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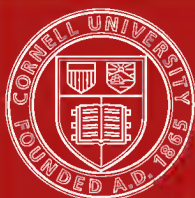
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Daniel and its critics; being a critical



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DANIEL AND ITS CRITICS

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *Opening Remarks.*

THE present volume is supplementary to that on *Daniel and his Prophecies*, published early this year, and can only be fully understood in connection with the former work. It was mainly in deference to modern requirements that the book has been divided into two portions, many persons for whom the discussion of the questions treated of has been specially designed being too easily repelled from the perusal of such a work even by occasional references to the original text. The form of a regular commentary has been as far as possible dispensed with. The work has to some extent been based upon lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in 1893-1897, when the writer occupied the chair of Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint.

The work now completed does not pretend to give anything like a complete account of all the interpretations assigned to the book. Although the section of this Introduction which deals with the literature of the subject may appear large, it is far from exhaustive. The list given there of works on Daniel will no doubt be blamed on the one side for what it excludes, and on the other for the books which are included. A work like the present, however, to be fairly judged, ought to be com-

pared with the current commentaries on the same subject. A number of points, such as questions connected with Apocryphal literature, or with Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, could only be superficially treated, and only as far as absolutely required by the main object which the writer had in view. Many questions, moreover, on which critics of agnostic tendencies may on their principles completely pass over, critics who uphold the Divine character of the prophecies contained in the book, as endorsed by our Lord and the New Testament writers, cannot so lightly ignore.

§ 2. *The Defensive Character of the Work.*

The object of the work is to a large extent defensive. Some of the reviewers of the former volume have, though unwittingly, misrepresented the writer's position. Although firmly believing in the historical facts recorded in the Book of Daniel, the writer has distinctly called attention to the fact that he considers the place assigned to it in the canon of Scripture can be best upheld by the study of the prophecies which it contains. In upholding, however, the Epistle of Jude, a Christian scholar does not necessarily endorse the genuineness of the Book of Enoch, although it contains a prophecy of Enoch alluded to by Jude. The two verses quoted by Jude (ver. 14) are found in that strange miscellany which contains the remains of the Enoch literature. But Enoch's prophecy, as given in the Book of Enoch, is out of harmony with the context (Enoch i. 9, or ii. in some MSS.) in which it is embedded in that book. Moreover, the Book of Jashar is several times quoted in the Old Testament (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18-27), but is not necessarily endorsed by the sacred writers. And if historical

inaccuracies, or even legends, could be clearly proved to exist in the Book of Daniel, the *prophecies* of that book might still be upheld from the internal evidence which they present.

§ 3. *The Prophecies of Daniel.*

It is but a poor argument to maintain that, because the Book of Daniel does not stand in the Jewish Bible among the Prophets but in the Hagiographa, its prophetic character was ignored by the Jewish scribes. There is no written information concerning the arrangement of the Jewish canon ; and it ought to be noted, as a matter of fact, that the Book of Daniel stands in the Hagiographa in its proper chronological position before Ezra and Nehemiah.

We claim to have proved, in the former volume, that the great prophecy of the Seventy Weeks could not have been drawn up in Maccabean days. The modern critical interpretation requires that whole prophecy to be rewritten at the pleasure of the critics. We claim further to have also proved that the prophecy concerning the Grecian attack on the Jewish faith in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (Dan. viii.) could not have been composed in the reign of that monarch, because it mentions nothing whatever about the attempt to abolish circumcision. That prophecy does not allude to the destruction of the Sacred Books, the profanation of the sabbath, or the pollution of the altar at Jerusalem by the sacrifice of swine. With every respect for the scholarship of Dr Pusey and others, we maintain that, while the prophecy can be shown by its fulfilment to refer to the efforts made at that era to stamp out the Jewish faith by Antiochus Epiphanes and the two monarchs who succeeded him on the throne of Syria (Demetrius, it must

be remembered, was also for a considerable time an enemy of Israel and of its religion), the prophecy contained in Dan. viii. is more indefinite in its character than generally imagined. We maintain likewise that the prophecy of the four kingdoms cannot fairly be expounded as now explained by modern scholars. All those prophecies, though by no means so "minute" in their character as is now generally maintained, present distinct proofs of their Divine inspiration.

We are not disposed to surrender to our opponents any portion of the Book of Daniel as untrue or legendary. The theory which, in order to obviate certain difficulties, we have propounded concerning Dan. xi. and xii. does not in the slightest degree interfere with the inspiration of the book or the truth of that prophecy. As honest critics, however, we have been obliged to call attention to certain historical difficulties connected with that paraphrastic prophecy in its traditional text. See the Index to former volume. But those points have no bearing whatever on (1) the fact that Christ endorsed on several occasions the prophecies contained in the Book of Daniel, and (2) on the other important fact that there are in the New Testament nearly one hundred quotations from the book.

It is too often practically forgotten that there is no evidence extant to show how the Sacred Books were revised and edited in the post-exilian period. Some have argued as if under our hypothesis there must have been at one time two different books of Daniel. The original prophecy of the portion of ch. xi. is simply supposed to have utterly perished, or under the circumstances of that time to have been only preserved in the popular paraphrase, which contained the main points of the prophecy and of its interpretation. That paraphrase was

probably extensively used and valued as a booklet in the dark days of oppression, and hence would have been generally accepted as correct. In most questions concerning the canon of the Old Testament, scholars are still quite in the dark. All hypotheses on that head, whether put forth from a destructive or conservative point of view, are at present simple conjectures. What is positively known is that the Christian Church accepted the books of the Old Testament as a whole on the authority of the Jewish Synagogue. But of any formal decisions of that Synagogue there is no record in existence. The traditional text has, however, been endorsed as a whole by the authority of Christ and by the writings of the New Testament.

We have not ventured to formulate any theory of inspiration. Verbal inspiration is opposed to the facts presented by the Sacred Books themselves. That theory only exposes those who still advocate it to attacks which cannot be repelled. We hold firmly that the Sacred Books, Old and New, occupy a position wholly unique and peculiar to themselves, and were the outcome of a Divine *afflatus*. We are fully satisfied with the statements put forth in the VIth Article of the Church of England.

We had thought of criticising some of the statements made by our reviewers, but we forbear. A reviewer, under modern conditions, is in most cases compelled to do his work too rapidly to be always correct. Although he may be keen on some points to notice the deficiencies of the books which come under his eye, he is seldom able really to study their argument. We do object, however, to the bias exhibited in favour of the modern critics by men who can have taken no real pains to weigh the arguments on both sides, but who think that the views put forth by

critics occupying University chairs must needs be correct. The conflict on these questions is likely to be increasingly bitter and severe ; and a Christian critic who refuses to lower the flag which has for ages "braved the battle and the breeze" must be content with seeking to shelter individual believers from the storm of scepticism which tends to sweep away everything really distinctive in Christianity. We can face, however, the biting storm of superstition and scepticism with the firm conviction that the victory will ultimately be on the side of true Christianity. The history of the Christian Church in the past has been little else than a history of the rise and fall of heresies, and hence we need not be too much cast down when new errors and new heresies arise within its pale.

§ 4. *The Doctrine of Christ's Kenosis.*

Several, however, of our reviewers have maintained that we seem to be unmindful of the doctrine of the Kenosis of Christ. That name is, of course, derived from St Paul's expression in Phil. ii. 7 (*ἐκένωσεν*). The discussion of that question ought not properly to be imported into a work on the Book of Daniel. But in reply to our critics we may make the following brief statement.

The Christian Church has always more or less distinctly affirmed the existence of the two natures in Christ, the Divine and the human. The ancient Docetics upheld the Divinity of Christ, but maintained that His humanity was merely an appearance. In the *Acts of St John*, by Leucius, published by Dr M. R. James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, in Dean Robinson's *Cambridge Texts and Studies* (vol. v. No. 1, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, II.), several noteworthy descriptions are given of Christ's human body as being merely a phantom, "immaterial,

and bodiless, and as it were not existing in any wise." Christ's crucifixion and death are there regarded as merely apparent, not real facts. The doctrine of the Kenosis, as expounded by the great Church Fathers, like Hilary of Poitiers, however, teaches that, although Christ as the Second Person of the Eternal Trinity was essentially God, the Divinity was imparted to the man Christ Jesus in such measure as the human nature was able to receive it. The doctrine of the Incarnation involves the idea that the God-man passed through all the stages of humanity like other men. Prior to His birth, He was in the ordinary state of unconsciousness. When born, He passed through all the successive phases of infancy and boyhood like any other human being—although unlike in His "sinlessness." He increased "in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). The Trinity, as far as can be conceived, remained unaffected by the Incarnation. The thoughts of the man Christ Jesus, though at every stage Divine-human,—inasmuch as they passed through an earthly brain were necessarily limited in their character. That limitation was voluntary on Christ's part, but no less real. The mental and intellectual growth of the Christ up to the age of manhood is passed over by the New Testament writers in holy silence, and we can only speculate on the subject. But when "the Sinless One" was thirty years of age, even after the baptism in the Jordan, He remained ignorant of some things (Matt. xxiii. 36), and acquired much of His knowledge of men by observation. The Son was "inferior to the Father as touching His manhood," and subject to the Father's will and commands (John xvii. 4). "All power" (ἐξουσία) was not bestowed upon Him till after His resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 18). But during the

days of His earthly life, He was fully conscious that He had descended from heaven, and could speak of "heavenly things" as distinct from the "earthly" (John iii. 12), and as one who had been conversant with "the heavenly" (John iii. 11). He distinctly stated that He had seen Abraham, and existed long before that patriarch (John viii. 58), who was indeed one of the works of His creative hand (John i. 3).

The Christian critic who holds these "Catholic" truths can scarcely believe Christ to have made mistakes in His teaching, or to have been unacquainted with the facts of the history of men before His birth as man into the world. His prophecies of the future world and the future history of Israel must be accepted as revelations from above. He may have occasionally employed *argumenta ad hominem*. As the "Prophet," He came to bear witness to the truths of Scripture, and to point out the Messianic predictions which occur in the writings of the prophets who wrote before Him. The teaching of the prophets was endorsed by Him before He suffered. On the very day He rose from the dead (Luke xxiv. 44) He bore witness to what He had taught on that point while on earth. If, therefore, Christ's teaching cannot be relied on as to the broad matters connected with the history of Israel and its prophets, what assurance can we have of the truth of Christ's teaching concerning the great questions of the salvation of man, the resurrection of the dead, the life beyond the grave, or the judgment to come?

Although some critics may avoid calling attention to the fact, Porphyry's attack on Daniel in early days stirred up the pagans to a vigorous onslaught on Christianity. When the Deistic movement of the eighteenth century

took place, the Book of Daniel was one of the books put into the forefront of the battle. Collins' arguments, which Bishop Newton answered, and which Collins borrowed from Porphyry, are now extensively employed by our modern critics. Infidel propagandists in the open air of our parks and towns avail themselves to a considerable extent of Dean Farrar's work. Such writings supply them with abundant material for attacks on Christianity. It pains us to say anything of one whom we loved and revered, but these facts ought to be known. Missionaries from India and other heathen lands tell us that the same book is constantly employed by the clever disputants of young Bengal in order to repel the arguments of Christian missionaries. These are serious facts, and have to be duly pondered over. The victories obtained in the early ages over Porphyry, and those obtained over the Deists of the eighteenth century, may, however, serve to encourage those in our age who find themselves forced to fight over again the battle of Revelation. Bishop Butler once sadly lamented, in the "advertisement" prefixed to the first edition of his work on *The Analogy of Religion*, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject of inquiry ; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." Butler's "advertisement" was dated May 1736, and only preceded John Wesley's conversion by two years. Mark Pattison, sometime Rector of Lincoln College, sarcastically remarked in the *Essays and Reviews* (1861), p. 261, that "evidences are not edged tools ; they stir no feeling ; they were the proper theology of an age whose literature consisted in writing Latin hexameters." Pattison's remark is in a sense true. It is, however, also true that "evidences"

ought to be known and studied, and the warm Revivalism of Wesley and his successors requires now to be combined with the "evidential" skill displayed in the writings of Butler, Lardner, Paley, and Whately. "The proportion of the faith" (Rom. xii. 6) must be remembered, if Christianity is to be upheld in a day of scepticism and superstition.

§ 5. *The Supposed Silence of the Book of Sirach.*

We have in our former volume, p. 79, expressed the opinion that too much has been made of the supposed silence of Ben Sira respecting Daniel. That remark was grounded on the assumption that Ben Sira's work in its present form cannot be dated earlier than B.C. 120, for several works prior to that date (as pointed out in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, ch. ii.) contain distinct references to the Book of Daniel. The work edited by Dr Schechter and Dr C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira : Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizeh Collection* (Cambridge, 1899), has, however, presented evidence which appears to show that Ben Sira's work must have been much earlier. It is further shown—if the Hebrew fragments discovered ultimately prove to be, indeed, part of the Hebrew original of Ben Sira, and not (as Professor Margoliouth still maintains) a later Hebrew translation—that Ben Sira's work contains imitations of all the canonical books of the Old Testament, "with the doubtful exception of the Book of Daniel" (*Schechter and Taylor*, p. 35). The texts of Ben Sira which look like imitations of Daniel are four in number : (1) Eccles. iii. 30, compared with Dan. iv. 24 ; that "imitation," however, is dubious. (2) The use of מוֹעֵד . . . קֶץ in Eccles. xxxvi. 8, as compared with the use of those two words in Dan.

xi. 27 and 35. This is a fairly satisfactory reference. (3) The comparison of Eccl. xxxvi. 17 with Dan. ix. 17 is too general to be of any use in the argument. (4) Further, the use of פשרה in Eccl. xxxviii. 14, compared with that of פשרה in Dan. ii. 4, iv. 2, where the word occurs in a different signification, is in itself of no evidential value. Hence the evidence is not strong enough to enable us to argue from such passages that Ben Sira certainly imitated Daniel. The passage adduced by Professor Margoliouth (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 78) is in all respects more satisfactory.

We have not formally discussed the peculiarities exhibited in the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel. To have done so satisfactorily would have required considerable space. The subject has been, however, to a certain extent handled in the critical notes. The full and complete examination of the language of Daniel is no doubt a matter of considerable importance. But the book, in the hands of the copyists of those days, probably passed through many phases before its text was finally settled in its present shape. Professor Bevan and Professor Driver have made important contributions to the study of the Aramaic of Daniel. They have considered that question from another point of view than our own. Professor Strack also maintains that the Aramaic dialect exhibited in the book was not that which a Jew living in Babylon would have used in the sixth century before Christ. That may have been the case, but its language may easily have been modernised for those practical purposes, for which the modern critics consider that the book was extensively used in the earlier days of the Maccabees.

It is useless for reviewers to remark that the last word has yet to be spoken on the Book of Daniel. As long

as the world lasts, fresh commentaries are certain to be written, and new hypotheses to be put forward. We have only sought to contribute our mite to the study of the great prophet. We hope what we have written may help to reassure believers beginning to think that the solution offered by the modern school must be accepted as final. We shall no doubt have still much to learn from the criticism of scholars belonging to schools of thought different from our own.

§ 6. *Literature of the Book of Daniel.*

The literature on the interpretation and criticism of the Book of Daniel is of enormous extent, and is only surpassed by that on the Book of the Revelation. It has already been remarked in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, chap. ii. § 12, that Daniel is quoted in several of the Apostolic Fathers, and copiously commented on by the Fathers who came after, such as Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenæus, and Tertullian.

1. *Patristic.*—Among the most remarkable of the Patristic commentators on the book may be mentioned Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus (or Ostia), in the early part of the third century. Hippolytus (*cir.* 230) was probably the first anti-Pope. His contest, however, with Callixtus of Rome had nothing to do with his Biblical works. A considerable portion of his commentary on Daniel has lately been discovered, and will be found mentioned at the close of this section. Julius Africanus (third century) commented also on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, although his chronological theories have not been generally accepted. Origen (†254) has many references to, and comments on, the book. Eusebius wrote also a commentary on it. Ephraim Syrus, about

370, wrote another commentary in Syriac. Later in the same century the book attracted the attention of Hilary of Poitiers and of other distinguished Christian writers. Jerome, who died about 420, contributed a commentary, still of great value, in which a large number of Greek and Roman historians who wrote upon the Maccabean period are mentioned. Most of our information about Porphyry and his attack on Daniel, an attack to a large extent endorsed by modern critics, comes from Jerome. Chrysostom and Athanasius were numbered among the expositors of the book. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus or Cyrrhus, the capital of a district in Syria known as Cyrrhestice, wrote a learned treatise in Greek on the book, which is still of importance. Theodoret was born probably about A.D. 393, and died 457 or 458. The Church Fathers of the later centuries did not forget *Daniel*, although they expended more expository thought on the *Revelation* of St John.

Among the Patristic writings, for many reasons, may, perhaps, be reckoned the *Homilies* of Aphrahat (or Aphraates), "the Persian sage," the Syriac text of which was published by Dr W. Wright in 1869, although he did not live to publish the second volume, in which he intended to have given an English translation. The name Aphraates was a common one. Professor W. Wright had good reasons for maintaining that this writer was probably a bishop who flourished during the second quarter of the fourth century, being junior to Jacob of Nisibis and senior to Ephraim Syrus. A German translation of the *Homilies* appeared in 1888, in v. Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur*, Band iii. Heft 3 u. 4, by Oberpfarrer Dr Georg Bert. In Homily V., on *Instruction about the Wars*, there are interpretations

of many passages in Daniel strongly characterised by the tendency which has dominated so many expositors—namely, of reading into the prophecies of Daniel the events of their own days. Like the early exegetes, Aphraates combined together a number of prophecies which do not all refer to the subjects brought forward in the Book of Daniel. Aphraates clearly defends what Professor Driver has termed the “Roman” interpretation of the fourth kingdom (see p. 125). That ancient writer, also, in his *Instruction against the Jews*, regards the Seventy Weeks as a Messianic prophecy.

2. *Jewish Expositors*.—The Jewish interpreters of Daniel are many in number. Among those writings that of Saadich ranks among the most important. It was written in Hebrew A.D. 942, and published at Venice in the Bomberg *Biblia Rabb.* in 1526, and later (1618) in Basel by Buxtorf. Next may be mentioned that of R. Salomoh 'ben Yizhak, more commonly known as Rashi (ר"ש) or Jarchi, who lived in the twelfth century. A Latin translation of it was published by Breithaupt in 1713. The exposition of Ibn Ezra appeared later in the same century. A modern summary of the views of those commentators will be found in the work of A. F. Gallé, *Daniel avec commentaires de R. Saadia, Aben Ezra, Raschi, etc.*, et variantes des versions arabe et syriaque traduits : Paris : Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1900. The names of several important Jewish expositors must necessarily be here omitted. Specially interesting is the commentary on the Book of Daniel by Jepheth Ibn Ali, the Raraite, edited and translated in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1889) by D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. As might be imagined, that work contains not a few strange inter-

pretations. The Messiah in Dan. ix. was understood by its writer to refer to the high-priest of the Jews. But he maintains distinctly that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is pointed out at the close of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. In ch. viii., "the king of fierce countenance" is explained of Mohammed. The fourth kingdom in ch. vii. is expounded of the Roman power with "Titus the Sinner" at its head.

A remarkable sketch of the great expositor of the Middle Ages, Joachim Abbas, who composed his work on the Apocalypse of St John between A.D. 1183 and 1190, and incidentally touches on the Book of Daniel, is given by Elliott in the *History of the Apocalyptic Interpretation*, appended to the fourth volume of the *Horæ Apoc.* It is impossible to give here any list of the works on Daniel prior to the time of the Reformation; it is also practically unnecessary, since all the really important views of the writers of those dark Middle Ages have been reproduced by later writers.

3. *Mediæval Expositors.*—Among those expositors Thomas Aquinas must not be forgotten. He lived from 1225 till 1274, and was one of the greatest theologians of the Church of Rome. He was also an expositor of both Old Testament and New Testament books. He was a man of very great learning and power, and it would be well if, along with the study of the Reformation writers, the attention of our theologians were more often directed to his works. See further under No. 9.

4. *Time of the Reformation.*—The modern period of Biblical exposition practically commences with Luther. Martin Luther in 1530 dedicated to the Elector of Saxony a German exposition of Daniel. Other works on Daniel followed from his pen, the last edition in the

Reformer's lifetime being in 1546, the year of his death. Melancthon wrote also a Latin commentary on Daniel in 1543, which was translated into German and published in 1546. Ocolampadius put forth an able commentary, often reprinted, in Basel, 1530. Draco wrote on it in 1544, and v. Strigel, a more critical work in 1565, 1571. Calvin's *Prælectiones* on the Book of Daniel, collected by J. Budæus and C. Jonvillæus, were first published at Geneva in 1565, and at many subsequent dates. The *Prælectiones* are contained in the collected editions of the Reformer's works. An English translation appeared in 1571, and later by T. Myres, in two volumes (Edinburgh, 1832). Expository works on the same subject were issued by Wigand (1571), Heilbrunner (1587), and by the Scotch exegete, R. Rollock (Edinburgh, 1591), afterwards reprinted in Basel and Geneva. Fr. Junius, son-in-law of the distinguished Immanuel Tremellius, and co-worker with him in the remarkable Latin translation of the whole Bible, with notes, issued in 1587, often reprinted, wrote also an exposition of Daniel in 1593. Hugh Broughton wrote in Latin a still more popular work on the book in 1596, several times reprinted, and also translated into English. Polanus' work on the prophet, of which great use was made in the next two centuries, was first published in 1599.

5. *Seventeenth Century*.—The Seventeenth Century saw a large number of new commentaries on the book. Among those may be mentioned that of Gesner, published at Wittenberg, 1601, and extensively used for nearly two centuries; of Leyser, which was issued in parts at various places in 1609, 1610. Martin Geier's work, published in 1667, was widely made use of by subsequent commentators. The Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius' notes on

Daniel are characterised by remarkable independence of thought. His *Annotationes ad V.T.* were first published in Paris, 1644. Hated and bitterly persecuted in Holland on account of his Arminian views, his works on many Biblical books, both of the Old and New Testaments, have still proved fruitful. Grotius afforded the mark against which many succeeding scholars aimed their greatest efforts, such as Ab. Calov, in 1664, whose work is still of value for its list of the older exegetical literature. Andrew Willet's *Hexapla in Danielelem, that is, a Sixfold Commentarie upon the most divine prophetie of Daniel* (Cambridge, 1616), is a repertory of the learning of that day. Varenus (1667), G. Meissner (1695), C. l'Empereur's paraphrase of the Jewish expositor Jachiades, with translation and notes (Latin, 1633), all have their value, as also Wingendorf (1674).

The views of the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede, whose collected works were published in 1677, though he did not write a commentary on Daniel, as he had done on the Apocalypse, greatly influenced the interpretation of the former book in the seventeenth century. The Protestant theologians were unanimous in their exposition of the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation as pointing to the Papacy. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, the great Jesuit defender of the Church of Rome, wrote to prove the absurdity of all such prophetic interpretations. His work only added new fuel to the flames, and Robert Abbatt (or Abbott), Master of Balliol, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and later Bishop of Salisbury, wrote his *Antichristi Demonstratio contra fabulas pontificias, et ineptum R. Bellarmini de Antichristo Disputationem* (London, 1608), to which James I. of England appended a short discourse of his own on the same subject. Graser wrote also a

Historia Antichristi, which is almost a commentary on the Book of Daniel (Leyden, 1608). The *Critici Sacri*, which is a commentary on the whole Bible in five folio volumes, followed by other volumes containing special treatises, was published in 1695. The notes on Daniel are mainly taken from the writings of Vatablus, Munsterus, Clarius, Drusius, and Grotius. Poli (Matt., Londinensis), *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Script. Interpretum*, was published in five folio volumes in 1669–1676, and, like the *Critici Sacri*, is still of great value.

6. *Eighteenth Century*.—In the Eighteenth Century a remarkable number of works were issued on the prophet Daniel. Musæus, with his work *Scholæ Propheticae continuatae* (1729), may, perhaps, be placed at the head; but for critical research he was inferior to C. B. Michaelis in his *Adnotationes phil.-exeg. in Danielelem*. Peterson wrote in the same year. Koch published his comments in 1740. Meanwhile in England William Lowth published his *Commentary on Daniel and the Minor Prophets*, in two volumes, 1726. Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John* was issued in 1733. It was a posthumous work of that great author. It is generally placed on the lists as published in London, but the copy used in the preparation of this work was published the same year in Dublin, and contains among a list of subscribers, mainly living in Ireland, "The Historical Society of T.C.D." It was afterwards published in Latin by Südemann (Amsterdam, 1737), and in German, with notes, by C. F. Grossmann (Leipzig, 1765). These latter facts are mentioned by Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk*. The English edition of Lange's work, edited by Professor J. Strong of Drew Theological Seminary,

Madison, N.J., gives a considerable number of additional English and American works, and much new and important material on the prophet. Hermann Venema wrote several important works on Daniel, first on ch. ii., vii., and viii., in 1745, and then on ch. xi., xii., in 1752. M. F. Roos published a work which was long popular, *Auslegung der Weissagungen Daniel*, in Leipzig, 1771, published in English by G. Henderson in 1811. J. C. Harenburg's *Aufklärung* appeared in Quedlinburg in 1774. R. Amner wrote in English, and in 1776 published in London *An Essay towards an Interpretation of Daniel*; a fuller work in German appeared at Halle, 1779. Thomas Wintle wrote in 1792 *Daniel: an improved Version attempted with Prelim. Dissert. and Notes, Critical and Explanatory*. That writer was Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Bampton Lecturer in 1794. His work was republished in a *Literal Translation of the Prophets*, by Lowth, Blayney, Newcome, Wintle, Horsley, by Tegg, in London, in 1836. Bishop Thomas Newton (Bishop of Bristol and Dean of St Paul's) wrote two volumes of *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. The work was composed in 1754 and often reprinted. The first volume is to a large extent occupied with Daniel. The Bishop in that part of his work discussed the objections of Collins, a well-known Deistic writer of the century, who wrote a *Scheme of Literal Prophecy*. The Bishop speaks of that writer as "a modern infidel" who followed the example of Porphyry, and collected together, like that pagan philosopher, all kinds of objections against the Book of Daniel. Several of Collins' objections have been endorsed by the modern school of critics.

7. *Nineteenth Century*.—In the Nineteenth Century, especially in Germany, the new critical school soon came to

the front. Leonhard Bertholt, in Erlangen, produced in 1806 and 1808 in two parts his *Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aram. neu übersetzt*. G. F. Griesinger wrote in 1815 *Neue Ansicht der Aufsätze im Buch Daniel*. H. G. Kirmss, *Comm. hist.-crit.*, Jena, 1828. Rosenmüller's *Scholia im V.T.*, in the tenth part, contain an important commentary on Daniel (1832), which is still of considerable value. H. A. Ch. Hävernicks, *Commentar*, 1832 ; *Neue krit. Untersuchungen über das Buch*, 1838. For Hengstenberg, see No. 8. C. von Lengerke, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1835. Maurer, *Comm. Gramm. V.T.*, vol. ii., 1836, contains Daniel. F. Hitzig, in *Kurzgef. exeg. Handbuch zum A.T.*, 1850. C. A. Auberlen, *Der Proph. Daniel u. die Offenbarung*, Basel, 1854 ; English translation by A. Saphir, 1856. A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Proph. Ezra und Daniel*, 1863. J. M. Gärtner, *Erklärung des Proph. Daniel u. der Offenbarung*, 1863 ff. R. Kranichfeld, 1868 ; T. Kliefoth, 1868 ; J. H. Fuller, Basel, 1868 are very fanciful in many places. Of critical value is Ad. Kamphausen in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. iii., 1868 ; also later in Paul Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, 1898, Part 18 ; *Das Buch Daniel u. de neuere Geschichtsforschung*, 1893. H. Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, vol. iii., 3rd Ausg., 1868. C. F. Keil, *Bibl. Comm.* in Keil u. Delitzsch's series, 1869. O. Zöckler, in J. P. Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1870 ; the English and American translation is edited with additions by Dr J. Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J., 1893. D. Meinhold, in H. L. Strack's *Kurzgef. Komm.*, 1899. To the *Kurzer Hand-Comm.* of Benzinger, Bertholet, etc., D. Karl Marti has contributed an important addition in his *Daniel*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901 ; while in Nowack's *Hand-Comm.* George Behrmann has also supplied an even more important commentary in

1894. F. Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1899. G. Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Sept. hergestellt übersetzt u. kritisch erklärt*, Leipzig, 1904. See No. 10, *Apparatus Criticus*.

The following booklets have been published by Scandinavian scholars :—In Swedish : Erik Stave, *Daniel's Bok, öfversatt och i korthet Förklarad*, Upsala, 1894 ; F. A. Johansson, e.o. Prof. vid Upsala Universitet, Upsala, 1893. The former has adopted the modern views ; the latter is more orthodox. In Danish : Fr. Buhl, *Om Sproget i Daniel's Bog og dets betydning for Spørgsmaalet om affattelsetiden*, Köbenhavn, 1899 ; and a reply from Ditlef-Nielsen, *Kampen om Danielbogen*, Köbenhavn, 1900.

Many works of importance have also been published in England and America. Some of these have also been alluded to among the contributions of the former centuries. Of the writings of the nineteenth century we may mention here :—J. H. Frere's work, *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St John*, 1815. This book bore an important part in the formation of the views of the remarkable Edward Irving, whose work on *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God* was published in two volumes, 1826, and a new edition in 1828. W. Girdlestone's *Observations on the Visions of Daniel* appeared at Oxford in 1820. Professor M. Stuart published his somewhat important commentary at Andover in 1850. Dr Albert Barnes (useful, though mainly a compilation) published at New York his *Notes on Daniel*. The great Cambridge Professor, S. Lee, *Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St John*, 1851, is exclusively Præterist, and makes the prophecies extend only to pagan Rome. W. Ramsay wrote a small exposition in 1853. P. S. Desprez, *The Apocalypse of the Old Testament*, in 1865. J. W. Bosanquet wrote a reply to other works entitled *Messiah*

the Prince, 1866. Desprez's work was written from the Præterist standpoint, according to which no detailed prophecy extends beyond the destruction of Jerusalem. W. H. Rule, no unimportant writer, an *Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel* in 1869. E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*: Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, 1st ed., 1864, 3rd ed., 1869. Pusey's book must be read with caution, for he was not fair in his representations of opponents. He complained of "the tide of scepticism let loose upon the young and uninstructed." But he did little to instruct young students in Biblical criticism during his long tenure of the Regius chair of Hebrew at Oxford, which he occupied from 1828. He spent most of his time and strength in attempting again to reconstruct in England the Christianity of the Middle Ages. When he passed away in 1882, he had done absolutely nothing towards founding a real conservative school of criticism in Oxford. His works on *Daniel* and the *Minor Prophets* proved slight barriers to the advancing tide of "German Rationalism" which he constantly denounced, but against which he never, from his high vantage-ground, sought effectively to provide. The veteran New Testament scholar W. Kelly, who has lately gone to his rest, wrote *Notes on the Book of Daniel* in 1879 from the Futuristic standpoint. Similarly S. P. Tregelles contributed from the same standpoint *Remarks on the Visions of Daniel*, 5th ed., 1864. Prof. L. Gaussen of Geneva's work on Daniel was published in an English form in 1872. E. B. Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ, or Comm. on the Apocalypse and the chief Prophecies of Daniel*, appeared, 1st ed., 1844, 5th ed., 1862 (4 vols.). Among the English expositors must be ranked the *Commentatio in Librum Danielis*

Prophetæ auct. Guil. Palmer (Romæ, 1874), who joined the ranks of the Roman Church. *The Book of Daniel, with Notes and Introduction*, by Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln, published in 1870; new ed., 1873. Also by the same, *The Maccabees and the Church*, Cambridge, 1871. H. J. Rose and J. M. Fuller, in *The Speaker's Commentary*, London, 1876. *Daniel*, in Spence and Exell's *Pulpit Commentary*, by J. E. H. Thomson, 1897, has peculiar merits of its own. A. A. Bevan wrote his able but radical work, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, for the use of students*, Cambridge, 1892. F. W. Farrar wrote on *Book of Daniel* in the *Expositor's Bible*, 1895. J. Kennedy, *The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint*, 1898. J. Dyneley Prince wrote *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Leipzig, London, and New York, 1899; and S. R. Driver brought out his wonderfully condensed contribution, *The Book of Daniel, with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge Bible), 1900.

8. *Monographs*.—Among these may be reckoned T. Brightman, *Exposition of the last part of Daniel*, 1644. G. Burton, *Essay on the Numbers of Daniel and St John*, Norwich, 1766–8, 2 vols. George Stanley Faber, *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, last edition, 3 vols., 1844; *Dissertation on the Predictions contained in Dan. ix. 24–27*, 1811. Fr. Bleek, “Über Verfasser u. Zweck des Buches Daniel” in Schleiermacher's *Theol. Zeitschrift*, 1822; “Die mess. Weissagungen im Buch Daniels” in Liebner's *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, 1860. J. Tyso, *An Elucidation showing that the Seventy Weeks have not yet taken place* (London, 1838) is interesting as showing the results of a so-called literal interpretation. T. R. Birks, *First Two Visions of Daniel* (1845) and *The Two Later Visions of Daniel* (1848)

are able works on the old lines. I. Chase, *Remarks on Book of Daniel* (Boston, 1842), applies ch. vii. to Antiochus Epiphanes. Dr J. P. Peters of New York has written an essay on the Book of Daniel in his *Old Testament and the New Scholarship* (London : Methuen, 1901), in which he ventures to suggest that the story of the three children was based on the roasting in the fire of the false prophets Ahab and Zedekiah at Babylon (Jer. xxix. 20). The suggestion may tend to show how far modern critics sometimes go. A new American work, most useful for popular reading and study, is *Did Daniel write Daniel?* The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Book of Daniel discussed by Joseph D. Wilson, D.D. : New York, 1906.

E. W. Hengstenberg, *Authentic des Daniel, etc.*, 1831—English translation, T. & T. Clark, 1848 ; *Christology of the Old Testament*—English translation, 4 vols. (that treating on Daniel is vol. iii.), German original, 1856. Hengstenberg's *Christology* is now too much neglected. With all its defects it is a sterling work. L. Reinke, a Roman Catholic scholar, has done excellent work in *Die messianischen Weissagungen bei den Propheten des A.T.*, 1862. His fourth volume, first half, contains an important monograph on the Seventy Weeks. James Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877. Stanley Leathes, in his *Old Testament Prophecy*, 1880, has a short contribution on the Seventy Weeks. C. H. Cornill, *Die siebenzig Jahrwochen*, 1889, on the same ; F. Fraidl, 1883 ; and the Dutch scholar, J. W. van Lennep, 1888. Of importance is A. Freiherrn v. Gall's *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel*, 1895. Rupprecht's work will be found alluded to in the Introduction, p. xxi., to *Daniel and his Prophecies*. Sir R. Anderson has written *The Coming Prince, or the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, with an answer to the Higher Criticism* (1895). His smart

critique, *Daniel in the Critics' Den*: a reply to Dean Farrar's *Book of Daniel*, appeared in 1895. Both books uphold Futurist views. The works of several of the Warburtonian Lecturers, such as Hurd, 1772, Halifax, 1778, Nolan, 1833-7, Harrison, 1841-5, contain what may be called monographs on Daniel.

C. P. Caspari, *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel*, Leipzig, 1869. W. Volck, *Vindiciæ Danielicæ*, 1866. V. Floigl, *Cyrus in Herodot.*, 1881. G. F. Unger, *Kyaxares und Astyages*, 1882. Bishop J. J. Perowne wrote an excellent article on Dr Pusey's book in the first volume of the *Contemporary Review*, 1866. Bishop Westcott contributed that in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Lenormant, *Die Magie u. Wahrsagekunst der Chaldæer*, Paris, 1874, enlarged in German edition, 1878, contains practically a commentary on Dan. i.-vi. T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*, 1899. Paul Scholz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberverwesen von der alten Hebraern und den benachbarten Völkern*, 1877. C. R. Conder, *Judas Maccabæus and the Jewish War of Independence*, 1894. A. W. Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees, with special reference to the Religious Literature of the Period*, 1898. Hugo Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1896.

A treatise of some importance was published in 1878 by Wm. M'Gee, 18 Nassau Street, Dublin, entitled *Notes on the Defence of the Book of Daniel, addressed to the Clergy by a Clergyman*. The writer has no clear proof who the author of this critique on the side of the modern critics may have been, for, although he has certain suspicions, direct evidence cannot now be had.

J. C. K. Hofmann, in *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, two parts, 1841 and 1844, has many suggestive observations on Daniel; so also in his later *Schriftbeweis*, three parts,

1852, 1853, and 1855. We do not possess the second edition. H. Grattan Guinness, *Romanism and the Reformation from the Standpoint of Prophecy*, 1887, with *The Approaching End of the Age*, 7th edition, 1881, are of considerable interest. A small pamphlet on *Daniel's Last Vision: An Attempted Explanation*, by the Rev. G. L. Gibbs, M.A., appeared in 1883. It is of some interest, though we cannot coincide with his idea that the prophecy in question delineates the history of Mohammedanism, a part of it (verse 40 to end) supposed to be yet unfulfilled. As to the refulfilment of prophecy which some have advocated, we believe Driver to be correct when he observes in his *Introduction* that "whatever typical significance may attach to the whole character of Antiochus, it can hardly be legitimate in a continuous description with no apparent change of subject to refer part to the type and part to the antitype."

9. *Roman Catholic Expositions since Reformation*.—Arius Montanus, *Comm. in Danielelem* (1582), is frequently alluded to in earlier writers. H. Pintus, *Comm. in Dan.*, etc., published in various places, was able. The commentaries of B. Pererius (Rom., 1586); Ribera (on the Apoc., 1588), practically the forerunner of the Futurists; C. Sanctius (1612, 1619); J. Maldonatus, commonly known as Cornelius de Lapide, was justly renowned (1611 and 1648); F. Paulitius (Rom., 1623); L. ab. Alcazar (Lugd., 1631). The latter was practically the forerunner of the Præterists, also of Grotius' scheme and the modern Rationalists. Of moderns, besides Palmer, mentioned already among English expositors, the most able is that of Reinke (see *Monographs*); G. K. Mayer, *Die mess. Prophezieen des Daniel*, 1866; J. Fabre d'Envien, *Le livre du prophète Daniel*, etc., 2 vols., 1888.

10. *Apparatus Criticus*.—For the Greek versions of the LXX., Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, the editions of Tischendorf and of Swete have been used, with Field's *Hexapla*. Reference has also been made to J. Cozza, *Sacr. Bibliorum Vet. Fragmenta Græca et Lat.*, Pars tertia, "Præcedit Daniel ex unico Codice Chisiano" (Romæ, 1877), and to H. A. Hahn's edition of the Chisian text with notes (1845). The works of G. Jahn (1894) and Aug. Bludau (1897) on Daniel have rendered the study of the text of the LXX. increasingly important. For the Syriac Peshitto text, the edition of S. Lee has generally been followed. Reference has occasionally been made to the Mosul edition. The Hebrew text of Daniel in Baer and Delitzsch's edition has generally been followed; but Ginsburg's magnificent and important edition of the Hebrew Bible, in two volumes (1894), has been always kept in sight, and the text set forth by H. L. Strack in his *Gram. der bibl. Aram.*, 3te Auflage, 1901. The 4te Auflage has just come to hand, 1906, too late to be used for this work. Professor Strack's text is formed on a collection of MSS. The text given by Professor K. Marti in the end of his *Gramm. der bibl.-aram. Sprache* has been carefully noted. It contains a few emendations, some of which are questionable.

11. *Introductions*.—All the special *Einleitungen*, or *Introductions*, deal, some deeply, with the question of the Book of Daniel and its contents. Among these, one must mention S. Davidson, *Introduction*, in three volumes, bitter in spirit, but full of information (London, 1862, 1863); J. J. Stähelin, *Mess. Weissagungen der A.T.*, 1847, *Einleitung*, 1862; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur*, 1868; W. Vatke, *Einleitung*, 1886; Ed. Reuss, *Die Gesch. der h. Schriften A.T.*, 2te Ausg.,

1890. Julius Fürst, *Gesch. d. bibl. Lit.* (two volumes), 1867; Fr. Bleek, *Bearb. von Wellhausen*, 1878; A. Kuenen, 2te Theil, 1892; E. König, *Einleitung*, 1893; W. H. Green, *General Introduction to Old Testament*, 1899; H. L. Strack, 5te Aufl., 1898, 6te, 1906; S. R. Driver, *Introd. to Lit. of Old Testament*, 6th edition, 1897; August Köhler [*ob.* Feb. 17, 1897], *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch. A.T.*, 2te Hälfte, 2 Theil, 1893; Graf v. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, two parts, 1878; and his *Einleitung in die Bücher der A.T.*, 1901; C. A. Briggs, *Biblical Study: Its Principles, Methods, and History*, 1892; *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886.

12. *Miscellaneous.*—For general information, see P. Keiper, *Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus*, 1882; O. E. Hagen, *Keilschrifturkunden zur Gesch. des Königs Cyrus* (Cylinder, Backsteininschrift: Die Annalen Nabû-nâ'ids), with notes and comments of Hagen and Fried. Delitzsch, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, von Fried. Delitzsch u. Paul Haupt, 2tes Band, 1891. The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus, his Cylinder Inscription, and the Inscription of Nabû-nâ'id found at Sippar are all translated into English in Professor A. H. Sayce's 5th volume of the new series of the *Records of the Past*, published 1891. A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 1894; Theoph. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylon*, 1902.

To these must be added Professor Rawlinson's works, *The Five Great Monarchies*, 3 vols., 2nd edition, 1871; his translation of Herodotus, with notes, in 4 vols. (1862). His earlier Bampton Lectures (1858) also illustrate the Book of Daniel. The useful *Records of the Past*, especially vol. v. of the new series, edited by Sayce (1891),

must not be lost sight of. The *Transactions* of the Society for Biblical Archæology ; Grätz, *Monatschrift* ; the *Zeitschrift* of the D.M.G. ; the *Zeitschrift für Alt-Test. Wissenschaft* ; the *Jewish Quarterly Review*,—all contain important articles on various subjects which cannot be neglected with impunity. Besides the works on the Sibyllines, Book iii., mentioned in ch. ii. of *Daniel and his Prophecies*, Geffcken's *Sibyll. Orac.* (1902) has been examined. His *text* of the Sibyllines we do not possess.

The discovery in 1885 of the fourth book of Hippolytus' commentary on Daniel has produced a considerable literature. On this subject we may mention Bardenhewer's *Versuch*, published in 1877 ; Bratke's *Das neu-entdeckte vierte Buch*, published in 1891 ; Dr J. H. Kennedy's edition in Greek, with an English translation, published by Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin, in 1888. Bishop Lightfoot, in his edition of Clement in his *Apostolic Fathers*, vols. i. and ii. (1890), affords important information on the question of Hippolytus and his commentary.

13. *Hebrew and Aramaic Grammars*.—In the critical and grammatical commentary we have availed ourselves of the excellent edition of Hebrew grammar by Gesenius, enlarged by Kautzsch, and edited in English by A. E. Cowley, M.A., his translation being a revision of that of the 25th German edition by the late Rev. G. W. Collins, duly revised and adjusted to the 26th edition. Besides, however, Ges.-Kautzsch, reference is sometimes made to Gesenius' *Lehrgebäude der heb. Spr.* (1817), which is still of great value. The grammars of Ewald and Olshausen, with Böttcher's great *Thesaurus*, have also been consulted. Böttcher's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* was left unfinished at the author's death ; but what existed of his MS. was edited by F. Mühlau in two great

royal 8vo volumes (1866 and 1868). E. König's work, his *Lehrgebäude*, in two volumes (1881 and 1895), we have always found most valuable, completed as it has been by his *Historisch-comparativ Syntax der heb. Sprach.* (1897). König's books have been extensively used in the composition of this work. Stade's grammar is most valuable, but an accident removed it from our shelves, and it was not available.

In the Aramaic portion we have used all through Kautzsch's most valuable *Gramm. der bibl. Aramäischen* (1884), together with Marti's *Kurzgefasste Gramm. der bibl. aram. Spr.* (1896), and Strack's short but valuable *Gramm. der bibl. Aram.*, the 4th edition of which has just appeared, too late for us to alter the references made to the former edition. G. Dalman's *Gramm. der judisch-palastinischen Aramäisch* (1894) has been duly utilised. Ad. Merx's *Gramm. Syr.* (1867) is still uncompleted. Th. Nöldeke's *Kurzgefasste Syr. Gramm.* (1898), with his *Mandäische Gramm.* (1878), and Eb. Nestle's *Syr. Gramm.* (1888). Strack and Siegfried's *Lehrb. der neu-hebr. Spr.* has also been occasionally consulted. Ad. Merx., in *Chrest. Targ.* (1888), has presented much new material for the study of the Aramaic of the Targum. It is a real pain, as one of the earliest pupils of the never-to-be-forgotten Dr William Wright, formerly Professor of Arabic in Trinity College, Dublin, and later for many years Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, to have to refer to his *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Cambridge, 1890) as an unfinished work.

There is no first-class grammar of the Biblical Aramaic in English. The contribution (Boston, 1832) made by the translation of Winer's Chaldee grammar by E. Riggs, for many years a distinguished missionary in Turkey of

the A.B.C.F.M., and later by Dr. G. Longfield of Trinity College, Dublin, 1859, and in 1858 by Dr. Turpie, could not be utilised with any satisfaction. Hence we have been compelled to refer to German works. Such grammars unfortunately do not pay in England, however they may to some extent remunerate publishers in Germany. It is probable the writers have to be satisfied with the fame and credit which may come from their ill-requited though most useful toil.

§ 7. *Conclusion.*

The Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic, has kindly lent his aid in the correction of the proof-sheets of this volume, as of that on *Daniel and his Prophecies*. The Rev. F. J. Hamilton, D.D., has also given much kind help in the same way; while Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches has assisted materially in matters connected with Assyriology, and especially in the Appendix on the Babylonian Contract Tables. The Rev. Dr. L. H. Mills, Professor of Zend in the University of Oxford, offered kindly to add a paper on Daniel and Zoroastrianism, and his offer was most gratefully accepted. None of these scholars are to be supposed necessarily to endorse the writer's views.

The writer delivered eight or nine lectures on Daniel at the Summer School, New Milford, Conn., in July 1905, which were based mainly on the former volume. In November and December 1905 he also delivered similar lectures in Exeter Hall, London.

We are not altogether satisfied with this work as it stands. It was absolutely necessary to curtail its limits, and to pass over (for the present at least) points which would not be understood by the general reader, or by the

average student. We lay down our pen, however, with the earnest hope that our contribution, such as it is, may help some to believe more firmly in the Divine oracles of the Old Testament, and may stir up others to contend more strenuously for the old faith delivered to the saints ; although we may be condemned as not "up to date" because we decline to admit that the Christianity of the Bible has yet to be created out of the ever-fluctuating opinions of critics who consider themselves wiser in their own departments than the Lord Jesus or His Apostles. We confess to be among those who deny the right of any men in Divine matters to go beyond the teaching of the New Testament. We are quite willing to learn from critics on any questions on which no distinct teaching can be found in the New Testament. But in cases where the New Testament utterances are plain and distinct we humbly desire to adhere to its teaching and submit to its authority.

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Daniel and its Critics

Being a Critical and Grammatical Commentary

CHAPTER I

1. On the expedition mentioned here, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 100 ff.

מְלָכָה. This word occurs in the books of the Chronicles, in Esther, and here in Daniel, also in ch. viii. 1, 22, ix. 1. The classical Hebrew is **מַמְלָכָה**. **מְלָכָה**, const. **מְלָכָה**, is common in the Aram. portion of the book. **בֹּא**, *to come, to go*, is used of warlike operations (Gen. xiv. 5 ; Dan. xi. 13, 17, 28, 29), although **עָלָה**, *to go up*, is more common. Instances of this signification of **בֹּא** will be found in the lexicons. When Reuben returned and found Joseph no longer in the pit, he exclaimed, "The child is not ; and I, whither shall I go ?" (**וְאֵינִי אֹמֶר אֲנִי בָא**), Gen. xxxvii. 30. Jonah "found a ship going (**בָּאָה**) to Tarshish, and he paid the fare of it, and went down into it in order to go (**לְבֹא**) with them to Tarshish," Jonah i. 3. The verb is used as a synonym of **הָלַךְ**, *to go*, e.g. Gen. xlv. 17 ; Isaiah xxii. 15, etc. Hence the phrase here may mean, "*Nebuchadnezzar came to*

Jerusalem," or "*went* (marched) *to Jerusalem*." If the writer wrote in Palestine, the former rendering would be correct; if he wrote in Babylon, the latter translation is the more probable. Hitzig, however, maintains that the latter translation is opposed to the usage, and some critics regard the statement of the verse as one of the "historical inaccuracies" of the book. Nebuchadnezzar, though termed "king of Babylon," had not then actually ascended the throne, but was generalissimo of his father's forces. One "naturally" says, "'Queen Victoria was carefully educated by her mother,' or 'The Emperor Napoleon passed some years of his life in England,'" without such "historical inaccuracies" creating any surprise (*Pusey*).

Nebuchadnezzar is written in different ways. The nearest approach to the Babylonian is that, נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, in the K'thibh or written text of Jer. xlix. 28 (*Ginsburg's* text). The Babylonian form is *Nabukudurri-usur*, *Nebo protect the boundary!* or, *the crown!* The common form in Jeremiah is נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, found also in Ezra and Ezekiel. The *r* has been corrupted into *n* (comp. Heb. שָׁנִים with Aram. שָׁנִין, and Heb. בָּן with Aram. בֵּר). Hence the form Nebuchadnezzar. A shorter form, without silent *n*, is used elsewhere in this book. The Greek forms in the LXX. and Strabo, etc., retain *o* instead of *a* in the middle syllable. See *Ges. Lex.*, edited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

2. יְהוָה as a name of God occurs in Daniel here and in several clauses in ch. ix. 3-19. The name Jahveh is found in the Hebrew in ch. ix. 2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 14 (twice). The LXX. render אֲדֹנִי in this place and in ch. ix. 19 by κύριος. In ch. ix. 8, 16 they translate it δέσποτα, used in ix. 17 to translate אֱלֹהֵינוּ. They render אֱלֹהֵי in ix. 18 by κύριος, and translate in ver. 19 the first אֲדֹנִי, κύριε,

omitting the second and third, and rendering אֱלֹהֵי דֵּסְפוֹטָא. In the other places when Jahveh occurs they render it κύριος. It is not, however, certain that the LXX., in all cases where κύριος occurs, had יהוה in their text, for they often translate loosely.

The LXX. read "and the Lord delivered it (Jerusalem) into his hands." Jahn arbitrarily maintains that the LXX. preserve the true reading.

Ewald's suggestion that the original text after "Jehoiakim" had probably the words "and the nobles of the land" is unnecessary. Ewald maintained those captives to be hostages, but the idea is not supported by Ezek. xxiv. 21-25. The text in Daniel and that in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 state that Jehoiakim was then taken captive. According to 2 Chron., Nebuchadnezzar intended to carry Jehoiakim to Babylon, but it does not state that Jehoiakim was actually brought there, and Daniel says nothing of the deportation.

מִקֶּצֶת. On the omission of daghesh forte, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 20 *m*. מִן-קֶצֶת occurs in Aramaic, ch. ii. 42. The Syriac omits the word. קֶצֶת, *end*, is a feminine from קֶצֶת, identical in meaning with קֶץ from קָצַץ. Used adverbially with the preposition "at the end" (so vv. 5 and 15), and here employed in the sense of *sum, totality*. So Neh. vii. 69 (70), "*some* from among the heads of fathers' houses" (R.V.). See König, *Syntax*, § 81. The adverbial combination is also common in Aramaic, ch. iv. 26, 31, ii. 42. Bevan regards the form as "contracted in Aramaic fashion from an original *kāṣṣāwāt*, as מִנָּה from *mānāyāt*." Only a portion of the treasures of the Temple were at this time taken away.

"*And he brought them to the land of Shinar into the house of his god.*" The pronoun "*them*" has been

explained both of Jehoiakim and the captives. The LXX. and the Vulgate (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6) mention that Jehoiakim was carried to Babylon. Old expositors have asserted that captives were brought into the temples that the victors might present them before the gods in token of their triumph. No evidence exists of such a custom. The clause "into the house of his god" proves the pronoun to refer to the sacred vessels which belonged to the Temple at Jerusalem (so LXX., Theodotion, and Vulgate). See also remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 102.

The clause may be rendered "the house of his god," or "the house of his gods." Elohim in the plural may refer to a single false god as well as to the true God (1 Sam. v. 7; 1 Kings xi. 5). The Syriac in the two places where false gods are here referred to renders Elohim by *idols*.

Shinar (Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, xiv. 1, 9; Josh. vii. 21; Zech. v. 11) is probably corrupted from *Shumer*, written in Assy.-Bab. *Shu-mi-ri*. See Schrader, *K.A.T.* pp. 118 ff. The LXX. write Σευαάρ. Hence Schrader would read שניער (Heb. שָׁנִיעַר), *sani 'iri* (or *'irā*), *the two-citied land*, i.e. the land distinguished by the two great cities Sumir and Accad. The phrase "king of Sumir and Accad" is frequently an equivalent for "king of Babylon." Sumir indicated South Babylonia and Accad North Babylonia, "the cities of Sumir and Accad" being a general name for Babylonia. See Schrader, *K.A.T.* pp. 33, 34, and *Keilinschrift. und Gesch.* pp. 295, 296.

3. וַיֹּאמֶר—לְהַבִּיאַ, "*and commanded . . . to bring*," is a late Hebrew construction. Earlier writers use the *oratio directa*. Comp. 1 Chron. xv. 16, and see Ewald, *Gr.* § 338 (Kennedy's translation).

The proper name *Ashpenaz* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The Syriac writes the word (without the *n*) *Ashpez*, אֲשֶׁז. The LXX. have Ἀβιεσδρί (אֲבִיעֶסְדְּרִי, Fürst, and so Syr. Hex.), and so in ver. 11, in place of “*the steward*” (R.V.), in which verse Theodotion transliterates the word Ἀμελσάδ. Theodotion has here Ἀσφανεζ. Cheyne imagines an original error in the name, and thinks that Belshazzar was the proper form. Jahn maintains that all the names are fabrications. Ashpenaz was “*master* (רַב) *of his eunuchs*,” or, as in ver. 7, “*the prince* (שַׁר) *of the eunuchs*.” Isaiah (xxxix. 7) predicted that nobles of Judah should be eunuchs in the house of the king of Babylon. The Syriac has “*the faithful*,” an expression generally used of eunuchs. Schrader considers the title of “*prince of the eunuchs*” (which in the E.V., 2 Kings xviii. 17, is regarded as a proper name, *Rabsaris*) is the translation of an Assyrian title signifying “*chief of the harem*,” an official of the highest importance (Schrader, *K.A.T.* p. 198). The word *Saris* is not always used in the sense of “*a eunuch*,” but sometimes means an officer of court. Potiphar, to whom that title was given, was a married man (Gen. xxxvii. 36, xxxix. 1).

פְּרוֹתִים, *nobles*, is probably a Persian loan-word connected with the Zend *fratēma*, or Sanskrit *prathama* (πρῶτος), indicating *first, nobles*. Symmachus and the Syriac, by a misconception, render the word *Parthians*. The LXX. render the word οἱ ἐπιλέκτοι; in Esther i. 3, vi. 9, by ἐνδόξοι; Aquila, ἐκλέκτοι, and in his second edition, τυράννοι. Jerome here translates *tyranni*, and in Esther vi. 9; in Esther i. 3, *inclyti*. The LXX. render “*of the sons of Israel*” ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν (τῶν μεγιστάνων) τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, and Theodotion ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἰσρ., the words underlined being in both cases glosses.

4. Absalom in 2 Sam. xiv. 25 is said to have been perfect in body, and all who officiated in holy things, according to Leviticus, were required to have no personal defects (Lev. xxi. 17). Bodily perfection could scarcely be predicated of those who had been made eunuchs.

מָאֹם. The מ is only found here, and in Job xxxi. 7. It is retained to mark the etymology, Ges.-Kautzsch, § 23 c. It is elsewhere written מוֹם, in which form it occurs in Aramaic. According to Gesenius, it is derived from an unused root מָאֵם, *to stain*. Olshausen (§ 205) derives it from אָוֵם, *i.q.* חָוֵם, *to be black*, whence is derived an adjective of the same form. Jahn seeks to give it an Arabic derivation. After בְּלִי-חַנְמָה the LXX. add καὶ γραμματικούς. Jahn supposes this arises from a reading ידעי ספר in place of דעת ידעי. מָדַע. An Aram. formation. The older Heb. is מָדַע.

כַּשְׁדִּים, *Chaldeans*. The Assyrian form of the word is *Kaldu*; the Greek, Χαλδαῖοι. Before a dental letter, *l* is often changed into *sh* or *ch*. Thus the numeral שְׁלֹשָׁה, *shalash*, is in Assyrian *shalashtu* and *shalaltu*; חֲמִשָּׁה, *chamish*, is in Assyrian *hamiltu* for *hamistu*, and is represented in Assyrian by *ashshatu*, contracted into *ashtu*, *altu* (Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB.*). Hence Babylonian *Kashdu*, and Hebrew *Kasdim*. Critics consider the use of the name in Daniel in the sense of *wise men* to be “foreign to Assyrio-Babylonish usage, and did not arise till the fall of the Babylonian empire” (*Schrader*). But even if that statement were correct the use of the word would not be “a clear indication of the post-exilic date of the book of Daniel” (*Schrader*). Daniel lived till after the fall of the Babylonian empire, and there was sufficient time under the Persian régime for the word *Chaldean* to come into popular use in the technical sense in which it is employed

in Herod. i. 183, 186. The name is used in Daniel for the Babylonians generally (ch. v. 30, ix. 1). The use of the word in both significations in the book corresponds with the professed date of the writer. In the days of Babylonian supremacy the name was used for Babylonian warriors, and when that supremacy was lost, employed for men versed in the learning for which Babylon continued to be renowned.

Diodorus Siculus (i. 28, 81) says that Belus brought Egyptian colonists to Babylon, and with them Egyptian priests, whom the Babylonians afterwards termed Chaldeans. Lucian (*Dea Syra*, 2) states that the Assyrians were instructed by the Egyptians in religious matters. This ancient tradition Sax (*Z.D.M.G.* xxii. 45 ff.) considers confirmed by the myths which relate that the Babylonians were instructed by beings who were half fish, half men, and by the similarity of usages and various rites with those of Egypt.

Herodotus speaks of the Magi as one of the six tribes of the Medians (i. 101), and afterwards, without explanation, as interpreters of dreams (i. 120). Magi were at the court of Xerxes (Herod. vii. 19), and in connection with other Persian monarchs. The word *Magus* must not be connected with the Sanskrit *maha*, μέγας, and *magnus*, but, as Schrader has pointed out, is to be identified with the 'imga of inscriptions dating from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, signifying "*deeply learned*," a title given to the priests (comp. Heb. קַדְמָה, *to be deep*, used figuratively Ps. xcii. 6. The root is found in Arabic and Aramaic, and in Assyrian). Rab-mag, in Jer. xxxix. 3, is equivalent to *Rabu 'imga*, *chief-priest*, used in inscriptions in reference to the father of Nabunit, who was not a king (Schrader, *K.A.T.* pp. 420, 421).

The earliest mention of the Chaldeans is in the name Ur of the Chaldees, אור כַּשְׁדִּים (Gen. xi. 28, 31), which the LXX. rendered χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων. The later Jews considered אור to be the Hebrew word *fire*, and on that basis concocted a number of legends about the patriarch Abraham. The signification of "Ur" is "*city*," connected with 'ir, עִיר, the word usually employed in Assyrian. Schrader has identified Ur-Kasdim with the ruins of El-Mugheir, to which the name Uru (written phonetically אור) is given in the Assyrian inscriptions (*K.A.T.* pp. 383, 384).

Chaldean, LXX. Χαλδαῖοι, Vulgate *Chaldæi*, Hebrew always כַּשְׁדִּים, *Kasdim*, Chald. and Talmud כַּשְׁדִּי and כַּשְׁדִּיָּא, was the name given to the inhabitants of Babylon and to the rulers of the empire in the later books (2 Kings xxv. 4, etc.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17; Isa. xliii. 14, xlviii. 14, 20, etc.; Jer. xxi. 9, etc.; Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15, 23, etc.; Habb. i. 11; as well as in Daniel). In Ezek. xxiii. 15, 23, "*the sons of Babylon*" are explained by "*Chaldeans*," and in passages of Isaiah the phrase is used as a parallel expression for the "inhabitants of Babylon." The name "Babylonians," though common in the Targums and later writings, occurs in the Old Testament only in Ezra iv. 9. In Josh. vii. 21, where the A.V. has "a goodly Babylonish garment," the phrase is "a garment (or cloak) of Shinar." Babylonia is called the land of the Kasdim or Chaldeans in Jer. xxiv. 5, xxv. 12, etc.; Ezek. xii. 13; and that phrase occurs also in Isa. xxiii. 13.¹

¹ The expression "*mat kaldî*," *land of the Kaldi*, often occurs in the inscriptions, as "*land of the Kasdim*" in the sacred writings. The king of Babylon is never styled in inscriptions "king of the Chaldeans" (although the phrase is found in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17), but as "king of Babylon," or, "king of Babylon, Sumir and Accad."

As Kaldi and not Kasdim is the original form of the word, the notion of the descent of the Kasdim from Kesed (קֶסֶד), the son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), must be discarded. Ur-Kasdim, the city of the Kasdim, was the city where Abraham originally dwelt (Gen. xi. 28, 31). The country occupied by the Chaldeans was a portion of Babylonia bordering on the Persian Gulf (Strabo, xvi. 1. § 6 ; Ptol. v. 20). Predatory bands of Chaldeans from that district carried off the camels of Job (i. 17), while the Sabeans (probably a tribe living on the shores of the Persian Gulf) robbed the patriarch afterwards of his oxen and asses (Job i. 15). The Chaldeans of Babylonia are to be distinguished from the people of that name mentioned by Xenophon and Strabo. Xenophon speaks of the latter people (*Anab.* iv. 3. § 4) in connection with Armenians, Mar-donians (or, according to another reading, Mygdonians), and the Karduchi (the modern Kurds) and Taochi (*Anab.* v. 5. § 17). These "Chaldeans" are described as a warlike, mountainous tribe (*Cyr.* iii. 1. § 34 and 2). Schrader, however, notes (*Abstammung der Chaldäer*, *Z.D.M.G.* 1873, pp. 400 ff.) that Xenophon speaks of the Chaldeans where one might have expected him to have mentioned the Chalybes (comp. *Anab.* v. 5. § 1 with § 17), and Strabo (12. 549) says that "those who are now Chaldeans were formerly called Chalybes." The Kurds, who are the modern representatives of these Chaldeans, belong to the Indo-European races, and are not Semitic or Cushite like the ancient Kaldi.

The language of the Chaldeans was identical with the Assyrian, which is Semitic, and therefore it has often been said that the Kaldi were Semitic. But, though the Babylonians in the time of Nebuchadnezzar spoke Assyrian, their original language has been proved to have been

non-Semitic. The conquest of the country by Semites, who held possession of it for centuries, was the cause of the change. The original language of the Chaldeans is usually termed Accadian,—or, possibly more correctly, Sumerian (*vide* Fried. Delitzsch's edition of Smith's *Chaldee Genesis*),—Sumer or Shinar being the home of the race. "A large part of the property in Babylonia was held by titles which went back to Accadian times" (Sayce, *Babylonian Lit.* p. 64). A large number of tablets in both Assyrian and Accadian, or Sumerian, have been brought to England from the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, and the discovery of the ancient language has tended to confirm the truth of the statement made in Gen. x. 8–10 that the early Chaldeans were not Semitic, but rather Hamitic. See Rawlinson's *Anc. Mon.* vol. i., and Sayce's *Lectures on Babylonian Literature*.

Isaiah xxiii. 13 has often been adduced as opposed to this view: "Behold the land of Chaldea; this people is no more, Assyria hath appointed it for desert-beasts; they set up their towers, they laid their palaces; he hath made it a ruin." But, as Cheyne observes, there is no historical reason why Isaiah should not have used the term "land of Kasdim" for Babylonia; and Sargon's conquest of that country may be referred to in that passage.

Chaldea was the parent-country of astronomy, astrology, and magic. Hence Chaldean became ultimately a term for a priest, astrologer, or magician. It occurs in that signification in ch. ii. 2, 4, and in the Greek and Latin classical writers. It is used of the priestly caste in Herod. i. 181, 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 24; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 553, x. 94, etc.).

In process of time Aramaic became the language of

common life, trade, and diplomacy. Hence Assyrian contract-tablets were not infrequently accompanied by a docket in the Aramaic language and alphabet (Phœnician), which mentioned the chief contents of the tablet and the names of the contracting parties (Sayce, p. 65). Rabshakeh (*i. q.* Rab-sak, *chief officer, chief of the staff*; *vide* Schrader, *K.A.T.* p. 199), who was the commander of the army sent by Sennacherib against Jerusalem, understood both Aramaic and Hebrew (2 Kings xviii. 26). All the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar as yet discovered are in Assyrio-Babylonian. The name Chaldee, given to the Eastern Aramaic (the language of the Targums and of portions of Daniel and Ezra, with Jer. x. 11), is, as is now well known, an incorrect designation, which arose from a misunderstanding of Dan. i. 4 with ii. 4. See note on the latter passage. The adverb *אֲרָמִית*, in *Aramaic* (Aram being the name of the countries known as Syria, Mesopotamia, and Chaldea), is translated in our A.V. by *Syriac* or *Syrian*, and the writers of the Talmud apply that term to the Aramaic spoken in Palestine.

וּלְלַמְּדָם סֵפֶר וּלְשׁוֹן כַּשְׁדִּים. The word *סֵפֶר*, *writing*, is stat. const. before *כַּשְׁדִּים*. See König, *Syntax*, § 275 *b*. Comp. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 128 *a*, note. The expression may be regarded as a collective, *books*. The word is rendered both in the A.V. and R.V. "*learning*," but in such a sense it would be unique. The LXX. and Theodotion give *γράμματα*; the Vulgate, *litteras*. On the consecutive sense of *ל* in *לְלַמְּדָם* and *לְעַמְּדָם*, see König, *Syntax*, § 406 *b*.

5. Daniel and his companions were brought to Babylon to be instructed in the learning and language of the Chaldeans, or learned men of Babylon. In accordance with Oriental customs, they were supplied duly with a regular portion of food and wine from the royal table

(comp. the arrangements of Solomon, 1 Kings v. 2, 3; E.V. iv. 22, 23). In partaking, however, of the food prepared for the royal table, Jews incurred danger of defilement, because animal food was not prepared in the manner enjoined by the Levitical law; and the flesh of certain animals was condemned by that law as unclean. And as it was usual to offer a portion of the meat and drink partaken of on such occasions to the gods, a participation of such food was looked upon as religious fellowship with the idols (see 1 Cor. x. 20 ff.). Hosea had predicted that in the days of captivity Ephraim would eat unclean things in Assyria (Hos. ix. 3), and be polluted thereby (Hos. ix. 4). Ezekiel similarly predicted of Judah, "Even thus shall the children of Israel eat their defiled bread among the Gentiles, whither I will drive them" (Ezek. iv. 13). The land of the heathen was called "a polluted land" (Amos vii. 17). Such being generally the feelings of pious Israelites, the narrative cannot be regarded as exhibiting a spirit of asceticism disposed to go beyond the Mosaic Law, and savouring of Maccabean times.

דָּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, *a portion assigned for every day*. The phrase occurs also in Jer. lii. 34. See König, *Syntax*, § 288 c, footnote. A yearly portion is termed in 1 Kings x. 25 דָּבַר שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה; so in 2 Chron. ix. 24. פִּתְחָבֵג in the Massoretic text is read as two words connected with makkeph (פִּתְחָבֵג). So Ginsburg, but in other editions (Baer-Delitzsch) it is written as one word. The LXX. render ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης, and similarly Theodotion. Vulgate, *de cibis suis*. The Syriac retains the expression in the Hebrew form. In Ezek. xxv. 7 the text is rightly corrected by the Q'rē into פִּתְחָבֵג. פִּתְחָבֵג is best explained as a Persian loan-word (also found in Syriac), Sanskrit

prati-bhaga, transliterated into Greek *ποτίβαζις*, *royal dainties*, although the idea of *dainties* is not inherent in it. So, according to a fragment of Deinon's (or Dinon) Persian History of the fourth century before Christ, preserved by Athenæus, xi. p. 503 f. See C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* p. 92, col. a.

The construction used in the second clause of the verse is awkward. For *וַיִּמֶן* is first connected with an accusative *דְּבַר יוֹם וּגְו'*, and then with an infinitive preceded by *וְ* (*וְלִגְדֹּלֵם*). The latter infinitive is far removed from *וּלְלַמֶּדֶם* in ver. 4, which in its turn is connected with *לְהַבְיֵא* in ver. 3, and all with the *וַיֵּאמֶר* at the opening of ver. 3. Marti considers that the sentences in ver. 5 ought to be transposed, which would bring *וְלִגְדֹּלֵם* into direct connection with the *וַיֵּאמֶר*. In the latter case the construction of the sentence with the finite verb *יִעֲמְדוּ* would be regular. Comp. Ewald, § 338 a. Behrmann, however, notes that the same construction is found in Isa. xxxii. 6. The suggested transposition is not necessary, for *לִגְדֹּלֵם* really depends upon *וַיִּמֶן* at the opening of the verse. On *לִגְדֹּלֵם* comp. 2 Kings x. 6. It was customary among the Persians to train youths intended for the royal service for three years. *שָׁנִים* is the more usual plural, although feminine. The form *שָׁנוֹת* is poetic and found in the construct state.

מִשְׁפָּחָי might easily be mistaken for a plural. It is, however, singular. The original *ay* of the termination of the noun is retained before the singular suffix *יָ*. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 93 ss, and compare note on ver. 15.

וּמִקְצָתָם, and at the end of them, i.e. the three years; comp. Gen. viii. 6. On the inaccurate use of the masculine suffix, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 135. 5, rem. l, § 135 o.

6. **דְּנִיָּאל** is defectively written in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3 ; **דְּנִיָּאל**, with the yod doubled, occurs in the genealogies of 1 Chron. iii. 1, and as the name of a contemporary in Ezra viii. 2 ; Neh. x. 5. The form **דְּנִיָּאל** is the more primitive.

מִשְׁנָאֵל is identical in meaning with **מִכְנָאֵל**, **שְׁ** being the relative **אֲשֶׁר** ; the vowel is prolonged to compensate for the omitted daghesh (**שְׁ**). The name occurs as early as Exod. vi. 22. Hitzig's explanation of it as a contraction for **מִשְׁנָאֵל**, compounded of **שָׁדָה** (Isa. xl. 25), is a straining after novelty.

7. The names of individuals were changed on the occasion of some alteration in their position, or because of circumstances connected with their history (Gen. xli. 45 ; Ruth i. 20 ; 2 Kings xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17. So Acts xiii. 9). It is therefore far-fetched to suggest (as Marti and others have done) an allusion to the change of Jewish to Greek names in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes.¹ Fuller (*Speaker's Commentary*, p. 246) asks, "If the book 'Daniel' was composed in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, how could the writer of the 'fiction' have made such a mistake as to allow Daniel and his friends to take heathen names without a word of protest on their part?"

בִּלְטַשְׁצַּר, *Belteshazzar* (also in ch. x. 1), is probably the Babylonian *Balatsu-ušar*, "*protect his life !*" (*Schrader*). The name of the god to whom the prayer is offered is

¹ Psammetichus I., the son of Necho, king of Memphis and Sais, had his name changed to Nabu-sîzib-anni when he became tributary to Assurbanipal, the great king of Assyria (Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pp. 46, 50), and the Philistinian king of Askalon is mentioned in the inscription of Sennacherib, col. ii. 62, as bearing a purely Assyrian name (*Sar-ludâri*, *long live the king*; comp. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 41, 33 ff., and pp. 48, 49), doubtless given him by his conqueror for the same reason (*Schrader*, *K.A.T.*, *Gloss.* ii. p. 592).

not contained in the word. Nebuchadnezzar would, of course, mentally supply *Bel* or *Nebo* (Dan. iv. 5). But there is no connection between the word *Balat* (*life*) and *Bel*.

שָׁדְרַךְ, *Shadrak*, is explained by Fried. Delitzsch as equivalent to *Sha-dur-aku*, *command* (or *order*) of *Aku*, i.e. the moon-deity (*Sin*). No satisfactory explanation has yet been proposed for מִשְׁכַּךְ, *Meshak*. עֲבַד נְבוֹ is identical with עֲבַד נְבוֹ, *servant of Nebo*, which, as Schrader observes, is found in a bilingual (Assyr.-Aram.) inscription. Bevan observes that "long after the Christian era the name עֲבַד נְבוֹ was borne by heathen Syrians (see Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 14 of the Syriac text, line 5). The Palmyrene inscriptions contain such names as נְבוּבַד, נְבוּקוּדָא, and בְּרִנְנוֹ, De Vogüé, Nos. 24, 67, 73."

8. גִּבּוֹר. Compare Isa. lvii. 1, 11. גִּבּוֹר. Compare Isa. lix. 3; Zeph. iii. 1; Mal. i. 9. שָׂמָא is the more common word. וַיִּבְקֹשׁ מִשָּׁר רִגְוִי, *and he sought from the prince of the eunuchs that he should not defile himself*. The phrase is not necessarily post-exilic; compare Isa. i. 12.

9. The simple statement of the narrative exhibits faith in a God able to direct the affairs of the children of men. God (הָאֱלֹהִים) gave Daniel favour and mercy¹ in the presence of the prince of the eunuchs, who listened with respect to the request, and showed a kindly disposition to accede to it, if it could be done without danger. A similar phrase is used in 1 Kings viii. 50; Ps. cvi. 46; Neh. i. 11; and with the ellipsis of the verb in 2 Chron. xxx. 9. The phrase here is נָתַן פֶּן' לְחֶסֶד וּלְרַחֲמִים לִפְנֵי.

¹ The A.V. translation of רַחֲמִים by *tender love* is too strong, and has not been adopted in the other passages where the phrase occurs. The R.V. correctly gives *compassion*; comp. Dan. ii. 18, where the same word is used in the Aramaic.

10. יֵרָא אֲנִי with an accusative is classical Hebrew ; comp. Gen. xxxii. 12. מִשְׁתַּיְכֶם. The yod in the suffix comes from the original י of the radical. The word is not plural. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 93 ss, and note on ver. 5. Similarly מִרְאִיהֶם in ver. 15. אֲשֶׁר לֹמֵה יֵרָא, “*lest he should see.*” Compare שֶׁלֹּמָה, Cant. i. 7 ; the question is used in the sense of an emphatic negation, i.q. *he must in no wise see.* Compare also Ezra vii. 23, דִּי-לֹמָה ; and without the relative, לֹמָה נְמוּת לַעֲיִנֶיךָ, Gen. xlvii. 15 ; לֹמָה נְמוּת בְּנִדָּה, Gen. xlvii. 19 ; and לֹמָה בְּוֹאֵי מִלְכֵי אֲשׁוּר, 2 Chron. xxxii. 4, Keil. Driver, in his *Introduction*, considers the phraseology as “the phrase of an author who thought in Aramaic, and translated the Aramaic idioms, part by part, into unidiomatic Hebrew.” This supports the hypothesis that the Hebrew portion of Daniel is a translation from an Aramaic original.

זַעַם (participle of זָעַף) occurs in Gen. xl. 6 in the sense of *sad*, or *vexed in mind*. Bevan’s statement that it is used in the sense of physical unhealthiness goes too far. Bevan is not justified in citing the word as a case in which Old Testament words which occur in the Hebrew of Daniel are used in peculiar meanings. Nor is it correct to affirm that Gen. xl. 6 and Dan. i. 10 are the only passages in which the word occurs in the Old Testament, for it occurs also in Prov. xix. 3 and 2 Chron. xxvi. 19. The noun זָעַף is used in a similar sense. So also the adjective זָעַף in 1 Kings xx. 43, where Ahab’s dejection is recorded. Theodotion renders σαυθρωπός ; compare Matt. vi. 16. On the comparative with מִן, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 133. The LXX. render, *lest he should see you “changed and weak above the youths of the aliens who are nourished with you.”* This gives a new sense to the passage.

וְחִיבַתָּם, “*then* [י connects the verb with the preceding לָמַח, the perfect depends on the preceding imperfect] *ye would make my head guilty*,” i.e. endanger my head.

The noun גִּיל, *age, generation*, which occurs in this verse, and the verb חָיַב, *to make one accused, or bring into danger*, are both cited by Bevan and others as proofs of late authorship. Jahn suggests an Arabism. But both are common in Aramaic and other cognate languages, and possibly may have been used in ordinary conversation in early times. Such instances are, however, confirmatory of the hypothesis that the Hebrew portions of the book are translations from an Aramaic original. חֹזֵב is used in Hebrew in the sense of a *pledge*, scarcely in that of a *forfeit*, while in Aramaic it and the cognate words are commonly used of *guilt*.

11. הַמְלִצָּר. The word is not a proper name, as the text of the A.V. gives it, but a title with the article appended. The article sometimes occurs with proper names in late Hebrew.¹ Schrader and Fried. Delitzsch conjecture that the word is connected with *mas(s)aru*, generally written *mašar* (F. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*), signifying *guardian*, from the root נָצַר. The word, as Bevan has shown, is not connected with the Persian *wine-head* = *keeper of the cellar*, as v. Bohlen, and after him Gesenius, supposed. On the LXX., see on ver. 5. The Ἀμελσὰδ of Theodotion may possibly point to a different reading. The Syriac in Lee's edition probably contains a misprint. The Urmi and Mosul editions have a *nun* in place of a *lamed*, which is an error common in some Syriac MSS. Hence the Syriac

¹ Proper names have occasionally the article, as Hakkōz, הַקֹּז (1 Chron. xxiv. 19; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4), הַפִּצְצִי (1 Chron. xxiv. 15); הַאֲרוֹנָה הַיְּבוּסִי (2 Sam. xxiv. 16), etc. *Vide* Ges. *Lehrgr.* p. 657.

does not here indicate a difference of reading. The word only occurs here and in ver. 16.

12. נִסָּה. Apoc. imperfect piel from נִסָּה, *test now*. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 75 cc. The verb is construed with the accusative of the person on whom the trial is made, and also with the accusative of the thing by which the test is made. Compare Judges vi. 39; it is there construed with ב. *Ten days*. Ten is a round number: compare ver. 20; Gen. xxiv. 55, xxxi. 7; Job xix. 3; Amos v. 3; Haggai ii. 16. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 160, footnote.

וִירְתֵנוּ לָנוּ. The third person plural is here equivalent to a passive. This construction is more common in Aramaic, though employed also in the later Hebrew, e.g. Neh. ii. 7. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 144 g; Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 96 c.

זֵרַע is a hapax-legomenon derived probably from זָרַע, *i. q.* זָרַע, *a sowing*, and meaning *vegetables*. The VSS. generally take the word to mean *pulse* of some kind. Theodotion's rendering σπερμάτα led Hävernicks to conjecture that he read זָרַע, but that is questionable. Another form, also a hapax-legomenon, is זֵרַעֲנִים, used in ver. 16, plural of זָרַעַן, and with the same meaning. The latter, however, is found in Talmudic Hebrew, and a closely connected form is frequent in Syriac. The word was probably common in Aramaic even in early times. Josephus in his autobiography, chapter iii., notices that certain Jewish priests who were prisoners at Rome fed on figs and nuts through the same fear of defilement, which led Josephus to form a high opinion of their piety.

13. וִירְאֵר־מְרָאֵינוּ. The word מְרָאֵינוּ is not plural, for מְרָאֵה, being an abstract noun, has no plural. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 93 ss, and compare ver. 15. וִירְאֵר.

The nominatives to the verb are מְרַאֲיוֹ (sing.) and the following וּמְרֹאֵהוּ.

מְרֹאֵהוּ (see Ewald, § 224 c) has the Aramaic vocalisation in place of the common Hebrew, but this cannot be cited as an unquestioned Aramaism, for such forms are found in pure Hebrew. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 75 *hh*. König regards such forms as more or less certainly optative in signification. See König, *Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, § 183 *b* and *c*. Daniel was probably informed in a dream of the result which would follow.

14. Compare, on לְדַבֵּר, Gen. xix. 21 ; 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

15. See note on preceding verse. בְּרִיאֵי בֶשֶׂר is (as Hävernicks observes) a *constructio ad sensum*. The plural refers to the preceding suffix. The phrase occurs in Gen. xli. 2, of the fat kine in Pharaoh's dream.

16. וְיָדָיו רִגְוִי. *So the guardian used to take away*. The use of the participle indicates habitual usage. See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 135. 5 ; also Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116 *r*.

17. The narrative states that God gave understanding and knowledge to the four young men, and blessed them in their various studies. In all the literature and all the wisdom of the Chaldeans, in which they had received instruction, they exceeded their fellow-competitors. The fact is mentioned, but there is no self-laudation. As Moses in the land of Egypt was trained up in all the learning of the Egyptians (Acts vii. 22), without imbibing the false religion with which that learning was imbued, so it was in the case of Daniel and his companions.

בְּכָל-סֵפֶר וְחָכְמָה. "*In all kinds of books [so correctly Bevan] and wisdom.*" Knowledge was bestowed by God upon all the four individuals alike, "*and Daniel had understanding in all kinds of visions and dreams.*" There is no reference to the incidents of the after chapters. Daniel (as may

be presumed from the analogy of the history of Joseph) exhibited some skill in the interpretation of dreams before he explained Nebuchadnezzar's dreams. The LXX. add concerning Daniel that he had understanding in every word (*ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι*) and in all wisdom. Jahn doctors the text of the LXX. so as to make it read "in every kind of vision."

18. At the end of three years the young men trained for the civil service were examined by the king, Nebuchadnezzar. The examination was probably conducted by examiners specially appointed, but a part of it was conducted by the king, who himself conferred with the young men in order to be able to judge of their progress. The Hebrew phrase *וַיִּדְבֹּר* is rendered by the LXX. *ὠμίλησεν*. Theodotion, more literally, *ἐλάλησε*. *למקצת*. See note on ver. 5.

19. *וַיַּעֲמְדוּ וּבְנֵי*. So *they stood before the king*, i.e. entered into his personal service.

20. The plural of *יד*, *hand*, is used in the sense of *portions, times*. Thus, in Gen. xliii. 34, *חמש ידות* means *five times* or *portions* more than the rest. So *ten parts* in 2 Sam. xix. 34. A similar use is found with *רגלים*, literally *steps*, and *פְּעָמִים*. *על* is used in a comparative sense in the phrase *על כל החר'*. Compare Ps. lxxxix. 8; Koh. i. 16; compare, too ch. xi. 6.

החר' האשפים. The two words are in apposition, as in ch. v. 15. The LXX. have "the sophists and the philosophers." The word *חרטמים* occurs only in the Pentateuch and in Daniel. It may be pure Hebrew, derived from *חרט*, *a stylus*, with the formative termination *om*. It is employed in the Pentateuch of the Egyptian sacred scribes, or *ἱερογραμματεῖς*, who were also interpreters (LXX. *ἐξηγητῆς*, Gen. xli. 8, 24). Harkavy thinks it is

connected with the Egyptian *cher-tum*, "*revealer of secrets*." The doubling of the מ, found in the plural חֲרָטְמִין, is not uncommon in Hebrew. Compare חֲרָטְמִין, גְּמָלִים.

חֲשָׁפִים, which occurs in Hebrew only in this text and in ch. ii. 2, is a plural word. The Biblical Aramaic equivalent of the same form occurs in ch. ii. 10, but there is there a difference of reading. Ginsburg edits חֲשָׁפִי, and gives as variants חֲשָׁפִי, and also חֲשָׁפִי. The plural of the Bibl. Aram. word is, without any difference of reading, uniformly חֲשָׁפִין (ch. ii. 27, v. 11), or in the emphatic חֲשָׁפִיָּה (ch. iv. 4, v. 7, 15), which Gesenius (in *Thes.*) considers to come from a lost singular חֲשָׁפִי. The word is generally recognised as a Bab.-Assyr. loan-word, Assyr. *ashipu*, *eshshipu*, *necromancer* (*eshsheputu*, *a witch*). See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*. There is a Syriac verb in use, evidently a denom., *to use incantations*. Bevan observes that in Daniel the various words used for diviners, magicians, etc., are nowhere distinguished from one another. He regards Lenormant's attempt to discover allusions to the existence of *five* different kinds of magic as altogether fanciful. The LXX. add at the close: "and the king honoured them and made them rulers, and declared them wise above all his (wise men) in affairs in all his land, and in his kingdom."

21. The A.V. and the R.V. both render "*and Daniel continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus*." הָיָה no doubt is used in the signification of *to be*, *to exist*. Compare ἐσμεν, Acts xvii. 28. The verb is employed with special modifications in this book, as in ch. ii. 1, וְשִׁבְתִּי נְהִיָּה עָלַי, and in ch. viii. 27, וְאֵנִי דְנִיָּאל נְהִיָּי וְנִחְלִיתִי יָמִים. Compare Koh. i. 9, iii. 14, viii. 7; Job iii. 16; Isa. xxiii. 13. Compare הָיָה with a note of time added in Koh. ii. 7, also notice Koh. iv. 16, vi. 12, and especially iv. 3.

The chief disjunctive accent in the verse is placed in the Hebrew text on Daniel, lit. "*and Daniel was ; unto the first year of Cyrus the king.*" The first year of Cyrus is, though not in explicit terms, referred to in the ninth chapter as the close of the desolations of Jerusalem. It is several times alluded to in Isaiah (xliv. 28, xlv. 1). There is no contradiction between this verse and ch. x. 1, where Daniel is stated to have seen a vision in the third year of Cyrus. The phrase might, indeed, indicate that the first year of Cyrus was the year of Daniel's death, but it need not be so interpreted. It is unnecessary to read ירד from חרה, or to regard ירד as equivalent to that verb, and equally unnecessary to suppose that the words "in Babylon" may have fallen out. ער merely indicates that no notice is taken of the time beyond the terminus mentioned. Compare Gen. xlix. 10 ; Exod. xv. 16 ; Ps. cx. 1, cxii. 8, etc. In Jer. i. 2 ff. mention is made of Jeremiah's prophesying from the days of Josiah on to the eleventh year of Zedekiah. But it is not implied that Jeremiah did not prophesy after that date. On the contrary, his book actually contains a number of prophecies of a later date. Daniel cannot be regarded as a writer likely to fall into the flagrant "contradictions" which some critics so freely impute to him. The phrase indicates that Daniel continued in repute for wisdom down to the year of Deliverance.

בִּרְשׁוֹ. The word *Cyrus* has nothing to do with the *sun*, as Greek writers explain it. It seems to be formed on the analogy of Hebrew segholate nouns, and is identical with the name of the river *Kur*. So Franz Delitzsch on Isaiah xliv. 28. The Babylonian forms of the river are *Kurâsh*, *Kurrashu*, *Kursu* ; the Persian is *Kuru(sh)*.

See preface to S. Baer's edition of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, p. x. Cyrus is styled in inscriptions king of Anzan (Susiana) and Persia, but when his kingdom is mentioned in the books of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Daniel, *Persia* alone is specified.

CHAPTER II

1. וּבשְׁנָתָהּ. Bertholdt regards the copula to be a late addition. The LXX., however, express it. On such points the ancient VSS. cannot be relied on.

Bevan, with other critics, regards the verse to contradict that in ch. i. 5, 18. The difficulty has been felt in the earliest times, for Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 103, explains it to mean in "two years after the sack of Egypt." Rashi and others think that it was *two* years after the destruction of the Temple. Such expository remarks are, however, arbitrary. Driver well observes, "There is not, perhaps, necessarily a contradiction here with the 'three years' of i. 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 xvii. 9, 10); and in Jer. xxxiv. 14 'at the end of seven years' means evidently when the seventh year had arrived (see also Mark viii. 31, etc.). 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, and if, further, Nebuchadnezzar gave orders for the education of the Jewish youths in his accession-year, the

end of the 'three years' of i. 5, 18 might be reckoned as falling within the king's second year." It is arbitrary to suppose, with Ewald, Kamphausen, Marti, and others, that *ten* has dropped out of the text, and conjecturally to emend the text by reading *in the twelfth year*.

חלמור. Literally, *dreams*, plural, but used in a general sense. Hence the ancient VSS. render it by the singular. Compare ch. iv. 3, vii. 1. The king (in ver. 3) speaks of one dream only. "*And his spirit was troubled*," or agitated. This phrase, which occurs also in ver. 3, is evidently taken from Gen. xlii. 8. Driver also compares Ps. lxxvii. 5.

נהיתה עליו. The passive of היה, indicating *was come to pass*, was over and done. Upon the use of על, Driver observes that it is used idiomatically "to emphasise the person who is the subject of an experience or of an emotion which he is sensible of as acting *upon* himself.' He compares Ps. xlii. 4, 6, cxlii. 3, cxliii. 4; Jer. viii. 18; Lam. iii. 20, etc. See also his *Parallel Psalter*, Glossary i., under the word *upon*. See note on ch. vi. 19.

2. חרש' וגו'. See note on ch. i. 20. There is an evident reference to Gen. xli. 8. מכשפים. The Israelites were forbidden to be such (Deut. xviii. 10). The feminine is used of a witch in Exod. xxii. 17 (E.V. 18). Bevan quotes Robertson Smith's contention, in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, that this word does not mean a *reciter of charms* or *incantations*, but that the root כשף (used in the sense of "used witchcrafts," 2 Chr. xxxiii. 6) properly means to *cut*, and that the noun originally signified a *cutter-up* of herbs for a magical brew. There is, however, no proof that the meaning assigned by Robertson Smith to the root is the true one. Fleischer, in his *Nachträge* to Levy's *Neuheb. und Chald. WB.*

p. 459, regards its meaning as *to be dark*. The root is represented in Assyrian not only by the verb but by the nouns *kishpu*, *witchcraft*, *kamshapu*, *magician*, with its feminine, *a witch*. See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyr. WB.* On other names given to the wise men, see ch. i. 20 and Supplementary Note at end of ch. ii. ; and on the Kasdim, see note on ch. i. 4.

4. After the opening words of the verse the language is Aramaic, which continues to be the language of the book to the close of ch. vi. The Authorised English version supposes that the Chaldeans addressed the king in Aramaic. That opinion was expressed by Jerome in his Commentary. He popularised the error, which is also found in the translations of the LXX. and Theodotion (the translations of Symmachus and Aquila are not extant). For the LXX. and Theodotion render ארמית here by Συριστί, "*in Syriac*," which gives an incorrect idea, and led, too, to the erroneous conclusion that the Chaldean wise men addressed Nebuchadnezzar in that language. Hence Biblical Aramaic has obtained the name of Chaldee, which nomenclature has never been completely got rid of. If the text had meant to affirm that the Aramaic was used on this occasion, the narrative afterwards would naturally have been continued in Hebrew, in which the writer had begun. Lenormant long ago called attention to the fact that "in Aramaic" was a gloss which intimated to the reader that what follows was in that language. It is, however, more than a gloss. It is best explained as a note intimating that the editor or copyist began here to copy directly from an Aramaic original which lay before him.

An exact parallel occurs in Ezra iv. 7, to which Lenormant and other critics have fairly appealed,

although all have not deduced from it the same conclusions. That text states, with respect to the adversaries of the Jews mentioned in that book, that "the writing of the letter was written in the Aramaic *character*, and set forth in the Aramaic *tongue*." The translation there of the R.V.—"*Syrian*," in place of "*Syriac*"—is an improvement on that of the A.V., but the marginal rendering "in Aramaic" should have been put in the text. The Aramaic characters were at that time different from the Hebrew; and the Aramaic language itself, although used in official documents, differed considerably from Hebrew. The Chaldeans or wise men of Babylon would naturally have addressed Nebuchadnezzar either in Babylonian or Assyrian.

The passage in Ezra is also an instance of a similar quotation of an Aramaic original by the writer of that book. For, as in Daniel when Aramaic was once introduced the narrative is continued in Aramaic, so in the Book of Ezra the Aramaic is continued from an Aramaic document from Ezra iv. 8 to Ezra vi. 18.

It may be interesting to observe that the Græcus Venetus represents the difference in the languages in Daniel by using Doric Greek in the Aramaic portion. The MS. of this version which is at St Mark's, Venice, is of the fourteenth century. König, however, in his *Einleitung* observes that Rabbi D. Kimchi, about 1230, in his *Book of Roots*, mentions the version.

מלכא, emphatic form of מלך, employed for a vocative. In Hebrew, vocatives have the article. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 82 a. The absolute, which is identical with the Hebrew form, occurs in Biblical Aramaic in ch. ii. 10.

עלמין, plural of עלם, i.e. Hebrew עולם. The root occurs in all the Semitic languages. The corresponding

word in Arabic is used in the sense of *the universe, all created beings*, which signification is common in Rabbinical Hebrew; and there are scholars who assign that sense to the Hebrew word in Koh. iii. 11, although that is doubtful.

חַי, *Live for ever!* or, *To eternity mayest thou live!* was the usual form of saluting Oriental kings. Compare 1 Kings i. 31; Neh. ii. 3; and Daniel iii. 9, v. 10, vi. 7, 22. "In much later times the Sāsānian kings were addressed with the formula *anōshak buwēdh*, 'be immortal!' Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 366, note" (*Bevan*).

חַלָּץ, emphatic. חָלָץ occurs in the absolute state in ch. iv. 2. Kautzsch regards the latter as a Hebraism, and considers the form here as absolute. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* p. 95. The word is found in all the Semitic languages.

לַעֲבָדָךְ. The K'thibh or written text in all these forms retains the yod, probably going back to an older diphthongal pronoun *aikh*, while the Massoretes in the Q're form עֲבָדָךְ regard the yod as redundant. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 53. 2, rem. *b*.

וּפִשְׁרָא, emphatic of פִּשֵּׁר. A noun פִּשֵּׁר occurs once in Hebrew in Koh. viii. 1. The Hebrew cognates are the verb פָּתַר, *to interpret* (of dreams), and the noun פְּתָרוֹן. In Arabic the noun does not occur, but the verb does.

בְּהוֹרָא. In the Massoretic text both pael and aphel occur, both forms in the sense of *declare, explain*. The pael occurs here, and in ver. 11 with the suffix הָאֵל, also in ver. 24, and in ch. v. 7, הִתְהוֹרַעְתִּי. The aphel or hiphil occurs in ver. 6, and with the suffix of the first person singular in ver. 9. The infinitive is found in verses 16 and 27. The meaning is the same. Marti (*Gramm. Bibl. Aram.* § 65 *c*) corrects the qattil (pa'il) forms into haqtel (aphel), and maintains the Massoretes edited pa'il

forms when possible, because in the later language that was the only form used in that sense. Such corrections are, however, dubious. The verb is found in the Syriac, but in no other Semitic language.

5. ענה is the participial form, which is often used to express historic time, which is common after a perfect and ו, and in other cases. See Strack, *Gramm.* 13 a. As it is, however, strange in the commencement of a sentence, Nöldeke would in all such cases read ענה. See, however, Kautzsch, § 76. 2.

לנשתי. The K'thibh or written text has the form retaining the yod of the singular. The Q'rē has the more regular form נשתי, from the plural נשתי. A similar correction is made by the Q'rē in the emphatic singular. Consequently the K'thibh should be read נשתי, and the Q'rē נשתי.

נתי. The word only occurs here and in ver. 8, in both cases in the same phrase, מלתא מני נתי. It has been explained in different ways: (1) regarding נתי as *i.q.* לתי, *the matter has gone from me, i.e.* I have no recollection of what I dreamed. So the LXX. and Theodotion, ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη, and the Vulgate *recessit a me*. But in ver. 8 the LXX. has ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα. The words that follow in that verse—καθὰπερ οὖν προστέταχα, οὕτως ἔσται—are to be regarded as a duplicate rendering, and are marked in the Chisian text with an obelus. Theodotion, also, in ver. 8 adheres to the first rendering: ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα. If these versions give the correct rendering, נתי cannot be explained as a perfect, which would be נתתי, but is a participle for נשתי, which Baer reads (Ginsburg in both places adopts the common pointing), like נשתי for נשתי in Dan. iii. 16. The latter reading occurs in Ginsburg's variants;

Kautzsch considers it incorrect. The verb **אָדָּה** has unquestionably that meaning in Aramaic, as the passages cited in Levy's *Neuheb. und Chald. WB.* sufficiently prove. The interchange of the radicals **ד** and **ל**, though considered impossible by Gesenius, has, as Kautzsch (*Gram. Bibl. Aram.* p. 63) observes, been assumed as a possibility in Gen. xxx. 20, where **וּבְדָה** and **וּבְלָה** are viewed as connected. The regular past participle form would, however, be **אָדָּה** or **אָדָּה**, and the feminine **אָדָּה** or **אָדָּה**: compare ch. vi. 13, **וְיִצְרָה מִלְחָמָה**.

The Syriac translates "*firm is the word which I have spoken,*" probably, like Ibn Ezra, connecting the word with the Arabic **وَصَدَّ**, *to close, to be firm*. So Saadiah (see Gesenius, *Thes.*). Hitzig, and after him Friedr. Delitzsch (pref. to Baer's *Text of Dan.* p. vi.) have connected the form with the adverb **אֲדָרְוֹדָה**, *rightly, exactly*, Ezra vii. 23.

Nöldeke, with Schrader and others, regards the word as a Persian loan-word, *azda*, i.q. Sanskrit *addhâ*, *certain, sure*—"certain is the word from me." Marti, after Andreas (quoted in Marti's *Grammar*, p. 51), considers it as the Middle Persian *azd*, meaning *news, intelligence*—"the word from me is news," i.e. in this matter the word on my side is now proclaimed and clearly set forth. It cannot, however, be affirmed with certainty that the moderns have definitely established the foreign origin of the word, for their theory is wholly based upon the details of the Massoretic punctuation.

Behrmann cites a remarkable parallel to the story of Daniel from Ibn Hishām's *Life of Mohammed*, edited by Wüstenfeld. It runs as follows: Rabia ibn Nasr, king of Yemen . . . saw a dream that terrified him. Whereupon he assembled the magicians, etc., who were his

subjects, and said to them : "I have had a dream which has terrified me ; tell me it and its interpretation." They said : "Tell it to us, we will show you its interpretation." Then said he : "If I were to tell you it I could not depend upon your sayings as to its interpretation." Nebuchadnezzar seems to have acted with similar wisdom. If the writer had meant to convey the idea that Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten the dream, he would scarcely have used the expression מִלְחָה, *word*, in place of *dream*. The form of מ' is a Hebraising of the ordinary emphatic מִלְחָה. The king did not actually affirm that he had forgotten the details of his dream (which may or may not have been the fact), but he was evidently determined to test the correctness of the interpretation by the ability on the part of the wise men to reveal the dream itself.

לֹא הָיָה, *if not* ; the negative is sometimes separated by intervening words, as in ver. 9, *i.q.* Hebrew הָיָה without לֹא in ver. 6. Syriac ܠܐ, Arabic لَا. Another Aramaic form is ܐܝܢ, ܐܝܢ. Outside the Bibl. Aram., ܐܝܢ and ܐܝ are more commonly used ; and even ܐܡܝܢ, as in Hebrew. See G. Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 52.

תְּהוֹדִיעַנִי, *aphel* of יָדַע, with suffix and the epenthetic nun. The form is defectively written in ver. 9.

הַדָּמִין from הָדָם. Possibly from the Persian *andam*, *handam* (also found in Zend), meaning *a limb*. But the Arabic حَـدَمَ means *to cut*, and so the word may well be Semitic. הָדָם, *a segment, a limb*. Comp. Greek μέλη ποιεῖν, 2 Macc. i. 16. Both the noun and verb are found in Targum Aramaic and in Rabbinical Hebrew.

תְּהַעֲבִידֶנּוּ. So Michaelis, Theile, etc., but Ginsburg, Baer, Strack, etc., more correctly תְּהַעֲבִידֶנּוּ, "*you shall be made*

pieces." עָבַד corresponds to the Hebrew עָשָׂה. The rendering of the LXX. is only paraphrastic, παραδειγματισθήσεσθε; and similarly that of Theodotion, εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε. The punishment of being cut in pieces is mentioned in 1 Sam. xv. 33, 2 Sam. xiii. 31, although in different phraseology; compare Luke xi. 46, Heb. xi. 27.

בֵּית. See ch. iv. 1. The plural בֵּיתֵינוּ is to be pronounced *batēkhon*, for the Syriac plural is *batn*. The retention of the daghesh forte in ת, together with the metheg which precedes it, are, however, Hebraisms. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 63; also § 12. 2 *e*.

דִּנְיָ, *dunghill*, occurs only in three places, namely, here, in ch. iii. 29, with דִּנְיָ in Ezra vi. 11. The root דִּנְיָ is akin to דָּבַל, דָּבַל; see Levy, *WB*.

יִתְשָׁמוּ (compare יִתְשָׁם, Ezra iv. 21; יִתְשָׁם, Ezra v. 8) is hithpeal. See Prof. W. Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 254. On the doubling of the ת in the hithpeal form, see Kautzsch, § 45. 1 *d*; Marti, *Gramm.* § 63, *i*.

6. תִּהְיֶה, haphel, but equivalent in meaning to pael. גְּבוּזָה. This word is probably a foreign loan-word. The first part of it, גְּבוּ or גְּבוּ, according to Marti (*Gramm.*, Glossary at end) has been explained as Middle Iranian *nibhez*, *nibhāz* (comp. Old Persian *bāži*, written *bāgi*), *tribute*; New Persian *navā* (from an older *nivāz*), *a gift for the king*, and *nāvaxtā*, *gracious gift*. Hence the vocalisations (with *i* and *a*) are both possible. The meaning of the final ב or בי has not yet been explained. Theodotion (Dan. v. 17) translates τὴν δωρεὰν (the plural δωρεὰς is also found in some MSS., see Swete) τῆς οἰκίας σου. Theodotion seems to have recognised the form גְּבוּ, and to have explained the second part of the word as בִּיתָהּ. Marti thinks the text is probably corrupt, and that the plural גְּבוּ or גְּבוּי should be read.

מִן־קָדְמִי. This is one of the few instances in the book of a pausal qametz with athnach. See Kautzsch, § 17. 2, rem. 1.

לָהֶן, *therefore*; compare ver. 9 and ch. iv. 24. A strengthening of the הֶן, which Marti supposes to be used in its original signification of “*see*” (*Gramm.* § 96 *d*). Kautzsch rejects that meaning, § 69. 7. לָהֶן is, however, used in the Bibl. Aram. elsewhere in the sense of *only*, and Ewald, to whom Bevan inclines, considers that that is the true meaning.

7. תִּתְּנִינִי. See Kautzsch, § 66. 2. The termination נִי corresponds with the Hebrew יִית, as שְׁנִית, Marti, *Gramm.* § 91 *c*. It is apparently, not really, in the form of a construct. See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* p. 211.

וּפְשָׁרָה. The Massoretes point here וּפְשָׁרָה, but the suffix is evidently required, and the word should be read וּפְשָׁרָהּ, as in the preceding verse. It is so pointed in Marti's text, and also in Strack's text on the authority of MSS. and the Peshitto version.

8. מִן־רָצִיב, *most certainly*. On the formation of the adjective רָצִיב, see Kautzsch, § 59 *g*; Marti, § 82, rem. 2. Compare מִן־קֶשֶׁט in ver. 47.

וּבִגְנִין, participle, “*you are buying time*,” asking for time, as the Syr. Peshitto renders it, *i.e.* seeking to gain delay, while I am in thorough earnest. The phrase does not occur elsewhere. The LXX. and Theodotion have ὁρῶντες τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοράζετε, and the same phrase is used by St Paul in Eph. v. 16, Col. iv. 5, which possibly came from this passage. כִּלְקַבֵּל, *because*, used with a stronger heaping up of particles in ch. iii. 22. The form of ק' in the MSS. is קַבֵּל and קִבֵּל.

אוֹדָה. See before on ver. 5.

9. דִּי הֵן, “*for if*,” *i.q.* *but if*. Hebrew, בִּי אִם.

There is one law for you. The suffix in דתכון is objective. So correctly LXX. and Vulgate. *You can expect only one result, i.e. death.* The phrase can scarcely be rendered, with von Lengerke and Hitzig, "*Your purpose (intention) is one and the same.*" דת occurs in the later Hebrew and in Aramaic, and signifies *law, order, decree*. The word is probably of Persian origin. It has also been derived from יָדָה. In that case דת would come from יָדָה. כדבה, *lying*, from כדב, *i.q.* Hebrew כזב. וזמן הזמנתון from זמן. The Q'rē (to which the vowel-points belong) is generally regarded as the ithpaal. הוֹדַמְתָּן. "*You have agreed with one another to say,*" etc. The Q'rē has distinctly the additional letter ד. The K'thibh might, however, be read הוֹדַמְתָּן, which would make the text and Q'rē identical. The assimilation in the ו would then be compensation for the change of the ה into ד. Mühlau and Volck consider the word ought to be read as an aphel הוֹדַמְתָּן, which occurs also in the Targums and Samaritan. Other readings are given by Ginsburg. The ithpaal is found elsewhere in Aramaic. See Dalman's *Gramm. Aram.* p. 205, and note there.

עד די ע' ישתנה, *until the time be changed, i.e. until circumstances alter, and I become less concerned about the matter.* Theodotion, "*until the time may pass by.*" LXX., "*as ye have seen that the matter has gone away from me.*" See on verse 5.

וְהִנֵּדע. In the verb ידע, in place of the daghesh in the imperfect of the peal, an epenthetic nun is inserted. See Kautzsch, § 11. 2, § 43. 1 *b*; Marti, § 59 *c*. This compensation is made both in Bibl. Aram. and in the Targums, and specially characterises the Mandaitic dialect. See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 68, p. 75. Nebuchadnezzar plainly expresses his conviction that the only proof he

could have of the correctness of their interpretation would be their first telling him the dream.

10. לֹא-אִתִּי, *there is not*. אִתִּי, *there is*, is equivalent to the Hebrew אִשׁ or אִשׁ ; the latter form is comparatively rare. Arabic, أَيْس. The original form may have been *jēthai*. See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 213, p. 293. The initial yod has in אִתִּי lost its consonantal sound. Pronominal suffixes are combined with it to express the various persons of the verb substantive. So in ver. 11, “*whose dwelling is not*”; לֹא אִתִּינָא, *we are not*, ch. iii. 18. With ה interrogative הָאִתִּיךָ, *art thou?* In ch. iii. 14 לֹא אִתִּיכֹן, *do you not?* See Kautzsch, § 67. 8, § 95. 3; Marti, § 97. Baer-Del. text has everywhere the script. defect. Ginsburg's text gives the script. plena.

יְבֶשֶׁתָּה, emphatic of יְבֶשֶׁת, *dry land, earth*. The Heb. is the same. The root is common to all the Semitic languages.

יָכֹל is Hebrew imperfect hophal of יָכַל, *to be able*. See Kautzsch, § 43. 1 c. The Aram. is יָכַל or יָכַל, whose impf. peal, יָכַל, occurs in Dan. iii. 29. Marti and others would substitute that word here. But the Massoretic text is supported by the fact that the Hebrew יָכַל occurs elsewhere in Jewish Aramaic. See Dalman, *Gram. Aram.* p. 255.

לֹא-חֹזֶק. See on ver. 4. לֹא connected with the negative אֵל expresses absolute negation. The words רַב and שְׁלִיט occur in the signification both of nouns and adjectives. Hence it is possible to translate *there is no lord or ruler*, or, *there is no king, however great and powerful*. The LXX. and Symmachus prefer the former; Theodotion (πᾶς βασιλεὺς μέγας) the latter. The kings of Assyria were termed *great king* (2 Kings xviii. 28), and so were those of

Persia ; but neither in 2 Kings, Dan. ii. 37, nor Ezra vii. 12 does the exact phraseology here found occur. It is a matter of doubt whether the forms מַלְךְ אֱבֹן (ver. 34), צֶלֶם (ch. iii. 5), חֶלֶם (ch. iv. 2), קֶקֶן (ch. vii. 8) ought to be regarded as Hebraisms or not. See Kautzsch, *Gram.* § 54. 1, p. 92.

מַלְּה כְּדָנָה, “*a matter like this.*” כְּדָנָה, like Hebrew כְּדֹמָת. On חֲרָטָם and אֲשַׁף, see note on ch. i. 20. On כְּשָׁדִי, see ch. i. 4.

11. יָקִירָה. This root is found in all the Semitic languages.

אֲחָרִי, fem. אֲחָרִי, common in Targ. See Kautzsch, § 61. 3 *a* and 5. The Sam. shortens it into חֲוִרִי, and has also אֲוִרִי. Bevan compares the form אֲוִחָקֵן, which occurs in the Targums, which also have אֲוִחֹן with an *o* in the last syllable. See Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* pp. 1 and 25 ; also Merx's remarks on pp. 167–8. On the form see Marti, *Gram.* § 87 *c, d*. Other forms occur in Jud. Pal. Aram., which has אֲוִחֹן and אֲוִחֲרִין, with the curtailed forms חִוִּין and חֲוִרִין. See Dalman, *Gram.* § 20. 5.

לֹא אֲתִידִי. See note on ver. 10.

יִחְזַקְנָה. Marti would read the aphel. See note on ver. 4.

לֹהֵן. See Kautzsch, § 69. 5 ; Marti, § 96 *d*. Compare, on the thought expressed in the verse, 4 Ezra v. 38, “*Dominator Domine, quis enim est qui potest hoc scire, nisi qui cum hominibus habitationem non habet?*” The LXX. paraphrase here incorrectly εἰ μὴ τις ἄγγελος οὗ οὐκ ἔστι κατοικητήριον μετὰ πάσης σαρκός.

12. בָּנָם, *was angry*. This verb, common in the Targums, is found only in Jewish Aramaic. It is equivalent to the Hebrew קָצַף, which is here combined with it. Theodotion regards בָּנָם as two words, rendering ἐν θυμῷ, followed by

several Jewish commentators. לל. The ל is the mark of accus. See Kautzsch, § 84.

13. Hävernicks, Driver, and others observe that Theodotion's rendering τὸ δόγμα ἐξῆλθε is almost identical with St Luke's phraseology in Luke ii. 1. On the vocalisation קקת in place of קקת, see Kautzsch, § 25 *b*. It is scarcely possible to suppose that this decree was even partially carried into effect, as Hävernicks, Keil, Kamphausen, following Theodotion and the Vulgate, have supposed, appealing to ver. 18. Other commentators (as Harenburg, Kranichfeld, Ewald, etc.) maintain the opposite view, and appeal to verses 24, 48. The narrative is not explicit on such points of detail. The passive participles מוקטל (part. hithpaal) are not infrequently used, as in Hebrew (Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* § 116. 2 *b*), in a sense similar to the Latin gerunds. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 76. 3. The correct Massoretic text, edited by Ginsburg, reads the passive מוקטל, although Marti (not without MS. authority, see Strack's text) reads the active participle or hithpaal מוקטל, without the daghesh in the middle radical.

ובער-להקטל. The third person plural active may here be used impersonally for the passive. Literally, *they wished to kill, i.e. were going to kill*. Similarly in modern Greek θέλω is used to form a future. According to Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 75. 2, the infinitive with ל can be used to express the purpose in cases when its subject is distinct from that of the governing verb, in which case the king's agents would be regarded as the implied subject of בער.

14. באדן. The adverb אדן is closely connected with the Hebrew אן, the ending *ayin* being a corruption of the affirmative *an*; see Kautzsch, § 67. 3. קהל, haphel of חל; see Kautzsch, § 44. 3, 4 *a*; Marti, § 63 *g*.

עטא וטעם. Literally, *counsel and taste*, i.e. with good counsel, judiciously and tastefully. Compare Prov. xxvi. 16. The nouns express the manner of the action conveyed in the connected verb. עטא is derived from יעט, like the Hebrew עצה from יעץ. Compare חמא, *heat, anger*, from יחם, and שנא, *slumber*, from ישן. These words occur in the Aramaic of Daniel, but the dropping of the first radical is rare in ordinary Aramaic. Possibly the form עטא for עטא is a Hebraism.

אריור. This name occurs in Gen. xiv. 1, and also in Judith i. 6, where, however, there are found the variants Ἀριώχ and Εἰριώχ. The name is explained by Schrader and Fried. Delitzsch as identical with *Iri-Aku*, "*servant of the moon-god*."

טבח, *executioner*, connected with the Hebrew זבח, *to sacrifice*. In Aramaic the word is used in the sense of *slaughtering*; in Arabic the word has the signification of *cooking*. The LXX. and Theodotion strangely give that sense here, rendering ἀρχιμάγειρος. The relative pronoun is used to indicate that the executioners to whom the order was given belonged to the royal guard, who went forth to slay, etc.

לחכימי בבל. The pointing and accentuation are peculiar. For although ח' is in the constr. connected with the word Babylon, it is separated from it by the disjunctive tippecha, and hence the ב has daghesh lene. The reverse punctuation occurs in ver. 18. See Kautzsch, *Bibl. Aram.* § 9, rem. 3.

15. מִהֶחָצְפָּה, feminine haphel part., the ה being retained contrary to general usage. The contracted form מִחָצְפָּה occurs in ch. iii. 22. For similar forms see Kautzsch, § 33. 2 e. The verb occurs both in Syriac and Arabic. In Syriac it means to be *rude*, while in

Arabic it is applied to animals who have the scab. Theodotion renders the sentence ἡ γνώμη ἡ ἀναιδής ; LXX. περὶ τίνος δογματίζεται πικρῶς. The sentence may therefore be rendered, *Why is the decree so harsh?* The word is used also in the other sense of *hasty, urgent*, as in ch. iii. 22, and in the Targum on Koheleth x. 5. The latter rendering is that of the A.V. and R.V.

16. על, perfect piel of עלל, used specially of seeking audience of a king. On the verb, see Kautzsch, § 46. 3, and Marti, § 66 c, d, e. וְ. Used here as a conjunction, *that*, as is often the Hebrew אשר.

וְ. Several editions and MSS. read וְ, which is less correct. Emphatic וְ, *time*, plural וְ. The word seems to be connected with the Old Persian *zarvan*, Hebrew וְ, found in Neh. ii. 6. The word is also found in Arabic and Syriac. The Syriac form *zēbhan*, as Bevan observes, occurs also in Palmyrene, and is nearer to the Old Persian form. וְ. On the form, which is found also in Ezra vii. 20, see Kautzsch, § 42, and Marti, § 58 c. "This verb, like the corresponding Syriac form *nettel*, appears only in the imperfect and in the infinitive מְ (Syr. *mettal*); in the Targums the *n* is assimilated, מְ" (*Bevan*). The phrase וְ is, as Bevan notes, elliptical—"and (*this was*) in order that he might tell," etc. Compare also ver. 18 and ch. i. 5. לְ. So the Massoretic text reads. See note on ver. 4. On the use of the infinitive with לְ, see Kautzsch, § 75. Daniel desired time from the king that he might show the king the interpretation. See ver. 18.

17. On the proper names, see notes on ch. i. 6, 7.

18. וְ. The Hebrew equivalent is similarly employed. Abstract nouns are frequently found only in the plural, e.g. וְ. לְ can be combined either

with אָנָל or הוֹדַע in the preceding verse. The former is perhaps preferable. Daniel went to his house in order to inform his companions of the matter, and to pray for mercies from the God of heaven. The phrase *God of heaven* occurs in Gen. xxiv. 7. The phrase, however, became more frequent after the Exile.

עַל רוֹא דְנָא, “*concerning this secret.*” The word רו is Persian, and has been used even down to modern times. Andreas (in Marti, *Gloss.*) says it is the Pehlvi *raž*, New Pers. *raz*. The Syr. form is ⁹⁹ⲓⲛⲁ = ⲓⲛⲁⲓ, Sanskr. *rahas*. The word רו is in use in Targg. and in Talm. It is employed, as Bevan observes, in ecclesiastical Syriac in the sense of a *mystery*, which rendering is that of the LXX. and Theodotion in this verse. לֹא יוֹבְדִין, *that they should not destroy*, indeterminate third person.

19. בְּחֻנָּא, emphatic of חֻנָּא; Syriac, ⁹⁹ⲓⲛⲁⲓ. ⲓⲛⲁⲓ. The form has been generally regarded as the passive participle of *pēal*, i.e. of the form *pēil*. See Kautzsch, § 47 g. W. Wright, however (*Comparative Grammar*, p. 224), maintains that the verbal flexion of the form is opposed to the idea of its being a participle. W. Wright, therefore, agrees with Nöldeke in considering it a trace of an Aramaic passive, the original form of which was *quṭil*. Owing to the accent on the final syllable, the final vowel was lengthened, the vowel in the first syllable being gradually weakened to simple sheva. Bevan takes the same view. Stave calls attention to the fact that Sachau, in *Z.D.M.G.* vol. xxxvii. (1883), p. 565, has similarly explained the Palmyr. גְּבִי.

20. לְדֹרָא. On this form, see Marti, § 65 a. Kautzsch discusses the form in *Bibl. Aram.* § 47 g, b. Attempts have been made to make out that this peculiar form had

an optative or a jussive force, but this cannot be proved. See not only Kautzsch, but also Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, 2nd edition, p. 302, 3rd edition, p. 277. The form is by no means confined to the verb *הוא*. It is common in the Talmud Babli and in Mandaitic, and is found side by side with forms with *n*. See W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 183. Bevan's conjecture (pp. 35, 36) that the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament were revised in later times in order to avoid all similarity to the Divine name *יהוה* has little to recommend it. A short but excellent synopsis of former explanations of the form will be found in Kranichfeld, *Das Buch Daniel*. 'שמה די אלהא וגו'. A Syriac construction, "*Blessed be the name which is God's.*" The name of God is the manifestation of His glory. Compare Cant. iii. 7. The *די* in the following clause before *חכמה* is a conjunction to be rendered "*for.*" *די לה דיה*, "*is that which belongs to him.*"

21. *מְהֻשְׁנָא*, full form of haphel part. God is described in Gen. i. 14 as having arranged seasons, days, and years. Here He is acknowledged as the God who can change all these. The New Testament expression *χρόνοι καὶ καιροί*, Acts i. 7, 1 Thess. v. 1, seems to have been derived from this passage. *מְהֻשְׁנָא*, part. haphel from *עֲשֶׂה*. *מְהֻשְׁנָא* is identical with the Hebrew *מְשַׁנֵּה* from *יָדַע*. On the insertion of the *נ*, see Kautzsch, § 43 c, note; Marti, § 59, rem. 1; Dalman, *Gramm. jud.-pal. Aram.* § 69. 2.

22. *נְהוּרָא*. The Q'rē corrects this form, which occurs in the written text (the K'thibh), and properly indicates the *light of the day*, into *נְהוּרָא*. The latter is commonly used in Jewish Palestinian (see Dalman, *Gramm. Aram.* pp. 125-6). But *נְהוּרָא* is found in Syriac, and *נְהוּרָא*, *wisdom*, the abstract form, occurs in ch. v. 11, 14.

שָׂרָא, *is dwelling*. A participle, passive in form but not in signification. "This use of the passive participle is frequent in Syriac, e.g. *qəne*, 'having obtained,' 'possessed of,' as contrasted with *qanē*, 'obtaining.' Similar is the Hebrew לְבוּשׁ, *having put on, clothed with*, and אֶחָזוּ, *having grasped, holding*. Cant. iii. 8."—Bevan. Comp. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* § 262. The word is not a perfect. Some critics would point שָׂרָא, others prefer שָׂרָא. There is no difference of meaning. The literal force of the word is to *unloose*, to *untie*, used of the burden laid on beasts. Hence to *dwell*. Compare Greek *καταλύω* and *κατάλυμα*.

23. לָךְ is the accusative, which in Aramaic has often ל prefixed. אֲבָהָתִי. Baer reads אֲבָהָתִי, with the Hebrew ending; but Ginsburg and Strack, following a larger number of MSS., read אֲבָהָתִי, which Bevan prefers.

מְהוֹדָא is the haphel part. of הָדָא, "*I thank thee*." The contracted form מוֹדָא occurs in ch. vi. 11. וּמְשַׁבַּח, *and praise*. The word has originally the meaning of *soothing*; compare the Hebrew equivalent.

וְהָבָה, *thou hast given*, is the form preferred here by Marti. Ginsburg edits וְהָבָה, and so does Strack. Both forms are in use. הָבָה is generally used in Syriac in the participial forms. The perfect and imperfect, infinitive and imperative of the verb are supplied from בָּתֵּן.

בְּעִינָא מִנֵּךְ, *which we desired from thee*; 'ב' from בָּעָא.

הוֹדַעְתָּנָא, *thou hast let us know*. The Massoretic text has the form הוֹדַעְתָּנָא, which is not to be regarded as a Hebraism (Marti, § 50 *b*, rem. 1), but rather as a pausal form. The correct Aramaic form of the first person suffix would be הוֹדַעְתָּנָא with pathach. See Kautzsch, *Gram.* § 37. 2.

24. אָגַל. Marti erases the verb as superfluous, appealing to the LXX. and Theodotion, who omit it.

הַעֲלִי, imp. haphel of עָלָל. The suffix is united directly to the verb, the pathach which generally precedes being dropped. This takes place in the imp. haphel of this verb with הִי, and in the energetic imperfect form with הִיוּ. See Marti, § 50 *b*, rem. 2 ; Kautzsch, § 37. 3 *a*. This punctuation is that of Ginsburg, Baer, and Strack, but some editions have הַעֲלִי. אַחֲרָא. Marti prefers the form אַחֲרָא ; see ver. 4.

25. בְּהִתְבַּהֵּלָהּ, *in haste, quickly*. ה' is the infinitive hithpeal of בָּהַל. The Hebrew equivalent is generally used in the niph'al. עָלָל from הִנְעַל. See note on ver. 9. הִשְׁנַחֲתָה, first singular perfect haphel, *I have found*. The form arises from the throwing back of the tone, along with the influence of the guttural ה. Compare הִתְנַחֲרָה in ver. 34 for הִתְנַחֲרָה. הִיְהוּדָה for יְהוּדָה is probably, as Hitzig thinks, a secondary formation from יְהוּדִי. Bevan calls attention to the fact that in Arabic *yahūd* is the collective of *yahūdī*, a Jew. יְהוּדָה, haph. imperf., Kautzsch, § 40. 4.

26. On the proper name Belteshazzar, see note on ch. i. 7. כְּהַל, Æth. *Kehla* ; Heb. כֵּהָל. Bevan considers both כְּהַל and כֵּהָל variations of כֹּהֵל ; “ the formation of כְּהַל would then be according to the analogy of the Aramaic כְּהַל, Hebrew כֹּהֵל, Aramaic כְּהַל, Hebrew כֹּהֵל.”

27. בְּנִירִין, *astrologers*. The plural emphatic occurs in ch. iv. 7. Hebrew בָּרַח, *to cut*. Words which signify cutting are often used in the sense of *determining*. Hence בְּנִירָה, *a decree*, ch. iv. 14, and in later Heb. in sense of *fate* (*Buxtorf*). The hithpeal is employed in ver. 34 of the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and אֲתִנְחַרְתָּה is used in the explanation given in ver. 45. The LXX. and Theodotion take ג' as a proper name Γαζαρηνοί, employed like נִשְׁדִּים to indicate inhabitants of a country whose people were regarded as experts in divination.

28. בָּרַם, *but*. Many critics regarded this particle as the Sanskrit *param*, "*but*." That derivation has, however, been abandoned. The adverb is common in Syriac and the Talmuds. The Targums use the adverb as an affirmative. On the verse, compare Gen. xli. 25, after which the passage appears partly to have been modelled.

29. The K'thibh has אֲנִתָּה, the Q'rē אֲנִתָּה; see W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 103; Kautzsch, § 18, rem.; Marti, § 24 *a*, rem. 2. רַעֲיוֹנִךְ. The Q'rē regards the י in the last syllable as redundant. But probably the yod points to a pronunciation *aikh*; see Kautzsch, § 53. 2, rem. *b*. יִסְלַךְ, imperfect יִסַּךְ assimilated from יִסְלַךְ. No verb נִסַּךְ exists in the Semitic languages. Compare Ps. cxxxix. 8. אִפְסָה, Heb. for אִסְלַךְ. See Dalman, *Gram. Aram.* p. 237; Kautzsch, § 44; Marti, § 62 *b*. לְהוֹא. See note on ver. 20.

30. On the form גָּלִי, see Kautzsch, § 15 *d*. עַל דְּבַרֹת דִּי. Compare Eccl. iii. 18, and see my *Glossary* there. יְהוּדַעֲוִן. The third person plural active is often employed where in English a plural passive would be used. Compare ch. iv. 13, וְשִׁנּוֹן לִבָּהּ מִן אִנְשָׁא, *let his heart be changed from man's*; ch. iv. 28, אֲמַרִין לָךְ, *to thee it is spoken*, Nebuchadnezzar. Hence the marginal rendering of the A.V. adopted by the R.V. is better, "*to the intent that the interpretation may be made known to the king*," than that of the A.V. "*but for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king*." The LXX. rightly ἐνεκεν τοῦ δηλωθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Similarly Theodotion.

31. וְאֵלִי. Probably a softened form of אָרִי, see, *lo*. Both are found only in Daniel. The interchange of the letters ל and ר is very frequent in the Semitic languages. See W. Wright's *Comp. Gram.* p. 67. Not improbably connected with רָאָה, although that verb is not found in

Aramaic. See Kautzsch, § 67. 6, and note below on **רְהָה**. In an Aramaic fragment brought from Egypt (*Corp. Insc. Sem.*, pars ii. tom. i. p. 137), **הלר** appears twice as a variant of **ארר**. See Driver, *Introd.*, 6th ed., p. 515. **דִּבְנִן**, *that*, formed from **דָּב** by the addition of the demonstrative *n*. See W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* pp. 110, 111. See also Marti, § 25 *b*; Kautzsch, § 20. It is also found in the *Corp. Insc. Sem.* in several inscriptions, as Driver has mentioned in the same place. Nöldeke (quoted by Bevan) compares the Biblical Aramaic **תַּמְמָה** (Arab. *thamma*) with the later **תַּמְנִן**.

וִירָה, *its brightness*. **וִירָה** for **וִירָה**. The root **וִירָה** is to be *proud*. Probably an Assyrian-Babylonian word. See Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. WB.*, under *zimu*, and his *Proleg. n. Heb. Aram. WB. zum. A.T.* p. 152. **רְהָה**, *its appearance*; see also ch. iii. 25. This word is a proof of the former existence of the root **רָר** or **רָה** in Aramaic. Bevan observes: "That **רָר** is not borrowed from the Hebrew is shown by its form, which is contracted from **רָאוּ** (exactly resembling the synonymous **חָוּ** in **חֲוִנָה**, Dan. viii. 24); the disappearance of the radical **א** is after the analogy of **מָתָה** for **מֵאֲתָה**, **מָוָה** for **מֵאֲוָה**."

32. **חֲדָרָהּ** from **חָדָר**, **חֲדָרָהּ**; the latter is the Syriac form used in the Targums and New Hebrew. On the suffix, compare **אִתְּהִי**, **אִתְּהִי**.

33. **חֲסָפָהּ**, *clay*. Hebrew **חֲסָפָהּ**, *to scrape*; Arabic **خَزَفَ**, used, however, in the sense of *to go away, to disappear*. Compare Arabic **خَزَفَ**, *potsherd*; Syriac **سَرَفَ**. In both cases in this verse in which **חָוִן** is used as a suffix the Q'rē substitutes **חָוִן**.

34. **וּמִחָתָהּ**. Ginsburg and Baer read **וּמִחָתָהּ**. Strack shows that both readings are well attested, *Gr. Bibl.*

Aram. § 23 *h*. The verb is found also in Syriac and in Arabic in the sense of *to rub*. הִדְקָה, third perf. sing. fem., from דָּקַק. See Kautzsch, § 46. 3 *a* rem. and *b*; Marti, § 66 *d*.

35. דָּקִי. If derived from דָּקַק the form ought to have daghesh forte. One of Strack's MSS. reads דָּקִי. דָּקִי would be more regular. The verb may, however, come from דָּוַק, *i.q.* דָּקַק. The haphel occurs elsewhere. The verb "might be meant as transitive, like יְהוֹדְעוּן in ver. 30, or as intransitive, 'they fell to pieces'" (*Bevan*). נְחֻדָּה, *all together*. Some MSS. read נְחֻדָּה. Compare the Hebrew נָחַד in Ezra ii. 64. אֲדָר, *threshing-floor*, emphatic אֲדָרָא (אֲדָר, *Levy*); see Marti, § 84; found also in Syriac and in Arabic اَنْدَر with the daghesh forte compensated by *n*.

קֵיט, *summer*; Hebrew קָיָץ; Arabic قَيْطٌ. Compare Aramaic and Arabic שָׁר, *i.q.* Hebrew צֹר.

מִלְאָה. Strack and Ginsburg read the word with מִלְאָה. Baer edits with pathach. One of Strack's MSS. drops the מ. See Kautzsch, § 47 *g* and p. 175. Perhaps it ought to be read מִלְאָה. See Marti, § 64 *a*.

37. אֲנַתָּה. See before on ver. 29. חֲסִנָּה. The corresponding word in Syriac means a *castle*; the Arabic equivalent means a *fortress*.

38. The K'thibh is דָּאָרִין, as if from דָּוַר (דָּוַר). The Q'rē דָּרִין is the ordinary form דָּוַר. Compare ch. iii. 3, קִימִין, Q'rē קִימִין; ch. iii. 19, וְאֵעִין, Q'rē וְעֵין. In the preceding וּבְנִלְדִי, in the use of the preposition there is an anacoluthon. The writer, having השֵׁלֶט in his mind, inserted וְהָבָה בֵּינָם between, and then had to take up again the בֵּינָם in בְּנִלְהוֹן. So Marti (in *Comm.*). Nebuchadnezzar was given (Jer. xxviii. 8) also the beasts of the field to be

his possession. The LXX. (but not Theod.) represent the *fish* of the sea as also given into his power.

שָׁלַט. Hebrew שָׁלַט, Syriac ܫܠܬܐ, Arabic سَلَطَ, *to be severe*. The root in Arabic is found only in derivatives, in the sense of *to rule*, as Sultān, *ruler*.

39. מְלָכוּת, מְלָכוֹ, *kingdom*. The latter is preferably but not exclusively used in the construct. See Kautzsch, § 61. 4; Marti, § 72. 87. מְלָכוֹ is pointed either with kametz or pathach. The former is to be preferred, and is the reading of Baer and Ginsburg. The same form without metheg occurs ch. vii. 8, 11–16. See König, *Lehrg.* vol. i. pp. 108–10.

בְּתַר, *i. q.* בְּאַחֲרָי, from בְּאַחֲרָי, *upon the track, after*, generally takes plural suffixes. Found also in Syriac. The proper sense of the expression probably refers to the place in which Nebuchadnezzar was symbolised in the image seen in the vision, "*lower down than thee*." It is somewhat strange that a critic like Bevan should admit that the Median empire, which he supposes to be the second of the four empires portrayed by the colossus, is described as inferior to, *i. e.* less powerful than, the Babylonian, because "of the Median empire next to nothing was known in the time of the author, whereas the greatness of Babylon was well remembered." But how, in that case, could the Median empire be regarded at all as one of Daniel's four great kingdoms? We, of course, deny the reference to the Median empire. Only kingdoms which came in contact with Israel are mentioned, and the Median empire (as distinct from the Medo-Persian) did not. Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 10. 4) understood the four kingdoms to be the empires of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome. He expounds the two hands and arms of the image to signify that two kings would overturn the

Babylonian empire, evidently referring to the union of Persia with Media.

אָדָרִי. See note on ver. 11. אָרְעָה is a fem. adjective meaning *what is below*; often used metaphorically, especially with מִן to signify *inferior*. The form אָרְעָה is found in the Targg., and the masc. (אָרְעָה) also. The K'thibh prefers the fem. form, the Q'rē the masc.

40. כָּל קָבֵל דִּי. May be rendered either "*even as*," or perhaps better "*forasmuch as*." מְהֵדֵק, haphel part. of דִּקֵּק. מְהֵדֵק, or in some MSS. מְהֵדֵק, imperfect haphel of דִּקֵּק. אֵילִין, like Heb. אֵילָה, pl. comm. of demonst. pron. The Nabathæan inscriptions have shown that the form is no Hebraism. See Strack, *Gramm.*, 2nd edition, p. 17. The LXX. have, however, strangely confounded it with אֵילִין, *a tree*, rendering ὡς ὁ σιδηρος πᾶν δένδρον ἐκκόπτων.

41. Both here and in the commencement of ver. 43 the relative דִּי is used to call attention to various details represented in the vision: "*In that*" (detail) specially mentioned; or what thou hast seen "*signifies that*."

פִּתְרָה, *a potter*; compare Arabic فَخَّارٌ, *baked pottery*. נִצְבָּחָה, *strength*. The words נִצֵּב and נִצְּבִי are common in the Targums for *to plant*, *to set firmly* in the ground, and נִצְּבָה is used for *a plant*. חֶסֶף טֵנָה. On 'ח, see ver. 33. טֵין, *loam, clay*; Arabic طِينٌ, from whence طَانَ, *to damp with mud*.

42. The reference is not to the marriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ (ch. xi. 6, 17), as Bevan and other modern critics hold, but to the intermarriages between the peoples of the *many* divided kingdoms of the fourth empire.

43. The Q'rē reads וְדִי; compare ch. iv. 23, but the

copula is not necessary. **הָא כְּדִי**, *according as*. Bevan observes that the phrase corresponds to the Palmyrene **הִיכְרִי**. De Vogüé, No. 71. **הִיכְרִי כְּתַבְתִּי**, "*according as I have written.*"

מִתְעַרְבִין לָהֶן, imp. of **הָרָה**. On the form, see Kautzsch, § 47 g. *b*; Marti, § 65 *a*; and note above on ver. 20. On the combination with the participle, see Kautzsch, § 76 *f*; Marti, § 102 *e*. **זֶרַע אֲנָשִׁים**. Comp. Jer. xxxi. 26.

44. **וְקִים**, so ch. iv. 14. The fuller form **וְקִים** occurs ch. v. 21, vi. 16. Kautzsch, § 45. 3. i. 4 *b*.

אֲנִי is found twice in Daniel, here and in ch. vii. 17. A feminine **אֲנִי** is found in the Q'rē in the latter place; see Ginsburg's edition, though there are variants. **וְרָחֶם**, from **סָרַח**. Aphel of the Hebrew form. See Marti, § 63 g; Kautzsch, § 45.

45. **דִּי מִצֹּרָא**, *from the mountain*. This is only part of the pictorial description, and is not to be explained as pointing to Mount Zion.

The LXX. and Theodotion place in the latter part of the verse the **הַסַּפָּא**, *pottery*, before the mention of the *iron*, etc. Their reading has been advocated by Ewald, Marti, and others. But the metals are not always mentioned in the same order. See note on ch. v. 4 and 23.

אֱלֹהֵי רַב, *a great God*. The indefinite expression has been wondered at by some critics. But it must be remembered that Daniel was addressing a heathen monarch, and spoke accordingly.

מִדְּרִים, passive participle of **דִּרַם** (Heb. **הִדְרִים**), *i. q.* **אֲמֵן**. Compare **הִדְרִי** and **אֲתָה**.

46. **סָבַד**, *to worship*. Syriac **ܫܒܕ**, Arabic **سجد**, whence **مَسْجِد**, *a mosque*. On the formation of **בִּידְחֹן**, see Kautzsch, § 59. 4; Marti, § 85 *a*. **לְנִסְכָּה**, used in a

general sense. It is found nowhere else in Bibl. Aram. According to Jerome, Porphyry regarded this passage of Daniel as absurd, because the proudest of kings would never have adored one of his own captives. The act was designed only as worship towards the God of Daniel, as in the story told by Josephus of Alexander the Great having adored the high priest of the Jews. The Lycaonians, too, were ready to adore the Apostles, as recorded in Acts xiv. 13 ff. Nebuchadnezzar himself, as Jerome has pointed out, explains the adoration as intended for the God whom Daniel adored, and not for Daniel. The narrative does not state that the command of Nebuchadnezzar was actually performed. Daniel may have forbidden such adoration, although no such prohibition is recorded. Marti observes that the first readers of the narrative took no offence at it, because they regarded Nebuchadnezzar at the feet of Daniel as a picture of the heathen power in the dust before triumphant Israel.

47. **יְהוָה**, *and Lord*. So Ginsburg, Strack (after MSS.) and Marti read. Other editions read **מֶלֶךְ**. See note on iv. 16.

48. **מְדִינָה**, *province*, in Hebrew and Aramaic (from **דָּיָן**) ; used in Arabic in the sense of *city*.

סִגְנִין, *governors*, from **סָגַן**, Hebrew **סָגַן** or **סָגָן** ; the singular is not found in the Old Testament. The word is of Semitic and not Persian origin, as was formerly thought. It corresponds to the Assyrian *shakan*, *shaknu*, *representative*, *deputy*. Schrader, *K.A.T.* p. 411, on Isaiah xli. 25. Schrader regards *Sargon* to be the same as *Sharrukin*. See also Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB.*, under *shaknu* (*šaknu*).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The Wise Men of Babylon

The wise men of Babylon are, in Daniel i. 20, spoken of under two classes—the *sacred scribes* (or חרשמים) and *magicians* (אשפים). In ch. ii. 2, in addition to the former two, *enchanters* (מכשפים), only found there, and *Chaldeans* are specified. The *Chaldeans* are mentioned alone in ch. ii. 4, 5, and in the first part of ver. 10, and in ch. iii. 8. In the end of ch. ii. 10 the *scribes*, *magicians*, and *Chaldeans* are named. The general term *wise men* is employed in ch. ii. 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, ch. iv. 6, 18, ch. v. 7.

In ch. ii. 27 four designations are employed—(1) *the wise*; (2) *magicians*; (3) *scribes*; (4) *astrologers* (גורין). In ch. iv. 7 four names are used—*scribes*, *magicians*, *Chaldeans*, *astrologers*. In ch. v. 7, three—*magicians*, *Chaldeans*, and *astrologers*. In ch. v. 11, four—*scribes*, *magicians*, *Chaldeans*, and *astrologers*; and in ch. v. 15 they are all summed up under two heads—the *wise men* and the *magicians*.

Had ch. ii. 2 stood alone, Pusey's inference might have been defended, namely, that מכשפים, *enchanters*, was the Hebrew designation for the גורין, *astrologers*, which word is only found in the Aramaic portion. But no stress ought to be put upon the latter point, for no reference is made to the Chaldean wise men or astrologers after the end of the fifth chapter, and the Aramaic portion of Daniel extends from ch. ii. 4 to the end of ch. vii. Dr Pusey's proof is not satisfactory, for on similar grounds it might be concluded that the "*sacred scribes*" were specially known as "*the wise*," in opposition to the *magicians* or others, by a comparison of ch. i. 20 with ch. v. 15,

or that the *sacred scribes* ought to be identified with the *astrologers* by a comparison of ch. ii. 10 with ch. v. 7.

The conclusion rather to be drawn from a consideration of these facts is, that though the literati were divided into at least *four* classes, those several classes were not strictly separated off from one another, that many individuals belonged to two or more of those classes, and that all in common were often designated both *Chaldeans* and *the wise*. What special division is meant by the Hebrew *מכשפים*, *sorcerers*, cannot be ascertained. The *גורין*, or *astrologers*, *soothsayers*, were probably those specially occupied with astrology and astronomy, but even of that there is as yet no proof.

Under such circumstances, no weight whatever can be attached to the objection that the writer of the book displays "ignorance about the Magi," as v. Lengerke assumed (*Pusey*, p. 420).

CHAPTER III

BOTH the LXX. and Theodotion commence the chapter with a statement of the date of the history, namely, the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. The LXX. borrow from Esther i. 1, and paraphrase : " In the eighteenth year Nebuchadnezzar the king governing cities and countries and all the dwellers upon earth from India to Ethiopia, made a golden image," etc. Theodotion retains the date but omits the remainder. Jahn may be correct in maintaining that the date assigned is in favour of the hypothesis that the narrative once formed part of an independent writing. Theodotion has ἐν πεδίῳ Δειρὶ ἐν χώρῳ Βαβυλῶνος; LXX. ἐν πεδίῳ περιβόλου χώρος Βαβυλωνίας.

1. מְדִינָה. See note on ch. ii. 48. אֱלִים צִלִּים. *To set up a statue or idol* is the usual phrase in the heathen inscriptions of Palmyra and the Hauran (*Bevan*). Ver. 14 favours the opinion that the image was that of one of the Babylonian deities. Schrader observes that there were several places in Babylon called Dûru, which means *rampart, fortress*. The name was preserved to later times in the sense of *hill* (*Oppert*). The exact plain cannot be located.

2. שַׂרְתָּרְשָׁא, *satraps*. The form set forth in the cuneiform inscriptions is *khshatrapa*, compounded of

khshatram, sovereignty, and *pa*, to protect (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. p. 264), Greek *σατράπης*, or Old Persian *khshatra-pāwan*, warden of the realm (Bevan). In inscriptions in Asia Minor the Greek form is *ἐξαιθράπης*, *ἐξατράπης*, which comes near the Hebrew and Aramaic form found in Daniel and Esther. See also note on ch. vi. 2. סגניא. See note on ch. ii. 48. פָּחָה, and plural פְּחֻתָּה. The precise meaning is not known. Evidently connected with the Assyrian *pahātu*, viceroy. See Schrader, *K.A.T.*, in Glossary, and Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB.*

אֲדָרְגָּוָי, plural אֲדָרְגָּוָיָא, *councillors*. Marti regards the word as the Middle Iran. *andaržaghar* = Old Iran. *handarža* or *handurži-kara*, making counsel; and Andreas thinks the ד ought to be dagheshed. As the Aramaic word for treasure is גְּבוּיָן, and this word has passed into Persian, Mühlau and Volck regard it as derived thence in the sense of *treasure-bearers* or *treasurers*. גִּדְבָרִיא, probably another form of גְּבוּרִיא (Ezra vii. 21), *treasurers*, from the Persian *ganjabara*; but Bevan thinks that the analogy of ver. 27 and of ch. vi. 8 favours the hypothesis of Grätz and others that it is a mere error of the copyist for חֲדָרְבָּרִיא. But this is still disputed.

דִּתְבָּרִיא, emphatic plural, *judges*. דִּת is *law*, corresponding to the Persian *dad*, Old Persian *datam*, part. perf. pass. from *dā*, to arrange, assign. דִּתְפָּתִיא. Very uncertain. Andreas, in Marti's *Glossary*, conjectures that it ought to be read דִּנְפָּתִיא, and supposes it refers to some authorities in religious matters, possibly *chief priests*. The connection with the Arabic *mufti* Bevan regards as improbable.

לְמַתָּא, infinitive from אָתָא : Kautzsch, § 41 c; Marti, § 60 b.

3. On the titles in this verse, see preceding note.

וּקְרָאִין. See note on ch. ii. 38. On the const. of the participle here, see Kautzsch, § 76 *a*.

4. וְקָרֹא, *and the herald*. Syriac, *id.* קָרוּ, although common in Aramaic, is generally supposed not to be Semitic, but derived from the Greek κηρύσσειν. The word has, however, been found on a seal in the shape of a scarabæus given by Vogüé, and in the *Corp. Inscript. Sem.*, part ii. tom. i. No. 86. That seal represents a *crier* or *herald*, who is termed on it קָרוּ, and, therefore, the word may be genuine Aramaic. The Arabic word كَرَزَ means to *draw oneself together*, to *hide*, to *conceal*, etc. This word is used in Christian Arabic in the sense of *preach*, but that signification came in from the Greek. קָרוּ is found in Samaritan, and is common in Talmudic Hebrew.

קָרָא בְחַיִל. Compare Isa. xl. 9 ; Ps. xxix. 4 (קוֹל י' בַּפֶּה) ; Rev. xviii. 2 (ἐκράζεν ἐν ἰσχύϊ). לָכֵן אָמְרִין. Literally, *to you they say*, i.e. *to you it is said, commanded* ; see Kautzsch, § 76 *e* ; Marti, § 122. On the form עֲמָמָא, or, as in some editions, עֲמָמָא, see Kautzsch, § 55. 5 *a* ; Marti, § 71 *e, f*. לְשִׁנָּה. Compare Isa. lxvi. 18.

5. The names given to the musical instruments in this verse are partly Semitic and partly of non-Semitic (Greek) origin.

קַרְנָא, the *horn*, and מְשׁוּקִיתָא, *pipe* or (σύριγξ) *flute*, are clearly Semitic. On the other hand, קִיתָרִים (or קִיתָרִים, as the K'thibh has it, or קִתָּרִים, after the Targumic usage), which the Q'rē prefers, is decidedly the Greek κίθαρῖς, the *zither*. It is very doubtful whether in Aramaic or Hebrew the word was ever actually pronounced קִיתָרִים, as Kamp-hausen suggests. The word in Syriac ends in *os*.

פִּסְנָטָרִין is the Greek ψαλτήριον, *psaltery* ; comp. in Macedonian Alex. βεντίον = βελτίον, φίντατος = φίλτατος.

The Greek ending *ion* becomes often in Aramaic *in*, as in *κοινόβιον*, *kanobîn*; *κοιμητήριον*, *kumeterîn*; *κολλαρίον*, *kollarîn*; *συνέδριον*, *sanhedrin*. Moreover, *סַמְבֹּנְיָה*, which is omitted in ver. 7, and reappears in ver. 10 under the form *סַמְבֹּנְיָה* (Ginsburg's text), is in Greek *συμφωνία*, and is mentioned in Polybius, libb. xxvi. and xxxi., as a musical instrument particularly esteemed by Antiochus Epiphanes. That accidental circumstance has, however, no real bearing upon the date of Daniel. Marti considers the form of the word with *n* more correct, the *m* being retained in the word in the Romance languages, as in *sambonja*, *zampogna*, *bagpipes*.

The *סַמְבֹּנְיָה* or *sackbut* was a three-cornered and four-stringed instrument; Greek *σαμβύκη*. The duplication in the middle radical in Greek and Latin is expressed by *m*. The word is probably of Semitic origin, from *שָׁבַךְ*, to *intertwine*, and so called from its resemblance to a *net*; Arab. *شَبَكَة*.

קִין, *kind*, is found in Hebrew (Ps. cxliv. 13) and Syriac. Lagarde regards the word as the Persian *zan*, Greek *γένος*, and so Nöldeke and Bevan. But that cannot yet be regarded as satisfactorily proved.

6. *רִמְךָ*. This is Ginsburg's reading, and is correct, although Bevan reads *רִמְךָ*, for the word occurs in Syr. and Targ. with the short vowel.

לְבָנָא, *into the midst*. *בָּנָא*, *בָּנָא*, is the constr. of *בָּנָא*, Syriac *ܒܢܐ*, Arabic *جَوَا*. The root had probably the idea of *thickness*. The word *אֶחָד*, *furnace*, only occurs in this chapter. It is derived from *רָחַן*, to *smoke*, Syriac *ܪܚܢ*, Arabic *أَتُون* and *أَتُون*, Æthiopic *ጸጥጥ*. In Zab. *tāna*, Pers. *tun*.

7. כְּדִי, *when* (compare ch. v. 20, vi. 11, 15), is found also in Palmyrene, De Vogüé, No. 15 (*Bevan*).

כְּדִי, *i.q.* Hebrew כִּדְּשׁ. See W. Wright's *Comp. Gram.* on relative pronouns.

8. גְּבָרִין for גְּבָרִין, which is the Syriac form. On the change from *a* to *u* before the labial, compare פֶּחַם, פֶּחַם, and, as Bevan notes, the Christian Palestinian שׁוֹבְתָה, *Shabbētha*, *Sabbath*; Syriac *Shabbētha*.

וַיִּכְלְוּ קִרְצֵיהֶן, “*and ate their pieces.*” This strange phrase means *to destroy by slander*, as Latin *mordere*, *rodere*.

Compare Hor. Sat. i. 4. 81. In Arabic أَكَلَ لَحْمًا, *to*

eat one's flesh, i.e. *to slander*. Compare Arabic قَرَصَ,

to pinch, and قَرَضَ, *to cut*; قَرَّاصَةٌ, *a reviler*; قَارِصَةٌ,

a biting or bitter word. The same expression, اَقْلَمْنَا,

in Syriac is *to calumniate*, and the compound اُقْلَمْنَا, *a calumniator*, literally *a piece-eater*.

10. It is somewhat remarkable that the expression טַעַם שְׂמַתָּה means in this verse “*thou hast made a decree*,” and yet in ver. 12 טַעַם לֹא-שָׁמְרוּ means “*they have no regard on thee*.” The word טַעַם literally means *taste*, as in Hebrew.

13. רָבוּ. Although the original vowel of the first radical was *u*, which appears, as Bevan observes, from the Targum. רִוְגוּא, the noun is inflected after the analogy of כָּסַף. See Kautzsch, § 54. 3 δ and ε; Marti, § 70. חָסַף seems to come from a form with *ḥ* as its first consonant. See note on עָטָה, ch. ii. 14.

הִיָּתִי. From הָיָה, *to come*. The passive of its haphel הִיָּתִי (infinitive הִיָּתָה, which is found in this same verse) is הִיָּתִי (הִיָּתִית, ch. vi. 18), plural הִיָּתִי, as here. In the Targums the ethpaël is used. The latter can be taken

actively (when impersonally used). Compare Hebrew הִתְחַו in Isa. xxi. 14 ; Jer. xii. 9. The form הִתְחַת can only be passive. It does not seem to be after the Hebrew form, as Gesenius thought, but rather after the analogy of the participle passive מִתְחַת . So Mührlau and Volck. See also Kautzsch, § 47. 6 ; Marti, § 64 *p* and § 60 *b*.

14. הִתְחַת , *Is it intentional?* Another vocalisation is found in MSS., namely, הִתְחַת ; see Strack and Ginsburg. The adverb seems compounded of the interrogative $\text{הִ$ and תְּחַת (see Kautzsch, § 67. 2), which latter word is somewhat doubtfully attested. Theodotion and the Syriac seem to have read הִתְחַת (see note on ch. ii. 5), which Bevan and others would read here, translating, "*Is it true?*"

הִתְחַת . The usual form for the first person singular is in $\text{תִּ$, but the form in $\text{תִּ$ is generally assumed as normal in the haphel of verbs $\text{עִ$.

15. תְּחַת . The termination in נ (ון) is usual in the second and third persons plural masculine in the $\text{לִ$ verbs, but the form נ (ון) in such cases is not uncommon in MSS.

תְּחַת . Contracted in Targum and Syriac into תְּחַת .

תְּחַת , shaphil of תְּחַת . The shaphil conjugation with the signification of the Hebrew hiphil is very uncommon.

תְּחַת occurs frequently in Daniel. The perfect is found in ver. 28 and in ch. vi. 28 ; the imperfect, besides this place, in ver. 17 and in ch. vi. 17 ; the infinitive, ver. 17, and in ch. vi. 15, 21 ; the participle in ch. vi. 28. Kautzsch, § 43. 1, rem. *b*, regards תְּחַת , Ezra vi. 15, as an instance of the same form. So Marti, § 59 *b*. Both verbs, however, are regarded by Strack, § 12 *e*, as derived from Assyrian verbs, and a similar view is taken by Bevan. See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Proleg.*, in note, pp. 140, 141 ; also W. Wright's *Comp. Gram.* p. 205. The

language of Nebuchadnezzar is akin to that of Sennacherib in Isa. xxxvii. 10 ff. The reply of the three young men is somewhat similar to that of the seven brothers recorded in 2 Macc. vii.

מִן־יָדִי, *from my hand*. Several MSS. read the plural יָדִי, which reading is preferred by several critics. That reading is edited by Ginsburg, and is that of the LXX. and Theodotion.

On the names of musical instruments, see on ver. 7.

16. The accentuators regard *Nebuchadnezzar* as in the vocative, and hence place the athnach on מַלְכָּה. But the LXX. (not Theodotion) begin the question with the word "O king," which is accepted by Marti, Kamphausen, and others.

הַשָּׂחֵן. If the word be pointed הַשָּׂחֵן, it is an adjective. Kautzsch, § 58. 2 e, would, however, point it as participle הַשָּׂחֵן, which is the reading of several editions and MSS. The preponderating evidence is in favour of the Masoretic reading having been the former. See Ginsburg. The participial reading is, however, to be preferred.

פָּתָגִם, *command, direction*. A Persian loan-word = Middle Persian *patigham*, Old Persian *patighama*; compare New Persian *paighām* or *payām*, *message* (*Andreas*, in Marti's *Glossary*). Bevan maintains that the form with undagheshed ַ is correct, as proved from the Syriac *pethēghama* with aspirated g. The word occurs in Daniel, Ezra, Koheleth, and Targums.

לְהַתְּבוֹרָה, infinitive haphil from תָּבוֹר, *to answer*.

17. הֵן אֵינִי, *if it is the case*. See Kautzsch, § 67. 8. יָגֵל is the participle peal. Compare on the form נָחַת, ch. iv. 10; בָּנוֹק, ch. vi. 3; דָּלֵק, ch. vii. 9 (Ginsburg, though other editions read דָּלֵק). The *ī* is the more original vowel: Kautzsch, § 29. 1.

יִקְדָּתָא and יִקְדָּתָא are both participles feminine of יָקַד, יָקַד, *to burn*, used also in Targums.

18. The Q'rē reject the י in the K'thibh in לִאֲלֹהִיךָ, and also in אִיתְיָנָא, probably so pronounced. See Kautzsch, § 53, rem. *b*.

19. אִשְׁתַּנּוּ, hithpael perfect of שָׁנָא. On the form, see Kautzsch, § 47. 4; Marti, § 64 *k*. The K'thibh reads the plural אִשְׁתַּנּוּ, agreeing with אֲנַפְרֹהִי, the Q'rē the singular אִשְׁתַּנּוּ or אִשְׁתַּנּוּ.

לְמֹנָא, infinitive qal of מָנָא, and with suffix לְמֹנָה; Arabic ^{مَنَى} : Kautzsch, § 47 *g, d*; Marti, 54 *a*.

On the phrase חֲדָשְׁבָעָה, *one sevenfold*, see Kautzsch, § 66. 2; Marti, § 91.

חָוָה, participle passive of חָוָה, *suitable, usual*. The word is common in the Targ. in this sense, especially in the form חָוִי. Comp. the use of חָוִי in Esth. ii. 9. For the transition of meaning Bevan compares the Arab. *mā'rif*, *known*, hence *equitable*.

20. The accusatives in the commencement of the verse are construed with the following phrase אִמַּר לְכַתְּתָהּ. The Aramaic כַּתְּתָהּ is connected with the Arabic كَفَتَ, *to collect*, sometimes used in the sense of *to draw together, to grasp*. Olshausen (*Heb. Gram.* § 216 *c*) is inclined to regard the Hebrew כַּתְּתָהּ as connected with the root, the word being formed by the addition of the termination *ar*, which has become changed into *or*. See König, *Lehrgeb.* vol. ii. p. 155. The LXX. συμποδίσαντας unduly restricts the sense of the original.

21. On the perfect passive כָּתְתוּ and חָוִי later in this verse, compare note on גָּלִי, ch. ii. 19, also Marti, § 64 *k*.

בְּסַרְבְּלֵיהֶון, *in their mantles*; compare 1 Chron. xx. 27. Jerome renders *cum braccis suis, with their trousers*; similarly

Symmachus, ἐν ταῖς ἀναξυρίσιν αὐτῶν ; Gr. Ven., indefinitely, ἄμπτυξι. The LXX. here render ἔχοντες τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν, but in ver. 27 they give σαραβάρα as the translation, and so Aquila and Theodotion. This latter is the reading of all Greek MSS. (see Field, *Hexapla*), although Jerome says that the LXX., Theodotion, and Aquila read *sarabella*, and he regards the reading σαραβάρα as corrupt.

The corresponding Talmudic word is סַרְבַּל, Arabic سَرَبَال, with plural سَرَائِيل, both meaning *tunic, shirt*. The Persian word is *shalwār*, corresponding to another Talmudic word, שְׂרוּלִין, *sleeve-holders*, used by work-people to protect their sleeves. The Arabic سُرُوَال, *trousers*, also سَرَائِيل—all these are derived from the Persian.

פַּשְׁטִּידוֹן. The correct form of the word is uncertain, but that with daghesh in the ט is probably correct. Ginsburg says that the K'thibh, according to the Western MSS., is to be pronounced פַּשְׁטִּידוֹן or פַּשְׁטִּידוֹן, and the Q'rē פַּשְׁטִּידוֹן, while the Oriental or Babylonian MSS. give both the K'thibh and the Q'rē alike as פַּשְׁטִּידוֹן. The Syriac ܦܫܬܝܕܢ means *underclothing, vestis, tunic, trousers*; so Payne Smith (*Syr. Thes.*). Brockelmann gives *fascia, mitra*; but query, is he correct? The noun in Talmudic Hebrew means *underclothing, trousers*; so Levy.

22. כָּל קַבֵּל דְּנָה. See Kautzsch, § 68; Marti, § 96 *b* and Glossary. מַחְצֶפֶה, haphel participle active; see ch. ii. 15. אָוָה. On the form of the participle passive, see Kautzsch, § 47 *f*, and Marti, § 60 *b* and 22 *b*.

שָׂרִיבָה (Heb. שָׂרִיב) is found in the Targums and Syriac, and is generally connected with the Syriac ܫܪܝܒ and Arabic شَبَّ, *to burn*; for although ش corresponds

generally to the Aramaic **ܫ** and **ܣ**, the connection can be justified in this case through the Syriac. Bevan, however, regards it as a *streak, tongue*, comparing the Arabic *sabīb*, *wisp of hair*, and *sabība*, *streak of blood*, and this latter view is supported by the fact that here and in ch. vii. 9, as also in the Targums and Syriac, it is used with the addition of a word for *fire*.

23. Both Baer and Ginsburg read **תְּלַתְּהוֹן** with daghesh in the second **ת**. König, *Lehrgeb. Heb. Spr.* vol. i. p. 53, terms a daghesh of this kind (which does not double but hardens the consonant) *daghesh forte orthoconsonanticum*. The form is abnormal, as one would have expected **תְּלַתְּהוֹן**; but there is a corresponding Syriac form, as Nöldeke shows in his *Syr. Gramm.* § 149. See especially Kautzsch's remarks in *Gramm.* p. 120, rem. 1.

On the additions which are made here in the LXX., see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 11-15.

24. **הַדְּבָרִין** is peculiar to Daniel, and only occurs in the plural. The other places are ver. 27, iv. 33, and vi. 8. Its precise meaning is uncertain, but those designated by the title were always personal attendants of the king. The termination *bar* shows the word to be of Persian origin, but the meaning of the first portion is as yet unknown. Bevan has shown that von Bohlen's conjecture, although adopted in many editions of Gesenius' *Lexicon*, is quite erroneous.

עֲבָדִין, plur. masc. of **עָבַד**, part. active. See Kautzsch, § 47 f, and g, e.

25. The translation "*the Son of God*" cannot be critically defended. Jerome explains the phrase to mean *an angel*. The expression used, **לְבָר־אֱלֹהִין**, with the word *God* in the plural, indicates *a son of the gods*. **אֱלֹהִים** in

Biblical Aramaic is always singular when expressly used for the true *God*.

The haphel participle מְהִלְכִּין causes difficulty, because the sense does not require a causative. Hence it is better to read the text as pail מְהִלְכִּין, as in ch. iv. 26, which is the reading of MSS. See Strack and Baer, although Ginsburg gives no variant. See Kautzsch, § 32. 2 *e*.

26. אֱלֹהִים עָלֵיא. See note on ver. 32, under heading of ch. iv.

27. חֲזֹן, “*in order to see*.” חֲזֹן, plural masculine of part. active חָזָה; see on ver. 24. See Marti, *Gr.* § 129 *e*. The clause is united to the preceding words without any connecting particle.

“In the phrase לֹא שָׁלַט נֹרָא the substantive נֹרָא is construed as masculine (cf. נֹרָא דָּלַק, ch. vii. 9), whereas it is usually feminine, as in Syriac. On the other hand, עָדָה seems to agree in gender with נֹרָא, according to the construction in ver. 19, since נִיחָ is never feminine.”—*Bevan*.

נָשָׂם, Syriac ܢܫܡܐ, Arabic جَسْمٌ. The Western MSS. have ܢܫܡܐܕܝܗܢ (plural) in the K'thibh, but ܢܫܡܐܕܝܗܢ (sing.) in the Q'rē, while the Eastern MSS. have the latter rendering in both K'thibh and Q'rē. The change was probably made by the Q'rē in order to correspond with the ܪܫܝܗܢ following. On the use of the seghol in place of chirik, see Kautzsch, § 15 *a*, rem.

The *trousers*, if that be the specific meaning of סַרְבִּלִּיָּה, were probably mentioned because in the East they are generally made of peculiarly “light and therefore inflammable material” (*Bevan*).

הִתְחַרְרָה, from חָרַף. Syriac *id.*, Arabic حَرَقَ.

28. רְשִׁיב. See note on ver. 15.

29. The prohibition against blaspheming the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego is no doubt directed to the nations, but breaches of the royal edict are only conceivable as committed by individuals. Hence arises the change in the verse from the plural suffixes to the singular.

הלש, להש, or לש. The word may be read in all these three ways, for as there is a Q'rē note the text is to be regarded as unpointed. The Q'rē reads להש. The word להש, which in Biblical Aramaic means *carelessness*, *wrong* (see ch. vi. 4; Ezra iv. 22, vi. 9), is only found in this place, and probably means *want of respect*. Hitzig would point להש. He views the word as equivalent to להשש, which is found in ch. iv. 14 (and nowhere else in Bibl. Aram.) in the sense of *matter*, *affair*. The Hebrew להשש occurs several times in the sense of *a petition*, and in 1 Sam. ii. 20 is used in the signification of *that which is asked for*. The LXX., Theodotion, and the Vulgate consider the idea of blasphemy to be conveyed by the word.

יכל. See note on ch. ii. 10. "In the Christian Palestinian dialect also verbs פִּי often take *o* in the second syllable of the imperfect" (*Bevan*, who refers to Nöldeke's article in the *Zeitschrift der D.M.G.* xxii. p. 500).

כדנא. The words are capable of a double translation, either "*after this (manner)*," or *thus*, or "*like this (God)*." The first is the simpler.

30. הצלה. He made to prosper, *i.e.* restored Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: the haphel having the force of the Arabic اصلح. The English *promote* gives an idea of further advancement which is not contained in the word.

CHAPTER IV

[Aram. ch. iii. 31–iv. incl.]

THE Hebrew MSS., the LXX., Theodotion, and the Vulgate include within the third chapter the three verses numbered in the Aramaic 31, 32, and 33, and make ch. iv. commence with the words, "I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house," etc. But an entirely new narrative, wholly unconnected with ch. iii., evidently commences at the close of ver. 30.

31. דארין. See note on ch. ii. 38.

32. אחיא ותמחיא. The combination of these words is akin to the N.T. *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, and to the Hebrew *אֲתוֹת וּמִפְתִּים* in Deut. iv. 34 ; Isa. viii. 18.

אֱלֹהֵא עֲלֵאָּהּ. The Q'rē would read *עֲלֵאָּהּ*. The Syr. form *ܐܠܗܐ* corresponds to the Aram. in this verse. LXX. and Theodotion, *ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψίστος*, equal to the Heb. *אֱלֹהִים*, Gen. xiv. 19, 20. *יהוה עליון* occurs Ps. vii. 18 ; *עליון אלהים*, Ps. lvii. 3. Also *עליון* without El, Ps. ix. 3, xxi. 8 ; Isa. xiv. 14. The word 'ע is a common title for God in the Book of Enoch. Compare also *עליון*, Dan. vii. 22, 25. It is questionable whether the *usus loquendi* can fairly be interpreted to mean that the phrase was used by Nebuchadnezzar to indicate that he was, at the moment of speaking, referring to the existence of other divinities. The phrase is, however,

used by heathen speakers as well as by Israelites. So in 1 Esdras ii. 3 by Cyrus, ὁ κύριος ὁ ὑψιστος, and in many other places, as well as by Philo and Josephus. No stress, therefore, must be laid upon its use.

שָׁפַר, *it pleased*, lit. was good. Variouslly construed with different particles. The verb occurs not only here, but also in ch. vi. 2 and also in Talmudic Aram.

iv. 1 (Engl. iv. 4). בְּבִיתִי, which appears to be a distinct Hebraism, is the more common reading (see Ginsburg), although many MSS. and editions have the Aramaic בְּבֵיתִי.

רָעַן. On the formation, see Kautzsch, § 59. 2 ; Marti, § 85 *a*.

2. וַיִּדְחֻלְנִי, impf. of דָּחַל with suffix. The use here of the impf. for the perfect is noteworthy, as it is rare in Biblical Aramaic. Bevan notes (p. 37) that this is not a Hebraism, because it is also found in Arabic writers. It is not found in later Aramaic.

הִקְרָהוּן. On the formation, see Kautzsch, § 59. 4 ; Marti, § 85 *a*. הִקְרָהוּ, const. plural of קָרָה, emphatic קָרָה. Kautzsch, § 55. 6 *b* ; Marti, § 83 *c*.

3. “*And a decree went from me.*” On טַעַם, see notes on ch. ii. 15 and iii. 10. לְהַנְעִילָה, haphel infinitive of עָלַל ; see Kautzsch, § 46. 3 *b* ; Marti, § 66 *d*.

יְהוֹדַעְנִי, impf. haphel : Kautzsch, § 43 *c* ; Marti, § 59 *b*.

4. עָלְלִין occurs also in ch. v. 8, part. act. peal ; see Kautzsch, § 46. 3 *a* ; Marti, § 66 *a* and *e*. The K’thibh should be pointed עָלְלִין or עָלְלִין. The Q’rē is like the Syriac form, עָלִין, with a long vowel before daghesh forte. This is exceptional when not in tone. See Kautzsch, § 16. 4.

On the names given to the soothsayers, see notes on

ch. i. 4, 20, and ch. ii. 2, and Supplementary Note to that chapter.

It is to be noted that Nebuchadnezzar on this occasion told the dream to the Chaldeans before he asked them to interpret it, and did not require them to tell him first the dream itself, as in the case recorded in ch. ii.

מְהוֹדֵעִין, part. haphel ; see Kautzsch, § 43. 1 c ; Marti, § 59 b.

5. וְעַד א'. On the particle עַד as conj., see Kautzsch, § 69. 6 ; Marti, § 98. "*And until at last.*" Gesenius regarded א' as an adjective in the singular, used adverbially in connection with עַד. See on the form of א', Kautzsch, § 61. 3 a. Strack (in his notes), with Kautzsch, suggests that the K'thibh is to be read אֶחָדָן. The Q'rē is אֶחָדָן (אֶחָדָן, see Ginsburg). This is supported, according to some authorities (see Field's *Hexapla*), by Theodotion ἕως οὗ ἔτερος, but Swete and Tischendorf both give ἕως ἡλθεν Δαυὶλ as Theodotion's translation. Marti prefers to point אֶחָדָן, comparing the vulgar Arabic بَعْدَين. See Marti's *Aram. Gr.* § 94 b. Hitzig renders the word as an adjective, "last," i.e. Daniel entered as last man. As there is no clear case of such an adjective, Bevan prefers the reading אֶחָדָן, "*and yet another.*"

6. בַּלְטַשְׁאֲצַר. See note on ch. i. 7. The "*chief of the magicians*" is mentioned ch. ii. 48.

דִּי רוּחַ אֱלֹהִין. Compare Gen. xli. 38. "The holy gods," Bevan observes, is an expression used by the heathen of Syria, and found in the Inscription of Eshmunazar. 17. See note on ch. ii. 18.

אֲנָם, participle of אָנַם, *to compel* ; also used in Syriac. The Hebrew אָנַם is found in Esther i. 8 in the sense of being *compelled* or *forced* to drink, but the verb, with various derivatives, is common in the Targums

and Talmudic Hebrew in the sense of to *force* or *overcome*. It is used here in the latter sense.

The words that follow both here and in ver. 7, as Behrmann has observed, read almost like an Aramaic version of Ezekiel's ironical statement respecting the prince of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 3): "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee."

כָּל-סֵתֶרָם לֹא יִמְחוּךָ. Theodotion, after לֹא אָנֹכִי לָךְ, inserts the word ἀκουσον, "*hear*," which Kautzsch and Marti are disposed to accept as part of the original text. It is, however, more probable that the insertion arose from the wish of the Greek translator to prevent the verse from being explained in opposition to ver. 7. Marti and Giesebrecht propose other alterations in the text which are purely conjectural.

7. Compare the construction in ver. 10 and in ch. ii. 31. The opening words may be viewed either as an accusative absolute, or the hiatus may be supplied by some such phrase as "were as follows."

8. The form חֲוִיתָהּ, *its appearance*, or *sight*, is somewhat doubtful. It may either be a mistake for חֲוִיתָהּ, as suggested by Kautzsch, § 61. 4, rem., which is the easiest explanation, or, as suggested in Kautzsch, § 55. 6 b 2, it may be a contraction of *chazav-t*. Paul Haupt suggests that one ought to read in this verse and in ver. 17 וַעֲפִיָהּ. Haupt would transpose וַחֲוִיתָהּ and וַעֲפִיָהּ in verses 17 and 18. But this lacks authority. Of a similar form is צִלּוּתָהּ, *prayer*, and the Syriac ܡܫܬܐܬܐ, *a blow*. Theodotion translates the word τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ, *its trunk*, or *expanse*, possibly taking the word for חֲוִיתָהּ (Behrmann).

9. "*Were sheltering . . . dwelling . . . was being fed from it*. The tenses of the original denote what was *habitual*, and therefore might be observed as taking place

continuously at the time of the dream " (*Driver*). עֲפִידָה, *its foliage*; compare Ps. civ. 12. אֲנָבָה for אֲנָבָה. Compare note on אֲנָבָה, ch. ii. 9; Kautzsch, § 11. 4 *b*. מְזוֹן. The preformative *ma* has after the Syriac a long vowel, which Nöldeke regards as belonging to the ancient form (*Mand. Gram.* § 110. 3, and footnote). לִנְלֵא־יָבָה. On the daghesh, see Kautzsch, § 17. 1. תַּטְלֵל, from טָלַל, *i.q.* Heb. צָלַל, *to cover over*. Hence צֶלַל, *shadow*, Arabic ظَلَّ. The form is a rare instance of a verb "not being contracted in the haphel. See Kautzsch, § 46. 3; Marti, § 66. בָּרָא, *the open field*. So Hebrew בָּרָא, Job xxxix. 14. Compare Arab. بَرَّ *dry land*. For יִדְרוֹן the Q'rē prefers to read the feminine יִדְרֹן, the noun צ' being usually feminine. But the correction is not necessary. Comp. ver. 18.

10. עִיר, *wakeful* (so Aquila, Symmachus, ἐγρήγορος, *vigil*), not *watcher*. Comp. Ps. ciii. 20. The LXX. Gr. Ven. have simply ἄγγελος. Theodotion does not translate the word, but transliterates it ἔρ. The same word in Syriac is used of angels. The combination עִיר וְקִדְשָׁא is similar to that of גִּבְרָא וְחֹשֶׁב in Ps. xxxix. 12. The copula is used for emphasis. See Kautzsch, § 69. 1. It does not refer to any division of the *watchers* into holy and unholy. The plural occurs in ver. 14, where the עִירִין in the one clause corresponds to the קְדִישִׁין in the other. In the Books of Enoch and of the Jubilees the word is used of *angels*, but generally (though not exclusively) in a bad sense of the fallen angels. This is indicative of a difference in age between those books and the Book of Daniel. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 82 ff.

נִבְלָא, participle; see נִבְלָא, ch. iii. 17.

11. קרא בחיל. Comp. Rev. vii. 2, 10, x. 10, xiv. 15, xviii. 2, xix. 17. נָדַד. On the form, see Kautzsch, § 46 *b*; Marti, § 66 *e*. אָתָּרָהּ, haph. imper. from נָתַר : Kautzsch, § 42 and *b*; Marti, § 58 *b*, § 13 *c*. The pathach in the second syllable is owing to the influence of the ר. תָּנִיד, third pers. fem. impf. from נָדַד, *i.q.* Hebrew *id.*, *flee from*.

מִן-תְּהוֹתֶיהָ. Kautzsch regards 'ת' as a Hebraism, § 68, at end. Marti would read תְּהוֹתֶיהָ. The person or persons specially addressed by the angel are not mentioned, but the decree itself was a Divine decree to whomsoever it may have been imparted.

12. בְּרָם, a conditional particle, probably shortened from בְּרָםָה, in the sense of בְּרָם מִן, *except, only* : Kautzsch, § 69. 5; Marti, § 94 *c*.

עֵקֶר is regarded by the punctuators as a shortened construction before 'ש'. It occurs here and in verses 20 and 23. The Syriac proves that the original form had a long vowel in the second syllable. Hence the word ought to be punctuated עֵקֶר. See Kautzsch, § 59 *c*. A hope of restoration was indicated by the stump of the tree being left in the ground. Compare Job xiv. 7-9 and Isa. xi. 1 (of the Davidic house). The band of iron and brass was as long ago as the time of Jerome explained of the chains with which madmen were often restrained. Such chains were not unnecessary, even in a paddock. Metaphorical significations have often been suggested. Iron and brass are used figuratively in reference to the heavens, earth, walls, horns, shoes, hoofs, etc. See Deut. xxviii. 48, xxxiii. 25; Jer. i. 18; Micah iv. 13. G. S. Faber maintained that the allusion is to the two metals used to symbolise the third and fourth world-powers (spoken of in ch. ii.), which crushed the theocracy and the people of Jehovah under their feet, and sought in

their madness to extirpate Jehovah's rule over men. Even in the worst outbreak of such madness there is still a restraining power, and the restraining power of Greek philosophy and Roman law continue still coercive factors not without value in these latter days of "the times of the Gentiles."

13. "Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him." Driver well explains this to mean: "Let him receive the understanding of a beast (imagine himself an animal). The heart in Hebrew psychology is the seat, not (as commonly with us) of tender feeling (a 'heartless' man), but of the *intellect*; cf. Hos. vii. 11, 'a silly dove without *heart*,' i.e. without understanding; Jer. v. 21, 'a foolish people, without understanding,' lit. without heart." There is no necessity, with Marti, to suppose that the writer represents Nebuchadnezzar as having been possessed with the soul of an animal. In many cases of insanity the sufferer believes himself transformed and "possessed" by an evil power.

אָנָשָׁא. The Q'rē reads אָנָשָׁא here and in ver. 14, which form is found in ch. ii. 38, 43, iv. 22, 29. The K'thibh is in verses 13 and 14 אָנָשָׁא, but not in the other passages. The form אָנָשָׁא is generally regarded as a Hebraism. It occurs also in the Nabathæan inscriptions. The מָן indicates the change. See 1 Sam. xv. 23; 1 Kings xv. 13. יִשְׁכֹּן is an active construction to express the passive, as ch. iii. 4. The verb שָׁנָא is used in Hebrew (1 Sam. xxi. 14), Syriac, and Assyrian in describing madness (*Marti*). See note on ch. ii. 30.

Seven times. The LXX. have *seven years*, and so Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 10. 6. The number "seven times" appears to be understood both of a literal period of

“seven years” and a symbolical period of “seven times,” of which “the time, times, and a half” (ch. vii. 25) form the moiety. See note on ch. xii. 7.

14. The Jews imagined God to be represented in the Old Testament as surrounded by an assembly of angels (1 Kings xxii. 19), who were almost a kind of heavenly council. Those ideas were derived from certain passages; but other passages speak of the prophets, as well as the angels, being made acquainted with God's determinations (Amos iii. 7), and of Divine decrees emanating also from the prophets, who simply declared them (comp. Jer. i. 10; Isa. vi. 10). In that sense we understand “the decree of the wakeful ones” who attend constantly to the voice of the Divine word (Ps. ciii. 20). מֵאֲמַר—מֵאֲמַר is properly infinitive qal. Some MSS. and editions have וּבְמֵאֲמַר. The passage is so quoted in the Talmud, but the reading without the ב is the correct one. See Baer-Delitzsch, *App. Crit.*

קְדִישִׁים and עֲרִיָּא are used here instead of קְדִישִׁין and עֲרִיָּא in imitation of the poetical style. Compare מְקִדָּשִׁים, Job v. 1 (*Bevan*). Compare note on ver. 10. שְׂאֵלָתָא. Lit. “the matter in question.” It is synonymous with פְּתֻנָּמָא in the preceding sentence.

עַד-דְּבֵרָתָא. Kautzsch (*Gr.* § 11. 2) considers that it is possible to explain the עַד for עַל as a case of assimilation of ל. However, he prefers to view עַד as an error of the copyist. So also *Bevan*, *Marti*, etc. *Behrmann*, however, considers that עַל-דֵּן denotes rather the object, עַד-דֵּן, the result. LXX. ἕνεκεν and ὥς. עַלִּיא, Q'rē שְׂאֵלָתָא. See ch. iii. 32. שְׂפֵל אֲנָשִׁים (compare אֲדָם, Prov. xv. 20), intensive of quality: Kautzsch, § 85. 4. The allusion is to rank and position, not to *moral* character. “The same word which is used in the Aramaic

here is used also (in its Hebrew form) in Job v. 11, 'to set up on high those that be low'; Ps. cxxxviii. 6, 'Yet hath he respect unto the *lowly*'; and Isa. lvii. 15, '*humble*'" (*Driver*). Kautzsch (§ 63) regards אנשים as the plural of אָנֶשׁ, which is, like it, collective. The word is genuine Aramaic, as proved by its use in the Zendschirli inscriptions. Two other examples of the plural in *im* occur in Biblical Aramaic, namely, אלפים in the K'thibh of ch. vii. 10, and מְלָכִים, Ezra iv. 13. The punctuation of the latter is open to dispute, for there is a Q'rē to which the vowels in the text belong. Kautzsch (§ 51. 2) considers both errors of copyists. עליה, K'thibh, but Q'rē עלה.

15. ואנחה. The Q'rē has the shorter וְאָנְחָה. See ch. ii. 29. פְּשָׁרָא, K'thibh, but Q'rē פֶּשְׁרָה. So also in ver. 16. The correction is unnecessary. On the peculiar connection of the negative לֹא with participles conveying the idea of a compound adjective or noun, see Marti, § 93 *a*.

16. אֶשְׁתּוּמִּים, third pers. sing. perf. for 'אֶשׁ; 'ethpōal, Kautzsch, § 36; Marti, § 42 *c*. There are two irregularities in the word: (1) the use of ש for ה, and (2) the vocalisation 'אֶשׁ. This is the only instance of such a form in Biblical Aramaic. Similar forms exist in Jud.-Pal. Aramaic. See Dalman, *Gram. jüd.-pal. Aram.* § 71.

כְּשָׂעָה קִדָּא. Our A.V. gives an incorrect impression by rendering "for one hour," although some scholars (as Hitzig) take that view. See note on ver. 33. שְׂעָה, Arabic

سَاعَة, Syriac ܣܥܬܐ; ܣܥܬܐ. On the use of קִדָּא as an adjective, see Kautzsch, § 65. 1. Compare ch. ii. 31. It is used almost as our indefinite article. Compare אֶקֶד in

ch. viii. 13. Onkelos, in Num. xvi. 21, has פִּשְׁעָה where the Hebrew has כָּרַגַע. Compare בָּהּ שְׁעָתָא, ch. iii. 6, *in the same moment*. So Isa. xxvi. 20, כִּמְעַט רָגַע. יִבְהַלְגָּהּ. See Kautzsch, § 37 *c*. On the following יִבְהַלְגָּהּ, Bevan notes that the suffix is added to the simple form of the imperfect, *i.e.* without the usual insertion of *in* which occurs in the case of יִשְׁוֹבְגָהּ (ch. vi. 17), after the fashion of the East Aramaic dialects. Marti (§ 32 *b*) and others are inclined to treat the verb as a jussive, as in ch. vi. 10. In the latter case we should read יִבְהַלְגָּהּ. The syntax would admit either a singular or a plural verb.

וּפִשְׁרָא, but the Q'rē וּפִשְׁרָה. See note on preceding verse. מְרִי. See note on ch. ii. 47. Kautzsch, § 11. The Q'rē is מְרִי; see Kautzsch, § 58 *b* 1. The retention of the א in the K'thibh shows that the א still retained its consonantal sound, מְרִיא. See also next note.

לְשִׁנְאִי. The Q'rē is לְשִׁנְאָה: Kautzsch, § 53, rem. *b*; Marti, § 75 *c*. On the consonantal force of the א, see Strack, *Gramm.* § 23 *aa*. לְעִיר, Q'rē לְעִיר; see Kautzsch and Marti as before.

17. דְּחוּתָהּ. See note on ver. 8. The prophet repeats the dream in order to produce a greater impression on the king's mind.

18. Some slight alterations are, in the prophet's repetition, introduced into the phraseology. In place of the word תִּשְׁלַל in ver. 9, תִּדּוּר is employed, and יִשְׁכֵּן instead of יִדּוּר.

19. אֲנִתָּה. See notes on ver. 15 and on ch. ii. 29. יִי is employed in this verse in connection with the second person, and therefore the verb is in that person. Kautzsch, § 103. 3 *b*.

The K'thibh יִבְהַלְגָּהּ is retained in place of יִבְהַלְגָּהּ, the third pers. sing. fem., which the Massoretes strangely prefer.

It is in this verse also united with another second person singular, תִּקְפֶּה or תִּקְפָּה, as the Erfurt MS. reads (*Strack*). The noun רְבוּתָךְ, with sheva under the first rad., is, as Bevan observes, peculiar, "for the analogy of Syriac would lead us to expect רְבוּתְךָ, the abstract noun from רָב, רָבָא."

וּמִטָּה. The reading of the K'thibh (ומטית) is, as Kautzsch asserts, a scribal error (p. 79), although it may have arisen, as Bevan suggests, from another reading מִטָּה (participle).

20. נָחַת, participle of נָחַת. See on ver. 10. On מְרִי, see note on ver. 16. On מִטָּה, see note on previous verse.

21. עָלִיא. The Q'rē is עָלִיא; see notes on ver. 14 and on ch. iii. 32.

22. The plural of the participles מְרִי, מְצַבֵּן, and the verb יִשְׁעֲמוּן are here used as indeterminate third persons plural, almost where the English language would use the passive. The usage is common in Biblical and later Hebrew, even when the agent pointed to is God. See Kautzsch, § 76. 2 a, and compare Ges.-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.* § 144. 3. תִּנְדַּע, from יָדַע. See Kautzsch, § 43. 1 c; Marti, § 59 c, rem. 1.

לְחֹרִי. See note on ch. ii. 20.

23. On the indeterminate אֲמַר, see note on previous verse. עָקַר. See verse 12. קִימָה. Many MSS. read קִימָה. See *Strack's* variants. מִן דִּי, as soon as, temporal, not causal. שְׁמִיָּה, almost used as a synonym for God. Driver observes: "The use of *heaven*, either as a metonym, or as an expression of reverence for God, does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament; but it is found in the Apocrypha, as 1 Macc. iii. 18, R.V. [contrast 1 Sam. xiv. 6], 19 (cf. ver. 60); iv. 10, 14, 55;

2 Macc. ix. 20; and it is especially frequent in the Mishna, as *Abhoth* i. 3, 'and let the fear of Heaven be upon you'; ii. 16, 'let all thy deeds be in the name of Heaven'; iv. 7, 'whoso profaneth the name of Heaven in secret, they punish him (*i.e.* he is punished) openly.' Cf. Luke xv. 18, 21. . . . The original Jewish sense of the expression 'kingdom of heaven' is the *rule* or *government* of heaven." This usage is found also in the Mishna and in the N.T., ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

24. לֶחֶן. See note on ch. ii. 6. מַלְכִּי, *my counsel*. מַלְךְ is used in Assyrian (*milku*, *counsel*; *malaku*, *to advise*) in the sense of *giving counsel*. Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. WB.* pp. 412-3. It is also used in later Hebrew, as Neh. v. 7 (וַיִּשְׁלַח לְבִי עָלָי), and in the Mishna. The expression, therefore, falls in with the traditional date of Daniel. עָלָי. The Q'rē prefers the form עָלָךְ without yod. וְחָטִיךְ. The Q'rē is וְחָטִיךְ, plural. So Strack, but Ginsburg gives וְחָטִיךְ. The K'thibh appears to be singular, וְחָטִיךְ. See Kautzsch, § 57 *b*. On the other hand, Bevan regards the K'thibh חָטִיךְ to be for חָטִיךְ, a plural of חָטִי, Syriac ܚܬܝܝܐ.

The teaching of modern Judaism as to *almsgiving* and its *value* has been by some derived from this passage. These teachings are, indeed, set forth with tolerable clearness in Sirach iii. 30, 31; Tobit iv. 7-11; and Aboth v. 11. Righteousness (צדקה) is exhibited by *good works*, טוֹבוֹת מַעֲשִׂים. Compare Matt. vi. 1, where *δικαιοσύνη* is used in many MSS. for *almsgiving*. In the case of a heathen monarch "righteousness" could only be manifested by deeds of mercy and benevolence. צדקה is Aramaic as well as Hebrew, although the form ודקא is also common in Syriac, etc. In the inscription of Taiman (see Bevan and Marti) צדקתא is used for

religious dues or payments. Theodotion has rendered 'בצ by ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις, and similarly the LXX. and Syriac. But, as Driver observes, the context here does not justify the limitation of righteousness to the giving of alms.

פָּקַד is translated by Theodotion λύτρωσαι, and by the Vulgate *redime*. The word, as seen from the Hebrew synonym (comp. Gen. xxviii. 40), means primarily to *break off* a yoke. The meaning of *expectation*, in which it is employed in Syriac, is too late to justify such a sense being assigned to this passage.

עֲוֹנוֹתָ is plural with singular suffix. *Thy perverseness*, or *transgressions*. The absolute singular does not occur. The plural, according to the best authorities, is עֲוֹנוֹתָ (Baer). Kautzsch derives it from a singular עֲוֹנָה (§ 56. 2). So also Marti (in his *Glossary*). Strack gives the singular עֲוֹנָה. Bevan maintains that the singular absolute is עֲוֹנָה, עֲוֹנוֹתָ (see Targ. Ps. li. 4, 7). The Hebrew verb is עָוָה, from whence עָוֶן. מִחַן בְּמִחַן עָוֶן is infinitive from חָנַן. The singular is עָנָה, *i. q.* Hebrew עָנִי, as נָקָה, ch. vii. 9. Bevan considers the plural here to be punctuated after a false analogy, in imitation of the Hebrew עָנִי. הֵן, *if perhaps*. Comp. Ezra v. 17, εὐ ἄρα, Acts vii. 22. See Kautzsch, § 69. 8 ; Marti, § 96 *d*.

אֲרָכָה with raphe. "Pointed as if from an original form *arakat*" (Bevan). See ch. vii. 12 (comp. Ezek. xii. 22). שְׁלוֹא and שְׁלוֹה, compare שְׁלָה, ver. 1, an abstract noun, *prosperity*, *quietness*. Ewald corrects the text after the Peshitto version, "*until He removes thy sins from thee*," reading שְׁלִיחָה, or שְׁלִיחָה, in place of the Massoretic reading, "*if thy perverseness might be healed*." Ewald would read אֲרָכָה, *healing* (Isa. lvii. 8). So Gr. Ven. *ιατρεία*.

25. The stat. emph. כָּלָא has the force of a demon-

strative, "*all this*." So our A.V. Behrmann compares the Platonic expression τὸ πᾶν.

מָצָא, *came upon* (compare Hebrew מָצָא). The daghesh in the מ connects the word closely with פָּלָא in the text of Baer-Delitzsch. The daghesh is not in Ginsburg's text.

26. עַל הַיָּגֶל מִלְכוּתָא. Compare 2 Sam. xi. 2. In the latter passage the יָגֶל or *flat roof* is expressly mentioned; it is here understood.

27. בָּבֶל רַבְתָּא, *Babylon the great*. See Apoc. xvi. 19. דָּא הִיא. See Kautzsch, § 87. 3. The form בְּנִיתָא is anomalous, although that of the Massorah. See Ginsburg, Baer-Delitzsch; see Kautzsch, § 15; Marti, § 51 *b*; Dalman, p. 305. The form בְּנִיתָא found in several MSS. collated by Strack is grammatically more correct. The word *build* is used also of restored buildings, as well as those built up from the foundation. לְבֵית מַלְכוּ, *for a royal residence*; compare בֵּית מַמְלָכָה, Amos vii. 13.

בְּחֻקָּה. The reading בְּחֻקָּה, with cholem in place of kametz-chatuph, is the more correct form. Bevan suggests that the reading of the Massoretes arose from an attempt to assimilate the word to לִיקָר, which follows. He prefers to read בְּחֻקָּה with pathach, after the analogy of חֻקֵּי and חֻקֵּי.

28. בְּפִים. פִּי, *mouth*, is common in Syr., in the Targg., and in Talmudic Arab. فَم. Variants בְּפִיּוֹם or בְּפִיּוֹם—Strack's MSS.

קוֹל מִן שָׁמַיִם. A voice from heaven, unaccompanied by a visible appearance, is termed by the Jews a קוֹל מִן שָׁמַיִם. Many of the voices from heaven recorded in the New Test. come under this designation—Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5; John xii. 28, etc.

הֵמָּנָה, *they are saying*. See note on verses 14, 22.

עדה from עָדָה, *is gone*.

29. מַרְדִּיָּן. See note on ver. 20. The LXX. here supply *the angels*.

30. The comparison in this verse must not be pressed too literally. To have a beast's heart or desires means the sinking of the man in feeling to the position of a beast. See note on ver. 13. Outward circumstances are adjusted to the inward transformation. The first phrase used (כְּנִשְׁרִין) is elliptical, "like (the feathers of) eagles," and "like the talons of birds." The length of eagles' feathers is specially mentioned in Ezek. xviii. 3. מַפֵּר, Syriac ܡܦܝܪ, Arabic ظفر, is used for the *nails* of men, the *talons* of birds, and the *hoofs* of beasts (ch. vii. 19). Meinhold suggests alterations in the text.

31. Euripides (*Bacchæ*, 1265 ff.), as Bevan observes, paints Agavē in her madness as looking upward to heaven and recovering reason. The female Bacchantes, like Nebuchadnezzar, are depicted as becoming like wild beasts, wearing their skins and suckling fawns and wolves, etc.

נִשְׁלָה, "*I lifted up*," Syriac ܢܫܠܐ, Sam. *id.*—the same root, but with different meanings. יִתְרוֹ. Behrmann observes that שׁוּר in late Hebrew is similarly construed with עַל, Jer. xi. 10; 2 Chron. xxx. 9. בְּרִיכָה. So edited by Strack on MS. authority, as well as by Marti. But the Massorah, according to Ginsburg, has no metheg. It seems to have been originally בְּרִיכָה. The dropping of the metheg appears to have been caused by the resolution of the compound into the simple sheva. See Kautzsch, § 9 c.

32. See on ver. 35. The ideas in the verse are somewhat similar to Isa. xl. 17.

כִּלְהָ חֲשִׁיבִין, *are accounted as nothing*. So Theodotion

and the Jewish expositors. לָהּ in that case may have been regarded as equal to לָא, and used as a substantive "nothing." No example of such usage can be cited. Consequently it is better to regard the passive participle with the negative לֹא חֲשִׁיבִין, like לֹא יִקְלִין in ver. 15, as *not regarded*. So Behrmann, Marti, and Bevan. The latter compares the Targum on Isa. liii. 3, בְּסִירָא וְלֹא חֲשִׁיבִין, *despised and not respected*.

וְנִמְצְבָה. The form *mizbaj*, which lies at the basis of the infinitive form מִצְבָּה, is here restored, and the final vowel dropped before the suffix. See Kautzsch, § 37. 3 *a*.

חֵיל שְׁמִיָּא is, like the Hebrew צְבָא שָׁמַיִם, used both of the army of the angels and of the host of the stars, all which serve Jehovah. Compare the passages in 1 Kings xxii. 19 and in Isa. xxiv. 21 (צְבָא הַמְּרוֹם). Compare στρατὸς οὐράνιος (Luke ii. 13).

יִמְחָא, with the following בִּידָה, *to strike upon his hand*, or restrain it from doing what it intended to do. The phrase is found in the Targum to Koheleth viii. 4, and in the Mishna. It is common, too, in later literature: Dalman, *Aram. Dialectprobe*, p. 5, יִמְחֵי בִּידֵי. A similar phrase is found in Arabic (ضرب على يده). Behrmann

thinks that this passage of Daniel is formed after the Targum Koheleth, but the reverse is more probable. See Driver's note. Marti observes that the Targum has the part. peal מְחֵי.

מָה, *What?* Another form is מַה. Kautzsch says (§ 22. 1) that this is the only passage in which מָה is so used in Biblical Aram.

33. בְּהָ זִמְנָא, *at the same time*. Compare ch. iii. 15. בְּהָ-שָׁעָתָא, *at the same hour*. Compare Apoc. xvii. 12, xviii. 17.

הָדָר, Hebrew הָדָר, connected with הָדָר. The LXX. shorten the description given in the verse into: "At that time my kingdom was restored (ἀποκατεστάθη) to me, and my glory given back." Theodotion alters הָדָר into הָדָרָה, rendering εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου ἦλθον. The text appears here to be corrupt. יָבֵעוֹן. So Baer, Ginsburg, and Strack. As the pael of the verb does not occur elsewhere, Bevan and Marti would punctuate יָבֵעוֹן. Some MSS. (Strack) and editions read the word with kametz.

It is doubtful whether the subject of the clause is "my reason," or whether all the three nouns are alike subjects, or merely the last. The ל in הָלִיקָר leaves the point open. Some MSS. have הָלִיקָר with kametz, which is then in the absolute state.

הָתִקְנָה, *I was established*, or *restored to*. Hophal first pers. sing. of תָּקַן. Many MSS. and Ginsburg read הָתִקְנָה, third pers. sing. fem. In the latter case *my kingdom* is the subject of the verb. See Kautzsch, § 34; Marti, § 41 *b*. On hophal forms, which also exist in the Palmyrene dialect, see W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 225; and Dalman (*Gram.* p. 202) calls attention to participles hophal in the Targg.

הוֹסַפְתָּ is another hophal form, *was added thereto*. See Kautzsch, § 43 *c*; Marti, § 59 *b*. Other cases in Biblical Aramaic occur in ch. v. 13, 15, 20, vi. 24, and vii. 4, 11. The verb תָּקַן is found in qal and piel in Biblical Hebrew in Koheleth, see Glossary to my *Commentary*; but in the Targums and in Syriac in hophal. It is found in the Mishna both in piel and hiphil.

34. מְרוּמָם, pail participle active, after Hebrew analogy. Kautzsch, § 45. 6; Marti, § 63 *k*. מְרוּמָם, according to Bevan, occurs in the Targums and in Christian Palestinian; it may have been in use in much earlier days.

מִהֶלֶן. See ch. iii. 25. The participle pail is preferable, מִהֶלֶן, Kautzsch, § 33. 2 *e*, which is the reading of several of Strack's MSS. קֶשֶׁט, *truth*. The stem is found in Biblical Hebrew in קֶשֶׁט, *truth*, Prov. xxii. 21. Aramaic קִשְׁטָא, and so Syriac, Heb. קֶשֶׁט, *id.* in Ps. lx. 6. The word occurs in all the Aramaic dialects, and corresponds with the Hebrew אֶמֶת. The Arabic has قَسَطٌ, *justice, truth*. גִּוְהָ, *pride*. The Hebrew גִּוְהָ is also used for *pride*, and also to mean *body*. So גִּוְהָ, but the words, though externally the same, had probably different derivations.

CHAPTER V

Preliminary Note.—According to Jer. xxxvii. 6, 7 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, the sovereignty of Babylon was to be continued in the line of Nebuchadnezzar until the domination of Persia. בלשצר. Belshazzar was the son of Nabū-nā'id; his Babylonian name was Bēl-sar-uṣar, "*Bel protect the king*" (Schrader). The word must not be confounded with Belteshazzar, the name given to Daniel (ch. i. 7, x. 1). Schrader thinks the ב was dropped after the ש from the tendency in copyists to assimilate names. Jahn would, however, identify them, and regards the difference to have arisen from an opposite tendency. The LXX. write both Βαλτασάρ, and so Baruch i. 11, 12. Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 11. 2) identifies Belshazzar with Nabū-nā'id, and writes his name in the same way as the LXX. See Appendix No. II.

The LXX. translation of this chapter has in the opening a duplicate rendering. The LXX. raise the number of guests to 2000, the *thousand* in the first clause being counted together with the *thousand* in the second; while the feast is said to have been made on the day of the dedication of his kingdom. This latter point is noteworthy. Ver. 4 in the LXX. is loosely translated, and words are added from ver. 23. In the first version (ver. 5) the words on the wall are inserted, the Aramaic being twice transliterated, Μανή, Φάρες, Θεκέλ, and in that order, and

severally expounded, "*it is numbered*," "*it is taken away* (*ἐξήρται*)," "*it is weighed* (*ἔσταται*)."

The second rendering adheres closer to the original, but omits the number of the guests, and makes no mention of wives and concubines. According to ver. 6, the king seems to have seen the hand writing before the other guests, while his companions in a circle around him were giving utterance to boastings (*ἐκαυχῶντο*). This does not appear to be a mistranslation, but an addition, the description of the king's joints knocking against one another being omitted.

Divers paraphrases mark other verses. The translation in ver. 7 is noteworthy, καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐξουσία τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῆς βασιλείας, "*and then shall be given to him power of the third part of the kingdom.*" As the queen-mother is not mentioned as at the feast, the king had to explain the situation to her when she rushed in. In explaining the words written on the wall, the second rendering in the LXX. omits the Aramaic words there, but explains them (in ver. 17) in the order of the original, ἡριθμῆται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξήρται, "*is numbered, is counted up, is taken away*," while in ver. 27 it reads: "The time of thy kingdom is cut short and is finished, thy kingdom is given to the Medes and Persians." The rendering in verses 30, 31 will be noticed under ver. 30.

The Vulgate renders ver. 1: "Baltassar rex fecit grande convivium optimatibus suis mille, et unusquisque secundum suam bibebat ætatem." Rosenmüller suggests that the mistake arose through Theodotion's version, which the translator read as ἡλικίων in place of χιλίων. Jerome makes no remark on it in his commentary.

1. עבד לחם. Compare עשׂים לחם, Koh. x. 19, also the

N.T. ἐσθίειν ἄρτον. The more common word for a *feast* is מִשְׁתָּה, in which the *drinking* formed the chief part. Greek συμπόσιον.

The king appears on this occasion to have feasted in presence of his lords, possibly seated on an elevated dais. Assuming the narrative to be true, and Belshazzar to have been then holding the royal palace and fortress against the Medes and Persians, it is not unlikely that the feast described was designed to keep up the spirits of the commanders of the Babylonian forces. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 131-2.

2. צִוָּה, *commanded*. The word in earlier Hebrew meant *to speak*, and afterwards in later Hebrew was used as in Arabic for *command*. In Arabic ^{أَمَرَ} is used exclusively in this sense. בִּטְעַם חֲמָרָה, *at the tasting of the wine*. טָעַם is an inf. constr. of the Hebrew form. The form טָעַם is used in Biblical Aramaic in two places—Ezra vi. 14, vii. 23. See Kautzsch, § 54 γ; Marti, § 71 a. In the first of the two versions in the LXX. (see above) it is rendered by ἐνυψούμενος, and the Vulg. has from it *jam temulentus*, which Jerome comments on as explaining partly Belshazzar's conduct.

לְהִיחָה, inf. haphel from אָחָה : Kautzsch, § 41, ex. b; Marti, § 60 b. See note on ch. iii. 13. כֶּסֶף, *vessel*. Targum כֶּסֶן, Syriac ܟܣܢܐ. Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.* p. 129) approves of Gesenius' connection of the word with אֲנָה, *a ship*, and the Arabic إِنَاءٌ, *urn, vessel* (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 124 and *add.* by Rödiger, p. 71), by the addition of the formative *m*. Assyrian, unātu. Saadiah translates the Hebrew כֶּסֶף by אֲנָה. See *Z.A.T.W.* ix. 35. Fleischer's explanation, therefore, given in Gesenius'

WB., must be set aside. הַנֶּפֶק, *haphel* from נָפַק : Kautzsch, § 42 ; Marti, § 58 c. Reference is here made to ch. i. 2. A list of the vessels taken away from Jerusalem is given in Ezra i. 7-11. Although Esther i. 10-12 would suggest a contrary usage, the statements of Xenophon (*Cyr.* v. ii. 28) and Curtius (v. i. 38) are evidence that women were at least occasionally present at such feasts. The שְׂגִלָּתָהּ, *his consorts*, are carefully distinguished from לְהִנָּחָהּ, *his concubines*. The derivation of the latter is unknown. Fleischer, in his additions to Levy, *Neu-Heb. WB.* vol. ii. 534, conjectures that it was a contumelious term. The word שְׂגִלָּה is found in Hebrew in Neh. ii. 6 and in Ps. xlv. 9. It is used as a proper name of a demon in Syr. Apoc. of Baruch x. 8.

3. הִיתָיו. See refs. on ver. 2. וַיִּשְׁתִּי, *and they drank*, from שָׁתָה : Kautzsch, § 11. 4 a, § 47 g 1 ; Marti, § 16 a. On the י at the end, compare ch. iii. 21.

4. Theodotion adds "*of silver*" after "*of gold*," and so Kamphausen would read וְכֶסֶף in the text after דָּהָב.

אֵצָא, *wood*. Hebrew עֵץ.

5. בְּהִשָּׁעָתָא. Marti maintains that the Syr. form points to שְׁעָתָא as the more correct punctuation. The suffix preceding is used in the sense of a demonstrative pronoun. "*In it, the hour*," i.e. in the self-same hour : Kautzsch, § 88. See also ch. iii. 6, 7, 8, iv. 33, etc. נִפְקָי. As there is a Q'rē note, the word must be viewed as unpointed, and be read נִפְקִי, the third pers. plur. masc. For this the Q'rē substitutes the third pers. sing. fem., נִפְקָה, used also in ch. vii. 20, which see. אִצְבָּעֵן is of the common gender, which partially accounts for the difference of reading of the verb. But see Kautzsch, § 23. 2. MSS. vary considerably. See Strack.

נְבִרְשָׁה, נְבִרְשָׁה, *the lamp, or chandelier*. Syr. *id.* In Jōma iii. 10, Helene, mother of Monobasa of Adiabene, on her conversion to Judaism, is said to have presented for the temple a נְבִרְשָׁה of gold. גִּיר, Hebrew *id.*, Syriac ܥܝܪ, *plaster*.

פֶּס, stat. emph. פֶּסָא, ver. 24, Syr. ܦܫܬܐ, found also in Rabbinical Hebrew, means the *palm* of the hand or the *sole* of the foot. In Hebrew the word only occurs in the phrase כַּתְּנַת פָּסִים.

6. זִי. Andreas (in Marti's *Glossary*) connects the word with Assyr. *zīmu*, the *m* pronounced later as *w* = Middle Iran. *zēbh*, New Persian *zēb*, *beauty*. Here *colour, of countenance*; Theodotion, ἡ μορφὴ. The text appears to require to be altered to שָׁנִין עֲלֵיהֶי (Kautzsch, § 89. 2). Bevan proposes to read שְׁנִי.

הַרְצָה, *the lower part of the back, or loins*. ܚܪܨܐ, Syriac ܚܪܨܐ (from ܡܨܪܐ, ܡܨܪܐ), Heb. ܚܪܨܐ and ܡܨܪܐ being interchanged. Mand. ܚܪܨܐ.

מִשְׁתָּרֵן. Bevan, in his *Comm.*, proposes to read the hithpeal, but he has corrected the suggestion in Marti's *Gloss.*; while Behrmann has given in his *Comm.* several proofs of the hithpa. of שָׁרָה.

7. אֶרְגָּמָא from אֶרְגָּמָן, Hebrew אֶרְגָּמָן, *purple* (Judg. viii. 26); according to Benary, from the Sanskrit *ragaman*, but that is doubtful. For the change between מ and נ (identical in Assyrian) Wellhausen compares ܐܪܡܐ with ܐܪܡܐ, and ܐܪܡܐ with ܐܪܡܐ.

וְהַמְּנִיָּה. So Q'rē, according to all authorities. According to Ginsburg, the K'thibh is וְהַמְּנִיָּה, probably, according to Marti, וְהַמְּנִיָּה, who compares Middle Iran. *hamyanak* (*ak* dim. of *hāmyān*), in Aram. ܚܡܝܢ, *girdle*. Some MSS. have וְהַמְּנִיָּה. The word only occurs here

and in verses 16 and 29. The form in the Q'rē, according to Marti, is later Aramaic. *Girdle* and *chain*, however, are not the same thing. The word מַנִּיכָה, says Bevan, in later Jewish Aramaic is used for a *necklace*, and appears in Syriac as *hamnīkha* or *hemnīkha*, and in Greek as *μανιάκη*. See on ver. 9. In Gen. xli. 42 we read of a golden chain being cast over the neck of Joseph, and such ornaments were worn by noble Persians (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. v. 8, viii. 39). A purple robe is similarly mentioned in *Anab.* i. ii. 27. See note on ver. 9.

The word תְּלִיתִי is employed here, and תְּלִיתָא in verses 16 and 29. The A.V. renders "*the third ruler in the kingdom.*" So Theodotion τρίτος. On the LXX. translation, see preliminary note on ver. 1. This implies that there were *two rulers* above the *third*. Nabū-nā'id, the real king, was then a prisoner, and Belshazzar was the actual ruler of Babylon. Hence the place offered to Daniel was the place next in authority to Belshazzar. The proper Aram. ordinal *third* is תְּלִיתִי, and Behrmann considers תְּלִיתִי its secondary form. The word, however, is not found elsewhere as an ordinal either in the Targums or in the Book of Daniel. A word nearly resembling it is תְּלִיתָא, or תְּלִיתָא, in the Targum of 2 Kings xi. 5, 6, which means *a third part* (Heb. השלישית מכם). תְּלִיתָא is generally supposed to be the stat. emph. of a noun תְּלִי, *third rank*, but there is no evidence of such a noun. Kautzsch (§ 65. 1, rem.) views it as an abnormal stat. emph. to תְּלִיתִי, *the third* (ruler), which is in favour of the translation of the A.V. However the word may be explained, it should be noted that תְּלִיתִי is unique and not found in any other passage. Driver maintains that the meaning is "*shall rule as a third part in the kingdom,*" that

is, shall have a third part of the supreme authority or rule as one of three rulers under Belshazzar. In ch. vi. Darius is said to have appointed three chiefs over the other satraps, and Daniel was made one of those chiefs. But the arrangement mentioned in ch. vi. was quite novel, although in 3 Esdras iii. 9 there is mention made of "the three princes of Persia." Bevan maintains that the three rulers mentioned in this text held the supreme authority every third day. Such a view, though conceivable in romance, cannot be seriously held. It is dangerous to resort to alterations of a text so much disputed. But, if alterations were needed, that suggested by Behrmann, namely, to punctuate **וְהָלַחַי**, would be the simplest. Behrmann connects **ב** with the verb in the phrase **וְהָלַחַי בַּמַּלְכוּתָא יִשְׁלַט**, "*he shall reign third over the kingdom.*"

8. **עֲלֵלִין**. See ch. iv. 4, and note below on ver. 10. **לֹא נָחֲלִין**. See note on ch. iv. 32. It is useless to conjecture why the wise men were unable to read the writing, for the text affords no information on the point.

9. The Q'rē reads also here **וְהַמְּוִינָא**. The root **מָן** may be connected with the Greek **μῆν**, and thus indicate the crescent-like shape of the ornament, Latin *monile*. See note on ver. 7.

מַלְכוּתָא. The cry of the king, and the confusion caused by the sudden phenomenon, caused the queen-mother to rush into the banqueting-hall. The queen was not included among the "consorts" of the king mentioned in ver. 2, and, from the manner in which she spoke, had evidently not been present with the revellers. Hence she is generally considered to have been the queen-mother. Herodotus (i. 185, 186) speaks of her as distinguished for wisdom and bearing the name of **Νίτοκρις**.

Josephus makes the queen to be the grandmother of Belshazzar. Origen makes her out to be his mother. Porphyry ridicules the whole story, which he maintains makes Belshazzar's queen know more than her husband.

10. The LXX. and Theodotion have evidently commenced the verse with אֲדִין, and Marti adds the word in his text. Strack seems to approve of the addition. מִשְׁתִּיא. See Kautzsch, § 60 *b*.

עָלָה. The K'thibh is to be read עָלָה, or עָלָה. The Q'rē is עָלָה. The one is the uncontracted, the other the contracted form. In עָלָה in ver. 8 the K'thibh has also the uncontracted form, the Q'rē the contracted עָלָה. אֶל-יְבוֹהֹלֹךְ. See note on ch. iv. 16. The final *nun* of the usual imperfect form disappears in the jussive. See Marti, § 32 *b*, § 64 *l*. "The accuracy of the Massoretic text is here confirmed by the Aramaic inscription of Taima, in which we find יְנַסְחוּהוּ, *may they expel him!* Hence it follows that יְבוֹהֹלֹךְ and יִשְׁתֵּנוּ are relics of the old jussive form of the imperfect—a form which in classical Arabic is clearly distinguished from the ordinary imperfect, the so-called indicative" (*Bevan*).

11. אֶתִּי (or אִתִּי), Hebrew יִשׁ. See Kautzsch, § 67. 8, and § 160; Marti, § 97 and § 100.

הִשְׁתַּכַּחַת. See note on ch. iii. 35; Kautzsch, § 40. 2; Marti, § 55 *d*.

12. מִדַּע for מִדָּע. See Kautzsch, § 60. 3 *b*. The meaning of what follows is plain enough, although the Aramaic text presents a difficulty in its syntax. שְׁכָלְתָּנוּ being in the absolute state cannot govern the words following in the genitive. Hence the Massoretic reading of מִפְּשָׁר and מִשְׁרָא as participles is indefensible, and requires (with the Vulgate, Bevan, Marti, and Behrmann) to be altered into the infinitives מִפְּשָׁר and מִשְׁרָא, or to be changed

into a noun in the const. state. This and ver. 16 are the only instances in which the verb **פָּשַׁר** occurs in Biblical Aramaic, although its derivative nouns are in frequent use. The verb is common in later Aramaic.

וְאַחֲרֵית אַחֲדָן. The word **אַחֲרֵית** is the infinitive (stat. const.) of **אַחֲרֵי** for **הִקְחֵי**, from **חָוָה** : Kautzsch, § 47. 5 *d*. On the feminine form used as a predicate, see Kautzsch, § 98. 2 *b*. Marti alters the pointing to **וְאַחֲרֵית** ; see *Gr.* § 48 *c* and § 86 *d*. **אַחֲדָן**, *enigmas, riddles*. **אַחֲדָה** is the same as the Hebrew **חִידָה**, which is used of Samson's *riddle* in Judg. xiv. 14, 15, 19 ; of the *questions* of the Queen of Sheba in 1 Kings x. 1 ; of *allegories* in Ezek. xvii. 2, and possibly in Ps. xlix. 4, lxxviii. 2, Prov. i. 6 ; and of a poem intermingled with taunts, Hab. ii. 6. **קָטַר** occurs only in the plural, and is used in ver. 6 in the sense of *ligaments* or *joints*. The root signifies to *bind*, and in Hebrew has **שׁ** for its second radical, and in Ethiopic **ተ**. It is here employed metaphorically, *knots* or *difficulties, hard questions*. So **קִטְרָא, קִטְרֵא** in Talmudic. The word is used in Syriac in the sense of magic knots or spells, which sense Bevan prefers here, but it appears most inappropriate.

13. It is not unlikely that Daniel may, on the accession of Nabū-nā'id, have fallen somewhat out of favour, though still retained in the service of the government (ch. viii. 27). Hence he may not have been personally known to Belshazzar. There is no such contradiction in the passage as Bevan seeks to establish. Marti observes that the king's question, **אֵנְתָא הוּא דְנִיָּאֻל**, is not contradictory to ch. viii. 27. The pronoun is emphatic. See Kautzsch, § 87. 3. The interrogative **ה** is often omitted before a guttural to avoid the hiatus (*Behrmann*). See Kautzsch, § 67. 2, and comp. in Heb. Ges.-Kautzsch,

§ 150. 1, rem. The suffix of the first person with the noun אב is omitted in Western Aramaic, and אבא is used in the Targums for *my father*. אבי, however, occurs several times in the Zendshirli inscription (B.C. 670). The Massoretic punctuation here, in which the short vowel is used with the tone on it, shows that the final syllable was scarcely heard. Some MSS. read אָבִי, others אֲבִי.

14. Compare ver. 11. Behrmann calls attention to the emphatic gāya (or metheg) used with רוּחַ in this verse, in place of the psiq which occurs in ver. 11. But it should be noted that the more correct Massoretic punctuation, as set forth by Ginsburg, has no metheg, while several MSS. have רוּחַ אֱלֹהִין בָּר, without any metheg, maqqeph, or accents.

15. הָעֵלִי. See Kautzsch, § 46. 3 c; Marti, § 66 d. לְהוֹדֵעַתְּנִי. See Kautzsch, § 75. 1. Marti conjectures that we ought to read יְהוֹדֵעַתְּנִי, but the change is unnecessary. לְהַחֲרִיחַ. See note on ver. 12.

16. The K'thibh reads תוּכַל after the Hebrew fashion; the Q'rē would read תִּכָּל. See ch. ii. 10, iii. 29. The verbiage is somewhat altered from that in ver. 12, פִּשְׁרִין taking here the place of חֶלְמִין. תִּלְתָּה. See note on ver. 7.

17. לְהַחֲרִיחַ. See note on ch. ii. 4. וּנְבוּבִיתָךְ. See note on ch. ii. 6. Baer notes that this is one of the eight words in which tippecha has merca as its attendant accent. לְאַחֲרָן. See note on ch. ii. 11.

יְהִיב for יְהִיב. See Kautzsch, § 43. 1 a; Marti, § 59 d. בָּרִם. See note on ch. ii. 28; Kautzsch, § 69. 5; Marti, § 94 c.

18. אֲנִתָּה, nom. pendens. אֱלֹהֵי עֲלִיָּה. See ch. ii. 18 and note.

19. וְאֵעִין. The K'thibh, after the Hebrew analogy,

gives the part. from וָרָע : Kautzsch, § 45. 1 c, 3 d ; Marti, § 13 b and § 63 e. The Q'rē reads וָרָעִין. צָבָה, part. of צָבָה, *to be inclined*, or *desire*. מָחָה for מַחֲהֵה, part. aphel of מָחָה. See Kautzsch, § 47. 5 e, also § 11. 3 b ; Marti, § 61. Another reading is מַחֲהֵה, part. from מָחָה, *to strike*. So Theodotion, *ἐστυνεν* ; similarly the Vulgate, *percutiebat*. The contrast which is drawn in the close of the verse between "raised up" and "put down" is strongly in favour of the Massoretic punctuation.

20. רָם, intrans. perfect, not part. passive, from רוּם. Compare Hebrew מָת, Syriac مَط. Some MSS. exhibit less correctly רָם and רָם. תִּקְפֹּת, 3rd sing. fem. See Kautzsch, § 25 b. לְהוֹדָה, inf. haphel of הוֹדָה. See Kautzsch, § 45. 4 c. הִקְהֵה. See Kautzsch, § 42. 1 ; Marti, § 58 c.

נָרְסָה, stat. const. of נִרְסָה (ch. vi. 9). See Kautzsch, § 62 ; Marti, § 85 β, with § 74 c.

הִקְפִּיד, haphel, 3rd pers. perf. fem., from עָרַד. Compare הִקְפִּידוּ, ch. vii. 22.

21. שָׁרִי. The K'thibh is sing. שָׁרִי, from שָׁרָה, or שָׁרָה, *he was like*, *he made* (his heart) *like*. The Q'rē is שָׁרִי, plural, *they made* (his heart) *like* that of the wild beasts. Theodotion translates the phrase in the passive. The impersonal 3rd person is, however, used in the next sentence. יִצְטַבַּע, *wild asses*, Job xxxix. 5-8. יִצְטַבַּע, *was bedewed*. Hithpael : Kautzsch, § 32. 1 ; Marti, § 12 a.

23. וּלְמִאֲנִיָּה. See note on ver. 2. אֲנִיָּה. See note on ver. 4. הִיחִי. See note on ver. 2. Compare, on the end of the verse, Rev. ix. 20, Acts xvii. 25.

לָהּ is by the Massoretic accentuators cut off from the words following, and joined with the preceding "all thy ways," as if the prophet were reminding the king

that all his ways, whether he would or not, were in God's hands. Comp. Jer. x. 23. The ל would then be used similarly to that with which Ps. iii. 9 opens. But it appears better to regard the לָהּ as emphatic, "HIM thou hast not glorified."

24. בִּאֲדִין. In a temporal and not a causative sense, like אֵז in Jer. xxii. 15 (*Behrmann*). פָּסַח. See note on ver. 2. רָשָׁם, qtil of רָשָׁם.

25. מִנָּה is easily explained as part. passive (Kautzsch, § 47 g, f) of מָנָה (Heb. מָנָה), *numbered*. It might also be the Aramaic equivalent of מִנָּה, the *mina*, but that would rather be מְנָה (Talmudic) or מִנָּה (Aramaic). The word occurs here twice (probably for emphasis), but in ver. 27, where it is explained, it is only once mentioned. It is there explained מְנָה אֱלֹהִים, *God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it*.

תִּקְלָה is slightly abnormal, for תִּקְלִי is the regular form of the passive participle, but it may be regarded as a peil form, the unusual vowel being employed in order to harmonise with מִנָּה. See Kautzsch, § 29. 2, rem. The word is explained by Bevan as stat. absolute of תִּקְלָה (Onk. Ex. xxxviii. 26) for שֶׁקֶל, *a shekel*. That, however, is simply conjecture. Behrmann calls attention to the fact that the word *shekel* (שֶׁקֶל) is employed in the Zendshirli inscriptions instead of the later תִּקְלָה. He also urges the point that, in counting of coins, no one would naturally count the smallest coin between two larger coins; the half-mina, supposed to be alluded to at the close, being vastly higher in value than the shekel. It would present a strange appearance in English to write, "Hundred (pounds), hundred—two and eightpence—two fifty (pounds)," which would be about the equivalent in English money.

פָּרְסִין may be explained as a regular plural of פָּרַס, which is employed in its place in the opening of ver. 28 (see Kautzsch, § 54. 3 a), and which would mean *divided* (plural). In the latter sense it is the part. passive of פָּרַס. For פָּרְסִין = Medes and Persians, compare the Arabic idiom by which "the two Omars" means Abu Bakr and Omar, "the two Kufats," Kufah and Basrah, etc. If it meant *dividers*, it ought to be vocalised פָּרְסִין. Marti, after Ganneau, suggests that the word may be dual; so in both *Commentary* and *Grammar*, § 69 a. The remark is made in order to harmonise with the new exposition, for there is nothing in the form to suggest that idea.

The word פָּרַס is in Hebrew used both for Persia and Persian. The proper gentile noun is פָּרְסִי. So Neh. xii. 22, דְּרִיּוֹשׁ הַפָּרְסִי. The plural of the gentile noun is פָּרְסִיִּים. The Aramaic פָּרַס (Greek *phóros*) means *tribute*. In the Mishna, פָּרַס, or פָּרַם, is used of something *broken off, a part, a half*. So מִנָּה וּפָרַם is used of *a mina and a half*, Edij. 3. 3; Joma, 4. 4; Peâ, 8. 5. It is used also in the Zendshirli inscription in the sense of *a half*.

On the whole, it may be said that, while the vocalisation is not completely certain, the old interpretation, *numbered, numbered, weighed, divided* (or possibly *dividers*), is more likely to be correct than the new rendering suggested first by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal Asiatique*, 1886), improved by Nöldeke (*Z. für Assyriol.* vol. i. pp. 414-418), and supported substantially by G. A. Hoffmann (*Z. für Assyriol.* vol. ii. pp. 45-47; also by Prince, and Haupt (bei Kamphausen), p. 28), namely:—

(1) *A mina, a mina, a shekel, and (two) half-minas*, or, with Haupt, (2) *Counted a mina, a shekel, and half-minas*.

The new explanation is, however, obscure, whereas the old gives a sense quite intelligible and suitable. See remarks on לָקַח. Behrmann defends the old translation; Bevan, Driver, and Marti approve of the new interpretation.

The LXX. thus render the last verses: "This is the interpretation of the writing. Numbered (*ἡριθμηται*) is thy time of the kingdom; thy kingdom ceaseth (*ἀπολήγει*); it is cut short and finished; thy kingdom is given to the Medes and the Persians."

27. מִלִּפְנֵי, with מ at end, is, perhaps, the form given in the best MSS.; but MSS. have also the form without מ, and some even with ה. The form is the 2nd pers. sing. peil—the inner passive, as it is sometimes called.

בְּמֵאֻנָּה. See Kautzsch, § 51. 1. Baer reads the word thus in the singular, *in the balance*. A perhaps more common reading is בְּמֵאֻנָּה, *in the balances*, probably a dual: Kautzsch, § 51. 1, rem. The Hebrew מֵאֻנָּה is a dual.

28. לַמֶּדֶי וּלְפָרִס, *to the Medes and Persians*. The nouns for the *locality* and *people* are in both these cases identical. As denoting the *people* the nouns are collectives. There exist, however, in both cases gentilic nouns, which are used only in the singular. The Medes are mentioned first, possibly because known first to the Jews, but the reverse order is employed in the Book of Esther.

29. וְהִכְרוּ. See note on ch. iii. 4. On תִּלְתָּה, see note on ver. 7.

30. The name בְּלִשְׁצָר is here written incorrectly in place of בְּלִשְׁמָצָר. See note on ver. 1. On the LXX. reading of the last verse of this chapter (and that in Aram. vi. 1), see preliminary note to ch. vi. at end.

CHAPTER VI

THE chapter division in the Aramaic is more correct than that in the Latin Vulgate (and the translations influenced by it), which makes the first verse, which really belongs to the present chapter, the last verse of the preceding.

The expression used in the text, "Darius the Mede *received the kingdom*"—for the rendering in the A.V., "*took the kingdom*," is incorrect,—implies that Darius was not viewed by the writer as possessing the same authority as Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon. Cyrus, it might be conceived, would at once have assumed the kingdom of Babylon belonging to him by virtue of conquest. Darius was, in the writer's opinion, an inferior personage who "received the kingdom" as a gift from the hands of another. The empire of the Medes and Persians, like the empires of Assyria and Babylon, admitted the rule of vassal kings in many localities, and these kings exercised the full powers of royalty in their respective states, although subordinate and under the control of "the great king," the "king of kings." Vassal kings were far from being simple viceroys. The idea of Professor Driver, that the writer imagined that some arrangement had been made between the two allied peoples or their rulers to place Darius on the throne, imports into the text what does not properly belong to it. It is a matter of comparatively little consequence whether, as suggested by

Dr Pinches, the special "king of Babylon" was Gobryas, rewarded with the royal dignity for his success in storming the citadel ; or Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus (as Winckler considers), elevated to that position when the city was duly quieted and reduced to order. The person who "received the kingdom" had within the limits of that kingdom full royal authority, although he was under the supreme authority of Cyrus as "king of lands" and "king of kings."

No mention is made of "Darius the Mede" in any historical documents yet discovered, and all theories which have been propounded concerning that name or personage are simply conjectural. The actual history which we possess of these events is fragmentary, but there is nothing whatever to justify the assertions of the critical school that the narrative of Daniel is actually at variance with known history. No hypothesis yet propounded has been able, on the supposition of the narrative being unhistorical, to explain the ignorance of the writer on such points of history. On the contrary, as will be seen from a review of facts given in Appendix No. II., there is much to show that the Book of Daniel relates facts unknown by the Greek historians. The writer had evidently a fair historical knowledge of the empires of Babylon Medo-Persia, and Greece ; and that fact is now becoming more generally recognised. The account which is given in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, ch. iv., is defensible in every point, although the gaps which exist in the history have been to some extent conjecturally supplied in order to make the history more easily comprehensible.

The name Darius is in Old Persian *Dâraya-va'ush* (Spiegel, *Alt.-Pers. Keilinschr.*), Greek *Δαρείος*. The name or title (as it probably was) was borne by several Persian

kings. Three at least of those monarchs are mentioned in Scripture: (1) Darius the Mede, (2) Darius Hystaspes, (3) Darius the Persian, variously explained to be Darius Nothus (or Ochus) or Darius Codomanus (Neh. xii. 22). The name was also borne by other Persians, but its signification is uncertain. The LXX. in Dan. v. 31 render it by Ἀρταξέρξης, but elsewhere by Δαρείος. The marginal reading of the Syr. notice in Swete's edition of the LXX. reads ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν. Jahn uses the reading of the LXX. in support of the opinion of the modern critics with regard to the Median kingdom. See ver. 27.

We are somewhat inclined to follow the reading of the LXX. and to omit the mention of the age of Darius the Mede on his accession to the throne of Babylon; but the matter is very doubtful. See Appendix No. II. The age given in the Hebrew text agrees better in that particular with the hypothesis that Gobryas was the person intended. The LXX. reading here and in ver. 14, "satraps one hundred twenty seven," is evidently derived from Esther i. 1, which speaks of a much later period.

2. שַׁפָּר. See note on ch. iii. 32. אַחַשְׁדַּרפֶּנִּיא. See note on ch. iii. 2. Herodotus (iii. 89) speaks of Darius Hystaspes as establishing twenty satrapies in the Persian empire. One hundred and twenty-seven provinces are mentioned as the number in Ahasuerus' reign in Esther i. 1, and so in 3 Ezra iii. 2 in Darius Hystaspes' reign.

3. עֲלָא, *higher than*, found in Nabathæan, but only here in Bibl. Aram. אֲרָצָא, *lower than*, occurs in ch. ii. 39, K'thibh. Behrmann compares Onk. Deut. xxviii. 43, סֵלִיק עֵיל מִבְּדָא לְעֵילָא.

סַרְבִּין, *princes, rulers*, is only found here in Bibl. Aramaic, but סַרְבָּא, plural סַרְבִּין, which is the same word, occurs

in the Targums not unfrequently for *commander*, and סַרְקִן, as *prince, ruler*, in the Targg. of Jerusalem. It probably has some connection with the Hebrew שַׂר, or the Persian *sar, sarak, chief*. These three princes or over-rulers do not appear to have been any imitation of Belshazzar's act. לָהֶוֶן. See Kautzsch, § 47 g, *b*, and notes on ch. ii. 20, 43. טַעַם. See Kautzsch, § 54 γ. נֹק, participle of נָקַה, *damage*.

4. עָשִׂית, part. intrans., *was minded, or was thinking over*. On the form, see Kautzsch, § 17, rem. 2.

5. The Syriac form of צַד, which is only used as a preposition, is ܥܕܐ or ܥܕܐ.

הָיוּ בָּעֵין עֲלֵהּ, *were seeking cause-of-offence* (τὸ αἰτιολογῆσαι). The noun ע' occurs also in Syriac and Arabic. לַהֲשִׁנְחָה, aphel infinitive of שָׁנַח. The hithpael occurs in the last sentence of the verse.

6. 'אֵלֶּיךָ גְּבוּרִים וְגו', *then those men said*. On the pron. אֵלֶּיךָ, see Kautzsch, § 20. 1; Marti, § 25 *b*. יְדִי introduces the direct speech. נִהְשָׁנָה. See Kautzsch, § 40. 4; Marti, § 55 *d*.

לֹא, *unless*: Kautzsch, § 69. 5; Marti, § 96 *d*. G. Jahn disputes this translation, but on insufficient grounds. הִשְׁכַּחְנָה. The perfect, after לֹא, has the sense of a future exactum, as in Hebrew after אִם. Compare Gen. xxxii. 27, and Marti, § 100 *b*; Kautzsch, § 71. 3.

בְּדָת. See note on ch. iii. 2.

7. הִרְגִּישׁוּ. Properly, *made a tumult*, hence *came tumultuously*; compare the Targum, Ruth i. 19 (*Bevan*). The phrase is also used of the satraps' visit to Daniel in ver. 12.

8. אֶתְּרָעַט. The verb יַעַט is the Hebrew יָעַץ, Arabic وَعَظ. *A councillor* is in Ezra vii. 14, 15, יָעַץ.

Bevan calls attention to the fact that the Massoretic

punctuation divides קָנָם from מִלְכָּנָה. Hence the meaning, according to it, is "*that the king should establish a statute.*" So Stave. Compare Numb. xxxv. 6, לָנֶם שָׁמָּה הָרֹצֵחַ, *that the man-slayer may flee hither*. Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and others adopt this rendering, but Ewald and the moderns, disregarding the accents and following Theodotion, translate *to establish a royal statute*, which latter is supported by ver. 13. *And to make a strong interdict.* The Aramaic אָסַר corresponds to the Hebrew אָסַר, used Numb. xxx. 3 of a vow of abstinence. קָנָם, *statute*; Syr. ⁹ܩܢܐ.

גִּבּוֹ, or גִּבּוֹב, stat. emph. גִּבָּה, *a pit*; but the root, which indicates *to bend outward*, or *bend inward*, has derivatives which mean *a height*, or *the back*, or *cistern*, or *den*. Flinging to the lions, as a mode of punishment, was used by some of the Caliphs. The lions' den may have been partly elevated above ground and partly below, and may have been provided with bars; there is therefore no necessity to raise any difficulties such as those suggested by v. Lengerke and others, including even Bevan. The upper access to it, or the mouth by which food or persons were thrown in, could be closed by a stone placed over it, as stated in ver. 18.

אַרְיֵהָ, plural of אֲרִיָּה, *lions*. The plural here "exactly agrees with the Syriac form as vocalised by the East Syrians (Nestorians); the West Syrians pronounce *arya-watha* with short *a* in the second syllable" (*Bevan*). The East Syrians *regularly* point ־ for — before a vav. Comp. נָרְסָם from נָרַסָה, ch. vii. 9; Heb. נָסָה, Kautzsch, § 11. 4 *b*. On the ל after לָהּ in לָהֶשׁ see Kautzsch, § 75. 3.

9. הִעָדָה, impf. of עָדָה, *to pass over*, *to change*. The verb is intransitive. Another reading is הִעָדִי. Baer reads תִּעָדָה both here and in ver. 13. Compare Hebrew עָדָה; Arab. *ta'adda*, "*to be transitive.*"

The LXX. give verses 2-9 as follows :—

“And Daniel was one of the three men, (he) having power over all (persons) in the kingdom. And Daniel was clothed in purple, and great and glorious before Darius the king, because he was glorious and prudent and wise, and a holy spirit was in him, and he was prosperous in the businesses of the king which he did. Then the king was desirous of setting Daniel over all his kingdom, and the two men which he set with him, and satraps one hundred twenty seven. But when the king was desirous to set Daniel over all his kingdom, then the two young men (*νεανίσκοι*) planned a counsel and design, saying to themselves, since they found no sin or ignorance against Daniel for which they might accuse him to the king ; and they said, Come let us make a decree against ourselves that no man shall make a request, or pray a prayer of any god for thirty days but from Darius the king, but if not, he shall die, in order that they might defeat Daniel before the king, and he be thrown into the den of lions. For they knew that Daniel prayed and made intercession of the Lord his God thrice in the day. Then those men came and said before the king : We have made a decree and a statute, that any man who shall pray a prayer, or ask a request from any god for thirty days save of Darius the king, shall be cast into the den of lions.”

G. Jahn ventures to defend the originality of the text of the LXX. That hypothesis will be accepted by few critics. But although we cannot accept it as a whole, there are points in which the LXX. may retain a preferable reading. The conspiracy of the two chiefs who were accorded similar rank to Daniel is more easily understood than a conspiracy of 120 satraps ; while the

conclusion of the narrative, in which they two alone are stated to have been themselves thrown into the den of lions, is historically more probable. Jahn's suggestion is not improbable, too, that *νεανίσκοι* in the second mention of those men may have been a mistranslation on the part of the LXX., who may have had *בחורים* in their text. Jahn's whole hypothesis, however, appears fanciful.

11. Daniel, when informed of the interdict, utterly ignored it, and continued his usual practice. *פָּרִין*, *windows, openings*, plural of *פֶּנֶה*. So Bevan, Marti, and Strack. Mühlau and Volck make the sing. *פֶּנֶה*, while Levy, *Chald. WB.*, gives it as *פֶּנֶה*.

כָּל קַבְלָדִי, *עֲלִית, עָלִי*, *his upper chamber*, from *עָלִי*. Probably here, as in ch. ii. 40, meaning *in the same way as*, although some critics prefer to give it a causative sense—"he prayed because he was wont to do so."

הָיָא בָּרָךְ. So Baer, Strack, Bevan, and Marti. *He was wont to kneel*. The majority of MSS., however, read with Ginsburg, *הָיָא בָּרָךְ*, *he knelt*.

12. *הָרַגְשׁוּ*. See note on ver. 7.

13. *רַעְדָּא*. See note on ver. 9. *רַעְדָּא*, absolute without *בְּעָר*, as in verses 8 and 14.

14. *טָעַם*. See ver. 3. See note on ch. ii. 14. The phrase *שׁוּם טָעַם עָלֶיךָ* is *to give attention to*, lit. *apply his understanding to*.

15. *בֶּל*, *heart*. The word is found in Syriac and in Arabic in this sense, but no other instance has yet been cited from Jewish Aramaic. "Its original sense is altogether obscure" (*Bevan*). Levy's idea is, of course, untenable, that it was a transposed form of *לֵב*, the usual word in Hebrew. *לְשׁוֹנוֹתָהּ*. See note on ch. iii. 15.

מַעְלִי. Baer reads *מַעְלִי*, following the direction of the Massorah (Lev. xi. 4), but Ginsburg has *מַעְלִי*. Some

MSS., according to Bevan, have מַעְלִי, “which last is no doubt the correct pronunciation (see Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1884, p. 1020). מַעְלִי from the root עָלַל is for מַעְלִי, like הִעָלָה, ch. v. 7, הִעָלָה” (*Bevan*). The word so derived refers to the going down of the sun. See Kautzsch, § 60. 3 *b*.

מִשְׁתַּדֵּד, hith. part., *laboured hard*. The form with final ל in place of ר occurs in the Targums, and הִשְׁתַּדֵּל in Pirke Aboth ii. 5, iv. 15. It is the same change as in Beliar and Belial.

16. לֹא לַהֲשִׁיבָהּ. See Kautzsch, § 75. 3, and note on ver. 9.

17. וְהִיָּתִי. See next verse. One of Strack's MSS. reads וְהִיָּתִי, with pathach under the ת, but in ver. 25 with chireq. Another MS. reads the word in both places with ׀. בְּתַדִּירָא, *continually*. It is used adverbially in the same sense in the Targums without the ב, and frequently as an adjective in the expression עֲלַת תַּדִּירָא, *the daily sacrifice*. Gesenius (in *Thes.*) considers it was originally a noun with the meaning of *circuit*, derived from דָּוָר. יִשְׁזַבֵּן. See note on ver. 15.

18. וְהִיָּתִית. See ch. iii. 13, and Kautzsch, § 41 *c, b*, footnote, § 47. 6; Marti, § 64. 1. וְשָׁמַת, 3rd sing. fem. perf., but such an irregular form in a verb of common occurrence is highly suspicious, and it is probable that it ought to be read שָׁמַת or שָׁיַמַת, with Kautzsch (§ 45. 3 *d*), Kamphausen, Bevan, and Marti, § 63 *g*.

וְחַתְמָה. So Baer and Strack read, but Ginsburg has וְחַתְמָה. עֲזָקָה ר', plur. constr. See Marti, § 79; comp. Matt. xxvii. 66. צָבֵר, *matter, affair*. לֹא צָבֵר = *nothing*. See Marti and Behrmann.

19. וְבָת, *and passed the night*, from בִּית, den. verb. from בִּית. מְנָח, probably a noun used adverbially, *supperless*,

fasting. The Syriac ܠܒܫ is well accredited in the same sense. See Payne Smith's *Syr. Thes.* ܠܒܫ. The meaning of this word is unknown; Theodotion and the Syriac render it *food*. Jewish commentators give it *instruments of music*. Modern scholars with more probability expound it from the Arabic ܠܒܫ, or ܠܒܫ, to mean *concubines*. MSS. read ܠܒܫ, the meaning of which is also unknown. The ancient versions were unable to understand the word. ܠܒܫ, from ܠܒܫ. See notes on ch. ii. 9, 25.

ܠܒܫ, *his sleep*, ܠܒܫ. Baer reads ܠܒܫ, Ginsburg ܠܒܫ. ܠܒܫ, 3rd pers. sing. fem., from ܠܒܫ, *to flee*. Kautzsch, § 46. 3 *a*; Marti, § 66 *e*. The expression here is varied from that in ch. ii. 1. ܠܒܫ, lit. *his sleep had been upon him*, but now it was something past and gone. So Theodotion in that passage ὁ ὑπνὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπέγεγενετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. The niphal of ܠܒܫ is there and in ch. viii. 27 used of the past. Gesenius (in *Thes.*) notes that it is a mistake to take ܠܒܫ as for ܠܒܫ, and worse to explain, as has been done, "*somnus qui supereo cecidit*, i.e. *aufugit*."

23. ܠܒܫ. See remark in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 100, and Appendix II.

24. ܠܒܫ, hophal from ܠܒܫ; the haphel infinitive ܠܒܫ is a case of dissimilation of the form with daghesh forte. See W. Wright's *Comp. Gram.* p. 69; Kautzsch, § 11. 4 *b*; Marti, § 62 *b*. ܠܒܫ is somewhat peculiar, as the conj. takes in the time specified, i.e. before they came to the bottom of the den. See Kautzsch, § 69. 6. Josephus magnifies the story here by asserting that the lions had been well fed with flesh before Daniel's accusers were thrown in to them (*Antiq.* x. 11. 6).

ܠܒܫ, ch. vi. 20. The Palestinian (Western) Jews read this as one word, the Orientals (the Babylonian

scholars) as two. Hence the large and small letter which called attention to the פֶּר, which according to one scheme formed the end of the first word, and the same syllable which formed the beginning of the second. See Ginsburg's chapter on the Western and Eastern recensions in his *Introd. to the Mass. Crit. Edit. of the Hebrew Bible*.

25. On the retribution here recorded, see our remarks in ch. iv. § 2; also the LXX. additions given above, verses 2-9. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxiii. 6. 81), speaking of the severity of the Persian laws, says that "ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit." אֶנְכִּי, *themselves*. See Kautzsch, § 18. 3, § 87. 2. לְאֶרְצֵית גְּבָא. 'א for אֶרֶץ; so תַּחֲתִית for תַּחַת, Marti, § 87 d. עַד דִּי. See Kautzsch, § 69. 6.

27. לְהִוָּן. See Kautzsch, § 47 g, b, and note on ch. ii. 20. וְהָעֵץ, from וְהָיָה. See Kautzsch, § 45. 3 d; Marti, § 13 b, § 63 e.

The LXX. insert in the second part of the chapter several small additions. In this verse they add:—"I Darius will be His worshipper and serve Him all my days, for the idols made with hands cannot save in the same way as the God of Daniel hath rescued Daniel." Verse 28 they render:—"And king Darius was joined to his race [*i.e.* slept with his fathers], and Daniel was placed over the kingdom of Darius; and Cyrus the Persian took his kingdom." It seems useless to argue with a scholar like Jahn, who maintains that such a version of the story was earlier than the Massoretic recension. It is worthy of note, however, that the LXX. translators interpolate a reign of "Darius the Mede" between the overthrow of Belshazzar and the reign of Cyrus.

CHAPTER VII

Preliminary Note.—It is necessary in the outset of this chapter, in addition to what has been already stated in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, ch. v., to notice the expositions by the latest of the modern scholars. The variations of interpretation by the earlier critics are so numerous that only a few of them can be referred to. Bevan, Farrar, and Driver may, however, be regarded as the latest representatives of the English school of critics, while Behrmann and Marti fairly represent the German school.

Bevan's statement cannot be admitted to be correct, namely, that, while in ch. ii. 41-43 "much stress is laid upon the *divisions* of the fourth empire, ch. vii. passes them over in silence." The ten horns, like the ten toes, do not represent individual kings, but kingdoms. The four beasts, which are confessedly not individual personages but empires, are called "*kings*" (מלכין) in ver. 17. The "little horn" of ch. vii. cannot be fairly identified with the "very little horn" of ch. viii. These have been shown in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 163, to be radically different. The ten horns on the head of the fourth beast represent ten *contemporaneous* kingdoms and not ten *successive* monarchs. Modern critics, in their attempts to bring Daniel down to Maccabean days on the one hand, and to obliterate the prophetical element, insist, however, on the latter interpretation. Their fanciful "ten kings" are, according to

Bertholdt, von Lengerke, and Farrar, (1) Seleucus I. *Nicator*, (2) Antiochus I. *Soter*, (3) Antiochus II. *Theos*, (4) Seleucus II. *Callinicus*, (5) Seleucus III. *Keraunos*, (6) Antiochus III. the Great, (7) Seleucus IV. *Philopator*, (8) Heliodorus, (9) Ptolemy VI. *Philometor*, king of Egypt, and (10) Demetrius *Soter*. Other critics, like Hitzig, Cornill, Bevan, and Driver, begin the list with Alexander the Great, making the eighth king Seleucus Philopator. The three last, who are supposed to have been uprooted by Antiochus Epiphanes, were (1) Heliodorus (who never was a king, although an unsuccessful aspirant to the kingdom); (2) Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, who did attain the kingdom after Antiochus Epiphanes, but was only a child when Antiochus, his uncle, ascended the throne. (3) Lastly, Ptolemy Philometor is dragged in, who was king of Egypt, and never king of Syria. The first seven were monarchs who succeeded one another from B.C. 312, when Seleucus Nicator came to the throne, down to B.C. 176, when Seleucus IV. Philopator was murdered. The ten horns are, however, evidently regarded in the vision as contemporaneous, and not successive, as St John has observed in Rev. xvii. 12, in evident reference to this vision of Daniel.

The three horns on the head of the beast are represented as uprooted by the undergrowth of "the little horn." They must therefore signify powers already in existence and well rooted in the fourth empire. This fact disposes of the fanciful interpretation of the moderns who expound them to be persons who were not in possession of any kingdom from which they could have been uprooted at the time when Antiochus Epiphanes seized the throne of Syria. The root עקר (which occurs nowhere else in Biblical Aramaic) must be explained from the usage

of the cognate root in Hebrew, and from that of the Aramaic Targums. It does not mean to "*humble*," but to *eradicate*, and, when used of horns or of teeth, to *uproot*, in which sense it is used in Talmudic. The attempt of the moderns to explain the uprooting of three kings or kingdoms by Antiochus Epiphanes is a complete failure, however confidently scholars may express themselves on the point. Porphyry's theory that the three uprooted horns were Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Egypt, and Artaxias, king of Armenia, can be refuted in the same way ; and, as Bevan remarks, "those three kings were in no sense predecessors of Antiochus Epiphanes." That scholar remarks truly that Porphyry's statements here, as in other places, are "not derived from an independent historical source, but are simply deductions drawn from Daniel."

Devoid of evidence as these statements of the modern critics are, the matter is worse when those critics seek to overturn the Messianic interpretation expressly put upon verses 13 and 14 in our Lord's solemn prediction before the Jewish Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 64 ; Mark xiv. 62 ; Luke xxii. 69). The testimony of the Book of Enoch, in which he who is termed in ch. xlv. "mine Elect One" is repeatedly spoken of as the Son of Man in ch. xlvi., and spoken of in phraseology unquestionably drawn from this passage of Daniel, is most important. For that part of Enoch is assigned by Charles to B.C. 94-79, or at latest to B.C. 70-64. The phrase "Son of Man" in the N.T. is derived from this passage of Daniel.

The "insuperable difficulties" (*Bevan*) to that exposition of the oldest Church Fathers, and even of Jewish interpreters, have no real existence. Those who believe in a Divine revelation must also believe that God has His

own wise reasons for not expressing points all at once in unambiguous language. Revelation was only imparted by "portions," *πολυμερῶς* (Heb. i. 1). All that is asserted concerning the Messiah by Daniel is that He was in the likeness of man, "a son of man," and came in the clouds of heaven, and was brought nigh to the Ancient of Days, and given universal dominion. The saints are never spoken of as coming in the clouds of heaven, although Jehovah is frequently so depicted in the prophets (Isa. xix. 1; Ps. xviii. 10, civ. 3; not to speak of the N.T. passages, such as those quoted above, as Matt. xxiv. 30; Rev. i. 7, 13, xiv. 14, etc.). The object of the interpretation which makes the saints of the Most High to mean the Jewish people, and to be described by "the Son of Man" (the *human* form opposed to the *bestial*), is simply to destroy the predictive element in Daniel, and confine the statements of that book to the days of the Maccabees.

The expression used in ver. 18 is not that the saints "possessed" the kingdom (as rendered in both the A.V. and R.V.), but "received (*ויקבלו*) the kingdom." The same word is used in ch. ii. 6, and of "Darius the Mede" in ch. vi. 1. These three are the only instances of the use of the verb in Biblical Aramaic, in which dialect the verb corresponds with the Hebrew *קָבַל*. A significant commentary on the expression is given in our Lord's words when addressing the righteous in the last day (Matt. xxvi. 34). On the interpretation of the chapter as referring to the Roman empire, see the supplementary note at the conclusion of the chapter.

1. See, on Belshazzar, note on ch. v. 1, also Appendix No. II. *חזוי ראשה* may be explained as a further

specification of the idea contained in the word *dream*, or even as indicating something more, as in ch. ii. 28.

ראש, used in the previous sentence in the sense of *head*, signifies here *sum*, or *summary*; although ראש, *its summary*, is not used, but ר' מלין, *a summary of matters revealed*, i.e. a true account of them, as in Ps. cxix. 160, ראש דברך אמת, "the sum," or "summing up of thy words is truth," i.e. all God's words may be summed up in one word, namely, "truth." Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 17. So the LXX. εἰς κεφάλαια λόγων.

ענה ד' ואמר, *Daniel answered and said*, i.e. when asked first concerning the dream which he afterwards committed to writing. The LXX. omit the phrase.

2. עם ליליא. The preposition עם is used in a temporal sense, *in my vision which came at night*. Compare Ps. lxxii. 5, "they shall fear thee (עם שמש) *with the sun*," i.e. as long as the sun lasts. וארו, *and behold*. ארו is connected with the Hebrew ראה. On the four winds of heaven *bursting forth* (so Gesenius, comparing Judges xx. 33) Rosenmüller aptly compares Virgil, *Aen.* i. 82 ff., and Ovid, *Trist.* i. 2. 25 ff. Compare also Ezek. xxxvii. 9. Levy, in his *Chald. WB.*, however, prefers to render the verb transitively, *raising up the great sea*. The latter translation is adopted by Bevan because in the former case על-יבנה, or ב-יבנה, might have been expected. But ל-יבנה might be rendered *upon the sea*. Jerome explains the four winds of heaven to be the four angelical powers to whose charge the principal kingdoms had been committed, according to Deut. xxxii. 8, which, in his Commentary on this verse, he renders "juxta numerum angelorum Dei," following in Deut. the LXX. Jerome translates מגידן by "pugnabant."

3. שנים, *different*, or *diverse*, fem. plur. part. passive of

שָׁנִי. The fem. sing. is שָׁנִיָּה. See note on ver. 19. The word *different*, or *diverse*, is identical in both verses. Hence too much stress must not be laid upon that phrase in the exposition of ver. 19, as it is used of all the four beasts.

4. The first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings. Jeremiah compares Babylon to a *lion* (Jer. iv. 7, l. 14, 17), in allusion to its might, and to an *eagle* for the rapidity of its conquests (Jer. iv. 13, xlvi. 40, xlix. 22; Lam. iv. 19); compare Ezek. xvii. 3 ff.

גָּבַח. The word גָּבַח in Hebrew is derived from גָּבַח, and means the *back*. The Aramaic גָּבַח is rather from גָּבַח, *i. q.* גָּבַח, and therefore connected with the Hebrew גָּבַח, *wing*. So the Syriac ܓܒܚܐ, ܓܒܚܐ, from ܓܒܚܐ. The Hebrew ܓܒܚܐ, plural ܓܒܚܐ, is also used metaphorically of the *wings* of an army, and is common in Ezekiel. The wings of the eagle-winged lion were, however, plucked off, and it was "lifted up" (וַיִּשָּׂא) from the earth by a power above it, so that it could neither fly nor struggle, as it might have done had its feet been planted on the earth. Contrast the similar expression in ch. iv. 21, עֵינַי נִשְׂאָה לְשָׁמַיָּא, *I raised up mine eyes to heaven*. נִשְׂאָה, though in the passive form, can scarcely mean, as Bertholdt and Hitzig, after Theodoret, interpret it, *was taken away*, for the subsequent clause gives a further account of the beast. Nor is it to be taken reflexively, as if "*it lifted up itself*." The reference is evidently to the personal history of Nebuchadnezzar, identified with his empire in ch. ii., and man's heart given to the beast refers to that king's recovery from the bestial condition to which he was sunk for the seven times (ch. iv. 34).

וְעַל-רִגְלָיו וְגו'. Compare 2 Kings xiii. 21. Some consider that רִגְלָיו is dual, but that is somewhat doubtful. The

dual is used sparingly in Biblical Aramaic, though it is employed in such cases as כַּדָּן, *hands*; קַרְנֵין, *horns*; רַגְלֵין, *feet*. On the other hand, עֵינֵין, *eyes*, though plural in form, is used as a dual in ver. 8 of this chapter, and עֲדָנֵין, *times*, also plural in form, is used in the dual sense in ver. 25. קַרְנֵין, *horns*, although dual in form, is used as a simple plural in ver. 7.

הֶקִּימָת, *hophal*, and accordingly passive in meaning, "*it was raised up*." The form הֶקִּימָת, probably active, is found in some MSS. The same variation of reading occurs in ver. 6. See Kautzsch, § 45. 3, 5; Marti, § 63 *h*. The haphel הֶקִּימָת, active, is also found in MSS. and edd., "*it raised up* (itself)."

וּלְבַב אִנָּשׁ. Compare 2 Sam. xvii. 10. אִנָּשׁ is often explained as if it meant "as man in his weakness." So Bishop C. Wordsworth. But the root of the Hebrew אִנָּשׁ, and of the Aramaic אִנָּשׁ, is identical, and although the *usus loquendi* (not the derivation) may justify a distinction being made in sense between the two Hebrew words, the Aramaic אִנָּשׁ is the most common word for *man*, and is used like the corresponding words in Syriac and Arabic, without the idea of *weakness* being involved in the term.

5. The reading לְשֹׁטֶר-חַד, which is that of the majority of MSS., and of Ginsburg, is fairly certain. שֹׁטֶר is, indeed, only found here, but it is identical with the common Aramaic שֹׁטֶר, which means *side*, whether applied to an animal or any other object, such as a *coffer*, or a *mountain*. Since the Arabic form is شَطْر, the spelling שֹׁטֶר is correct. The rendering of the other variant שֹׁטֶר, "*and it raised up one dominion*" (Kranichfeld), is doubtful. That is the translation in the margin of the A.V. and R.V., as if equivalent to מְשֹׁטֶר, *dominion*, found in one place of

Job xxxviii. 33. Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. et Talmud.*), however, gives instances of that meaning of the word. The ancient Versions agree in assigning the signification of *side* to the word. The ingenious expositions given by Grotius, Michaelis, Gesenius, and others differ from one another, and are alike unsatisfactory.

הקמת. See note on former verse. The bear was seen lifting itself up on one side, which attitude it naturally assumes when rising to attack another animal. An attack on the Babylonian empire from the side of Medo-Persia was feared even in the latter days of Nebuchadnezzar. See remarks on other expositions in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 152 ff.

וְחִלָּתָּהּ עַל־עֵין ב', "*and three ribs in its mouth between its teeth*," which were being gnawed by the bear. The translation *three tusks*, or *jaw-teeth*, defended by Houbigant, Wintle, G. S. Faber, and even by Hävernicks, is wrong, and may be dismissed as a curiosity of interpretation. Rosenmüller's observation is sufficient, that three tusks in an animal's mouth would be a sore inconvenience to it. The Aramaic עֵלֶּה corresponds exactly to the Hebrew צֵלַע, Syriac ܥܠܐ, and Arabic ضِلْع, and means a *rib*, or *side*. It is frequently used in the Targums in that sense. So the Syriac and Arabic versions render it. The LXX. and Theodotion translate it πλευρά, or πλευραί, both meaning *sides* or *ribs*, although Theodoret speaks of his copy of Theodotion having πτερὰ, *feathers*. The Vulgate strangely renders *ordines*, which Jerome speaks of having been explained of the three over-rulers of the satraps (ch. vi. 2); or of the three kings who succeeded Cyrus; or, as he prefers, the kingdoms of Babylon, Media, and Persia.

On the phrase "*in its mouth*" one may compare Numb. xi. 33, Zech. ix. 7, and Amos. iii. 7. On the phrase "*between its teeth*," compare Job xxix. 17 and Ps. cxxiv. 6. The ribs cannot with propriety be thought of as belonging to three different animals, any more than the two legs or the piece of an ear mentioned in Amos iii. 12 as taken out of the mouth of the lion. Hence all expositions must be rejected, such as that of Ewald, who explains them of Babylon, Assyria, and Palestine; or of Hitzig, who explains them to be Resen, Nineveh, and Calah; or of Pusey and others, who interpret them of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt. The ribs are simply the remains of some animal whose flesh had been nearly devoured. Comp. Jer. i. 17, Micah iii. 4. All interpretations which suppose the *ribs* to be represented as speaking are preposterous. The אִמְרוֹן is impersonal (compare ch. iii. 3, 4, iv. 22, 28), and refers to a voice which came from above. On אִמְרוֹן, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, footnote on p. 151. Zöckler supposes the voice to be that of the angels which guided the destinies of the nation. Behrmann unnecessarily finds difficulties in the verse, and would regard וְלִשְׁמַר חֵד הַקֶּמֶת as a gloss, which notion is purely arbitrary. The קוֹמִי in the last clause is in connection with the הַקֶּמֶת.

One need not dwell on the attempts made by commentators to explain the symbol of the bear as corresponding "with the solid heavy chest of Nebuchadnezzar's statue" (Pusey), forgetful of the fact that the *arms* are connected with the chest in that colossus; and afterwards talk of "the activity of the loins and thighs in the image." The most curious of these interpretations is that of Professor G. K. Mayer, a Roman Catholic theologian (*Die mess. Prophezeien des Daniel*, Wien, 1866), who remarks that

as the bear, which is fond of *flesh*, does not despise *fruit* and *honey*, so Cyrus and his Persians not only cultivated the arts of war but the sciences of peace!! (p. 40).

הָקִימָה, passive to haphel. On the peculiar form see Kautzsch, § 45. 3. 5: "*it was raised up.*" The form הָקִימָה, probably active, is found in some MSS. and in ver. 5. The same variation of reading occurs in ver. 6. See Kautzsch, § 45. 3. 5; Marti, § 63 *h*. The haphel הָקִימָה, active, is also found in MSS. and edd., "*it raised up (itself).*"

6. On the impossibility of the Medians and Persians being represented by two distinct beasts, see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 152, 153. In the LXX. "*and four wings spread over it,*" the word ἐπέτεινον seems to be a simple mistake for πετεινοῦ. The blunder occurred also in the copy from which the Syr. Hexaplar version was made. The Chigi MS. omits the clause "and power was given to it," but that clause occurs in the Syr. Hex. with the lection *tongue* instead of *power*, i.e. וְלָשׁוֹן, misread for וְשִׁלְשָׁן.

7. וְאִימָתָי, feminine, from אִימָתָן for אִימָתִית. See Marti, § 87 *c, d*. Kautzsch (§ 61. 5) regards it as a demonstrative adjective formed from אִימָתָן, derived from אִימָה, *anxiety, terror* (Heb. אִימָה), by the addition of the ending *i* to the affirmative syllable *an*. אִימָתָן is common in the Aramaic of the Targums and Mishna in the sense of *fearful, terrible*. So Theodotion, ἐκθαμβον. Baer, Norzi, and Ginsburg have shown that this is the correct reading of the Massoretic text. Several editions, however, of the Hebrew Bible read אִמָּתָי, which would be an ἀπαξ λεγ. Pusey incorrectly imagined that "Daniel framed apparently a new word to enforce the conception of its (the beast's) strength." The LXX. seem to have

read הַיִּסְחָיוֹ , rendering $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \phi\acute{o}\beta o s\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho o n\ \iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}$, "*his fear surpassing in strength.*"

הַיִּסְחָיוֹ , part. active feminine haphel of $\text{סָחַ$. Kautzsch, § 46. 3 *b*; Marti, § 66 *d*. On the numbers *ten*, and *three* in next verse, see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 159 and note.

8. The LXX. add at the beginning of the verse $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta o\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\ \pi o\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \tau o\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon$, "*and many counsels in its horns.*" This strange translation has evidently arisen from a combination with the next verse, $\text{מִשְׁחַנְלֵי הָיִית בְּקִרְנָיו}$, possibly to be explained with Michaelis and Hahn, "and there were many counsels (many cogitations of mine) in (or, about) the horns." The Syr. Hex. confirms the reading, only adding to *many* the adjective *great*.

There appears to be a duplicate rendering in the LXX. version of ver. 8. For the clause בְּיַרְדֵּיִן , Q'rē (referring to the *horns*), or בְּיַרְדֵּיִן (referring to the *kings*), K'thibh, is first rendered $\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma o\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$, and there is afterwards a second introduction of the words $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \tau o\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon$.

$\text{הָיִית בְּקִרְנָיו}$. See Preliminary Note. The translation of the LXX. is peculiar: "*and three of the first horns were dried up* ($\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$) *by it.*" Theodotion has correctly $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\rho\iota\acute{\zeta}\omega\theta\eta$. It is little use conjecturing what text the LXX. had before them, though Riessler suggests that it was בְּשִׁתּוֹ , which Jahn considers could only come from a misreading of בְּתִשְׁתּוֹ , which he regards as a clear proof that the LXX. had before them a Hebrew and not an Aramaic text! At the end of the verse the LXX. add, from ver. 21, "*and it made war with the saints.*"

9. בְּיָרְסֵין . See note on ch. vi. 8. רְסֵין . See Kautzsch, § 47 *g g*; Marti, § 64 *k*: a peil form. The word may be translated in two ways—(1) *were set*, or *placed*, namely, the thrones were placed around an Ancient of days

(עתיק יומין, no article is expressed). The "Ancient of days" was in the middle; comp. Rev. iv. 4. See Kautzsch, § 80. 2; Marti, § 118 *b*. Compare יפה-תאר, Gen. xxxix. 6; גדל נח, Nah. i. 3. Compare Ps. cxxii. 5. This is in accordance with the statement which follows. The Ancient of days *sat*, presumably upon one of those thrones (comp. Rev. xx. 4, 11), though the throne is not directly mentioned in Revelation. This is the view of the ancient versions. (2) It may be rendered "*thrones were cast down*," or "*overturned*," namely, the thrones of the kings of the earth represented by the wild beasts. עֶמֶר, *wool*, Syriac ܥܡܪ, Hebrew עֶמֶר. The word חֹרֵר may qualify either *snow*, or the *garment*; the Massoretic accentuation connects it with the former. Rev. i. 14 borrows from this passage. The throne of God, from whence issued flames of fire, is represented, as in Ezek. x., as a chariot upon wheels which were all burning flame. גִּלְגָּל, *wheel*, Syriac ܓܝܠܓܐ, the long vowel compensating for the omission of the doubling of the letter.

10. אֱלֹהִים in the Hebrew text must be read אֱלֹהִים. It is a slip for אֱלֹהִין, which is the correction of the Q'rē. See Kautzsch, § 65. 4. רַבּוֹ, Syriac ܪܒܐ, plural ܪܒܐ. *Ten thousand* would make its plural regularly, רַבְּנָן, but the Q'rē gives רַבְּנָן, as if from רַבְּנָה, corresponding to the Hebrew רַבְּנָה. See Kautzsch, § 65. 4. The K'thibh reading is, according to Baer and Ginsburg, רַבְּנָן, although Baer mentions the reading רַבּוֹ as that of some MSS. and of Kimchi. The passage of Daniel is quoted in Rev. xx. 12.

11. This passage of Daniel is referred to by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, cap. 31. There Justin refers the whole correctly to Daniel. He quotes the passage

in *Trypho* distinctly from the LXX. version, and not from Theodotion, although there are passages in his quotation which show acquaintance also with the text of the latter version. See remark on ver. 14. But in his *Apol.* i. 51, at the end, Justin quotes ver. 13 as a sentence of Jeremiah. Similarly, that Church Father, in *Dial. cum Tryph.* cap. 14, erroneously refers Zech. xii. 10 to Hosea ; while in *Apol.* i. cap. 52 passages of Isaiah are mixed up with others from Zechariah, and ascribed to the latter prophet.

‘עד ני קטילת ח. The LXX. have καὶ ἀπετυμpanίσθη τὸ θηρίον, “and the beast was beaten to death.” So Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, cap. 31).

וְהוֹפַל, hophal from אָבַד. See Kautzsch, § 41 c, c ; Marti, § 60 a.

12. The LXX. have “and those in its circle [*i.e.* around the beast] *he deprived of their power, and a time of life* [during which they would continue to live] *was given to them until a time and season.*” The meaning of the verse is clear ; the three former beasts were not to be extirpated as nations, although they were to be deprived of their world-power, and to be mixed up in the dominions of the fourth heathen empire, which was to continue until the Second Advent of Christ. This does not refer to a period after the destruction of the fourth beast, as Pusey strangely imagined (p. 80), but marks the contrast between the different treatment meted out to the fourth beast and to the other three. The kingdoms represented by the other three were severally more or less completely incorporated in the dominions of their successors, while utter destruction was to be the fate of the fourth, for at the close of its course “the terms of the Gentiles” were to be fulfilled.

13. Compare Mark xiv. 62, Rev. i. 7, in both of

which passages quotations are made from this verse, although there is a slight difference in the expression. **הַקְרִיבֵהּ**. There is no necessity, with Meinhold, here to introduce the idea of *angels*: the expression is more simply regarded as impersonal, and practically as passive. On the *son of man*, see remarks on p. 109.

14. It is noteworthy that in the quotation of this verse not only Justin Martyr, as mentioned in note on ver. 11, but also Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 7) and Cyprian (*Test. c. Jud.* ii. 26), quote the passage from Daniel in the main according to the text of the LXX., and not after that of Theodotion.

15. **אֶתְקַרֶּיֶת**, 3rd fem. sing. perf. ithpēel. The daghesh in the yod is sharply to call attention to its consonantal character. See Kautzsch, § 12 c, § 47. 2; Marti, § 13 c, § 64 o. On the construction **רוּחִי אֵנָּה דָּנָה**, compare Ezra vii. 21. **בְּנוֹתָ דָּנָה**. So Ginsburg, after the majority of MSS. Lit. *in the midst of its sheath*, the *body* being regarded as the *sheath* of the *soul*. The word is found in Hebrew, 1 Chron. xxi. 27. The form with ־ has been regarded as a pausal form for **הָ־**, but that is uncertain. The Massora, according to Baer, would read **הָ־**, and then the word would be a noun of a form like **אֶרֶץ** in ver. 4. See Kautzsch, § 17. 2, rem. 1. The Targums have both **דָּנָה** and **לָדָנָה**. The word may be derived from the Persian *nidūna*, Sanskrit *nidhana*, *vessel* (*Bevan*). The LXX. have *ἐν τοῦτοις*, reading **בְּנִין דָּנָה**, which Marti would adopt. So the Vulgate, *in his*. Jahn considers the LXX. read **בְּאֵלָה**, which differs more widely from the Massoretic text.

16. Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, cap. 31) in ver. 15 follows Theodotion rather than the LXX., but in ver. 16 he again quotes from the LXX., and continues to quote

ver. 17 from that version. In ver. 18 he renders paraphrastically.

17. The LXX. omit דִּיאֲנִי אֲרֵב. Jahn regards the Massoretic text as distinctly wrong. It was, however, of importance to emphasise the number. In this verse both the LXX. and Theodotion, from an exegetical standpoint, render correctly the מְלָכִים or *kings* of the Aramaic text by βασιλείαι, *kingdoms*. See verses 23 and 24. יִקְרֹמוּ is rendered by the LXX. ἀπολούνται (and so Justin Martyr). Theodotion has ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, but adds (to take in the thought of the LXX.) αἱ ἀρθήσονται, "*and they shall be taken away*," probably a gloss from ver. 12. Some critics have thought it strange that the Babylonian empire should here be spoken of as future, when the vision was seen in the first year of Belshazzar. But the same style of writing is found in ch. xi. 2, in which even in the third year of Cyrus (ch. xi. 1) that monarch is counted among the three Persian monarchs as still future (ch. xi. 2). In the vision of Zechariah concerning the four war-chariots (ch. vi. 1-8), the first of those chariots (Babylon), drawn by the red horses, was not forgotten, although it had then already accomplished its work, and therefore was passed over in the explanation which is given of that vision. See *Bampton Lectures on Zechariah*. The vision as a whole had not been fulfilled, and therefore might all be spoken of as future. Behrmann practically adopts the same view of the passage in Daniel.

18-20. The translation found in Justin Martyr of these verses shows indications of having been composed of both the LXX. and Theodotion's versions.

The phrase יִקְבֹּלוּ in ver. 18, "*and shall receive the kingdom*," is noteworthy. Compare our Lord's words in

Matt. xxv. 14 concerning the words to be addressed by the Son of Man to His people when He comes in His glory. The exact words are not, however, used in the passage in Matthew. Also compare the verb קבל, used of Darius the Mede in ch. vi. 1.

19. לִיִּצְבָּא, 1st pers. sing. perf. from צבי. צבית, inf. qal of יצב. The adjective יִצְבָּא occurs in ver. 16. שִׁנָּה, part. act. So the K'thibh reads. The Q'rē prefers the pass. part. שִׁנְיָ. The LXX. translate τοῦ διαφθείροντος πάντα. Justin Martyr substantially quotes this translation in his καταφθείροντος πάντα, so that Segaar's suggestion that the LXX. ought to be read διαφέροντος, which would make that version identical with Theodotion, must be rejected. The mention of *nails of brass* is an addition to the description of the beast given in ver. 7.

שניא. See note on ver. 3. אֶנְלָה מִדָּקָה. The editions differ as to the form 'מ, which is thus pointed by Baer and Ginsburg. The latter gives as variants מִדָּקָה (so J. H. Michaelis) and מִדָּקָה. On the fem. part. haphel with —, which arises from the ק, see Kautzsch, § 15 *d*, and § 46. 3 *b*; Marti, § 66 *d*. The uncontracted participle masculine קִהְיָ occurs in ch. ii. 40. The verb is קִהְיָ. The LXX. read the verbs in the verse in the plural, as if referring respectively to the *teeth* and *nails* of the beast, omitting מִדָּקָה, and adding πάντας. Thus κατεσθίοντες πάντας κυκλόθεν καὶ περιπατοῦντες τοῖς ποσί. This is the reading of Cozza, Hahn, and Swete, supported by the Syr. Hex., but Tischendorf and Field (*Hexapla*, p. 22, note 21) prefer the singular κατεσθίοντος and περιπατοῦντος; κυκλόθεν is the LXX. rendering of שניא. They similarly render ושאר in ver. 12 by καὶ τοὺς κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ.

20. 'ועל-ק', "*and concerning the ten horns.*" See Kautzsch, § 68. The sentence is connected with ver. 19, "I desired to be certified." ואחרי. See note on ch. ii. 11. The modifications in the text of the LXX. and Theodotion made in the quotation of this and the following verses by Justin Martyr are interesting, but of no exegetical moment. See our supplementary note.

דן. See note on ch. ii. 31. The little horn here spoken of was not *bigger* in size than its fellows, but its appearance was more remarkable, having both eyes and mouth. The phrase רב וגר', "*stout above his fellows,*" is evidently used metaphorically. The horn would have been incongruously described as rapidly growing in size. There is all through a mixture of what was actually *seen* and what is afterwards explained. The *war* with the saints by the little horn could not possibly have been seen even in vision by the prophet, but what he actually saw he understood to have had that signification. The idea of Jahn that the statement is in opposition to ver. 8, and that the explanation of the vision is from another hand than the vision itself, requires no comment.

21. וְדִינָהּ יָהֵב. Ewald, Marti, and Bevan would insert after 'ד' the words וְהָיָה שִׁלְטָנָא from verses 14, 26, 27, "*and the judgment sat and sovereignty was given,*" etc. But the insertion is unnecessary.

22. וְזָמַנָּה מָטָה, "*and the time came,*" or "*arrived.*" Compare the expression used in Luke xxi. 8 as the cry of the false prophets, ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικε. Such prophets have, in every age, more or less laid claim to be able to read "the signs of the time," and withal have read them incorrectly. The Aram. מָטָה is cognate to the Hebrew מָצָא. The prophet represents judgment as given in favour of the saints, and afterwards the time arrives for

the saints to come into possession of, to inherit, the kingdom. The verb חסן is often used in the Targums in the sense of *inheriting*. See Levy, *Chald. WB.* Hence there may be a reference to this verse contained in our Lord's words recorded in Matt. xxv. 34.

23. כן אמר. The subject of the verb is the angel who interpreted the vision. The LXX. paraphrase ἐρρέθη μοι, and Justin Martyr follows that reading. כל-ארעה may be, perhaps, regarded as somewhat rhetorical. Similar language is used of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, ch. ii. 39. The Greek empire was not so "diverse" from those kingdoms that went before it as was the Roman, and especially the Roman empire in the second stage of its existence.

ויהרשנה. The imp. fem. with suffix from דרש. On the use of the word, comp. Micah iv. 13, קימי ודרשי. The quotations from Justin Martyr of this and the verses following are mainly derived from the LXX. text.

24. ואחרון. See note on ch. ii. 11. On the overthrow of three kings or kingdoms, see supplementary note.

The LXX. render 'והוא ישנה וגו', καὶ αὐτὸς διόλσει κακοῖς, "*and he in evils shall be diverse.*" Dr Pusey correctly observes that "the description in itself implies that the ten horns symbolise *ten kingdoms*, not *ten kings* only."

25. ומלין לצד ע'. The prep. לַצֵּד properly means *at the side, against*. Compare לִנְגַד, ch. x. 13, although the cases are not identical. יבלא, *shall wear out*; compare with Bevan, 1 Chron. xvii. 9, as compared with 2 Sam. vii. 10.

On the changing seasons and laws, see our remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 163. זמנן denotes *set times* like our sacred *seasons*. So Pusey. He observes that it is used in Onk. Gen. i. 14 for מועדים, and similarly in Jon. Zeph. iii. 18, and in other places.

דת, translated *law*, is employed in the Book of Daniel

of royal decrees in general. It is a foreign word derived from the Old Persian, and employed in Syriac and Talmudic Hebrew in the sense of *religion*. As the Divine Law is here referred to, the word seems to be used in that sense. עֵדֶן or עֵדֶן is equivalent to the Hebrew עֵת, *a time*. It does not properly indicate the definite period of *a year*, but rather *time* indefinitely, as in ch. ii. 8, though sometimes it approximates to the former sense, as in ch. iv. 32. When used in a definite signification the meaning is clear from the context. It is often used in the Talmud in expressions like the *time* of prayer, the *time* of old age, the *time* of study. The stem is עֵדָד; the Syr. similarly is ܥܕܕܐ, ܥܕܕܐ. The phrase used in the Hebrew, ch. xii. 7, is distinctly different, though referring to the same period, לְמוֹעֵד מוֹעֵדִים וְחֻצֵּי. It signifies *an appointed time*. See Ges. Lex., edit. by Brown, Driver, and Briggs. See our remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 325.

26. יְהֻדָּה. From עֵדָה.

27. מִלְּפָנֶיךָ, const. st. before the preposition, as in Hebrew.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Professor Driver's "Additional Note on the Four Empires of Daniel," on pp. 94 ff. of his Commentary in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, demands special notice. He terms the interpretation of the Fourth Empire as the *Roman* "the *Roman* theory," and that which explains the fourth Beast as the *Grecian* empire "the *Grecian* theory." He notes that the *Roman* interpretation is first found in the apocryphal Book of

2 Esdras (more commonly known as 4 Esdras), which is at least as old as Domitian, A.D. 81–96 (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 92), and probably in the main even older. He ought, however, to have mentioned that the exposition underlies the major part of St John's Revelation, where the beast with the seven heads and the ten horns is clearly the Roman empire.¹ The Roman interpretation is distinctly indicated in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. iv. The date of the latter Epistle is somewhat doubtful. Dr Salmon puts it as high as A.D. 70–79, while Driver assigns it to A.D. 100–120. Hippolytus, a century later, expounds Daniel ii. and vii. in the same sense. From that date onward a large number of Patristic writers have accepted "the Roman theory," down to the days of Jerome and later. It is not surprising that this interpretation was common during the persecutions of the early Church, or even in later days when the Roman empire itself was rocking apparently to destruction. It was but natural that, as the Apostles expected Christ in their day, the Fathers should see in "the signs of the times" indications of the final struggle, and imagine that Antichrist (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 165) was an individual, instead of being an ideal personage representing under one expression all the heretical teachers in the Church of God.

Against the *Roman* interpretation Driver considers "the great and indeed fatal objection is that it *does not agree with the history*." He argues that the Roman empire has definitely passed away from the stage of history, whether that empire came to its close in A.D. 476, when Romulus Augustulus, at the bidding of Odoacer, resigned his power

¹ The references also to Daniel ii., viii., ix., xi. in Josephus are clear. See *Antiq.* x. 10. 4, xii. 7. 6. But there is no distinct mention of the vision of ch. vii.

to the Emperor of the East, or was finally overthrown (as Gibbon considered) by the capture of Constantinople in 1453. The Roman empire admittedly prolonged a kind of legal existence, as Bryce has pointed out in his *Holy Roman Empire*, up to 1806, when the Emperor Francis II. of Austria resigned the Imperial crown. There is much, however, to be said in favour of the theory that the Roman empire was continued under the French emperorship of Napoleon I., and was revived in 1852 by Napoleon III. (*G. S. Faber*), and again destroyed at the battle of Sedan in 1870. The Roman empire in reality did not even then cease to exist. It has remained practically the same for centuries. The Greek empire was not extinguished by the rise of the Ptolemies or Seleucidæ. Auberlen is somewhat fanciful in his remarks on the contrast between the Roman and the Grecian. Roman culture, the Roman Church, the Roman language, and Roman law, whether liked or disliked, still remain powerful factors in all Western civilisation. The mistakes of commentators in their application of *principles* do not overthrow the principles themselves. In the time of St John the *ten kingdoms* were confessedly not yet in existence, but were to receive power when the Roman beast in its last stage appeared, and became divided into a number of kingdoms all independent of one another (Rev. xvii. 12). The second period of the Roman empire is that in which it was broken up from being one empire into a multiplicity of kingdoms, and that second period will continue till the great Messiah again returns. The opinions as to there being ten particular individual kingdoms, which were to arise before or after the rise of the Papacy, are incorrect interpretations of Daniel. See remarks on the *ten horns* and the *three uprooted* in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 156 ff.

The *Grecian empire* did not come to its end when it was divided into four parts, or when several of its parts fell under Roman sway. The Roman empire has not ceased to exist in the prophetic sense because it has been subdivided into a number of kingdoms. The prophet plainly marks out that, in the closing period of the fourth beast, a politically weaker phase of that empire would set in ; and it should be carefully noted that the power of "the little horn" was to exist only during that weaker phase. That power is not spoken of as subjugating "the whole world" (in the modern sense) to its sway, but only "the world" as representing the Roman empire.

The Futurist exposition, with its ideas of "breaks in prophecy," and its theory of long periods being passed over without mention—while attention is directed to the last three and a half years of the world's history—is, we maintain, a caricature of prophecy. The real objections of the modern school to the old "Roman" interpretation arise from a determination to get rid at all costs of the predictive element in prophecy, and to reduce the prophecies of the Scriptures, Old and New, to the position of being only guesses of the ancient seers, or *vaticinia post eventa*. Such theories, if proved, would be destructive to the New Testament as well as the Old, and ruinous to all that is vital in Christianity.

CHAPTER VIII

1. On the date assigned to this vision in ver. 1, see note on ch. vii. 1. The vision of the four beasts (ch. vii.) was seen in the first year of Belshazzar; this vision belongs to the third year. On Belshazzar, see before on ch. v. 1, and Appendix No. II.

חֹזֶן נ' אֵלֵי אֲנִי ד'. The construction appears to be emphatic, but emphasis cannot be thought of here. It is, perhaps, best explained from the Aramaic pleonastic employment of pronouns. Compare ch. vii. 15, 28; compare also ch. x. 1, 7, xii. 5.

הַפְּתָאָה. Article used with perfect niph'al. Others regard it as the article with the participle. See König, *Syntax*, § 52. In the latter case the pointing might be הַפְּתָאָה. See König, *Lehrg.* i. p. 362. The article sometimes occurs in such a demonstrative sense, and such cases are not confined to the late writers. See Josh. x. 24, 1 Sam. ix. 24, as well as Ezek. xxvi. 17, Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17, and 1 Chron. xxvi. 28, 29. In many other places it occurs in the Massoretic punctuation, and although the readings are condemned as faulty by scientific grammarians, as Ewald, § 331. *b* 1, and Ges.-Kautzsch, § 138. *i*, *k*, that verdict may be seriously called in question. בַּחֲהֻלָּה. Compare Gen. xiii. 3, xli. 21.

Josephus states that, after this, Daniel built a remarkable tower at Ecbatana, which, he asserts, was standing

in his day ; and that the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia were there buried, and that the tower was given into the care of a Jewish priest even up to his own day (*Antiq.* x. 11). Jerome, however, quotes Josephus as reading *Susis*, "at Susa," and Rosenmüller considers, therefore, that the text of Josephus has been corrupted.

2. "And I saw in the vision, and it was as I saw, (וַיֵּרָאֵנִי) that I was in Shushan, the fortress which is in the province of Elam ; and I saw in the vision that (וַיֵּרָאֵנִי הָיִיתִי) I (emphatic) was (even) by the river Ulai." Jahn thinks that the second clause of the verse was added by an editor, but the suggestion is unnecessary.

עֵלָם. Assy. (Accad.) Êlam-ma, *highland*, which in Assyrian becomes feminine, Êlamtu (Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 320, and so *Assyr. WB.*). Roughly speaking, the country corresponds to what is now known as Khusistan. Persia proper lay south-east of it (*Driver*). Its capital, Shushan or Susa (Assyrian and Hebrew שִׁשְׁאָן, *lily*) was situated on the Ulai (Heb. אוּלַי, Assy. Ulâ'-a or U'-la-a-a) or Eulæus, now the Karun. Darius Hystaspes erected a palace and held his court there.¹ Shushan is spoken of as the Persian capital in Neh. i. 1 and Esther i. 2, etc. הַבִּירָה. Assyrian *birtu*, *fortress*. See Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr.-Handwörterbuch*, p. 185. The LXX. render ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει, possibly reading קֶצֶר. Theodotion has ἐν Σούσοις τῇ βάρει. Rosenmüller quotes the Greek scholia on Ps. cxxi. 7, which state that great houses among the Syrians were called βάρεις. Vulgate, in *Susis castro*.

The word אוּלַי, correctly rendered *river*, is identical with יוּבַל, and akin to יָבַל. The forms אוּלַי and יוּבַל

¹ See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, book v. pp. 49 ff., vol. iii. pp. 208 ff.; *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 437.

(Jer. xvii. 8) are found in that signification only in single passages, but the latter word occurs elsewhere as a proper name. The word was a source of perplexity to the ancient interpreters. Theodotion and Aquila (according to Jerome) left the word untranslated, and it is also left untranslated in the Syriac Peshitto. Symmachus (according to Jerome) rendered it *super paludem Ulai*. The LXX. translators render the clause $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\eta\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\ \text{Αἰλάμ}$, *before the gate of Ailam*, or, according to Jerome's testimony, *super portam Ulai*, i.e. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \text{Οὐλαί}$, which, according to Bos and Rosenmüller, is the rendering of the Compl. The LXX. probably connected the word with the Aramaic word אֲבִילָה , or אֲבִילָא , Syriac ܐܒܝܠܐ , *the gate of a city*.

אֶחָד , *a single ram*; comp. ch. x. 5. See König, *Syntax*, § 291 d. The numeral has been accidentally omitted in our revision of the rendering of the Revised Version.

3. קָרְנִים . This form of a dual, which follows the analogy of the plural, occurs also in ver. 6, and with a suffix in ver. 7.

קָרְנִי . See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 93 n; König, *Lehrg.* ii. § 43. 7. See note on רַגְלֵי , ch. vii. 4. The ancient versions regard the word as a plural, and Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* x. 11) states that the ram had many horns. The A.V. unnecessarily puts the numerals *two* into italics; the R.V. rightly prints the numerals in Roman type.

הַשְּׂנִית and הָאֲחֹת . The idea of the loftier horn having been actually beheld in the act of shooting up is expressed in the Hebrew by the use of the descriptive participle ($\text{עֹלֶה בְּאַחֲרֵיהָ}$). The same may possibly be represented in the rendering of the LXX. $\text{καὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον ἀνέβαινε}$. The LXX. connects בְּאַחֲרֵיהָ , or *afterwards*, with the verse following.

וַעֲשֶׂה כִּרְצוֹ, *did according to his will, i.e. did what he pleased.* The same phrase is used in Dan. xi. 3, 16, 36 ; Neh. ix. 24 ; Esther i. 8, ix. 5. The ram thus “did according to its will,” and did great things, or performed great exploits. So Ewald and Bevan translate the hiphil (וְהִגְדִּיל) in verses 4 and 8. The use of the hiphil in ver. 11, however, seems to favour the idea that the verb is used in a declarative sense, “proved himself great,” “magnified himself” (as in the R.V.), generally “in a bad sense ; e.g. Ps. lv. 12, Jer. xlviii. 26, 42, Lam. i. 9. So verses 8, 11, 25” (*Driver*). See remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 298, and foot-note there.

The Zendavesta, the sacred writings of Persia, represent Ormuzd as coming triumphantly “under the appearance of a ram with cloven feet and sharp-pointed horns.” The engraving of the Persian emblem of a ram on a Persian coin will be found in Elliott’s *Horæ Apoc.* vol. iii. p. 427, as also of the Macedonian goat, taken from Greek coins figured by Calmet.

4. מִנְגַּח, *butting*, used of animals (Exod. xxi. 28), and figuratively applied to nations represented under the symbols of animals, Deut. xxxiii. 17, Ps. xlv. 5. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 173-4.

וְכָל חַיּוֹת לֹא עָ. The LXX., according to the Chigi MS., render “*and all the beasts stood behind him,*” a strange rendering of לִפְנֵי ; but the Syr. Hex. in its margin follows the Hebrew, and agrees with the version of Theodotion.

5. מִבֵּין, *paying attention, reflecting* on it, not, as in vii. 8 (where the word used is different), *contemplating*—*Driver*. צִפִּיר הָעֵצִים. The phrase is also found in 2 Chron. xxix. 21, and in the Aramaic of Ezra vi. 17. In ver. 21 the phrase is הַצִּפִּיר הַשָּׁעִיר, *the rough or hairy he-goat*. צִפִּיר occurs in Ezra viii. 35 in the plural without any qualifying noun,

where mention is made of the twelve he-goats offered for a sin-offering for Israel. The Aramaic ܙܦܝܪܐ is of common occurrence in the Targums and in Talmudic Hebrew, as is the Syriac ܙܦܝܪܐ. The meaning of the word is certain, although its original signification is somewhat "obscure" (*Bevan*).

קַרְן חֲזוּת, *a notable horn*, lit. a horn of sight. G. Hoffmann's proposal to vocalise חֲזוּת instead of חֲזוּת is arbitrary. See note on ver. 8.

7. *Was moved with choler.* An effective rendering; so xi. 11. The Hebrew is literally *embitter himself*, or, *to be embittered*, i.e. be maddened, enraged. Cf. in Syr. Euseb. v. i. 50 for ἡγχιώθη, and elsewhere for μαυνόμενος—Payne Smith, col. 2200.—*Driver*.

8. The Hebrew phraseology is peculiar, וַתֵּצֵא לָהֶם חֲזוּת אַרְבַּע. It is usually rendered, "*and instead of it there came up four notable (horns).*" The construction of חֲזוּת causes some difficulty. Hitzig considers the word to be in apposition to אַרְבַּע, "*notable ones, four,*" i.e. horns. This, however, is harsh. Ewald and Behrmann render *viere anzuschauen*, "*appearing like four.*" Others, like Kranichfeld, regard חֲזוּת as an adverbial accusative, as if "*in notability, notable.*" Hofmann and Kliefoth render "*an appearance of four horns,*" i.e. "there shot up in appearance four." חֲזוּת is in the absolute, not in the construct state, and but loosely connected with the אַרְבַּע following. The clause does not affirm that the four horns were specially notable. What was remarkable was that, in place of the one, four others sprang up. חֲזוּת expresses the abstract idea, although used for the concrete. Grätz proposes to amend the text, and read אַחֲרֵיהֶם, *other*, and so Bevan and Kamphausen. The LXX. do not really support that conjecture. Their

rendering, καὶ ἀνέβη ἕτερα τέσσαρα κέρατα, is probably only a free rendering. Theodotion omits the ἕτερα.

9. וּמִקְרָאֹחַת מֵהֶם. The suffix in מֵהֶם is masculine, although *horns* are feminine. The inaccuracy was probably common in colloquial language, and so passed into the written. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 132. 5, rem. 1; König, *Syntax*, § 14. König notes that such inaccuracies are more frequent in the case of suffixes than of adjectives.

מִצֵּטִירָה . . . רֵצָא, “less than small,” i.e. very small, or “very little”; see König, *Syntax*, § 352 z. We have, in order to differentiate between “the little horn” and this one, employed the phrase “very little horn.” Ewald would punctuate מִצֵּטִירָה, *showing smallness*, or *appearing small*. The correction is, however, out of harmony with the context. Grätz proposes to strike out the initial מ. Bevan would substitute קָרָן אֲחֵרֶת וְצִירָה, and Kamphausen approves of the conjecture. But it is merely devised for the purpose of identifying the horn here spoken of with that of ch. vii., the two being radically distinct. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 163, and pp. 178 ff.

The LXX. interpreters felt the awkwardness of the Hebrew, and accordingly corrected the text from the context, and hence have κέρας ἰσχυρόν ἓν, *one strong horn*, which rendering Theodotion has followed as suited to the narrative. This is more probable than to suppose those translators took the מן as privative. Neither the LXX. nor Theodotion have ventured to harmonise ch. vii. 8 with ch. viii. 9. Hence they have μικρόν in the former, and ἰσχυρόν in the latter; although Grätz, with his usual dogmatism, in defiance of all existing evidence, asserts that in both the LXX. and Theodotion the ἰσχυρόν is undoubtedly (“*unstreitig*”) a corruption for μικρόν.

For וַתִּגְדַּל יָתֵר, *and increased exceedingly*, the LXX. have

καὶ ἐπάταξεν, וַיִּתֵּן, וּלְהַצִּיב, *and toward the glorious land.* The Hebrew הַצִּיב is similar in sound to צָבָה or הַצָּבָה, the *host* or *army*, used both of *men* and *stars*. The phrase "*the glorious land*" is also employed of Palestine in ch. xi. 16, 41, but in both cases preceded by the word *land*. In Jer. iii. 19 Palestine is styled 'נַחֲלַת צִי, "*a heritage of glory.*" See, on the meaning of the two words, *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 180.

10. וּמִן הַכּוֹכָבִים, *some of the stars.* This probably, though not certainly, refers to the fall of many of the Jewish nobles and priests into apostasy. On this verse, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 180.

11. The LXX. have here what appears at first to be an extraordinary translation, "*until the chief-captain shall deliver the captivity,*" which is followed by Theodotion. Ἀρχιστρατήγος is the LXX. translation of שַׂר הַצָּבָה in Josh. v. 14, 18, where Jehovah is designated by that name. Both the LXX. and Theodotion read הַצִּיב for הַגְדִּיל, and הַשָּׁבִי in place of הַצָּבָה. Jahn considers the text in ver. 12 corrupt alike in Hebrew, LXX., and Theodotion, but his explanations are wide of the mark, and he has suggested no intelligible reading for the whole. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 181-2, and on הַתְּמִיד see particularly the same, at pp. 178-9.

The reading of the Hebrew written text (K'thibh) in the next sentence is הָרִים הַתְּמִיד, active (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72 ee), "*he took away the perpetual (service)*"; while that of the Q'rē is passive, הָרִים הַתְּמִיד, "*the perpetual service was taken away.*" The LXX. had the same consonants as in the Massoretic text, but they vocalised הָרִים, *mountains*, rendering: "And for Him the everlasting mountains were broken, and their place [the place of His people] was taken away, and sacrifice." The text

was thus made to relate a judgment from the hand of God. For the LXX.'s long paraphrase concludes: "And He placed it even to the ground upon the earth, and they [the adversaries] prospered, and it came to pass, and the holy place shall be desolated." Theodotion's shorter paraphrase concludes: "And by him [possibly Antiochus Epiphanes] sacrifice was disturbed, and it prospered, and the holy place shall be made desolate."

The LXX. in their rendering have lost sight of the paronomasia between הַצֵּבִי and הַצֵּבָא. Their desire was to bring the prophecy into closer correspondence with the history of Antiochus Epiphanes. And as Antiochus carried on wars against Egypt in the south, Persia in the east, and Armenia in the north, the LXX. did not scruple to alter וְאֶל הַצֵּבִי into וְאֶל-הַצֵּפוֹן, ἐπὶ βορρᾶν, "*and toward the north.*"

צָבִי occurs in ch. vi. 16, 41, הָרַצְבִּי in ch. vi. 45; comp. Ezek. xx. 6, 15, xxvi. 20. See Jer. iii. 49.

The K'thibh reading, הָרִים, is intended for a perfect hiphil. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72 *ee*. The Q'rē reading, הָרִים, is hophal. See König, *Lehrg.* i. p. 503; Ols. § 259 *b*; Ewald, § 344 *d*.

12. הַתְּמִיד, used commonly in Daniel in a much wider signification than the עֲלוֹת הַתְּמִיד, or *the daily sacrifices*, although it includes those sacrifices. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 178. In the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus, line 7, mention is made of *causing the daily sacrifice to cease*.

בַּפֶּשַׁע. It was Israel's sin that caused Israel's confusion. See our remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 180-1.

13. אֶחָד קְדוֹשׁ. The numeral in the sense of an indefinite article. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 125 *b*.

לְפָלְמוֹנִי. *To that particular (or certain) one who spake.* פְּלוֹנִי is a contraction for אֶלְמוֹנִי. See Ruth iv. 1, 1 Sam. xxi. 3, 2 Kings vi. 8, and the Lexicons. The

LXX., Theodotion, and Aquila simply transliterate the Heb. *φελμωνί*, but Symmachus translates it *τινί ποτε*.

עד מתי החזון התמיד. The word *התמיד* is an accusative of respect. The previous word is, indeed, accented as if it were the construct, which is impossible. The accentuation may possibly indicate a difference of reading. Compare similar punctuation in 2 Kings xxiii. 17. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 127 *f*.

הפשע השמם. One would naturally have expected *הפשע השמם*, but the article is omitted, and so in ch. xi. 31, in *השקרין השמם*. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 126 *z*. On the exegesis, see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 181.

The ancient versions disconnect the substantives, which in the Hebrew text are closely connected, assigning to each noun an explanatory verb or participle: "*How long shall the vision stand, and the sacrifice which has been taken away, and the sin of desolation which has been given, and the holy things shall be desolate, even to being trodden under foot?*" *ἕως τίνος τὸ ὄραμα στήσεται καὶ ἡ θυσία ἡ ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως ἡ δοθεῖσα, καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐρημωθήσεται εἰς καταπάτημα*; Theodotion in the last clause inserts the *נָצַח* omitted in the LXX., *καὶ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἡ δύναμις συνπατηθήσεται*.

14. The LXX. translate *ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωί· ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι τριακόσαι· καὶ καθαρισθήσεται τὸ ἅγιον*, "*until evening and morn: two thousand three hundred days: and the sanctuary shall be cleansed.*" So Theodotion with slight variations, according to Swete's text. Tischendorf's text alters the numeral into *τετρακόσαι*, *four hundred*, which is, according to Field, also the reading of the Compl., Ald., and of several MSS.

15. The phrase *נִמְרָאָה גְּבָרָה*, "*as the appearance of a man,*" is otherwise expressed in ch. x. 16, 18, by *כְּמֹרֶאֱ אָדָם*.

16. As the longing for understanding (בִּינָה) arose in the heart of Daniel, the "voice of a man" was heard between Ulai, exclaiming, "Gabriel, make (הִבֵּן) this man to understand the vision." On the demonstrative pronoun הָלֹז, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 34. 2, rem. 2; W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 117; König, *Lehrgr.* i. § 17.

18. על עמדי, lit. *upon my standing*, i.e. upright.

19. באח' הועם, *at the latter end of the anger*, i.e. when God's anger against the transgressors shall pass away.

22. והנשברת, *and as for that (horn) that was broken*, accusative of respect. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 118 m. In reference to the contents of ver. 8, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116 w.

ותעמדנה. On the irregularity in gender, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 47 k. מלכיות. On this peculiar plural of מלכות, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 87. 2, and § 95 u.

23. ובאחרית מ'. See our note in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 182. בָּהֶתֶם הַפִּשְׁעִים, *when the sinners fill up the measure of their iniquity*, i.e. the Jewish apostates, not (as Bevan) "the heathen oppressors." The apostasy of the nation of the Jews took place before the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes, just as the apostasy which sprang up through the long reign of Uzziah, spoken of in Isaiah, ch. i., reached almost its highest point when Uzziah died. By the king (עוֹ-פָנִים), *stout of face, hard-faced*, and cruel, is meant the Syrian oppressor. The phrase is borrowed from Deut. xxviii. 50. מִבֵּן חִידוֹת, *skilled in riddles, ambiguous expressions*. See note on אחידה, ch. v. 12. This description of Antiochus is very far from what would have been expected if it had been written after his acts had become matter of history.

24. וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ, *and not through his power*. It was the sin of Israel which gave Antiochus strength, and made

the Jews fall under his hands. There is no necessity to suppose the *intrigues* of Antiochus to be referred to. Those intrigues have been greatly magnified by the imagination of later times.

וּנְפֹלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִית, *and he shall destroy wonderfully*. There is no necessity to alter the reading to וְשִׁחָה, or וְשִׁחָה, as Bevan has proposed. The Hebrew text is quite intelligible.

25. The LXX. read καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ, introducing here again the עַם קְדָשִׁים at the end of ver. 24. Bevan suggests that those words are an interpolation in ver. 24 occasioned by the beginning of this verse. Grätz here follows the LXX. Ver. 24 expresses in general the mode of acting of Antiochus ; ver. 25 gives fuller details. The copula before וְהַצִּלִּית is, however, in favour of the proposed emendation.

26. The conduct enjoined on Daniel may be fitly compared to that enjoined by Isaiah in ch. viii. 16 (note the whole context in Isaiah). The vision was to be committed in Daniel's case, as in the case of Isaiah, to faithful witnesses who were at hand, but who, like himself, did not understand the matter. See the last clause. Thus the vision was directed to be preserved although concealed.

27. נִהְיִיתִי, niph'al of הָיָה, means *I fainted, lost consciousness*, not *I was exhausted*. Vulg. *langui et ægrotavi* ; see Ges. *Thes.* p. 375.

CHAPTER IX

1. On Darius the Mede, see Appendix No. II. The LXX. differs entirely from the Hebrew in its reading of this verse :—“ *In the first year of Darius son of Xerxes, of the seed of the Medes, who [plural] reigned [reading מלכא in place of מלך] over the kingdom of the Chaldeans, in the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by the books the number of the years when the decree [πρόσταγμα; comp. ver. 23, where πρόσταγμα is twice used of a Divine decree, and the plural of the same word is employed, ver. 25, in a similar sense] concerning the land was given to Jeremiah the prophet for the accomplishing of the reproach of Jerusalem seventy years.*” Jahn maintains that the text of the LXX. originally had Darius Hystaspes. That, however, is only a critic’s assertion, without any authority but conjecture. The same critic maintains that the end of the verse commencing “who reigned” is a gloss.

Medes and Persians were often confused by the ancients. J. E. H. Thomson, in p. 223 of the *Pulpit Commentary* on Daniel, observes : “In Herodotus and Thucydides μηδίζειν is to side with the Persians. While Herodotus calls the great Persian war τὰ Περσικά, Thucydides always speaks of it as τὰ Μηδικά; he calls the battle of Marathon ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. At the same time Herodotus knows the distinction of the races. Æschylus, who encountered the Persians at Salamis, in

the *Persæ* begins the Persian empire with a Mede. . . . As late as the days of Horace this freedom of use of Mede and Persian was common."

הִמְלִיךְ. The hophal of מָלַךְ only occurs in this passage. "The corresponding expression, 'made a person king,' was used of the acts of Pharaoh Necho and Nebuchadnezzar in setting kings over Judah, and of the purpose of Syria and Ephraim towards Israel [Isa. vii. 6]"—*Pusey*.

בִּינְתִי. This, with בָּן, ch. x. 1 (see note there), and similar forms, were explained by Ewald to be shortened forms of hiphil, but that view has been disproved by Nöldeke. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 73. 1; W. Wright, *Comp. Gram.* p. 244; König, *Lehrg.* i. p. 512. The normal form בִּנְתִי occurs Ps. cxxxix. 2. בְּסִפְרֵם. That is, in the writings of Jeremiah immediately afterwards referred to. Certainly the special books here alluded to were not, as Bevan and others imagine (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 192 ff.), the Pentateuch (Lev. xxvi.). Moreover, the phrase itself might point to some collection of sacred writings, even though the canon of Old Testament writings was not then closed. Thomson considers that "the letter" of Jeremiah spoken of in Jer. xxix. is that specially referred to. בְּסִפְרֵם in the plural is used of a single letter, 2 Kings xix. 14, Isa. xxxvii. 14. Thomson maintains that the name *Jehovah* which is used in Daniel only in this verse and chapter is in favour of that view, as also is the form of the name Jeremiah employed in this verse. לְמִלְאוֹת. On form, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 74 *h*; König, *Lehrg.* i. p. 617. Bevan regards such forms to be combinations of the vulgar pronunciation with the grammatically more correct forms. The construction is used frequently in Talmudic Hebrew in such cases as this, when future time is spoken of. See Siegfried, *Neu-Heb.*

Gram. § 97 c. On the Seventy Years of Jeremiah, see our remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 193 ff.

3. 'לְבַקֵּשׁ תַּפִּלָּה ה'. Behrmann considers 'תַּח נ' to be a fuller description of what is expressed in the "prayer."

4. The prayer of Daniel (set forth in this and the following verses) has considerable resemblance to the prayers recorded in Neh. i. 5 ff., ix. 6 ff., and to that in the Book of Baruch i. 15 ff. But, as Bevan observes, it is possible that those writers employed formulas of prayer which were commonly used among the people in the days of oppression. See on Baruch, *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 86, 87.

5. וְסֹר, infinitive absolute, as continuation of the preceding finite verb. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 113 z. On the irregularity of מְצֻחִיתָ, the singular suffix annexed to the plural, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 91 n.

6. אֵל כָּל־עַם. The אֵל is without makkeph, as in Josh. vii. 23, Isa. xxxvi. 12 (*Behrmann*).

11. וְסֹר. See note on ver. 5. בַּתּוֹרָה. See Lev. xxvi. 14 ff., Deut. xxix. 15 ff.

12. נִקְשְׁתָּהּ, 3rd sing. fem. niph. The masculine is נִקְשָׁה. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 63 f.

13. On the peculiar use of אַת in the phrase אַת כָּל הָרָעָה, to express emphasis, "as respects," see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 117 m. Behrmann, however, maintains that the accus. depends upon לְהַבִּיא in ver. 12.

17. הַשָּׁמֶם. The article is here used in a demonstrative sense with the perf., "which is desolate." Compare שָׁמֶם, Lam. v. 18. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 138 i. There is no ground (as some critics imagine) for supposing reference to be made to the שָׁמֶם in ch. xii. 11. לִמְעַן אֲדַרְי. These words are somewhat strange. It would be better, with Bevan and Marti, to adopt the reading of the LXX.,

לְמַעַן עֲבֹדֶיךָ א' (ἐνεκεν τῶν δούλων σου, δέσποτα), which would bring the passage into line with Isa. lxiii. 17. The text might also be corrected after Theodotion's ἐνεκεν σου, κύριε, reading then לְמַעַןְךָ. Theodotion may possibly have read יהוה in place of אדני.

19. On the imp. שְׁמַעָה, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 48 i.

20. Instead of בְּתַפִּלָּה—"in the prayer," a number of MSS. (Baer and Ginsburg) read without the article בְּתַפִּלָּה.

21. Gabriel is here called קְדָאִישׁ, because he appeared in the form of a man (compare Luke xxiv. 4, Acts i. 10). He is probably also called נָבִי; compare ch. viii. 15. מַעָה בִיעָה has been variously understood. מַעָה is hophal part. of נָעָה, *to be weary*. Hence *wearied*, בִיעָה, *in weariness*, or *thoroughly worn out*; the phrase might in that case refer to Daniel (Keil, Meinhold). Gesenius, Hitzig, and many moderns refer it to the *angel*, who appeared *utterly fatigued* with the long flight which he had taken. The idea expressed in the A.V. and R.V., following the LXX. τάχει φερόμενος, and Theodotion, πετόμενος, Vulgate cito volans, cannot be justified by the usage of the languages. מַעָה, considered by itself, might be hophal of עָף, *to fly*, but then the בִיעָה would, as Bevan observes, be inexplicable.

22. וַיְבִן, "*and he instructed me*." The LXX. and Syriac read וַיָּבֵא, *and he came*, which is a much easier reading.

לְהַשְׁכִּילְךָ בִינָה, *to give thee clear understanding*. בִינָה is used adverbially. Compare Deut. ii. 9, 24; phrases of this kind form the transition from the use of the abstract verbal noun as the object of the verb (as 1 Sam. xix. 8) to the so-called accusative of manner (as Jer. iii. 15) (Bevan).

23. כִּי חֲמוּדוֹת. The expression literally denotes *desirablenesses*, i.e. *a precious treasure*. It is used with אִישׁ

prefixed in ch. x. 11, 19, but the איש is not to be inserted here. See Driver, *Heb. Tenses*, § 189. 2 ; König, *Syntax*, § 245 *e* and § 306 *r*. Compare the use of the verb with a negative in Isa. liii. 2.

24. In the six instances in the Book of Daniel in which the plural of the numeral seven (שְׁבוּעַת) occurs, the masculine form (שְׁבוּעִים) is employed instead of the feminine form (שְׁבוּעוֹת), which is found in the other sacred books. Four of these instances lie within the limits of this single prophecy. Some suppose the masculine form to have been used in preference to the feminine on account of its resemblance in sound to שְׁבוּעִים . Similar rhythmical effects occur elsewhere in the prophetic books. But that solution cannot be here regarded as satisfactory ; for the expression "seventy weeks" ($\text{שְׁבוּעִים שְׁבוּעִים}$) occurs but once, while the masculine form appears in four places. The masculine form occurs in ch. x. 2, 3, where Daniel employs the expression "*three* (שְׁבוּעִים יָמִים) *weeks of days*." יָמִים is, in those cases, affixed for greater clearness. The translation "*seventy weeks*" is more correct than "*seventy sevens*." For, although weeks of years are intended throughout, the noun שְׁבוּעַת , when used without any qualifying word, signifies a week of days, even though יָמִים may be occasionally appended to make it more definite. So in the singular, Gen. xxix. 27, 28, Lev. xii. 5 (in the dual), and in the plural (שְׁבוּעוֹת), in Exod. xxxiv. 22, Deut. xvi. 9, etc. There is no actual instance of the explicative word שָׁנִים being employed after שְׁבוּעַת , as is the case after the word *sabbath* in Lev. xxv. 8 ff., but that combination may possibly have been used in the living language. The noun is probably capable of a double interpretation, and if so, the indeterminate character of the prophecy seems to have been indicated at the very outset.

The plural noun is connected with the perfect niph'al singular, נִחְתָּךְ, because the "seventy weeks" are viewed as one definite period. The verb חָתַךְ is only found in this passage of Daniel. In later Hebrew and in Aramaic that verb, however, is commonly used in the signification of *cutting off*, of *cutting into*, *dividing*, and also in the sense of *deciding*, *determining*. So here שְׁבַעִים שָׁבָעִים נִחְתָּךְ עַל-עַמְּךָ, "*seventy weeks are determined* (or, *decreed*) *upon thy people*." ¹

The expression "*upon thy people and thy holy city*," employed in the angel's address to the prophet, has been interpreted by Jerome and others to refer to the prayer which precedes. In that prayer, Daniel, in addressing God, speaks of "*thy city Jerusalem*," "*thy holy mountain*," "*thy sanctuary*," "*thy people*." The angel, according to Jerome, reminded Daniel, in reply, that Israel was no longer the people of God, but "*thy (Daniel's) people*"; and Jerusalem was not God's holy city, but "*thy holy city*." In support of that interpretation Jerome

¹ The LXX. rendering ἐκρίθησαν is therefore correct. The same idea (expressed in more literal terms) is conveyed by the συνετμήθησαν of Theodotion. The rendering *breviatæ sunt* (Old Latin Vers.) or *abbreviatæ sunt*, "*are shortened*," in the Vulgate version, owes its origin to the mistaken idea that the root signifies *cutting off*, in the sense of *shortening*. An erroneous interpretation, too, was put upon the clause by expositors before Jerome, as if it indicated that the years spoken of in the prophecy were not ordinary solar years, but shortened, or lunar. See also note on ver. 26.

G. S. Faber, in his *Seventy Weeks* (pp. 109-112), has proved the impossibility of the years being lunar, which, however, was held by Tertullian (*Adv. Iudæos*, viii.). That Church Father gives an extract from this chapter, from ver. 20 to the end. It is specially interesting as preserving a portion of the Old Latin version of the passage, which version is much nearer to Theodotion than to the LXX. There are a few differences, but not of great importance.

appeals to Exod. xxxii. 7. The contrast, however, can scarcely be intended. No such interpretation can be put upon the expression in the close (ch. xii. 1), where mention is made of "Michael, the great prince that standeth for the children of thy people."¹

The six phrases, each commencing with ל combined with the infinitive, indicate the work which was to be accomplished within the period of the seventy weeks.

לִּכְלֹא הַפֶּשַׁע. See footnote, *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 197. Viewed as a regular infinitive of כָּלַא, a verb כָּלַל, the verb may be translated *to keep back*, or *check transgression*. The piel of כָּלַל is, however, not found elsewhere, although that is not quite decisive against the translation. Kranichfeld proposes to punctuate לִּכְלֹא, in order to retain the connection with כָּלַל, and to remove the objection arising from the use of the piel, which is not elsewhere found.

כָּלַל is employed in Jer. xxxii. 2, 3, and Ps. lxxxviii. 9 in the signification of *to shut up* in prison. Hävernicks explains it to mean *shut up*, i.e. *put out of sight*. No satisfactory instance of that sense can be adduced. כָּלַל is, therefore, best explained as an irregular form of the piel of the כָּלַל verb כָּלַל. Verbs כָּלַל often assume the forms of כָּלַל verbs, and this occurs in other passages in which כָּלַל is found, as may be seen by reference to the Lexicons. The piel of כָּלַל is in frequent use. Thus the signification of the phrase *to finish*, or *put an end to transgression*, is not open to serious objection. The ancient

¹ The LXX. translators appear to have entertained a view similar to that of Jerome; for they have altered the phrase "*upon thy holy city*" into "*and upon the city Sion*." Theodotion does not, however, hesitate to translate the Hebrew phrase "*and upon thy holy city*." The most probable reason why עַמִּי, *my people*, was not used, was because the answer of Jehovah was given through the medium of the angel Gabriel.

versions are nearly unanimous in giving that rendering, and indicate no difference of reading.¹

In the second clause the K'thibh reads 'וּלְחַתֵּם ה' *and to seal up sins*. This reading has been defended by many. Theodotion is the only ancient version which supports it. *To seal up sins* is not to put them out of sight. A prophecy was sometimes said to be sealed when its meaning was hard to understand (Isa. xxix. 11). God is said *to seal up the hand of man* when men are hindered by frost from doing their work in the fields (Job xxxvii. 7). As things finished and completed are sealed, the cognate verb in Arabic, *خَتَمَ*, is employed in the sense of *to come to the end of a thing, to finish it*, as e.g. the recital of the Kur'an (see *Lane*). Hence Gesenius in the *Thesaurus* interprets the Hebrew verb as meaning *to complete, to bring to an end*. It is doubtful, however, whether that meaning can be assigned to חָתַם in the obscure passage in Ezek. xxxviii. 12 to which Gesenius refers; and it is unsafe to put any meaning upon the word, for which clear instances cannot be elsewhere adduced. Job says, "My iniquity (פְּשָׁעִי) is sealed up in a bag" (xiv. 17), but the transgression is there spoken of as sealed up and stowed away in order to be punished. The sealing spoken of in this passage of Daniel was for a very different object. There are no passages in which transgressions are spoken of as sealed up in order to be removed out of sight.²

Internal evidence is in favour of the correction of the Q'rē, and the external evidence tends also in the same direction. Hebrew MSS. often as a matter of course

¹ Some have maintained that the rendering *παλαιωθῆναι*, given by Theodoret, points to a variant חָלַף, *to wax old*, in the room of חָלַף.

² In Micah vii. 19, under a very different figure, sin is spoken of as trodden under foot, or cast into the depths of the sea.

adopt the reading of the Q'rē. But the only ancient version which actually supports the K'thibh is that of Theodotion, which renders καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας, and the reading וְלִהְיוֹת can easily be explained as arising out of the occurrence of that verb in the fifth clause of the verse. On the other hand, the Q'rē is supported by the LXX., Vulgate, Aquila, and the Syriac. The Q'rē is וְלִהְיוֹת חַטָּאת, *and to make an end of transgression*. The correction of the plural חַטָּאוֹת into the singular חַטָּאת is supposed by some (as Bevan, Meinhold, and Behrmann) to have been made in order to bring the phrase into closer correspondence with the singular nouns employed in the other clauses. Aquila (καὶ τοῦ τελειῶσαι) and the Vulgate (*et finem accipiat peccatum*) both express the noun in the singular. The other versions, LXX., Theodotion, and Syriac retain the plural. חַטָּאוֹת, or חַטָּאֵי, may also be rendered *sin-offerings*, or *sin-offering*.

Bertholdt, Hitzig, and Gesenius, with others, consider the reading of the Q'rē, וְלִהְיוֹת, to be supported by the analogy of Dan. viii. 13, which is, however, more than doubtful. For וְכִתְּמָהּ הַמִּשְׁעִים in Dan. viii. 13 means "*when the sins shall have come to the full*," and refers to the filling up of the measure of Israel's sins bringing down upon Israel the scourge of Antiochus Epiphanes. Meinhold is incorrect in maintaining that the filling up of the sins of the Gentiles is there alluded to.¹

On the LXX. rendering of the whole, see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 201 ff. and 213 ff. The reading of the LXX. in the second clause, "*that the sins*

¹ Meinhold strangely imagines that Dan. ix. 24 speaks of the final apostasy, which he supposes is predicted to take place at the end of the world. Such an idea would be strangely introduced among such mercies as are depicted in the five other clauses.

may become rare," namely, *σπανίσαι*, is supposed by some to be a corruption in place of *σφραγίσαι*, *to seal up sins*, which is the rendering of Theodotion. The passage is thus quoted by Athanasius, Theodoret, and (as Field has noted) also by Eusebius. But Field justly observes that all those Fathers have made use of the version of Theodotion. The translation of the Syr. Hex., *ܕܠܥܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܗܘܢܐ* *to diminish iniquity*, is decisive in favour of the reading of the LXX. Bevan's correction of the LXX. text on p. 154 is conjectural and incorrect. The LXX. have evidently read the Hebrew as in the Q'rē, paraphrasing, however, in place of translating the expression. Possibly, too, they may have inverted the order of the Hebrew words, for *σπανίσαι* would be a fair translation of *לְנַלֵּץ*, regarded as an inf. piel of *נָלַץ*, while *συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* would be a good translation of *לְהַתֵּם חַטָּאת*.

The third clause, *וְלַכַּפֵּר עָוֹן*, "*and to make atonement for (properly, to cover over) iniquity*," represents a further step towards re-admission into the Divine favour by the removal of the obstacles which lay in the way of reconciliation. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 196. The Massoretes have shown exegetical tact in placing the great distinctive zakeph-qaton on the word *עָוֹן*, *iniquity*. They have thus drawn a line of demarcation between the three clauses that precede and the three that follow after. The zakeph-qaton does not, however, prevent the clause immediately following from being under another aspect parallel to the clause which speaks of atonement having been made for iniquity. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, footnote, p. 198.

Hitzig, Gesenius, Maurer, and others object to that punctuation. They would place the zakeph on *חַטָּאת* instead of on *עָוֹן*. But the true middle point of the verse is marked by the athnach placed on the last syllable of

the phrase עֲלָמִים קָדְשׁ. The exegetical reason already mentioned made it necessary to place the next highest distinctive accent upon the קָדְשׁ.

In the fourth clause, "*to bring in everlasting righteousness*," see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 198. J. H. Michaelis explains the term "righteousness" to denote a return to "the innocence of the earlier, better times, to good morals, and to obedience towards the Law." Such an interpretation, however, contradicts the penitential prayer in which the transgressions of the fathers of the nation from its beginning are enumerated and bewailed. On the קָדְשׁ קְדָשִׁים, see remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 199-202.

The clause in the LXX., "*and the vision be understood*" (καὶ διανοηθῆναι τὸ ὄραμα), has been regarded as an addition to the Hebrew text. It may, however, be a duplicate of the phrase, "to make reconciliation for iniquity," which the translators loosely rendered, "and to wipe away the sins" (ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀδικίας; Hebrew, וְיִלְכַּפֵּר עֲוֹן). In the latter case, in place of the Hebrew עֲוֹן, the LXX. may have read יִוִּחַ, assigning an arbitrary sense to כָּפַר. Theodotion's version also contains a duplicate, the clause being first rendered in that version as it is in the LXX., with the addition "*and to make atonement for sins*" (καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας). The latter closely corresponds with the version of Aquila.

The clause in the LXX., "*and everlasting righteousness be given*" (καὶ δοθῆναι δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον), is an inaccurate rendering of the Hebrew phrase.¹

¹ In the Syr. Hex. version the sentence is marked with an obelus to denote that it is in excess of the original LXX. text. It is plain, however, that the Syriac text is faulty, and that the obelus belongs to the preceding sentence.

In the fifth clause of the verse, rendered in the LXX. "*and the visions and the prophet be fulfilled*," an asterisk in the Hexaplar text is appended to the words "*and prophet*" to indicate that those words do not form part of the LXX. text. The LXX. evidently read *לְהַחֲמִיץ*, *to make an end of*, in place of *לְהַחֲמִיץ*, *to seal up*, which is the reading of the Hebrew in the clause. Hence they corrected the text by omitting the disturbing words "*and prophet*." The Syr. Hex. version has in its text "*and prophets*," also marked with an asterisk.¹ In the margin the Syr. Hex. substitutes "*and prophecy*," which is evidently a conjectural emendation.

The last clause in the LXX., "*and to gladden a holy of holies*," was probably understood by the translators to refer to "the very great gladness" (1 Macc. iv. 58) which occurred when the holy place was purified from the abominations of Antiochus Epiphanes. The dedication of the newly erected altar to Jehovah was celebrated by a feast of eight days, which were given up to "mirth and gladness" (1 Macc. iv. 59). The LXX. extracted this meaning from the text by a transposition of the middle letters of the Hebrew word. *לְשַׂמֵּחַ*, *to anoint*, thus became *לְשַׂמֵּחַ*, *to gladden*. It is unlikely that the Hebrew text ever had such a reading. The Syr. Hex. version gives in its text "*to gladden*," but substitutes in the margin "*to anoint*," which was probably a correction introduced from the Hebrew text. Theodotion's version follows the Hebrew in rendering "*to anoint a holy of holies*." Eusebius regarded the two translations as conveying substantially the same signification, which would be true

¹ The Syr. Hex. version includes the *καὶ εὐφραναι* of the following clause within the words marked by the asterisk, but that must be regarded as an error of a copyist.

if the prophecy referred to the cleansing of the Temple effected by Judas Maccabeus.

25. In the LXX. paraphrase of the verse not a single clause of the original remains intact. The date from whence the prophecy was to commence disappears. The clause "*unto the anointed one, the prince*" is erased. The only idea which the verse so amended retains in common with the Hebrew is the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The last clause of the verse, which is here omitted, is transferred to ver. 27, with the exception of the significant words "*even in troublous times.*"¹

The verse in the LXX. was thus reduced to a form entirely different from the Hebrew original. Even in that truncated form it possesses interest. In the clause "*and thou shalt find commands (προστάγματα) to be answered,*" reference is made to the Divine command or commandment (πρόσταγμα) which, according to ver. 23, went forth at the commencement of Daniel's prayer. The translators understood the words to refer to the purification of the Temple narrated in 1 Macc. iv. 46. See remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 213. It is important to note the connection in that verse of the mention of the word "*prophet*" with the verb ἀποκριθῆναι, *to give answer*, as found in this passage in the LXX. version of Daniel.²

¹ It has, however, been suggested by Hahn that the καὶ εὐρήσεις προστάγματα has arisen from misreading (misinterpreting?) מִן־מִצְוָה by מִן־מִצְוָה, προστάγματα being, of course, a translation of דְּבָרִי. The οἰκοδομήσεις is extracted from וְלִבְנוֹת. Segaar would read οἰκοδομησαι, which would bring the LXX. nearer to the Hebrew. The suggestion of Hahn, that in the phrase עַד מְשִׁיחַ נָגִיד the עַד was read עָרִי, is far-fetched, especially as no explanation is offered for the other two words of the sentence.

² The reading of the LXX., ἀποκριθῆναι, *to be answered*, is supported by the text of the Syr. Hex. version. But the margin of

The peculiar collocation of שָׁבַץ in ver. 25 (adopted by the sacred writer with a distinct object in view) has proved a source of perplexity to ancient as well as to modern critics. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 214.

The phraseology used in the LXX. translation of the prophecy reappears in the record given in 1 Maccabees of the events of that period. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 65. Two additional cases are cited by Hävernicks in connection with the verse now under consideration. In 1 Macc. iii. 42 it is affirmed that Judas Maccabeus and his brethren were acquainted with the instructions given to his officers by Antiochus Epiphanes εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ συντέλειαν, "for the destruction and consummation" of the Jewish nation; συντέλεια, in the sense of *consummation*, or *end*, occurs several times in the LXX. translation of ver. 26. The LXX. translate ובצוק העתים by καὶ κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν, the clause, however, being transferred to ver. 27.

יְחַרְבּ וְיַחְרֹץ, *with street and moat*. יַחְרֹץ in Biblical Hebrew is used in the sense of *to cut* or *sharpen*, but scholars have conjectured that the original force of the triliteral was *to dig*. They called attention to the fact that the Aramaic יַחְרִיץ and the Mishnaic יַחְרִיץ, Rabbinic יַחְרִיץ, mean *ditches*. Bevan maintains, however, that the Aramaic and later Hebrew words meant *ditches* in fields or gardens, and not *trenches* for the purpose of fortification. Friedrich Delitzsch, however, in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, mentions the parallel words in Assyrian, *harīṣu* and *hirīṣu*, as meaning specially the *moats* and

the Syr. Hex. version has מְחַבְּלָהּ, *i.e.*, as Field observes, καὶ τοῦ διανοηθῆναι, *and to be meditated over*. The latter translation may have been adopted in order to bring the verse into closer verbal connection with ver. 23.

trenches of a city. That fact settles the meaning of the term, and confirms the conclusions of the earlier scholars.

The renderings of the Greek translations of Symmachus and Aquila are not extant. One may compare Zech. ii. 3, 4, where Jerusalem is described as destined to consist of villages, on account of the multitudes which would find no room within its walls. Behrmann has given scope to a lively imagination when he suggests that חֲרוֹץ, *trench*, may denote a special quarter of Jerusalem, such as the Tyropoenthal. The suggestion, though admittedly only a bare possibility, was too captivating to be left out in Behrmann's translation, in which the nouns are rendered "place and valley" (*Platz und Thal*). Orthodox critics are by no means the only expositors who are disposed to give the reins to pure imagination. See the remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 220 ff.

26. The words in the opening sentence, ἐπτα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ, are introduced here by the LXX. from ver. 25. The Hebrew words שבעים שבעה have been, in that version, first transposed and then read שבעה שבעים, instead of שבעים שבעה. Hahn, in his proposed rearrangement of the LXX. text, supplies καιροὺς after ἐπτα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, and ἔτη after the subsequent ἐξήκοντα δύο, correcting the ἐτῶν of the Chigi MS. into ἔτη, on the authority of the Syr. Hex. Those additions, however, are not found in the LXX., where the numerals are first mentioned in ver. 26, but they occur in ver. 27. In the LXX. text as restored by Hahn, the seven and seventy and sixty-two occur only once; but in the LXX., as represented by the Chigi MS. and Syr. Hex., they occur twice.

The expression משיח, "*His Messiah*," or "*His anointed one*," is used of *Cyrus* in Isa. xlv. 1. A combination of

words, similar to that in Daniel in the phrase $\text{עַד מְשִׁיחַ נָגִיד}$, is employed in 1 Chron. xxix. 22 of *Solomon*, $\text{וְיָמְשִׁיחוּ לְיִהוֹה לְנָגִיד}$. But it is hard, as von Gall maintains, to conceive that the Jews of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes understood the phrase to mean Cyrus. Grätz, in the *Monatsschrift des Judenthums* for 1871, calls attention to the fact that נָגִיד corresponds to the Greek title *προστάτης*, *leader*, used of the high priest in Sirach xlv. 24; and that Josephus employs *προστασία* to denote the civil authority exercised by the high priest during the earlier part of the Grecian period (*Antiq.* xii. iv. 2).

Aquila and Symmachus explain מְשִׁיחַ , the former by *ἡλειμμένος*, the latter by *χριστός*. These Greek translators embody in their rendering of the clause either a new reading, or an explanation of the Hebrew text. Aquila has, "and after the seven hebdomads and sixty-two an anointed one shall be abolished (*καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἡλειμμένος*).” And so Symmachus, with slight variation, *καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο ἐκκοπήσεται χριστός*.

Messiah is in this passage rendered by the LXX. as if the text had מְשִׁיחַ , *unction*. One MS. (Field) and Syr. Hex. add *weeks* after the numerals. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 6) quotes this passage from Theodotion's version to prove that Daniel prophesied that unction was to be abolished among the Jews (*ἐξολοθρευθήσεται τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις χρίσμα*). In his *Demonst. Evang.* viii. he observes that *χριστὸν οὐκ ἄλλον εἶναι τοῦ καταλόγου ἀρχιερέων οὓς χριστοὺς ἔθος ἀποκαλεῖν τῇ γραφῇ*, "that anointed was nothing else than the succession of high priests whom it was a custom in Scripture to call anointed." Theodoret similarly understands by *unction* *τὴν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἐπανθούσαν χάριν*, "the grace that flourished in the high priests." It is

possible that the LXX., with Theod. and Syr., read the Heb. עַם, in place of עַם (which Grätz approves of), and connected it with the words following. The coming prince might thus have been regarded by them as an equivalent for Messiah; and hence the translation *μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ*. In the Syro-Hexaplar text the words *τοῦ χριστοῦ* are marked with an obelus, as in excess of those which occur in the original Hebrew text, but the correctness of the obelus is questionable. In place of *הבא וקצו*, Grätz reads with the LXX. *רבה קצו*, “*and his end shall come*”; so also G. Jahn. This is another attempt to make the prophecy square with Maccabean times. See remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 214 ff.

On the phrase *יכרת משיח*, compare the words of Jer. xi. 19, *נִשְׁחַתְתָּה עֵץ בְּלֶחְמוֹ וְנִכְרַתְנִי מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים*. Isaiah in ch. liii. 8 has *כָּגֹר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים*. The verb *כָּגֹר*, like *כָּרַת*, being used of the cutting down of trees. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 223. On *Messiah* used here without the article, compare *וְיָאֵן עֹזֵר לוֹ*, Dan. xi. 45. The omission of the article before *Messiah* is not remarkable, for *Messiah a prince* has been mentioned in the verse preceding. One might compare, with J. E. H. Thomson, the omission of the article with *king* in Amos vii. 13 and in 1 Kings xxi. 13.

Bevan considers that some word must have fallen out of the text, and renders, “*an anointed one shall be cut off, and shall have no ———*.” Other critics suppose an ellipsis, which they fill up according to their fancy. Bertholdt supplies *successor*; Grätz, *helper*, the latter appealing to ch. xi. 45, *וְיָאֵן עֹזֵר לוֹ*. Kamphausen well observes that, if the text is to be regarded as mutilated, the easiest suggestion would be to follow Fell, and insert *אָוֶן*, *guilt*, after *וְיָאֵן לוֹ* (or, possibly, *עֵוֶן*). Theodotion, *καὶ*

κρίμα οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῷ, "and there is no judgment in him," seems to take that view. In favour of עֵין, Hitzig refers to Job xxxiii. 9, וְלֹא עֵין לִי, "and there is no iniquity in me." See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 213, 214.

On רָאִין לוֹ, compare רָאִין לוֹ מִקֵּים, "and there is no one to raise him up" (Jer. l. 32); רָאִין לוֹ מְבַר, "and I have no one who observes me" (Ps. cxlii. 5); וְרָאִין לָהֶם מְנַחֵם, "and they have no comforter" (Eccl. iv. 1); וְרָאִין נֹגַהּ לוֹ, "and he has no light" (Isa. l. 10); וְרָאִין מְקַבֵּץ לְנוֹדֵד, "and there shall be no one to collect the stragglers" (Jer. xlix. 5).

It should be remembered that אֵין always includes the substantive verb. Hence, if the text meant "and not for himself" (A.V.), it would have been לֹא לוֹ. The Pesh. Syr. has here ^{אֵין} ^{לֹא} ^{לוֹ}, "and there is not to him," i.e. "nothing is his." Hence C. B. Michaelis, Hitzig, and others explain it as equivalent to וְאֵין־לוֹ, "and he is not," or propose to substitute that phrase. But this is indefensible, although the LXX. seem to have taken the same view, rendering καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. Among the most daring attempts to explain the phrase is that of Dr M. Joel (Rabbi in Breslau), in his *Notizen zum Buche Daniel* (1873), that the difficulty of the passage is caused by the desire of the author to make an allusion to the name of Onias (חֻנִּי, חֻנְיָ, or חֻנִּיָּה). That far-fetched conjecture, however, has been endorsed by Dean Farrar. On the whole passage, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 224 ff.

עַם נָגִיד הַבָּא, "the people of the prince that shall come," i.e., as shown by the fulfilment, the Roman armies under Titus. The LXX. have: "and a kingdom of Gentiles shall destroy the city and the holy place with the Anointed." See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 215, 239. Grätz alters the text and would read עַם, with, in place of עַם, people. In this particular he follows Theodotion.

The LXX. render the clause : "*and his (or its) consummation* [ἡ συντέλεια αὐτοῦ, ἰקצו] *shall come with anger* [the latter words are a paraphrase of אַחַזְבָּ; comp. Prov. xxvii. 4], *and a time of consummation; by war it shall be warred.*" The opening words of that clause, καὶ ἥξει, are usually regarded as a translation of the Hebrew יִקְצֶה אֶחָד. Swete edits μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ καιροῦ συντελείας, noting in the variants that in the Syr. Hex. εὖς is supplied before καιροῦ. The "end" referred to may be the end of the city, or the end of the prince whose coming had been spoken of in the previous clause.

27. See footnote in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 234. It is instructive to observe how the 27th verse of Dan. ix. has been re-edited by the LXX. interpreters in order to make its clauses in some degree harmonise with the events of the Maccabean epoch.

The first clause of the verse was entirely rewritten by them. The words "*he shall make a firm covenant with many for a week*" are rewritten, "*and the covenant shall have power with many.*" The inconvenient clause אֶחָד שָׁבוּעַ *for one week*, was next excised. The clause, thus amended, can, of course, be easily interpreted to mean that the sacred covenant made by Jehovah with His people had power over many of the Jews in the day of apostasy with which the Maccabean period commenced. The introduction in this place of the clause about the building of Jerusalem originally belonging to ver. 25, is no doubt awkward. But an ancient interpreter was seldom disposed to be over-critical, or to find much difficulty because of a few disjointed sentences.

In place of וְהִגְבִּיר בְּרִית וְלָרַבִּים וגו', "*and he shall confirm the covenant with the many for one week*," Grätz would read "*and he shall abolish (וְהִעָבִיר) the covenant of the many,*"

while Bevan considers that perhaps the author may have written 'וְהוֹפַר בְּרִית לְרַב' (hophal of פָּרַר), "*and the covenant shall be annulled for the many*," i.e. "there shall be a period of general apostasy." Such emendations, however, are based upon pure fancy, and absolutely reverse the statements of the text. So also Krätzschmer, without any authority, reads וְהִקְבִּיר instead of the Massoretic וְהִקְבִּיר. Cornill strains the Hebrew phrase, and translates, "*he shall make difficult the covenant for many*"; and Valetton (in the *Zeitschrift für A.T. Wissenschaft*) translates, "*he will force upon the mass of the people another covenant*." This is nothing else than "depraving" the text. Kamphausen properly denies that either of the Hebrew words can mean *to make difficult*, "as though the sense were, the performance of the duties of the covenant concerning the worship of the Lord shall be made difficult"; and it is also open to serious question whether בְּרִית without the article can signify the Levitical covenant.

On the number 139, re-introduced from the previous verse in the awkward shape, "after seven and seventy times and sixty-two years," see the remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 214. The LXX. also give a new and contradictory explanation of לְרַבִּים, which, in defiance of grammar, is transformed into an adjective qualifying the "weeks," "*for many weeks*." They further mistranslate the phrase וְחָצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ by "*in the end of the week*" (ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς ἐβδομάδος), though, in the latter instance, the LXX. may possibly have had a different reading (בְּחָצִי). In place of translating the phrase עַל-בִּנְיָן שְׁקִינִים, they introduce an interpretation ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν, "*upon the temple*," possibly taking כִּנָּה for *pinnacle*, and supposing it to mean the whole temple. The expression וְעַד-כִּלְהָה, in the clause following, is either misread or misinterpreted, and the verse is finally closed with a loose paraphrase.

The writer of 1 Maccabees may have had this prophecy of Daniel in view when he wrote of the power which "the covenant" possessed with the pious Jews of that trying period. The men that followed Mattathias into the mountain fastnesses of the Holy Land are described as all zealous for the Law, and all maintainers of the covenant (1 Macc. ii. 27). Mattathias on his dying bed exhorted his sons to be "zealous for the law, and to give their lives for the covenant of their fathers" (1 Macc. ii. 50).

The LXX. translators understood the prophecy to refer to the chief events connected with the Maccabean struggle. Isolated clauses of the prophecy might bear that interpretation, but the prophecy as a whole cannot. The difficulty seems to have been keenly felt by the LXX. expositors. They were driven to do violence to the text of the prophecy in order to uphold their interpretation.

Hence the LXX. transferred to the closing verse of the prophecy the passages which speak of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the fortification of that city. Those clauses properly belong to the opening verse. Had they been left standing in their proper place, those statements must necessarily have been interpreted of the rebuilding and fortification of the city centuries before the Maccabean era. The LXX. translators recast the prophecy in such a manner that the reconstruction of the holy city in the Maccabean era might appear to be the subject of the prediction. The LXX. translators speak in ver. 26 of "consummation,"¹ as destined to come "with anger"; and in 1 Macc. i. 64, where the sorrows of that age are

¹ The LXX. in ver. 27 have *ἕως συντελείας*; Theodotion, *καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας καιροῦ*. The clause that follows is rendered by both *καὶ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν*.

recounted, the expression is employed, "and there was exceeding great wrath upon Israel."

The Hebrew of ver. 27 is thus rendered in the R.V. :—
 "And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week [A.V. "*he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week*"]: and for the half of the week [A.V. and marg. rend. of R.V. "*and in the midst of the week*"] he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation [marg. rend. of R.V. "*the meal offering*"] to cease; and upon the wing of abominations [A.V. "*and for the overspreading of abominations*"; marg. rend. of R.V. "*upon the pinnacle of abominations*"] shall come [marg. "*shall be*"] one that maketh desolate [A.V. "*he shall make it desolate*"]; and even unto [A.V. "*until*"] the consummation, and that determined, shall wrath be poured out upon the desolator [A.V. "*the desolate*"]."

The reference here to Isa. xxviii. 22 is almost unmistakable. The words in Isaiah are נִכְלָה וְנִחַרְצָה, "*a consummation and that determined.*" In Dan. ix. 27 the words are וְעַד-נִכְלָה וְנִחַרְצָה. Both passages speak of the same truth, a judgment determined upon by Jehovah falling ultimately upon the oppressor.

Bevan affirms that Kuenen's emendation of the text by altering וְעַל-כֵּן into וְעַל-כֵּנִי is "well-nigh certain." He explains the phrase so amended, "*and instead thereof,*" which is different from the meaning which וְעַל-כֵּנִי has in the other three passages of Daniel in which it is found (ch. xi. 20, 21, 38). If the emendation were adopted, the suffix would refer to זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה, *sacrifice and oblation*, "which," observes Bevan, "as they together form the daily sacrifice, may be construed as a singular." But that assumption cannot be granted. זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה is an expression used of all kinds of offerings in general, and

does not denote the דָּבָר , or *daily* sacrifice (1 Sam. ii. 29 ; Ps. xl. 7).

Kuenen further corrects the plural שְׁקָרִים into the singular שְׁקָר . The plural ים —, written defectively, might possibly have arisen from the initial מ of the following word, “but it by no means follows that the author did not intend here the plural” (*Kamphausen*). Bevan asserts that, if the text be correct, “ מִשְׁמָם must be taken as an epithet of שְׁקָרִים , according to the very rare construction $\text{הַשִּׁמְרִים הַקְּשָׁרִים}$, Isa. xix. 4.” Bevan himself views the text as corrupt, and proposes to read שִׁמְשָׁם , *set up*, hophal part. of שָׁם , which form is found nowhere else.

Widely different is the LXX. :—“And the covenant shall have power with many ($\text{καὶ δυναστεύσει ἡ διαθήκη εἰς πολλούς}$), and again it shall return ($\text{καὶ πάλιν ἐπιστρέψει}$), and shall be built up in length and breadth [this clause is re-introduced from ver. 25, where it was omitted ; it is inserted here with divers modifications and misreadings], and according to consummation of times ($\text{καὶ κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν}$) ; and after seven and seventy times and sixty-two years until a time of consummation of war ($\text{ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας πολέμου}$) [this is a partial repetition of a clause in ver. 26], and the desolation shall be taken away¹ through the prevailing of the covenant for many weeks ; and in the end of the week the sacrifice and drink offering shall be taken away, and upon the temple (καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν) shall be an abomination of desolation unto a consummation, and consummation shall be given upon the desolation.”

The manner in which the LXX. set about the task of

¹ Hahn regards this clause, $\text{καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἡ ἐρήμωσις}$, as a translation of the last clause in ver. 26, of שְׁמֹמֶת שְׁמֹמֶת , although an incorrect rendering is given of חֵרֶץ .

accommodating the prophecy of Daniel to the events of the Maccabean era deserves attention. They have worked up into their paraphrase all the words and clauses found in the original prophecy, with the exception of the date assigned in ver. 25 from which the prophecy was to begin to run its course. With that exception, they sought to include all the several points of the prophecy. They found it sometimes advisable to give a loose paraphrase of the contents of a clause, more or less accurately explaining its import. Whenever it was impossible to explain a clause (as it appears in the Hebrew) in harmony with their predetermined interpretation, they made no scruple of breaking the clause off from its original connection, and inserting it, in a more or less modified form, in some other part of the section. The translators thus took to pieces the text of the prophecy, and with its fragments constructed a prophecy to some extent in harmony with the events which the translators considered to be depicted.

CHAPTER X

1. The date assigned for the vision recorded in this section, namely, "*the third year of Cyrus*," is the latest in the book. Many critics think it contradicts the statement in ch. i. 21, according to which Daniel continued to the first year of Cyrus. According to the LXX., the vision was seen in the *first* year of Cyrus. Jahn thinks that the LXX. have here corrected the text. The first year of Cyrus was a date of national importance, the Jews being then permitted to return to their land and rebuild the Temple. That date is, however, not referred to in ch. i. as that of Daniel's death. Theodotion and the other ancient versions support the Hebrew text. In ch. xi. 1 the LXX. read "*in the first year of Cyrus the king*," in place of "*in the first year of Darius the Mede*." See note on that passage.

In this verse Daniel is spoken of in the third person, which may intimate that at least the heading comes from the hand of an editor.

The expression *וְאִמְתָּ הַדְּבָר*, and truth is the word, i.e. true is the word, is peculiarly strong.

וְצָבָא גְדוֹלָה, and a long warfare. Comp. Isa. xl. 2, Job vii. 1. The word may be taken literally, as referring to the long time of war afterwards described. The LXX. render this clause by *καὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα*, and the decree. Probably they thought of the Syr. *ܕܚܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ* = *πρᾶγμα*,

from **רָחַם**, *to wish*. **בְּלִשְׁתִּימָא**. See note on ch. i. 7. **בֵּן** is the perfect qal for **בָּן**. So König, *Lehrg.* i. pp. 504-5; Olshausen, *Heb. Spr.* p. 486. On the abnormal form, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 73 *a*, where it is explained as a curtailed hiphil. Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrb.* 1143, explains it as an inf. const. (comp. **סִיד**, ch. ix. 11), while Fürst regards it as an imperative. In the latter case the word is supposed to be addressed to Daniel. The LXX. add after **τὸ πρόσταγμα** (see p. 164) the words **καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἰσχυρὸν διανοηθήσεται τὸ πρόσταγμα· καὶ διενοήθη ἐν ὄραματι**, “*and the strong multitude shall understand the decree, and I understood it in vision.*” It is impossible to tell what was actually intended. Probably there is a duplicate in the LXX. text. Jahn conjectures that the LXX. read originally: “and the powerful prince (the angel) declared the decree in vision, and I understood it.”

2. The cause of the particular mourning is not stated. Many have supposed that it was a lengthening-out of the ordinary week of the Passover fast. Theodoret imagined that Daniel fasted because the Jews showed themselves backward to return to their land.

Three full weeks. See note on ch. ix. 24, p. 144.

3. **לֶחֶם חֲמֹדֹת**, *bread of desire*, is the opposite to **לֶחֶם עֲנִי**, *the bread of affliction* (Deut. xvi. 3). Under **לֶחֶם** all kinds of food are included. Hence Daniel speaks of abstaining from *flesh* and *wine*. He also abstained during that period from the use of perfumes common among the Easterns.

4. Daniel, when keeping the fast at the river Tigris, appears to have had companions with him (see ver. 7), while he was “carried away in the spirit.” **עַל-יָד**, *by the side of* (lit. *hand*), Exod. ii. 5, Deut. ii. 37. Jewish writers conceive that Daniel’s companions were Haggai,

Zechariah, and Malachi, the prophets of the restoration, but the idea is excluded by many considerations. The Hiddekel, or the Tigris, is mentioned only here and in Gen. ii. 14. The form חֲדָקֶל is peculiar. The Samaritan has ה as the first letter, which comes near to the name in the cuneiform inscription, *Idigna* (Sumerian), or *Idiglat* (Babyl.). The *i* appears to mean *stream*; the second part of the word is akin to a word meaning *arrow*. The derivation of the second part is given by ancient writers. See Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 170; Schrader, *K.A.T.* on Gen. ii. 14. The forms in Aramaic and Arabic omit the opening syllable. Hence the later form *Tigris*. The Syriac read here *the Euphrates*, which is probably a gloss.

5. אִישׁ-אֶחָד לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים. These four words are also found in Ezek. ix. 2. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 48. The expression נָצַן נְחֹשֶׁת קָלִל, “*like the appearance (lit. as an eye) of burnished brass,*” in the next verse, occurs also in Ezek. i. 7. The dress of the celestial visitant appeared like that of a Jewish priest (Lev. vi. 3, E.V. vi. 10), and his girdle was of the gold of Uphaz. Uphaz is mentioned in Jer. x. 9, where gold is said to have been brought from that country. The precise locality is unknown. Ewald considers *Uphaz* to be a corruption of *Ophir*. Aquila, according to Jerome, translated “*colore ὠφάξ.*” Ver. 5 in the LXX. probably contains a duplicate rendering. Jahn is correct in considering that the first βύσσω is a mistake for the rare word βδίδις, which Theodotion simply transliterates βαδδείν. The closing words of the verse (בְּנֶתָם אִופַז) are in the LXX. rendered, “*and from his middle there was light.*”

The visitant does not appear to have been a created angel. In the light of Rev. i. 13-16, where the description is imitated, it is natural to view the angel as the

pre-incarnate Logos. He is probably to be identified with Michael, afterwards spoken of. The angel Gabriel appears to have been present in a subordinate position. See ver. 16.

In ver. 6, in the commencement, the LXX. have a strange translation, "*and his mouth was like the sea.*" The translators mistook פני for פי. It is impossible to explain satisfactorily from what word they extracted the meaning "*like the sea.*"

6. See preceding note. The Tarshish signified was probably that which lay in the direction of India or Africa, and the precious stone called by that name was so designated as coming from that place. The gem referred to is identified by the LXX. and Josephus with *chrysolith*, by others with *topaz*. The ancient interpreters raised a question as to how the colour of the angel's body could be seen, since it was covered by the linen robes? and the answer they gave was that the garments were transparent. מרגלתי is most probably *his feet*, and the word is so interpreted in Rev. i. 15. It might mean "*the place of his feet.*" The adjective קלל is only found here and in Ezek. i. 7. It is easily explained as *smooth*, and, as smooth brass is *shining*, the signification *shining* is probably correct. So the LXX. ἐξαστράπτων, and Theodotion χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος. So substantially the Syr. and Vulgate. There is no necessity, with Cornill, to imagine a corruption of the text. נקול המון, *like the voice of a multitude*. See Isa. xiii. 4, xxxiii. 3; 1 Sam. iv. 14. The word 'ה might refer to a multitude of men or of waters. See Job xxxix. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 41; Isa. xvii. 11.

7. Daniel alone saw the vision. His companions, alarmed at its accompaniments, sought to hide themselves. Comp. Acts ix. 7, xxii. 9; also 1 Sam. iii. 4 ff.

וַיִּבְרְחוּ בַהֲחֵבָא. The infinitive construed with ב points out distinctly the object of the action expressed in the preceding verb—"and they fled with the object of hiding themselves." See König, *Syntax*, § 402 s. Bevan, from the analogy of 1 Kings xxii. 25, considers that ל would have been expected. The LXX. render the words, "*and they ran off in haste*," reading, or translating as if they read, בְּמַהֲרָה. Theodotion has ἐν φόβῳ.

8. On the phrase "*my comeliness was turned in me to corruption*," compare the Aramaic in ch. vii. 28 and Habak. iii. 16.

נָהַמַּךְ, like the Aram. אִשְׁתַּחֲוִי (ithpa.), is used of a change into something worse. So the Heb. מִשְׁחָה in Job xiv. 20. מִשְׁחָה, abstract, as in Ezek. xxi. 36.

9. Daniel again became unconscious with fear and terror. Comp. ch. viii. 18. "*After I had fallen into a deep slumber*, etc., seems to be a circumstantial clause, inserted parenthetically, the apodosis beginning with ver. 10" (Bevan).

10. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to who was the person described as touching Daniel with his hand. The individuals mentioned in this preface to the detailed account of the long warfare set forth in ch. xi. seem to consist (1) of a Divine Theophany; (2) the angel Gabriel as a ministering attendant who sometimes instructed Daniel (ch. iii. 16, and xii. 8 ff.); (3) Michael, who is mentioned thrice, variously termed "Michael, one of the chief princes" (ver. 13), "your prince" (ver. 21), and "Michael, the great prince who standeth up for the children of thy people" (ch. xii. 1). (4) Two other angels are mentioned in ch. xii. 5, one of whom may have been Gabriel.

From a Christian standpoint, Rev. i. may be viewed

as partly expository of this chapter. In that case, the "hand" which raised up Daniel was Divine. "One" like the similitude of the sons of men (ver. 10) not only "touched" the prophet with his hand, but strengthened him (ver. 18). The helper (whether Gabriel or his superior; comp. ch. viii. 16-18) afterwards went forth to fight against the prince of Persia (ver. 20).

But besides the heavenly personages already mentioned, the prince of Persia and the prince of Javan or Greece are spoken of in ver. 20. It has been the "fashion" among certain commentators to regard these as guardian angels, Michael being viewed as the guardian angel of the Jews. There is no real basis for such a view. Compare מַלְאָכָיו in ver. 13. The LXX. translate πρίγκιψ, in the two cases, ver. 20, μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν and στρατηγὸς Ἑλλήνων, and Theodotion μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Περσῶν and ἄρχων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Jerome approves of the idea of guardian angels, and adduces in proof the erroneous translation of the LXX. in Deut. xxxii. 8, "*according to the number of the angels of God*," in place of "*according to the number of the sons of Israel*." To explain the passage or passages of guardian angels is, however, "to import into the book ideas which are nowhere expressed in it." That angels may be used for the purpose of guiding the nations is possible, but it is not revealed.¹ And that Michael should

¹ Dr Pusey, indeed, has contended (*Daniel*, p. 364) that the LXX. have taken their doctrine of guardian angels of the nations from the Book of Daniel. But although Dr Pusey in a later portion of his book (pp. 526 ff.) has gone into detailed arguments, he has not proved his point. Zech. i. 10, 11, in the vision of the angelic riders, propounds no such doctrine. Angels may go to and fro on the earth without being the guardians of particular nations. Satan is represented as doing the same (Job i. 7, ii. 2). According to Heb. i. 14, angels

be spoken of in ver. 13 as *אחד השרים הראשנים*, “one of the chief princes,” as if there were others of similar, if not equal dignity with himself, is in accordance with the gradual unfolding of the facts of revelation as suggested by the *πολυμερῶς* (by *divers portions*) of Heb. i. 1. We cannot render *אחד* in this connection by “the first of the chief princes,” as some old divines did. The last clause of ver. 10 is well rendered in the margin of the R.V., “set me tottering upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands.” The construction is what is termed *constructio prægans*. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 119. 4.

11. *אש חמדות*. See ch. ix. 23.

13. The twenty-one days during which the prince of Persia opposed and retarded the work of Gabriel (even when united with Michael), are usually supposed to have reference to the three full weeks of Daniel’s fast. There is nothing, however, in the chapter to justify that idea. Different expressions are in each case used to express *one and twenty*, possibly to prevent such a misunderstanding. There is not yet sufficient historical information to explain decisively the nature of the hindrance.

G. S. Faber explains the days as “mystical,” “a day for a year” (Ezek. iv. 4-6), and supposes the twenty-one years signified are those which elapsed between the time

minister to “the heirs of salvation,” as they did on several occasions to Christ. But that does not prove them to be “guardian angels” in the commonly understood sense of the term. Acts xii. does not point to any “apostolic belief” on the subject. Matt. xviii. 10 comes the nearest to the doctrine desired. But even that passage does not prove it, for surely the “angels” spoken of need not be regarded as always being the same. The doctrine of “guardian angels,” whether of individuals or of nations, goes beyond the revelations vouchsafed in Scripture, and all such exaggerations of Scripture tend to superstition.

when Cyrus commenced his conquests and the third year when Daniel saw the vision (ver. 1). A similar interpretation was given by C. B. Michaelis. It cannot, however, be satisfactorily proved that the period in question was exactly twenty-one years. Hence the exposition must be regarded as doubtful.

The expression נִוְתַרְתִּי has been variously explained. The meaning of the niphal in Gen. xxxii. 25 and Exod. x. 15 justifies the translation "*I was left*." The translation of Gesenius, Hävernicks, and von Lengerke, "*I obtained the precedence*," may be defended by the meaning of the qal in Gen. xlix. 4. Grätz's emendation of the word into הוֹתַרְתִּי, "*and him I left*," as Bevan has shown, is not really supported by the LXX. and Theodotion. Bevan's own explanation is a good one: "Retaining the traditional text, we may take וְאֲנִי נִוְתַרְתִּי וְגו' as a circumstantial clause describing the previous situation of the speaker [before Michael came to his help], 'whereas I had been left (alone) there contending with the kings of Persia'; cf. Jer. ii. 21, xxiii. 32; Ezek. xiii. 7."

14. וּבְאֵתִי. On the form, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72 p; König, *Lehrgr.* i. p. 643. On the phrase, compare ch. ix. 23.

יָקָרָה, pointed after the analogy of ל"א verbs in order to assimilate the passage to Gen. xlix. 1, which is imitated. בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים is a general expression for *in after times*. Compare also Isa. ii. 2. On the last clause of the verse, compare ch. viii. 26.

15. Somewhat different from ver. 9. Daniel cast his face to the ground as in ch. ix. 3, where נָתַן פָּנָיו is also made use of. Daniel did not on this occasion fall prostrate, but he became dumb. Comp. Ps. xxxix. 10.

16. It needed the Divine touch from the person who

appeared in the similitude of the sons of men before Daniel could open his lips and speak; and when he spoke, the first words uttered expressed a sense of his utter unworthiness to converse with the Divine-human person (comp. Isa vi. 6).

כדמות בני אדם. The LXX. translation is peculiar, ὡς ὁμοίωσις χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου. One of Kennicott's MSS. (cod. 607) reads also יָדִי in the same place. נִהַפְנִי צִירִי. A metaphor from child-birth, 1 Sam. iv. 19. צִיר is also used of *door-hinges*, Prov. xxvi. 14. Hence in the Vulg. *dissolutæ sunt compages meæ*, LXX. τὸ πλευρόν μου, and Theodotion τὰ ἐντός μου.

יָהִי. The purer Hebrew form is יִהְיֶה. The Aram. form also occurs in 1 Chron. xiii. 12. The aspirated form is more common in Samaritan, in the Targg., and in Talmudic Hebrew.

On the place of the tone on the penultima in עַם אֲדֹנִי זֶה, as contrasted with the opposite accent in the former part of the verse, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 29. 3 *b*, and Baer's critical note in his edition. Behrmann notes that the first זֶה points to עַבְדִּי, and is contemptuous, as in 1 Sam. x. 27, while the second זֶה is honorific, as in Gen. v. 29. Hence both are without the article.

מַעֲתָה in this context is somewhat awkward. The Pesh. Syr. omits the word. The LXX. have ἡσθένησα, on the strength of which Marti would read מַעֲדָתִי; compare Ps. xviii. 37. Bevan suggests that the word may be a corruption of מִבְּעַתָּה, *from terror*. There is no authority for altering the text, although it is suspicious.

19. אִישׁ חַמְדוֹת. See note, ch. ix. 23.

חֹזֶק וְחֹזֶק. The LXX. have ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἰσχυσαι. Similarly the Pesh. Syr., Vulg., and Theodotion. They probably read חֹזֶק וְחֹזֶק; comp. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9, 18, and

other places. Rosenmüller says the reading occurs in four Hebrew MSS.

וּבְדַבְרוֹ. The best MSS. read כ for ב.

20. וְאֶנִּי יֵצֵא, *and as I go forth*, probably from that contest, the prince of Greece will come. So Bertholdt and Hitzig. One enemy will succeed the other, as shown in the next chapter.

בְּכֹתֵב אֱמֶת, *in a writing of truth*, the book in which God's decrees are written. Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 16. Rosenmüller observes that a similar idea occurs in the Koran, Sur. lxxxv. 22, where mention is made of the tablets guarded in heaven. Mohammed derived his notion from Christian traditions which were based on Daniel and the Revelation.

CHAPTER XI

1. The nominative **אֲנִי** is followed by no verb. It cannot be construed with **עָמְדִי**, which word, moreover, is separated from it by four intervening words. Job ix. 27 is insufficient to justify the use of **עָמְדִי** for **עָמַדְתִּי**. And the close connection of the verse with the last verse of the preceding chapter makes the difficulty greater.

Both the LXX. and Theodotion read "Cyrus" in place of "Darius the Mede." Much can be said in favour of Bevan's opinion that the Hebrew basis of the LXX., *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ Κύρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπέν μοι ἐνισχῦσαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι*, was probably **אָמַר לְכֹרֶשׁ אֶחָת בְּשָׁנָה** [ו] **[הַמֶּלֶךְ]**. If, however, the Hebrew of this portion of Daniel be a translation from an Aramaic original, the conjecture of Bevan is, of course, only an approximation to the actual text.

2. According to the Massoretic punctuation and accentuation, the last clause of the verse should be rendered, "*he shall rouse up the whole, the kingdom of Greece,*" as given by von Lengerke and others. Not very dissimilarly Rosenmüller.¹ The clause refers to the

¹ "Regem illum *suscitaturum* ait omnes, **וְעִיר הַכָּל**, contra se, puta. . . Designat omnes illos, quos contra se suscitabit Xerxes, addito: **וְיָן אֶת מַלְכוּת יָוֶן**, *regnum Javanis, i.e. Græciæ.*"

war of Xerxes against Greece, but the use of the expression הָפֵל is, as Bevan remarks, "meaningless." The translation in the margin of the R.V., "*all this shall stir up the realm of Greece*," is dubious. The Vulgate gives a better sense to the passage: "*and he shall stir up all against the kingdom of Greece*." But אֶת nowhere else signifies "*against*." Cases cited in which that particle is employed after נִלְחַם or מִלְחָמָה are not analogous. If the analogy of עַם be adduced, it is questionable whether עַם is used in that signification in Ps. xciv. 16. It may be going too far to assert that such a translation of אֶת by "*against*" is "absolutely impossible," but it is a distinct violation of the *usus loquendi*. Hitzig's attempt to get out of the difficulty by assigning to the particle the sense of *towards*, and Bevan's suggestion that $\text{וַיָּרֵד הָפֵל אֶת מַלְכוּת יוֹן}$ may be a corruption of $\text{וַיָּרֵד אֶת[קָר] לְהַפֵּל$, "*he shall array (his armies) against the kingdom of Greece*," are both interesting as showing that, although the general sense of the passage is clear, the language is questionable Hebrew. In other words, they support the hypothesis that the text is a translation, and not the original.

The LXX. translation is also interesting, as indicative of a desire to correct the supposed "inaccuracies" of the Hebrew. The LXX. is $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\acute{\nu}\omega\nu$, "*he shall rise up against every king of Greeks*." Theodotion has $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\acute{\nu}\omega\nu$, and similarly the Syriac Peshitto also, "*he shall stir up all the kingdoms of the Greeks*."

4. The Hebrew וַיִּמְצָא (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 246) can be rendered, "*and when he shall stand up*" (R.V.). In the parallel passage in ch. viii. 8, where the Macedonian he-goat is described, the phrase is וַיִּמְצָא , "*and when he was strong*," which Grätz prefers to read

here. The translation of the LXX., ἐν τῷ ἀναστῆναι αὐτόν, is evidence in favour of the Hebrew text.

וְתִחַץ, niph'al from חָצַח. Jahn alters the text and would read וְתִחַץ. The jussive is used here without regard to its grammatical signification. Eight other instances of this misuse of the jussive occur in the chapter, viz.: וְיָשָׁב, ver. 10; וְיָעַשׂ, ver. 16; וְיָשָׁם, ver. 17; in ver. 18 the Q'rē reading is וְיָשָׁם from יָשָׁם, and, inasmuch as there is a Q'rē note, the K'thibh is to be regarded as unpointed, although there is no doubt, from ver. 19, the text should be read וְיָשָׁב, from יָשָׁב. The three other cases are : וְיָעִיר, ver. 25; וְיָשָׁב, ver. 28, comp. ver. 10; and וְיָבֵן in ver. 30. See Driver, *Heb. Tenses*, 3rd edition, § 171, § 175, *obs.*, pp. 213, 218; also König, *Syntax*, § 364 c, d. Such grammatical improprieties tell in favour of the hypothesis that the Hebrew text is not the original, although they are not conclusive evidence. Professor Driver in the latter place remarks rightly that "the syntax of ch. xi. is much inferior to that of the usual prophetic style."

The Peshitto Syriac inserts long parenthetical explanations in this chapter, in which the fulfilment of the prophecy is pointed out. Those additions are given in the London and other Polyglots. They are omitted from Lee's edition of the Syriac Bible, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as from the fine edition of the Syriac Bible printed in two small folio volumes at Mosul, at the press of the Roman Catholic Mission, by Abp. C. Joseph David and Abp. G. Ebed-Jesus Khayyoth.

The Hebrew is וְלֹא לְחַרְבּוֹ. The Syriac Peshitto has ܠܗܘܐ ܠܚܝܒܐ, "and not as his sword," reading ܠܚܝܒܐ. The LXX. read οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτοῦ, וְלֹא בְנַחוּ, as in ch. viii. 22, but varying their rendering.

In *מִלְבַּד אֲלֶה וְלֹא־אֲחֵרִים מְלָכוֹתָיו* there is an ellipsis of *הָיָה*. What is to be understood by *מִלְבַּד אֲלֶה*, "*besides these*"? Hitzig refers *אֲחֵרִים*, the *others*, to the first successors of Alexander, and explains *אֲלֶה*, "*these*," of Alexander's sons. But, as Bevan shows, this would require *מִלְבַּד* to be taken in the sense of "*to the exclusion of*," which it never bears.

The LXX. render the last clause of the verse ὅτι ἀποσταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτέρους διδάξει ταῦτα, "*for his kingdom shall be removed, and shall teach others these things*." They read *מִלְמַד* for *מִלְבַּד*, and probably explained the words to mean that such events taught a moral lesson. Jahn would strike out these words as a gloss; Michaelis would read *וְאֲחֵרִים מְלָכִים אֱלֹהֵהּ*, inventing a new verb, not found in Hebrew, and translating "*and God will strengthen others*." These suggestions may show the expedients to which critics have resorted.

5. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 247-249. The translation of the LXX., καὶ ἐνισχύσει βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου, may be understood in the light of the history. As there is no fresh nominative, it would be natural to explain:—"And he (Alexander) shall make strong the kingdom of Egypt," although the LXX. probably supposed Ptolemy to be referred to: καὶ εἰς ἐκ τῶν δυναστῶν κατισχύσει αὐτὸν καὶ δυναστεύσει, δυναστεία μεγάλη, "*and one of the rulers (i.e. of Alexander's empire) shall strengthen him (i.e. Seleucus shall strengthen him, Ptolemy, by coming to his aid), and shall rule with a great dynasty. A great dynasty (or rule) shall be his dynasty*," namely, the kingdom of Syria founded by Seleucus.

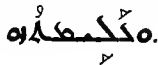
The LXX. may have read *מְלָכוֹת* for *מְלָךְ*, and *מַשָּׁל* instead of *וְיָמָשָׁל*. It is more probable, however, that they altered the text in order to round off its angularities, and

to bring it more completely in accordance with actual history.¹

6. On the addition made by the LXX. in the opening of this verse, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 252, footnote 2. By arbitrary alterations Jahn puts a different meaning on the LXX. ולא תעצר. Theodotion renders, οὐ στήσεται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ, "his seed shall not stand," reading ולא יעמד וירעו, a reading followed by the Vulgate, and approved by Bertholdt and others. Theodotion further reads הילדה, the girl, for הילדה, while the Vulgate and Syriac seem to have read והילדה.² ומהחזקה, "and he who strengthened her," is naturally explained as referring to her father, and not to her husband, Antiochus Theos. The Vulgate reads, "and they who comforted her at times." Theodotion cuts off the בָּעֵתִים from the end of the verse, and attaches it to the beginning of the next.

In the second clause the LXX. have omitted בת (daughter), or conceived it to be some part of the verb בוא. They proceed: "and he shall have no power (καὶ οὐ μὴ κατισχύσει, reading יעצר for תעצר), for his arm shall not keep strength"—this may be a duplicate rendering of the Hebrew הָיָה הָיָה כֹּחַ הָיָה תֵּעָצֵר—“and his arm shall wither, and (that) of those who go along with him, and he shall remain for seasons (καὶ μενεί εἰς ὥρας).” Hitzig would read ולא יעמדו וירעו in place of ולא יעמד וירעו, which is a simple evasion of the difficulty in the actual text. Bevan pronounces the text hopelessly corrupt, and suggests that “something has been left out.” The difficulty as to

¹ Rosenmüller calls attention to the fact that the Hebrew Bibles of Opitius (1709) and Steinbart (1749) omit the copula before מָשַׁל, although no mention is made by Kennicott or de Rossi of any such reading.

² Vulgate, *adolescentes ejus*; Syriac, 

הַיְלָדָה was met by the LXX. by simple omission. The A.V. rendering would require הַיְלָדָה. The use of the article with a noun already rendered definite by a suffix is rare. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 127. 4, 6. It is impossible to affirm with any probability what the text of the LXX. was. Most probably they gave only a loose paraphrase. On the history, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 251.

מְבִיאָה, plural, written defect. in more correct MSS., though plene in others. The versions all render it as plural. Had it been singular, it might have referred to the murder of Antiochus.

7. עַל-בְּנוֹ is for בְּנוֹ, as in verses 20, 21, 38, *one of the offspring of her roots*, מִבְּנוֹ שְׂרָשִׁיהָ. The מֵן is partitive, and בְּנוֹ collective. Bevan suggests מִשְׂרָשִׁיהָ, transposing the מֵן. The LXX., to which he appeals, has *φυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ*.

The LXX. translate בְּנוֹ by καθ' ἑαυτόν, which shows that they refer the suffix to Ptolemy Euergetes, and not to Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Vulgate is, *et stabit ex germine radicum ejus plantatio*. The latter assigns a false meaning to בֵּן, and disregards the suffix. Theodotion regards בְּנוֹ as if in apposition to שְׂרָשִׁיהָ, rendering ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθους τῆς ῥίζης αὐτῆς, τῆς ἐτοιμασίας αὐτοῦ, "*from the flower of her root, of his basis*." See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 252 ff.

The Vulgate rendering, *et veniet cum exercitu*, is a correction, not a translation. The rendering of Hävernick, "*he shall come into power*," is not only "unsupported by usage" (Bevan), but opposed by the article הַהֵלֵל. The margin of the R.V., "*which shall come against the army*," gives an unwarranted meaning to the preposition. The instances cited by Kranichfeld and Hitzig in favour

of that rendering do not bear critical examination.¹ Bevan ingeniously proposes to read חֵיל וְיָבֹא [אֵלֶיהֶם], "*and he shall bring an army against them.*"

יָמָיו is probably a *defence*, or *place of defence*. In consequence of the plural pronoun, בָּהֶם, in the next clause, יָמָיו might be taken as collective, "*into fortresses.*"

The LXX. render the latter part of ver. 7, καὶ ἥξει ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς βορρᾶ, "*and the king of the north shall come to his power (Heb. בָּמָצוֹ) in his strength [ἐν ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ appears to be a duplicate translation],*" καὶ ποιήσει ταραχὴν καὶ κατισχύσει, "*and he shall cause trouble (reading וְעָשָׂה מְהוּמָה instead of וְעָשָׂה בָהֶם) and prevail.*" The last clause must have been understood by the LXX. to refer to Ptolemy, on account of its connection with the next verse.² But it may also, as Hitzig and Bevan think, refer to the Syrians. Hävernicks cites Neh. iv. 15, Heb. (in E.V. iv. 21) וְנִבְחַנּוּ עָשִׂים בְּמַלְאכָה, "*and we wrought in the work.*" The phrase is also employed in a hostile signification, as in Jer. xviii. 23, בְּעֵת אַפְּךָ עָשָׂה בָהֶם, "*in the time of thine anger deal with them.*"

8. The LXX. has, "*and he shall overthrow their gods with their molten things (μετὰ τῶν χωνευτῶν αὐτῶν), and their multitudes [reading עַם in place of עַם (?) and translating freely] with their desirable vessels, the silver and the*

¹ They are: (1) Gen. xxxii. 9, "*If Esau come to the one company (אֶל-הַמִּחְנֶה) and smite it,*" where there is no necessity to render אֵל by *against*. Similarly (2) Isa. xxxvii. 33, "*The king of Assyria shall not come into (up to) this city (לֹא יָבֹא אֶל-הָעִיר הַזֹּאת).*"

² The Vulgate translates satisfactorily as far as the general sense is concerned, although it has erroneously rendered מָעוֹ as equivalent to מְחֻזּוֹ, a word once found in Ps. cvii. 30 in the sense of *haven*, but common in Aramaic (מְחֻזָּא) in that of *province*. עָשָׂה בָהֶם is correctly taken in a hostile signification, but too strongly rendered by *abutetur eis*, while וְיִהְיֶינָא is unduly softened *et obtinebit*.

gold, they shall carry away in captivity into Egypt, and there shall be a year (שָׁנָה, taken indefinitely for a time of respite) for the king of the north." The words וְהָיָה with מִן are slurred over. On the phrase, see notes in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 254 ff.

The margin of the R.V., instead of "*their molten images*," gives "*their princes*." The word undoubtedly occurs in that signification. But as the verb נָסַךְ, from which the noun is derived, occurs in the sense of *casting* of metals (Isa. xl. 19, xlv. 10), the connection of the word with מְלִיכִים renders *molten* images more probable. There is no tautology, as Rosenmüller imagines. The prophets often speak of what the Gentiles termed *gods* as mere *molten* or *carved* images. A noun נִסְכָּה occurs (Isa. xlviii. 5) with that signification, and Bevan compares the use of פְּסִילִים, *graven images*, which is virtually used as a plural of פֶּסֶל. Some critics propose to read נִסְכֵּיהֶם, *their riches*.

Moreover, as Keil urges, the emphatic וְהָיָה, with which the sentence begins, suggests something new and strange. Hence Winer, Gesenius, de Wette, Kranichfeld, and Keil follow the Vulgate and Syriac in rendering מִן עָמַד, *to stand up against*. Vulgate, *ipse prævalebbit adversus regem Aquilonis*; Syriac, ܢܥܡܪ ܕܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܬܐܝܠܐ. Ps. xliii. 1, appealed to by these scholars, ܕܝܝܒܐ ܕܝܒܝ ܡܢ ܐܠ ܕܗܝܬܐ, is not decisive. עָמַד is, however, employed in a similar signification in verses 6, 15, 17, 25. See also *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 255.

9. The LXX. render, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς βασιλείαν βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἡμέρας, κ.τ.λ. The Heb. text has no equivalent for ἡμέρας. No mention is made in history of an expedition of Ptolemy to Syria at this time.

10. וַיֵּשֶׁב. See note on ver. 4. See also note in *Daniel*

and his Prophecies, p. 258. The Q'rē introduces two corrections into the Hebrew text of the last clause of the verse. Instead of וַיִּתְּבֶרָה, plural, the Q'rē reads וַיִּתְּבֶרָה, singular. The correction is of little importance. For the plural cannot (as von Lengerke maintained) refer to the two combatants, Antiochus and Ptolemy, as Ptolemy had not yet been mentioned. The subject, therefore, of the verb is really the הַמֶּוֹן, or *multitude*, spoken of in the former part of the verse, which by itself might be construed indifferently as singular or plural. Behrmann conjectures that the Q'rē notes call attention to a transposition of the endings of the two words made, or supposed to have been made, by early copyists. The correction of the Q'rē, מַעֲזָה for מַעֲזָה, is unnecessary, unless indeed the latter reading be pointed מַעֲזָה, in which case the feminine suffix may refer to אֶרֶץ, *land*, understood. וְשִׁטְףָהּ וְעָבַר. The phrase comes from Isa. viii. 8.

11. וַיִּתְּבֶרָה. Hithpael of תָּבַר. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 55 g. וַיִּתְּבֶרָה, *and shall put in array a great multitude*. This rendering is preferable to *and shall set forth, etc.* וַיִּתְּבֶרָה. Hitzig proposes to read וַיִּתְּבֶרָה. The change is unnecessary. Comp. 1 Kings xx. 28. On the history, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 260 ff.

12. The Q'rē reading in ver. 12, וְרָם לָבָו (as in Ezek. xxxi. 10), is preferable to the K'thibh וְרָם לָבָו, although the reading of the text may be defended. It can, however, scarcely, with Hitzig, be explained of the raising of the courage of the Egyptian army. רָם is a late Aramaising form. The more classical Hebrew is רָבָו.

The LXX. translation of the passage is, "*And he shall take up the levy* [καὶ λήψεται τὴν συναγωγὴν], *and his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall trouble many* [ταράξει

πολλούς, reading thus רבֹּוֹת for רַבָּוִת], *and he shall not be afraid* [καὶ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ].” The translation of the last clause is a correction of the text. See on the verse, *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 262 ff.

13. The occurrence of רַבָּוִת after רַבָּוִת is best explained as a gloss, not, however, one introduced from the verse following (*Behrmann*). For the word occurs in all the old versions, and was certainly in the copy from which the LXX. version was made. *Kranichfeld* considers the רַבָּוִת to be used adverbially, like רַבָּוִת in Dan. x. 2.

The LXX. text is faulty: “*And the king of the north shall return and shall collect a greater gathering of the city than the first, at the expiration of the time of a year.*” The πόλεως in the first part is a mistake for πολύ, as *Segaar* has conjectured; or πολύ may be, as *Bludau* thinks, a duplicate rendering of the Hebrew רַב, rendered in the same sentence by μείζονα. Compare the LXX. rendering in ch. xi. 2. The LXX. translation, κατὰ συντέλειαν καιροῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, is doubly wrong: (1) it is a mistranslation of the Hebrew שָׁנִים רַבָּוִת, which is plural, and (2) it is incorrect in respect of history. For it was not till thirteen years after the battle of Raphia that Antiochus invaded Egypt the second time.

Ewald's rendering, “*At the end of times he will come repeatedly* (רַבָּוִת בִּרְבָּוִת) *during some years,*” is forced. *Bevan* observes that the Hebrew in such a case would be expressed רַבָּוִת בְּרַבָּוִת.

The rendering of the second clause by the LXX. is obscure: καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς αὐτήν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἐν χρήμασι πολλοῖς. To what does the εἰς αὐτήν refer? To the πόλεως, as *Hahn* imagines? Or to συναγωγήν, as *Bludau* thinks? Neither interpretation makes much sense of the passage. *Bludau* notes that the LXX. trans-

late in ver. 10 the Hebrew **וְכָא בֹא** by καὶ εἰσελεύσεται κατ' αὐτήν (**וְכָא בֹא**), and may have similarly read here **יְבוֹא בֹא**. In that case the passage contains a duplicate rendering of the Hebrew **בֹּא** : (1) as κατ' αὐτήν, referring to Egypt, and (2) ἐπ' αὐτόν, referring to Ptolemy.

The expression **וּבְרֶכֶשׁ רַב** cannot be, "*and with much cavalry*" (Bertholdt); the clause is rendered by him, "*with a powerful army of infantry and cavalry.*" But, as Hävernick observes, **חֵיל** does not mean *infantry* as distinguished from *cavalry*; and in the second place, **רֶכֶשׁ** should be altered into **רָכֶשׂ**. All the ancient versions support the punctuation of the Hebrew.¹

14. Compare Ps. xvii. 4, **אֲנִי שְׁמַרְתִּי אֶרְחוֹת פְּרִיץ**, "*I have kept me from the ways of the violent.*" Ezek. vii. 22 says, "*And they shall profane my secret place, (וּבְאֵי-בָהּ פְּרִיָצִים) and violent men (robbers) shall enter into it and profane it.*" The same prophet speaks (ch. xviii. 10) of a righteous man begetting "*a son of violence*" (**וְהוֹלִיד בֶּן-פְּרִיץ**), where the Massoretes also connect the two words as together expressing one idea. The expressions **בְּנֵי נָכָר** (Ps. xviii. 45) and **בְּנֵי אֲבִיוֹן** (Ps. lxxii. 4), though not exact parallels, show that the connection is not contrary to Hebrew usage.

As the expression **בְּנֵי פְּרִיָצִי עֲמָדָה** is peculiar, Bevan, after the analogies of Amos ix. 11 and Ezek. xxvii. 9, proposes to read **בְּנֵי פְּרִיָצִי עֲמָדָה**, "*those who build up the breaches of thy people.*" But, peculiar though the phrase may be, the construction is not impossible, and so far as the scanty records of the times enable us to judge of Jewish affairs, the meaning afforded by the Massoretic text is more probable.

¹ Even the Syriac, supposed by some to favour the proposed rendering, really follows in the wake of the other versions. See Payne Smith's *Syr. Thes. s.v.* p. 3255.

Theodotion renders οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν, which word is used to translate פָּרִיץ in Ezek. xviii. 10. Symmachus has παραβάσεων. The LXX. translate the verse, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις διάνοιαι ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ ἔθνους σου (they seem to have read 'ע' וַיִּבְנֶה פָּרִיץ, or פָּרִיץ עָמָּה, in place of וַיִּבְנֶה פָּרִיץ עָמָּה), καὶ ἀναστήσεται εἰς τὸ ἀναστήσαι τὴν προφητείαν, καὶ προσκόψουσι, "*and in those times designs shall be entertained against the king of Egypt, and he shall build up again the breaches of thy nation, and he shall be raised up in order to establish the prophecy, and they shall stumble.*" It is probable that the LXX. interpreted the verse somewhat on the lines afterwards followed by Jerome. By the "*designs*" raised up or "*entertained*" against the king of Egypt, allusion is made to the conspiracies formed against Ptolemy's rule in various provinces of his dominions. Those conspiracies had the effect of making the king of Egypt anxious to propitiate the Jews, who were numerous in his kingdom, and led him to treat them with greater consideration than was shown at the commencement of his reign. This is probable from the story recorded in Josephus (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 264) of the favour in which Joseph, the son of Tobias, was held by that monarch. Ptolemy's attitude might be regarded as "a building up of the breaches of the nation." It is, moreover, possible that in the expression, "*he shall be raised up in order to establish the prophecy,*" the translators may have imagined that the prophecy referred to the erection of the temple at Heliopolis during the period of Antiochus Epiphanes' oppression of Israel, incongruous as that interpretation may appear to us.

לְהַעֲמִיד חֻוּן. Grätz's translation, "*to cause the law to*

totter," labours under a double difficulty. For (1) it is very doubtful whether the verb can be thus rendered. The passage in Ezek. xxix. 7 is not conclusive; and (2) no passage can be cited in which *וִיזֵן*, *vision* or *prophecy*, is an equivalent for *וַיִּרְאֵהוּ*, or *law*. The Hebrew word *vision* has not the article, and Theodotion omits it in τοῦ στήσαι ὄρασιν, although the LXX. express it (εἰς τὸ ἀναστῆσαι τὴν προφητείαν). Venema supposes some false prophecy to be alluded to, like that concerning Ahab's success at Ramoth-Gilead.

15. וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ סִלְלָה, "*shall cast up a mount*." The verb meaning *to pour out* is used of the débris thrown out of a house, and of the throwing up of siege works round a city (2 Sam. xx. 15; 2 Kings xix. 32, etc.). Hence Theodotion renders ἐκχεεῖ πρόσχωμα. The LXX. have strangely ἐπιστρέψει τὰ δόρατα αὐτοῦ, "*shall turn round his spears*." How the LXX. extracted the meaning of δόρατα from סִלְלָה is difficult to conjecture.

עִיר מְבֻצָּרָה. The expression עִיר מְבֻצָּר, in the singular, for a *fortified city*, occurs elsewhere, and עָרֵי מְבֻצָּר, in the plural, "*fortified cities*." The plural has, in all other passages, the masculine termination. Theodotion regards the phrase as collective (πόλεις ὀχυράς). So also the Vulgate, *urbes munitissimas*, and the Syriac. There is no occasion to suppose that they read עִירִים בְּצֻרֹת. Sidon is the city referred to. Instead of עָרֵי מְבֻצָּרִי, one would expect מְבֻצָּר עִמּוֹ, or מְבֻצָּר עִמּוֹ. Compare Jer. xlviii. 15. So the Syr. Pesh. עָרֵי, however, occurs in the phrases עָרֵי מְבֻצָּר, עָרֵי מְבֻצָּרָה.

וְיָדָעוּ, or וְיָדָעוּ (ver. 31), *arms*, occurs several times in this chapter of *might*, *power*. The singular is thus employed in ver. 6. It need not necessarily mean *armies*, although armies are often included. Hence in Judith ix. 7,

ἐν βραχίονι πεζῶν is used for "in the strength (בְּזֶרַע) of their footmen." In the LXX., καὶ οἱ βραχίονες βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου στήσονται μετὰ τῶν δυναστῶν αὐτοῦ, the negative οὐ ought to be inserted before στήσονται. The omission has probably been caused, as Bludau conjectures, by the similarity in ending of the preceding Αἰγύπτου.

16. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 267–8. בארץ הצבי. Comp. ארץ חמדה, Jer. iii. 19; Ps. cvi. 24; Zech. vii. 14. Theodotion seems to have been puzzled by הצבי. In Dan. viii. 9, where that word occurs without ארץ preceding, Theodotion read it צבא, for he translates there καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν, followed by Jerome, *et contra fortitudinem*. In the present passage Theodotion regards it as a proper name, rendering ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ Σαβείρ, and so also in ver. 45, where לְהַר צְבִי קָדֵשׁ is translated by him εἰς ὄρος Σαβαεὶν ἁγιον. The LXX., however, render it ἐν τῇ ἐνδόξῳ. Symmachus either read צבא, or understood the word in that signification, for he renders ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς δυνάμεως.

וכלה. In the LXX. rendering, καὶ ἐπιτελεσθήσεται πάντα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, πάντα is a duplicate, ὡכלָה being read ὡכלָה. The latter reading has been in later times proposed by Bertholdt.¹ See remarks on the verse in ch. vii. 27. Theodotion and Symmachus also regard כלה as a verb.

17. In the phrase וישם פניו לבוא בת', the בוא followed by ב' is used in a hostile sense, as in Gen. xxxii. 9, where it is construed with אָל. The words there are, וְאִם יָבוֹא עִשָׂו אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַזֶּה וְהָקְדוּהוּ, "if Esau come to the one company and smite it."

On the Hebrew וישם פניו, comp. what is said of Jacob,

¹ Von Lengerke and Ewald take כָּלָה as an adverbial accusative, comparing Gen. xviii. 21. The construction in the two passages is not identical, for in Genesis כָּלָה is preceded by עָשָׂה.

וַיָּשֶׂם אֶת־פָּנָיו, “and he set his face to go to Mount Gilead” (Gen. xxxi. 21); and of Hazael, וַיָּשֶׂם חֲזַאֵל פָּנָיו לָעֲלוֹת עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם, “and Hazael set his face (intended) to go up to Jerusalem” (2 Kings xii. 18, R.V. 17). The noun used for *strength*, חֲזָקָה, is only used elsewhere in Biblical literature in the Book of Esther. The word is, however, common in Aramaic, and occurs in the Pesh. version of this passage.

Hävernicks refers the suffix in this phrase to the king of Egypt: “he (Antiochus) shall set his face to come against the strength of his (Ptolemy’s) whole kingdom.” This is, however, opposed to the context, which speaks of the powerlessness of Ptolemy. It is, however, supported by the Vulgate, “*ut veniet ad tenendum universum regnum ejus*,” which Jerome explains, “*volens . . . in Egyptum quoque regnum suum extendere*.”

The Vulgate translation *et recta faciet cum eo* is an impossible rendering. It is, however, a witness in favour of the reading ישרים. So also Theodotion, καὶ εὐθείᾳ ἅπαντα μετ’ αὐτοῦ ποιήσει, where ἅπαντα is added to explain the εὐθείᾳ, and the second copula omitted, as in the Vulgate. Both Vulgate and Theodotion refer it, of course, to *things*, not to *persons*. ישרים, in the abstract, might refer to either. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 269. The Pesh. has סָפָא כָּל־מֶלֶךְ וְכָל־נָכְרִי, “and all shall pass over with him,” ignoring ישרים, and paraphrasing וְעָשָׂה. The וְעָשָׂה is as great a difficulty as the ישרים, and, of course, has to be changed into וְעָשָׂה. Other attempts have been made to get over the difficulty of the text. Thus, (1) the word “*upright*” (ישרים) has been explained as a plural of the segholate noun יָשָׁר (as בָּקָרִים, בָּקָר). The plural is not elsewhere met with, although that is not decisive against the explanation. The word, however, signifies *smoothness*, and it is not easy to extract from it the sense

of *treaty*, or *alliance*. (2) In place of ישרים critics have proposed to read מִישָׁרִים, which is employed in ver. 6 of the chapter in the signification of *treaty*. Their object is plain. They desire to harmonise the prophecy with history, on the assumption that the prophecy was written after the events narrated. The LXX. has both emendations. The LXX. render the first clause literally, καὶ δώσει τὸ πρόσωτον αὐτοῦ. So in ver. 18, where the LXX. follow the Q'rē. The phrase is translated in the same manner as Jer. xlix. 15 (Heb. xlii. 15). The LXX. translate לְבֹא בְּתֻקָּה בְּלִמְלָכוֹתוֹ by ἐπελθεῖν βίᾳ (πάν, Syr. Hex.) τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, reading מְלָאָתוֹ, which affords no sense. They render the clause following, καὶ συνθήκας μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσεται, as if the text had מִישָׁרִים and יַעֲשֶׂה.

"*The daughter of women*" is a strange expression. Rosenmüller's comparison of 1 Kings xi. 3 explains nothing. Better is the comparison of the עֵיר בֶּן-אֲתֻנֹת (Zech. ix. 9), *i.e.* a colt so young that it kept close to the she-asses in the field; or נַפִּיר אֲרִיּוֹת (Jud. xiv. 5), properly a young lion just grown out of the care of the lionesses. According to those analogies, בִּתְּהֵנָּשִׁים may be explained to be a daughter still in charge of the women of the palace, or just emerging from their care, *i.e.* a young and marriageable daughter in the first bloom of maidenhood. See remarks on this text in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 270.

The LXX. render: "*And he shall give the daughter of a man*¹ *to him in order to corrupt her* [εἰς τὸ φθεῖραι αὐτήν, referring the feminine suffix to the daughter spoken of], *and she shall not persuade [him] and shall not be.*" The Greek

¹ θυγατέρα ἀνθρώπου, reading probably הַנְּשִׁים as אֲנָשִׁים, and then explaining it in the singular, as if equivalent to בִּתְּהֵנָּה. Similarly the Peshitto.

for the latter is καὶ οὐ πείσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. The subject of the verb is the daughter, Cleopatra. Segaar, in his edition of the Chigi MS., proposes to read οὐ στήσεται in place of οὐ πείσεται, which conjecture is endorsed by Bludau, who asks whether the translator could have mistaken such a common word as תַּעֲצֹב. The LXX., however, so often correct the text, to make it correspond with history, that it is probable that this may be only another instance.

18. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 271. וְשָׁב is the hiphil jussive of שָׁב, to turn. The correction of the Q'rē is וְשָׁם, jussive qal of שָׁם, meaning "and he shall set his face." See note on ver. 4. The latter would be suitable if a *purpose* were intended. But the writer here describes *action*; hence the correction is wrong. All words to which Q'rē notes are affixed are regarded as unpointed; the text, therefore, may be regarded as an instance of *scriptio defectiva*, and pointed וְשָׁב אֲרָם denotes *coast-lands* as well as *islands*. קָצִין may be rendered *commander* (as Josh. x. 24; Judg. xi. 6, 11), or taken in the signification of *judge* or *arbitrator*. The Arabic قاضي, *kadī*, has been derived from the same root, but that is very doubtful.

וְהָרַפְתּוֹ, *his reproach*, means the insult offered by him (the king of the north) to "the commander." Compare Hosea xii. 15, where it is said of Ephraim, "*His blood* (i.e. the bloodshed caused by that people) *shall be left upon him*; וְהָרַפְתּוֹ יָשִׁיב לֹא אֲדָנָיו, and *his reproach shall his Lord return unto him*" (namely, the insult offered to Jehovah by the idolatry of Israel). Compare 2 Kings xix. 23, of Sennacherib's insult to Jehovah.¹

¹ Theodotion renders the second part of the verse thus: "καταπαύσει ἄρχοντας (taking קָצִין collectively), ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν, "he shall make princes to cease from their reproach," πλὴν ὁ ὀνειδισμὸς αὐτοῦ

בְּלִחִי is, perhaps, for בְּלִחִי אֶשֶׁר (*Behrmann*), and possibly may be rendered *nay even*. There is, however, no example elsewhere of such a sense; and the interpretations of von Lengerke and Hitzig, "*only*," or that proposed by Hävernicks, "*and moreover*," are equally unproven. The usage of בְּלִחִי here is unique, however clear its signification. Grätz proposes to read בְּלִחִי, "*on the cheek*," which is ingenious, but opposed by all the Versions. The Versions had evidently the present text, and regarded the word as a conjunction. The LXX. render the whole : καὶ ἐπιστρέφει ὀργὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐν ὄρκῳ, κατὰ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ. Bevan is probably correct in his conjecture that the LXX. read וְהָשִׁיב קֶצֶף in place of וְהָשִׁיב קֶצֶץ, but it is hard to see what sense they attached to the passage. Bevan further conjectures that the word ἐπιστρέφει (or, ἐπιστρέφει αὐτῶ) has been omitted at the end of the verse, for the next commences with a similar phrase (ἐπιστρέφει τὸ πρόσωπον). The conjecture has much in its favour, but does not explain the translation. To account for the ἐν ὄρκῳ of the LXX., and to smooth away the difficulty in לוֹ בְּלִחִי, Bevan suggests that the original text was, לוֹ שִׁבְעָתִים חֹרְפָתוֹ יָשִׁיב, "*he shall requite his insults sevenfold*." He thinks that the LXX. confused שִׁבְעָתִים with שִׁבְעָה, *an oath*.

20. Bevan would transpose the order of the words and read **מַעְבִּיר נֹגֵשׁ** instead of **מַעְבִּיר נֹגֵשׁ**. He explains the text thus modified to mean, "*an exactor who shall ἐπιστρέψει αὐτῷ, "but his reproach shall turn upon himself."* Somewhat similar is the Vulgate : "*et cessare faciet principem opprobrii sui, et opprobrium ejus convertetur in eum.*" The Syr. Pesh. is : **וְהָיָה כִּי יַעֲבִיר מִן־הַנֹּגֵשׁ וְיָשׁוּב וְיִשְׁמַח בְּכִשְׁלֹתָיו** : "*and he shall cause to cease the prince that did revile him, and shall return his reproach to him*" (ver. 18).

cause the royal dignity to pass away," and refers for a similar use of הַעֲבִיר to 2 Sam. xii. 13 and Esther viii. 3. But the ancient versions bear witness to the correctness of the Massoretic text. נוֹגֵשׁ is used in sense of an oppressor in Isa. iii. 12, xiv. 2 ; so in Zech. ix. 8. In Isa. lx. 17 it is almost equal to "king." See also *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 273.

Grotius and some of the older expositors explain the phrase מְלָכוֹת הַדֶּר, "*glory of the kingdom*," by Prov. xiv. 28, בְּרִבְעָם הַדֶּרֶת מֶלֶךְ, "*in the multitude of a people is the glory of a king*." That Daniel conceived such an idea is more than doubtful.

The LXX. translation appears to be composite. The first clause is : καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ, "*and there shall arise from his root*," where עַל־כִּנּוֹ is rendered freely. The word that follows, namely, φυτόν, appears to have been in Jerome's text of the LXX., which is quoted in his interpretation of Daniel. For he says, "Septuaginta interpretati sunt : *et stabit de radice ejus plantatio*, i.e. *de germine ejus et semine*, percutiens dignitatem imperii : et in paucis diebus conteretur absque ira et proelio." Hence, in the clause φυτόν βασιλείας εἰς ἀνάστασιν, "*a plant of a kingdom for raising up*," Jerome must have omitted the last three words, or not have had them in his text. They seem to be part of a duplicate rendering, εἰς ἀνάστασιν being apparently a translation of מַעֲמִיד, a misreading of מַעֲבִיר. The clause ἀνὴρ τύπτων δόξαν βασιλέως, "*a man striking the glory of a king*," appears to be a free rendering of the Hebrew, designed as a comment on the history of Seleucus, who, by his inactivity and supineness, was considered to have tarnished the glory of the Syrian monarchy.

The LXX. render וּבְיָמִים אֶחָדִים יִשְׁבֵּר, "*and in a few*

days he shall be broken," by καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις ἐσχάταις συντριβήσεται, "and in the last days he shall be broken." Jerome, however, quotes the LXX. as in *paucis diebus*. As Seleucus reigned twelve years, which was a longer reign than that of Antiochus Epiphanes, his reign could not be described as only lasting "a few days." Some critics seek to explain the expression in reference to the time which elapsed between the fruitless attempt of Heliodorus on the Temple, and the assassination of Seleucus by the same Heliodorus. But that is also unsatisfactory. Equally so is the explanation of Behrmann that the *few days* refer to the interval between the planning of the murder and the carrying out of that plan. The phrase "shall be broken" may be explained of some ruin or disaster to the state other than the death of the king. The latter is, however, its more natural explanation in the present collocation.

Theodotion has also a composite rendering in the first part of the verse. The Hebrew מַעְבִּיר בִּגְשׁ הָדָר מִלְכוּת עַל-כִּנּוֹ מַעְבִּיר is first rendered, καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ φυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας πρᾶσσω δόξαν βασιλείας, "and there shall rise up from his root a branch of the kingdom, exacting glory of the kingdom (royal honour)." The second rendering of מַעְבִּיר עַל-כִּנּוֹ is ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων, "removing (or taking away) upon his base." For כֵּן is rendered ἐτοιμασία by Theodotion in verses 7 and 21. Theodotion seems to have been perplexed as to the meaning of the passage. In the second part of the verse he tones down the Hebrew בְּיָמִים אֲחֵרִים into ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. By his translation of בְּנַפְשִׁים by ἐν προσώποις (meaningless though it may be), Theodotion bears witness to the correctness of the present text. In face of such phrases found in Hebrew as אֲחֵרֵי הַיָּמִים and קֶצֶר הַיָּמִים, there is no

difficulty in translating בַּאֲפִים, "*in anger*."¹ There is no real ground for Grätz's conjecture בַּאֲנָפִים, "*in battle array*," although Bevan regards it as plausible.

21. בַּשְׁלֹה. So also in ver. 24. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 277 ff. The LXX. translate in both places ἐξαπνῶς, *suddenly*. Theodotion has in both ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ, *in abundance*.

The LXX. render מַלְכוּת הַיּוֹחִיק by κατισχύσει βασιλεὺς ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ. מְלִכִּים is here read for מַלְכִּים, and the ἀπαξ λεγ. תִּקְרָלְקְלִי is explained as if it were a kind of plural of קְרָלִי or קְרָלִי. See note on ver. 32, and *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 274.

Theodotion, for purposes which are too palpable, modifies the text: "*Then shall stand up upon his preparation [or base, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ]; he had been set at nought [ἐξουδενώθη], and they gave not to him the honour of a kingdom; and he shall come in abundance [ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ, for תִּקְרָלְקְלִי], and shall overpower the kingdom [or kingdoms, for βασιλείας may be construed either as a genitive singular or an accusative plural] with enticements.*" So, perhaps (after ver. 32), we ought to translate ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν, or ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν.

22. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 281 ff. The rendering of Theodotion is noteworthy: "*And the arms of him who sweeps down like a deluge (τοῦ κατακλύζοντος) shall be swept away from before his face, and shall be broken, and a prince of the covenant (ἡγούμενος διαθήκης).*"

¹ Behrmann's suggestion is good, namely, that בַּאֲפִים is used as in Aramaic for פְּנִים, so that the meaning would be "*not openly*." In that case the prediction met with a striking fulfilment, for Seleucus was killed by a secret conspiracy of Heliodorus. Meinhold supposes a contrast drawn between the death of Seleucus and that of his father, Antiochus the Great.

Theodotion read the verse like the Massoretic punctuators, incongruously interpreting it of the army of the king of Egypt. He understood נָגִיד בְּרִית to indicate the high priest of Israel.

In place of הִשָּׁטַח, Bevan proposes to read the infinitive niph'al הִשָּׁטַח before the impf. יִשָּׁטַפוּ, "*and forces shall be utterly overwhelmed before him and shall be broken.*" The Greek translators had evidently no such text before them. Ver. 22 is rendered by the LXX., "*and the arms which were broken shall he drive from his force,*" closing the verse at מִלְּפָנָיו. The rendering is important, for it shows us that the LXX. translators found a difficulty in the first part of the verse, which they got rid of by simple excision. The second part of the verse was then united with the verse following. The latter fact is a matter of greater significance than even the former, because it proves that the LXX. did not understand נָגִיד בְּרִית, "*a prince of a covenant,*" to mean the Jewish high priest. That interpretation, propounded by Theodoret, has been accepted by most modern critics. We, however, dispute their conclusion. Abram's allies in the war of Chedorlaomer and the kings are described as בְּעָלֵי בְרִית (Gen. xiv. 13), and so the allies of Edom by אֲנָשֵׁי בְרִית, Obad. 7. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 282-3.

23. הִתְחַבְּרוּת, which Theodotion connects with the preceding verse, is an abstract infinitive hithpa'el of an Aramaic form. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 54 k. Theodotion translates it as a plural noun (ἀπὸ τῶν συναγαμίστων).

22, 23. See footnote in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 285. The LXX. combine the second portion of ver. 22 with ver. 23, namely, וַיִּשָּׁבְרוּ וְגַם נָגִיד בְּרִית, and by convenient omissions render the verse: "*And with the covenant* [καὶ μετὰ τῆς διαθήκης], *and the people marshalled with him* [καὶ

δήμου συνταγέντος μετ' αὐτοῦ—reading וַעַם for וַיִּמָּן], *he shall act falsely.*" In the latter part of the verse the Hebrew וַעֲלָה וַעֲצָם (ver. 23) was read וַעֲלָ עַצְם, the opening of ver. 24 being united with ver. 23. The LXX. translate: "*And (coming) upon a strong nation with a very small nation, he shall suddenly lay waste a city.*" See note on ver. 21. The LXX. render ובשמני, ἐρημώσῃ, possibly confusing it with משומם, and translate מדינה by *city*. The latter word in Hebrew always means *district*, or *province*, but it has the signification *city* in Rabbinical Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. Bevan erases *and* before בשמני, and, putting a forced meaning upon the verb, renders: "*And by stealth he shall assail the mightiest men of each province,*" which Behrmann pronounces "sprachlich und inhaltlich unwahrscheinlich." Von Lengerke and Behrmann connect בשלוח with the preceding verse. Theodotion's version reads מצרים, "*Egypt*," in place of מִבְצָרִים, "*fortresses*," which may be either a variant or an interpretation.

24. See note on ver. 21. וַעֲדָ עַת. The phrase is expressed by Theodotion, and underlies the LXX. mis-translation εἰς μάτην.

26. The LXX. render ואכלי פתבגו in the beginning of the verse by καὶ καταναλώσουσιν αὐτὸν μέριμναι αὐτοῦ, "*and his cares shall consume him, and shall turn him back, and shall pass by,*" reading some form of עבר in place of שבר, which was suggested by the connection of עבר and שטף in other passages, "*and he shall hiss, or whistle.*" The Greek is κατασυριεῖ. Segaar suggests the reading κατασυρεῖ, "*shall lay waste, or spoil,*" but the Syr. Hex. text has سَلَحَ سَلَحَافَةً, "*and he shall pass over and inundate,*" which is sufficient to show that both the present reading of the LXX. and its proposed amendment are alike faulty. The Syr. Hex. is in favour of some combination of עבר

and שטף. On the last clause in the verse, see footnote in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 281.

Theodotion renders: "*And they shall eat that which belongs to him* (τὰ δέοντα αὐτοῦ, פִּתְחָנוּ) *and shall crush him.*" Thus he refers the words to Antiochus' army devastating the land of Egypt, reading וַאֲכָלוּ, and inserting a copula before וַשְׁבִּירוּהוּ, "*and he shall sweep away armies, and many shall fall wounded.*" See remark in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, end of p. 286.

27. לְמַרְע. מָרַע is the pausal form of מָרַע, a participial abstract noun from רָעַע; compare מָסַב from סָבַב. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 85 h.

29. נִרְאֶשְׁנָה וְנִחְרֹנָה. Compare the analogous passages, Josh. xiv. 11; Ezek. xviii. 4; and Ewald, § 360 a.

On the number of Antiochus' campaigns, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 291.

30. In Num. xiv. 24 there occurs רָצִים מִדִּנְתִּים, but here צִיִּים נָתִים, the נָתִים being treated, as Bevan notes, as an adjective.

Josephus' note on Kittim is:—"Chethimus (Χέθιμος) occupied the island Chethima (Χέθιμά); it is now called Cyprus, and from it all islands and the greater part of the sea-coasts are called by the Hebrews Chethim (Χέθιμ). In proof of this statement there is one of the cities in Cyprus which has been able to preserve its name, for it is called Kitios (Κίτιος) by the Hellenists, the name not differing much from Chethimus (Χέθιμος)." Kittim is employed in the Book of the Jubilees xxiv. 28, 29, as a name of the Macedonians. So in 1 Macc. i. 1 and viii. 5; in the latter place Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedon, are styled "kings of Kittim."

The LXX. rendering of this verse, "*And Romans shall come and drive him out, and rebuke him,*" is important

as a comment. The translators, moreover, modify the passage in order to assign a cause why the holy people were delivered up, and the profanation of the temple permitted as a judgment because of their sin. Thus they render the close of the verse: "*And he shall return, and they [his adherents] shall be indignant against the covenant of the Holy One; and he shall do, and return, and he shall devise (devices) against them (ἀνθ' ὧν) because they left (or forsook) the covenant of the Holy One.*" The Hebrew text does not express that idea. The Hebrew is קָדַשׁ עַל עֲוֹנֵי בְרִית קָדֹשׁ, "and he shall pay attention to those that forsake the Holy Covenant." The verb is construed with עַל in place of the ordinary construction with אֶל. Behrmann may be correct in maintaining that the Aramaising expression וְנִכְרְסָה is not employed here like לִבָּהּ נִכְרְסָה, "broken in heart," in Ps. cix. 16, but rather in a signification found in Syriac, and that the verb is therefore correctly rendered by the LXX. ἐμβριμήσονται. In the translation of Theodotion, "*And the Kitians issuing forth (οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι Κίτιοι) shall come against him,*" the translator has misunderstood the word צִיִּים to mean *ships*, supposing it connected with the verb נָצַח.

31. מִסִּבּוֹ may, as far as form goes, be sing. or plural. The expression וּרְעִים מ' י' is well rendered by Bevan, "*and forces sent by him shall prevail.*" It is impossible to translate the phrase in the manner proposed by Sir Isaac Newton, Mede, and others, "*and after him, arms [the Roman forces] shall stand up.*" The idea of those commentators was that, at this very point, the prophecy passes on to speak of the Roman empire, and ceases to speak of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is, however, quite open to discussion whether the word is correctly explained by Hitzig to mean the Syrian garrisons left behind by

Antiochus in Jerusalem and elsewhere. Theodotion's version strangely vocalises the Hebrew וְרָעִים, and translates "*and seeds shall arise from him.*" On דַּתְמִיד, see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 178-9.

1 Macc. and Josephus speak of an idol altar (βωμόν) having been erected "upon the altar" (1 Macc. i. 59).¹ βωμός is the technical phrase in 1 Macc. for heathen altars; θυσιαστήριον is that used for the altar of Jehovah. 2 Macc. vi. 5 states that the altar was "filled with profane things which the Law forbiddeth," and further records that the holy places were at the same time defiled by the grossest immoralities, and by riot and revelling. These accounts show that the βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, which expression in 1 Macc. is borrowed from the LXX. (1 Macc. i. 54), was understood by those who lived near that period to signify the *high altar* erected over and upon the original altar of burnt offering.

The expression דַּתְמִיד מְשַׁח (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 293, 294), "*the abomination which desolates*," would be syntactically more correct if the article were employed before the participle, and Kautzsch may be justified in reading here דַּתְמִיד מְשַׁח, after the analogy of ch. xii. 11. The Hebrew phrase is variously מְשַׁח דַּתְמִיד, ch. xii. 11; דַּתְמִיד מְשַׁח, ch. xi. 31; and עַל כִּנֹּף שְׁקָרִים מְשַׁח, ch. ix. 27. The Hebrew for "*Lord of heaven*" is בֹּעֵל שָׁמַיִם, and Nestle maintains (see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 294) that דַּתְמִיד מְשַׁח is a Jewish caricature of that phrase. So v. Baudissin and others. The same harshness is, however, exhibited in the kindred expression דַּתְמִיד מְשַׁח, "*the transgression which desolates*," in ch. viii. 13. Such irregularities are not surprising if the Hebrew portions of the Book of

¹ The R.V. of the Apocrypha has "*altar of God*," but it must be remembered that the words "*of God*" are not in the Greek.

Daniel be a translation, more or less paraphrastic, from an Aramaic original. It is often possible (in Arabic) to substitute for the adjective with the article in apposition, an adjective without the article in the accusative, with, of course, a different shade of meaning. **שָׁמֵם** is used in *gal* in the sense of *being dumb with astonishment*, and of *being desolate*, because in a wasted land the stillness of death prevails.¹

32. **בְּחִלְקוֹת**, identical with **בְּחִלְקֵלְקוֹת**, "*with flatteries*," occurs in ver. 21 and again in ver. 34. In both those places the LXX. translate *ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ*, "*by lot*," or "*in inheritance*," a rendering which, independently of its incorrectness, affords no sense in either passage. Here they render *ἐν σκληρῷ λαῷ*, "*in a perverse people*."

In the second clause of this verse, **וְעַם יְדֻשׁ אֶלְהִי**, the LXX. read **אֶלֶה** in place of **אֶלְהִי**.

Theodotion's translation is: "*And the transgressors shall bring about a covenant by flatteries*." Swete reads *ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν*. Two uncials have *ἐν ὀλισθήμασιν*, which Tischendorf adopts. The translation has the appearance of being "*a tendency-translation*," but is worthy of note, as explaining the **בְּרִית** in a secular sense.

33. **וּמְשִׁילֵי-עַם**, "*and those that give instruction to the people*," or, "*among the people*," shall teach the many. This is the natural meaning of the *hiphil* participle, and the verb is used in this sense in ch. ix. 22, as well as here and in ver. 35, as also in ch. xii. 3. The phrase may not, indeed, strictly mean *teachers* in the sense of persons officially set apart for that work, but may refer to those who seek to instruct others, though not them-

¹ The participle *poel* occurs in two places in Ezra in the first of these meanings, and there is no difficulty in regarding the *poel* as also used in the two places of Daniel in the second signification.

selves specially appointed to such an office. These are the persons who afterwards, in ver. 35, are mentioned as themselves stumbling in the day of trial, and thereby causing scandal to many who had been stirred up by their teaching to take part in the holy conflict.

The LXX. divide, as Dr Pusey observes, the Hebrew וַיִּבְלָהֶם into two words, וַיִּבְלָה בָּהֶם , and disregard the plural. Theodotion renders $\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, "*shall be weak.*" Nothing in the Hebrew corresponds with the concluding word of the LXX., $\kappa\eta\lambda\iota\delta\omega\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, "*shall be sullied*" (possibly, "demoralised"). By $\epsilon\nu$ $\pi\rho\nu\omicron\nu\mu\eta$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$, "*foray,*" or "*raid of days*" (Theod., $\epsilon\nu$ $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\eta$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$), constant raids and forays are meant. The translation may be regarded as a version of $\text{וַיִּבְלָהֶם בַּיּוֹם}$. The Vulgate, in *rapina dierum*, follows the LXX.; so also the Græcus Venetus, which adopts the rendering of Theodotion.

On "*the little help,*" see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 296.

34. The LXX. render : "*And when they shall be broken* (Theod., "*and when they shall be weakened*") *they shall gather together a little strength, and there shall be collected together to them many in a city, and many as if by lot.*" Bludau regards this as a case of a duplicate rendering of $\text{וַיִּבְלָהֶם בַּיּוֹם}$.

35. The LXX. render : "*And of those who understand they shall consider in order to purify themselves (i.e. consider the means of purifying themselves), and in order to be elected, and in order to be purified until the time for fulfilment, for yet there is a time for hours,*" i.e. a precise or definite time is fixed. Compare on the expression $\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma$, the LXX. rendering of Gen. xviii. 10.

36. On וַעֲשֶׂה רָצוֹנוֹ , see *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 298 and note. The LXX. render וַיִּתְרוֹסֶם by $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, "*shall be enraged,*" explaining the *rising* expressed by the

Hebrew to be the *rousing* of indignation. Theodotion's version omits the words "*and against the God of gods,*" which are in the LXX. translation. Field notes that these words are in some copies of Theodotion, possibly introduced from the LXX. text. The LXX. were perplexed, and render the closing words, "*for the end is towards him.*"

37. See *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 301. The explanation given by G. S. Faber of the phrase "*desire of woman*" as a name of Messiah is not conclusively disproved by the fact that in the Hebrew there is no article. Most of the explanations of modern critics would have to be discarded on the same principle. The fact is that the Hebrew of Daniel omits the article in various phrases in which it would naturally have been expected. Apart from the context, the phrase "*desire of women*" would most easily be explained to mean the desire of having women, but that interpretation does not coincide with what is known of the history of Antiochus. Hence, unless the verses refer to the Grecian power considered independently of the individual Antiochus Epiphanes, we see no other way of interpretation open than that which is given in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 301, 302. The LXX. translate *על חמדת נשים* in the singular *ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ γυναικός*, but that does not tell in favour of the modern interpretation. Theod., Syr., and Vulgate have the plural. The LXX. here omit the clause *וְעַל-כֵּן-לֹא יִבֶּן*, and so the Syr. Hex. They add at the close, "*and a strong nation shall be obedient to him.*"

38. See comment in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 302 ff. In the opening the LXX. have a strange rendering: *ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ κινήσει*, "*to his place he shall remove,*" which is substituted for the Hebrew *וְיִסְּרֵם עַל-כֵּן וְיִבֶּן*.

Hahn, on the authority of the Syr. Hex., proposes to read *κινήσεται*, but Bludau observes that the Syr. Hex. might have mistaken *κινήσει καὶ* for *κινήσεται*. Jerome affirms that the LXX. in this passage translated *מְצַדִּים* by *Deum fortissimum*. It would appear, therefore, that the LXX. must have read *καὶ θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν* (or *ἰσχυρότατον*) *ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ κινήσει*, which would be intelligible, “and he shall remove a strange god to his place.”

39. See comment in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 304 ff. *לְמַבְצָרֵי מְצַדִּים*. Hävernicks translation, “And he will do so [*i.e.* enrich with costly gifts] to the strong places of the fortresses,” temples being thereby understood as generally fortified, would require at least some emphatic word like *נָה*. One of the difficulties of the passage arises from the fact that *מְצַדִּים* is without an object.

Hitzig would read *מְצַדִּים* in place of *מְצַדִּים*. See the exegetical remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, pp. 304, 305. The LXX. render: “And in the objects of desire he shall make of cities, and to a strong fortress he shall come with a strange god; whom, if he shall recognise, he shall multiply glory, and shall lord it over him much, and he shall divide land for a price.” The meaning is obscure, although it is easy to see how the LXX. have extracted their rendering.

40. In ver. 40 at the end, instead of the Hebrew “shall overflow and pass through,” the LXX. paraphrase “shall enter into the land of Egypt.”

41. In ver. 41 the translation of the LXX., *καὶ πολλὰὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται*, is marked with an asterisk, indicating that it is an addition made to the Hexaplar text. Aquila has, however, that rendering. *πολλὰὶ* in the feminine is an attempt to express the Hebrew *רַבּוֹת*. Jerome remarks on this rendering of Aquila, and regards it to signify “cities, or regions, or provinces.”

45. The ancient translators were puzzled by the word אַפְדְּנוֹ, which only occurs here. The Vulgate translates, "*et figet tabernaculum suum Apadno inter maria.*" Apadno in this translation might be regarded as the designation of a tent (so Douay Version), or of a place. Jerome, in his *Commentary*, explains Apadno as a place "near Nicopolis, which was first called Emmaus."

Grätz, in an able article on "Antiochos Epiphanes Untergang" in the *Monatsschrift* for 1883, gives his opinion of the last verse of the chapter: "*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.*" He notices the fact that the Syriac translation does not translate the Hebrew אַפְדְּנוֹ by the cognate word in Syriac (ܐܦܕܢܐ), from which that ἀπαξ λεγ. is generally explained, but renders it by ܐܦܕܢܐ. Theodotion, Aquila, and the Vulgate regard the word as a proper name. The LXX. omit the word, reading ἄγῳ for ἁγῳ, and adding τότε, "there," at the end. Porphyry explains, "Antiochus shall come to the summit of that mountain in the province of Elimais, the most eastern of the provinces of Persia." Ptolemy (*Geog.* ii. 18. 13) mentions a city, Abâdâ (ܐܒܕܐܐ), in Elymais. That city Grätz identifies with the Hebrew אַפְדְּנוֹ, which would be Greek Ἀφάδανα, or Apadno (אַפְדְּנוֹ). Porphyry speaks of Antiochus dying in *Tabes*, which name is equivalent to טַבְיָה, "a gazelle," the Hebrew אַבְי. Hence Grätz renders the passage: "He will pitch his tent in Apadno, between the sea"—יָם being used in the singular signification—"and the mount Tabai, and there he will come to his end, and none shall help him." In order to make the verse describe still more accurately the fall of Antiochus in the attempt

to plunder the temple of Nanaia, situated in that particular locality, Grätz maintains that לְבוֹז must be supplied before שָׁדָד, and thus the text becomes completed by the addition "*in order to plunder a temple.*"

But after expending all this ingenuity on rewriting the text, the whole verse is regarded by Grätz as a later addition. For the death of Antiochus was not, as the context states, preceded by a victorious campaign. Grätz thinks the idea was a mere day-dream of the writer which never came to pass, and maintains that the chapter must have been composed in B.C. 167, before the heroic acts of Judas Maccabeus.

In the same verse, in the end of the clause, the LXX. has "*between the seas and the mountain of the will of the Holy One* (καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου, confounding צָבִי with צָבִי), *and the hour of his end shall come,*" reading עֲתִידָא instead of עֲדָא. Aquila renders צָבִי-קֵדָר לְהָרִי by ἐν ὄρει ἐνδόξῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ. Theodotion has εἰς ὄρος Σαβαεὶν ἁγίον.

CHAPTER XII

1. מ' י' מ'. ובעת ההיא The LXX. have Μιχ. ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας. In the words preceding, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην, one may probably detect an error of a copyist for κατὰ τ. ὥραν ἐκ., or, as Jahn thinks, for ἡμέραν. In place of עמד the LXX. read יבוא, “*shall come*,” but עמד is one of the words most frequently in use in these last chapters. It is often employed without a preposition following, as in ch. xi. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, etc. With על following it is used in the sense of *stand up against*, as ch. xi. 14, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, or, as in the second clause of the verse, *stand up for*, or *on the side of* anyone to *protect him*, Esther viii. 11, ix. 16. It can scarcely be used in the sense of *to stand firm* as a pillar (עמוד), as Behrmann interprets it.

עת צרה. This appears to be a reminiscence of Jer. xxx. 7. מְהִירָת גּוֹי. The LXX. paraphrase οἷα οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἀπ’ οὗ ἐγενήθησαν. On the infinitive used to designate time, see König, *Syn.* § 401 *d.* Compare מְהִירָתָם, Hagg. ii. 16. גּוֹי is found in a similar connection in Exod. ix. 24, where it refers to Egypt (see ver. 19). It is quite possible to regard the phrase as here restricted to Israel. Comp. Joel ii. 2. In place of מְהִירָת גּוֹי the LXX. read מְהִירָתָם, the suffix referring to “*the children of thy people*.” Our Lord evidently quotes this passage in His discourse concerning “*the last things*” in Matt. xxiv. 21. The quotation from Daniel is less apparent in Mark xiii. 19,

and is not found in Luke. The combination of unheard-of sorrows and great deliverance, however, occurs also in Jer. xxx. 7 and in Luke xxi. 25-28. ימלט עמך. The LXX. render, "*and in that day shall all the people be exalted*," ὑψωθήσεται.

נְחֻמָּה בְּסֵפֶר. The book is defined by the article. It is the *book of life* in which the names of the elect are registered. Comp. Isa. iv. 3; Ps. lxxix. 28 (Heb. 29); Exod. xxxii. 32, 33; and repeatedly in the New Testament. Hence there seems to be a reference to this passage in Matt. xxiv. 22. "The book" is one of those alluded to in Dan. vii. 10. From Daniel, too, are derived the references to "the books" in Enoch xlvii. 3, and in several passages of the Revelation, as well as in Phil. iv. 3.

2. The word "*many*" (רַבִּים) is without the article, which is expressed in ch. ix. 27. Consequently "*many*" is indefinite, as in ch. xi. 14. The passage cannot, therefore, be quoted as a satisfactory proof-passage of a universal resurrection, though it does not exclude that idea. The article itself might easily have been omitted by copyists. The same contrast, though not in identical phraseology, is presented in John v. 28, 29. The national restoration of Israel is sometimes spoken of by the prophets as a resurrection (Hosea vi. 1, 2; Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14). The resurrection of individuals is that specially depicted, as in Isa. xxiv.-xxvii. The revelation of Daniel is in advance of that contained in the other prophets. מִישְׁנֵי. The regular form would be מִישְׁנֵי; but see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 102 b. מִישְׁנֵי is an adjective. The construction is a case of the *constr. prægans*. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 116. 4 ff. אֲדַמְתֵּי-עַפֶּר. The words are, to some extent, a reminiscence of Isa. xxvi. 19. Compare עַפֶּר אֶרֶץ in Job xiv. 20, and

על-עפר in Job xix. 25. Porphyry explains the rising from the dust of the earth of the Jews coming out of their hiding-places in caves (1 Macc. i. 52, ii. 32 ; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11). The phrase אדמת עפר is only found here. Theodotion transposes the words. The LXX. have ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς, “in the breadth of the earth.” Jahn imagines that the original Hebrew thus mistranslated was רחב.

לחי עולם. This expression is only found in the Old Testament in this passage. The expression חי עולם is, however, common in the Targums, Talmud, and other Jewish writings. לְחַרְפוֹת, intensive plural, meaning *utter contempt*. See Ges.-Kautzsch, § 124 e.

לְדַרְאוֹן ע'. The word דראון is taken from Isa. lxvi. 24, where the absol. דְּרָאוֹן occurs. On the form of the constr. see König, *Lehrg.* 2te Hälfte, p. 130. The LXX. render οἱ δὲ εἰς διασποράν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον, deriving, as Bludau observes, the sense διασπορά from the Heb. דָּרָה, Syr. ܕܪܗ.

3. וְהַמְשִׁרִלִים, “and they that be wise” (see ch. xi. 33-35), not *teachers* in the technical sense. See note on ch. xi. 35. וְהָרָה, *brightness*, found only elsewhere in Ezek. viii. 2.

There is evidently an allusion to this passage in Tract. Aboth, v. 26 (Taylor's edition), or v. 18 (Strack's 3rd edition), although the phraseology is somewhat different:—כָּל-הַמְּוֹנֶה אֶת-הָרַבִּים אֵין חָסָה בָּהּ עַל יָדוֹ וְכָל-הַמְּחַסֵּא אֶת-הָרַבִּים אֵין מְסַפִּיקִין בְּיָדוֹ לַעֲשׂוֹת הַשׁוֹבָה. The meaning of Tract. Aboth is:—“Whosoever maketh the many virtuous, sin has no power over him ; and whosoever maketh the many to sin, they grant him not the power to do repentance.” In some MSS. of Aboth there is a comment added after the next paragraph, which speaks of Moses and his work. That comment contrasts the work of Jeroboam with that

of Moses, for the former sinned and caused the many to sin, and therefore their sins as well as his own were laid on him. Comp. Isa. liii. 11.

4. סתם הדברים. Literally, "*close up these words.*" סתם is used in 2 Kings iii. 19, 25, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, of fountains and wells of water being closed up from the enemy. The meaning of Daniel's text is, keep these words as enigmas concealed and dark for many days to come. See also ch. viii. 26. In Ezek. xxviii. 3 סתום (the participle) is used of a *secret*. The book itself was not to be *hid* in the sense in which Jeremiah in vision was commanded to *hide* the girdle in the hole of the rock. The word used there for *hide* is different.

ושטט, from שטט. See remarks on this verse in *Daniel and his Prophecies*, p. 321. The word does not refer to *earnest* study of the book, or to *superficial* reading of it, or to *mental perplexity*. The natural meaning must be upheld, *i.e.* *wandering to and fro*. Nor is the idea conveyed of *despising* the book suitable, as if the word had some connection with the noun שטט, *despising, despite*, Ezek. xxv. 6.

והרבה הדעת. The LXX. have ἕως ἂν ἀπομανῶσιν [connecting 'ש with the Aram. שטט, שטט] οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πλησθῇ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας, "*until the many shall become mad, and the earth be filled with iniquity.*" They also probably read קרעת in place of הדעת.

On the construction of the plural form קרעת with the fem. sing. in this supposed reading of the original text used by the LXX., Bevan refers to Isa. xxxiv. 13, Jer. iv. 14, Zech. vi. 14, Neh. xiii. 10. He thinks the reading signally confirmed by 1 Macc. i. 9, where, in reference to this time, the writer remarks, καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, "*they multiplied evils in the earth.*" Driver

appears to coincide with the suggestion. Jahn proposes to amend the entire text, but there is no necessity to depart from the Massoretic reading.

In a footnote, however, Professor Bevan observes : "Perhaps the original Hebrew text of 1 Macc. had וִירְבוּ הָרַעַת, which may be read וִירְבוּ, which would make the resemblance to Daniel even closer. It is remarkable that in the first chapter of 1 Macc. there are several other passages which seem to be reminiscences of the latter part of Daniel ; compare ver. 15 with Dan. xi. 30, ver. 17 with Dan. xi. 40, ver. 18 with Dan. xi. 26."

5. הִיאָר, used generally of the *Nile*. Here, and in the two following verses, it is employed in reference to the Tigris. שָׁנִים אַחֵרִים. It is somewhat peculiar that no noun is expressed.

6. וַיֵּאמֶר. Jahn may be correct in preferring here the reading of the LXX., καὶ εἶπα (וַיֵּאמֶר), for there is no subject to וַיֵּאמֶר expressed in the Heb. text. The LXX. also add to the Hebrew at the end of the verse, καὶ ὁ καθαρισμὸς τούτων, "*and the cleansing of these.*" Jahn upholds the addition. Bludau regards those words as a gloss to "*the end of the wonders,*" which is the preferable view.

הַפְּלֵאוֹת, "*the wonders.*" Probably referring to the *events* foretold. It can scarcely be understood of the *sufferings* of the people. Ch. viii. 24 and xi. 36 are appealed to in support of the latter sense, but they do not justify it.

7. The shattering or breaking up of the power (ד) of the holy people can scarcely be that effected by Antiochus. The shatterer and overturner is rather Jehovah. The LXX. render the clause ἡ συντέλεια χειρῶν ἀφ' ἑσέως λαοῦ ἁγίου. Bevan, von Gall, and Marti would amend the text,

transposing נפץ and ד, and punctuating the former word נפץ. Bevan refers for this use of נפץ to Judges vii. 19, Jer. li. 20 ff. Theodotion omits the words, rendering ἐν τῷ συντελεσθῆναι διασκορπισμόν. He also strangely renders the closing words γνώσκονται πάντα ταῦτα.

11. וּמַעַת ה'. On the syntax, compare with Bevan Jer. xxxvi. 2 and 2 Chron. xx. 22. See König, *Syntax*, § 400 b.

12. No modern critic has, on the Maccabean hypothesis, been able to point out an exact fulfilment of these dates. See remarks in *Daniel and his Prophecies*.

13. בְּגִלְדָּךְ. The LXX. render ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου, which is an interpretation. Daniel's lot in the heavenly Jerusalem was to be a glorious one. Hence there is no occasion with Segaar to imagine that τάξις was the original rendering in place of δόξαν.

לְקַץ הַיָּמִים. The קץ is to be regarded as made definite by the article following. "*The end of the days*" is the day of resurrection alluded to in the commencement of the chapter, and noted in the LXX. addition. See Job xlii. 17, "And Job died, an old man and full of days: and it is written that he shall rise again with those whom the Lord raiseth up." Robertson Smith would erase the לְקַץ, but without authority.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DR SALMON'S HYPOTHESIS CONCERNING THE LXX. TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL, ETC.

IN his *Introduction to the New Testament*, when discussing the question of the date of *Hermas*, Dr Salmon has reviewed the arguments against the antiquity of *Hermas* based on quotations and allusions to the Book of Daniel in the *Shepherd* which correspond more closely with the version of Theodotion than with that of the LXX., if the latter version be truly represented by the Chigi MS.

Dr Salmon is not quite consistent in his remarks on the Chigi version. For, when he first mentions it, he speaks of it as identical with that placed by Origen in the Septuagint column of the Tetrapla, and regards the Syro-Hexaplar version and the citations of Jerome as fully establishing its claim to be Origen's Septuagint (p. 591).

Later in his work, however, Dr Salmon suggests that it is worthy of consideration "whether, instead of propounding the question when and how the LXX. version of Daniel came to be superseded by Theodotion's, we ought not rather to inquire how, when, and where the Chigi version came to be taken for the Septuagint. . . . May it not be the case that Irenæus and Clement had no intention of superseding the Septuagint, but only that the collection to which they gave the name of Septuagint,

instead of the Chigi Daniel (which was accepted as part of the Septuagint in Palestine, where Justin Martyr lived and where Origen made his Hexapla), contained a different version, probably not Theodotion's, but the version which was the basis of Theodotion's revision?" (p. 595).

The passage in *Hermas* upon which this hypothesis is based is one in the *Visions* (iv. ii. 4). *Hermas* relates how he saw in his way a great wild beast somewhat like a whale, out of whose mouth proceeded fiery locusts; and how by means of earnest prayer to God he was delivered from its power. The explanation of what the beast symbolised was vouchsafed to *Hermas* by a virgin representing the Church, who informed him that he had done well to cry out to the Lord for succour; adding that on account of his prayer "the Lord hath sent his angel who is over the wild beasts, whose name is *Thegri*, and has shut its mouth that it cannot hurt thee."

The name *Thegri* given to the angel was long a puzzle to commentators; but the enigma has been lately solved by Professor Rendel Harris, who points out that the passage of *Hermas* is imitated from the account of Daniel in the den of lions.¹ As *Hermas* possessed some knowledge of Daniel in the original, he employed a Greek transliteration of the Aramaic word, namely *Segri*, as a suitable name for the angel to whom the protection of the righteous is committed.² *Hermas* had in view the Aramaic word in Daniel, and not the Greek version. For the LXX. (as represented by the Chigi MS.) only expressed the

¹ Theodotion, in his translation of Daniel, makes use of the Greek word ἐνέφραξε in ch. vi. 22 to translate the Aramaic ܫܓܪ (săgar). In the account of the vision *Hermas* employs that same Greek word employed in Theodotion's version.

² Hence Θεγρί (*Thegri*) is shown to be a simple blunder for Σεγρί (*Segri*).

substance of the original (Dan. vi. 22) in a bald paraphrase : " King, I am yet living, and God has saved me from the lions." Hermas here used Theodotion's version, which not only gives the text of Daniel in full, but contains the other words found in the passage in Hermas.¹

Professor Hort (quoted by Salmon) has pointed out that this and similar coincidences between the quotations from Daniel in Hermas and Theodotion's translation prove that the *Shepherd* of Hermas ought to be assigned to a date posterior to Theodotion. That conclusion (which has been acquiesced in by Harnack, Hilgenfeld, and Schürer) does not oblige us to assign Hermas' *Shepherd* to a date nearer to the close than to the beginning of the second century. For, as Schürer observes, it is possible that Theodotion's version after all may be older than that of Aquila. He further notices the fact, which Dr Salmon discusses in more detail, that in the Book of the Revelation of St John passages and expressions taken from Daniel appear in a form which agrees more closely with the version of Theodotion than with that of the LXX., as represented by the Chigi MS. Dr Salmon thinks that the evidence adduced points to the existence in the first century of a Greek version of the Book of Daniel more closely connected with that of Theodotion than with the LXX.

That conclusion is by no means certain. The comparison of the texts can in most cases be easily understood by quoting from the English Revised Version. It will therefore be more convenient, for the sake of the English reader, to show the comparison through the medium of the Revised Version.

¹ ὁ θεός μου ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέφραξε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐκ ἔλυμήναντό με.

The first instance is Rev. ix. 20: "And the rest of mankind, which were not killed with those plagues, repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils [marg. demons], and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood; which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk." The passage from Daniel referred to is that which records Daniel's speech at Belshazzar's feast (Dan. v. 23): "And thou hast praised the gods of silver, and of gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know." Theodotion has translated it literally, inverting, however, the order of the Aramaic in rendering "*the gods of gold and silver*" in place of "*of silver and of gold.*" The Book of the Revelation, in adapting the phraseology, makes two modifications: (1) it substitutes "*the idols of gold and of silver*" for "*the gods of silver and gold*": in the inversion of the phrase it follows Theodotion; and (2) it substitutes "*nor walk*" in place of "*nor know.*"

The LXX. version in the passage, in place of the fuller description given in the original, gives the bald statement: "*and ye have praised all the idols which are made by the hands of men.*"

If satisfactory evidence could be produced to show that in St John's days Theodotion's version (or some other earlier Greek translation different from the LXX., on which it was founded) was in existence, it would, of course, be natural to conclude that the phraseology referred to was a reminiscence of that version. But as no such evidence is forthcoming, it is natural to explain the phenomena on the assumption that St John himself translated, consciously or unconsciously, from the original Aramaic of Daniel.

Professor Hort agrees with Dr Salmon in supposing Rev. xii. 7 contains a quotation from Daniel in the

expression, "*Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.*"¹ The passage in Daniel is, however, so completely different in character from that in the Revelation as to make the reference of the one to the other, when examined, more than doubtful. The passage in Daniel is: "*And now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia.*" The connection between that clause and St John's "*Michael and his angels fought against the dragon*" is slight indeed.

In Rev. xiii. 7, "*And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them,*" there is a distinct imitation and quotation from Dan. vii. 21, "*And the same horn made war with the saints and overcame them.*" The quotation of that passage is, however, from the original Daniel, and not through the medium of a Greek translation like that of Theodotion.²

The paraphrastic and incorrect character of the LXX. translation of the Book of Daniel was in itself a sufficient ground for the non-employment of that version in the quotations which St John has made from the Old Testament in the Book of the Revelation.

Hence St John in Rev. xix. 1, 6, speaking of the saints in heaven ("*I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude*"), ought to be understood as translating the

¹ The quotation consists only in the employment of the name "Michael" and the use of τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. Dr Salmon considers it of importance to note that "Theodotion has also τοῦ πολεμῆσαι (Dan. x. 20), and the LXX. διαμάχεσθαι, without τοῦ," which Dr Salmon refers to later as something "more than accidental."

² For if St John agrees with Theodotion in using the Greek μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων, he differs widely from that translation by employing the phrase καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς in place of Theodotion's καὶ ἵσχυσε πρὸς αὐτούς.

words "*voice of a multitude*" (φωνῇ ὄχλου) direct from the Hebrew of Dan. x. 6. That expression is a literal translation of the original Hebrew.¹ The fact that "*voice of a multitude*" is used by Theodotion in translating Dan. x. 6 is no evidence to show that St John must have used his translation.

Dr Salmon adduces also the passage Rev. xx. 11: "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and *there was found no place for them.*" The last sentence of the verse Dr Salmon considers to have been borrowed from Dan. ii. 35, where, in speaking of the breaking up of the great colossus seen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, it is said: "Then was the iron, the clay, 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.*" Theodotion's translation of the words in italics gives the same expression which occurs in St John.

From what has been said it appears unlikely that St John could have used to any extent the LXX. version of Daniel. As the date of Theodotion's version is very uncertain, it is strange that it did not occur to Dr Salmon as conceivable that Theodotion might have used some of the numerous quotations and imitations from Daniel to be found in the Book of the Revelation.

Dr Salmon, with that fairness of mind which characterises his writings, has noticed two cases in which, on a comparison of the Apocalypse with the LXX. and Theodotion, the advantage seems to be on the side of the LXX. The first case is Rev. i. 14, in the description

¹ St John could not possibly have employed φωνῇ θορύβου, which is the rendering of the LXX.

of the Son of man, whose "*head and his hair were white as white wool, as snow ; and his eyes were as a flame of fire ; and his feet like unto burnished brass.*" There is no doubt that the language used in Dan. vii. 9, and that of Dan. x. 6, were present to the mind of the Apocalyptic seer. The language is certainly varied in the Greek ; neither the LXX. nor Theodotion present an exact parallel.¹ It is clear that St John neither quoted from the LXX. nor from Theodotion, but translated direct from the original Daniel.

The second instance cited by Dr Salmon appears at first sight more satisfactory, namely, that in Rev. xix. 16 the expression "*King of kings and Lord of lords,*" in a reversed order, is found in the LXX. version of Dan. iv. 31, where the phrase occurs, "*God of gods, and Lord of lords, and King of kings.*" We are loth, without cogent reason, to suppose that St John refers to a passage in the LXX. which abounds with apocryphal additions and does not occur in the Aramaic original. There is too much disposition to discover quotations where none actually exist ; and the fact must be borne in mind that "*Lord of lords*" occurs in Deut. x. 17 and in Dan. ii. 47, while "*King of kings,*" the well-known epithet of Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs, occurs in Ezra vii. 12.²

¹ Little importance (where the variations in expression are so distinct) is to be assigned to the fact that the LXX. version in Dan. ii. 9 uses the combination "*white wool,*" while Theodotion has "*clean wool*"; or that in Dan. x. 6 the LXX. retains the words *οἱ πόδες*, while Theodotion has *τὰ σκέλη*.

² On the same principle the fact is to be explained that in our Lord's parable of the "mustard seed" (found in Matt. xiii. 32, and in St Mark and St Luke) the expression, "the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches of it," is quoted substantially after Theodotion's version of Dan. iv. 7, which has *κατασκήνουν* in place of the LXX. *ἐνόσσευον* (Dan. iv. 4). There are, however, consider-

able differences. Theodotion uses τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, while the LXX. has the New Testament expression τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (found in Matthew, Mark, and Luke). If Theodotion's version has κατεσκήνουν, which occurs in the New Testament passages, it must not be forgotten that that verb is connected with τὰ θηρία τὰ ἄγρια, and not with τὰ ὄρνεα, which has for its verb κατΰκουν. If Theodotion's version contains the expression ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ, the LXX. has the phrase οἱ κλάδοι αὐτοῦ in the beginning of the verse, where Theodotion employs τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ. This instance, therefore, does not really support the theory propounded. It proves rather that the phrases were translated direct from the original Book of Daniel, and were not derived through the medium of any Greek translation.

APPENDIX II

THE BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLETS

AMONG the Assyrian and Babylonian contract tablets a considerable number treating of purchases of land and other things are dated in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. The copying and arrangement of those tablets have been to a large extent (though not exclusively) the work of the eminent Jesuit scholar Strassmaier. A number of them have also been published, with transliterated texts and translations, in the important work edited by Ed. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889-1900. Professor Schrader has been assisted in his task by several other eminent scholars, including Dr Peiser and Dr H. Winckler. Band iv. contains the inscriptions of the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. There are some ten such tablets which belong to the accession year of Cyrus, *i.e.* the year when he actually came into possession of Babylon. In those tablets Cyrus is styled variously either "king of Babylon" or "king of countries" or "lands," or the two titles are made use of together—"king of Babylon and countries."

The Assyrio-Babylonian year commenced, like the Hebrew, with the month *Nisan* (called in the Pentateuch *Abib*), the name *Nisan* being given to it in post-exilian writings, as Neh. ii. 1, Esth. iii. 7. The name *Nisan* was that used by the Assyrio-Babylonians, and Dr Pinches is of opinion that it is of Sumero-Akkadian

origin, and a nasalised form of the words *ni-sag* = "that which (is at) the head (of the year)." From that month is dated "the first year of Cyrus." In contract tablets of that first month and of the second month, or *Iyyar*, Cyrus is styled either "king of Babylon" or "king of countries," or both. The inscriptions in the tablets of the third month, or *Sivan*, will be presently noticed. Inscriptions of the seventh month (*Tishri*), of the tenth month (*Tebeth*), of the eleventh month (*Sebat*), and of the twelfth month (*Adar*) give Cyrus' title variably as "king of Babylon" (so in that of the tenth month, or *Tebeth*), "king of Babylon and countries," and some three of them have only "king of countries."

Two inscriptions of the third month, or *Sivan*, 10th and 24th days of that month, give "Cyrus king of countries, Cambyses king of Babylon." The inscription of *Sivan* 10th is complete and clear. But that of *Sivan* 24th is partly damaged, although Schrader and other scholars, from collateral evidence, maintain it also read, "Cyrus king of countries, Cambyses king of Babylon." These two inscriptions are those numbered respectively Nos. 16 and 17 in Strassmaier's *Inscriften von Cyrus*. The latter inscription, that of *Sivan* 24th, Dr Pinches considers very uncertain, for the year to which it belongs may be any year from the first to the ninth of Cyrus, the upper parts of the characters of whose name are alone preserved, the name of Cambyses, and the titles of both kings, being lost.

There are also inscriptions of the series belonging to Cyrus of the second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth years of that king, in which the general title given to Cyrus is "king of Babylon, king of countries." In one of the second year (*Adar* 27th) the title "king of

Babylon" is omitted, and the title "king of countries" only is employed. This tablet is dated at Erech.

There are a number of inscriptions belonging to the accession year of Cambyses, and of the years following down the seventh year of that monarch inclusive, in which the title given is "king of Babylon and countries." There are comparatively few tablets in which the title "king of countries" is the only one assigned.

The following inscriptions of the first year of Cambyses require specially to be noticed. The numbers affixed are those of Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses*. No. 35 of Strassmaier, according to Dr Pinches, has to be restored as follows: "Month 'Iyyar, day 5th, year 1st, Cambyses king of Babylon, Cyr[us] . . . king of countri[es]." (36) Month 'Iyyar, day 9th, year 1st, "Cambyses king of Babylon, son of Cyrus king of countries" (found at Sippar), (42) Sippar, Tammuz (fourth month), year 1st, 7th day. "Cambyses king of Babylon, son of Cyrus king of countries," given also by Schrader, Band iv. No. III., p. 263. (46) Babylon, Tammuz 25, year 1st, "Cambyses king of Babylon when Cyrus his father [is] king of countries" (Schrader, as before, No. IV., p. 263). (72) Babylon, Marcheswan 9th, year 1st, "Cambyses king of Babylon, son of Cyrus king of countries." (81) Babylon, month Kislev, day 25th, year 1st (written like 11th),¹ "Cambyses king of Babylon, at this time Cyrus his father king of countries" (published by Pinches, 1878). (98) . . . 8th, year 1st, "Cambyses king of Babylon, son of Cyrus king of countries." Strassmaier's Nos. 426 and 427 (?) have, on the same authority, to be added to the list of tablets referring to the dual reign.

¹ The wedge for *ten* crosses the wedge for *one*. Perhaps a mistake of the scribe (*Pinches*).

Unfortunately the year has been broken off in both cases. In their present state the date of No. 426 reads as follows: (a) "[Cyrus] king of countries and Cambys[es] king of Babylon"; (b) "Month Kislev, day 25th . . . king of countries, and Camby." No. 427 reads: "Month Kislev, day . . . [Cam]bys[es] king of Babylon . . . king of countries." This latter is doubtful.

Thus it appears that Cyrus, from the date of his accession, never fully relinquished authority over Babylon, but that he permitted during part of that time—notably in the first full year of his reign—his son Cambyses to act as king of Babylon. Cyrus was sometimes termed simply "king of Babylon," but more frequently "king of Babylon and king of countries."

Cambyses, similarly, when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, assumed both titles, but was more often known simply as "king of Babylon."

Thus the contract inscriptions, as far as yet discovered, do not solve the problem about "Darius the Mede" mentioned in the Book of Daniel. The title "Mede" or "Median" might for some reasons be more easily explained on the hypothesis that Gobryas, rather than Cambyses, was meant. On the other hand, the title might have been a nickname of Cambyses. It should be remembered that there is no reliable information respecting the mother of Cambyses, while the mother of Cyrus seems certainly to have been a Median. According to Herodotus, ii. 1, the mother of Cambyses was Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achæmenian. Ctesias, however, affirms that she was Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, and therefore a Median (*Pers. Excerpt.* § 10). Her name, as Rawlinson observes, recalls that of the Median wife of Nebuchadnezzar. See note 4 on p. 332 of his edition

of Herodotus, iii. 2, with the essay attached to book i. p. 334. On such insufficient evidence, however, no solid hypothesis can be founded. But, whether it be historically true or false, it suggests a possible reason why the sobriquet "the Mede" might have been given. The Egyptian origin of the lady in question is summarily dismissed by Herodotus.

The titles "king of Babylon" and "king of countries" are so commonly interchanged that very little stress can be laid on the use, or omission, of one or the other. Cambyses, on the authority of one, or at most two inscriptions, appears to have been given the title "king of Babylon" for a short period in the "first year," but not in "the accession year" of Cyrus. His name afterwards entirely disappears from the contract tablets of Cyrus' reign. On the other hand, the same phenomenon is noticeable in the inscriptions in the first year of Cambyses. This statement depends upon the correctness of Strassmaier's assigning the other tablets mentioning the two kings (referred to on p. 225) to the reign of Cambyses. They may all belong to the reign of Cyrus, but the scribes in those two (?) cases, and in the case of Strassmaier, No. 426, in his *Inschriften von Cambyses*, wrote the name of Cyrus before that of Cambyses, instead of placing Cambyses first. This seems to suggest that Cambyses was in the end of Cyrus' reign again co-opted as "king of Babylon." These facts seem in favour of Dr Pinches' suggestion that Gobryas was for a short time "king of Babylon." The only evidence in favour of Winckler's hypothesis is afforded by the inscriptions in the third month of the first year of Cyrus.

It is quite possible, though no evidence can yet be adduced to prove the matter, that something similar

occurred in the case of Nabû-nâ'id and Belshazzar. Nabû-nâ'id may have been recognised as a "king of kings," being probably a "king of countries," and Belshazzar may have been styled "king" or "king of Babylon" as the more conspicuous and popular of the two. Compare on Assyria's vassal-kings, Isa. x. 8. In the latter case there would be nothing strange in Daniel at Babylon dating his vision from "the third year of king Belshazzar" (ch. viii. 1), as he dates his vision of the four empires from "the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon." It has been pointed out in *Daniel and his Prophecies* that, although Belshazzar is called in inscriptions "the first-born of Nabû-nâ'id," he may also have been, by the maternal line, a grandson of Nebuchadnezzar. It is, perhaps, rather venturesome to maintain that he was only "the adopted son" of Nabû-nâ'id, although, if that could be proved by any fresh discovery of inscriptions, it is very possible that he might have been an actual son of the great Babylonian monarch.

The evidence at present available does not justify us in making any definite statement on these points. But with regard to "Darius the Mede," it is quite possible that he may be identical with Gobryas, the designation being either a title or an assumed name. In that case Gobryas may have been for a season "king of Babylon," and have been later succeeded by Cambyses the son of Cyrus. The arrangement may have been a merely temporary one, until Cyrus assumed fully the reins of the government. It should be remembered that "the first year of Darius the Mede" (ch. ix. 1) is the only reference made, besides ch. vi., to Darius the Mede as a reigning sovereign.

APPENDIX III

THE PERSECUTION OF HERETICS A RIGHT AND A DUTY ACCORDING TO THE PUBLIC ECCLESIASTICAL LAW OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

THERE are, we fancy, few more remarkable productions of the twentieth century than the work entitled *Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici Publici*, by P. Marianus de Luca, S.J., Professor in the Gregorian University of Rome. The work was warmly commended by the late Pope Leo XIII. in a letter addressed to its author, and printed on the greenish paper covers of each of the two volumes.¹ The full title of the book is appended

¹ Pope Leo XIII. says:—"Quid enim Ecclesiae sit juris, quaeque potestas, hac maxime tempestate quum omnia transversum aguntur, penitus nosse, non solum ad clerum attinet, verum etiam ceterorum refert, ut sanctissimis legibus perducti propositum aeternae beatitudinis finem recte assequi contendant. Libros autem tuos ad id merito esse compositos non doctrinarum modo atque eruditionis delectus, sed etiam dilucidus ordo satis ostendit. Nam Camilli Tarquini Cardinalis; tuique olim Gregoriano Athenaeo antecessoris vestigiis ingressus, perspicuitati insimul et rerum sinceritati in opere concinnando imprimis consulis, apteque officia, quibus Ecclesia, pro naturâ ipsâ societatis perfectae, luculenter regitur, ita prosequeris ut illis potissimum, qui in sacrarum disciplinarum spem adolescunt, utilitas haud dubia afferatur acce atque impensum canonum studium in se vel excitandi vel fovendi."

"For to know thoroughly whatever belongs to the law of the Church, and whatever power she possesses, especially at this time when all

below.¹ The book is drawn up in the old logical style, and abounds with propositions, probationes, or syllogisms, duly divided into their major and minor premisses with their middle terms. Divers corollaries from these also follow in logical order. All this arrangement renders the aspect of the book somewhat forbidding, even to the Latin reader of the present day. But these divisions are of no little use to those who desire to thoroughly understand its meaning, and who desire to “learn and inwardly digest” its teachings. No book more opposed to the spirit of our age has perhaps ever been issued from the Papal press.

The work opens with a preliminary statement concerning ecclesiastical law, and of the power of the Church of Christ considered in itself, apart from all human enactments. It then rapidly passes on to consider the Church as “a

things are perverted, not only concerns the clergy, but is of consequence to others, in order that, guided by most holy laws, they may strive rightly to attain the end of eternal felicity. But that your books are well devised for that purpose, not only the selection of doctrines and of erudition, but even your clear arrangement sufficiently shows. For, treading in the steps of Cardinal Camillus Tarquin, who was for some time your predecessor in the Gregorian Academy, you, in drawing up your work, have been specially anxious for the perspicacity and genuineness of the matter, and have suitably pointed out the offices by which the Church is clearly ruled in accordance with the nature itself of a perfect society, so that, especially for those who grow up in the expectation of the sacred disciplines, the unquestioned advantage is afforded of arousing and cherishing in themselves an acute and earnest study of the canons.”

¹ *Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici Publici* quas juxta methodum Card. Tarquini traderat in Schola institutionem canonicarum P. Marianus de Luca, S.I. Nunc Textus Decretalium Professor in Universitate Gregoriana—Libraria Pontificia Friderici Pustet—Romae—Ratisbonae—Neo Eboraci, 1901 (vol. i., pp. 341; vol. ii., pp. 460).

perfect society," that is, a society which is complete in itself, furnished within itself with means for the attainment of the ends for which it has been called into being. Aristotle's definition of the State as such a perfect society is taken as a text, the additions made to Aristotle's definition by Thomas Aquinas being duly noticed.

In No. 44 the proposition is put forth, that by the will of its Divine Founder the Church of Christ is such a "perfect society" as Aristotle conceived the State to be. The proposition is considered to be proved by pointing out the absurdity of the contradictory view which would affirm that God had not provided for the Church of Christ all that was necessary to enable it to attain its objects. For it is argued, if the Church depended in any measure on civil society, that is, on the State, the right administration of the Church would be precarious. It is therefore maintained that it must have been the intention of Christ to establish His Church as "a perfect society"—in the highest sense. For if not, the Church would have been left to chance, and could not be upheld except by "a perpetual and daily miracle." These *a priori arguments* or assumptions abound in the work. The writer himself, and the ecclesiastical authorities who have so strongly recommended it, seem to have completely forgotten that, regarded from a *practical* point of view, the position contended for has been overthrown by the facts of history. For the position of the Church as "a perfect society," in Aristotle's sense, has from the beginning down to the present day been more than "precarious," and the "Perfect Society," as Professor de Luca would style it, has been unable to exercise for any long period the powers with which, it is maintained, she was Divinely provided as necessary for her existence.

Professor de Luca maintains on p. 123 the following :—

“ *Prop. 2.*—‘THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS A PERFECT SOCIETY BY THE WILL OF ITS DIVINE FOUNDER.’

He maintains that this proposition can be proved in two ways, either by showing the absurdity of the contradictory, or by adducing positive evidence of such a Divine will.

“ *Prop. 2.*—*Section 1.* *It is absurd to say that the Divine Founder of the Church did not desire to constitute it a perfect society. Proof: It is absurd that our Lord Christ should not have provided sufficiently for His Church. But He would not have so provided unless He had given it a power embracing all means sufficient to the attainment of its end. And that is to have constituted a perfect Society. Therefore, etc.*—*PROOF OF MINOR.* *If the means to the attainment of the end of the Church depended on another society, that is, on civil society, 1. The right administration of the Church would be left to chance. 2. Its unity would be in perpetual danger, seeing how various are the counsels of different civil societies. 3. Throughout the last three centuries and even to-day the Church would in infidel countries have been handed over to her own enemies. And surely that is not to have provided for it well. Therefore Tarq.’s [Cardinal Tarquinius, S.J.] discourse is clear and easy to understand ; but that the force of the argument may be seen the better, note : (1) In this *reductio ad absurdum* we speak according to the present order of divine providence, according to which Christ willed His Church to be governed without a miracle, or at least without a perpetual and daily miracle. (2) That three things must be supposed : (a) the true definition of the Church given above, (b) what the Catholic faith has handed down concerning the properties and marks of the Church, especially about the unity or uniqueness of*

the Church of Christ, (c) that at least the supreme end of the Church is different and distinguished from that of civil society. (3) That we must insist on the last threefold minor 'if the means to the attainment. . . .'

As to its first part ;—that the administration of the Church would be exposed to chance, like that of kingdoms, kings and constitutions, in this or that portion of the world, is evident. For they are continually undergoing various and many vicissitudes, sometimes even complete changes, which would altogether hinder the true worship of God, and that exercise of true religion which is essential to salvation. And as a thing which has not a fixed and stable cause, cannot itself either be fixed or stable, what would become of the immutability and indefectibility of the Church ? Its right administration would depend on the will of princes, which is altogether changeable, and the Church would occupy the first place accidentally, and not essentially, and in virtue of its nature by divine institution. . . .

"As to the 2nd, *The unity of the Church would be called in question.* If the power of the Church were subordinated to the civil power in respect to the supply of means, the supreme authority of the Church would be, in each country, the civil power, to which the authority of the Church would be subordinated, and so there would be as many supreme authorities in it as there were States ; that is, as many Churches as kingdoms : so the Church would no longer be one. The authority of the Church is the efficient principle of unity of the whole Catholic Church ; for that is the function of authority in a society. So it cannot be subject to the civil power, because the civil power is manifold in the world, according to the diversity of

kingdoms and empires : so that it would have to act differently in different kingdoms, according to the pleasure of the kings, and it might happen that none of its laws or orders would be common to the whole Church. But authority, which is the efficient principle of unity or uniqueness in a society, demands that it be able to govern the whole society by common laws and statutes."

In No. 45, pp. 124 ff. of the original work, the writer maintains that it can be proved that Christ established His Church as "a perfect society." He first appeals to Holy Writ, citing Matt. xvi. 18, 19, xviii. 18. He next cites the authority of the Fathers, from pp. 125-127. He next gives the definitions of the Church, pp. 127-130, and deduces on p. 130 his Corollary I., namely :—

"From the proposition proved, the following corollaries flow :—

"*Corol. I.*—THEREFORE THE CHURCH OF CHRIST POSSESSES (1) LEGISLATIVE POWER, (2) DIVINE AND SUPERNATURAL POWER, (3) POWER IN ALL MATTERS IN WHICH EITHER ESSENTIALLY OR ACCIDENTALLY, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, THE PRINCIPLE OR NECESSITY OF THE SPIRITUAL END, THAT IS, OF THE CHURCH, CAN ARISE."

On p. 133 Professor de Luca deduces a second corollary :—

"*Corol. II.*—THEREFORE THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS QUITE INDEPENDENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY DIRECTLY, AS WELL AS INDIRECTLY."

On p. 134 a third :—

"*Corol. III.*—THEREFORE THE SYSTEM OF WHAT IS CALLED ABSOLUTE LIBERALISM IS UTTERLY FALSE, ASSERTING

THE DEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH ON THE STATE OWING TO THE SO-CALLED SUPREMACY OF THE STATE."

The fourth corollary is set forth at the bottom of p. 134:—

"*Corol. IV.*—THE CHURCH OF CHRIST POSSESSES NOT ONLY INTERNAL, BUT ALSO EXTERNAL JURISDICTION, OR (*a*) THE POWER OF EXERCISING JUSTICE, (*b*) AND THAT OF MAKING ITS MEMBERS MAGISTRATES."

The fifth corollary, to which we desire to call particular attention, is set forth on p. 139 and following pages:—

"*Corol. V.*—COERCIVE POWER BELONGS TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

"*Setting forth of the proposition.*—By *coercive* power is meant that which can coerce contumacious persons by the use of external force, whether they refuse to exercise the means laid down by the legislative power, or whether they refuse to obey the commands of the judicial power enjoining them duly to exercise those means, or whether finally they hinder the end of the society or its economy of means with regard to others: for the malice and obstinacy of men, and still more the necessity of natural vice, can only be kept in check by the application of external force. Hence a society must have the right of inflicting penalties sufficient for the preservation of its order. A penalty is an evil of suffering or privation inflicted on men whether they will or no, by public authority because of a crime, that all men may be deterred from disturbing the order of society.

"Since a society can punish wrongdoers of this kind by a deprivation of their goods, and here the question is concerning a spiritual society, namely the Church, it

follows that two kinds of deprivation can be distinguished in the Church : one is the deprivation of spiritual, the other of temporal or bodily goods.

“Further, in the imposition of penalties we must still distinguish the obligation of undergoing the penalty imposed by the sentence of the judge, and its execution. If the penalty consists in the deprivation of spiritual goods no execution is required. If the execution cannot be carried out without the use of physical force, then the help of some servants is required ; and their action is called *public force*.

“Finally, a distinction must be made between the judicial power of compulsion and the actual faculty of carrying it out. The former is valid without the latter : hence a few facts on the other side prove nothing against the right.

“In connection with the coercive power of the Church several questions might be raised : 1. In general, whether it possesses the right of inflicting penalties *efficient* to the attainment of its end and the preservation of social order.

“2. *Of what kind* the penalties to be inflicted by the Church may be ; whether they can be *bodily* too ; that is, of the quality and kind of the penalties which the Church can inflict. 3. How great they can be, that is, of the severity of penalties, specifically, or, whether the right of inflicting them extends as far as capital punishment. 4. Specially about the court of the Inquisition ; and 5. Of armed force.

“Before we begin the solution of the first general question, we call to mind two things. 1st—That the Church is a Society which is (a) religious, (b) perfect, (c) composed of men. Hence the distribution of means

must be determined partly from the nature of the end, partly from the character of the subject using them. 2nd—Use of physical force can be made in two ways : (a) *immediately*, in as far as its servants, set up by it and receiving their authority immediately from it, exercise external force ; (b) *mediately*, in as far as the Church commands secular Rulers to use that force in its defence, by checking any violence, punishing the obstinate, compelling the disobedient to obey.”

On p. 140 the writer goes on to say that :—

“*I.—Coercive Power and the right of Inflicting Penalties belong to the Church.*

“I speak generally, and prove that coercive power and the right of inflicting penalties belong to the Church of Christ. For we have seen (a) that in a perfect society legislative and judicial power itself falls to the ground unless coercive power is added to them, for they would fail of their effect for the good of society just where there was need of it, namely against the obstinate and unwilling. Hence the supreme Ruler of a State is usually represented, not only as holding in his hands a balance with poised scales, as an emblem of the justice of the law courts, but also as girded with a sword, to show his punitive power. Hence *Suarez De Fid. disp. xx. sect. 3* : ‘The power of punishing criminals is necessary in every well-constituted State to its preservation and good government. So evident is this that, *apart from Faith and divine revelation, all men have, by the force of reason, understood that this is a natural power, given by the Creator of Nature, by the very fact of men’s gathering together into the mystic body of any State.* But our

Lord Christ instituted the Church to be a single mystical body, to be led by one faith to a single supernatural end. So He left in it the power of punishing and coercing the malefactors who can do most hurt to this body, and most disturb it from the end at which it aims.’¹

“(b) Our assertion is evident from Ioan. xxii. Const. *licet*: ‘Fifthly, these blasphemers further say that the whole Church put together cannot inflict on a single man coercive punishment unless the Emperor grants it: which is certainly known to be at variance with the doctrines of the Gospels.’

“It is certain from Matt. [xviii. 15–17] that if anyone wrongly inflicts an injury on another, and refuses to make it good at the command of the Church, the Church can, by the power granted to it by Christ, compel him by sentence of excommunication to do so, and that is certainly a coercive power. Respecting this we must observe, that since the major excommunication not only cuts a man off when excommunicated from receiving the sacraments, but also excludes him from intercourse with the faithful, Christ has given the Church the right of bodily coercion, it being severer. . . .”

In order to show that bodily coercion is *granted*, and at any rate not *denied*, to the Church, or declared to be unsuitable to it, de Luca adduces the examples (a) of Ananias and Sapphira, (b) of Elymas the sorcerer, (c) of the Corinthian fornicator; with (d) 1 Cor. v. 21: *What will ye? I will come to you with a rod,—The arms of our*

¹ “Sed Christus Dominus instituit Ecclesiam ut esset unum corpus mysticum per unam fidem perducendum ad unum supernaturalem finem. Ergo reliquit in illa potestatem ad puniendos et coercendos malefactores, qui maxime huic corpori nocere possunt, et ab illo fine, quo tendit, perturbare.”

warfare are not carnal, but of the power of God [2 Cor. x. 4 ; explaining the last words as *granted by God*] ; *being ready to punish all disobedience.*

Thus de Luca finally notes (p. 140) that the Pope concludes that the arguments used against the Church's possession of coercive power are (1) contrary to Scripture, (2) hostile to the Catholic faith, (3) heretical or appertaining to heresy and error.

The Professor further argues that : "*Our opponents say : To inflict temporal penalties there must be material force. And the Church has not this force : therefore its right of punishing is useless. (b) If the Church possessed such a right, it would have exercised it against its persecutors from the very beginning of its existence : so if it exercised it from Constantine onwards, that is a certain proof that it acquired such a right from the Emperors, to be exercised at their pleasure. . . .*"

To their objections de Luca gives the following answers, p. 141 :—

"*Answer 1.—Indirectly.* Does not the civil ruler himself possess this material force inasmuch as he has the right of demanding it from the soldiers subject to him ? Now the same must be said of the Church in a proportionate relation. For the Church has the right of demanding the necessary material force from the prince himself. So if the Church is for that reason to be said to lack material force, the secular prince must be said to lack it too.

"But it is said : What if the prince refused to obey the Church ? Where would its rights be then ?

"I answer : What if the soldiers refused to obey the ruler—what would become of his right ?

"*Answer 2.—Directly.* To constitute a right it is not

necessary that a man should always exert it immediately : he can exert it, if necessary, either himself, or through others more or less mediately.

“That is why we said that a perfect society, to be self-sufficient, must have sufficient means either *actually* or *virtually* at least, whether essentially or implicitly. It possesses them formally, when it need in no wise demand them from another society ; *by its own right*, when this other society can neither deny it such means, nor finally decide whether they are to be granted. And as the Church needs the secular arm for the infliction of several penalties, it does possess such a right in relation to civil rulers, so that they are in no wise empowered of themselves to refuse material force necessary in the opinion of the Church. So the Church *does not lack this material force* : for although it has it not *actually*, nor *essentially*, yet it has it *implicitly*, that is, by virtue of the right it has of always being able to demand it from a civil society of Christians.¹

“This opinion is common to all Theologians and Canonists alike. Let the Abbot of Clairvaux D. Bernard stand in place of them all. He, writing to Engenius, says : ‘Now *both swords* must be used . . . and by whom if not by you ? *Both belong to Peter* : they must be unsheathed as often as is necessary, one at your pleasure, the other by your hand.’ Indeed this is the opinion of the Catholic Church laid down by Pope

¹ Atqui Ecclesia quoad plures poenas infligendas cum indigeat brachio saeculari, tali iure proprio gaudet in Principes civiles adeo ut hi nullatenus ipsi vim materiale iuxta Ecclesiae iudicium necessariam denegare valeant. Hac igitur vi materiali non caret Ecclesia : quia etsi in ea desit *re et formaliter*, habetur tamen *virtualiter* h. e. virtute iuris sui, quo a societate civili Christianorum semper repetere possit.

Boniface VIII. *Constit. Unam Sanctam de Maioritate et obedientia*, at the passage: ‘Lo, here are two swords . . . each then is in the power of the Church, viz., the spiritual and the material sword, but the latter must be exercised for the Church, the former by the Church. The former by the hand of the priest, the latter by that of kings and soldiers, *but at the pleasure and will of the priest.*’ Here no one doubts that under the name of the material sword is meant *the whole power of civil society*, including that of coercion, indeed that this is specifically declared, as it is said at the end: to be exercised by the hand of Rulers and *soldiers*. Now the Royalists very greatly exaggerate: 1. The truly coercive power of a perfect society, they say, must have all that pertains to an effective sanction; 2. That this power must at least in right extend to the right of the sword, which they deny the Church, together with the right of inflicting bodily penalties.

“To the 2nd. It would have exercised it from the beginning against its persecutors. . . . Distinguish: if there had been an opportunity and severer harm was not to be feared from its use, *I grant it*: if not, *I deny*.

“To the 3rd. *Distinguish*: The arms of our warfare are not carnal in respect of their power and efficacy, because they are from God: *I admit*. That they are not carnal in respect of their subject and the matter with which they are concerned: *I deny*.”

The Professor, therefore, proceeds to state in even plainer language on p. 142:—

“II.—*The Church of Christ possesses the right of inflicting bodily penalties, even of Death.*

“When the inviolable right of any society begins to be impugned and denied it, then that society must insist on

it most emphatically, and assert it strenuously. Now we see that in this age of ours, if ever, the right of inflicting on the guilty the severest penalties according to need—viz., what is called the right of the sword, has been denied to the perfect society, and that the penalty of death lies hidden and buried among obsolete rights. And in respect of the Church of Christ, which Catholics must necessarily admit to be perfect, nay, the most perfect, the Royalists are wont to deny it the right of inflicting temporal penalties : which plainly is the same as to assert that the Church ought *to be foolish in the penalties which it inflicts*. For not only *the principles of social right*, but even the *general principles* of reason show that the nature and character of means—from the very fact that they are *means*, that is, that they are employed, not on their own account, but on account of something else that we wish to attain through them,—cannot be absolutely determined by the means themselves, but that they must be determined with regard to the necessity of the end, that is, with regard to the necessity of obtaining that for which they are employed. For suppose that, as daily experience shows us is the case, there are some who despise spiritual penalties, and so cannot be restrained by them from disturbing the order of the Church, what, I ask, can be more foolish than to inflict such spiritual penalties on them, and to refrain from employing temporal penalties, the only ones which can be of any use? Taparellius truly says : that would be just like punishing a boy who disliked school by shutting him out of school : unless he sees some other penalty added to this he will of course be delighted and glad, and will not amend at all, but become more obstinate than ever in his fault. The Church would incur the blame of equal folly

if it would fain punish those who despise spiritual goods by depriving them of those goods. And since this error is widely spread, we must note that it has been condemned not once only. Especially in *Constit. dogm.* Ioan. xxii. ; beginning *Licet*, written against Marsilius of Padua ; and most recently by the R. Pope Pius IX. in *Const. ad Apostolicæ*, where two books of Nepomucenus Nuyts are condemned. The first of his errors that is condemned, is the statement that ‘the Church has not the power of inflicting forcible penalties and that it has no temporal power direct or indirect.’ Against the Royalists then and their modern followers we assert the punitive power of the Church as embracing even the power of the sword. We are justified in beginning by vindicating this right of the Church, both because of the adversaries who, because the penalty of death has long been pronounced against heretics, and specifically against certain heresiarchs and apostates, slander our holy mother the Church and cry out against her with all their might and accuse her of acting unjustly and wrongly,—and because men argue from the right of inflicting capital punishment to milder penalties. Afterwards we shall come to damnatory judgments, namely the right of the severest penalty, which is excommunication.¹

“*Proof I. From reason and social right.*—We must go to the origin, basis and end of penalties to arrive at their degree, proportion and nature. Now the origin, basis

¹ Recentissime a R. Pontifice Pio IX in *Const. Ad Apostolicæ*, in qua duo libri damnantur Nepomuceni Nuyts, inter cuius errores hic primus notatur quod asseruerit “Ecclesiam vis inferendæ potestatem non habere, neque temporalem ullam potestatem sive directam sive indirectam.” Contra Regalistas igitur horumque modernos asseclas tantam asserimus Eccl. coactivam potestatem, quæ etiam ius gladii complectatur. Merito ab hoc iure vindicando

and end of penalties in a perfect society demands that it be empowered to exercise the right of the sword. Further, the Church is a perfect society : Therefore : —*Note on Major*—Punishment is nothing but a means of securing the preservation of order : and the character, proportion, and nature of means must be determined by the necessity of the end, that is, must be of such a nature as certainly to produce that end.

“*Note on Minor Premiss.*—A society has the right to take steps for its own security, and to use efficient means to defend itself against everything that can upset public order. Further, social authority is bound to do all it can by the infliction of penalties to destroy the impulse to crime which springs from the criminal’s bad example. And it may well happen that no other penalty may be an efficient means to check the infection of crime and preserve the order of society, but the penalty of death.

“For the character of some men is so vicious and inclined to crime, that society must fear for the greatest evils to itself from them unless it absolutely removes from them all power of doing harm, and in a large number of men there may be several who can scarcely be restrained from crime by the threat of death. Every other punishment must leave some hope of escape, and they make light of it when they compare it with the pleasure and the profit which they believe they can derive

Ecclesiae exordimur tum propter adversarios qui ob iamdiu decretam haereticis mortem et nominatim nonnullis haeresiarchis et Apostatis illatam, s. matrem nostram Ecclesiam ceu iniuste et inique agentem traducunt plenisque buccis inclamant, tum propterea quod ex poenae capitalis infligendae iure ad mitiores poenas arguitur. Tandem ad censuras nominatim ad gravissimae poenae ius, quae est excommunicatio pervenimus.

from crime. And if this is so, who does not see that (a) *the penalty of death is the one efficient means to the security of the society?* [the italics are ours]. Because indeed the right of society to security is altogether superior to the right to live in which the criminal trusts. We said that (b) *this right belonged to a perfect society* [italics ours], for if it did not possess this, the only efficient and therefore necessary means in these cases, it would not contain within itself all the means that were sufficient and necessary to its end; in other words, it would not be a perfect society. I said (c) *the Church is a perfect society; and that we assume as proved. Then the right of the sword is a necessary and effective means to the attainment of its end* [the italics are ours], if obstinate rebels against the Church and disturbers of ecclesiastical peace and unity, and especially stubborn heretics and heresiarchs, cannot be prevented by any other penalty from continuing to disturb the order of the Church and from stirring up others, who are always ready to do wrong and especially to sin against the Church. In actual fact, the Church at first dealt more leniently with heretics, excommunicating them, confiscating their property . . . till at last she was compelled to inflict the extreme penalty: ‘secondly experience shows (says *Bellarm. de laicis* l. 3, c. 21) that there is no other remedy: for *the Church gradually advanced*, and tried every means, *first excommunication alone, then a pecuniary fine was added, then exile*, FINALLY SHE WAS COMPELLED TO FALL BACK ON DEATH [the capitals here are the author’s own]. Heretics despise excommunication and say that that bolt is powerless; if you threaten them with a pecuniary fine, they neither fear God nor respect men, knowing that they will find fools enough to believe them and support them. If you imprison them or send them

into exile they corrupt those near them with their words and those at a distance with their books. So THE ONLY REMEDY IS TO SEND THEM SOON TO THEIR OWN PLACE' [capitals are the author's]. The society of the Church and its public order, against the disturbance of which there are many ecclesiastical charges, must necessarily be preserved, that men's souls may be sanctified by the true faith and good works, and that they may gain eternal salvation.¹

"II. Indeed, if this right of the sword did not belong to the Church, the reason would be either that it is opposed to the nature or end of the Church, or that it contradicts natural right and divine positive law ;— and neither of these is the case. I. *It does not conflict with* (a) the *end* of the Church. On the contrary, that end demands it, for it is the duty of the Church to look to the sanctification and salvation not of one, but of all. This involves an external ecclesiastical order, which has been laid down partly by our Lord, partly by the Church herself. So, when the vice of one or of a few involves the ruin of many of her sons, she is bound absolutely to

¹ "Secundo experientia docet (ait *Bellarmin. de laicis l. 3 c. 21*) non esse aliud remedium : nam *Ecclesia paullatim progressa est*, et omnia remedia experta ; *primo solum excommunicabat ; deinde addidit mulctam pecuniarum, tum exilium ;* ULTIMO COACTA EST AD MORTEM VENIRE : nam excommunicationem contemnunt haeretici, ac dicunt esse fulmina frigida : si mineris mulctam pecuniarum nec Deum timent, nec homines reverentur, scientes non defuturos stultos, qui illis credant, et a quibus alantur ; si in carcerem concludas vel in exilium mittas corrumpunt vicinos verbis, et longe positos libris, ERGO SOLUM REMEDIUM EST MITTERE ILLOS MATURE IN LOCUM SUUM." Ordo porro publicus socialis ecclesiasticus, contra quem turbandum sunt plurima crimina ecclesiastica, est necessario servandus ad animarum sanctificationem per rectam fidem et per bona opera atque ad aeternam salutem obtinendam (p. 143).

remove that vice, and, if no other remedy avails to save her people, she may, and must, inflict the penalty of death on such vicious men. This course we see the Church has taken in the case of obstinate heretics . . . and the Church justly fears those who cannot but threaten to disturb the order of her society and to impel others to corruption. Here we might argue *ad hominem* against those who suppose that the right of the sword, or the extreme penalty, conflicts with the end of the Church, namely, the salvation of souls—for then the State cannot boast in the right of the sword either, inasmuch as its end is subordinate to the end of the Church.¹

“(b) *It does not conflict with natural right.* For the principle of the preservation and peace of society, which is the only principle drawn from natural right which can support the exercise of that power in civil society, *holds good for the Church on even stronger grounds*, since the preservation of the Church is far more important than that of civil society. . . .”

Omitting much which bears on this question, we

¹ *Non contradicit fini Eccl.* quin imo id exigit ille: ad Ecclesiam enim spectat non unius sed omnium curare sanctificationem et salutem necessario ordine etiam externo ecclesiastico partim a Christo Dno., partim ab ipsa Eccl. determinato: ergo cum unius vel aliquorum pravitas posita sit in ruinam multorum filiorum, tenetur illam auferre efficacius ita ut si nullum aliud suppetat remedium, ut salvet populum suum, possit ac debeat eiusmodi pravis hominibus mortem infligere. Quod factum fuisse videmus ab Eccl. quoad obstinatos haereticos . . . et eos a quibus nonnisi periculum perturbandi ordinem sociale ecclesiasticum et impulsus perversionis praebendi coeteris, merito timet Ecclesia. Hinc ad hominem responderi posset iis, qui autumant ius gladii seu extremum supplicium contradicere fini Ecclesiae i. e. saluti animarum.—Scil. ergo neque status gaudebit iure gladii quandoquidem finis status est subordinatus fini Ecclesiae (pp. 143, 144).

pass on further to p. 145, and find on that page the following :—

“Even if we grant (what we do not admit) that the Church has never used such a right, (a) it does not follow from that that it has not the right or power ; for it is an illicit inference from the fact that a thing is not, to the statement that it cannot be ; (b) and even if the immediate exercise of such a right were denied, the negation of the right does not follow—it is enough that it be possessed virtually ; that is, that *mediately* at any rate such a right belong to the supreme Magistrate of the Church, that he may demand of a Catholic Ruler that he inflict that penalty on wrong-doers if the necessity of the Church demands it. Cavagnis himself (*l.c.* § 308) observes : ‘For if we granted that the Church needed the infliction of capital punishment in its own defence, and hence that it could invoke the help of the prince, it would then *itself be exercising* the right of the sword *mediately* : but the capital punishment would always be inflicted in its name, and the prince would only act as instrument. But an action is attributed to the person who commands that it be done, as its principal author, not to the person who carries it out as an instrument : thus the death of a criminal is attributed at law to the prince or judge, rather than to the executioner.’ But that this right belongs at any rate *mediately* to the Church is certainly established by the authority of Doctors. Indeed there are some among them who pass the severest condemnation on those who deny such a power to a Roman Pope or an Œcumenical Council. This will appear below when an argument is adduced on the authority of Doctors to the effect that ‘*it is universally stated that the Church can inflict on heretics the penalty of death,*’ which, as Suarez says ; ‘*all the*

Controversialists show against the Innovators,' says Card. Albitius de Inconst. in fide c. 21, n. 1. Now the common assertion of all these would be worthless, unless it were understood that *the Church had that authority at least mediately*. Moreover, (c) more than this—it has exercised the power directly too; and Answer 2, the Church (a) *has exercised the power* [italics are the author's], (b) has practically done so directly. For its direct exercise does not involve that the Ministers of the Church should carry into effect the judgment of the Ruler of the Church like executioners [*tamquam carnifices*, or 'as butchers']; it is enough that the ecclesiastical magistracy pronounce the penalty of death in the particular case, and that the civil prince is bound by an absolute obligation to provide the Church with secular judges and servants to carry out her sentences. As far as executing the judgment of the Church goes, it makes no difference whether the servants of justice be immediately subordinated to the supreme magistrate of the Church himself, or whether there is a military force under the civil prince, which must always be ready to put into execution this right of the sword. For the members of a society are immediately and directly subordinated to the power of the society in those matters which are necessary to its end.¹ And civil society, with

¹ Non est enim necesse ad immediatum exercitium ut Ecclesiae Ministri tamquam carnifices, Ecclesiae magistratus ius exerçant; sed sufficit ut hic Magistratus Ecclesiasticus sit mandans mortis in casu particulari, ita ut indeclinabile ministerium Princip. civili insit Ecclesiae praestandi iudices et executores saeculares: nam ad iudicii Eccl. effectum obtinendum perinde est quod penes ipsum Ecclesiae supremum magistratum reperiatur constitutos esse ministros iustitiae, vel penes Principem civilem manum militum, qui omnes ad hoc ius gladii exercendum parati esse debent: membra enim societatis immediate et directe subduntur, potestati societatis in iis, quae ad huius finem necessaria sunt (pp. 145–6).

its prince and army, are members of the Church. Therefore, in matters which concern the Church as being necessary to its ends, they must be immediately subject to its authority and guidance. But the exercise of material force, even to the point of inflicting death, say, on a heretic, is a necessary means to the salvation of Christ's faithful, which is the end of the Church.

"For (1) Doctors deny that such a right has never been exercised, without making any distinction between mediate and immediate exercise of it—see Bellarm. in quoted passage. (2) They [the civil authorities] must perform the prescribed service or duty in question when the Church thinks fit and has made her own civil laws which impose this penalty. (3) One who broke away from the authority of the Church was *outlawed*, so that all men were given the power of killing him with impunity (see Suarez *De fide Disp.* xx. sect. 3, n. 23). (4) After the matter has been handed over to secular princes and judges, they are bound, under pain of excommunication, immediately to carry out the sentence imposed, without revising the action of the ecclesiastical court. Therefore, the Church herself has exercised such a right.

"Further, many Doctors, *e.g.* Suarez, assert that this right belongs primarily to the Church, and secondarily to the civil prince, after the fashion described in *Bulla Unam Sanctam Extravag. com. de Maior. et obed.*, namely, that the material sword is subordinated to the spiritual, and depends on the nod and wish of the Priest, as one who stands between him who gives the command and him who receives it, between the master and the servant.¹

¹ Porro DD. plurimi aiunt *e. g.* Suarez hoc ius principaliter pertinere ad Ecclesiam et secundario Principi civili, eo prorsus modo, qui per *Bullam Unam sanctam Extravag. com. de Maior. et obed.*

“3rd *Objection*.—Because this punishment does not amend the criminal himself. *I answer by denying the assumption that every penalty,—especially when imposed by the Church,—must always carry with it the improvement of the criminal* [the italics are ours]: for if that assumption is true no other penalty either can be inflicted but such as certainly involves the reformation of the criminal, and that is not the case. The reformation of the criminal and the requital made to the person injured are demanded, not absolutely, but in so far as they are called for by the end and constitution of the society in question. And although the private guidance of every individual is also included in the end of the Church, whence the frequent use in it of medicinal punishments, yet we must always bear in mind what has previously been proved, that the main foundation and end of penalties rests on the necessity of preserving the order of society.

“Now our opponents admit that the safest means of defending the society of the Church is to deprive the criminal of the possibility of doing harm: but they say the extreme penalty is unnecessary, because perpetual imprisonment sufficiently attains that object. *I answer* that just as perpetual imprisonment is insufficient for the preservation of civil order, so it is insufficient for the preservation of ecclesiastical order. And indeed the good that is most necessary to the Church is the unity of the true faith, and that cannot be preserved unless the heretic be handed over to death. See Bellarm. as before.

“4th *Objection*: *from the authority of Doctors*, as denying such a right. Answer 1st. I deny the assertion to be

describitur gladius sc. materialis sub spirituali sit sc. ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis sc. qui est inter mandantem et mandatarium, Dominum et servum: atqui . . . e, (p. 146).

granted. So far is what these opponents say from being true, that, as Tarq. observes, the severest condemnation has more often been passed on such as deny the Church the fullest power, extending even to the right of the sword. Answer 2nd. Those doctors either explain Pontifical Law ; then they are concerned with determined right as regarding inferior clergy subordinate to that law, and not with determining right, the bearer of supreme power, like a Roman Pope and an Œcumenical Council. Or else they deal with a question not of right but of fact ; then they only mean that the Church was not in the habit of doing that, as they understand it."

Professor Marianus de Luca proceeds then on p. 147 to cite :—

" IV.—*Proof from the authority of Doctors.*

" Cardinal Albitius De inconstantia in fide c. xxi. says : ' First comes capital punishment, *which the Church justly inflicts on Heretics*, as is shown by all the Controversialists against the Innovators.' In the same place he cites Valencia, Bellarm. Becan. Alphon. De Castro, Suarez, Covaruvias, Simoneta, Farinacius, Carena, Del Bene—passages cited there.

" No. 3, he adds : ' Reason itself shows that this is so, since the State has the power of punishing its subjects and inflicting a penalty proportionate to the severity of the offence, and there is no graver offence than heresy owing to the harm it does to the Christian State,—and, therefore, it must be rooted out with fire and sword.' So in *cap. Resecanda* 24, q. 3, Innoc. *ep.* 25, *D. Tom.* 2. 2. q. 11, *art.* 3 and 4, and Bannes and Gregorius de Valentia—Suarez de Fide *disp.* 23. *sect.* 1. n. 5—De

Lugo *disp.* xxiv., *sect.* 2. n. 36—and our own Farinac. q. 189, n. 4.

“No. 5. ‘This penalty is inflicted by ecclesiastical Judges when unrepentant or relapsed heretics are given over to the secular arm to be punished by them’ to the text in *Cap. ad abolendam* § *praeterea* at the words ‘let him be left to the secular power to deal with, to receive the punishment he deserves.’ And in the § *laicus* at the words: ‘let him be left to the secular judge to deal with, to receive the requital he deserves for the nature of his crime’—*extra de Haereticis* at the words *omnes canonistae*.¹

“No. 6. So when heretics have been left to the secular arm, the judges must inflict on them the penalty not of death only but of fire:—how old this penalty of fire is in the Church, is shown by D. Greg. 1. 1, Dialog. c. 4 ;

¹ *IV. Prob. auctoritate DD.* Cardinalis Albitius De inconstantia in fide c. XXL haec habet n. 1. “Et prima est poena capitalis qua iuste puniuntur ab Ecclesia Haeretici ut docent omnes Controversistae contra Novatores” et ibidem nominat Valencia—Bellarm.—Becan.—Alphon. De Castro—Suarez—Covaruvius—Simoneta—Farinacius—Carena—Del Bene. ll. ibidem c. t.

N. 3 addit “Et suadet ipsa ratio, quia Respublica habet potestatem puniendi subditos poena condigna iuxta delicti gravitatem, sed nullum gravius delictum est haeresi propter nocumentum, quod affert reipublicae christianae, et ideo igne et ferro resecandum ut in *cap. Resecanda* 24 q. 3. Innoc. *ep.* 25—*D. Tom.* 2. 2. q. 11. *art.* 3 et 4 et ibi Bannes et Gregorius de Valentia—Suarez de Fide *disp.* 23. *sect.* 1. n. 5.—De Lugo *disp.* XXIV. *sect.* 2. n. 36.—ex nostris Farinac. q. 189. n. 4.

N. 5. “Haec autem poena tunc imponitur a Iudicibus ecclesiasticis, quando haeretici impenitentes, seu relapsi relinquuntur brachio saeculari, ut ab eis puniantur ad textum in *Cap. Ad abolendam* § *praeterea* in illis verbis: “*saecularis relinquatur arbitrio potestatis animadversione debita puniendus.*” Et in § *laicus*, ibi saecularis iudicis arbitrio relinquatur, debitam recepturus pro qualitate facinoris ultionem—*extra de Haereticis* et ibi *omnes canonistae*” (pp. 146, 147).

and all the Doctors note the fact on C. *ad abolendam de Haeret.* P. del Bene p. 1, dub. 162, pet. 5, n. 25.

“Suarez 2 de Fide Disp. xx., sect. 3. n. 28, says : ‘*Nevertheless it is a Catholic tenet that the Church may justly inflict on heretics the penalty of death.*’ Cp., too, n. 23.

“Bellarmin’s opinion we saw above. We cannot stay to dwell on many others, see them in *Del Bene* throughout his famous work quoted above : and in general cp. the great Canonists dealing with cases of mixed jurisdiction in *tit. de foro compet.* It will be enough for us to support this catholic doctrine by the opinion of St Thomas (2. 2. q. 11, a. 3). In that passage he says, ‘Respecting heretics, there are two things to be considered, one affecting them, the other affecting the Church. As concerning themselves, their sin is such as to deserve not only separation from the Church by excommunication, but even removal from the world by death. For it is a far more serious offence to corrupt the faith, on which hangs the life of the soul, than to forge money which supports our life on earth. So if debasers of coin or other malefactors are with justice handed over to death immediately by secular Rulers, far more may heretics, as soon as they are convicted of heresy, be *with justice*, not excommunicated only, but *even put to death* [the italics are the author’s].—On the side of the Church, however, there is pity for the conversion of the erring, and so she does not condemn them at once, but after the first and second correction, as the Apostle teaches [Titus iii. 10]. But if after that he still be found obstinate, *the Church*, having no more hope of his conversion, *provides for the salvation of others* by separating him from the Church by sentence of excommunication ; and for the rest she leaves him to the secular judgment, *to be cut off from*

the world by death.' With this agrees the Theological Faculty of Paris, which went further, and in 1526, in censuring Erasmus *on the punishment of heretics*, taught that heretics not only may, but even ought to have the extreme penalty passed on them. It says: 'Since it is a Catholic tenet which must be faithfully held, that the extreme penalty not only may, but must be inflicted on obstinate heretics, when that can be done without detriment or danger to the State, and their salvation and that of the rest can by no other means be attained and preserved. The contrary opinion is an error of the Cathari, the Waldenses and Luther, and has been condemned by general councils and imperial laws.' Comp. *D. Argentree Collect. Ind. t. 2., pag. 1, pag. 69.*

"Surely this consentient opinion of the Doctors cannot but express the established teaching of the Church. The same point is directly proved by the following :

"*V.—The Acts of the Church and its Teaching show the Right of the Sword.*

"1st. *C. ad abolendam* and many other passages of the Law prove it. In them (a) none but an ecclesiastic can judge a capital case on a charge of heresy, 'and his decisions cannot be revised before being carried into effect.' (b) It is laid down that the heretic suffer the penalty or punishment he deserves ; that is, the meaning of the Church is, that the capital penalty be inflicted on them, or they be driven from off the land, as it had been laid down in the Emperor's law. (c) It is proved by facts and by history : for many heretics have been put to death and burnt by the secular arm, merely after an ecclesiastical trial, because heresy is a purely ecclesiastical crime. Hence the practice which held good for several

centuries, that the heretic should be handed over to the secular arm, and be burnt without any revision of his case or any delay.

“2. *The Lateran Council iv. c. 3 lays down*—‘If a temporal Lord, in spite of the demands and exhortations of the Church, has neglected to cleanse his realm from this pollution of heresy, let the Metropolitan and the other bishops of the land lay the chain of excommunication upon him, and if he refuse to give satisfaction within a year, let the Pope be informed of this, that he may then himself declare that the ruler’s vassals are free from allegiance towards him, and give the land for the Catholics to occupy, that they may *exterminate the heretics* [the italics are the author’s], and so possess it undisputed.’

“3. Innocent IV., with the approval of the Fathers of the 1st Œcumenical Council of Lyon, issued a constitution enumerating many crimes of the Emperor Frederick II., and, in virtue of the authority given to himself, in the person of Peter, by God (Matt. xvi. 18), depriving Frederick of the empire, his kingdoms, and every office and dignity by sentence of excommunication. So too in the same constitution *c. 1 de Homic. in 6*, he laid down, with the approval of the Holy Council, that whatever ruler or prelate . . . have compassed . . . the death of any Christian by assassination, should by that very deed incur sentence of excommunication, be degraded from his dignity, office, etc., and *be outlawed* from the whole Christian world . . . so that all men are given power to kill him with impunity. See *Suarez de Fid. disp. xx., sect. 3, m. 23*.

“4. Bonif. VIII., Bull. *Unam Sanctam* among *Extrav. comm. l. 1, tit. 8, c. 1*; and confirmed in the Lateran Council under Leo X. ‘We are taught by the words of

the Gospels that temporal power too is included in it (the Church) and its authority. For when the Apostles said, *Lo here are two swords*, that is, in the Church when the Apostles were speaking, our Lord did not answer that they were too much, but that they were enough. Assuredly whoever denies the inclusion of the temporal sword in the power of Peter, misunderstands our Lord's word when He says : *Put up thy sword into its sheath*. So both the spiritual sword and the material sword are included in the power of the Church. But the latter must be employed in the service of the Church, the former by the Church. The latter must be wielded by the hand of the priest, the former by that of kings and soldiers, *but at the nod and will of the priest* [the italics are ours]. But one sword must be subordinated to the other, and the temporal power subjected to spiritual authority.' On these words we must note with Palmieri *De Rom. Pontif. in Proleg.* § xix. n. vii., that the doctrine asserted, which agrees with that we uphold, should be carefully distinguished from the proof of it brought forward. For the assertion of doctrine is the function of his office, and the grace of infallibility has been promised if it is laid down *ex cathedra*. It is true that the doctrine asserted must always be supported by proofs drawn from the Word of God, but there is no need for those proofs to be expressly set forth. Perhaps merely probable reasoning may be adduced ; or the word of God may be adduced, but, being somewhat obscurely expressed, in the shape of an interpretation resting on some proof, this interpretation being sufficiently old and so received, thus *attesting the common opinion of the Church on the matter in question*. Both of these things are done in the proof adduced by Bonif. VIII. ; for that proof is verbally taken from *S. Bernard de Consid. lib. 4, c. 3*. So the

Pope by using his very words (1) must be considered to have wished to bring forward his authority : and the authority of a single Doctor is at least a probable argument. *S. Th.*, 1 *p.q.* 1 *a* 8. Further, (2) the authority of Bernard was able to get that true interpretation generally accepted to *exhibit the doctrine* of the twofold power in the Church, which Bernard himself demonstrated in those words of the Gospel. So in putting forward that interpretation the Pope in reality appealed to the common feeling of the Church. *Urb. IV. Constitut. licet.* § 12 and *Innoc. IV. Constit. Adversus.* Conc. dat. iii. Can. 27 ; and *Praescriptio art.* 33 *Luth.* that the burning of heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit.

“Hence it follows as a corollary, that if the Church has the right of inflicting the penalty of death, she has also the right of imposing and carrying out other corporal penalties. *Trid. sess. xxv. C. 3 de R.* says : ‘They (the ecclesiastical judges) are to have the authority of proceeding, if they think fit, in civil cases pertaining in any way to the ecclesiastical court, against any, even laymen, by a *pecuniary fine* (to be handed over to the local pious institutions as soon as collected), or by immediate seizure of property and detention of the person, to be carried out by their own or other officers, or even by depriving them of their benefices and by other legal means. . . . In criminal cases too, where execution on person or property can be carried out as above, one must abstain from damnatory judgments.’ *C. 6 De Iudaeis and c. 1 extrav. comm. eod. etc.* 10. *De Haeret.* and other passages, show the practice of the Church in inflicting the penalty of slavery, removal to another district, exile from some province, perpetual imprisonment, detention in a monas-

tery, flogging.—G. Pallavicino *Storia del Concil di Trento*, *Lib.* 22, *c.* 9, *n.* 8.”—*De Luca*, pp. 148–9.

The foregoing extracts are sufficient to prove decisively, not only that the Church of Rome has persecuted in the past, but that she is perfectly ready, whenever she gets the power, to continue the same savage rule.

Roman Catholic advocates have striven in vain to show that their Church was not responsible for the great persecutions which have stained so deeply her character in past days. Some of those persecutions, these advocates assert, were really undertaken for political purposes, and ought not to be laid to the charge of the Church itself. But in these volumes, written in the blaze of the twentieth century, the most despotic power is asserted as bestowed by Christ Himself upon the Church. In these volumes she reasserts all the most revolting claims of the Middle Ages, and quotes the actions of men in those days as justifying the Church, whenever she may be able, in exercising despotic power, and mercilessly persecuting heretics to the death. Everything, according to Rome's idea, must be done “according to the nod and will of the priest.” Other churches have at various times persecuted persons who dared to oppose their tenets. But no other church has ever claimed “Divine right” for such scandalous acts, or has laid down in her canon law so clearly the right and duty of persecution.

It would be easy to cite a number of Papal General Councils which have passed canons in favour of the persecution of heretics, such as the Third Lateran Council, which condemned the much-maligned Albigenses ; or the the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which also commanded the extirpation of similar dissidents, and directed

that secular princes should be excommunicated if they refused to do their duty in the matter.

In the *Corpus Juris Canonici* put forth by order of Pope Gregory XIII., 1650, such canons and decrees are frequently quoted. See the *Decretales* of Pope Gregory IX. affixed to that volume, col. 642 ff. See also in same volume the *Constitutions* of Pope Clement V. in the Council of Vienne (held 1311-12), at col. 247, titulus iii.; the *Extravagants* of Pope John XXII., col. 381, 382 ff., titulus iii., "De hereticis"; and in same volume the *Instit. Juris Canon.*, titulus iv., "De hereticis et schismaticis," cols. 139, 140, 141.

It is unnecessary here to give any sketch of the Papal persecutions themselves, as, for instance, of the Marian persecution in England, of those in Scotland, or those of the Huguenots, etc.—all the water in the world cannot wash out the bloody stains of the Piedmontese persecutions; or of the massacre of St Bartholomew in France, on the occasion of which Pope Gregory struck his well-known medal in 1572.

What necessity is there for a recital of such deeds, or of a numbering up of the poor sufferers whose blood still cries out for vengeance, when the Church of Rome can venture unabashed in the twentieth century to endorse such a work as that of Marianus de Luca!

NOTE

It may be well to state that the translation here given of Marianus de Luca is based (with revision here and there) on that given in "*Jesuit Sedition and Inhumanity: The Contemporary Doctrines of Father Marianus de Luca, S.J., Professor of Canon Law in the Gregorian University; translated under the superintendence of Professor Margoliouth (University of Oxford).*"

London: published by the Editor, Walter C. Copeland, M.A. (Oxon.), 12 St Bride Street, E.C." Price one shilling net. That translation was made by an able scholar at Oxford, employed by Professor Margoliouth. There were, however, appended to that translation in the published tract several of the leading articles of the *Rock* newspaper, a newspaper which some time ago ceased to exist. Those articles were so sensational in tone as to damage the effect of the exposure of the contents of de Luca's work. Professor Margoliouth had no knowledge of those articles until the appearance of the pamphlet in question.

APPENDIX IV

DANIEL AND ZOROASTRIANISM

By Rev. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, Hon. M.A., D.D., Professor of
Zend Philology in the University of Oxford¹

THE supposed Zoroastrian features in the Book of Daniel have always been considered by experts to be very striking. It would, however, be almost an impertinence on my part to go closely into the details of them here ; and we may concede at once that Zoroastrianism formed an important element in that new intellectual atmosphere which the tribes of Israel entered at the Captivity.

In mentioning "Zoroastrianism," let me here pause for a moment to say that I am particular ; for Mazdā-worship had its rights and its lefts. To speak of Mazdā-worship is not necessarily to speak of Zoroaster. We cannot fully claim that the Achæmenian Mazdā-worship was Zoroastrian, as it is almost on a level with the so-called pre-exilic Biblical Semitic doctrines as regards futurity,

¹ It has been suggested to me that some of the allusions in this simple paper may appear obscure to readers. In any case, as this volume is of a critical character, readers are referred here to vol. xxxi. of the *Sacred Books of the East* everywhere, especially pp. 1-193 and pp. i-xlvi. An English verbatim translation of the Gāthas by me appeared in 1900.

Of course our view of Daniel is not complete with an exclusion of the cognate writings.

whereas the Zend Avesta may be said to be the one¹ representative document of a future life at its period, and as it survived in our modern sense of it, in the ancient Aryan or Semitic world ; so that we use the term freely, and with an especial understanding of what we mean by it. The higher criticism which prevailed before Assyriology came in spoke as if the entire Eschatology of Daniel and the other Exilic Books were Zoroastrian.

So Dr Deutsch in his distinguished essay in the *Quarterly Review* of fifty years ago ; so Matter before him ; for both of these writers implied as much.

To this I have personally never at any time acceded—that is to say, not fully so. I hold now, as I have always held, that an Eschatology with all the main essential elements of Zoroastrianism must have developed itself independently of the new intellectual life of the Exile as affected by Zoroastrian ideas—though I hold that such a state of opinion especially owed its existence to the facts of the Exile totally aside from doctrinal contagion, and regarded purely as an episode or a cataclysm in history, with all its attendant disasters, which is a very different thing from saying that it owed its existence to Zoroastrianism. At the same time I do not, of course, at all deny that this development was later greatly assisted by the Medo-Persian views upon the same subjects ; nor do I mean to deny that its dramatic and pictorial elements were much affected by those of the more original lore, when the Jews at last became acquainted with it. Let me therefore begin my short summary at the very beginning with an unreserved opinion as to the original state of Israelitish opinion upon another life. And if my

¹ I mean, of course, in a fully clear, distinct, and widespread system.

views in any particular happen to diverge at all from those of the distinguished author of this work, it will, of course, be understood that no two scholars anywhere are in complete accord as to all the final details of such a subject. To trace, then, what must have been the original conceptions of the ancient Hebrews as to this vital matter, let me briefly state as follows :

It is now generally asserted by many of the closer critics that the early views of the primitive Hebrews were extremely rudimental upon those important elementary particulars. Their notions of a future life were originally those of a *continuous life*, such as the life of God. Enoch and Elijah simply escaped death and enjoyed the protraction of that original existence which Adam and Eve would have shared had they not fallen, though that existence of the two early saints was passed on high.

The first human pair, however (see the records), would have been as "Gods," nor would they have known any other experiences, had they also put forth their hand and taken of the tree of life, and eaten, and lived for ever ; for there is little to indicate that their future life would have differed in any material respect from their then present life in Eden before the fall, and in the absence of anything said to the contrary we must abide by what is stated. Such seems to have been the conception of the Jews as regards the original state of the first created and unfallen man and woman.

The theoretical views of the Jews as to the condition of things after the fall of Adam and Eve, and as to their consequent subjection to the penalty of death, continued to prevail as upon about the same level of conception. While we can by no means say of the future state believed in that it was "the land where all things were

forgotten," we may quite confidently assume that it resembled the classic Hades. There is little trace of judgment in it involving either pleasure or pain. All or nearly all of the pious hopes of the Jews, even up to the time of the Temple and beyond it, were centred in this life ; though this feeling was hallowed among the better specimens of the population by centring their aspiration upon the glory of the Holy Service, and in sincere communion with the Deity, as well as in the hope of personal and domestic prosperity as a reward for good character, so that an intense patriotism was one result while they remained a theocracy. Israel was to reign gloriously, and "triumphant Zion was to lift her head." Even under the Kings material prosperity continued to be the sign of God's approval ; and in fact under David and Solomon these highest hopes seemed to have been realised, so that with some effort of imagination the enthusiastic commoner could feel himself blest indeed in the glory of his race. But the War of the Exile came, and this scheme found suddenly its end. The masses of the people were dragged from their homes, and most of their private property was lost. Not only did duty but necessity itself also render it incumbent upon the exiled citizen to seek still more the help of his omnipotent Yahweh Elohim to stave off despair with its consequent prostration in the midst of his calamities ; and since the rewards expected to be received on earth *had proved themselves in the very facts of their situation to be illusory, they began to look all the more earnestly to the "beyond."* But their views as to futurity had hitherto as yet only offered them a Sheol, almost the dimmest possible recognition of a state of consciousness surviving death. So they broke through the fetters of their past conjectural inertia, and turned all the more earnestly to

the interior side of their religion as contained in their Holy Books ; and this resource possessed all the more scope for influence just because they had been robbed of the, to them, so splendid pageant of their liturgies, sacrificial and festive. Unquestionably this state of things stirred within them a new force of genuine religious sentiment. A religion of books has always had a deeper and firmer hold upon the interior convictions than one of ceremonies and vague traditions. The æsthetic sensibilities possess indeed a high degree of value in these most vital considerations, but animal proclivities and material superstitions have always been difficult to exclude ; and all the more so where no documentary records of a nation's faith whatever have as yet at all maintained themselves. That the entire learned class among the Exilic Jews who were entrusted with the religious care of the communities must, as well for their own sakes as from the exigencies of their position, have studied and re-studied more and more their ancient writings goes without saying. They did so, re-copying them assiduously, commenting upon them everywhere, and interpolating them often with the most salutary result, till we reach such sane distinctions as appear in those great chapters of Ezekiel — great for the time and circumstances. The old inhuman view of sin and of its penalties becomes at once abruptly ruptured ; individualism appears ; the son was no longer to suffer for the sins of his father "to the third and fourth generation" — the soul that sinned, *it* should die, etc.

Was there any Zoroastrianism in this, except in parallel development ? Zoroastrianism went even far deeper down in its moral discrimination, its trinity of principles reaching even to "the thought, the word, and the deed,"

and it made its distinction between what was done with the will and what was done without it,—but here we have no room at all for Zoroastrianism. The calamities of the Exile were facts of the most practical and urgent character ; they were individual, universal, and overwhelming ; not a family escaped the avalanche. People in affluence were reduced to mediocrity, and those in middle circumstances became abjectly poor, not to speak of the lower classes.

Misery must have been intense, even aside from the first cruelty and derision of the Babylonians and the Babylonian-Persians among whom their lot was so suddenly cast,—and all this in a community in a certain sense, if only in a superstitious one, intensely devoted to their ancient faith,—with, moreover, a Pentateuch, or Hexateuch, within their hands. Surely it is nonsense for us to suppose that any foreign influences were either needed or even admitted in the interior religious revival that ensued. No Jews with their antecedents including the composition of a Decalogue could have come to any summit of interior faith less exalted. So far, then, we have reached a profound historical result. An emotional and moral reform took place wholly aside from the general atmosphere of the Exilic religious sentiment, as represented by either the native Babylonians or the Medo-Persian Babylonians—if only because there was not time for this to work upon them. And this state of things prevailed during the early years of the Captivity wholly independent of Persian influence. It was a state of individual religious principle quite on a par with that of the earliest Zoroastrian books, so far as its sincerity and radical purpose were concerned. So those Biblical Jews of the Exile must have worked up the theory

of a future life to its effectual point, if not fully to the degree developed either in Zoroastrianism or in the New Testament; and so I have always held. Nay more, the very material forms that their longings, so like those of the Zoroastrians, could not have been to any extensive degree of it other than self-developed and independent; for where do we possess more decidedly corporeal delineations as regards even the most spiritual of the soul's rewards as in the pre-exilic temporal recompenses of the Jewish Scriptures? (see above). Here their very conceptions of the favour of Heaven actually consisted in the various forms of materialistic and even of corporeal welfare. This being the case, how could they all at once shut out the considerations of corporeal matters, even after their attention had become firmly fixed on another and an unending future world of a loftier description?

They could not possibly have torn their minds away from such accustomed habitual former lines of thought, except with an awkward wrench under the hand of some violent reformer, the like of whom was not then present in the fervid scenes.

So they still longed, as we do, for a heaven where a bodily nature would be possible. And this already of itself would bring them very near to the long-established Zoroastrian views without the least historical connection. If they looked forward to a rewarded bodily life for the righteous and to its opposite for the wicked, what was this but the Zoroastrian Eschatology without Zoroaster? Why then could not a Daniel, absolutely aside from all immediate Zoroastrian influence, have written after the later Isaiah xxvi. about "the rising from the dust"?—why not, indeed!

Our only answer is that there is here no warrant for a negative so long as we confine our attention to the opening years of the Exile. Not only *could* the Jewish Church have found her way through Saddusaic indifference to a belief in Angels, Resurrection, and a Heaven, but she *did* so find her way.

Here, however, our repudiation of Zoroastrian influence receives its check. Exilic Judaism, in all human probability, must have thought out for itself the main elements of its doctrine of futurity with corporeal rewards in the first years of the Exile with its tribulations. But when we have gone so far in recognition of its independence we have said enough. No one is able, and no one wishes, to ignore the fact that the Jewish doctors, after the first shock of their national and domestic disasters, began to perceive that they had entered, so far as the tone of the Eschatology is concerned, a new intellectual existence. Doctrines of a great God with a name of lofty significance seemed to be prevailing among the Persian garrisons and in the courts of the great Satraps, and He was adored and glorified with an energy almost, if not quite, equal to their own so heart-felt passion for their Yahweh. He was "a Creator," as was repeated on every side, "who made this earth and yon heaven."¹ He was in such a sense the greatest of the Gods that He created their foremost representative,² with a name too far nobler than most others of a heathen origin. He was the Creator of all that was good, the Supreme Being in every sense,

¹ See the Achæmenian Inscriptions, which, aside from occasional difficulties, are very simple. Edition and translation by Spiegel, later by Weissbach and Bang.

² See Avesta, where Ahura created Mithra.

barring an independent Satan, which last was at least a great theory.

Then the Jew soon saw everywhere the copies of the Great Inscriptions or excerpts cited from them, for these must have been repeated and formulated at every turn and in every Edict, with their never-failing incipient religious formulas.¹ Soon the two schools of Persian theological thought must also have become distinct to him (that is to say, to the quick-witted Hebrew scholar), and in the Zoroastrian branch of the two systems striking concepts of magnificent aspect appeared in evidence.² They, the Jews, had always remembered the mere messengers who came from Yahweh Elohim with scarcely any really separate individualities ; but now they heard of Beings of colossal personality, the very Sons of God Himself in a sense pre-eminent, and intellectual. No North-Medic Persian official could possibly have omitted to speak of Asha,³ the great "Amen" of Ahura-Mazdā, first Archangel amid an illustrious few,—then Vohumanah⁴ was on every religious tongue ; and both of them were conspicuous in many Persian names. So Khshathra⁵ was the Archangel of the Kingly Power ; Aramaiti, of the Ready Mind ; Haurvatāt, Angel of the Universal Weal, the completeness

¹ This is certain and of course. Copies of the Inscriptions must have been visible at every seat of learning, and religious expressions must have headed every public document. Darius had the Behistān Inscriptions placed 300 feet above the plain, where they could not be read, in order to preserve them ; numerous copies must have been made.

² The Ameshaspends, first the Attributes of God, then personified as Archangels.

³ Asha is the Holy Law, the Divine Truth of Order.

⁴ Vohumanah is literally the Good Mind, Benevolence.

⁵ Khshathra means the Kingly Power or Authority.

of the Deity, healthful welfare of the Saint; and Ameretatāt, His long life and immortality!¹ How eager must the sagacious Jew-poet have been to ask what they really were, and who they were, and what they meant; and if he was told that they were first of all the attributes of a God well-nigh identical with his own Yahweh Elohim, his interest must have been acutely aroused. No wonder that he began to clothe his own dim list of his God's messengers with *similar distinctions*, so that he soon called them "Prince," and "Prince of Princes," naming them at the next step "Man of God," Gabriel; like Vohumanah,² Michael "who like God" in the form of Sraosha, Uriel like Hvarenah, etc. How earnest must have been his satisfaction in the Faith of his sainted Persian Patron! till we are not surprised to see soon the actual number of the Persian "Seven" used by him almost, if not quite in conscious imitation. Surely it needed little further incitation for him to write of the greatest of the Medo-Persian benefactors of his race that he was an "anointed of his own Yahweh." He seems, indeed, to have been claiming a point for his own God rather than a point for Cyrus; and when he did thus write of Cyrus as both "anointed" and "shepherd," "inspired by the God of Heaven" to restore the Holy City and to rebuild its place of sacrifice, surely he was in all this and throughout it directed point-blank to the terms of the Persian religion; and he may indeed have borrowed there that very name of "God of Heaven,"

¹ These are the striking concepts, with Ahura (God) numbering seven, of world-wide celebrity, which was deserved. As said above, they all have the purest and deepest meaning, being personified at the next step, and only later regarded as guardians of the elements.

² Who, though meaning the "Good Mind," yet even in the Gāthas represents the "holy man" exact in his churchly standing.

that is, of the "Deva"¹ of the Great Deliverer, and applied it in his own sacred writings. Then with what wonder and strengthened hope must he have heard from Persian lips of a risen body, confirming his own new creed, and from the priests of his great Sovereign,² the Achæmenid. His curiosity must have been ravenous, if he was half the man who wrote the late Isaiah, or the man who wrote the texts in Ezra. And soon he began to point his new hopes without reserve accordingly. While he could not yet say: "*all* who sleep in the dust of the earth,"—he could yet say "*many*" (see the pervading passage in the Yashts). His revived conscience eagerly caught at the traces of a great *Assize*, and he at once enlarged them with magnificent depictments.³ His *Heaven* likewise became almost another thing. He caught at the noble thought of Frashakart before it with its "heroic" restoration, and at a paradise,⁴ and later on he adopted the idea of the "thousand years"⁵—these two last concepts being quite new indeed to him, without foreshadows. There is little doubt at all, and no one wishes to deny it, that the man who thought that the "God of Heaven" had stirred up the spirit of Cyrus the Persian, and who wrote so soon to that effect, knew all that could be known of that person's faith, to its last discoverable detail, and that this know-

¹ Deva, the common Aryan name for God, means Shining Heaven One: from *div*; cp. *divus*, *Dieu*, etc.; see *J.R.A.S.*

² Expressions like "from the dust" would be avoided in Avesta, because the earth was sacred, but "when the dead shall arise" is frequent.

³ Far surpassing, in splendour of poetic imagery, the deeper and more refined distinctions of Avesta.

⁴ This Avesta word was one of the last utterances of Christ upon the Cross.

⁵ Purely an Avesta doctrine; see Revelations and the Bundahish.

ledge, so like what he had already thought out alone, helped on his own imagination in his rapid if unconscious out-filling of the scheme. And when he later asked in his pause of calm revision how long the Persian priests had known or believed in a God called the Life-spirit-Lord, and was told that such a faith was on the Inscriptions of Darius and had been held since times unknown,—then, if he had any penetration at all, he must have been deeply affected. The intellectual tone alone of that short creed upon the Tablets must have awakened the keenest interest in any one of the far-sighted Jewish men of letters ;—and when he learned still later on, as learn he must have done, that there were great masses of religious writings in the self-same key—so simple, so abstract, and so grand, then if he were to any serious degree of it a man of the mental calibre of those who wrote for us the Exile Bible, he must have seen that he had discovered an intellectual religious world of which he had as yet had no suspicion. Imagine his interest in this full sister Faith to that of Israel. Whether our actual Zend Avesta was ever inscribed upon the well-worn skins which were brought to him for inspection by Persian friends, is not at all our question here, and I for one would hardly feel that such had actually been the case : the supposition, with all that it involves, is too impressive. But that documents full of the spirit, and at times of the letter also, of Avesta and its sister Books were seen by some of the leading Jewish doctors, and at least heard of by many others in high political position, is hardly less than certain. Read Ezra and Isaiah xlv. and xlv. and the rest, and recall how very much statement more like that must have once lived in manuscripts and later perished, and then make your inferences.

And while of course we take no notice of oral lores till we have exhausted all other sources of information, yet next after these the oral lore comes in, and for our object held in view at present it is of great importance, being almost the chief thing we wish to fix. For here we are dealing with ideas which may be imparted through a hint, and not with the forms of logic. Surely the whole of these details prove beyond all doubt the existence of a close personal and semi-social intercourse between the Jews and the Babylonian Persians as well as a political one; and even some intimacies must have been closely knit.

But as religion was the very point at which the beneficence of Cyrus broke forth upon the Jews, the deep religious doctrines upon both sides must have been the theme around which private conversation at first revolved, the Restoration went on hand in hand with reconstructions of religious buildings, as was the case when the Conqueror took Babylon.¹ The terms of the Restoration Edict claim for its author on his side some knowledge of the Jewish Faith. Then this, to the Jews, so great political occurrence is, in view of its, to us, most solemn consequences, by far the most striking historical circumstance narrated in the Exilic Bible; and it presupposes on the other hand, and as of course quite *a priori*, some reciprocal and corresponding knowledge of the Inscriptions and Avesta or of sister Books to the Avesta, or of its mother Book, on the part of the Jews—which fact, if it be a fact, carries everything here with it. The existence of such knowledge cannot be at all excluded from any sober view of the situation, so deeply vital as it was in its elements

¹ He rebuilt Eshshakil, the Temple City. So Darius rebuilt the temples rased by Smerdes.

to the supreme interests of Israel. A sister Book, moreover, let us not forget it, is but a divided part of one self-same essential thing.

If the Inscriptions and the Avesta expressed a fervid worship of One Supreme Ahura, then both the mother and sister Books¹ to them must have expressed the same, and with a fair average also of the same accompanying detail. But here we have upon the Rock of Behistān almost the very handwriting of the men whose sayings and Edicts are quoted in the Bible. Surely those Inscriptions and their sister Books are then an integral part of the same reported mass of Persian utterances in the Second Chronicles and the rest ; and between the two, the Edicts of Darius in our Hebrew MSS., to us so sacred, and those engraved upon Behistān, Persepolis, etc., which have the most authority ? We can ask the question, though they differ naturally as to the particular things they try to say. Surely as documents the Inscriptions, aside from inspiration, have indefinitely the higher authority ; and in the light of all honest research it is the Inscribed Edicts which confirm what lingers in the precarious MSS., and not the vellum MSS. which confirm the sculptured rock. Nothing in the religious or even secular history of ancient Asia could well open a wider field or deeper view. The sister Books to the Inscriptions of Darius were as certainly known of to some of the leading Jews, though not of course at all so closely studied by them, as his recorded edicts later cited in the Bible were known to those who received their benefit, and who had their information well certified from official sources. For these religious documents, themselves so sacrosanct that they were all

¹ Recall the actually surviving sister Book of Veda, in parts of which Asura, who was Ahura, is a beloved God.

objects of the very sacrifice in the celebration of which they formed a part, were also sister-writings to the Scripture Edicts, because, as they have been proved to be, they were sister-writings to the Inscriptions; while as literary monuments, of course any Inscriptions possess the greater certainty; for a MS. may be modified in re-copying,¹ and portions certainly fall out, whereas the Inscription is not re-copied, and an insertion can be seen at once.² But if they were known of to the leading Jews, their contents, heard of or seen, must have made some serious impression upon them, for we see what an incisive impression the Jew's religion made upon Cyrus; and moreover a strong life-likeness exists between the sacred lores of the Exile Jews and those of the Persian-Babylonians. And if this be at all the fact, not only did Darius' Faith help point the Jewish expectations and their expression, but, what is quite as valuable, it helped *confirm* that Faith beyond any shadow of a doubt, and this not only by making the rebuilt Holy City possible, but by imparting something of that incisive intellectual acumen which is manifest in both the Inscriptions and in the Avesta; for a change in this direction is visible beyond that already noticed as a possible and probable indigenous Jewish growth, and this change is perceptible in their common as well as in their leading thoughts. Not only is the acumen of the full Exile Jewish writings more

¹ See *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel*, 1906, by L. H. Mills.

² A genuine critic should hold that no one single uninspired MS. has ever been preserved intact from the hand of its early author except through miraculous interference. Reconstruction is rigidly called for as a necessary part of reproduction before translation. Instead of being an act of presumption, reproduction is a *sine qua non* to all original exegesis.

incisive, but the outlines of the Persian imagery suggest the Hebrew forms as to the main points of the great Exilic doctrines. Surely if an Isaiah could write chapters xlv., xlv., etc., moved on, as is evidenced, by a profound gratitude not of course altogether clear of a sense of future favours, we should be false to a proper recognition, if we did not add our humble tribute to the holy men who penned the now lost sister Books to the Inscriptions and to the Avesta, as well as those Books themselves with their greatly extended but now so long since perished parts. Avesta, or its sister Books, as well as the sister lore to the Inscriptions of Cyrus, and Darius, and the rest, *stimulated* that intellectual atmosphere which helped on the completion and development of the Israelitish doctrine as to Angelology, as to Millennial hopes, as to Immortality, Resurrection, and Judgment, with Paradise, or Heaven and Hell with their comrade side thoughts and ideas ; and for our own edification alone, as if for nothing else, we should study what remains to us of this once so memorable lore.

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