerusalem; that the king and his lords and his wives and his concubines,
3 might drink therein. Then they brought the golden ⌜and silver⌝[1] vessels that were taken out of the temple [2]of the house[2] of God, which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, and his wives and his concubines, drank in
4 them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.[3]
5 In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the
6 palm of the hand that wrote. Then the king's countenance was changed and his thoughts alarmed him; and the joints of his knees were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

Restored Text of V. 7^a–10^a mainly on the basis of the LXX and Josephus.

7^a The king cried aloud to bring in ⌜the magicians⌝,[4] the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers,[5]
7^b ⌜that they should make known the interpretation of
8^a the writing⌝.[6] Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpreta-
9 tion. Then was king Belshazzar greatly alarmed,

MT dislocated, interpolated, and defective. V. 7^a–10^a.

7^a The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. The king answered and said to the wise men of Babylon: Whosoever shall read this writing, and show me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and rule as one of three in the kingdom.

[1] Added in accordance with Th., Vulg., and context.

[2] The Pesh. and Vulg. omit, the last omitting 'of God' also.

[3] The LXX here adds and probably rightly: 'but the eternal God they praised not, in whose hand is their breath' or 'who has power over their breath'. See note *in loc.*

[4] Restored from the LXX.

[5] The MT adds 'And the king answered and said to the wise men of Babylon'. The LXX does not admit of this clause and Josephus omits it.

[6] Restored from the LXX and Josephus.

and his countenance was changed, and his lords were
8b confounded. ⌜Then the king made a decree, say-
7c ing⌝[1]: Whosoever shall read this writing and declare to me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall rule as [2]one of three[2] in my kingdom.
7d ⌜And the magicians and enchanters and soothsayers came in, but none could read or make known the interpretation of the writ-
10a ing⌝.[1] ⌜Then the king called the queen⌝.[3] (And) the queen[4] came into the banquet house, and said, O king, live for ever; let not thy thoughts alarm thee, nor
11 let thy countenance be changed: there is a man in thy kingdom, ⌜whose name is Daniel⌝,[5] ⌜one of the exiles of Judah⌝,[6] in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father[7] light and understanding and

8 Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king
9 the interpretation. Then was king Belshazzar greatly alarmed, and his countenance was changed, and his lords were confounded.
10 Then the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house.

[1] Restored from LXX and supported by Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11. 2.

[2] For a valuable note on the original expression 'one of three' see Montgomery, p. 256 seq. He writes: 'We are dealing here, then, with a customary official title, the numerical denotation of which has been lost. The Aramaic has preserved the two Akkadian case-forms of the noun *taltâ* and *talti*, by true reminiscence, . . . תלתי is not emphatic but absolute; hence . . . we might translate "Thirdling". We have thus here a title which had lost its original significance, like "tetrarch"—in English.' If we accept this explanation 'it disposes with speculation as to the person of "the second" ruler'.

[3] Restored from LXX *τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὴν βασίλισσαν.*

[4] MT adds 'by reason of the words of the king and his lords'. The queen could not enter the banquet-chamber unless invited by the king. See p. 127.

[5] I have restored this clause on the evidence of the LXX and Josephus.

[6] Restored on the evidence of the LXX and Josephus: cf. Th. 1^3, 5^{13}.

[7] LXX adds 'the king'. Hence correct note on p. 130.

wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him, and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, made him master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and
12 soothsayers; forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge and understanding, the ***interpreting***[1] of dreams, and the ***solving***[1] of riddles, and the loosing of spells were found in the same Daniel.[2] Now let Daniel be called, and he will show the interpretation.
13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king. The king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou Daniel, which art of the exiles of Judah, whom the king my father brought
14 out of Judah? I have heard of thee that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and
15 excellent wisdom is found in thee. And now the wise men, the enchanters, were brought before me to read this writing, and they made it their task to make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not show the interpretation of the thing.
16 But I myself[3] have heard of thee, that thou canst give interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be as one of
17 three in the kingdom. Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; nevertheless I will read the writing unto the king, and make known unto him the interpretation.
18 As for thee, O king, the Most High God gave Nebu-

[1] On this emendation see note *in loc.*

[2] MT adds an incorrect gloss: 'Whom the king named Belteshazzar' against the LXX and Josephus.

[3] Since the text has here אנה שמעת I have taken the pronoun to be emphatic and not pleonastic. The pronoun is not inserted in 5^{14}, since the king speaks with little assurance, but, as he speaks with Daniel, he becomes assured, and so in 5^{16} he says 'I myself, &c.' Cf. also $4^{6\,(9)}$, $^{27\,(30)}$, where the same emphatic use of the pronoun occurs. This emphatic use of the pronoun with an inflected verb is found often in the *Aram. Pap.*—not only in the business documents when clear definition is indispensible; cf. Cowley $2^{9,11,15}$, 5^{3}, &c., but even in Aḥ. 52, כען אנת לקבלוי אנה עבדת לך כן . . עבד לי 'Now do thou as I did to thee: do so to me'. Here the pronouns are certainly emphatic. But where the inflected verb is used (and not the participle) the pronoun is often omitted even in business documents.

chadnezzar thy father the kingdom, and greatness, and
19 glory, and majesty: and because of the greatness that he
gave him, all the peoples, nations, and languages trembled
and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and
whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he
raised up, and whom he would he put down.
20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his spirit was
hardened that he dealt proudly, he was deposed from his
21 kingly throne, and they took his glory from him: and he
was driven from the sons of men; and his heart was
made like the beasts, and his dwelling was with the wild
asses; he was fed with grass like oxen, and his body was
wet with the dew of heaven: until he knew that the
Most High God ruleth in the kingdom of men, and that
he setteth up over it whomsoever he will.
22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine
23 heart, though thou knewest all this; but hast lifted up
thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have
brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou
and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk
wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of *gold
and silver,[1] of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see
not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy
breath is, and [2]whose are all thy ways, him thou hast
24 not glorified.[2] Then was the palm of the hand sent from
25 before him, and this writing was inscribed. And this is
the writing that was inscribed, MENE, TEKEL, PERES.[3]
26 This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE; God
hath numbered thy kingdom and brought it to an end.
27 TEKEL; thou art weighed in the balances and art found
28 wanting. PERES; thy kingdom is divided, and given
to the Medes and Persians. Then Belshazzar [4]com-
manded them to clothe[4] Daniel with purple, and to put

[1] So Th. and Pesh. MT reads 'Silver and gold'. Cf. 5^2, where all the authorities give the right order.

[2] So Th. (and LXX). MT reads 'whose are all thy ways, thou hast not glorified'. See note *in loc.*

[3] So LXX, Th., Vulg., and Josephus. MT reads MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. See note *in loc.*

[4] Literally 'commanded and they clothed'. See note on 2^{49}. (Transl.)

a chain of gold about his neck, and make proclamation concerning him that he should rule as one of three in the
30 kingdom. In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain.

SECTION VI

i. e Chapter VI (V. 31–VI), in the first year of Darius.

VI. 1 (V. 31). *Darius receives the kingdom.* 2–4 (1–3). *Darius resolves to set Daniel, who was already over all the satraps, over the whole realm.* 5 (4)–10 (9). *The satraps therefore conspire and approaching Darius prevail on him to issue a decree forbidding the worship of any deity.* 11 (10)–18 (17). *Daniel, detected in the breach of this decree, is accused by his enemies, who do not leave the king's presence till at sunset the king yields, and Daniel is cast into the den of lions.* 19 (18)–25 (24). *Daniel rescued therefrom, and his enemies cast therein.* 26 (25)–28 (27). *Edict of Darius.* 29 (28). *Daniel at last set over the whole kingdom. Darius dies, and Cyrus reigns in his stead.*

VI. 1 (V. 31) And Darius the Mede received the kingdom† being
2 (1) about threescore and two years old.[1] It pleased Darius† and he set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty
3 (2) satraps, which should be throughout the whole kingdom; and over them three presidents, of whom Daniel was one; that these satraps might give account unto them, and that
4 (3) the king should have no damage. Then this Daniel was distinguished above the presidents and satraps, because an excellent spirit was in him, ⌜and he prospered in the king's business which he carried out⌝;[2] and the king
5 (4) *thought to set him[3] over the whole realm. Then the

[1] Here the LXX reads πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει. That the MT is here corrupt see p. 148 seq. The LXX is itself uncertain.

[2] Restored from the LXX. See p. 150.

[3] So MT, LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. Th. read 'set him' (κατέστησεν αὐτόν). But MT, Pesh., and Vulg. combine two conflicting types of text, i. e. those of the LXX and Th., which in themselves are consistent. But the LXX is undoubtedly right. The king's intention to set Daniel over the kingdom brought about the plot against Daniel. When the plot was defeated, the king carried out his intention (LXX $6^{29\,(28)}$ καὶ Δανιὴλ κατεστάθη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας. Hence the MT is corrupt in $6^{29\,(28)}$. See p. 151 seq.

presidents and the satraps sought to find occasion against Daniel as touching the kingdom: but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful.[1]

6(5) Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him con-
7(6) cerning the law of his God. Then these presidents and and satraps ⌜drew near⌝[2] to the king and said thus
8(7) ⌜before⌝[3] him, Darius, the king, live for ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the deputies, and the satraps, the counsellors and the governors, have taken counsel together that the king should establish a statute and make a strong interdict, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any god[4] for thirty days, save of thee, O king,
9(8) he shall be cast into a den of lions. Now, O king, establish the interdict, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which
10(9) altereth not. Wherefore the king Darius signed the
11(10) writing and the interdict. And when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; now his windows were open in his chamber towards Jerusalem; and he was wont to kneel upon his knees three times a day, and he prayed and gave thanks before his God as

[1] MT, Pesh., and Vulg. add gloss 'neither was there any error or guilt found in him' against LXX and Th.

[2] So LXX, Th., and Pesh. Hence I suggest that קרבו originally stood in the text. הרגשו (MT) has no support from any version or other authority before the fourth century A.D. for the sense 'came tumultuously'. In Aramaic two meanings are found (1) 'to be enraged or in tumult': (2) 'to spy upon'. The former is the older: cf. Cowley, Aḥ. 29: the latter is not attested before the time of our author: cf. $6^{12\,(11)}$. The presence of הרגשו in $6^{16\,(15)}$ is against the entire sense of the context. This Aramaic verb was adopted by the Psalmist into Hebrew in Ps. 2^{1} and nouns from the same stem in 55^{15}, 64^{3}. Montgomery (p. 272 seq.) following in the wake of Briggs discusses this word and concludes that it may be translated 'They acted in concert'. But is there any foundation for this conjecture? The old Aramaic and the Arabic support the meaning usually assigned to this word in Ps. 2^{1}, a meaning also which is upheld by the parallelism of the context. Neither does 64^{3} (cf. 83^{3}) afford it any countenance. 55^{15}, it is true, is difficult, but Duhm is probably right in regarding the MT as hopelessly corrupt.

[3] Here the LXX preserves the original text, where the MT and later versions read 'unto him'. See my note on p. 154 seq.: Introd., § 20. *w*.

[4] MT adds 'or man' against the LXX and Josephus and also against common sense. See note *in loc.*

12 (11) he did aforetime. Then these men [1]kept watch,[1] and found Daniel making petition and supplication before his God.

13 (12) Then they came near and spake before the king [concerning the inderdict of the king][2]; Hast thou not signed an interdict, that every man that shall make a petition unto any[3] god within thirty days, save unto thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing is true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.

14 (13) Then answered they and said before the king: Daniel, which is one of the exiles of Judah [4]obeyeth not thy decree,[4] nor the interdict that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition [5]before his God[5] three times a day.

15 (14) Then the king when he heard these words was sore displeased, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured until the going down of the sun to

16 (15) rescue him. Then these men[6] said unto[7] the king, Know, O king, that it is a law of the Medes and Persians that no interdict nor statute which the king establisheth may

17 (16) be changed. Then the king commanded them to bring Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. The king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest

18 (17) continually, he will deliver thee. And a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed

[1] See note on $6^{7(6)}$ for this meaning of הרגשו. It appears in modern times to be always wrongly rendered either as 'assembled together' or 'came tumultuously' in Daniel.

[2] This bracketed clause of the MT is not supported by LXX, Th. or the Pesh.: only by Vulg.

[3] MT and Th. add 'or man'. See note on $6^{8(7)}$.

[4] So Th., but LXX omits. MT, which is corrupt, reads 'regardeth not thee, O king'. See note on 3^{12}.

[5] So LXX and Th. MT, Pesh., and Vulg. omit.

[6] MT adds the impossible clause 'came tumultuously (or 'came in concert') to the king'. It is omitted by Th. and what is more the LXX and Josephus (as well as Th.) *represent the satraps as present throughout the entire interview which lasted all the day*, 6^{12-16}. Even in the MT $6^{15(14)}$, the words 'the king laboured till the going down of the sun' presuppose Daniel's adversaries as present all the day.

[7] Daniel's enemies now become disrespectful to the king, since the king is convicted of seeking to break 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not', and so they say 'unto' instead of 'before' as in $6^{13(12)}$, $14(13)$.

it with his own signet, and with the signets of his lords; that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel.
19 (18) (*a*) Then the king went to his palace, (*d*) and his sleep fled from him, (*b*) and he spent the night fasting: (*c*) neither
20 (19) were instruments of music brought before him.[1] Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions. And when he came near unto the den to Daniel he cried with a lamentable voice: the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually,
22 (21) able to deliver thee from the lions? Then spake Daniel
23 (22) unto the king, O king, live for ever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done
24 (23) no hurt. Then was the king exceeding glad, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he had trusted in
25 (24) his God. [2]And the king commanded, and those men were brought which had accused Daniel, and were cast into the den of lions, they and their wives and their children[2]; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den.
26 (25) Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be
27 (26) multiplied unto you. I make a decree, that in all the

[1] By transposition of clause (*d*) immediately after clause (*a*) the text is made intelligible.

[2] With the Vulg. (adducti sunt) for הַיְתִיו, I have read הֻתְּיוּ 'were brought' and for רְמוֹ I have read with LXX, Th., Vulg., Josephus, רְמִיו 'were cast'. Thus אִנּוּן (= 'they'), which only occurs elsewhere in the nominative, is read as a nom. and not as an acc. as in the MT (= 'them'). See p. 161 sq.

The MT reads 'And the king commanded and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and into the den of lions they cast them, their children and their wives'. In reading 'their wives and their children (so LXX, Pesh., Vulg., Cyprian, Test. iii. 20) I have followed the usual O.T. order. The order in the MT and Th. 'their children and their wives' is Greek rather than Jewish. For the Semitic order 'wives and children'; see Cowley $30^{15, 26}$, 31^{14}.

dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel:
For he is the living God and steadfast for ever,
And his kingdom one which shall not be destroyed,
And his dominion (one that shall be) for ever:
28 (27) He delivereth and rescueth,
And he worketh signs and wonders
In heaven and in earth;
(Even) he who hath delivered Daniel
From the power of the lions.

29 LXX

⌜So Daniel was set over the kingdom of Darius. King Darius was gathered to his people and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom⌝.[1]

SECTIONS VII–X

The Visions of Daniel: i.e. Chapters VII–XII.

SECTION VII

i.e. Chapter VII, in the first year of Belshazzar.

VII. 1–8. *Daniel's vision of the four beasts, i.e. the four successive world powers.* 9–14. *Divine judgement on these powers.* 15–28. *The interpretation of the vision by an angel.*

VII. 1. In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel saw a dream, [even visions of his head][2] upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, even a complete account.[3]

[1] So the LXX save that I have changed the order of the first two clauses. The intention expressed in $6^{4(3)}$ is here carried out. In 6^{4} Th. represents this intention as already carried out, and so omits 29^{b} (28^{b}) but the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. represent a medley of the two types of text: see note on $6^{4(3)}$: also p. 151 seq.

Instead of the text in the LXX, which I have adopted, the MT, Pesh., and Vulg. read: 'So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.'

[2] Not in LXX. An interpolation. 'Visions of his head'—a non-Semitic expression. See note on $2^{19, 28c}$ (Transl.): Comm. p. 42, *ad init.*

[3] MT adds 'he told' against the LXX (and Th.).

2 I[1] saw in ⌜a vision of the night⌝,[2] and, behold, the four
3 winds of heaven *stirred up[3] the great sea. And four
great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from
4 another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's
wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and
it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon
two feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.
5 And behold another beast[4] like a bear, and it was raised
up on one side, and three ribs were in its mouth between
6 its teeth: and it was said unto it, Arise, devour much
flesh. After this I beheld, and lo another ⌜beast⌝[5] like
a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of
a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was
7 given to it. And after this I saw in ⌜a vision of the night⌝[6]
and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible and
strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it
devoured and brake in pieces, and trod the residue with
its feet: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were
8 before it; and it had ten horns. I was observing the
horns and, behold, there came up among them another
horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns
were plucked up by the roots: and behold in this horn
were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking
9 great things, ⌜and it made war with the saints⌝.[7] I
beheld till thrones were placed and ⟨one like unto⟩[8] an
ancient of days did sit:

His raiment was as snow, and the hair of his head was
spotless as white[9] wool;

[1] MT prefixes against LXX, Th., and Vulg., 'Daniel answered and said'.

[2] So [Th. ΓA], Pesh. Cf. 2^{19} 'a vision of the night'. MT and Vulg. read 'my vision in the night'. LXX here only uses 'visions' in the plural in this peculiar phrase. *Καθ' ὕπνους νυκτός*: always elsewhere it uses the sing. But the LXX seems corrupt here as in 4^{10}.

[3] On this rendering see note on p.175. Otherwise render 'brake forth upon'.

[4] MT adds against LXX and Vulg. 'a second'.

[5] So LXX, Th., and Pesh. MT omits.

[6] So LXX, Pesh., Vulg. MT reads 'the night visions'. Th. om.

[7] Restored from LXX: Cf. parallel statements in $7^{21,25}$.

[8] I have of necessity restored these words simply by reading כעתיק instead of עתיק. See note *in loc.* There has been a like loss of this letter in 10^{5}. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 10 preserves the original reading: *ὡσεὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*: also the LXX in 7^{13} *ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*. But contrast 7^{22}.

[9] In the MT 'white' precedes 'as snow'. See note *in loc.*

His throne was fiery flames, the wheels thereof burning fire.

10 A fiery stream flowed[1] from before him:
Thousand thousands ministered unto him,
Yea, ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him:
The judgement was set,
And the books were opened.

11 I beheld at that time because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake,[2] till the beast was slain, and its body destroyed, and it was given to be burned with
12 fire. And as for the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away: yet, their lives were prolonged for a season and a time.

13 I saw in ⌜a vision of the night⌝,[3]
And behold there came ⌜on⌝[4] the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man,
And he came even unto an ancient of days, and they[5] brought him near before him.

14 And there was given him dominion, and glory and a kingdom,
That all peoples, nations and languages should serve him:
[6]His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away.[6]
And his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

15 And my spirit was distressed ⌜**therewith**⌝[7] even the spirit of me Daniel, and †the visions of my head†[8] troubled me.

[1] Only one verb appears in the LXX and Th. The duplicate arose through an explanatory gloss on a rare word. See note *in loc.*

[2] MT adds 'I beheld' against LXX and Th.

[3] So LXX, Th., and Vulg. as in 2^{19}, 7^{7}. MT 'the night visions' Pesh. om.

[4] So LXX and Pesh. MT, Th., and Vulg. read 'with'. See note on p. 186.

[5] LXX, supported by pre-Theod., Tertullian, and Cyprian, reads, 'they that stood before him'.

[6] Since T. Jos. xix 12 appears to quote this verse as follows: ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἔσται αἰώνιος ἥτις οὐ παρελεύσεται, is it possible that for 'dominion' in this line we should read 'kingdom', and 'dominion' in the next line for 'kingdom'. This would bring the phrasing into harmony with that on 3^{33}, 7^{27} of our text. The contrast, however, in $7^{12,17}$ may have led our author to make this change. But in 7^{27} the usual order is unquestionable.

[7] So LXX and Vulg. MT reads 'in the midst of the (or its) sheath'. See note on p. 188 sq.

[8] Read 'my thoughts' οἱ διαλογισμοί μου with LXX. 'Vision of my head' is non-Semitic. See note on 2^{28c} (Transl.).

16 I came near unto one of them that stood by and asked
him the truth of all this. [1]And he told me,[1] and made me
17 know the interpretation of the things. These great beasts
[which are four][2] are four kings which shall ⌜be destroyed
18 from⌝[3] off the earth. But the saints of the Most High
shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom[4] for
ever and ever.
19 Then I desired to know the truth concerning the fourth
beast, which was diverse from them all, exceeding terrible,
whose teeth were of iron, and its nails of brass; which
devoured, brake in pieces and trod the residue with its
20 feet; and concerning the ten horns that were on its head,
and the other *horn* that came up, and before which three
fell; even concerning that horn that had eyes, and a
mouth that spake great things, whose appearance was
21 more stout than its fellows. I beheld, and the same horn
made war with the saints and prevailed against them;
22 until the Ancient of Days came, and (judgement was set
and dominion)[5] was given to the saints of the Most High;
and the time came that the saints should take possession
23 of the kingdom. Thus he said,

The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth,
Which shall be diverse from all the kingdoms,
And it shall devour the whole earth
And shall thresh it and break it in pieces.

24 And as for the ten horns,
Out of this kingdom shall ten kings arise:
And another shall arise after them;
And shall be diverse from the former,
And he shall put down three kings.

25 And he shall speak words against the Most High,
And shall wear out the saints of the Most High:

[1] LXX reads *ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ λέγει μοι* i. e. ועונה ואמר לי 'And he answered and told me'.

[2] LXX omits.

[3] So LXX and without doubt correctly. MT reads 'arise out of'. Th. is conflate. See note on p. 189 sq.

[4] MT Pesh. and Vulg. add 'for ever and' against LXX and Th.

[5] Restored on Ewald's suggestion. Most scholars accept this restoration.

And it shall be his intention to change times and law;
And they[1] shall be given into his hand until time and times and half a time

26 But the judgement shall sit,
And his dominion shall be taken away,
So that it may be consumed and destroyed for ever.

27 And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven,
Shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High:
Its kingdom is an everlasting kingdom,
And all dominions shall serve and obey it.

28 Here is the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my thoughts alarmed me much, and my countenance was changed upon me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

SECTION VIII

i. e. Chapter VIII, the Vision of the Seer in the third year of Belshazzar, in which he sees the victory of the Greek over the Median and Persian empires, the persecution of the Jews, and the suspension of the Temple worship by Antiochus.

VIII. 1–8. *Vision of the ram and he-goat, i. e. Alexander.* 9–12. *'The little horn,' i.e. Antiochus IV.* 13–14. *Dialogue between two angels overheard by the Seer who learns therefrom that the time of this tyranny will last 1150 days.* 15–27. *Gabriel appears to Daniel and interprets the vision.*

VIII. 1. In the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after
2 that which appeared unto me aforetime. And I saw in the vision;[2] and I was in Shushan the palace,[3] which is in the province of Elam;[4] and I was by the ⌜water-gate⌝[5]

[1] i.e. the saints.

[2] MT adds against LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. 'and it was so when I saw'.

[3] Or 'fortress'.

[4] MT adds against LXX, Th. 'and I saw in the vision'.

[5] So LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. (אבול Aram.) here and in 8^6. LXX and Pesh. have same reading in 8^3. MT in each case reads אובל ('river').

3 of the Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and,
behold, there stood before the ⌜water-gate⌝ a single ram
which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but
one was higher than the other, and the higher came up
4 last. I saw the ram thrusting [2]westward, and northward,
and southward;[2] and no beasts could stand before him,
neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;
but he did according to his will, and magnified himself.
5 And I was observing, and behold, ⌜an he-goat⌝[3] came
from the west over the face of the whole earth, and
touched not the ground: and the goat had [4]†a notable†[4]
6 horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that
had the two horns, which I saw standing before the
⌜water-gate⌝,[1] and ran upon him in the fury of his power.
7 And I saw him come close to the ram, and he was moved
with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake
his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to
stand before him: and he cast him down to the ground,
and trod upon him: and there was none that could deliver
8 the ram out of his hand. And the he-goat magnified
himself exceedingly: and when he was strong, the great
horn was broken; and there rose up ⌜***others***⌝[5] (even) four
⌜horns⌝[6] in its stead towards the four winds of heaven.
9 And out of one of them came forth [7]***another*** horn, a ***little***
one,[7] which waxed exceeding great, towards the south,

[1] So LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. (אבול Aram.) here and in 8^2. LXX and Pesh. have same reading in 8^3. MT in each case reads אובל ('river').

[2] LXX reads: eastward and northward and westward and southward'.

[3] So LXX and Th. against MT which reads 'the he-goat'.

[4] So MT חזות. Th. omits: LXX reads ἕν, i. e. אחת, i. e. κέρας ἕν. Hence render 'a horn'. Vulg. supports MT by its rendering *insigne*. But the description 'notable' lit. 'conspicuousness' is not justified till the horn overthrows the ram, 'magnifies itself exceedingly' and 'becomes strong' (8^8). Thus it is rightly called גדלה 'great' in $8^{8,21}$.

[5] So LXX i.e. ἕτερα = אחרות. Th. and Vulg. om. MT חזות corrupt = 'four notable (horns)'. But is there any justification for calling Alexander's four successors 'notable'? Even Antiochus Epiphanes is at the outset called 'a little horn' which afterwards 'waxed exceeding great', 8^9). The text is not to be translated 'four other horns' but as above, the 'others' being in apposition. Otherwise we shall expect ארבע קרנות אחרות: cf. 12^5: Gen. $8^{10,12}$: $41^{3,19}$.

[6] So LXX, Th., Vulg. MT omits.

[7] Emended by Bevan. See p. 203.

and towards the east, and towards the glorious land.
10 And it waxed great (even) to the host of heaven; and some of the host, even of the stars, it cast down to the ground, and trod upon them.

Emended Text of VIII. 11–12 (see pp. 204–9)

11 Even unto the prince of the host it magnified itself, and by it the daily burnt offering was taken away, and the place cast down and the sanctuary laid desolate.
12 And the transgression was offered on ⟨the altar of⟩[1] the daily burnt offering; and truth cast down to the ground, and it did (its pleasure) and prospered.
13 Then I heard a holy one speaking; and another holy one said unto that certain one which spake, How long shall be the vision while the daily burnt offering ⌜is taken away⌝[1 2] and the transgression that appalleth ⌜set up and the sanctuary laid waste to be trod-
14 den under foot?⌝[3] And he said unto ⌜him⌝,[4] Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings; then shall the sanctuary be justified.

MT. VIII. 11, 12

11 Yea, it magnified itself, (even) to the prince of the host; and it took away from him the daily burnt offering and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.
12 †And the host was given over (to it) together with the daily burnt offering through transgression; and it cast truth to the ground† and it did (its pleasure) and prospered.

MT

†to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot†.

15 And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, had seen the vision, that I sought to understand it; and, behold, there
16 stood before me as the appearance of a man. And I

[1] Text appears to require this addition. See p. 204 sqq.
[2] Restored by help of LXX and Th. (ἀρθεῖσα).
[3] Restored by help of LXX and Th. See p. 210 sq.
[4] So LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. MT = 'to me'.

heard a man's voice between the (banks of) Ulai, which called, and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand
17 the vision. So he came ⌜and stood⌝[1] near where I stood; and when he came, I was affrighted, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man;
18 for the vision belongeth to the time of the end. Now as he was speaking with me, I fell into a deep sleep with my face to the ground: but he touched me and ⌜made me
19 to stand⌝[2] where I had stood. And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the latter time of the indignation: for it belongeth to the appointed time
20 of the end. The ram which thou sawest that had the two horns, they are the kings of Media and Persia.
21 And the he-goat[3] is the king of Greece: and the great
22 horn that is between his eyes is the first king. And as for that which was broken, in the place whereof four arose, four kingdoms shall arise out of his[4] nation, but not
23 with his power. And in the latter time of their kingdom, when ⌜their transgressions are come to the full⌝[5] a king, insolent and skilled in double
24 dealing shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty,[6] and he shall ***devise*** presumptuous things.[7]
And shall prosper and do (his pleasure): and he shall destroy the mighty ones.
25 And [8] against the holy people shall his policy be directed, and he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand;[8]

MT
when the transgressors are come to the full.

MT
24b–25a 'And he shall destroy the mighty ones and the holy people. And through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand.'

[1] Restored with LXX, Th., and Vulg.
[2] LXX reads 'Waked me'. Perhaps we should read 'waked me and made me stand'. See p. 215.
[3] MT adds against LXX, Th., Pesh., and Vulg. 'the he-goat' הַשָּׂעִיר thus expressing the same idea in both Aramaic and Hebrew. See p. 216.
[4] LXX, Th., Vulg.; but MT and Pesh. read 'the'.
[5] So LXX and Th. MT reads as in marg. See p. 217 sq.
[6] MT and LXX add 'but not by his own strength'. See p. 218.
[7] Emended. See p. 218. MT reads '†destroy† wonderfully'.
[8] Emended by Graetz, Bevan, &c. See p. 219 sq.

And he shall magnify himself in his heart, and in (their) security shall he destroy many:

He shall also stand up against the prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hands.

26 And the vision of the evenings and mornings which hath been told is true:

And shut thou up the vision; for it belongeth to many days (to come).

27 And I Daniel[1] was sick certain days; then I rose up and did the king's business: and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.

SECTION IX

i.e. Chapter IX, in the first year of Darius, being the explanation of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years given by the Seer.

IX. 1–2. *Daniel reflects on Jeremiah's prediction and prays for an interpretation.* [4–20 *an early interpolation which takes no account of what precedes or follows, but contains a confession of the sins of the nation, and prays for the restoration of Jerusalem.* 20 *serves to connect* 4–19 *with what follows.*] 21–27. *In answer to Daniel's prayer Gabriel comes to him and explains the prediction of the seventy weeks.*

IX. 1 In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was made king over the realm of
2 the Chaldeans; in the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by the books the number of the years, which, according to the word of ***God***[2] which came to Jeremiah the prophet, were to be accomplished in the desolations
3 of Jerusalem, even seventy years. And I set my face unto [the Lord] God,[3] to seek by prayer and supplications,
4 with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes. [And I prayed

[1] MT adds 'fainted and', which appears in the Hebrew to be a dittograph of the word that follows. It is omitted in the LXX.

[2] Emended by help of LXX. MT reads 'Lord' (יהוה).

[3] The interpolator of the prayer 9^{4-20} inserted 'the Lord' before 'God'. אדני occurs frequently in the prayer, but not elsewhere in our author save in 1^{2}.

unto the Lord my God, and made confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love ⌜*thee*⌝[1] and keep
5 ⌜thy⌝[1] commandments; we have sinned and have dealt perversely, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, and turned aside from thy precepts and from thy judgements: neither have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.
7 O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of face, as it is this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, and in all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their unfaithfulness wherein they have dealt unfaithfully against thee.
8 O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned
9 against thee. To the Lord our God belong compassions and forgivenesses; for we have rebelled against him;
10 neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws, which he set before us by his servants
11 the prophets. Yea all Israel have transgressed thy law, and have turned aside, so as not to obey thy voice: therefore hath the curse been poured out upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant
12 of God; for we have sinned against him. And he hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been
13 done as hath been done upon Jerusalem. As it is written in the law of Moses all this evil is come upon us: yet we have not entreated the favour of the Lord our God, that we should turn from our iniquities, and have discernment
14 in thy truth. Therefore hath the Lord watched over the evil and brought it upon us: for the Lord our God is righteous in all his works which he doeth, and we have
15 not obeyed his voice. And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt

[1] So LXX, Th., Vulg. MT reads 'him' and 'his' respectively.

with a mighty hand ⌜and a stretched out arm⌝,[1] and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day; we have sinned, [2]we
16 have done wickedly. O Lord according to all thy righteous acts, let thine anger[2] and thy fury, I pray thee, be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have become a reproach to all that are
17 round about us. Now therefore, O our God, hearken unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for †the Lord's sake†.[3] O *my God[4] incline thine
18 ear, and hear; open thine eyes and behold our desolations, and the city over which thy name has been called: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our own
19 righteousness but for thy great compassions. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not for thine own sake, *O my God,[5] because thy name hath been called over thy city and thy people.

20 And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my ⌜sins⌝[6] and the ⌜sins⌝[6] of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God for the
21 holy mountain of my God] And whiles I was speaking in prayer ⌜behold⌝,[7] the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision aforetime[8] when I was sore wearied,[8] touched
22 me about the time of the evening oblation. And he instructed ⌜me⌝,[9] and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to make thee skilful of understanding.
23 At the beginning of thy supplications a word went forth,

[1] Preserved in LXX, which omits 'with a mighty hand'.

[2] Perhaps with several MSS. and the rendering in 1 Bar. ii 12 we should translate 'We have done wickedly, O Lord, despite all thy righteous acts. Let thine anger'.

[3] So MT. But read 'thy servants' sake, O Lord' with the LXX. (So Bevan suggests): or 'thine own sake' with Th., Vulg., and 1 Bar ii. 14. See p. 233 seq.

[4] MT and Th. LXX reads Κύριε and 1 Bar. ii. 16.

[5] LXX reads δέσποτα.

[6] So LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT reads 'sin'.

[7] So LXX, Th., Vulg. MT omits.

[8] Such seems the best rendering of MT. (So Meinhold, Keil). Other scholars refer the words to the angel and render 'being caused to fly swiftly'. (Cf. LXX, Th., Vulg.), or 'being sore wearied'. See p. 235.

[9] Restored with Th. and Vulg.

and I am come to tell ⌜thee⌝;[1] for thou art ⌜a man⌝[2]
greatly beloved: therefore consider the word, and under-
24 stand the vision. Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy
people and upon thy holy city To complete the trans-
gression, and to bring sins to the full, And to ⌜blot out⌝[3]
iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness: To
seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy
25 place. Know therefore and discern that from the going
forth of the word ⌜to rebuild⌝[4] Jerusalem unto an anointed
one, a prince, shall be seven weeks: and threescore
and two weeks, it shall be rebuilt with square and moat.[5]
26ab ⌜And at the end of the times, even⌝[6] after the threescore
and two weeks, shall an anointed one be cut off and
26c †he shall have nothing†:[7] and
the city and the sanctuary
shall be destroyed,[8] ⌜together
with⌝[9] a prince, and ⌜the end
shall come⌝[10] with a flood, and
even unto the end shall be
war; — that which is deter-
27a mined of desolations. And[11] ***a
stringent statute shall be issued
against the many***[11] for one

MT

26c And the people of the
prince that shall come
shall destroy the city
and the sanctuary, and
his end shall be

MT

27a And he shall make a
firm covenant with the
many.

[1] Restored with two MSS., LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT omits.

[2] Restored with Th., Vulg., and Sym. Cf. 10[11,19].

[3] So LXX and Vulg. = לִמְחוֹת. MT reads לְכַפֵּר (so Th., Aq.: Pesh.) 'treat as covered'. See p. 238 sq. The spurious work *De Pascha Computus* 13, attributed to Tertullian by its rendering, ut . . . deleantur . . . injustitiae et expientur iniustitiae (= וּלְכַפֵּר . . לִמְחוֹת) attests the earlier Hebrew phrase as well as the later that displaced it.

[4] So Pesh. and Vulg. Hence I emend לְהָשִׁיב to לָשׁוּב. MT is by some scholars rendered 'to restore and build'. But MT gives no satisfactory sense. See p. 242 sq.

[5] See p. 243 sq.

[6] So LXX and Pesh. MT reads, 'even in troublous times. And': see p. 244.

[7] See p. 247.

[8] So Bevan, Marti, and others, emending יִשָּׁחֵית into יִשָּׁחֵת.

[9] So one MS. and five versions. See p. 247 sq.

[10] Emended by Von Gall and Marti on the basis of the LXX. See p. 248.

[11] On this restoration of the text see p. 249 sq.

27[b] week: And so for the half of the week the sacrifice and the meat offering ⌜shall cease⌝:[1]

27[c] and [2]***in its stead***[2] ***shall be a horror that appalleth***; and that until the annihilation that is already determined shall be poured out upon the desolator.

MT

27[c] On the wing of horrors shall be one that appalleth.

SECTION X

i. e. Chapters X–XII, constituting one vision accorded to the Seer in the third year of Cyrus.

SECTION X[a]

i. e. Chapters X–XI. 1.

X. 1–3. *In the third year of Cyrus the Seer prepares himself by prayer and fasting to receive a revelation on the future destinies of Israel.* 4–8. *An angel—not Gabriel—appears to the Seer, who forthwith falls into a deep sleep.* 9–14. *Thereupon the angel touches the Seer and wakes him to full consciousness, and tells him that owing to his prayer he has come to declare to him what shall befall Israel in the latter days.* 15–XI. 1. *But the vision makes the Seer dumb. Then the angel touches the Seers's lips and removes his dumbness, and by touching him again enables him to receive the revelation he is about to make to him.*

X. 1 In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar; and the thing was true, and a hard service: and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.
2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three whole weeks.
3 I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine into my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three
4 whole weeks were fulfilled. And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, I was by the side of the great
5 river,[3] and I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold

[1] So LXX, Th., and Vulg. MT reads 'he shall cause to cease'.

[2] So most scholars emend the MT which reads 'on the wing of'. See p. 251.

[3] MT adds a wrong gloss 'which is Hiddekel'.

⟨one like unto⟩[1] a man clothed in linen, whose loins were
6 girded with[2] gold, yea with fine gold:[2] his body also was
like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning,
and his eyes as torches of fire, and his arms and his feet
like the gleam of burnished brass, and the voice of his
7 words like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel alone
saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not
the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, and they
8 fled to hide themselves. So I was left alone and saw
this great vision, and there was no strength left in me:
9 for my comeliness was turned into corruption,[3] Yet
I heard the voice of his words, and when I heard the
voice of his words I fell into a deep sleep *with my face
10 to the ground.[4] And behold
a hand touched me, and
11 ⌜waked me⌝.[5] And he said
unto me, O Daniel, thou man
greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto
thee, and stand upright; for unto thee am I now sent:
and when he had spoken this word unto me I stood
12 trembling. Then he said unto me, Fear not, Daniel;
for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to
understand, and to humble thyself before thy God, thy
words were heard: and I am come for thy words' sake.
13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me
one and twenty days; but, lo, Michael, one of the chief
princes, came to help me: and ***I left him***[6] there with ⌜the
14 prince of⌝[7] the kings of Persia. Now I am come to make

MT X. 10b
'set me tottering upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.'

[1] I have here restored the כ before איש. Cf. 10[16, 18], where it has been preserved. See p. 256 sq.

[2] Behrmann (followed by Montg.) rightly emends MT אופז 'Uphaz'—a *vox nulla*—into ופז: cf. Cant. 5[11] where with the LXX we should read כתם ופז. Mention of gold from a definite country of this world is against the character of Apocalyptic in such a context.

[3] The text adds here 'and I retained no strength'—a gloss drawn from 10[16] which weakens what has been already said.

[4] So LXX and Pesh. MT reads 'on my face with my face to the ground'—a conflate text.

[5] So LXX and Th. See p. 260 on the corrupt and conflate text of the MT, and the translation given alongside above.

[6] With LXX and Th. and most scholars I have emended נותרתי into הותרתיו. See note *in loc.*

[7] Restored with LXX and Th.

thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter
15 days: for there is yet a vision for the days. And when
he had spoken unto me according to these words, I set
16 my face towards the ground, and was dumb. And behold
one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my
lips: then I opened my mouth and spake and said unto
him that stood before me, O my lord, by reason of the
vision my pangs have come upon me, and I retain no
17 strength. For how can the servant of this my lord talk
with this my lord? for as for me †straightway†[1] there
remained no strength in me, neither was there breath
18 left in me. Then there touched me again one like the
19 appearance of a man, and he strengthened me. And he
said, O man greatly beloved, fear not, peace be unto
thee, be strong, *and of a good courage.[2] And when he
spake unto me, I was strengthened, and said, let my lord
20a speak; for thou hast strengthened me. Then said he,
21a [3]Thou knowest wherefore I am come unto thee. And
now I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing
20b of truth. Howbeit[3] I am returning to fight with the
prince of Persia: and when I go forth, lo the prince of
21b Greece shall come. And there is none that holdeth with
XI me against these, but Michael your prince. And as for
me in the first year of Darius the Mede, I stood up to
confirm and strengthen him.

SECTION X[b]

i. e. Chapters XI. 2–XII. 4.

XI. 2–4. *The Kings of Persia and the overthrow of the kingdom of Persia by Alexander the Great; his empire divided on his death into four kingdoms.* 5–20. *The Ptolemies and the Seleucidae before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Their conflicts for the possession of Palestine. Utter defeat of Antiochus III the Great by the Romans, and his death in 187 B.C. His successor (187–175) dies through a conspiracy.* 21–39. *Rise of Antiochus Epiphanes: his first Egyptian campaign* (25–28)*—the second*

[1] Pesh. and Vulg. om.

[2] So 6 MSS, LXX., Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT 'yea be strong'. See note *in loc.*

[3] See p. 265 seq. for a recovery of the right order of the text.

in 168 B.C. (29–39), *and his attempts to pervert the Jews.* 40–45. *Transition from history to prophecy.*

XII. 1–3. *The final woes and triumph of the righteous accompanied by the resurrection of the pre-eminently righteous and wicked.* 4. *The angel commands the Seer to seal and conceal the book.*

2 And now will I show thee the truth. Behold there shall
stand up yet three kings of Persia; and the fourth shall
be far richer than they all: and when he is waxed strong
through his riches, he shall ⌜rouse himself against all the
3 kingdoms⌝[1] of Greece. And a mighty king shall stand up,
and shall rule with great dominion, and do according to
4 a, b his will. And when he ***is waxed strong***,[2] his kingdom
shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four
4 c winds of heaven: [3]but not to his posterity, for it shall be
4 e, f rooted up; and his kingdom shall be for the others
4 d besides these: but not according to his dominion where-
5 with he ruled.[3] And the king of the south shall be strong,
⌜but one of his princes shall be stronger than he⌝,[4] and
6 have dominion; and his dominion shall be a great
dominion. And at the end of years they shall join
themselves together; and the daughter of the king of the
south shall come to the king of the north to make an
agreement: but she shall not retain the strength of her
arm, ⌜neither shall his seed stand⌝;[5] but she ***shall be rooted up***,[6] and they that brought her, and ***her son***,[7] and

[1] So Th. and practically LXX. MT reads '†stir up the realm'† or '†stir up all against the kingdom of Greece'†

[2] Emended with Graetz, Bevan, Driver, &c. MT reads 'shall stand up'. See note p. 275.

[3] Emended by transposition of clause (*d*) after (*f*) and of the *vav* from before לְאַחֲרִים to the word that precedes it. MT reads 'but not to his posterity nor according to his dominion wherewith he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside these'. See p. 276.

[4] So LXX, Th., Vulg., MT reads 'and one of his princes; and he shall be stronger'. See p. 277.

[5] So Th., Vulg., and Sym. MT reads 'neither shall he stand nor his arm'.

[6] So I emend the text with the help of the LXX. MT reads 'she shall be given'. See p. 279.

[7] So Von Gall, Marti, &c., emend the corrupt MT which reads 'he that begat her'. See p. 279.

7 he that obtained her in those times. But out of a shoot
from her roots shall one stand up in his place, who shall
march against the army, and shall enter into the fortress
of the king of the north, and shall deal with them, and
8 shall prevail: and also their gods, with their molten
images, (and) with their goodly vessels of silver and of
gold, shall he carry captive into the ***south***;[1] and he shall
9 refrain some years from the king of the north. And he
shall come into the realm of the king of the south, but
10 he shall return into his own land. And his son shall
war, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces, and
[2]attack him,[2] and overwhelm, and pass beyond: and he
11 shall again carry the war even to his fortress. And the
king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall
go forth, and shall fight with this same king of the north:
and he shall raise a great multitude, but the multitude
12 shall be given into his hand. And the multitude shall
be swept away, and his heart shall be uplifted: and he
shall cast down tens of thousands, but he shall not prevail.
13 And again the king of the north shall raise a multitude
greater than the former; and he shall [3]attack him[3] at the
end[4] of years, with a great army and with great[5] substance.
14 And in those times there shall many stand up against the
king of the south: also the children of the violent among
thy people[6] shall lift themselves up to establish the
15 vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the north
shall come, and cast up earthworks, and take a well-
fenced city.

[1] MT interprets and so reads: 'Egypt'.

[2] So 13 MSS., Pesh. (and LXX), Cf. 11^{13}. MT reads 'come on and on' or 'come repeatedly'.

[3] So many MSS. and the LXX (though corrupt) εἰσελεύσεται [εἰς αυτὴν] ἐπ' αὐτόν where the words in square brackets are a duplicate rendering. Cf. $11^{6,10}$. MT reads 'come repeatedly'.

[4] MT adds 'of the times'.

[5] So LXX. MT reads 'much'. See note on 11^{25} (Comm.).

[6] e.g. Tobiadae. Montgomery takes them to be a party of Zealots.

Restored Text	MT
15d–e And the forces of ⌜the king of⌝[1] the south shall[2] make a stand, even the *élite* of his troops, but the strength to withstand shall be lacking.	15d–e And the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.

16 And so he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, and in his hand shall be
17 annihilation. And he shall set his face to come with the strength of his whole kingdom, ⌜but shall instead make an agreement with him:⌝[3] and he shall give him the daughter of women, to destroy it;[4] but it shall not
18 stand, neither shall it come to pass. After this shall he turn his face to the isles, and shall take many:

Restored Text	MT
18c–d ⌜but a chief shall put an end to his contumely (even) ***unto annihilation***: yea he shall requite him with his own contumely⌝.[5]	18c–d But a chief shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease: †yea moreover† he shall cause his reproach to turn upon him.

19 Then he shall turn his face toward the fortresses of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and shall not be
20 found. Then shall stand up in his place one that shall cause an exactor to pass through with royal splendour: but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in
21 anger,[6] nor in battle. And in his place shall stand up a contemptible person, upon whom had not been bestowed the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in time of

[1] So Th. (also LXX though corrupt).

[2] MT adds 'not' against LXX and Th.

[3] So LXX, Th., and Vulg. MT reads corruptly 'and upright ones with him and he shall do'. See p. 290.

[4] 'Destroy it'. See p. 290 seq.

[5] So by means of the Versions I emend 18c,d. For a discussion of this difficult passage see p. 292 seqq. Bevan's emendation does not account for the MT nor for the Versions, nor yet does that of Marti.

[6] Rather 'not in a fair face to face encounter'. See p. 296 seq.

22 security, and shall obtain the kingdom by flatteries.[1] And
[2]armies shall be ***utterly*** swept away[2] from before him,
and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant.
23 And from the time they shall
make a league with him he shall
23[b] work deceitfully: for he shall
take the field †and become
24 strong with a small people. In
time of security he shall attack
even the fattest places of the
province†;[3] and he shall do
that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers'
fathers; he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and
substance: yea, he shall devise his devices against the
25 strongholds, even for a time. And he shall stir up his
power and his courage against the king of the south with
a great army; and the king of the south shall war in
battle with an exceeding great and mighty army: but he
shall not stand, for they shall devise devices against him,
26 and ⌜his anxieties ***shall wear him out and*** shall work his
ruin⌝,[4] and his army [5]***shall be swept away***[5]: and many
shall fall down slain.
27 And as for both these kings, their hearts shall be to do
mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table: but it
shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time
28 appointed. And he shall return into his land with great
substance; and his heart shall be against the holy
covenant; and he shall do (his pleasure) and return to his

Restored Text 23[b]–24[a] based on the LXX.

'And he shall ⟨take the field⟩ with a small force unexpectedly against a mighty force ⟨and⟩ lay waste a province.'

[1] The MT word is here a corruption of the original and shorter form בחלקות.

[2] So Bevan by emending הַשֶּׁטֶף into חִשְׁטֹף. MT reads 'with the arms of a flood shall they be swept away'. See p. 298.

[3] So MT. In the margin I have given a possible restoration of the text based on the LXX. This would probably mean that Antiochus with a small following of the people would reduce the entire people and lay Palestine waste. The reference to Palestine, if correctly interpreted, would be proleptic here. See p. 299 seq. Bevan transposes the *vav* in 24[a] and renders 'and by stealth he shall assail the mightiest men of (each) province' (comparing 8[25]). Text uncertain.

[4] So LXX and Th. MT corrupt: 'yea they that eat his meat shall work his ruin.' See p. 302 seqq.

[5] So Bevan, Driver, &c. point the text. MT reads 'shall overflow'.

29 own land. At the time appointed he shall return, and
come into the south; but it shall not be in the latter time
30 as it was in the former. For [1]*those who go forth from the west*[1] shall come against him; and he shall be cowed and shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant, and shall do (his pleasure): and, he shall return and have regard unto them that forsake the holy covenant.
31 And armies sent by him shall make a stand, and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the daily burnt offering, and they shall set up
32 a horror that appalleth. And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he pervert by flatteries: but the people that know their God shall be strong, and do (well).
33 And they that be wise among the people shall instruct the many: yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by
34 captivity and by spoil (many) days. Now when they shall be overthrown they shall be holpen with a little help: and
34[b] [2]there shall join them many ⌜in the city and many⌝ in ⌜their
35 *several homesteads*⌝.[2] And
35[b] some of them that be wise [3]shall be wise so as *to refine and make themselves pure*,[3] to the time of the end: because it is yet for the time appointed.
36 And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against [4]a God of gods:[4] and he shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished:
37 for that which is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers, nor the desire of

MT
Kittian ships.

MT
34[b] 'Many shall join themselves to them with flatteries.'

MT
35[b] shall fall, to refine amongst them and to purify [and to make them white.]

[1] See note on p. 305 for this emendation of the corrupt MT.

[2] See note p. 310 seq. for this emendation on the basis of the LXX.

[3] See note on p. 311–12 for this emendation of the text on the basis of the LXX. See 12^{10}.

[4] I. e. אל אלים. Contrast Deut. 10^{17}, Ps. 136^{2}, where the article before אלהים gives the sense 'the God of gods', i. e. אלהי האלהים. The Seer is writing from the standpoint of Antiochus, just as in 2^{47} (see note on *Transl.*) he is writing from that of Nebuchadnezzar, and so describes the God of Israel as a 'God of gods', i. e. אלה אלהין. Cf. 2^{45} also.

women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself
38 above all. But instead thereof shall he honour the god of fortresses: yea, a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things.

MT

39 And he shall use for the strongest fortresses [1]***the people***[1] of a strange god;

39 And he shall deal with the strongest fortresses by the help of a strange god;

whomsoever he recognizes, he shall honour highly: and he shall cause them to rule over the many, and shall divide the
40 land for a price. And at the time of the end shall the king of the south make a thrust against him: and the king of the north shall storm against him with chariots, and horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the †countries†[2] and shall overwhelm and pass through.
41 And he shall come into the glorious land, and [3]***tens of thousands***[3] shall be overthrown: yet these shall be
42 delivered out of his hand.[4] He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of the ***south***[5]
43 shall not escape. And he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of the ***south***.[6]
44 But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall alarm him: and he shall go forth with great fury to
45 destroy and exterminate many. And he shall plant the tents of his palace between the sea and the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end and none shall help him.

[1] See p. 316 seq. for the above emendation.

[2] On a possible restoration of this unsatisfactory text see p. 319.

[3] So De Wette, Bevan, &c. emend the MT which reads 'many (lands)'.

[4] MT adds here against the universal usage of apocalyptic the names of the contemporary and immediate enemies of the Jews, when they were warring against Antiochus. The addition is: 'Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon.' See pp. 319-20.

[5] MT interprets this word and reads 'Egypt', see p. 321 and note.

[6] MT and Versions add the gloss 'And the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be in his train', a gloss as unjustifiable in this literature as in that in 11^{41}. Here also all the authorities have interpreted the word 'south' as Egypt. See note on 11^{8}.

XII. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that 2 shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the [1] *dust of the earth* [1] shall awake, some to 3 everlasting life, and some to [2] everlasting rejection.[2] And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as 4 the stars for ever and ever. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even unto the time of the end: †and many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased†.[3]

SECTION X[c]

i.e. Chapter XII. 5–10.

5–7. *Vision of other two angels, one of whom states the duration of the troubles just foretold.* 8–9. *The Seer declares his inability to understand the things which he has just heard and asks for an explanation of them. But the angel refuses save in that he repeats what has been already said in* XI. 35, *that the time of the end would be a time of trial and probation.* [11–13. *Two later and successive additions designed to extend the period of 1150 days, which were to elapse before the advent of the Kingdom on earth, first to 1290 and then to 1335, in order to bring the prophecy into accord with history.* 13. *Promise to the Seer that he will live to see and inherit his lot in the coming Kingdom.*]

[1] So LXX, Th., Pesh., Vulg. MT reads 'land of dust'.

[2] For the grounds for this text see note *in loc.* The MT and the Versions take different directions. The difficulty arose from the word דראון. MT = 'to shame (and) everlasting rejection'. Here the first word was a marginal interpretation of the second, which was incorporated into the text without a copula. The LXX gives three interpretations of this word, one of which is right: Th. omits the right interpretation and reproduces the two wrong interpretations. See p. 328 seq. T. Benj. 10[8] supports in using this passage the contrast of only the two opposites 'life' and 'rejection'. See Introd., § 14. *h.* Comm., p. 323 *ad med.*: 328 sq.

[3] So MT. This thought seems wholly out of place. If we follow the LXX we obtain a text which is absolutely in keeping with the eschatological thought of the time: 'till the many become apostates and the earth is filled with iniquity.' The darkest hour ushers in the dawn. See p. 331 sqq.

5 Then I Daniel looked, and behold, there stood other two,
the one on the brink of the river on this side, and the
6 other on the brink of the river on that side. And ***I said***[1]
to the man clothed in linen, which was above the waters
of the river, How long shall it be to the end of the
7 wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which
was above the waters of the river, when he held up his
right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by
him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times,
and an half; [2]and when the power ***of the shatterer*** of the
holy people ***shall come to an end***[2] all these things shall be
8 finished. And I heard, but I understood not: then said I,
O my lord, what is the ***interpretation***[3] of these things?
9 And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are shut
10 up and sealed till the time of the end: [4]⌜till⌝ many refine
and make themselves pure;[4] And the wicked shall do
wickedly; for none of the wicked shall understand: but
they that be wise shall understand.

Here the book ends, and ends—not with the promise of future blessedness to a solitary individual; for that had already been declared to be the guerdon of all that had been faithful at a great cost (12^2). The book closes with the further promise of spiritual enlightenment to the divinely wise on the vexed and dark questions of God's dealings with the faithful and the world at large. It marks a great advance. As God is sole ruler of the world, all history is one and all the kingdoms of the earth subserve His will, and eternal life and divine wisdom are the heritage of all that render Him pre-eminent service.

[1] So LXX—a reading required also by the context. MT = '(one) said'. See p. 333 sq.

[2] Text as emended by Bevan on the basis of the LXX, which needs however to be corrected otherwise than he assumes. MT = 'And when they have made an end of breaking in pieces the power of the holy people'. According to the emended text the duration of the oppression—$3\frac{1}{2}$ years—and the oppressor are here mentioned together as in 7^{25}. See p. 334 sq.

[3] So LXX. MT = 'end'. See p. 335 sqq.

[4] So LXX. MT 'Many shall purify themselves [and make themselves white] and be refined'. Here as in 11^{35} there is an interpolated clause in the MT. But the order of the words here is likewise wrong. The 'smelting' or 'refining' should precede as in 11^{35} 'the purifying'. See p. 337. The 'till' is preserved in the LXX and implied in Th.

(*First Appendix* XII. 11 *added by the Author to bring his prediction into accordance with history by adjourning the date of its fulfilment.*)

11 And from the time that the daily burnt-offering shall be taken away, and a horror that appalleth set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

(*Second Appendix* XII. 12–13 *made by a contemporary interpolator on the failure of the emended prediction in* XII. 11.)

12 Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

13 But go thou thy way[1] and take thy rest, for thou shalt stand in thy lot,[2] at the end of the days.

[1] MT adds against LXX and Th. 'to the end', i.e. till the end be.

[2] I.e. shalt live to inherit everlasting blessedness in the coming Kingdom on earth. Even S. Paul thought, according to his earlier Epistles, that he would live till the actual second Advent of Christ, and without passing through the gate of death become a citizen of the everlasting Kingdom of Christ. The words 'stand in thy lot' imply that the Seer will survive the coming of the Kingdom: not that he shall rise to share in it as it is universally taken. See p. 341. Here the interpolator has fallen from the role of one writing as it were from the 6th cent. B.C., and writes as a contemporary of the Maccabees and the real writer of the book. Hence the promise to the Seer that he will *survive* to inherit the Kingdom. עמד is not used of the resurrection from the dead. The interpolator should have used עת קץ 'time of the end' which in our author is always used eschatologically, as the following notes will show.

It is important for the student of Daniel to recognize these facts, as no lexicon or commentary has hitherto done so.

1°. 'End of the days' (קצת הימים, 1^{18}: cf. $1^{5,15}$: in Aramaic קצת יומיא $4^{31(34)}$). This phrase is never used eschatologically in our author and never refers to the advent of the kingdom. But the interpolator did not recognize this fact and took this phrase to be synonymous with 'the time of the end', i.e. עת קץ. See 4° below. Our author always uses the phrase 'end of the days' to mark the close of some definite crisis in the lives of the personalities with whom he deals.

2°. 'End of years' (קץ שנים). This phrase has no eschatological meaning in our author but is used practically in the same sense as phrase 1°.

3°. 'The latter days' (אחרית יומיא 2^{28}: אחרית הימים 10^{14}). This phrase is used eschatologically in our author, as embracing the final period of history preceding the advent of the kingdom; also the emended text of 9^{26a} בקץ העתים: see p. 382 n. 6.

4°. 'Time of the end' (עת קץ). This phrase is always used eschatologically in our author and refers definitely to the advent of the kingdom: cf. 8^{17}, $11^{35,40}$, $12^{4,9}$. This is the phrase the interpolator would have used, had he been familiar with our author's usage.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

The Prophets were not thinkers but mystics and forthtellers of the will of God, and dealt mainly with the present duties and destinies of man. The Apocalyptists were thinkers and *sought to explain all history as a unity*. The greatest of them, as our author, combined the teachings of Prophecy and Apocalyptic. So far as we know, he was the first to recognize this unity.

Owing to their lack of metaphysical gifts and their belief that the gifts of Prophecy had died out before the second century B.C., the educated Jews set no value on the lessons of Apocalyptic. The book of Daniel, written by the Great Unknown, was not recognized by the Massoretes as having a place among the lowliest of the prophets: even amongst the Hagiographa he was generally placed by them amongst the last three writers. In short the Massoretes were unable to appreciate Apocalyptic and were in fact ignorant of its gifts and character.

In profound contrast stands the judgement of the Early Christian Church. Not only did it admit this Great Unknown among the prophets, but dividing the prophets into two groups—the Four Major and the Twelve Minor—they actually included the Great Unknown in the first group. Who was answerable in the Christian Church for this? The Christian Church was right. Daniel is the only prophet who dealt with life both here and hereafter.

P. 283, l. 8 *for* $11^{8,29}$ *read* $11^{8,29,42,43}$.

P. 283, l. 18 *delete the article before* מצרים.

P. 287, l. 13 ab imo *for* עתים *read* העתים.

P. 311, l. 10 ab imo *for* אתם *read* אֹתָם.

P. 311, l. 6 ab imo *for* ed. *read* rd.

P. 313, l. 13 ab imo *transpose* Sir. 37^{7} *and* Dan. 11^{36e}.

P. 315, l. 19 *for* the *read* a.

P. 315, l. 21 *add*: see note on 11^{37} (Transl.).

P. 324, l. 4 ab imo *for* Again in 12^{13} owing to the interpolation of $12^{11,12}$ *read* In 12^{13} which is also as $12^{11,12}$ interpolated.

P. 328, l. 18 *for* עפר *read* עפרא.

P. 328, l. 22 *for* 'עמר becomes a synonym' *read* 'עמר wrongly becomes a synonym'.

P. 328, ll. 4, 8 ab imo *for* לחרפה *read* לחרפות.

P. 329, l. 10 *for* σπορὰν *read* σπορὰν αἰώνιον.

P. 341, l. 12 *for* in *read* after.

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† The form נדבא appears in an incantation text found in Nippur as Montg. in his *Aram. Incant. Texts* 145 shows.

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* Bauer-Leander is here wrong. 'King David' (המלך דוד) is early classical Hebrew, but not classical Aram. In the later books of the O.T. the Hebrew order is usually 'David the King' (ד״ המלך).

† Observe that the translators of the Aramaic never interpret 'King of the North' as one of the Seleucids, though they interpret 'King of the South' four times as 'King of Egypt'.

‡ It would be wiser to read לא אשתמעו in both these passages instead of לא שמעו which I have proposed in the sense of 'they have not obeyed'—which the Versions require.

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[1] See p. 377 n. 3 for text emended by help of Versions: p. 204 sqq.

[2] In $6^{7(6),14(13)}$ קדם to be restored on evidence of LXX. If a subject ignored 4^{16} or was disrespectful to the king, (contrast $6^{14(13)}$), he used ל and not קדם after אמר. See 369 n. 7.

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