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A SHORT COMMENTARY
ON THE
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A SHORT COMMENTARY
ON THE
BOOK OF DANIEL

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS

BY

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FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1892

Καί μοι δοκεῖ μεγίστην θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ φύσις ἀπο-
δείξει τὴν Ἀλήθειαν καὶ μεγίστην αὐτῇ προσθεῖναι δύναμιν.
πάντων γοῦν αὐτὴν καταγωνιζομένων ἐνίστε καὶ πασῶν τῶν
πιθανότητων μετὰ τοῦ ψεύδους ταυτομένων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως αὐτὴ
δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς εἰσδύεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ποτὲ
μὲν παραχρῆμα δείκνυσι τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ
πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισκοτισθεῖσα τέλος αὐτῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐπικρατεῖ
καὶ καταγωνίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος.

POLYBIUS, Fragm. of Bk. XIII.

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PREFACE.

THE main object of this work is to assist those who are entering upon the study of the language and text of the Book of Daniel, by affording them such philological information as they are most likely to need. Since however philology can never be separated from history, I have found it necessary to devote considerable space to the treatment of historical questions. In the history of religion the Book of Daniel occupies a very important, perhaps a unique, position, but the working out of this subject belongs rather to the historian than to the commentator. Hence the relation in which this Book stands to the Prophets on the one hand and to the later Apocalypses on the other could not here be examined at any great length. Discussions upon speculative theology or philosophy I have studiously avoided, as I cannot but think that when introduced into exegetical works they serve rather to obscure than to elucidate the real matters at issue.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this work contains very little that is new. As to the character and general meaning of the Book of Daniel all sober critics have long been agreed, and I have therefore, in the great majority of cases, contented myself with stating, as concisely as possible, the views of former investigators. It has been my endeavour to collect, not only from Commentaries but from all other sources accessible to me, whatever appeared to be of real value for the purpose of interpretation. In a book intended for ordinary students an

exhaustive treatment of the subject is, of course, out of the question. Hence it did not seem to me desirable to fill my pages with bibliographical details interesting only to the curious. It would indeed have been easy to supply much fuller lists of names and references, but had I attempted to give anything like a history of the interpretation of each passage, my book would have been swelled to many times its present bulk. Only now and then have I thought it worth while to say something about the views of the Rabbins and of the Christian Fathers. In citing modern writers I have generally confined myself to mentioning those whose works are the fruit of original research, passing over in silence the crowd of imitators and imitators of imitators. I ought here to state that I have unfortunately not been able to consult the essay of J. W. van Lennep, *De 70 jaarweken van Daniel* (Utrecht, 1888). Still more have I reason to regret that Prof. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* did not appear till my book was in the press, and has thus been used only to a very limited extent. Some persons may perhaps think that I have not examined at sufficient length the arguments brought forward by Hengstenberg and English writers who belong to the same school. But the fact is that in a great number of cases these arguments are based upon assumptions which all scholars now agree in rejecting. Of what use would it be, for example, to refute such arguments of Hengstenberg as rest upon the theory that the First Book of the Maccabees was originally written in Greek, or to point out the numerous statements of Pusey, respecting Aramaic philology, which are now universally regarded as erroneous?

On many questions, as might have been expected, I have found it impossible to form a definite opinion. Though the Book of Daniel is by no means one of the more difficult books of the Old Testament, it nevertheless contains a considerable number of passages of which the meaning is still uncertain, and some which will perhaps remain for ever unintelligible. Where

doubt or obscurity exists I have never sought to disguise the fact, and in offering explanations of my own I have been careful to indicate that they are mere suggestions to be accepted or rejected by the reader as he thinks fit. One principal cause of difficulty seems to me to be the corruption of the text. During the last fifty years the opinion that the text of the Old Testament is well-nigh faultless, has been constantly losing ground. The common maxim that the difficulty of readings raises a presumption in favour of their genuineness, is true only if understood to mean that no scribe *consciously* substitutes a difficult reading for an easy one. But when readings owe their origin to carelessness or to the external damaging of a manuscript, the above maxim is obviously inapplicable. In very many cases the text of the Old Testament can be explained only by means of conjecture, and our task consists in deciding which of several conjectures is the most probable. When I have proposed conjectural emendations I have done so in the full consciousness of the fact that very few emendations have any claim to be regarded as certain. The Hebrew of Daniel, as compared with that of other Old Testament writings, has so many marked peculiarities that it would be altogether a mistake to ascribe every anomaly to textual corruption. The business of the true textual critic is to distinguish those anomalies which are characteristic of the author's style from those which are not, in other words to distinguish linguistic peculiarities from linguistic impossibilities. The practice of rash and arbitrary emendation cannot of course be condemned too severely, but the old-fashioned school, who tortured grammar and syntax in order to extract a meaning from obscure passages, must appear equally unscientific.

In all that relates to Aramaic philology I have been guided chiefly by the works of Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, in particular by his *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), and his "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte" in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vols.

XXI. XXII. and XXIV. By far the best work on Biblical Aramaic is Prof. Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Leipzig, 1884). If I have occasionally ventured to express disagreement with Prof. Kautzsch, this has been done solely from the conviction that his work is likely long to remain a standard book of reference, so that it is particularly necessary to point out those statements in it which are open to criticism. The older Grammars are very untrustworthy, since they were written at a time when a scientific classification of the Aramaic dialects had not yet been made, and when Biblical Aramaic (or, as it used to be called, Chaldee) was commonly believed to be a dialect learnt by the Jews in Babylonia during the Exile. That it is, on the contrary, a *West-Aramaic* dialect, has now been conclusively proved. I have endeavoured throughout to call attention to the close resemblance between the Aramaic of the Bible and the dialects afterwards spoken in Palestine and the neighbouring countries. In order the better to illustrate that resemblance I have published, in an Appendix, some specimens of the Palmyrene inscriptions, which have hitherto been practically inaccessible to most English students. Very similar is the dialect represented by the Nabatean inscriptions, which may best be studied in Prof. Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (Berlin, 1885). The dialect of the Palestinian Christians is known chiefly from the Lectionary published at Verona in 1861—1864 by the Count Francesco Miniscalchi Erizzo, under the title of *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*. In referring to the Samaritan dialect I have always quoted from Nutt's *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum* (London, 1874), of which the text is generally admitted to be more correct than that contained in the Polyglot Bibles.

Of Assyriology I possess no independent knowledge. My principal authority is Prof. Schrader's work *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, which I have used in the English translation (published by Williams and Norgate, 1885—1888), since it contains the latest corrections by the author.

In my citations I have followed the paging of the German edition, which is given in the margin of the English text, so that possessors of either work will be able without difficulty to verify my references.

The transcription of Oriental words is notoriously a matter about which scholars still differ, and here I have found it impossible to be strictly consistent. Quotations from Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, from the Samaritan Targum and from the Christian Palestinian Lectionary have been printed in ordinary Hebrew letters. Syriac has usually been printed in the Old Syriac character, without vowel points, but when it was necessary to indicate the vocalization, I have, for the convenience of those who do not read Syriac, followed the method of transcription adopted by the late Prof. Wright in his article "Syriac Literature" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed.)—a method which in spite of some disadvantages is perhaps the best that has yet been proposed. Assyrian and Babylonian words are generally spelt as in Prof. Schrader's work, but for š, which is liable to perplex English readers, I have written *sh*, and the guttural which corresponds to the Arabic ح has been represented by *kh*. It is perhaps not superfluous to add that the real pronunciation of the Assyrio-Babylonian language is still very uncertain, since even on points so important as the number of the vowels Assyriologists are not yet agreed, some maintaining and others denying that *e* and *i* are distinguished in the cuneiform character.

In a work compiled from so many scattered sources and touching upon so many different subjects, errors will naturally be found. Some of these have, I hope, been rectified in the "Addenda et Corrigena", but others no doubt remain. If in any place I have failed, through inadvertence, to acknowledge obligations to previous writers, I beg to offer them my sincere apologies. It remains for me to express my thanks to those personal friends who have aided me in the revising of this book. Prof. Robertson Smith has been so good as to

read through the greater part of it, either in manuscript or in proof, and to him I owe many valuable suggestions. I am also greatly indebted to Mr E. A. Wallis Budge, of the British Museum, who has on several occasions supplied me with information on Assyriological matters.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
Dec. 1891.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 3—That the original Pēshittā did not contain the apocryphal additions to Daniel may be inferred from the fact that Polychronius, who lived early in the 5th century, says with reference to the Song of the Three Children, *Εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ ὡς οὗτος ὁ ὕμνος οὐ κείται ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῖς Συριακοῖς βιβλίοις.*
- p. 9—Since the above was written, a posthumous edition of Prof. Delitzsch's *Messianic Prophecies* has appeared.
- p. 17, line 30—For *Nabūnāid* read *Nabūnāid*; the same mistake occurs again on p. 18 and in the note on p. 19.
- p. 36—The suffix **הם** "their" appears frequently in Nabatean inscriptions, most of which are post-Christian.
- p. 37—As specimens of the Passive formed by internal vowel-change may be mentioned the word **עבִירַת** "was made" in a Nabatean inscription of the year 39 A.D. found at Madabah (see the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. v. p. 290), and the Palmyrene **נבי** "has been taxed" (cf. **נלי** Dan. ii. 19, 30) in the Fiscal Inscription, where it is said **טעון קרם די כלמא גנס כלה לארבעא טעונין די גמלין נבי מכסא נבי**, "a cart-load of whatsoever kind has been taxed as much as four camel-loads."
- p. 39, line 19—For *'alayk* read *'alaik*.

- p. 41, note 2—It should be noticed that in this passage of Polybius the *κεράτιον* corresponds to the קרנא of Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. The reading *κεραμίον* is evidently a mistake.
- p. 70—With regard to the phrase כל־קבל די “because”, I should have cited the remarks of Luzzatto in his *Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo biblico*, p. 52, “La voce כל non ha qui alcun valore, e sembra che le due voci קִלְקַבֵּל formassero primitivamente una sola voce קִלְקַבֵּל eguale al Rabbinico קָלַפְּי, קָלַסְּי. Da כל־קבל sembra nato il corrispondente קִלְעָמִית di Koheleth”. This explanation appears to me decidedly preferable to the ordinary one.
- p. 74—On אֲלֵי “behold!” see Prof. Driver’s note (*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, Addenda, p. xxv), where the word הָלוּ in an Aramaic inscription of Egypt (*Corpus Inscr. Sem.* Pt. 2, N^o. 137) is explained as being probably a variant of אֲלֵי.
- p. 83, last line—For *Lehnwörter* read *Fremdwörter*.
- p. 86, line 16—For (and תִּבְּל chap. v. 16) read (and תִּבְּוִל chap. v. 16, *Kēvī*).
- p. 120, line 17—For *Chald. Wörterb.* read *Wörterb. über die Targumim*.
- p. 146—The method of interpreting Scripture by the artificial combination of different passages is so strikingly set forth in a fragment of Origen’s Commentary on the Psalms that it may be worth while to quote it. “In entering upon the interpretation of the Psalms, let me first cite a tradition of singular beauty which has been handed down to me by my Hebrew teacher as applying generally to all Holy Scripture. This Hebrew used to say that all divinely-inspired Scripture, by reason of its uncertain import, might be compared to a number of chambers in a single building, all locked. At the door of each chamber there is a key, but not the key which fits it; and thus the keys have been scattered over the chambers, none being adapted to the chamber where it is found. Hence it is a work of enormous difficulty to find the keys and to fit them to the chambers which they are capable of opening. The Scriptures then can be explained only when they receive one from another the first hints towards their explanation, since they contain in themselves

scattered up and down the principles of their exegesis". (See Delarue's edition, Vol. II. pp. 526, 527.) For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. A. Robinson of Christ's College.

- p. 148, line 5—The date 588 B.C., for the destruction of Jerusalem, is that given by Schürer (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, II. p. 616) and by Driver (in the Chronological Table at the beginning of his *Isaiah, his life and times*). But the latter scholar has since adopted the view that Jerusalem was destroyed in 586 B.C. (*Introduction*, pp. 232, 233).
- p. 183, line 21—It is possible that **ובת הנשים** is a corruption of **ובתו בנישים**, i.e. "and he shall give him his daughter to wife" etc. The phrase **בנישים** "to wife", "in marriage", does not seem to occur elsewhere in Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic, but **כַּתְּרָא** often has this meaning in Syriac; cf. *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. Wright, p. 19 of the Syriac text, line 8—**כַּתְּרָא לַמַּלְאָכָה לְמַרְכָּסָהּ** "she gave her to him in marriage".

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N.B. *Citations from the Old Testament are always made according to the chapters and verses of the Hebrew Bible.*

PROLEGOMENA.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The Text and the oldest Versions.

THE Palestinian Jews, as is well known, divided their Scriptures into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa (Heb. קְתוּבִים). The Book of Daniel was never, so far as we know, included among the Prophetical Books, but occupied a place in the Hagiographa. In our present Hebrew Bibles, Daniel stands between Esther and Ezra; in ancient times, however, the order of the books in the Hagiographa was not rigidly fixed.

The received Jewish or Masoretic text of Daniel is written partly in Hebrew (chaps. i.—ii. 4 a, viii.—xii.), partly in the Aramaic dialect spoken by the Jews of Palestine (chaps. ii. 4 b—vii.). At what time this text assumed its final shape, cannot be positively stated, but it is now agreed that the present Jewish Bible, leaving out of account the vowel-points, accents etc., is virtually identical with that which was used in the latter half of the second century after Christ. Many scholars believe the Masoretic text to have been fixed much earlier, though few would venture to go further back than about the beginning of the first century—the date assigned by Nöldeke (*Die alttestamentliche Litteratur*, p. 241). It is in itself probable that the text of some books was fixed earlier than that of others. Since the Book of Daniel, like most of the writings included in the Hagiographa, does not appear to have been used in the public services of the Synagogue, it was presumably one of the latest books to assume a stereotyped form.

Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah are the only books of the Old

Testament which are lacking in the collection of Aramaic versions or paraphrases known as the Targums. Whether this be due to the fact that parts of the books in question are already written in Aramaic, is uncertain. In the Mishnah (*Yadayim* iv. 5) the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel are called Targum, but they are expressly distinguished from other Targums, since they always "defile the hands" (i.e. they are of Canonical dignity).

The so-called Septuagint version of Daniel is generally believed to have been made rather more than a century before the Christian era. An examination of this version reveals at once two facts, firstly that the text used by the translator, or translators, differed in numerous *details* from the Masoretic text, secondly that the version contains an unusual quantity of later additions and alterations. To this work a separate chapter will be devoted.

The Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus have been preserved only in fragments, as in the case of other Old Testament writings. On the other hand, Theodotion's version has been handed down to us entire. According to some Theodotion was a Jew, according to others an Ebionite Christian. It was formerly supposed that he lived about the middle or end of the second century after Christ, but Schürer has lately brought forward arguments to prove that his date may be somewhat earlier (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II. p. 709). Theodotion's version of Daniel is to be regarded as a revision of the Septuagint for the purpose of making it agree more closely with the Masoretic text, or at least with a text differing from the Masoretic only in a very small number of minute details. The apocryphal additions (Susanna, the Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon) were retained by Theodotion, though with some changes.

Whether Theodotion's translations were ever used among Greek-speaking Jews, is not known; but in the Christian Church his translation of Daniel rapidly became so popular as almost entirely to displace the old Septuagint version. Yet, as might have been expected, reminiscences of the Septuagint soon found their way into Theodotion's text, while the Septua-

gint in its turn became interpolated from Theodotion. One striking proof of the popularity of Theodotion's Daniel and of the obscurity into which the Septuagint text fell, is that Porphyry, writing about 270 A.D., based his criticism of the Book of Daniel upon Theodotion's version, which he believed to be the original¹. In the time of Jerome this version alone was in official use among Greek-speaking Christians, and so long had the Septuagint been set aside that the reason of the change had been forgotten (*Praef. in Vers. Dan.*).

The Coptic version published, with a Latin translation, by Tattam in his *Prophetæ Majores* (Oxford, 1852), is evidently based upon Theodotion², though it contains occasional interpolations from the Septuagint. It may be remarked in passing that the Coptic text has a long additional chapter which was composed centuries after the Mohammedan conquests, probably in the reign of the Fatimite Caliph Al-Hākīm (996—1020 A.D.). It is a naïf attempt to bring the prophecies of Daniel down to date. The author, like most other apocalyptic writers, displays great ignorance of the remote past, while as he approaches his own time his descriptions gradually become more minute and more accurate.

The Old Syriac Version, the so-called *Pēshittā*, almost invariably follows the present Jewish text—the apparent divergences being generally due to the paraphrastic style of the translator or to later corruption. Only in a very small number of cases does it appear at all probable that the text used by the translator differed from the Masoretic. The apocryphal pieces are found even in the oldest MSS. of the *Pēshittā*, but seem not to have belonged to it in its original form.

¹ That Porphyry believed the Greek text to be the original is expressly affirmed by Jerome (*Prol. Comm. in Dan.*), and that the Greek text used by Porphyry was Theodotion's appears from Jerome's commentary on Dan. xi. 38, "*Deum MAOZIM ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mathathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis posuisse*

statuam, et compulisse Judæos ut ei victimas immolarent, id est, deo Modin."

² The same would seem to be the case with the Coptic text edited by Joseph Bardelli (Pisa, 1849), as far as can be gathered from the Latin preface, for my ignorance of the Coptic language makes it impossible for me to speak from personal investigation.

Ancient and medieval interpreters.

The ancient Jewish interpretation of the Book of Daniel is known but imperfectly, since it was not till the Middle Ages that the Jews began to compile systematic commentaries, and we have therefore to gather our information from stray allusions in the Talmud, the Midrashim, and other works. The statements of Josephus on this subject are of little value, as his acquaintance with the book was very superficial¹. Much Jewish tradition as to the book of Daniel may be found embedded in the works of the Christian Fathers. Among the writers who are of most value in this respect may be mentioned the Persian Christian Aphraates (who lived in the middle of the 4th century, and whose *Homilies* have been edited, in the original Syriac, by Prof. Wright), Aphrēm of Nisibis (commonly known as Ephraim Syrus), of whose *Commentary* on Daniel excerpts have been published in the Roman edition of his works, and, above all, Jerome.

One writer, who was neither a Jew nor a Christian, the Neo-Platonic philosopher Porphyry (233—304 A.D.), a native of Tyre, occupies a prominent place in the history of the interpretation of Daniel. He wrote a *Treatise against the Christians*, in 15 books, of which the 12th was intended to prove that the Book of Daniel had been composed by a Palestinian Jew in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, that the supposed prophecies of Daniel relate the history correctly as far as the time of the real author, and that beyond that point they are mere guesses². For the purpose of his work Porphyry had studied various Greek historians, among whom were several

¹ See *Antiq.* x. 11. 7, where the vision in Dan. viii. is confused with other parts of the book in a manner which shews that Josephus was writing from vague recollection.

² "Contra Prophetam Danielem duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso cujus inscriptus est nomine esse compositum, sed a

quodam qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judaea, et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse quam illum narrasse praeterita. Denique quidquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit veram historiam continere, si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum." Jerome, *Prolog. Comm. in Dan.*

now lost¹. His treatise has, of course, perished, but considerable fragments are cited by Jerome and other writers.

The theory of Porphyry, as may well be imagined, met with no favour. It was "refuted," before the time of Jerome, by Methodius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Apollinarius, and appeared to have been swept away for ever. But it was to be heard of again.

In the 9th century the Jews, influenced by the Moham- medan schools of learning, began to give the exegesis of the Old Testament a scientific form. Of the medieval Jewish commentaries on Daniel one of the earliest was the work of Saadia (892—942 A.D.), the Gāōn, or head of the academy, of Sūrā in Babylonia. This work is quoted by Ben-Ezra, and a fragmentary copy of it exists in the Bodleian (see Neubauer's Catalogue, No. 2486); the commentary which appears in the Rabbinic Bibles under the name of Saadia is the work of a much later author². Shēlōmōh ben Yīṣḥāḳ (commonly known as Rashi, 1040—1105), and Abraham ben Mēir ben Ezra (commonly known as Ben-Ezra or Abenezra, 1090—1168), are the most important of the medieval commentators. Ben-Ezra is incomparably superior to Rashi in acuteness and originality, but for that very reason less valuable as a depository of Jewish tradition. The Commentary of Yepheth ibn 'Alī, a Karaite Jew, who wrote about 1000 A.D., has lately been edited in the original Arabic, with an English translation, by Professor Margoliouth.

Modern interpreters.

Modern Christian commentators on Daniel were, until the latter part of the 18th century, almost entirely dependent on Jewish and Patristic tradition. Occasionally doubts were expressed, for example by Spinoza and Hobbes, as to whether

¹ "Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis multiplex Graecorum historia necessaria est: Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos

et Porphyrius esse secutum se dicit." *Ibid.*

² The statement on this subject in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Daniel," is incorrect.

Daniel had actually put in writing the whole of the book ascribed to him, but as a rule the authenticity and integrity of the work were confidently assumed. Sir Isaac Newton gave it as his opinion that "the last six chapters contain prophecies written at several times by Daniel himself; the first six are a collection of historical papers written by others" (*Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John*, p. 10). This theory, however, was not intended to call in question the absolute veracity of the book, and Newton expressly declared that to reject Daniel's prophecies "is to reject the Christian religion. For this religion is founded upon his Prophecy concerning the Messiah" (p. 25).

Some approach to a critical examination of Daniel was made by J. D. Michaelis, who had doubts as to the antiquity of certain chapters (see his *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments*, Vol. x., Anmerkungen zum Propheten Daniel, p. 22). The first modern writers who ventured to dispute the authenticity of the whole, were Corrodi and Eichhorn. But the commentary of Bertholdt, *Daniel neu übersetzt und erklärt*, 1806—1808, was the first serious attempt to grapple with this historical problem. Bertholdt, however, adopted the unfortunate hypothesis that Daniel is the work of nine distinct authors. Gesenius clearly recognized that the whole book was written under Antiochus Epiphanes, and protested against Bertholdt's theory of a composite authorship (see the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 1816, No. 57, and also the *Ergänzungsblätter* of the same, No. 80). Gesenius was followed by Bleek and De Wette, who in the most important points agreed with him.

During the last sixty or seventy years almost all writers unbiassed by dogmatic prejudices have maintained both the literary unity of Daniel and the theory of its Maccabean origin. Even as to the interpretation of details there has been little disagreement. Of the commentaries the most valuable are those of Von Lengerke (1835), Hitzig (1850), and Ewald (in the 3rd Vol. of his *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 2nd ed. 1867 and 1868).

It was not to be expected that the critical theory of the Book of Daniel would be accepted without a contest, for all

the partisans of ecclesiastical tradition, both Catholics and Protestants, had an obvious interest in withstanding it. The history of the controversy is particularly instructive. At first the so-called "defenders of Daniel" endeavoured to maintain the traditional opinion in all its integrity. Of concession or compromise they would hear nothing. They argued that if the Christian religion be true, the book of Daniel *must* be authentic, and consequently that all arguments urged against its authenticity must be worthless. They spent enormous labour in seeking to shew that the impugned statements in Daniel were not only not disproved but were signally confirmed by the testimony of history, and they confidently predicted that further research would justify their position. Of these apologists the most eminent were Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah*, 1831) and Hävernicks (*Commentar über das Buch Daniel*, 1832). The apologetic works of Auberlen, Kliefoth, Keil, Pusey, and others, are, in the main, reproductions of Hengstenberg and Hävernicks; as a specimen of the tone adopted by these writers, the following extract may suffice. "The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-field between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half-measures. It is either Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far beyond even this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the Name of God." (Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 1.)

Of late years however a great change has taken place in the policy of conservative theologians with respect to this book. When the critical theory was still new, it was easy to denounce it and to proclaim that it would soon be universally abandoned, but when the theory, so far from being overthrown, was confirmed by a long and important series of discoveries, some of

the apologists began to suspect that they had slightly overstated the absurdity of "half-measures." The "middle path," which, as long as it was not needed, had appeared so contemptible, now acquired a strange fascination. Accordingly there commenced a succession of attempts to reconcile the results of criticism with orthodoxy. Concession after concession was made. Instead of labouring to "defend Daniel" from beginning to end, the apologists of the New School freely admitted that many things related in the book were unhistorical. But these things, it was explained, are interpolations, and do not in any way interfere with the truth of the rest. Thus Lenormant accepted the latter part of the book as genuine, but thought that the earlier chapters had been garbled by the scribes. The very first verse of Daniel contains, according to Lenormant, "a gross error." M. Babelon, in the new edition of *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, expresses himself thus. "Au reste, quand il s'agit des données historiques contenues dans le livre de Daniel, il ne faut jamais oublier ce fait capital que si ce livre est parfaitement authentique et incontestablement écrit à Babylone, nous n'en possédons plus le texte original dans un état intact, mais seulement un remaniement écrit en partie en syro-chaldaïque, et fait vers le III^e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, par un transcripateur assez ignorant de l'histoire, qui a commis des interpolations et plusieurs confusions manifestes dans les noms des rois babyloniens" (Vol. iv. p. 438, note). Unfortunately neither Lenormant nor any other apologist of the New School has pointed out a criterion whereby to distinguish the "undeniably authentic" portions of Daniel from the "interpolations." Hence we find that scarcely any two of these apologists are agreed as to which pieces should be "defended" and which should be abandoned. The latter part of Daniel, which Lenormant pronounced genuine, is, according to some conservative theologians, manifestly quite late (see the *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, herausgegeben von Otto Zöckler, 2nd ed. 1885, Vol. I. pp. 171—173).

Thus the "defenders of Daniel" have during the last few years been employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces. But to pass all these theories in review is quite unnecessary, for the

discordance between them is a sufficient proof of their arbitrariness.

Of modern monographs on Daniel the following are the most important :

BLEEK—"Die messianischen Weissagungen im Buche Daniel, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Auberlen's Schrift," in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1860.

CHEYNE—Art. "Daniel," in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

CORNILL—"Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels," in *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen*, Vol. II. 1889.

FRANZ DELITZSCH—Art. "Daniel," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd ed. 1878. [For Prof. Delitzsch's rejection of the theory of the antiquity of Daniel, see his *Messianic Prophecies*, translated by Curtiss, 1880, p. 90, and his *Old Testament History of Redemption*, 1881, p. 153.]

DE WETTE—Art. "Daniel," in the *Allgemeine Encyclopädie von Ersch und Gruber*, 1832.

GRAETZ—"Beiträge zur Sach- und Worterklärung des Buches Daniel," in the *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1871.

GRAF—Art. "Daniel," in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 1869.

HOFFMANN—"Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, König von Syrien," publ. by Alfred Lorentz, Leipzig, 1873.

KUENEN—"Historisch-critisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds," 2nd ed. 1887—1889, Vol. II. pp. 446—508.

LENORMANT—"La divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens," 1875, pp. 169—227.

NÖLDEKE—"Die alttestamentliche Litteratur," 1868, pp. 216—234.

REUSS—"Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments," 2nd ed., 1890, pp. 592—604.

- SCHRADER—"Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezar's," in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1881.—
"Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," 1885—
1888, Vol. II. pp. 124—136 [pp. 428—438 in the German
edition].
- SCHÜRER—"Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes," 1886—1890,
Vol. II. pp. 613—616. [Transl. in Clark's Foreign Theological
Library.]

Those who wish to see the controversy as to the date of Daniel stated in a short and popular form may consult a Tract entitled, "Notes on the Defence of the Book of Daniel, addressed to the Clergy, by a Clergyman," London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1878.

THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE evidence as to the origin of the Book of Daniel is of two kinds, external and internal. The external, as being the less complicated, may first be considered.

It has already been mentioned that in the Hebrew Scriptures Daniel has never occupied a place among the Prophetical Books, but is included in the third collection of sacred writings, called the *Kéthūbīm* or Hagiographa. Of the history of the Jewish Canon very little is known with certainty, but there is every reason to believe that the collection of Prophetical Books, from which lessons were read in the Synagogue, was definitely closed some time before the Hagiographa, of which the greater part had no place in the public services. That the collection of Prophetical Books cannot have been completed till some time after the Exile, is obvious, and on the supposition that Daniel was then known to the Jews, the exclusion of this book is wholly inexplicable¹. The reasons assigned for it by the later Rabbins are evidently mere guesses. Thus when Maimonides tells us that there are *eleven* kinds of inspiration, and that Daniel is placed in the Hagiographa because his inspiration was inferior in quality to that of the Prophets, this is nothing but a theory intended to account for the present arrangement of the books. Hengstenberg and others have

¹ In the prologue to Theodoret's Commentary on Daniel there is a very curious passage in which that writer inveighs fiercely against the Jews for not including Daniel among the prophets.

maintained that Daniel was not a "professional" prophet, but only a person possessed of the prophetic gift, and therefore could not be classed among the Prophets properly so called. This explanation, however, is refuted by the fact that Amos emphatically disclaims being a professional prophet (Amos vii. 14), yet his book was nevertheless placed among the prophetic writings. Hence it must be admitted that the exclusion of Daniel from the Prophetic collection is, to say the least, not very easy to reconcile with the theory of the antiquity of the book.

Still more important are the arguments which are drawn from the allusions to Daniel in other writings. The prophet Ezekiel, it is well known, speaks of a certain Daniel, who was proverbial for wisdom and righteousness (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3), but the phrase "Though Noah, Daniel and Job were in it," certainly seems to imply that this Daniel was not a contemporary of Ezekiel, just as the very similar phrase of Jeremiah "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Jer. xv. 1) would naturally have suggested to our minds that Samuel was not a contemporary of Jeremiah, even if we had possessed no direct evidence on the subject. Ezekiel, like other Old Testament writers (see, for example, 1 Kings v. 11), occasionally alludes to traditions of which nothing is known to us, and it is therefore impossible to decide who the Daniel was to whom reference is here made. Presumably Ezekiel believed him to be, like Noah and Job, a person of the remote past. Ewald's dictum that the Daniel of Ezekiel *must* have lived in the Assyrian captivity has found few, if any, adherents (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. IV. p. 347, *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, Vol. III. p. 313). Nor can we safely conclude, with Smend (*Der Prophet Ezechiel*, p. 218), that the legend of Daniel was one of those ancient myths which the Israelites had in common with their heathen neighbours. Thus the passages in Ezekiel afford no means whatsoever for fixing the date of the book of Daniel.

On the supposition that the narrative in Daniel is historical, it is marvellous that it should be passed over in utter silence by all extant Jewish writers down to the latter half of the 2nd

century B.C., that it should have left no trace in any of the later prophetic books, in Ezra, Chronicles, or Ecclesiasticus. It is, of course, possible in each particular case to imagine some reason for the omission of the subject, but the *cumulative* evidence derived from such omissions is not so easily set aside. Thus it has often been said that nothing can be concluded from the silence of Ben-Sirā in Ecclesiasticus xlix. But in order to realize the true state of the case we should consider how easy it would be to refute, from Jewish literature, any one who asserted that the book of Isaiah or that of Jeremiah was composed entirely in the Maccabean period. That the absence of external testimony to Daniel has been felt to be a real difficulty by the apologists themselves is shewn by their desperate efforts to discover "traces of Daniel" in pre-Maccabean literature. But Hengstenberg is obliged to confess (*Authentic*, p. 277) that of these "traces" none is really conclusive¹.

An attempt has often been made to compensate for the lack of external testimony, by arguing that if Daniel had really been composed in the Maccabean period, it could not possibly have been received into the Jewish Canon. But this is a mere begging of the question. For the theory that the Jewish Canon was closed before the Maccabean period rests upon no evidence whatsoever.

The earliest passage which can, with any probability, be regarded as an allusion to the book of Daniel, is found in the collection of Sibylline Verses III. 388 ff.

Ἡξει καί ποτ' [ἄπυστ' εἰς] Ἀσσίδος ὄλβιον οὐδας
 ἀνὴρ πορφυρέην λώπην ἐπιειμένος ὥμοις
 ἄγριος, ἀλλοδίκης, φλογόεις· ἠγείρε γὰρ αὐτὸν
 πρόσθε κεραυνὸς φῶτα· κακὸν δ' Ἀσὶή ζυγὸν ἔξει
 πᾶσα, πολὺν δὲ χθῶν πίεται φόνον ὀμβρηθεῖσα.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πανάϊστον ἅπαντ' Ἀΐδης θεραπεύσει.
 ὦν δὴ περ γενεὴν αὐτὸς θέλει ἔξαπολέσσαι,
 ἐκ τῶν δὴ γενεῆς κείνου γένος ἔξαπολεῖται·

¹ That Ecclesiasticus xvii. 17 is not an allusion to Daniel, but a quotation from Deut. xxxii. 9 (see the LXX.), hardly requires to be stated. The importance

which many apologists have attributed to this passage is a sufficient proof of the straits to which they were reduced.

ρίζαν ἴαν γε διδούς, ἦν καὶ κόψει Βροτολοιγος
 ἐκ δέκα δὴ κεράτων, παρὰ δὲ φυτὸν ἄλλο φυτεύσει·
 κόψει πορφυρέης γενεῆς γενετῆρα μαχητῆν,
 καὶ τὸς ἀφ' υἰῶν, ὧν ἐς ὁμόφρονα αἴσιον [ἄρρης],
 φθεῖται· καὶ τότε δὴ παραφνόμενον κέρας ἄρξει.

It is impossible here to enter upon an examination of this obscure passage, especially as it is more than probable that the text is in part corrupt. But it would appear that the piece in question dates from about 140 B.C., and that it contains allusions to Antiochus Epiphanes and to the "ten horns" of Dan. vii. 7, 20, 24. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes* II. 797—799.

The next allusion occurs in I. Macc. ii. 59, 60, where the dying priest Mattathias is represented as mentioning, among several other instances of the triumphs of righteous men, how Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael were saved from the fire, and Daniel from the mouth of the lions (Dan. iii. vi.) To urge, as has often been done, that these words were actually uttered by Mattathias, is of course illegitimate, for with the historians of antiquity, both Greek and Oriental, it was a regular practice to invent speeches for their characters or at least to amplify and embellish the meagre reports of speeches handed down by tradition. That this was the practice of the author of I. Maccabees, is unquestionable, for to suppose that such speeches as that in chap. ii. 7—13 (to cite no others) are reported *verbatim*, would be the height of absurdity. But the reference to Daniel no doubt proves that the book existed in the time of the author of I. Maccabees (i.e. about 100 B.C.), and also that it was generally believed.

Subsequent references are so numerous and varied that it would be vain to specify them. One passage only, to which apologists have frequently appealed, calls for special notice. Josephus tells us (*Antiq.* XI. 8. 5) that Alexander the Great, after the capture of Gaza, came to Jerusalem, and was shewn the Book of Daniel by Yaddua the High Priest. From this no deduction can be drawn excepting that Josephus believed the book to be ancient. The whole account of Alexander's journey to Jerusalem has long ago been recognized as a fiction. It has

been abundantly proved that as to the history of this period Josephus was extremely ill-informed, and it is no less certain that where genuine records failed him, he borrowed without scruple from untrustworthy sources and even from his own imagination.

In the New Testament, Daniel is mentioned once only, Matt. xxiv. 15, but the influence of the book is apparent almost everywhere, particularly in the Apocalypse. Dr Westcott (in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Daniel") has pronounced that no writing in the Old Testament had so great a share in the development of Christianity as the book of Daniel. The common argument that the book must therefore be genuine, may appear quite satisfactory to the dogmatic theologian, but is not of a nature to convince students of history. For the more we realize how vast and how profound was the influence of Daniel in post-Maccabean times, the more difficult it is to believe that the book existed previously for wellnigh four centuries without exercising any perceptible influence whatsoever.

We now pass from the external to the internal evidence. I shall of course confine myself, as far as possible, to those parts of the book of which the meaning is clear, reserving obscure details for the Commentary.

When we endeavour to confront the statements in Daniel with the known facts of history, we cannot but be struck by the extreme paucity of the allusions made in this book to the political events of the period in which Daniel is represented as living. Even occurrences which must have seemed most important to a devout Israelite, such as the captivity of king Jehoiachin, the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the Return of the Exiles under Cyrus, are either passed over in complete silence, or mentioned only in the vaguest terms¹.

¹ It is interesting to observe what ingenious attempts have been made to discover in Daniel hidden allusions to the politics of the time. Thus, when Nebuchadnezzar is troubled by his dream, this is because his mind had been preoccupied with the fear of a

Persian invasion: when Daniel fasts for three weeks, this was due to his distress about the intrigues which were being carried on at the Persian court, in order to hinder the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple, etc., etc.

How different in this respect are the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel! Nor is the silence to be explained by the hypothesis that Daniel was a recluse or a man indifferent to the fate of his people. On the contrary, he lives in the midst of the world, at the courts of successive kings, and his zeal for "his people and his holy city" is intense (see chap. ix.).

This would in itself be very surprising, but the difficulty is greatly increased by the fact that of the small number of allusions to the political events of the period, the majority cannot be reconciled with known history.

At the very outset we are told that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, besieged Jerusalem and plundered the Temple in the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah. Even if we suppose Nebuchadnezzar to be here called king by anticipation—for, according to Jer. xxv. 1, his first year coincided with the fourth year of Jehoiakim—the difficulty remains that of a siege of Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's third year, Jeremiah, a contemporary, says nothing. It was not till after the defeat of the Egyptian army at Carchemish on the Euphrates in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xlvi. 2) that there could be any question of Nebuchadnezzar's invading Palestine, where for some years the Egyptians had enjoyed undisputed supremacy. Hengstenberg endeavours, as usual, to save the veracity of the book of Daniel by forcing the meaning of the text. He maintains that the statement "Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim" means that Nebuchadnezzar set out on his expedition in that year, and that he did not reach Jerusalem till the year following, after the battle of Carchemish. Such an interpretation is, of course, no less contrary to Hebrew than to English usage. In order to prove that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Hengstenberg appeals to the authority of the Babylonian historian Berossus, who lived soon after Alexander. Berossus, according to Hengstenberg, relates that Nabopalassar, on hearing *that the governor whom he had set over Syria and Phoenicia had fallen away to the Egyptians*, sent forth his son Nebuchadnezzar with an army. "In this campaign," says Hengstenberg, "the Egyptians were defeated at Carchemish, and Phoenicia and Syria came

under the dominion of the Babylonians; the campaign was ended by the news of Nabopalassar's death" (*Authentic*, p. 55). Here Hengstenberg has been guilty of a serious misquotation. What Berossus really says is that when Nebuchadnezzar's father heard *that the satrap who had been set over Egypt and the regions of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, had rebelled against him*, he sent forth his son Nebuchadnezzar, etc. (Josephus, *Antiq.* x. 11. 1 and *Contra Ap.* i. 19). Berossus here assumes that Egypt, as well as Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, had already been conquered by the Chaldeans before the death of Nabopalassar and the battle of Carchemish—a notion contrary to all evidence. The passage is therefore altogether untrustworthy; in order to conceal its unworthiness Hengstenberg misquotes it, and then argues that it confirms the statement in Daniel. That Jehoiakim was a vassal of the Chaldeans during the latter part of his reign, is certain, but of a *siege of Jerusalem and a plundering of the Temple* in the reign of Jehoiakim, neither Jeremiah nor the book of Kings says a word, and in such a case the argument from silence is very strong, if not absolutely conclusive. The statement in II Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7 proves only that the idea in question existed among the Jews when the Chronicler wrote, i.e. long after the Exile, and thus agrees perfectly with the theory of the late origin of the book of Daniel.

The only Babylonian kings mentioned in Daniel are Nebuchadnezzar and his "son" Belshazzar, upon whose death the empire passes over to the Medes. As a matter of fact, Nebuchadnezzar was followed by Evil-Merodach (*Amil-Maruduk*) in 561, *Nergal-shar-uşur* in 559, *Lakhabbashi-Maruduk*¹ and *Nabūnārd* in 554. This last king, who was not a descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, but belonged to a different family, reigned until 539 or 538, when Babylon was taken by Cyrus². There is therefore no room for a king Belshazzar, who, according to

¹ The name of this king, who reigned for a few months only, is very doubtful. He seems to be called *Λαβοροοάρδοχος* by Berossus (Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 20). See Tiele's *Baby-*

lonisch-Assyrische Geschichte, p. 424.

² The exact date is uncertain. Nöldeke places the surrender of Babylon in the autumn of 539; see his *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 22.

Daniel viii. 1, must have reigned considerably over a year, on the most moderate computation. Recent "defenders of Daniel" have accordingly identified Belshazzar with *Bīl-shar-uşur*, Nabūnāid's eldest son, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of his father, and who seems to have held a command in the Babylonian army (Tiele, *Gesch.* p. 463. Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* pp. 433, 434). It has been asserted that *Bīl-shar-uşur* ruled conjointly with his father until the fall of Babylon, and in proof of this certain Babylonian tablets, found in 1876, have been confidently cited. Some of them are dated from the reign of *Maruduk-shar-uşur*, who, it is argued, was identical with *Bīl-shar-uşur*. But Mr Boscawen, who carefully examined these tablets, very soon discovered that the above theory was untenable, since *Maruduk-shar-uşur*, whoever he was, must have reigned *before* Nabūnāid¹. Mr Boscawen therefore identifies him with *Nergal-shar-uşur*. Hence we have no proof that *Bīl-shar-uşur*, son of Nabūnāid, ever bore the title of king, still less that he was supreme ruler. Cyrus, in his inscriptions, speaks of Nabūnāid alone as king at the time of the taking of Babylon. But the Belshazzar of Daniel is evidently supreme ruler, for documents are dated by the year of his accession (Dan. vii. 1, viii. 1), which certainly does not agree with the theory that his father was still alive and at the head of the state. Many apologists have sought to evade this argument by urging that in chap. v. Belshazzar offers the place of "third ruler in the kingdom" to any one who will explain the inscription on the wall. This, it is said, proves that Belshazzar was himself second ruler, not first. But the word translated "third ruler" occurs nowhere else, and its meaning is altogether uncertain. And even if it meant "third ruler," the argument based upon it

¹ Mr Boscawen's words are, "I at first considered that *Marduk-şar-uzur* was Belshazzar. I have gone through a great number of tablets and checked them carefully, but I do not find that I can now hold to that idea." (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. vi. p. 103, publ. in 1878.) Yet M. Babelon, in the *His-*

toire Ancienne de l'Orient, Vol. iv. p. 438 (publ. in 1885), not only states in the most positive manner that *Maruduk-shar-uşur* was identical with Belshazzar, but actually has the boldness to allege, as his authority, the very work in which Mr Boscawen has pronounced the identification to be impossible!!

would be worthless. For a man who can of his own authority make any one he pleases "third ruler in the kingdom" must obviously be supreme in the state, not a mere heir apparent ruling under his father¹.

The above difficulties are sufficiently serious, and would in the case of any ordinary book be thought decisive, but they shrink into insignificance in comparison with the statements as to "Darius the Mede." It need scarcely be said that of a Median king Darius reigning over Babylon before the accession of Cyrus, there is no trace whatsoever in history. Both Greek and Oriental sources agree in testifying that Cyrus put an end to the Median dynasty and annexed Media to his dominions several years before the taking of Babylon. Accordingly the "defenders of Daniel" are here reduced to the most desperate expedients. Thus Hengstenberg, who is followed by Pusey and others, brings forward a passage in the Greek lexicon of Harpocration, compiled, it would seem, long after the Christian era. Here it is said that "the daric was named not after Darius the father of Xerxes, as most men suppose, but after an older king." Later authors, for example the medieval lexicographer Suidas, have borrowed the passage. But such indefinite statements, made by late Greek writers and unsupported by the citation of any ancient authority, have no historical value. The "older king" of Harpocration is, in fact, a mere shadow, nor would any one who had not a hopeless cause to defend, think of invoking the aid of such a being. Equally wild is the theory which identifies the Darius of Daniel with Xenophon's Cyaxares the Second—of whose existence there is no proof, for the narrative in the *Cyropaedia* is obviously not intended to be taken as history. In order to justify the book of Daniel for bringing a king Darius upon the scene immediately after the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire,

¹ The older apologists, who lived before any one had heard of Bil-shar-usur, had no difficulty in identifying the Belshazzar of Daniel. Some, as for instance Zündel, pronounced him to be Evil-Merodach; others, with

equal confidence, maintained that he was the Nabonnedus of Berossus (i.e. Nabūnāid). It would be interesting to know who is destined to be the Belshazzar of the apologists twenty years hence.

apologists have taken refuge in the hypothesis that the Darius of Daniel is not an independent sovereign, but a viceroy appointed by Cyrus. In support of this it is urged that Darius is said to have "received the kingdom" (chap. vi. 1), and to have been "made king" (ix. 1). But these phrases mean simply that he was "made king" by God, and that he "came into possession of the kingdom"¹. To argue (as Hengstenberg, Pusey, Keil and countless other apologists have done) that Darius is here represented as a viceroy, is not only absurd in itself but is flagrantly at variance with the rest of the book. Thus, when Darius has signed the interdict, he is reminded that "it is a law of the Medes and Persians that no interdict nor statute which *the king* establisheth may be changed" (chap. vi. 16). When Darius issues a command "to all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth" (chap. vi. 26), he is claiming precisely the same authority that is claimed on a similar occasion by Nebuchadnezzar (chap. iii. 29). Finally, as if to remove all possible doubt on the subject, we are told that "Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (chap. vi. 29).

After this it is needless to enumerate minor difficulties, for the above statements amply suffice to shew that the narrative is unhistorical, and cannot have been composed in the period of the Exile.

Innumerable attempts have been made to outweigh the historical difficulties in Daniel by bringing forward proofs that the author was minutely acquainted with the customs of ancient Babylon; but these proofs will be found, on examination, to be either irrelevant or purely imaginary.

Thus Lenormant (*La Divination*, pp. 169, 188) lays special stress upon Dan. ii., where Nebuchadnezzar consults the diviners on the subject of his dream; for this, we are informed, was a

¹ The use of passive verbs, such as *הִמְלִיךָ*, with the implied notion of God as the agent, is especially common in Daniel; thus it is said, in chap. v. 28, "thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians." As for

קִבַּל מְלְכֻתָּא "he received the kingdom," it is enough to say that the very same words are used by a Syriac writer to describe the accession of the Emperor Julian (see Hoffmann's *Julianos der Abtrünnige*, p. 5, line 10).

Babylonian custom which could not have been known to a later Palestinian writer. It is strange that Lenormant should have forgotten—what has often been remarked—that the custom in question, far from being peculiar to Babylon, appears already in Gen. xli., a chapter which, in some respects, bears a striking resemblance to Dan. ii. That the same custom continued in the East long after the Christian era, is well known.

Lenormant likewise claims for the author of Daniel great knowledge as to the details of the organization of the learned and sacerdotal caste (*La Divination*, p. 189). But in reality no details are given. That diviners, magicians, etc., attend upon Nebuchadnezzar, in the book of Daniel, is no matter for surprise, since magicians formed part of the regular *personnel* of an Oriental court, and the magic arts of Babylon, in particular, were celebrated throughout the ancient world. The allusions to these subjects in Daniel imply no special knowledge, but rather the reverse. Thus the learned men of Babylon are in Daniel repeatedly called "*the Chaldeans*," whereas in the cuneiform inscriptions, as in the historical parts of the Old Testament, this is the name of a nation, not of a learned caste¹. And how are we to explain the assertion that Daniel, a strict Jew, was made chief of the heathen sages of Babylon (chaps. ii. 48, iv. 6)? It is amusing to observe that while Pusey has proved to his own satisfaction the credibility of this statement (*Daniel*, pp. 424 ff.), Lenormant, whose acquaintance with ancient Babylon was unquestionably superior to Pusey's, tells us that the position here assigned to Daniel is *evidently* impossible, and he proceeds to get over the difficulty by the usual expedient of supposing that the passages in question are interpolations (*La Divination*, p. 219).

It has also been stated that the presence of women at feasts (Dan. v. 2) is a custom characteristic of Babylon. This may be perfectly true, but it is a custom which survived for centuries

¹ As to the term "Chaldeans" Prof. Schrader observes, "The signification *wise men* that we meet with in the Book of Daniel, is foreign to Assyrio-Babylonian usage and did not arise

till after the fall of the Babylonian empire. This is in itself a clear indication of the post-exilic date of the Book of Daniel." *Cuneif. Inscr.* p. 429.

after the overthrow of the old Babylonian Empire, as is proved by the testimony of Quintus Curtius (v. 1). And if the custom was known to a Roman writer who probably lived under Vespasian, why should it not have been known to a Palestinian writer who lived centuries earlier?

Another Babylonian practice mentioned in Daniel is the punishment of burning alive (chap. iii.). But since, in Jer. xxix. 22, Nebuchadnezzar is described as *roasting* offenders *in the fire*, and since this very chapter is elsewhere quoted by the author of Daniel (chap. ix. 2; cf. Jer. xxix. 10), there can be no difficulty in explaining whence his knowledge was derived.

Thus it will be seen that one proof after another breaks down, and it would be a waste of time to discuss arguments still more fanciful, of which a large and varied collection has been made by Mr Fuller in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

The result of this chapter has hitherto been mainly negative. We have seen that there is no external testimony to the Book of Daniel before the middle of the 2nd century before Christ, and that the narrative of Daniel is seriously at variance with the history of the period in which Daniel is represented as living. But it is fortunately possible for us to advance from negative to positive conclusions. It can be shewn that external evidence and internal evidence both point in the same direction, or in other words that the first half of the 2nd century before Christ—after which period the external testimony begins—is the only period which will explain the contents of the book.

The Book of Daniel is divided into two parts; the first consists of a series of narratives, the second of a series of prophetic visions. In the narratives Daniel is always mentioned in the third person, whereas in the visions he is himself the speaker. The narratives are evidently intended to be consecutive, in point of time, but they are very loosely connected with each other. Their most marked feature is the didactic purpose which appears throughout. In every one of these stories we see the righteous rewarded or the wicked signally punished, as the case may be. On the one hand Daniel and

his three friends, the servants of the True God, though apparently helpless in the midst of the heathen, triumph over all opposition, while on the other hand the mightiest Gentile potentates are confounded and humbled to the dust. This would in itself suffice to indicate that the book was intended for the encouragement of the Jews at a time when they were being persecuted by Pagan rulers. And when we pass from the narratives to the visions, we find that this view is confirmed. For in the visions the final victory of the "Saints" over the Gentile powers is repeatedly insisted upon. Further examination shews that this victory of the Saints is to take place in the days of a Gentile king who will surpass all his predecessors in wickedness. He will arise out of the Fourth Gentile Empire, the Empire of the Greeks, and after cruelly persecuting the Jews he will be destroyed by a divine judgment. Thereupon God will set up an everlasting kingdom. It is especially important to observe that in these visions very little is said about the first three Gentile Empires, while the history of the Fourth is described at great length, and with increasing minuteness as we approach the time of "the king" whose crimes are so vividly set before us. Thus everything combines to shew that the Book of Daniel is, from beginning to end, an exhortation addressed to the pious Israelites in the days of the great religious struggle under Antiochus Epiphanes¹.

It is however necessary to guard against a possible misconception. Though the author of Daniel has everywhere the

¹ One of the latest commentators, Prof. Meinhold, in the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, has endeavoured to shew that while chaps. i. and viii.—xii. were composed in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, chaps. ii.—vi. are the work of a Jew who lived about 300 B.C., and have as their object the conversion of the Gentiles to Judaism. Prof. Meinhold discovers various "contradictions" between the two sets of chapters, but his arguments are extremely fanciful. His theory is examined and,

in my opinion, completely refuted by Budde in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for 1888, No. 26 (see the review of Meinhold's *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel*). Here it is enough to say that Prof. Meinhold commits the fundamental error of assuming that a writer of the Maccabean age would necessarily make the situation of Daniel and his companions similar in every detail to the situation of the Jews under Antiochus.

circumstances of his own time in view, we cannot regard Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, still less Darius the Mede, simply as portraits of Antiochus Epiphanes. The author is contending not against Antiochus personally but against the heathenism of which Antiochus was the champion. He justly considers the struggle between Antiochus and the faithful Jews as a struggle between opposing principles, and his object is to shew that under all circumstances the power of God must prevail over the powers of this world.

That the author does not address his contemporaries in his own name, after the manner of the ancient prophets, but clothes his teaching in the form of narratives and visions, is perfectly in accordance with the spirit of later Judaism. The belief that no more prophets were to be found among the people of God seems gradually to have established itself during those ages of Gentile oppression (Ps. lxxiv. 9). Loathing the present, the pious Jews naturally idealized the past. In their grief and humiliation, their minds continually reverted to the time when great signs and wonders had been wrought for Israel, when God did not keep silence but spake to His people by the mouth of His chosen messengers. In proportion as the distress increased, it seemed more and more certain that the long-promised deliverance must be close at hand, nor could it be doubted that the prophets of old had foreseen how and when that deliverance would be brought about. This idea is at the basis of all the apocalyptic literature which played so important a part in the history of Judaism and of which the Book of Daniel is the earliest known example. The genesis of this literature offers, it is true, a very difficult psychological problem. Some at least of the apocalyptic writers may have believed that they were inspired to reproduce lost revelations; but however we may account for the fact, it is certain that age after age men whose sincerity cannot be questioned put forth writings in the name of ancient prophets and sages. This is not the place to discuss apocalyptic literature in general; it may, however, be remarked that the production of these works continued till far down into the Middle Ages. I have already mentioned a Christian apocalypse of Daniel which apparently

dates from the earlier part of the 11th century (see p. 3). There is also a Jewish apocalypse of Daniel, probably composed in the 9th century. It has been preserved in a Persian translation, which Zotenberg has published in Merx's *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Vol. I. (1869).

With regard to the sources used by the author of Daniel little can be known with certainty. The name Daniel was probably suggested by the book of Ezekiel, and some details of the story are unquestionably borrowed from the narrative of Joseph in Genesis. Jewish and perhaps Babylonian traditions may also have been employed to some extent. But it is altogether a mistake to class the story of Daniel with popular myths which grow up unconsciously in the course of ages. The strongly marked didactic character of the book must make this clear to all persons accustomed to historical investigation.

The literary form which the author has chosen is in every way suited to his purpose. The division of the work into sections more or less independent of each other—a division which gave rise in modern times to the false hypothesis of a composite authorship—is evidently intended to facilitate the diffusion of the book. In those days it was by being read aloud in public that books became known, and a series of separate narratives and visions is obviously better adapted for reading aloud than a continuous history. This explains also why the author so often seems to ignore events already narrated. It has been asked, for example, why in chap. ii. 2 and still more in chap. iv. 3 Nebuchadnezzar summons the Chaldean sages, instead of summoning Daniel whose superior wisdom had been so clearly proved. The real answer is that in each case the author constructs his narrative with a view to inculcating a particular lesson, and does not care to make the narratives strictly consistent. But the general spirit and tendency of the book are everywhere the same.

THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF DANIEL.

THE literary and historical unity of Daniel, which I have endeavoured to set forth in the preceding chapter, appears at first sight to be strangely at variance with the fact that the book is written in two different languages. Nor is this all. The author of a book may have some special reason for employing different languages according to the nature of his subject, but no reason can be imagined for a writer abruptly passing from one language to another in the midst of a narrative, as is the case in Dan. ii. 4. The suddenness of the transition sufficiently refutes the theory that the author intended the Hebrew portions of the book for the learned, and the Aramaic portion for the common people; for how could the common people understand a narrative beginning in the middle of a dialogue? Nor can we admit that the author here introduces the Aramaic language because he believed it to be the court language at Babylon or the language of the Chaldean sages as distinguished from Daniel and his friends¹. If this were the case, the author would surely not represent Nebuchadnezzar in chap. ii. 3 as addressing the Chaldeans in Hebrew, and in *v.* 26 as addressing Daniel in Aramaic. Why moreover, on the above theory, should Aramaic be the language in which Daniel records the first of his visions—a vision, be it observed, which he did not promulgate to the world, but “kept in his heart” (vii. 28)? Thus it will be seen that all attempts to explain the change of language on internal grounds, prove to be failures. The answer to the difficulty must be sought in the circumstances under which the book was produced and transmitted to us.

¹ The word אַרַמִּית “in Aramaic,” in Dan. ii. 4, appears to be an interpolation; see the Commentary on this passage.

All that we know of post-exilic Judaism favours the assumption that a Palestinian Jew of the Maccabean period, writing in the name of an ancient seer, would naturally employ the Hebrew language. That the Book of Enoch was originally written in Hebrew is at least probable; that the somewhat later Book of Jubilees was so, is quite certain. The same may be said even of works which made no claim to antiquity, such as the Book of Ben-Sirā, and the so-called Psalter of Solomon. Hence the hypothesis that Daniel was originally written in Hebrew throughout, is quite in accordance with analogy. At the same time we have to remember that the author lived in a time of intense excitement, and his book was evidently meant, not for a small circle, but for all "the holy people" (see especially xi. 33, xii. 3). His object was to produce an immediate and a powerful effect. Since however the Hebrew language was then unintelligible to the vulgar, or very imperfectly understood by them, the need of a translation would at once be felt. We cannot therefore regard it as improbable that the author himself, or one of his associates, issued an Aramaic version of the book, or at least of some parts of it. In any case the style of the Hebrew and of the Aramaic portions is so similar that we may confidently pronounce them to be products of the same school, if not of the same pen. But if the book was originally written throughout in Hebrew, why, it may be asked, has it reached us in its present form? The most plausible supposition is that a portion of the Hebrew text having been lost, a scribe filled up the gap by borrowing from the Aramaic version. This view, which is that of Lenormant, is strengthened by a consideration of the fact that under Antiochus Epiphanes a systematic attempt was made to destroy copies of the Pentateuch—an attempt which would almost necessarily entail the destruction of vast numbers of other Jewish writings, for no one can suppose that the Syrian soldiery employed in the work of extirpation were careful to distinguish copies of the Torah (of which they could not read a line) from other manuscripts found in the possession of Jews. Thus at the time when the book of Daniel was still new, when it existed only in a few copies, within the limits of a single district, it was exposed to peculiar

perils. Its author and those who had first propagated it may have "fallen by sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil," within a very few weeks of its completion, and shortly afterwards none but fragmentary copies may have been procurable. Out of these, it would seem, our present text was constructed. But no critic has been able to bring forward a satisfactory reason for believing the *substance* of the book to have undergone any extensive change, either by mutilation, displacement, or the introduction of extraneous matter. The Septuagint translator, at all events, had before him a manuscript in which the Aramaic portion began and ended precisely where it begins and ends in the Masoretic Text. This certainly appears to prove that the arrangement of our present text took place at a very early period. The mistakes of later copyists, in matters of detail, have, of course, nothing to do with this question.

The Hebrew of Daniel.

The history of the Hebrew language, as exhibited in the Old Testament, falls into two principal divisions—the period during which the language was in full vigour, and the period of decline. As long as there was a national kingdom the language remained comparatively free from foreign influence, but when Israel ceased to be a nation and became a religious community surrounded by peoples of alien speech, the pure Hebrew began, after a generation or two, to undergo change. Finally, about the 4th century B.C., Hebrew was superseded, in ordinary life, by Aramaic, and thenceforth survived only as the language of literature and religion. It must however be constantly kept in mind that all the post-exilic writers were more or less familiar with the ancient literature and often strove to imitate it. But since some were much more successful imitators than others, the later writings in the Old Testament vary greatly with respect to purity of style. Hence in assigning a date to Hebrew works, we have to remember that while the *presence* of late phrases is always an argument in favour

of a late date, the *absence* of such phrases is no proof whatsoever of antiquity.

That the Hebrew of Daniel is, in its main features of style, quite unlike that of pre-exilic times, requires no demonstration. Nor does it bear any real resemblance to the language of Ezekiel or of the post-exilic prophets, as may be seen by comparing the visions of Daniel with those of Zechariah—in spite of the similarity of subject the difference of language is most marked. With Esther, of which the date is unknown, but which can scarcely have been written before the 3rd century B.C., Daniel has some peculiarities in common; nowhere in the Old Testament excepting in these two books do we find the Persian word פִּרְתָּמִים (Dan. i. 3. Esth. i. 3. vi. 9) and the Aramaic תִּקְרָה (Dan. xi. 17. Esth. ix. 29. x. 2). But of all the Old Testament writings that which has most linguistic affinity with Daniel, is without doubt the Book of Chronicles—a work which was probably compiled about the middle or end of the 3rd century B.C. The resemblance in point of language is the more noteworthy because the matter and the plan of the two books are wholly different. The following are among the distinctive phrases which are found in both:—

עָצַר פָּחַ (to have power, be able), 3 times in Daniel and 4 in Chronicles—Dan. x. 8, 16. xi. 6. I Chr. xxix. 14. II Chr. ii. 5. xiii. 20. xxii. 9.

הֵיךְ (how?) Dan. x. 17. I Chr. xiii. 12¹.

הֵתְחַזֵּק עִם (to help) Dan. x. 21. I Chr. xi. 10. II Chr. xvi. 9.

¹ The word is doubtless borrowed from the Aramaic dialect of Palestine, and bears the same relation to the Hebrew אֵיךְ that the Bibl. Aram. הֵן (if) bears to the Hebr. אִם (Syr. *en*, Arab. *in*). הֵיךְ appears frequently in the Christian Palestinian Lectionary (see below), e.g. page 331 הֵיךְ אֵוֵן יתְמַלֵּוֹן (the Son of David?)—p. 437 הֵיךְ אִמְרִין סְפָרִיא דְמִשִּׁיחָא הוּ בְרָה דְרוּיָד (How do the scribes say that the Messiah is the Son of David?) Sometimes it is

written הֵךְ, e.g. p. 339, וְהֵךְ אַתְּ אָמַר, אִדְעָה לָן אֲבָא, *And how sayest thou, Shew us the Father?*—p. 433 הֵךְ תִּשְׁרֹקוּן מִן דִּינָא דְגֵהֶנָּא, *How shall ye flee from the judgment of Gehenna?* See also the Palestinian Targum (so-called Pseudo-Jonathan) Gen. iii. 9. וְהֵיךְ אַתְּ סָבַר בְּלִבְךָ לֵאמֹר מִן קִדְמִי אַתְּ סָבַר בְּלִבְךָ לֵאמֹר מִן קִדְמִי, *And how thinkest thou in thy heart to hide thyself from my presence?* The commoner form in this Targum is הֵיכְרִין.

- הִתְחַבֵּר (*to associate oneself*) Dan. xi. 6, 23. II Chr. xx. 35, 37.
 נִתְּנוּ עָלָיו הוֹד מְלָכוֹת Dan. xi. 21, cf. וַיִּתֵּן עָלָיו הוֹד מְלָכוֹת I Chr.
 xxix. 25.
 בְּלֹא־אֱלוֹהִים (*any god, with a negative*) Dan. xi. 37. II Chr. xxxii. 15.

The Hebrew of Daniel contains moreover a certain number of words or roots which occur nowhere else in the Old Testament, but which are used more or less frequently in the later Jewish literature. The principal of them are

- גֵּיל (*age, generation*) Dan. i. 10.
 חִיב (*to render guilty, condemn*) Dan. i. 10.
 יוֹרְעָנִים (*herbs*) Dan. i. 16.
 הִתְמַרְמַר (*to be moved with anger*) Dan. viii. 7; xi. 11.
 נִהְתָּד (*to be decreed*) Dan. ix. 24.
 רָשַׁם (*to write*) Dan. x. 21.
 מְכֻמְנִים (*hidden things, treasures*) Dan. xi. 43. This word, which occurs only in Daniel, is from a root unknown in Biblical Hebrew, but common in Aramaic and in the Hebrew of the Rabbins.
 אַפְדָּן (*palace*) Dan. xi. 45.

To these may be added one or two *grammatical* peculiarities, e.g. the form מְלָכוֹת Dan. viii. 22. It is well known that though abstract nouns in *ūth* are common in the Old Testament, especially in the later books, they never have plurals of this form¹. In Rabbinical Hebrew, on the contrary, we find not only מלכויות from מלכות but עדייות from עדיות, גליות from גלות and some others. I may mention also the construction אֶתְרֵךְ קְרוֹשׁ (instead of the usual אֶתְרֵךְ אֶתְרֵךְ), which occurs twice in Dan. viii. 13. For this there is no analogy in Biblical Hebrew, but in the Mishnah we occasionally find such phrases as מֵאֵחָת יָד Pēāh iii. 3; see also Geiger's *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 53.

¹ חֲנִיּוֹת, or according to some edd. חֲנִיּוֹת, in Jer. xxxvii. 16, is too obscure and uncertain to be regarded as an

exception to this rule. Whatever the word may mean, it can scarcely be the plural of an *abstract* noun. The LXX. reads *χερσ.*

Another feature which is characteristic of Rabbinical Hebrew and which appears in the Book of Daniel, is the using of Old Testament words in new and peculiar senses—a very natural thing at a time when the Hebrew language had ceased to be spoken and when the meaning of many uncommon words was therefore no longer distinctly remembered. The author of Daniel, like some of the later Rabbins, often inserts into his prose rare or exclusively poetical phrases borrowed from the ancient literature. Sometimes he gives them a meaning of his own, and it may be remarked that in a considerable proportion of such cases the expression seems to have been suggested by the story of Joseph in Genesis—an indirect but significant corroboration of the theory that the narrative of Daniel was to a certain extent modelled upon that of Joseph. The following are the terms which should specially be noted. It will be observed that most of them occur more than once in Daniel; they must therefore be regarded as *characteristic*.

- בְּשָׂדִים Dan. i. 4; ii. 2—in all other Old Testament writings this is the name of the Chaldean *nation*. The author of Daniel uses it also for “wise men” or “members of the priestly caste.” See p. 21, note.
- זַעֲפִים Dan. i. 10. Gen. xl. 6 (nowhere else in the Old Testament). In Genesis the word means “sad, troubled in mind.” The author of Daniel applies it to physical unhealthiness produced by insufficient food.
- חַרְטֻמִּים Dan. i. 20; ii. 2. Gen. xli. 8, 24. Exod. vii. 11, 22; viii. 3, 14, 15; ix. 11. The word is believed to be of Egyptian origin, and in the Pentateuch is used only of the magicians of *Egypt*. In Daniel it means magicians in general.
- בְּשִׁלוֹהַּ Dan. viii. 25; xi. 21, 24. The substantive שִׁלוֹהַּ (Sing. and Plural) occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament but in Jer. xxii. 21. Ezek. xvi. 49. Ps. cxxii. 7. Prov. i. 32; xvii. 1, where it means “peace,” “security.” In Daniel בְּשִׁלוֹהַּ is “unawares,” like the Syriac *men shelyā*.

- עַל־בְּנוֹ Dan. xi. 20, 21, 38, cf. עַל־בְּנֵי Gen. xl. 13 and עַל־בְּנֵי Gen. xli. 13. In Genesis the phrase is used of restoration to a former *status* or *position*; in Daniel it must be taken in the vaguer sense "instead of him," as chap. xi. 38 proves.
- חֲלָקְלָקוֹת Dan. xi. 21, 34. In Jer. xxiii. 12 and Ps. xxxv. 6, the only other passages where it occurs, this word means "slippery, dangerous places." In Daniel it is applied to "guile," "treachery."
- הַתְּמִיר Dan. viii. 11, 13; xi. 31; xii. 11. Other Biblical writers call the daily burnt-offering עֹלֹת הַתְּמִיר (Num. xxviii. 10 ff. Neh. x. 34), but in Daniel the simple הַתְּמִיר is used instead—so also in the Mishnah (e.g. Ta'anith iv. 6).
- הַיָּאֵר Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7; cf. Gen. xli. 1, 2, 3. It is well known that in old Hebrew יָאֵר, יָאֵרִים always refer to the Nile and its streams, either literally or as a figure of rhetoric (Is. xxxiii. 21. Job xxviii. 10). Nowhere but in Daniel is any other river called יָאֵר. This general use of the word appears again in Rabbinical literature.

In conclusion therefore it may be said that the Hebrew style of Daniel differs widely from that of exilic and pre-exilic times, and agrees, in its main features, with the latest historical prose in the Old Testament, while in some important details it approximates to the Hebrew of the Mishnah and the Talmud. At the same time the author borrows many isolated words and phrases from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, and this is precisely what we might expect to find in a book written by a Jew of the Maccabean age in the name of an ancient seer. It was natural that the work should appear in an antique garb, in "the holy language," but the idea of closely imitating the style of the prophetic writings would by no means necessarily occur to the author. He avoids indeed the wholesale introduction of modern words, such as we find in the Mishnah, but is far from being a purist. In fact among the Jews of those times a delicate perception of the differences of Hebrew style was not to be expected. The belief, for

example, that Ecclesiastes was a genuine work of king Solomon could have arisen only among a people incapable of distinguishing between the infancy and the decrepitude of the Hebrew tongue.

The Aramaic of Daniel.

The Aramaic language, one of the principal branches of the Semitic stock, includes a multitude of dialects, which have at various times been spoken in Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and some of the adjacent provinces. The Aramaic dialects are divided into two principal groups, the *Eastern* (including the dialects of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, i.e. Syriac, the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, and Mandaitic) and the *Western* (including Biblical Aramaic, as also the dialects of the Jewish Targums, of the Samaritan Targums, of the Christian Palestinian Lectionary, of the Palestinian Talmud, and of the Palmyrene inscriptions). This distinction between the Eastern and Western dialects corresponds entirely to the geographical features and political history of the countries in question. Western Syria, intersected by numerous chains of hills, has from time immemorial been a land of small independent states, nor has it ever been politically united excepting when subjugated by some foreign power. On the other hand the countries upon the Euphrates and the Tigris were marked out by nature to be the seat of great centralized empires; intercourse with non-Semitic peoples was here unavoidable, and it is therefore not surprising that the Eastern dialects are, on the whole, less primitive than the Western.

The distinctive feature of the Eastern Aramaic dialects is that in the Imperfect Tense they form the 3rd pers. sing. masc. and the 3rd pers. plur. of both genders by prefixing *n* or *l*, whereas the West-Arameans, like all other Semites, here prefix *y*. The formation with *n* is universal in classical Syriac (i.e. the ancient dialect of Edessa in Western Mesopotamia) and is usual in Mandaitic, a dialect which was spoken, some 12 or 13 centuries ago, in Lower Babylonia. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud sometimes uses *n*, but more com-

monly *l*, which appears to have arisen out of *n* by phonetic corruption¹. Now when we consider the vast geographical separation between the dialect of Edessa and that of Lower Babylonia, and furthermore the impossibility of one dialect having *borrowed* from another its inflexions of the Imperfect, we can hardly doubt that this peculiar grammatical formation with *n* must have originated at a very early period, in any case many centuries before the Christian era, though the West-Aramaic formation with *y* is certainly older still.

Of West-Aramaic the most ancient documents, of any considerable extent, are the Aramaic portions in Ezra and Daniel. As to the date of the Aramaic portions of Ezra there is some difference of opinion, but that they do not all date from the time of Ezra himself is certain. According to Prof. Nöldeke, *some* of these pieces may perhaps have been composed in the Persian period, though in that case they were doubtless remodelled by later scribes (*Die Semitischen Sprachen*, p. 30). Thus the Aramaic in Ezra may be taken as representing, in the main, the dialect spoken by the Jews of Palestine in the 3rd century B.C.² This Jewish Aramaic cannot have differed greatly from the contemporaneous dialects of heathen Syria, for the Palmyrene inscriptions (the oldest of which date from about the Christian era) bear a striking resemblance to the Aramaic of the Bible.

The language of the Jewish Targums is a slightly modernized form of Biblical Aramaic; more modern still is the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud, commonly called the Talmud of Jerusalem. The Samaritan dialect (represented by the Samaritan Targums) and the Christian Palestinian dialect (represented by the Palestinian Lectionary) are also very nearly akin to Biblical Aramaic, though they are both decidedly less primitive³.

¹ It is, of course, conceivable that the *n* may here have arisen out of *l*, but this is very unlikely, since the *l* appears only in the Babylonian dialects, which in the matter of phonetics are certainly less primitive than classical Syriac.

² The once popular notion that the Jews of Palestine derived their Aramaic dialect from Babylonia, is now wholly abandoned. See Prof. Wright's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 16.

³ Neither the Samaritan Targums nor the Palestinian Lectionary can be

Between the Aramaic in Ezra and that in Daniel the difference is very slight, much slighter than the difference which often exists between the language of authors living in the same age and country. This similarity may be due, in part at least, to corrections made by scribes, but such corrections, though they may seriously have affected certain details, cannot have altered the fundamental character of the dialect. The constant variations in orthography and the use of different grammatical forms with precisely the same meaning are in themselves a guarantee that there has been no general and systematic modification of the language. In one point only does a considerable change appear to have been made. It is well known that both in Ezra and Daniel the verb הָנִיחַ (הָנִיחַ) invariably forms the Imperfect לֹהוּ (in Dan. iv. 22 לֹהוּ), pl. לֹהוּן , לֹהוּיִן , according to the *Babylonian* fashion, whereas every other verb uses the West-Aramaic prefix י . It is impossible to believe that this anomaly really existed in the spoken language, the more so as we have positive proof that the other West-Aramaic dialects, Jewish, Christian, and Pagan, employed the prefix י in the Imperfect of הָנִיחַ , just as in other verbs¹. As the forms לֹהוּ etc. are found both in Ezra and Daniel we cannot ascribe them to a caprice on the part of the author. Nor are they due to the carelessness of scribes, since in that case the forms with l and those with y would occur promiscuously, as the prefixes n and l are used in Mandaitic and the Babylonian Talmud. The only remaining supposition is that the Jewish teachers deliberately altered the old forms יֹהוּ , יֹהוּן , and יֹהוּיִן , into forms with l . Why they did so cannot be discovered with certainty, but it

dated with certainty. They seem to have originated between the beginning of the 4th and the end of the 6th century after Christ.

¹ The Targum of Onkelos usually has יֹהִי (Gen. ix. 11, 25; xvi. 12), much more rarely the full form יֹהִיִּי (Gen. xviii. 18); pl. masc. יֹהִיִּין (Gen. i. 29; ix. 15; xv. 5, 13); pl. fem. יֹהִיִּיִן (Gen. xli. 36; xlix. 26. Exod. xxii. 23). The Samaritan Targum has יֹהִי (Lev. xxv. 28, 40; xxvii. 12, 15, 21, 25); pl.

m. יֹהִיִּין (Lev. xxv. 44, 45); pl. f. יֹהִיִּיִן (Lev. xxvi. 33. Num. xxxv. 29; xxxvi. 4). The Palestinian Lectionary has יֹהִיִּין or יֹהִיִּיִן ; pl. m. יֹהִיִּין or יֹהִיִּיִן ; pl. f. יֹהִיִּיִן or יֹהִיִּיִן . The Palmyrene inscriptions have יֹהִיִּין (*Fiscal Inscr.* i. 10, 11); pl. m. יֹהִיִּין (*id.* ii. 3rd column, 24). The very rare use of לֹהִיִּי in the Palestinian Targum (e.g. Exod. xxii. 24) is either a corruption or else a mere imitation of Biblical Aramaic.

may be guessed. It is known with what awe the later Jews regarded the Divine Name יהוה; not only did they avoid pronouncing it, but even the number 15 must be written טו, not יה, because יה is an abbreviation of יהוה. Now the pronunciation of the Imperfect of הָיָא was probably very similar to the Divine Name. It is therefore not impossible that the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament were revised in later times for the purpose of changing יהוה (יהוה) into the harmless Babylonian form להווא (להוה). In the course of such a revision the plurals יהון and יהוין might easily have been altered likewise.

The differences between Ezra and Daniel appear mostly in the pronouns; the chief variations may be seen from the following table—

| | Forms common to both | Only in Ezra | Only in Daniel |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| They | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div> אָנּוּן Ezra v. 4. דָּן Dan. vii. 17 <i>Kēthib.</i> </div> </div> | הָמוּן <i>once</i> , v. 11. | |
| them (<i>after a verb</i>) | | הָמוּן | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div> הָמוּן אָנּוּן <i>once</i>, vi. 25. </div> </div> |
| this, <i>masc.</i> | הָיָה | | |
| this, <i>fem.</i> | | | הָיָה |
| these | | | אֵלֵינוּ or אֵלֵינוּ |
| that, <i>masc.</i> | | הָיָה | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div> הָיָה <i>for both genders.</i> </div> </div> |
| that, <i>fem.</i> | | הָיָה | |
| those | אֵלֵיהֶם | | אָנּוּן <i>once</i> , ii. 44. |

Another grammatical difference is that in Daniel the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons plural are always כֹּן and הֹן respectively, whereas in Ezra these forms interchange with the older כֹּם and הֹם. But from these phenomena no certain conclusion can be drawn as to date, for, not to mention the possibility of alteration by later scribes, it frequently happens that when two equivalent grammatical forms are in use at the same

time, some writers employ one only, while others employ both indifferently. Still less is it allowable to found arguments, as to the priority of Ezra or of Daniel, upon any of those Babylonian or Persian words which happen to occur in the one but not in the other.

The principal points in which Biblical Aramaic differs from the Aramaic of the Targums are these—

1. The Causative and Reflexive conjugations of the verb (Haphel, Hithpeel, Hithpaal) have ה instead of the later ס. There is one exception in Ezra (אָתָּת chap. v. 15), and nine in Daniel (chaps. ii. 45; iii. 1, 19; iv. 11, 16; v. 12; vi. 8; vii. 8, 15). In the Targums some forms with ה occur, but forms with ס are very much commoner.

2. Passives are sometimes formed by internal vowel change, both from the Peal (e.g. יְהִיבַת, יְהִיבוּ, יְהִיבִי), and from the Haphel (e.g. הִעֲלִי, הִקְיַמַת, הִעֲלֵל, הִנְחַת). Similar Passives were still used in Syria in the 2nd century after Christ, as appears from the Fiscal Inscription of Palmyra¹.

3. Some common particles have other forms, e.g. הוּן *if* (Targ. אִין); אִתִּי *there is* (Targ. אִית); תַּפְּהָ *there*, only in Ezra (Targ. תַּפְּזִין, as in Syriac); לְהוּן *but, except*, after a negation (Targ. אִילֵהוּן).

4. The Imperfect is sometimes used in describing the past, e.g. Dan. iv. 2, 17, 33; v. 6; vi. 20; vii. 16. Similar cases appear in Hebrew, but the usage in Daniel is not necessarily a Hebraism, for we find the same thing in Arabic, mostly in writings of the early period. That the later Jewish Aramaic did not employ the Imperfect in this sense may, I think, be concluded from the fact that the Targums, though generally inclined to imitate the Hebrew closely, render an Imperfect by a Perfect or a Participle, where it is obviously a question of the past, e.g. Exod. xv. 1, 5; Deut. xxxii. 10 ff.; 1 Kings x. 16; 2 Kings iii. 25.

¹ With respect to the use of the ancient passive forms, Biblical Aramaic very nearly resembles the modern Arabic, in which isolated passive forms are still sometimes employed, although

the passive has, in general, been supplanted by the reflexive (see Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, p. 193).

5. There is a considerable difference in the vocabulary. We must however be careful not to draw hasty conclusions from this fact, for it is obvious that the Aramaic parts of the Bible, owing to their limited extent, contain only a small proportion of the words in use at the time of the authors. The same thing is true, in a less degree, of the Targums, for though the Targums are very much more voluminous, they are written in a peculiarly stiff and artificial style, and moreover seem to have undergone later revisions. A single instance will shew what caution is here necessary. The particle נְ appears once only in Biblical Aramaic (נְיִנְיִ Dan. iii. 12), whereas in the Targums it is extremely common, both with and without pronominal suffixes. But we have no right to argue from this fact that נְ was very much more usual in later times than at the period when Daniel was written. Its rarity in Biblical Aramaic may be accidental, while its frequent occurrence in the Targums is doubtless due to a pedantic imitation of the Hebrew use of נָ . In this case the "difference" between Biblical Aramaic and the Targums is illusive, and proves nothing as to the relative antiquity of the writings in question. Hence it is clear that lists of the particles, pronouns etc., which happen to appear in Biblical Aramaic but not in the Targums, and *vice versâ*, would give a very false impression if taken as a criterion of the changes which the language actually underwent.

If we leave out of account those peculiarities of the Targums which belong, not to the language, but to the *method* adopted by the translators, we shall find that in reality the difference between the Aramaic of the Bible and that of the Targums is certainly not greater than the difference between the English of Shakespeare and that of Pope, or between the French of Calvin and that of Bossuet; yet in these cases the interval of time amounts to little more than a century.

A very difficult and much debated question is how far Biblical Aramaic was influenced by Hebrew. As a rule, philologists were formerly inclined to go very far in assuming the existence of Hebraisms, but many of the linguistic phenomena which were so regarded have been proved by recent discoveries

to be genuine Aramaic. Thus the distinction between ש and ס is regularly kept up in Palmyrene, as in Biblical Aramaic, and though this does not necessarily prove that the two letters were still distinguished in pronunciation, it certainly proves that the use of ש in Biblical Aramaic is not due to Hebrew influence, as Prof. Kautzsch has maintained (*Gramm.* p. 24). There remain, however, some undeniable Hebraisms, e.g. יִבְל Dan. ii. 10 (contrast יָבֵל: iii. 29), מְרוֹמִים iv. 34, הַתְרוֹמְמָה v. 23. The following words also seem to be of Hebrew origin—קָצַף Dan. ii. 12, אֶחָדִי ii. 29, מְנַחֵה ii. 46, נִחְחִין *ibid.*, תְּנַבֵּת iii. 2, הַצִּלָּה iii. 29, רָשָׁעִין iv. 1, הַזָּדָה v. 20, כְּאוֹנֵיָא v. 27, נָגַד vi. 11, עֲלִיּוֹנִין vii. 14, הַשְׁמָרָה vii. 26. Whether the interrogative prefix הֲ is a Hebraism appears doubtful, and the same may be said of the prohibitive אַל.

When and by whom the present vocalization was introduced into the Aramaic parts of the Bible, cannot of course be known. But it is evident that in many cases the *Kēthib* represents a much more primitive pronunciation than the *Kērī*, e.g. אַנְתָּה (*antā*), *Kērī* אַנְתָּה — עַלְיָךְ ('*ālayk* or '*ālayikh*), *Kērī* תְּלִיתִיא — תְּלִיתָא. Sometimes grammatical inaccuracies which probably were found already in the primitive text, have been corrected by the later vocalizers; thus הֵן, the suffix of the 3rd pers. pl., was used indifferently for the masc. and for the fem., but has been marked with the vowel *ē* whenever it refers to a feminine noun. Similarly, in the 3rd pers. pl. of the Perfect of the verb, the termination ו is used for both genders, but has been treated as *ā* by the vocalizers, when the subject is feminine. In many other respects the pronunciation represented by the vowel-points may differ from that of the authors themselves. One phenomenon which deserves special notice is that in several cases an originally long *ā* is expressed by *Pathah*, in a closed or half-closed syllable (e.g. מְשֻׁמָּה, מְשֻׁמָּה), whereas the word מִן *who?*, which certainly had a short vowel, is vocalized מִן. Hence we may plausibly conjecture that at the time when the vocalization was finally settled, the Jews, like the modern Nestorians, pronounced *ā* short in closed and half-closed syllables, and therefore in such syllables were liable to interchange *Kāmeṣ* and *Pathah*. Similar confusions are

found in Nestorian manuscripts (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 28).

Foreign Words in Daniel.

Both the Hebrew and Aramaic portions of Daniel contain a considerable number of words which are undoubtedly neither Hebrew nor Aramaic. These foreign words have been held by some writers to be a strong argument in favour of the antiquity of the book, by others they are regarded as proving that the author cannot have lived before the rise of the Macedonian Empire. The subject is in any case worthy of careful examination.

If the book, or any considerable part of it, were really composed at Babylon in the 6th century B.C., we might reasonably expect that a large proportion of the foreign words employed would be borrowed from the language of Babylonia, which, as is well known, was a dialect closely resembling Assyrian. But, as a matter of fact, *Babylonian* words are extremely rare in Daniel. Besides a few proper names (one of which, בלטשאצר, the author evidently misunderstood), we find the words—מְגִנְיָא (rulers), מְמַנְיָא (governors), בִּירָה (citadel, royal residence), יִי (brightness), שִׁיב (to deliver), and אֲשָׁף or אֲשָׁפָא (magician)¹. Of these the first three occur repeatedly in some of the later books of the Old Testament, יִי and שִׁיב are used in the Targums, and אֲשָׁף appears, with a slight variation of form (*ashōpha*), in Syriac writings composed centuries after the Christian era. In no case therefore do the Assyrio-Babylonian words in Daniel indicate that the author had any personal knowledge of ancient Babylon.

Much larger is the number of words derived from the *Persian*. It is remarkable that these are employed, not with any special reference to Persian affairs, but quite promiscuously.

¹ Two or three words, of which the Babylonian origin is uncertain, are here omitted. The Babylonian proper names in Daniel prove nothing as to

date, for some old Babylonian names were still in use a century before the Christian era; see the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. III. pp. 129 ff.

Thus in the list of king Nebuchadnezzar's officials (chap. iii. 2) we find two undoubtedly Persian titles. It must of course appear in itself highly improbable that Persian titles were then used at the Babylonian court. On the other hand, the long domination of the Achaemenidae introduced Persian words into all the Aramaic-speaking countries and not least into Palestine. Of these words many must have continued in use during the ages after Alexander, though as time went on and as intercourse with the remote East became less frequent, some of them fell into desuetude. The numerous Persian words which we find in Syriac writers, were likewise, no doubt, borrowed mostly during the Achaemenian period. More than half of the Persian words in Daniel are common in Syriac also, although the oldest extant Syriac works are later, by some three centuries, than the time of the Maccabees.

That Daniel contains *Greek* words has long been recognized, even by orthodox commentators. In order to reconcile this fact with the theory of the antiquity of the book, it has been maintained that the names of the musical instruments קִיָּתָר (κίθαρῖς), פִּסְנָתָרִין (ψαλτήριον), and סוּמְפִּיָּה (συμφωνία) may have been borrowed from the Greeks by the Babylonians as early as the 6th century B.C. Such a supposition, if not absolutely impossible, is at least extremely precarious and wholly unsupported by the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions¹. Even if this negative argument be set aside, there remain the positive considerations that one of the terms in question, viz. *συμφωνία*, as the name of an instrument of music, is peculiar to *late* Greek, and that the *συμφωνία* is specially mentioned by Polybius as a favourite instrument with Antiochus Epiphanes². This is an "undesigned coincidence" which may be recommended to the attention of apologists.

Some of the foreign words in Daniel are of unknown, or at

¹ "The musical instruments that are here mentioned," says Prof. Schrader, "are Greek, and hence their names are looked for in vain among cuneiform documents." (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 431.)

² "Ὅτε δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθητοῦ τινας συνενωχομένους, οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν ποιήσας παρῆν ἐπικωμάζων μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν." *Fragm.* of Bk. xxvi. p. 1151, ed. Hultsch.

least of very uncertain, origin, e.g. מְלִצָר, נְבוּזַנְנַדְנֶזֶר, הַדְרָבָּיִא, הַפְּתָיִא; of such words, however, the majority are probably Persian. That they are unintelligible to us may be due partly to our imperfect knowledge of the ancient Persian language, and partly to the phonetic corruption which they underwent before they reached the author of Daniel. In a few cases, moreover, the spelling may have been altered by later scribes.

THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.

It is usually admitted that the so-called Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, being the work of various translators and of several successive generations, is by no means of equal value throughout for purposes of textual criticism. It is therefore necessary, before entering upon the discussion of particular passages, to investigate the general character and history of the text in question.

In the study of the Septuagint text of Daniel we are met at once by the difficulty that this version has reached us in one manuscript only, the Codex Chisianus, which cannot be older than the 9th century, and is perhaps very much later. The best edition is that of Cozza, in his *Sacrorum Bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta graeca et latina*, Pars Tertia (Rome, 1877). Besides this direct witness, we have the Syriac Hexaplaric Version (a slavishly literal rendering of Origen's Hexaplaric text) made at Alexandria, in the years 616 and 617, by Paul, the Monophysite Bishop of Tellā-dhě-Mauzēlath, who is commonly called Paul of Tellā. A great part of this Syriac version of the Old Testament has been preserved in a MS. now at Milan; according to Ceriani, it probably dates from the 8th century (*Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus*, 1874, see p. 140). A separate edition of Daniel, according to this Codex, was published, with a Latin translation, by Bugati in 1788.

In comparing the Greek with the Syriac text, we are immediately struck by their close resemblance to one another. This is most apparent in hopelessly corrupt passages, such as ix. 24—27, where they agree almost to a word. Even if we ignore

the slighter clerical errors of the Codex Chisianus (such as ἐμβληθήσεσθε for ἐμβληθήσεσθε iii. 15—ἐπήκουσε for ἐπήχουσε vi. 21—ἀνα λὰς for ἀνατολὰς viii. 4), there can be no doubt that on the whole the Syriac text is the purer of the two. Firstly, a small number of the additions, borrowed chiefly from Theodotion's version, which have crept into the text of the Chisianus, are not found in the Syriac. Such are, εἰς γῆν Σεναάρ i. 2—καὶ οὐ διέλιπον οἱ ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοὺς ὑπηρέται τοῦ βασιλέως καίοντες τὴν κάμινον iii. 46—ἔτι τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος iv. 28. On the other hand, there seems to be no certain case in which one of Theodotion's renderings is found in the Syriac text but not in the Chisianus.

Secondly, the Syriac has preserved several words and phrases, which have been omitted in the Chisianus through mere inadvertence. E.g.

- ii. 28, 29. כַּיִן קַוַּוּוּ כַּלְלֵי . . . חַלְלֵי
חַיִן . . . חַלְלֵי חַיִן . . . חַלְלֵי
חַיִן . . . חַלְלֵי חַיִן . . . חַלְלֵי
כַּיִן קַוַּוּוּ כַּלְלֵי חַיִן חַלְלֵי
- ii. 41. קַוַּוּוּ חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- iv. 15. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- v. 1. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- vii. 6. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- vii. 18. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
 (that is, the Chisianus has ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων,
 instead of ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων)
- viii. 5. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- ix. 23. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן
- xi. 16. חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן חַיִן

interpolations are not evenly distributed throughout the book, but are most numerous and extensive in chapters iii to vi. The other chapters (i, ii and vii to xii) contain, it is true, many small additions and differ from the Masoretic text in innumerable details, but they may still be said to run parallel with it, so that the variations, when they occur, admit of being definitely classified. In chapters iii to vi, on the contrary, the original thread of the narrative is often lost in a chaos of accretions, alterations, and displacements.

That such a text must have had a very complicated history, can hardly be questioned. The existing phenomena are perhaps most satisfactorily explained by supposing that chapters iii to vi were translated, or rather paraphrased, into Greek, before the rest of the book, and that after the text had undergone many changes, a subsequent translator added the remaining chapters at the beginning and end. This hypothesis is further supported by the consideration that, for the Egyptian Jews, some parts of the book of Daniel must have possessed a very much greater interest than others. The narratives in chapters iii to vi turn precisely upon those topics which are most prominent in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism—the folly of idolatry, the impotence of *human* strength and wisdom (represented by Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, the Chaldean sages etc.) as compared with the *divine* wisdom made known to Israel (represented by Daniel and his friends). The visions, on the contrary, with their manifold allusions to special circumstances, must have been to a great extent unintelligible, and the motive for translating and circulating them would consequently not be very strong.

If the above hypothesis be admitted, it is not, of course, necessary to suppose that any great interval elapsed between the first translator and the second, for popular stories, copied upon cheap and perishable materials and passing frequently from hand to hand, are liable to very rapid textual corruption, and that the afore-mentioned chapters (iii to vi) were translated, not for the learned, but for the entertainment and edification of the people is obvious. Only on such an assumption is the extremely free handling of the text conceivable.

That the translation of chapters i, ii and vii—xii is the work of one hand cannot indeed be proved with certainty, but is highly probable, for throughout these eight chapters the mode of rendering is substantially the same. As nearly all the passages in which the Masoretic text appears to be corrupt, occur in these chapters, I shall henceforth confine my remarks to them.

Even when full allowance has been made for alterations of the Greek text, it cannot be denied that the translator was both ignorant and careless, and in many passages, no doubt, the Greek Version was from the beginning mere nonsense.

Our object being to recover, as far as possible, the Hebrew and Aramaic text used by the translator, we must class the variations, here as elsewhere, under three headings, viz.

1. Variations due to corruption of the Greek text.
2. Variations which possibly or probably originated with the translator.
3. Variations due to real differences of reading in the text from which the translation was made.

I will now give classified lists of passages in which the Greek text differs from the Masoretic—not aiming, of course, at completeness, but at exhibiting specimens of as many kinds of variation as possible.

I.

The following are, I think, to be regarded as Greek corruptions—

- i. 19. ἦσαν for ἔστησαν, cf. ii. 2.
- vii. 19. τοῦ διαφθείροντος πάντα for τοῦ διαφέροντος παρὰ πάντα, cf. verses 3, 23.
- viii. 26. ηὔρεθη for ἐρρέθη.
- ix. 24. σπανίσαι for σφραγίσαι.
- x. 1. πρῶτω for τρίτω.
- x. 14. ὥρα for ὄρασις.
- xi. 17. πείσεται for στήσεται.
- xi. 32. ἐν σκληρῷ λαῶ for ἐν κληροδοσίᾳ, cf. *vv.* 21, 34.

xii. 1. *χώραν* for *ῶραν*—Bugati conjectures (with great improbability, it seems to me) that the translator read *רחם* for *רע*.

— *ὑψωθήσεται* for *ἐκσωθήσεται* or some other compound of *σωθήσεται*.

Under this heading also must be placed those parallel renderings which have been inserted into the text, e.g.

viii. 16. *καὶ ἐκάλεσε καὶ εἶπεν, Γαβριήλ, συνέτισον ἐκείνον τὴν ὄρασιν.*

xi. 13. *ἐπ' αὐτόν.*

xii. 2. *καὶ αἰσχύνην.*

Also words wrongly repeated, as

vii. 8. *ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῦ*, taken from *v. 7*.

Finally, some passages, especially viii. 11, 12 and ix. 25—27, where the text is in great, if not inextricable, confusion.

II.

The variations possibly due to the translator necessarily fall into many subdivisions. First, there may be cases in which he *intentionally altered the sense*, but unhappily we are here on very uncertain ground, since it may generally be questioned at what stage in the process of transmission any such alteration was made. Thus, for instance, there can be little doubt that the substitution of *τὴν πόλιν Σιών* for *רשק רע*, in ix. 24, is intentional, for it seemed inappropriate to speak of the holy city of *Daniel*. But though the removal of this stumbling-block is probably due to the translator, it may perhaps have taken place before or after him.

The same thing applies to glosses and expansions of the text, which are very numerous, e.g.

i. 21. *ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους [τῆς βασιλείας] Κύρου βασιλέως [Περσῶν].*

vii. 1. *τότε [Δαυιήλ] τὸ ὄραμα [ὃ εἶδεν] ἔγραψεν.*

vii. 24. *διοίσει [κακοῖς].*

vii. 25. *καὶ παραδοθήσεται [πάντα].*

- viii. 3. κριὸν ἓνα [μέγαν].
 viii. 4. [πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ] πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς
 καὶ μεσημβρίαν.
 viii. 8. τέσσαρα [κέρατα], as also in v. 22.
 viii. 27. ἡμέρας [πολλάς].
 ix. 7. τῷ [λαῷ] Ἰσραήλ.
 ix. 10. ἐνώπιον [Μωσῆ καὶ] ἡμῶν.
 ix. 19. ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν σου [Σιών] καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου
 [Ἰσραήλ].
 x. 12. ἐναντίον [κυρίου] τοῦ θεοῦ σου.
 x. 20. μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ [βασιλέως] τῶν Περσῶν.
 xi. 15. καὶ οὐκ ἔσται [αὐτῷ] ἰσχύς εἰς τὸ ἀντιστῆναι [αὐτῷ].
 xii. 8. καὶ οὐ διενόηθην [παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρόν].

Omissions are, as might be expected, much less frequent than additions, and they are generally of still more uncertain origin, e.g.

- i. 17. ...והילדים [האלה ארבעתם] נתן להם...
 καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἔδωκεν...
 vii. 3. [בְּרִבְרִין] סִין
 θηρία.
 viii. 5. עַל פְּנֵי [כָּל]-הָאָרֶץ
 ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.
 viii. 27. וְאֵנִי דְנִיאֵל [נְהִייתִי] וְנַחֲלִיתִי
 καὶ ἐγὼ Δανιὴλ ἀσθενήσας...
 ix. 18, 19. כִּי עַל רַחֲמֶיךָ [הַרְבִּים] : אֲדִנִּי [שָׁמַעַתְּ] אֲדִנִּי סָלַחְתָּ
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σὸν ἔλεος κύριε σὺ ἰλάτευσον.
 xi. 41. [בְּשָׂרֶיךָ] בְּשָׂרֶיךָ
 εἰς τὴν χώραν μου.
 xii. 9, 10. עַד [עַתָּה] : וְתִבְרְרוּ וְיִתְלַבְּנוּ [וְיִצְרְפוּ] רַבִּים
 ἕως ἂν πειρασθῶσι καὶ ἀγιασθῶσι πολλοί.

Changes in the order of words are rare, e.g.

- vii. 8. זָרַח אַחֲרַי וְעִרְרָה סִלְקַת בִּינִיהוֹן
 ἄλλο ἐν κέρασ ἀνεφύη ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν μικρόν (where
 ἄλλο and ἐν are perhaps doublets, the latter pointing to a reading חרה cf. viii. 9).

- vii. 21. עבדא קרב
πόλεμον συνιστάμενον.
- vii. 24. יקום אחריהן
μετὰ τούτους στήσεται.
- viii. 4. ימה וצפונה
πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ πρὸς δυσμάς.
- xi. 36. דבר נפלאות
ἔξαλλα λαλήσει.

Of free renderings, and passages in which the translator evidently guessed at the sense, almost every other verse supplies examples. Only a few characteristic instances can be given—

- i. 10. וְהִיבְתֶם אֶת רֵאשֵׁי לְפָלְקֵי
καὶ κινδυνεύσω τῷ ἰδίῳ τραχήλῳ.
- vii. 28. רְעִינִי בְּהַלְנִי
ἐκστάσει περιειχόμενῃ.
- x. 21. מִיכָאֵל שְׂרָפָם
Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἄγγελος.
- xi. 2. וְיָרָה לְכָל אֶת מַלְכוּת יוֹן
ἐπαναστήσεται παντὶ βασιλείῃ Ἑλλήνων.
- xi. 5. מְלֶכֶת הַנְּגַב
βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου,
and so, throughout the chapter, נְגַב is rendered by
Αἴγυπτος.
- xi. 30. יְיָ בְּתִים
Ῥωμαῖοι (cf. the Targums on Numb. xxiv. 24).

Sometimes a personal pronoun in the genitive is inserted where there is no suffix in the original, e.g.

- viii. 23. τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν — הַפְּשָׁעִים.
- ix. 21. ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ μου — בְּתַפְּלָה.
- xi. 7. ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ — אֶל-הַחַיִּל.

Sometimes a suffix is ignored, e.g.

- vii. 20. ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς — בְּרֵאשֵׁיהָ.

- vii. 26. τὴν ἐξουσίαν — תְּשׁוּבָה.
viii. 18. ἐπὶ πρόσωπον — עַל-פְּנֵי.

In the use of the Article a like freedom prevails, e.g.

- i. 16. ἀπὸ τῶν ὀσπρίων — וְעֵינִים.
x. 1. τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἰσχυρόν — לִרְגָל אֲבָצָה.
x. 3. τὰς τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας τῶν ἡμερῶν — יָמִים אֶשְׁבַּע תְּשַׁבֵּעַ.
xii. 4. οἱ πολλοί — רַבִּים.
xii. 11. τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως — מַטְמֵן יִרְשָׁע.

Conversely—

- viii. 27. תְּשׁוּבָה אֲבָצָה — βασιλικά.
xi. 31. מִשְׁמַח מִשְׁמֵחַ — βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως.
xii. 13. לִקְרֹן הַיָּמִין — εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν.

The Singular is sometimes put for the Plural, e.g.

- viii. 20. מַלְכֵי מִדֵּי וּפְרָס — βασιλεὺς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν.
xi. 13. לִקְרֹן הַשְּׂמֵחַ — κατὰ συντέλειαν καιροῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.
xi. 17. בַּת-הַנְּשִׂים — θυγατέρα ἀνθρώπου.
xi. 24. מִבְּצָרִים — τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἰσχυράν.
xi. 25. תּוֹשָׁבֵיהֶם — διάνοια (Syro-Hex. **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ** i.e. *divinia*).
xi. 39. לְקֹרֵן הַיָּמִין — καὶ κατακυριεύσει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ
(Syro-Hex. **ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܕܝܢܐ**).
xi. 44. תּוֹשָׁבֵיהֶם — ἀκοή.

And sometimes, but more rarely, the Plural for the Singular, e.g.

- ix. 12. הַגְּדֹלָה — κακὰ μεγάλα.
xi. 8. אֲבָצָה — ἀποΐσουσιν.
xi. 32. הַיָּמִין — μίανουσιν.

Mistakes on the part of the translator are numerous, e.g.

- i. 11. אֲשֶׁר מִנְּחָה שׁוֹר הַסְּרִיסִים — τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἀρχιευνούχῳ (i.e. pronouncing מִנְּחָה).

- vii. 8. אַתְּעַקְרוּ—ἐξηράνθησαν.
- viii. 3, 4. . . . רִאִיתִי : בְּאַחֲרָנָה : עֲלָה וְהִנְבְּהָה עִלָּה—καὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον ἀνέβαινε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἶδον . . .
- ix. 6. אֵל פְּלַעַם הָאָרְץ — παντὶ ἔθνει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
- xi. 33. יְבִינוּ לְרִבִּים — συνήσουσιν εἰς πολλούς.
- xi. 45. הָרַ צְבִי לְנֶשֶׁת — τοῦ ὄρους τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου (connecting צבי with the Aramaic verb צבא).

III.

I now pass on to those cases in which the Greek translation presupposes a Hebrew or Aramaic reading different from that in the Masoretic text. Great caution is here necessary, for after all the proofs we have seen of the carelessness and incompetence of the translator, it must appear highly probable that he sometimes mis-read the text before him. Thus, for example, in xi. 17 we find τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ corresponding to מְלֻכּוֹתוֹ — but it would be very rash to conclude that מְלֻכּוֹתוֹ actually stood in the MS. from which the translation was made; it is much more likely that the translator erred. Of such cases a long list might easily be drawn up, but there remain many passages in which we are obliged to assume a variant in the Hebrew, e.g.

- i. 3. אֲשַׁנּוּ — Ἀβιεσδρί (Syro-Hex. **אכנוי**), or, according to some patristic citations, Αβριεσδρι, Αβδιεζδρι.
- viii. 8. הָזוֹת — ἕτερα (i.e. אחרות).
- viii. 9. יתָר — καὶ ἐπάταξεν (ותָר).
- id. הַצְּבוֹן — βορρᾶν (הצפון).
- ix. 17. לַמַּעַן אֲדַנִּי — ἔνεκεν τῶν δούλων σου δέσποτα (לַמַּעַן עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲדַנִּי)
- x. 17. מַעַתָּה — ἡσθένησα (מַעַתָּה cf. Ps. xviii. 37).
- xi. 1. עַמְדֵי — εἶπεν (אמַר).
- xii. 3. מִצְדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים — οἱ κατισχύοντες τοὺς λόγους μου (מחזיקי דברי[ם]).

The intrinsic merits of these readings cannot be here discussed, but most people will be disposed to admit that the above passages point to real variants in the Hebrew.

Since therefore the text which lay before the translator was not identical with the Masoretic, the question necessarily arises, What was the relation between these two texts? Is one to be regarded simply as a corrupt form of the other, or is each an independent witness? Unfortunately the question of the *independence* of the texts has frequently been confounded with the totally different question of their relative *merit*. The fact that in numberless cases the Hebrew reading on which the LXX. is based, is manifestly inferior to the reading in the Masoretic text, has led many people to conclude that all the variants of the LXX. are to be explained as corruptions. That this is not so can be proved by several passages, of which the following is perhaps the most conclusive. In viii. 24, 25 the Masoretic text has —

והשחית עצומים ועם קדשים: ועל שכלו והצליח מרמה בירו

a passage quite impossible to translate grammatically. In the LXX. we read— *καὶ φθερεῖ δυναστὰς καὶ δῆμον ἀγίωσι· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐωδηθήσεται τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ . . .* i.e. reading ועם קדשים ועל שכלו instead of ועם קדשים ועל שכלו. It is scarcely possible to doubt that the LXX. reading is here more primitive than the Masoretic, but it does not follow that it is the original. The most probable supposition is that ועם קדשים and ועל קדשים are doublets, the latter being the true reading, for it is necessary to the sense, whereas the omission of ועם קדשים produces no syntactical difficulty.

If once it is admitted that the Hebrew text on which the LXX. is based, is independent of the Masoretic, it must always appear possible that a passage which has been corrupted in the one, may in the other have been preserved in a purer form—that is to say, each case must be decided on its own merits. The very fact that the Greek translator often missed the sense where it is perfectly plain to us, and where his text evidently agreed with the Masoretic, renders it highly improbable that he

was capable of making plausible emendations. Where therefore the reading at the basis of the LXX. appears, upon careful examination, to be superior to the Masoretic text, we cannot but conclude that here an older reading has survived.

COMMENTARY.

CHAPTER I.

THIS Chapter not only serves as an introduction to the book, but also teaches several practical lessons. The conduct of Daniel and his friends, given up into the power of the Gentiles but strictly faithful to the religion of Israel, is evidently intended as an example. In dealing with the heathen world the most minute attention to the Divine Law is necessary, and will always meet with a reward. How well this teaching accords with the circumstances of the Maccabean period is at once apparent. It may seem strange that the point on which special stress is here laid is precisely that part of Judaism which moderns consider least essential and least valuable in a religious sense—the law of clean and unclean meats. But under Antiochus Epiphanes this was a vital matter. To the pious Jews of that time the eating of unlawful food seemed a crime as heinous as idolatry itself (I Macc. i. 62, 63). This feeling is of course something altogether different from the asceticism of medieval Christianity. “The king’s food” is refused by Daniel, not because it is pleasant, but because it may contain unclean ingredients, whereas “herbs” offer no such danger¹.

The statement in *v.* 1 that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim seems to be due to a combination of II Kings xxiv. 1, 2 with II Chron. xxxvi. 6. In Kings the “three years” are not of course the first three years of Jehoiakim’s reign, nor is there any mention of a siege. The idea that Jerusalem was captured under Jehoiakim appears first in Chronicles, but no date is given. The author of Daniel

¹ Similarly Josephus tells us that certain Jewish priests of his acquaintance, who had been sent to Rome, “did not forget their duty to God, and lived upon figs and nuts” (*Vita Jos.* 3).

follows the account in Chronicles, at the same time assuming that the "three years" in Kings date from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, and that "the bands of the Chaldeans" were a regular army commanded by Nebuchadnezzar.

1, 2. "In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it." Elsewhere in Daniel the name Nebuchadnezzar is always written without א; the older form נבוכרדנצר (or נבוכרדנצור Jer. xlix. 28 *Kēthīb*) which is usual in Jeremiah and Ezekiel and corresponds to the *Nabū-kudurri-ušur* of the inscriptions and to the *Ναβουκοδρόσορος* of Abydenus, never occurs in this book. In v. 2, as in Chronicles, it is not clearly stated whether Jehoiakim was taken to Babylon, for the reference of the suffix in וַיְבִיֵאֵם is uncertain; Hitzig makes the suffix apply both to Jehoiakim and to the vessels, and renders גֵּית אֱלֹהֵי "to the land of his god," citing Hos. ix. 3, 15. According to Von Lengerke the suffix refers to the vessels only. Ewald supposes some words to have fallen out and wishes to read, "Jehoiakim king of Judah, together with the noblest men of the land" etc. It must be admitted that the present construction of the sentence is awkward, for, if Hitzig be right, the word בֵּית is used first in one sense and immediately afterwards in another, whereas if we adopt the view of Von Lengerke, the repetition of וַאֲתֵּהֶבְלִים is altogether superfluous. In any case the transportation of captives as well as of vessels, is presupposed in v. 3. מִקְצָת is for מִקְצָת, as in Neh. vii. 70. The form קָצָת is contracted, in Aramaic fashion, from an original *kāšāwāt*, as מִנְתָּ from *mānāyāt*. קָצָת from meaning "limit" (see v. 5) comes to mean "totality"; hence מִקְצָת is "part of the whole," i.e. "some," cf. גְּבוּל "frontier," hence "territory" (Exod. x. 14). The name שְׁנֵפֶר is an archaism; it occurs nowhere else but Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; xiv. 1, 9. Josh. vii. 21. Is. xi. 11. Zech. v. 11. Writers of the exilic period speak of Babylonia as אֶרֶץ בָּבֶל (Jer. li. 29), אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים (Ezek. xii. 13), or כַּשְׂדִּים simply (Is. xlvi. 20. Jer. l. 10). It has been supposed that שְׁנֵפֶר is a corruption of *Shumēr*, the name given to South Babylonia in the inscriptions (see Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 118).

3—5. Of אִשְׁפָּנו no satisfactory interpretation has hitherto

been given. The LXX. has 'Αβιεσδρῖ according to the Codex Chisianus (Syro-Hex. אביו). Lenormant thinks that these forms are corruptions of אשבנור, which he explains as meaning "the goddess has formed the seed" (*La Divination*, p. 182). The שר הרסוים רב רסוים must of course be identical with the שר הרסוים *vv.* 7—11, since רב is the Aramaic equivalent of שר. The phrase מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is understood by most commentators as including both the following classes, the members of the royal family and the nobles. But it is equally permissible to suppose that the "Israelites" here form a class by themselves, and that by the royal family and the פרתמים are meant the family of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian nobility. Verse 6 certainly implies that some of the youths in question were at least *not* Judaeans. The word פרתמים which occurs only here and in Esther, is probably the Persian *fratama* "first¹." Symmachus and the Pēshītā translate "Parthians," a view which might easily suggest itself at a time when the Parthians were the dominant race in Iran². For מאום instead of מום cf. Job xxxi. 7. מִשְׁבִּילִים is here "intelligent"—הַשְּׁבִילִים and הַבִּינִים are used in Daniel both for "understand" and "teach," cf. the French *apprendre*. מִדְּע, found only in Daniel, Chronicles, and Ecclesiastes, is doubtless borrowed from the Aramaic; the corresponding Hebrew form is מִדְּע, which however has acquired the secondary meaning of "friend" (Prov. vii. 4). כֹּחַ is "capacity" generally, both physical and mental. וְלִלְמֹד depends upon וַיִּאְמַר in the preceding verse. סֵפֶר וְלִשׁוֹן בְּשָׂדִים "literature and the tongue of the Chaldeans," according to the Masoretic accentuation; Hitzig prefers to connect סֵפֶר closely with what follows, so that the whole phrase would be equivalent to סֵפֶר בְּשָׂדִים וְלִשׁוֹנָם. By "the Chaldeans" we are to understand the learned caste (cf. chap. ii. 1, 4), and their "tongue" must therefore be the language of their sacred books. It is, of course, vain to inquire what particular language the author has in view, e.g. whether he means to refer to Accadian as distin-

¹ The phrase *martiyā fratamā* "foremost men" occurs several times in the Achaemenian inscriptions.

² The Targum on Esth. i. 3 (De La-

garde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, p. 202, line 8) renders פרתמים by פרתונאי which seems to be a corruption of פרתוואי "Parthians."

guished from the ordinary Assyrio-Babylonian. The existence of a learned or priestly language was a feature common to most, if not every one, of the great oriental monarchies. מָנָה “assign,” “appoint,” is properly a poetical term (Ps. lxi. 8. Job vii. 3), and, like many such terms, passed into the later prose; for “appointing” a person to an office it is used in *v.* 11, also in I Chron. ix. 29 and frequently in the Palestinian Talmud (cf. the Aramaic מְנֵי Dan. ii. 24, 49; iii. 12). פתבנ was evidently supposed by the Masoretes to be connected with the Heb. פת “morsel,” for which reason it is written פת-בנ. But the term is no doubt Persian, and exists in Syriac in the form *paṭbāghā*. According to the historian Deinōn, who lived in the middle of the 4th century, B.C., *ποτίβαζις* was the name given to a repast of cakes and wine, such as was prepared for the kings of Persia¹. The Persian word was probably *patibāga* (Sanskrit, *pratibhāga*) “portion”, and *ποτίβαζις* seems to represent a pronunciation in which the *g* was sounded like the modern Persian *z* (see De Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 73). מִשְׁפָּי is Singular, cf. מִשְׁפָּי I Sam. xix. 4. וְלִגְדָלָם is connected somewhat loosely with what precedes, “and (it was intended) to rear them” etc.; compare chap. ii. 16. מִקְצָתָם “at the end of them,” lit. “from the time when they should end.” The suffix *ām* here refers to a feminine noun, מִשְׁפָּי, as is often the case (cf. מִקְצָתָם chap. viii. 9). For the Imperf. יִשְׁמְרוּ “they were to stand,” see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, 2nd ed. p. 51.

6, 7. The name Daniel (i.e. God is my judge) is written דַּנְיֵאל in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3. In the form דַּנְיָאֵל it appears as the name of a son of David (I Chron. iii. 1), and as the name of a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra viii. 2. Neh. x. 7). The names חַנַּנְיָהּ, מִישָׁאֵל, and עֲזַרְיָהּ also appear among the contemporaries of Ezra (Neh. viii. 4; x. 3, 24), but this is probably accidental, since all three occur elsewhere, and we therefore have no proof that the author of Daniel intended to identify Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, with their namesakes in Nehemiah. מִישָׁאֵל is usually explained as meaning “Who is what God is?”,

¹ See Athenaeus, Bk. xi. p. 503:—
Δείνων ἐν τρίτῳ Περσικῶν φησὶν οὕτως·
ἔστι δὲ ποτίβαζις ἄριστος κριθίνος καὶ πύ-

ριμος ὀπτὸς καὶ κυπαρίσσου στέφανος καὶ
οἶνος κεκραμένος ἐν ᾧ ψῶ χρυσῶ οὐ αὐτὸς
βασιλεὺς πίνει.

the ׀ being the relative particle. Hitzig takes it as a contraction of מִי־שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר “Who is equal to God?”, the middle element being the verb שָׁנָה, cf. Is. xl. 25. It is true that שָׁנָה (Kal) is never construed as transitive, but in proper names the use of the verbal conjugations is often peculiar, e.g. בְּלִטְשָׁרוּ, and probably אֱלִישָׁע, יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ. The change of name upon entering a new state of life was common in antiquity (Gen. xli. 45. II Kings xxiii. 34; xxiv. 17). For the phrase לְהֵם שְׁמוֹת cf. chap. v. 12. In chap. iv. 5 Daniel is said to have been called בַּלְטַשְׁצַר after the name of the god of Nebuchadnezzar, i.e. after בַּל (Is. xlvi. 1), and the Masoretic vocalization follows this etymology. But in reality בַּלְטַשְׁצַר is the Babylonian *Balātsu-ušur* or *Balātashu-ušur* (i.e. “protect thou his life”). Through what channel this name reached the author of Daniel it is of course impossible to say. The LXX. uses *Bαλτάσαρ* both for בַּלְטַשְׁצַר and for בַּלְשַׁצַּר. בַּלְשַׁצַּר and מִישַׁךְ are of uncertain origin; the former is explained by Friedr. Delitzsch as *Shudur-Aku* (i.e. “command of Aku,” the Moon-deity), and Schrader thinks this probable. עֲבַד־נִבּוֹ has long ago been recognized as a corruption of עַבְד־נִבּוֹ “servant of Nebo,” which is found in a bilingual (Assyrio-Aramaic) inscription (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 429). Long after the Christian era the name עַבְד־נִבּוֹ was borne by heathen Syrians (see Cureton’s *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 14 of the Syriac text, line 5). In the Palmyrene inscriptions also we find such names as נַבּוּבַר, נַבּוּבַר, and בַּרְנַבּוֹ (De Vogüé, Nos. 24, 67, 73).

8—16. For the phrase וְיִשָּׂם דְּנִיַּאֵל עַל־לִבּוֹ cf. Is. lvii. 1, 11. The root נָאֵל “defile” occurs in old Hebrew poetry (Zeph. iii. 1. Is. lix. 3, perhaps also Job iii. 5); as a ritual term it appears first in post-exilic writings (e.g. Mal. i. 7, 12)—for the idea of ceremonial uncleanness the Pentateuch and Ezekiel employ טָמָא. Verse 9 explains the reason of the mild answer that follows. For אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה יִרְאֶה (v. 10) “lest he should see,” cf. דִּי לָמָּה לְהֵנָּה “lest there should be,” Ezra vii. 23; *dalmā* in this sense is common in Syriac. On זַעֲפִים see p. 31, and on גִּיל and הַיֵּב p. 30. These two latter words are borrowed from the Aramaic. In old Hebrew the root חוּב is unknown¹. The ל

¹ In Ezek. xviii. 7 חוּב seems to be either a corruption of שׁוּב, as Cornill has suggested, or else a mere ditto-graphy, the first two letters of חִבְרָתוֹ

in *לְפָנָי* does not mean “before,” but is connected with the idea of a forfeit or debt (Aram. חוב) owed to some one; hence we may render, “and lest ye make my head a forfeit to the king.” *הַמְּלִצָר* (v. 11), which occurs nowhere but in this chapter, is very obscure. That it is not a proper name but a title preceded by the definite article, is now generally admitted. The derivation from the Persian, according to which it means “wine-head” (i.e. keeper of the cellar), appears highly improbable, partly because the *מְלִצָר* is appointed by the chief of the eunuchs to have charge of Daniel, and supplies food as well as wine, partly because the Persian *s* in *sara* “head” could scarcely be represented by *צ*. Schrader and Friedr. Delitzsch think that the word may possibly be the Assyrian *maššaru* “guardian,” from the root *נצר*. In v. 12¹ *וְרָשִׁים* obviously has the same meaning as *וְרַעְנִים* in v. 16; the latter form occurs in the Talmud, whereas *וְרָשִׁים* is found here only, unless we regard it as merely a phonetic variation of *וְרַעְנִים* (Lev. xi. 37. Is. lxi. 11). It is of course possible that *וְרָשִׁים* may be a scribe’s mistake for *וְרַעְנִים*, but since in Daniel different grammatical forms are so often used in the same context without distinction of meaning, we have no right to assume a corruption². Perhaps we may compare with *וְרָשִׁים* and *וְרַעְנִים* the forms *קְמוֹשׁ* Is. xxxiv. 13 and *קְמוֹשִׁנִים* Prov. xxiv. 31 —also a kind of plant. *מְרִאֲנִי* in v. 13 (see also v. 15) must be a Singular. The verb *תְּרִאָה* has the Aramaic vocalization, cf. *תַּעֲשֶׂה* Gen. xxvi. 29. Josh. vii. 9. II Sam. xiii. 12. In v. 15 *בְּרִיאֵי בְּשָׂר* is a *constructio ad sensum*, referring to the suffix in *מְרִאֲנִים* (so Hävernick); for the phrase cf. *בְּרִיאַת בְּשָׂר* Gen. xli. 2, 18. On the construction in v. 16 *וַיְהִי נִשְׂא* “so he was wont to take away,” see Driver, *Tenses*, p. 199.

having been repeated, and a *ו* inserted afterwards. The Arabic حوب or حوب “sin” (Koran iv. 2) is doubtless a loan-word from the Jewish Aramaic, the genuine Arabic equivalent of the Aramaic root being حَاب “to fail.”

¹ I cannot forego the pleasure of quoting Jerome’s remark on this verse. *Incredibilis fidei magnitudo non solum sibi corpulentiam polliceri esu vilioris cibi sed et tempus statuere!*

² Cf. for example ותתפעם ii. 1 and ותפעם ii. 3, תעמרנה and יעמרנה viii. 22, רשענו ix. 5 and רשענו ix. 15, חלקלקות xi. 15 and זרעים xi. 31, חלקלקות xi. 21, 34 and חלקות xi. 32.

17—20. בְּכָל־סֵפֶר “in all kinds of books,” בְּכָל־חִזּוֹן “in all kinds of visions,” cf. בְּלִיעֵין Gen. ii. 9. The mention of visions and dreams has special reference to the following chapter and to the latter half of the book. In v. 18 לְמִקְצַת has precisely the same meaning as מִקְצַת (see v. 5). “So they stood before the king” (v. 19), i.e. they became his personal attendants. With עֲשָׂרָה יָרוּת (v. 20) compare הַמֶּשֶׁךְ יָרוּת Gen. xliii. 34; for the comparative use of עַל see chap. xi. 5 and Eccles. i. 16. The absence of the conjunction in הַחֲרָטְמִים הָאֲשֵׁפִים is in accordance with chap. v. 15. הַחֲרָטְמִים (see p. 31) is probably an Egyptian word, but its etymology is uncertain. It occurs only in the Pentateuch, where it always stands in the plural, and in the book of Daniel¹. אֲשֵׁפִים (with the Aramaic forms אֲשָׁפִין, אֲשָׁפִיא, אֲשָׁפִי) is found nowhere in the Old Testament but in Daniel; the word was originally derived from the Assyrian. It may here be remarked that in Daniel the various words used for diviners, magicians, etc., are nowhere distinguished from one another. When such persons appear, as in chaps. ii. 2; iv. 4; v. 7, they appear all together, so that we cannot say whether the author meant each term to stand for a separate class or whether he employed these terms indiscriminately. In ancient Babylon, as among the heathen Semites generally, there were many distinct kinds of divination and of magic. But the later Jews, like the Christians, regarding all such practices as sinful, seldom distinguished them accurately. The attempt of Lenormant to discover in Daniel allusions to the existence of *five* principal kinds of divination and magic, must be pronounced, by an impartial reader, altogether fanciful.

21. This short verse has given rise to much controversy. If וַיְהִי means “he remained alive” (Bertholdt, Nöldeke), this involves a contradiction to chap. x. 1. In order to avoid the difficulty, Hengstenberg explains, “he lived to see the first year of Cyrus,” i.e. he did not die till after the Return of the Exiles. But if the author of the book attached such importance to the Restoration in the first year of Cyrus, it must appear somewhat

¹ Whether Cornill be right in reading חֲרָטְמִים for כְּלִסְתוֹם in Ezek. xxviii. 3 cannot here be discussed.

strange that he never alludes to the event, except indirectly in ix. 25. Kirmss and Hitzig substitute 'ח' for 'ח'. Ewald thinks that some words have fallen out, and reads "So Daniel was *at the king's court* until the first year of king Cyrus."

CHAPTER II.

This piece is partly a narrative, partly an apocalypse. The narrative, as has often been observed, bears considerable resemblance to Gen. xli., and in a few places the verbal agreement is so close as to make it quite certain that the author of Daniel had in his mind the story of Joseph. In both stories, a heathen king has a dream which terrifies him; he sends for the magicians, but they are helpless, and at length the true interpretation is given by a foreign captive, who is at once raised to high honours. In matters of detail there are, of course, great differences, but this is merely what might have been expected¹.

The meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream is of great importance for the right understanding of the book. That the four Gentile Empires represented by the image are identical with the Four Empires in chap. vii., is acknowledged by almost all interpreters both ancient and modern. But as to which Empires are meant there has been much disagreement.

In ancient times, *two* interpretations were current. The one is represented by Ephraim Syrus, who doubtless derived it, as he derived so much else, from Jewish tradition. According to this view, the Four Empires are (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Greek or Macedonian. But the immense majority of the later Jews and of the Christian

¹ Compare the story related in Ibn Hishām's *Life of Mohammed*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 9 ff., about Rabī'a ibn Naṣr, king of Yemen. It is obviously un-

historical, and appears to have been borrowed in part from Daniel while in other respects it diverges.

Fathers held the Empires to be (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Medo-Persian, (3) the Greek, (4) the Roman¹.

In the Middle Ages the *second* interpretation was usually accepted both by Christians and Jews. But it was not universal, for by this time a *third* interpretation had arisen, according to which the Fourth Empire is not the Roman, but the Mohammedan. Those who adopted this last theory, contrived to retain the number 4 by amalgamating two of the preceding Empires. Thus in the additional chapter which is found in the Coptic version of Daniel, the Four Empires are said to be (1) the Persian, (2) the Roman, (3) the Greek, (4) the Ishmaelite. Here the Babylonian Empire has been completely swallowed up by the Persian, and the Greek and Roman Empires are transposed. Again, Ben-Ezra tells us in his commentary on Daniel that Rabbi Saadia the Gāōn explained the "iron" as the Roman Empire and the "clay" mingled with the iron as the Ishmaelite. But this, Ben Ezra argues, is impossible, for how can the Roman and Ishmaelite Empires be treated as parts of the same Empire? Accordingly he concludes that the Third Empire comprises both the Greek and the Roman, and that the Fourth Empire is the Ishmaelite.

In modern times, the controversy as to the Four Empires has generally turned on the question whether the Fourth Empire is the Greek or the Roman. That it is the Greek has been maintained by almost all those who deny the antiquity of Daniel and by some of the most learned supporters of the traditional date, such as Dr Westcott. But most of the "defenders of Daniel" have thought it necessary to believe that the Fourth Empire is the Roman.

In order to explain the Four Empires rightly, we must be guided by the statements contained in the book of Daniel

¹ As a specimen of the ingenious arguments by which the Christian Fathers supported their theory of the Four Empires, it may be mentioned that Jerome regards the "brass" in Dan. ii. as representing the Greek Empire, because brass is the most *resounding* of metals, and thus symbo-

lizes *the eloquence of the Greek language*. The view of Porphyry, according to whom the Third Empire is that of Alexander and the Fourth that of Alexander's successors (see Jerome on Dan. vii. 7), does not seem to rest on any tradition.

itself. That the *First* Empire is the Babylonian appears clearly from chap. ii. 37, 38, where Daniel, addressing Nebuchadnezzar as the representative of the Babylonian monarchy, declares, "Thou art the head of gold". The *Second* Empire is not named either in chap. ii. or chap. vii. But since we are told that at the death of Belshazzar the Empire came into the hands of the Median king Darius (v. 30; vi. 1; ix. 1), there can be no doubt that the Second Empire is the Median. In chap. vi. 29 Darius the Mede is followed by Cyrus the Persian; hence the *Third* Empire is the Persian. The *Fourth* Empire can be no other than that of Alexander and his successors.

This view is fully confirmed by the visions in chaps. viii. and xi. The he-goat of chap. viii. is expressly stated to be the Greek Empire (v. 21), and this evidently corresponds to the Fourth Empire of chaps. ii. and vii.—firstly in that it is a "divided" empire (compare ii. 41 with viii. 22), secondly in that it ends with the rise and overthrow of a certain king symbolized by a "little horn" (compare vii. 8, 24 with viii. 9, 23). That the Greek Empire is to be the *last* of the Gentile Empires appears from chap. viii. 17, where the vision is said to refer to "the time of the end". Moreover in the last vision of all (chaps. x—xii), the rise and progress of the Greek Empire are related with many details, but nothing whatever is said of any subsequent Gentile Empire. Thus to introduce the Roman Empire into the book of Daniel is to set at nought the plainest rules of exegesis. That most of the later Jews and of the Christian Fathers believed the Fourth Empire to be the Roman, proves nothing as to its real meaning, for the belief was the natural result of their circumstances, and, as we have seen, when the Mohammedan Empire had to be accounted for, there were interpreters who declared the Fourth Empire to be the Mohammedan. In both cases the object in view was to justify the book of Daniel, not to explain it.

The objections which have been urged against the above interpretation are mainly as follows. It is alleged that in

¹ Strangely enough, Hitzig concludes from this verse that the First Empire of Dan. ii. is merely the reign of Nebu-

chadnezzar, and the Second Empire the reign of Belshazzar.

Daniel the Median Empire is not distinguished from the Persian, since the ram in chap. viii. represents "the kings of Media and Persia". But the two Empires are not hereby identified, they are merely classed together, the difference between them being sufficiently indicated by the fact that one of the ram's horns comes up *after* the other (*v.* 3). It is indeed stated that the he-goat (i.e. the Greek Empire) breaks both the horns of the ram (i.e. Media and Persia), but this does not imply that the Median and Persian Empires terminate together, any more than the breaking up of the whole image at once (ch. ii. 35) implies that all the four Gentile Empires terminate together.

Again it is urged that in chap. vi. 9, 13, 16 we read of "the law of the Medes and Persians", not "the law of the Medes". This objection is based upon a misunderstanding of the term "Empire". In Daniel the existence of a nation is something quite different from its Empire or supremacy (מְלָכָה), as may be seen by the fact that in chap. vii. 12, the first three beasts are deprived of their Empire, but are suffered to live. That the Medes and Persians had much in common was well known in antiquity, and it is therefore not surprising that they should be represented in Daniel and in Esther (chap. i. 19) as being governed by the same laws. But this does not by any means prove that the Median supremacy and the Persian supremacy are contemporaneous.

1—3. The events here related are said to have taken place in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. In order to reconcile this statement with chap. i. 5, 18, various arbitrary hypotheses have been invented. Thus Rashi explains the second year of Nebuchadnezzar to mean "the second year after the destruction of the Temple", while many modern writers (Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Zöckler and others) have taken refuge in the assumption that in chap. i. 1 and Jer. xxv. 1 Nebuchadnezzar is reigning conjointly with his father Nabopolassar and that "the second year" is the second year after Nabopolassar's death. Others, as Ewald and Lenormant, emend the text, and read "the twelfth year". For the use of the plural מְלָכָה where a Singular is meant, cf. מְלָכָה רַבִּי chap. iv. 3 and מְלָכָה רַבִּי vii. 1.

The phrases ותפעם רוהו (*v.* 1) and ותפעם רויה (*v.* 3) are evidently suggested by Gen. xli. 8. וישנתו נהיתה עלי is the Hebrew equivalent of וישנתה נדת עלוהי (chap. vi. 19). נהיה has here the secondary sense of being “past” or “over”; with this use of עלי cf. עלי chap. x. 8, also Jer. viii. 18. Hos. xi. 8. Jon. ii. 8. That in *v.* 2 the חרטמים stand first in the list is certainly not accidental, but is due to Gen. xli. 8. The term מְבַשֵּׂף, which was used among the Hebrews from a very early period (cf. Exod. xxii. 17), is commonly supposed to mean a “reciter of charms or incantations”. Prof. Robertson Smith argues, in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, N^o. 27, pp. 125, 126, that the root בִּשַׁף properly means “to cut” and that בְּשָׂפִים are “herbs or other drugs shredded into a magic brew”. Hence מְבַשֵּׂף (or בְּשַׁף Jer. xxvii. 9) would be primarily a preparer of magical drugs.

4—6. On the sudden transition from Hebrew to Aramaic, see p. 26. The word אַרְמִיית “in Aramaic” is probably a gloss intended to warn the reader that what follows is in Aramaic¹. With the phrase “*O king, live for ever*”, compare I Kings i. 31. Neh. ii. 3. In much later times the Sāsānian kings were addressed with the formula *anōshak buwēdh* “be immortal!” (Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 366 note). In עברך (*Kērī* עֲבָרְךָ) from a form ‘*ābādaik*, the *Shēwā*, which replaces *ā*, is vocal (cf. מְלִכִּין *v.* 21 and מְלִכִּיא *v.* 37). The old termination *aik* or *ayikh* has been changed by the Masoretes into *ākh*, as usual². On כשריא (*Kērī* כִּשְׂרִיא) see Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 28. The word אֶזְרָא (*v.* 5, 8), for which Baer reads אֶזְרָא, was understood by most of the older commentators as another form of אֶזְלָא “going”; so Theodotion renders ἀπέστυ. But אֶזְרָא is no doubt the Persian *azdā* “certain”, “sure”, as Nöldeke has shewn (see Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 430). Hence we must render, “*The word (which has gone forth) from me is sure*”. תְּתַעְבְּרוּן lit. “ye shall be made into (separate) limbs”, i.e. “*ye shall be cut limb from*

¹ This is the view of Lenormant, who points out that a precisely similar gloss occurs in Ezra iv. 7, where we should read, “The writing of the letter was in Aramaic, and accompanied by a translation—[ARAMAIC] *Rehum the chancellor*” etc.

² So also אִיתִינָא (pron. *ithainā*), chap. iii. 18, has been changed into אִיתָנָא; but on the other hand we find עֲלִינָא (in some editions עֲלִינָא) Ezra iv. 12, 18; v. 17.

limb"; thus the Pēshittā translates **מְחַמְמָה וְחַמְמָה**. **הָרֵם** is from the Persian; the Zend form is *hañdāma*, mod. Pers. *andām*, "limb". Instead of **תְּתַעְבְּרִין** (Hithpeel) less correct editions have **תְּתַעְבְּרִין** (Hithpaal). **וְיִשְׁמְנוּ** "*and your houses shall be made a dunghill*", cf. Ezra vi. 11, where for **וְיִשְׁמְנוּ** we find **וְנִלְוּ**; both forms are abstracts from the verb **נָלַל** "to defile, disgrace", common in later Jewish Aramaic. As to the custom in question, see II Kings x. 27. **וְיִשְׁמְנוּ** (cf. **וְיִשְׁמְנוּ** Ezra iv. 21. **מִשְׁמָה** Ezra v. 8) is a Hithpeel. "The doubling of the *t*", says Prof. Wright (*Comparative Grammar*, p. 254), "may be an attempt to compensate for the radical which has disappeared by contraction, and so to give the word something of the outward form of the normal **הִתְקַטַּל**; or it may be merely imitated from the Ethtaf'al (Ittaf'al)". In *v.* 6 **תְּתַחֲמִין** (Haphel) is exactly equivalent in sense to the Pael (cf. *v.* 4). **וְכִבְדָּהּ** (cf. **וְכִבְדָּהּ** chap. v. 17) is doubtless a foreign word, probably Persian; whether Haug be right in deriving it from a hypothetical form *nibajvā* "gift" is uncertain (see Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1853, p. 160¹). The particle **לְהֵן** is here translated "therefore" by most commentators, as also in *v.* 9 and chap. iv. 24; elsewhere **לְהֵן** means "but", "only", in Biblical Aramaic, and Ewald thinks that here and in the two other passages cited the word has its ordinary sense. He therefore renders "*only declare to me the dream and its interpretation.*"

7—11. **תְּתַיְנִי** "a second time" is properly an abstract noun formed from **תְּתַיְנִי** "second"; substantives and adjectives used as adverbs not unfrequently have the *form* of a construct state, though in reality they stand in the absolute (see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 201). The meaning of *v.* 8 seems to be, "*I know of a surety that ye are gaining time, because ye have seen that certain is the word which I have spoken*", i.e. perceiving that I will take no direct refusal, ye seek to escape by delay. Instead of **מִן־יִצִיב** we also find **יִצִיבָהּ** chap. iii. 24; for this adverbial use of **מִן** cf. **מִן־קִיטַט** *v.* 47. The phrase **וּבִן עֵדָנָה** "to buy the time", does not occur elsewhere; it is variously explained as

¹ The word appears again in the Temple", but in Jer. xl. 5 the Targum, Palestinian Targum, Deut. xxiii. 24, as edited by De Lagarde, has **מִתְנִין** **וּמִנִּיבִין** **בֵּית מִוִּקְרָשָׁה** "gifts for the

meaning "to gain time" (Gesenius, De Wette, Von Lengerke), and "to profit by favourable opportunities" (Hävernick, Hitzig), after the analogy of τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι Eph. v. 16. Col. iv. 5. The former of these interpretations is supported by the Pēshittā which has **וכנא סמ צאלא אנסא** "ye ask for time"; that the Syriac translator read בעין for זבנין, as Graetz supposes, is very improbable. כל-קבל די הויתון is rendered by Hitzig "although ye have seen" (cf. chap. v. 22), but the ordinary meaning "because" is not inappropriate in this verse¹. The form **לְקַבֵּל**, properly meaning "before" (cf. **לְקַבֵּל** chaps. iii. 3; v. 1, 5, 10) seems to be an old diminutive, corresponding to the Arabic *kubaila*²; with suffixes another form is used, **לְקַבְלָךְ** v. 31 (Syr. *lĕkubhlākh*, Arab. *kablaka*). In v. 9 **חַדְרָה הִיא דְּתַכּוֹן** can scarcely mean "*your purpose is one and the same*" (Von Lengerke, Hitzig), but rather "*there is but one sentence (i.e. punishment) for you*" (Ewald)—cf. **וְדָתָא נְפָקָה** in v. 13. דָּת "judicial sentence" and hence "law", is the Old Persian *dāta* (so also in Zend), mod. Pers. *dād* "justice". In Biblical Aramaic דָּת is treated as feminine on account of the final ת. The clause **וּמְלֵא כְּרִבָּה וְנִי** does not stand in any very close logical connection with what precedes, "*and (moreover) lying words and mischief have ye prepared*" etc. For the Haphel הוּמַנְתוֹן the *Kĕrī* substitutes the Hithpaal, "ye have prepared yourselves to utter" etc. With **אֲנִידַע**, for **אֲדַע**, cf. **מִנְדַּעָא** v. 21, **תִּנְדַּע** v. 30, **יִנְדַּעוּ** chap. iv. 14. This insertion of *Nūn* as a substitute for the doubling of a consonant is not rare in Biblical Aramaic and occurs sometimes in the later Targums (e.g. **יִנְדַּע** Eccles. viii. 5. **יִנְדַּעוּ** Ps. ix. 21. **מִנְדַּעָא** Ps. xix. 3)—in Syriac it is almost unknown, but is very common in the Mandaitic dialect³. In v. 10

¹ Cf. **לְקַבֵּל די הו בנה** "because he built", in an Aramaic inscription of the Haurān (De Vogüé, N^o. 3).

² Perhaps Syr. **אֲסַטַּ** "under", which is never used with suffixes, may also be a diminutive form, answering to *tuhaita*.

³ It would of course be a mistake to regard the forms with the inserted *n*

as characteristic of any particular period. The probability is that *both* pronunciations long continued in use side by side. Thus we find that several Arabic words borrowed from the Aramaic are written sometimes with *n*, sometimes with the doubling, e.g. *injār* or *ijjār* "roof" (Syr. *eggārā*), *injāna* or *ijjāna* "basin" (Syr. *aggānā*).

אִתִּי (less correctly אִתִּי), with suffixes אִתִּינָא (*Kēri* אִתִּינָא chap. iii. 18), אִתִּירָךְ (*Kēri* אִתִּירָךְ chap. ii. 26), אִתִּיכֹן (chap. iii. 14, 15), אִתִּוְהִי (chap. ii. 11), corresponds to Hebr. אִתִּי; the original form of the word was probably *yithai* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* p. 293) —in אִתִּי the initial י has lost its consonantal sound, but the original ending has been retained. On the form יִבֵּל see p. 39. “*Seeing that no great and mighty king hath asked*” etc. “Great king” was a title borne by the kings of Assyria (II Kings xviii. 28), and afterwards by the kings of Persia. Whether such forms as מְלִיךָ (cf. אֶבְנָן *v.* 34, צָפֹלָם chap. iii. 5, חֲלָם iv. 2, קָרֹן vii. 8) are to be regarded as Hebraisms, is doubtful, see Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 92¹. With אִתְרֹן “other” (*v.* 11) cf. אִתְרֹן in the Targums (Onk. Num. xxiii. 13, see Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, p. 25 — the pronunciation אִתְרֹן is incorrect), and the Samaritan עורן (= חורן), Lev. xxvii. 20. Num. xxiii. 27; the Christian Palestinian seems to weaken the *ā* of the last syllable to *ē*, חורין or חורין, so also the Syriac ܚܪܝܢ (East-Syriac *’hrēn*, West-Syriac *’hrīn*). The expression “*gods whose dwelling is not with flesh* (i.e. *with mankind*)” scarcely refers to any distinct class of deities, but is simply a confession of impotence on the part of the Chaldeans—no mortal man, only beings of a higher sphere, can perform the king’s request.

12—16. The wise men of Babylon having been condemned to death, Daniel and his friends, who seem not to have been present during the interview with the king, are sought out for slaughter. This shews that the “wise men” form a guild or association of which Daniel and his friends are members, but as to the precise nature of that association nothing is told us. With the phrase הֲתִיב אֶמְתָּא וְאֶמְתָּא “*returned answer with counsel and prudence*,” (*v.* 14) cf. מְשִׁיבֵי טַעַם Prov. xxvi. 17. The word אֶמְתָּא (from an older form *’tāt*, Arab. عطاء) is one of the rare instances, in Aramaic, of a verbal noun in which the first radical is dropt; similar cases are הֲמָא (chap. iii. 13) or הֲמָא (id. *v.* 19) from the root יחם, and שְׁנִיתָה (ch. vi. 19) from ישן. Why the first

¹ In the Christian Palestinian dialect we find מִישַׁךְ (pron. מִישַׁךְ or מִישַׁךְ) “skin”, מִילַךְ “counsel”. Similarly

in the Pēshītā *uraḥ* (from primitive *’rḥ*), Ezra viii. 21. See Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.* xxii. 475.

vowel has been lengthened in עָטַן and not in עָטַן, עָטַן, it is impossible to say. The chief of the executioners is here named אֲרִיָא which Schrader and Friedr. Delitzsch take to be the Babylonian *Irî-Aku* or *Ērî-Aku* (i.e. servant of the Moon-god). The author of Daniel probably borrowed the name from Gen. xiv. 1. "Why is the decree so harsh on the part of the king?" (v. 15). מְהַחֲצָפָה, contracted מְחֻצָפָה (chap. iii. 22), is the Haphel participle of חָצַף, a root which denotes "stiffness", "hardness", or "shamelessness" (i.e. *hardness* of face)¹. In v. 16, זָמַן (for which some editions wrongly have זָקַן), stat. emphat. זָמַן (chap. iii. 7), is derived from the Old Persian *zarvan*, cf. the late Hebr. זָמַן (Neh. ii. 6) and Arab. *zaman* or *zamān*; the Syr. *zēbhan* (stat. emphat. *zabhnā*), which occurs also in Palmyrene, comes nearer to the original Persian form. With אֲתַרְלֵהּ cf. תִּנְתֵּן Ezra vii. 20. This verb, like the corresponding Syriac form *nettel*, appears only in the Imperfect and in the Infinitive מִנְתֵּן (Syr. *mettal*); in the Targums the *n* is assimilated, מִתֵּן Inf. מִתֵּן. The phrase אֲתַרְלֵהּ לְהַחֲוֶיהָ is elliptical, "and (this was) in order that he might tell" etc., cf. also v. 18 and chap. i. 5.

17—23. "The God of heaven" (v. 18), which occurs already in Gen. xxiv. 7, was a favourite expression among the post-exilic Jews (Ezra v. 11; vi. 9, 10; vii. 12, 21, 23. Neh. i. 4, 5; ii. 4, 20). רִז "secret" is a Persian word, in common use down to modern times; in Syriac also it is frequently employed, especially for "mystery" in the ecclesiastical sense. In v. 19 גָּלִי is not the passive participle, which would be גָּלָה or גִּלָּא, but an instance of the old Perfect Passive, corresponding to Arab. *juliya*; in v. 30 this same word is written גָּלִי, cf. גָּרִי Ezra iv. 18, 23 and the plural form רָמִי Dan. iii. 21; vii. 9 (see Wright, *Comp. Gramm.* p. 225). וְנִהְיָא עִמָּה שָׂרָא "and the light dwelleth with Him" (v. 22); for נִהְיָא (Syr. *nahhivā* "light") the *Kērē* substitutes נִהְיָא, which is the common form in later Jewish Aramaic—in chap. v. 11, 14, we find נִהְיָא with the abstract ending. שָׂרָא is not a Perfect, but a Participle, passive in form

¹ Hence, in the Targums and Talmud, the Adj. חֲצִיף "shameless". On the other hand the Arab. *ḥaṣīf* is used in a good sense viz. "firm", "solid

in judgment", "prudent". The idea that this root expresses "haste" is due to the loose renderings of some ancient Versions in Dan. iii. 22.

though not in meaning; this use of the passive participle is frequent in Syriac, e.g. *kēne* "having obtained", "possessed of", as contrasted with *kānē* "obtaining"—similar is Hebr. לְבוּשׁ "having put on", "clothed with", and אָחַז "having grasped", "holding" (Cant. iii. 8)¹. In v. 23 Baer reads אֶבְרַתִּי with Hebraized ending, but אֶבְרַתִּי is better attested. With יְהַבְתָּ, shortened from יְהַבְתָּ, compare עֲבַרְתָּ chap. iv. 32 and הִשְׁפַּלְתָּ v. 22. The longer form is however commoner in Biblical Aramaic, and there can be little doubt that, at the time of the writers, the final *ā* was always pronounced (see הוֹיָתָה chap. ii. 41 *bis*). Instead of the הוֹרְעָתָא of the ordinary editions, Baer has הוֹרְעָתָא, which Kautzsch (*Gramm.* p. 60) regards as a pausal form of הוֹרְעָתָא, cf. לְשִׁיבּוֹתָא chap. iii. 17².

24—28. In הַעֲלֵנִי (so Baer, not הַעֲלֵנִי) the suffix is added to the Imperative in the same manner as in the Targums (e.g. ברִיכֵנִי Onk. Gen. xxvii. 34, 38. הוֹרְעֵנִי Exod. xxxiii. 13), that is, without the intervening *ai* which here appears in Syriac. On הַעֲלֵנִי (v. 25) for הַעֲלֵנִי see what has been said on אֶבְרַתִּי in v. 9. In הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ, "I have found", the tone is thrown back (as in הִתְגַּבַּרְתָּ v. 34, for הִתְגַּבַּרְתָּ) and instead of the usual *ē*, the last syllable takes *ā*, owing to the guttural ה³. יְהוּרֵי, in the place of the old Hebrew יְהוּרָה is probably, as Hitzig observes, a secondary formation from יְהוּרֵי; so, in Arabic, *yahūd* "Jews" is the collective of *yahūdī* "a Jew". קָהַל "able" (v. 26) is evidently synonymous with יָכַל (chaps. iii. 17; iv. 34); both roots may be variations of כוּל, and the formation of כָּהַל would then be according to the analogy of Aram. רֵוִן Hebr. רוּץ, Aram. בהת Hebr. בוּשׁ. גְּוִרֵי (v. 27) "prognosticators", properly "those who de-

¹ See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 194, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 380. The frequency of this usage in Syriac may perhaps be due in part to Persian influence, since in Persian the past participle of all active verbs may be used either in an active or in a passive sense, e.g. *karda* "having done" or "done".

² In those MSS. of the Targums which have the so-called Babylonian vocalization, the suffix of the 1st pers.

Pl. is always *-ānā*, never *-ānā*, both in verbs and nouns (Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* p. 12). It will be remembered that in the Babylonian vocalization no difference is made between *Pathah* and *Sēgōl*.

³ Prof. Kautzsch's explanation of הַשְׁכַּח as being a Peal, not a Haphel (*Gramm.* p. 174), is certainly erroneous. See Nöldeke in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 1019.

termine (what is doubtful)"; נזר is originally "to cut" (see *v.* 34), and in the Semitic languages, as is well known, the ideas of "cutting" and "determining" are closely allied. In *v.* 28 the words "*He hath made known to king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days*" (cf. also *vv.* 29, 45) seem to have been suggested by Gen. xli. 25.

29—35. The king, while lying awake, was meditating as to the future, and the dream was afterwards sent by God for the purpose of enlightening him. With על־דְּבַרְתָּ רִי (*v.* 30) "in order that", cf. Eccles. iii. 18; vii. 14; viii. 2. יהוֹרְעֵן! "they should make known", i.e. "that it (the interpretation) should be made known"; this vague use of the Plural, which is common in Daniel (e.g. iii. 4; iv. 13, 22, 29; v. 20, 29), is likewise a favourite construction in the Mishnah. For אֲלֵי (*v.* 31) "behold!", which occurs again in chaps. iv. 7, 10; vii. 8, we find also אֲרִי chap. vii. 2, 5, 6, 7, 13; both words are probably phonetic variations of the same interjection, but which is the more primitive is uncertain. That אֲרִי is for רֵאוי "see!" appears highly improbable. דֵּן, "that", is formed from דָּן by the addition of the demonstrative *n* (Wright, *Comp. Gramm.* p. 111); cf. the Biblical Aramaic תַּמָּה "there" (Arab. *thamma*) with the later תַּמָּן (Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1884, p. 1020). יֵי "brightness", and hence in the Plural "cheerful appearance" (chap. v. 6, 9) is probably an Assyrio-Babylonian word (see Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg. eines neuen Heb. und Aram. Wörterb.* p. 152, and Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.* XL. p. 732). הִנֵּה "his appearance", which occurs again in chap. iii. 25, is the only certain trace in Aramaic of a root corresponding to Hebr. ראה; the word is found also in the Targums (e.g. אִתְחַתָּא שְׂפִירַת רֵיו "a woman of beautiful appearance", Onk. Deut. xxi. 11)¹. That הִי is not borrowed from the Hebrew is shewn by its form, which is contracted from רֵאוּ (exactly resembling the synonymous חוּוּ in חוּוִּיהַּ Dan. vii. 20); the disappearance of the radical א is after the analogy of קַתָּא for מְאִתָּא, מְאִי for מְאִיָּא. In *v.* 34 the stone is described as striking the image "upon its feet", thus implying that the

¹ From the Aramaic הִי the Persian *rū*, "face", for which there is no Aryan etymology, seems to be derived.

Gentile powers represented by the image are not contemporaneous but follow one upon another—the destruction of the Fourth Empire involves the complete overthrow of the Gentile supremacy. On *מָחַח* (so Baer), instead of *מָחַח* see p. 39. The form *קָקִי* (v. 35) is difficult to explain. Elsewhere in Daniel the verb *דַּקַּק* is used in the Haphel only, and *דָּקִי*, if correctly pointed, must be from a root *דוּק* or *דִּיק* equivalent to *דַּקַּק*. But whether *דָּקִי* be meant as transitive, like *יְהוֹדְעֵן* in v. 30, or as intransitive “they fell to pieces”, we cannot say. *פְּתוּדָה* “all together” is used also in the Targums (e.g. *יַחְבְּרוּן כְּחֹדָה* Ps. ii. 2), cf. the Hebr. *פְּתוּדָה* Ezra ii. 64, and Syr. *ܩܘܕܐܢܐ* (for *ܩܘܕܐܢܐ*) “at once”. *אֶדְרִי* is from a Sing. *אֶדְרִי* emphat. *אֶדְרִי*, which is common in later Jewish Aramaic, and appears in Syriac as *eddērā*. In form this word resembles *emmērā* (cf. *אֶמְרִין* Ezra vi. 9) and *šepṣērā* (cf. *אֶפְרִין* Dan. iv. 30), but whether it is originally Aramaic may be doubted¹. In *מְלֻאָתָא* we have a relic of the old form, *מְלֻאָתָא*, in which the *א* was a consonant.

36—45. For the general meaning of v. 36, 37, compare Jer. xxvii. 5, 6. Instead of the older *דְּרִי* (pron. *דְּרִי*) the *Kērī* has *דְּרִי*, which is the ordinary form in Syriac, cf. also *קֶרִי* (*Kērī*) chap. iii. 3, *זֶרְעִין* (*K. זֶרְעִין*) v. 19, and *דְּרִי* (*K. דְּרִי*) Ezra vii. 25; but in the stat. emphat. of the Plural the *א* is allowed to stand (*קֶרִי* Dan. vii. 16). In v. 39 *אֶדְרִי*, stat. absol. fem. of *אֶדְרִי*, corresponds to the *אֶדְרִי* of the Targums (Onk. Gen. xxvi. 21, 22), to the Samaritan *חורי* (Num. xiv. 24), and to the Christian Palestinian *חורי* (stat. emphat. *חוריתא*). *אֶרְעָא* “lower than thou”—for the stat. emphat. *אֶרְעָא* the *Kērī* has the absol. *אֶרְעָא* (cf. the Targum, I Esth. i. 2, *אֶרְעָא מִיְנִיה*); both forms are substantival (“the ground”, i.e. lowness), though they are used in the place of an adjective, and so the Hebrew *מְרוֹם* “height” is used for “high” (Ps. x. 5; xcii. 9). That the Median Empire should be described as “lower”, i.e. less power-

¹ In Arabic we find the forms *andar*, from Aram. *אֶדְרִי* or *אֶנְדִּיר* with dissimilation, and *baidar*, from *בִּי דְרִי* (= *בִּית אֶדְרִי*); see the note by Fleischer in Levy's *Wörterb. über die Targumim*, i. 417, b. Prof. De Lagarde

(*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 10) suggests that *אֶדְרִי* is an Iranian word, which is of course quite possible, though the Arabic forms prove nothing in favour of the hypothesis.

ful, than the Babylonian, is natural, for of the Median Empire next to nothing was known in the time of the author, whereas the greatness of Babylon was well remembered. Of the Persian Empire we are told that it bears rule "over all the earth". Cf. Ezra i. 2, and the book of Esther *passim*. As in chap. vii., the author dismisses the first three Empires very briefly and hastens on to describe the Fourth, the only one which had a practical interest for himself and his readers. In both chapters great stress is laid upon the conquering power of the Fourth Empire, which is to "crush" all opposition (cf. v. 40 with chap. vii. 23). But here much fewer details are given than in chap. vii.; no mention is made of Antiochus, and the last days of Gentile supremacy are depicted only in general terms—the Gentile Empire will be divided, some parts being stronger than others. In v. 40 כִּלְקַבְּלֵי דִי is rendered "even as" by Gesenius, Von Lengerke, Ewald, and Hitzig, but it seems more natural to take the phrase in its usual sense—the author gives the reason of the foregoing comparison, "And there shall be a Fourth Empire, strong as iron, forasmuch as iron crusheth and breaketh all" etc. At the beginning of v. 41 and 43, דִּי is used as in chap. iv. 20, 23¹, i.e. "(the fact) that thou sawest (signifies that) it shall be a divided Empire, and (a portion) of the firmness of the iron shall be in it, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with the miry clay". That נִצְבְּתָא is "firmness" (cf. נִצְיָב "sure") seems more probable than that it means "nature", from נָצַב "to plant". With $\text{מִן־קִצְצָת מְלְכוּתָא}$ (v. 42) "part of the Empire", cf. מְקִצְצָת chap. i. 2. At the beginning of v. 43 the *K'ērī* has דִּי , for דִּי , which is in accordance with chap. iv. 23. "They shall be mingling themselves by marriage alliances"—this, the traditional Jewish interpretation, doubtless gives the real meaning²; the reference is to the marriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae (chap. xi. 6, 17); for the expression $\text{דִּרְעֵי אֲנִישָׁא}$ cf. Jer. xxxi.

¹ Compare the Syriac construction—
 $\text{ܐܘܪܟܠܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܪܟܠܐ ܐܘܪܟܠܐ}$
 $\text{ܕܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܪܟܠܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܪܟܠܐ}$
 $\text{ܕܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܪܟܠܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܥܘܪܟܠܐ}$
 "and that I
 am not veiled (is) because the veil of

corruption is taken away from me"
 (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, p. ܡܦܒ
 bottom).

² So Rashi translates, though he makes a wrong application— מִתּוֹחַתְנִים
 יהיו עם שאר האומות.

26. הַיִּכָּרִי “like as”, exactly corresponds to the Palmyrene היכרי (De Vogüé, N^o. 71—היכרי כתבת—“according as I have written”). In *v.* 44 and 45 the Divine Kingdom is portrayed. It is to be set up “in the days of those kings”, that is, when the Greek Empire is in a state of division, and it will last for ever. Of a personal king nothing is said, but the eternal sovereignty of Israel is put prominently forward—“the kingdom shall not be left to another *people*”. Instead of יְיָ, which occurs again in chap. iv. 14, we find also הַיָּמִים *v.* 21; vi. 16. The first part of *v.* 45 should probably be connected with *v.* 44 (so Von Lengerke, Ewald), “*it shall crush and destroy all these kingdoms, but as for it, it shall abide for ever, forasmuch as thou sawest that from the mountain a stone was cut*” etc. In *v.* 45 the word חֲסָפָא certainly does not stand where we should have expected it, but whether Ewald be justified in altering the text according to the LXX., so as to place חֲסָפָא at the head of the list, may be doubted¹. The verse ends with a solemn statement of the truth of the revelation—“*A great God hath made known to the king what shall be hereafter, and certain is the dream and sure its interpretation*”. מְהַיְמָן (Syr. *mēhaiman*), which occurs again in chap. vi. 5, is the passive participle of הַיְמָן (chap. vi. 25), a verb which seems to be borrowed from the Hebr. הִתְמַיֵּן.

46—49. The interpretation ended, Nebuchadnezzar falls down before Daniel and honours him as a god. We need not stop to inquire whether a strict monotheist would suffer himself to be thus worshipped, for the whole description is evidently ideal—Nebuchadnezzar at the feet of Daniel represents the Gentile power humbled before Israel (cf. Is. xlix. 23; lx. 14). The king’s homage, though ostensibly paid to Daniel, is in reality paid to Daniel’s God (*v.* 47). Very similar is the fabulous story in Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8. 5), where Alexander prostrates himself before the Jewish High Priest. In *v.* 46 נִסְפָּקָה, which properly means “to pour” drink-offerings (Hebr. נִסְפָּקָה cf. Ezra vii. 17), seems to be used of oblations generally. In *v.* 47 כִּן־קִישָׁט רִי is elliptical, “(*I know*) of a truth that” etc. קִרְה.

¹ Compare the different arrangement of the metals in chap. v. 4 and 23.

for which some MSS. read קָרָא as in ch. v. 23, has the vocalization of a Participle Peal. The form מֵרֵאִי “my lord” (ch. iv. 16, 21, *Kēthīb*) shews that in the time of the author the ך retained its consonantal sound¹. In v. 48 the words וְרַב סִגְנִין הִשְׁלֵטָה depend upon הִשְׁלֵטָה, i.e. “he made him rule over all the province of Babylon, and (appointed him) chief governor” etc. סִגְנִין (Hebr. סִגְנִין), which never occurs in the Singular in the Old Testament, is from the Babylonian *shaknu* “governor” (*shakānu*, “to place”, “to appoint”, see Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 411). Daniel, it would seem, wishing to remain “at the king’s court”, requests that his three friends be entrusted with the business (עֲבִירָא) of the government (v. 49). This verse is obviously written in view of the following narrative.

CHAPTER III.

(Verses 1—30.)

The general purpose of this Chapter is perfectly clear—from beginning to end it is a polemic against the heathen worship and in particular against idolatry. The Israelite who has to choose between idolatry and death, should unhesitatingly prefer the latter. Even when there appears no hope of deliverance, the God of Israel is able to succour those who persevere in obedience to Him.

I have already pointed out that the idea of punishment by burning was probably suggested to the author by Jer. xxix. 22. Other passages may have contributed something, particularly Is. xliii. 2, for that sharp distinction which we are accustomed to draw between the literal and the metaphorical was not always recognized in antiquity. It has often been asked why in this chapter there is no mention of Daniel. The reason seems

¹ Cf. Arab. *al-mar'u* “the man”; in the Syriac forms, emphat. *māryā* or *mārā*, constr. *mārē*, with suffixes *mārēh*, *mārḥōn* etc., the final ך sometimes

becomes †, sometimes is treated as a mere vowel-sign, and sometimes disappears altogether.

to be that he could not have been introduced without marring the effect. To represent him as being cast with his friends into the furnace would have involved too gross and startling an inconsistency, after the scene at the close of chap. ii. On the other hand, if Daniel had intervened to save his friends, there would have been no opportunity for the display of the divine power, preserving them unhurt amidst the flames of the furnace. On these grounds the non-mention of Daniel is perfectly natural.

1—6. On the form אֱלִיָּמָה see p. 37. אָקִים צֶלֶם “to set up a statue, or idol”, is the usual phrase in the heathen inscriptions of Palmyra and the Ḥaurān. The “plain” or “valley” of Dūrā has not been identified with certainty; according to Schrader there were in Babylonia several localities bearing the name of *Dāru* (*Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 430). Very important is the list of officials, in *vs.* 2 and 3, who are summoned by the king to the dedication of the image. It need hardly be said that in these foreign words the Masoretic vocalization is entitled to very little respect and may safely be ignored. אֲחִשְׁרַפְנִיָּא (cf. Ezra viii. 36. Esth. iii. 12) are “satraps”, from the Old Persian *khshatra-pāwan* lit. “warden of the realm”. On סַנְנִיָּא see chap. ii. 48. פַּחוּתָא (Sing. פָּחָה Ezra v. 14, constr. פַּחַת) “governors”, from the Assyrian *pakhatu* (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 577). The word אֲדַרְגִּיָּא has often been explained as a compound of אֲדַר and נֹר, but it is probably the Persian *endarzgar* “counselor”, a title which was still in use under the Sāsānians (Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 462 note), and the resemblance with נֹרִין (chap. ii. 27) is therefore accidental. נֹרְבַרְיָא is commonly taken to be a variation of נְזַבְרִיָּא “treasurers” (Ezra vii. 21), from the Persian *ganjabara*; but the analogy of *v.* 27 and chap. vi. 8 favours the hypothesis of Graetz and others that נֹרְבַרְיָא is a mere scribal error for אֲדַרְגִּיָּא. אֲדַרְגִּיָּא “judges” is from the Old Persian *dātābara*, in Pahlawī *dātōbar*, and in mod. Persian *dāwar*. The meaning of אֲדַרְגִּיָּא is altogether obscure; that it signifies “counsellors” and is connected with the Arabic *aftā* “to advise” (of which *Muftī* is the participle) appears very improbable, since the root in question has this meaning in Arabic only, nor would the grammatical form of the word, with prefixed ת, admit of

any easy explanation. Still less likely is Graetz's view that תפתיא is a mistake for הפתיא, from Greek ὑπατοι. Possibly the word may be a mutilated form of some Persian title ending in *pat* "chief", cf. Pahlawī *magupat* "chief priest", *spahpat* "general", etc. On the form קאמין (v. 3) see ch. ii. 38. קרוף (v. 4) "herald", common in Syriac also, is probably not borrowed directly from the Greek κῆρυξ, but is formed, after the usual Aramaic fashion, from the verbal root כרו, which however does not appear in the Peal (see chap. v. 29). The Plural עממין (Syr. 'amēmē), from Sing. עמא, is a relic of the old plural form in which the second radical had the vowel *ā* (see Nöldcke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 58). The Singular of עמין occurs in Biblical Aramaic in the stat. absol. only, עמין v. 29; this word is common to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, and of course originally means "the offspring of one mother", thus presupposing the so-called matriarchal condition of society. Of the six musical instruments enumerated in vv. 5, 7, 10 and 15, two, viz. קרנא "the horn" and משרוקיתא "the pipe", have Semitic names, and three are Greek, viz. קיתרס "lute", קתרם (as in the Targums, e.g. Is. v. 12), Gr. κίθαρῖς or κιθάρα—פסנתרין "harp" (for which v. 7 has פסנטרין), Gr. ψαλτήριον—סומפניה "bag-pipe" (omitted in v. 7: in v. 10 קֶלֶחֶב סיפניה, a popular mispronunciation) Gr. συμφωνία, see p. 41. שֶׁבֶקָא, probably a kind of harp, is of doubtful origin; that it is identical with Gr. σαμβύκη cannot be questioned, but whether the Greeks borrowed the word from the Arameans, or the Arameans from the Greeks, or whether both nations borrowed it from some third language, is uncertain. That it is from the root שֶׁבַך "to interlace" appears very improbable. The statement in Athenaeus (Bk iv. p. 175) that the σαμβύκη was invented by the Syrians, does not of course prove the word to be Aramaic. Besides the above-named instruments there are others which the author sums up in the phrase וְכָל־זְגִי וְזָמְרָא "and all manner of music". זְגִי, of which the Singular occurs in Syriac (emphat. zēnā, constr. zan or zen) and perhaps in Hebrew (Ps. cxliv. 13), but not in Biblical Aramaic, seems to be from a Persian word *zan*, the etymological equivalent of Gr. γένος (see De Lagarde, *Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici, graece*, p. xxviii). The Persian origin of this word is admitted

also by Nöldeke (*Syr. Gramm.* p. 83). The Masoretic vocalization of מָן (*v.* 6), which is the best attested reading (cf. also *vv.* 11, 15 and *Ezra* v. 3, 9), is certainly erroneous, for not only do we find *mān* in Syriac¹, but also in the Targums with Babylonian vocalization this word has a short vowel (see p. 39). מָן (for מָן, Syr. *shā'ēthā*, cf. *stat. abs.* מָן chap. iv. 16) means in Biblical Aramaic an indefinite space of time, as *sā'a* often does in Arabic; hence is derived the signification "hour"². מָן "furnace" occurs also in Syriac and Arabic; its derivation is unknown.

7—18. מָן "when" (cf. *chaps.* v. 20; vi. 11, 15) is found likewise in Palmyrene (*De Vogüé*, N^o. 15). In *vv.* 8—10 the denunciation of the Jews by the Chaldeans bears a great resemblance to the denunciation of Daniel by the other officials in *chap.* vi. 13, 14. In both cases the object of the author is the same, viz. to encourage those Jews who, for refusing to abandon their religion, were accused by their enemies of "setting the king at nought" (*iii.* 12; vi. 14). מָן (emphat. מָן *v.* 12) stands for מָן, which is the Syriac form; the change of *a* to *u* is due to the following labial, as in the Christian Palestinian מָן (pron. *shubbēthā*) "Sabbath", Syr. *shabbēthā*. The singular phrase מָן "they ate their pieces", i.e. "they accused them" (cf. *chap.* vi. 25), is common also in Syriac; as to the precise origin of the metaphor some doubt prevails. The different use of the expression מָן in *vv.* 10 and 12 is remarkable. On מָן (*v.* 12) see p. 38. מָן (*v.* 13) is vocalized according to the analogy of such forms as מָן, although the original vowel is not *ā* but *ū*, as appears from מָן in the Targums—see also מָן *chap.* v. 5. Instead of מָן we find also מָן (*v.* 19), cf. what has been said on מָן *chap.* ii. 14. Very peculiar is the form מָן which seems to have a passive sense, "they were brought" (cf. מָן *chap.* vi. 18 and מָן, *Kēri* מָן, *Ezra* vi. 15), whereas מָן (*chap.* v. 3) is "they brought". It has been suggested that these passives are formed after the analogy

¹ The Syriac *mān* is "what?", contracted from *mā den* (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* p. 44).

² The word מָן in post-Biblical

Hebrew seems to be borrowed from the Aramaic, for otherwise it would naturally have *ō* in the first syllable.

of the passive participle מְיִתִּי “brought” (see the latest editions of Gesenius’ *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. מָתָה). If this be thought unsatisfactory, there appears no way out of the difficulty but to suppose that הִיִּתִּי is wrongly pointed, and that for הִיִּתִּי and שִׁצִּיא we should read הִיִּתִּי and שִׁצִּי. The meaning of הִצָּדָה (v. 14) is very obscure. It is commonly rendered, “*Is it of set purpose?*” the ה being the interrogative particle, and צָדָה a noun equivalent to Hebr. צָרָה (Num. xxxv. 20, 22). That הִצָּדָה is connected with the Targumic אֲצָדִי “to mock” (Gesenius’ *Handwörterbuch*, 11th ed. s. v. צָדָה) is very unlikely, since the form would be without analogy. Possibly we should read הִאֲוָדָה “*is it certain?*” (cf. chap. ii. 5, 8); the Pēshītā has *bēkūshūtā* “in truth”, and Theod. εἰ ἀληθῶς. In v. 15 the construction is of course elliptical, the apodosis being omitted in the first part, cf. Exod. xxxii. 32. The verb שָׁזַב (Syr. *shauzebh*) is derived from the Assyrio-Babylonian *shuzub* “to rescue”, the Causative of *izibu* “to go away” (Hebr. שָׁזַב, Arab. ‘*azaba*); the Syriac form seems to come nearer to the original. In v. 16 the Masoretic punctuation makes נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר to be a Vocative, but it is more natural to take it as standing in apposition to מְלָכָא (so Hitzig). “*We have no need to answer thee a word concerning this*”, i.e. concerning the question asked by Nebuchadnezzar at the end of v. 15. With the construction בְּתִנָּה לְהַתְּבִיחֶךָ cf. I Kings xii. 6, 9, 16. בְּתִנָּה is found also in Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes and the Targums; that בְּתִנָּה, not בְּתִנָּה, is the correct form, appears from the Syr. *pethēghāmā* with aspirated *g*. The word is derived from the Old Persian *patigāma* (in mod. Persian *paighām* or *paigham*), properly, “motion towards” something, hence “message”, “word”¹. Verse 17, according to the Masoretic punctuation, can mean only, “*If our God, whom we serve, be able to deliver us, He will deliver (us) from the furnace of burning fire and out of thy hand, O king*”, i.e. if our God be able to deliver at all, we shall be harmed neither by the fire nor by

¹ The Old Persian form is hypothetical—whether the vowel of the paenultima was long does not appear quite certain. In any case the form *prati-gama*, which is sometimes given, is in-

correct, as the Sanscrit *prati* occurs nowhere in Old Persian. *Paitigama* (Delitzsch, *Hoheslied und Koheleth*, p. 340) would be Zend.

any other punishment which thou mayest inflict. Von Lengerke unnecessarily alters the punctuation, so as to make the protasis end with יִקְרָא; he is accordingly obliged to render the ו of וַיִּמְדֵּךְ by “then” (Germ. “so”). Ewald translates הֵן “behold!”—a sense which it never bears in Biblical Aramaic. As to the vocalization of אֲלֵהֶנָּה and לְשִׁיבוּתֵנָּה, see what has been said on הוֹדַעְתֵּנָּה chap. ii. 23. With יָבֵל (where the primitive י is retained) compare נָח chap. iv. 10, זָק vi. 3, דָּלַק vii. 9. Verse 18, “*And if not, be it known*” etc., does not of course imply any real doubt as to the divine power; the idea simply is that the decision of the speakers cannot be altered, come what may. The expression “thy gods” (see also *v.* 12) is evidently introduced for the purpose of assimilating the situation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to that of the faithful Jews who refused to worship the “gods” of Antiochus.

19—25. The plural form אֲשַׁתְּנוּ (pron. אֲשַׁתְּנִי—*Kērī*, Singular) agrees with אֲנִיפֹהִי; compare the construction in II Sam. x. 9. With מִזֶּה from אֵץ (which occurs in the Targums) cf. מִתָּה *v.* 2. In the form with Suffix, מִזֶּנֶה, the restoration of the primitive י accords with Syriac usage, cf. מִזְבֵּינָה chap. iv. 32. For a parallel to the phrase חַד שֶׁבְעָה “sevenfold”, see the Peshittā, Exod. xvi. 5, **עַד אִדְמָה חַד שֶׁבְעָה הַלֶּחֶם** “twice as much as they gather every day”. חֲנֹה “fitting”, “proper”, is common in the later Jewish Aramaic (in the Targums חֲוִי—so also חֲמִי from the synonymous verb חָמַן). The late Hebrew use of רָאִי in this sense is doubtless an imitation of the Aramaic. For the transition of meaning, compare Arab. *ma'rūf* “known”, hence “equitable”. In *v.* 20 לְמִרְמָה depends upon the preceding לְבִקְרָה. As to the passive Perfects כָּפִיתוּ (*v.* 21) and רָמִיו, see what has been said on גָּלִי chap. ii. 19. In *v.* 21 Theod., Aquila, Symm., and the Peshittā¹, render סַרְבְּלֵיהֶן by “their trousers”—with which Von Lengerke, Hitzig, and Ewald agree. De Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 206) and Fraenkel (*Aramäische Lehnwörter*, p. 48) derive the

¹ Theod. *σὺν τοῖς σαραβάροις ἀνθρώπων*—Pesh. **כַּדְבָּרֵיהֶן**; Jerome remarks, “Pro braccis, quas Symma-

chus ἀναξυπλῖδας interpretatus est, Aquila et Theodotio *saraballa* dixerunt, et non, ut corrupte legitur, *sarabara*”.

word from Gr. *σαράβαλλα* (*σαράβαρα*), which is probably Persian (in mod. Persian *shalwār*), like the Syr. *sharbālā* and the Arab. *sirwāl*. Others translate "their tunics", cf. כְּרָבָלָא "tunic" in the Talmud, Arab. *sirbāl*; the origin of this term is unknown—it seems to have no connection with the above-mentioned words for "trousers", in spite of the close phonetic resemblance. כְּרָבָלָא (כְּרָבָלָא with *Dāghesh dirimens*), in the Peshītā ~~כְּרָבָלָא~~, Theod. *τιάραις*, is very obscure. The later Jews and Syrians evidently had no certain tradition as to the meaning of this term, which they explained sometimes as "trousers", sometimes as "tunic". The latter view is adopted by Gesenius, Von Lengerke, and Hitzig, but it can scarcely be said to rest on any real evidence. Bertholdt's identification of כְּרָבָלָא with the Greek *πέτασος* "broad-brimmed hat" is improbable on account of the ש. That כְּרָבָלָא means "their mantles" may be argued from the phrase מְרָבָל בְּמַשָּׁל בּוֹיָן I Chr. xv. 27, but the connection of this word with the root כָּבַל "to fasten" is very doubtful². לְבִישֵׁיהֶן "their garments" is added for the purpose of including all their other articles of apparel. In v. 22 the passive participle אָזָה is for אָזָה. On מְחַצְפָּה see chap. ii. 15. שְׂבִיבָא (cf. שְׂבִיבָא chap. vii. 9 and שְׂבִיב אִשׁוֹ Job xviii. 5) is not necessarily akin to the Syr. *shābh* "to burn", still less to the Arab. *shabba* (since ش corresponds etymologically to Aram. ש, ס), but seems to mean primarily a "streak" or "tongue" (cf. Syr. *shēbhībhā* "cord", Arab. *sabīb* "wisp of hair", and *sabība* "streak of blood"); hence שְׂבִיב requires to be specified by the addition of a word for "fire". In v. 23 תְּלָתִיהֶן (so Baer rightly reads, according to the Masora, not תְּלָתִיהֶן) exactly corresponds to the Syr. *tēlātāihōn*, which appears to have been formed on

¹ From a passage in the מדרש איכה (cited by Levy in his *Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s. v. פְּטִישׁ) it might appear that in Jewish Aramaic פְּטִישׁ meant something worn on the feet, i. e. a kind of "shoe". But from this passage no conclusion can be drawn, as the reading is uncertain.

² The later Jewish Aramaic כְּרָבָלָא "comb of a cock" probably has a dif-

ferent origin. But this word gave rise to the Rabbinical notion that in Daniel כְּרָבָלָא signifies "their head-coverings"; hence the English Authorized Version renders "their hats". It may be remembered that George Fox the Quaker deduced from this passage the celebrated doctrine that men ought not to take off their hats to royalty.

the analogy of *tēraihōn* "they two", though this would still leave unexplained the hardening of the *t*. In *v.* 24 occurs a very strange word, הַדְּבָרוֹתַי, which is peculiar to Daniel and always appears in the Plural (*v.* 27; *iv.* 33; *vi.* 8). In each case the context shews that הַדְּבָרוֹתַי is a term referring to the personal attendants of the king, but the origin of the word is unknown. The notion, formerly held by Gesenius, that it means "leaders", "guides", from the Semitic root דבר, and that the initial ה is the Hebrew article, may be dismissed at once. Several attempts have been made to explain the word from the Persian, but none are satisfactory. All that can be said is that we probably have here some Persian title ending in *bara* (cf. דתבר, נזבר, דתבר), and that the beginning of the word may have been distorted in pronunciation¹. In *v.* 25, as in chap. *iv.* 34, we should certainly expect the Pael מְהַלְבִּין, as some MSS. actually read, instead of the Haphel מְהַלְבִּין (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 58). The term בְּרַ אֱלֹהִים, as applied to an angel or other heavenly being, is in accordance with Gen. *vi.* 2. Job *i.* 6. It is, of course, absurd to argue that this expression implies any particular acquaintance with Babylonian mythology.

26—30. Nebuchadnezzar, on seeing the three Jews unharmed and accompanied by an angelic figure, draws near to the door of the furnace. The exact nature of the furnace here mentioned is not clear, but it would seem that there was an opening above from which the men were thrown (*v.* 20), and at the side a door through which they could come out. In the phrase לְאֵלֵי־שֹׁלֵט נִירָא (*v.* 27) the subst. נִירָא is construed as masc. (cf. נִיר דִּלְק chap. *vii.* 9), whereas it is usually fem., as in Syriac². On the other hand אֲנִיָּהּ seems to agree in gender with נִיר, according to the construction in *v.* 19, since נִירָא is never fem. For the

¹ That הַדְּבָרוֹתַי comes from a Persian word *hamdāwar*, is an unfortunate speculation of Von Bohlen, which has been adopted in the recent editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*. The Persian *dāwar*, "judge", is a modern contraction (see *vv.* 2 and 3 of this chapter), and *hamdāwar*, if it meant anything, would mean, not "one who

judges conjointly" with somebody else, but "one who has the same judge" as somebody else, cf. in Old Persian *hamapitā* "born of the same father", and the numerous modern Persian words with the prefix *ham*.

² Similarly the Arab. *nūr* is fem. in most cases, rarely masc.

plur. גשמיהוּן, the *Kṣrī* unnecessarily substitutes the Singular. Why the "trousers" (assuming this to be the meaning of פַּרְזֵלֵיהוּן) are specially mentioned, is not obvious at first, but probably this article of apparel was made, as in parts of the modern East, of some light and consequently inflammable material. לֹא שִׁנּוּ "had not changed (in colour)", cf. chap. v. 9. The suffix in בְּהוּן presumably refers to גְּבֵרֵי אֱלֹהִים. In v. 29 the decree issued by the king is of a very strange character, inasmuch as he threatens "nations" with a punishment possible only in the case of individuals (cf. chap. ii. 5. Ezra vi. 11); the word בֵּיתָהּ, "his house", shews that the author is here using a current phrase. שֵׁלָה is taken by the Masoretes and by most modern commentators as a scribal error for שָׁלוּ "carelessness" (chap. vi. 5. Ezra iv. 22; vi. 9), hence "any thing amiss". But probably Hitzig is right in reading שֵׁלָה "word" (for שֵׁאֱלָה, cf. chap. iv. 14. I Sam. i. 17). With יִבֹּל (and תִּבֹּל chap. v. 16) compare the יבול of the Targums; in the Christian Palestinian dialect also, verbs פִּי often take *o* in the second syllable of the Imperfect (*Z. D. M. G.* xxii. 500). בְּרִנָּה "thus", cf. Ezra v. 7; much less natural is the rendering of Von Lengerke and Hitzig "like this (God)".

CHAPTER IV.

(III. 31—IV. 34.)

The last three verses of Chapter iii. evidently belong to what follows, and in the modern versions they accordingly are joined to Chapter iv. This piece is a narrative in the form of an epistle—purporting to be addressed by king Nebuchadnezzar to "all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth". But that this epistle is really by the same author who wrote the preceding and the following chapters must be admitted by everybody, or there is an end of all argument based on internal evidence. One peculiarity which cannot fail to

strike the reader, is that in the middle of the narrative (chap. iv. 25—30) the author, forgetting for the moment that he is writing in the name of Nebuchadnezzar, speaks of the king in the third person, but afterwards returns to the first (*vv.* 31—34).

The purpose of this piece is different from that of the preceding. It is not a warning against the Gentile religion, but a demonstration of the real helplessness of the Gentile power in the presence of the True God. To the Jewish subjects of Antiochus Epiphanes the king's power might well seem irresistible; accordingly the author here teaches, for the encouragement of his despairing brethren, that the mightiest of men has no more strength against God than the meanest, that by the divine decree a great king may in a moment be degraded not merely to the level of a beggar but to that of a brute. In order to heighten the effect of this moral lesson, Nebuchadnezzar himself, the subject of the story, is introduced as the narrator.

The question whether the narrative is based upon any historical event or tradition, has often been discussed. The Christian Fathers, who defended its truth against Porphyry, evidently knew of no external testimony that confirmed it, nor have the discoveries of modern Assyriologists thrown the smallest light upon the subject. Hengstenberg and others have appealed with great confidence to a fragment of Berossus, where it is said that Nebuchadnezzar "fell ill and died" (*ἐμπροσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετελλάξατο τὸν βίον*, see Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 20). But to argue from this that Nebuchadnezzar's illness must have been of a very extraordinary nature, is absurd, for Berossus uses almost the same words in speaking of the death of Nebuchadnezzar's father (*ibid.* i. 19).

Very much more worthy of notice is a fragment of the historian Abydenus, which Eusebius has preserved (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 41). The passage is as follows: "This also have I found concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Abydenus *On the Assyrians*. Megasthenes relates that Nebuchadnezzar became mightier than Herakles and made war upon Libya and Iberia; having conquered these countries he transported some of their

inhabitants to the eastern shore of the Sea. Afterwards, as the Chaldean story goes, when he had ascended the roof of his palace, he was inspired by some god or other, and cried aloud, 'O men of Babylon, lo I Nebuchadrezzar announce to you the future calamity, which neither Bel my ancestor nor our queen Beltis can persuade the Fates to avert. There shall come a Persian, a mule, who shall have your own gods as his allies, and he shall make you slaves. Moreover he who shall help to bring this about shall be [the son] of a Median woman, the boast of the Assyrians¹. Would that, before his countrymen perish², some whirlpool or flood might seize him and destroy him utterly! or else would that he might betake himself to some other place, and might be driven through the desert, where is no city nor track of men, where wild beasts seek their food and birds fly hither and thither, would that among rocks and mountain clefts he might wander alone! And as for me, may I, before he imagines this, meet with some happier end!' When he had thus prophesied, he suddenly vanished"³.

Obscure as this passage is in some of its details, one fact may be regarded as certain, viz. that we have here a popular legend of Babylonian origin, coloured, of course, by the Greek medium through which it has passed. The prophecy put into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar evidently refers to the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire by Cyrus, "the mule". The "son of a Median woman" (assuming this to be the original reading) is the last Babylonian king, Nabūnāid, who is represented as having a share in the ruin of his country⁴.

¹ Instead of οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον αἰχμημα Von Gutschmid proposes to read οὗ δὴ συναίτιος νίδος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσυρίων αἰχμημα.

² Instead of δοῦναι Toup proposes δύναι.

³ For a minute discussion of this passage see Prof. Schrader's essay in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* for the year 1881.

⁴ It would appear that the popular Babylonian legend made the last Babylonian king a son of Nebuchadnezzar,

who had a Median wife (Berossus, ap. Jos. *Contra Ap.* i. 19). Hence arose the notion, which we find in Herodotus (Bk i. 188), that the last Babylonian king, Labynetus II. (i.e. Nabūnāid) was a son of Labynetus I. (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar). In Daniel likewise, Nebuchadnezzar's son (Belshazzar) is the last Babylonian king. Thus Daniel agrees with the Babylonian legend and with Herodotus in a point where both are opposed to historical truth. Abydenus who relates the legend was,

The resemblances between the narrative in Daniel and the Babylonian legend in Abydenus can scarcely be accidental. But to suppose that either story has been directly borrowed from the other is impossible. It would appear that of the two stories that in Abydenus is on the whole the more primitive. Its local character is strongly marked, and it shews no signs of having been deliberately altered to serve a didactic purpose. In Daniel, on the other hand, we find a narrative which contains scarcely anything specifically Babylonian, but which is obviously intended to teach a moral lesson. It is therefore probable that some Babylonian legend on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar had, perhaps in a very distorted form, reached the ears of the author of Daniel, who modified the story in order to make it a vehicle of religious instruction. That this may have been the case will hardly be denied by any one who considers that, in the second century before Christ, many thousands of Jews were settled in Babylonia and kept up constant communication with their co-religionists in Palestine.

Chap. iii. 31—33. The Prologue of the Epistle. On the form דארין see chap. ii. 38. Instead of the formula יְשֻׁלְמִכּוֹן יִשְׁגֵּנָא (cf. chap. vi. 26) we find also, at the beginning of epistles, שְׁלָמָא כְּלָא (Ezra v. 7), and in Syriac usually the simple *shēlam*. For the temporal sense of עִם in עִם-דִּר וְדִר (v. 33) cf. עִם לְיֵאָא (chap. vii. 2, the Hebrew עִם שְׁכִיטָה Ps. lxxii. 5, and the Arabic *ma'a d-dahr* "with time", i.e. "as long as time lasts"¹).

Chap. iv. 1—6. The narrative now begins. שְׁלָה "restful", "secure", and hence "prosperous", is an adj. of the same form as נָסָא chap. vii. 9. רַעֲנָא, probably borrowed from the Hebrew, does not occur elsewhere in Aramaic; for the metaphor see Ps. xcii. 15. הַיְכָל is usually supposed to be identical with the Assyrio-Babylonian *ikallu* "palace"; in any case this word, whatever its origin, must have been very widely diffused, since it is found already in Amos viii. 3 and many centuries later was employed both in the Aramaic dialects and in Arabic. For the use of the Imperfect in v. 2, see p. 37. Instead of הַנְּעֻלָּה (v. 3)

like Berossus, perfectly aware that in reality there reigned several kings between Nebuchadnezzar and Nabūnāid,

and that the former was not the father of the latter.

¹ See Eifachri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 117.

we also find *הַעֲלָה* chap. v. 7. In *v.* 4 *עֲלִין* (*Kēri* עֲלִין, which agrees with the Syriac form) is from a Singular *עָלָל* or *עָלָל* (not *עָלָל* as in Syriac), used in the Targums, in Christian Palestinian, and in Palmyrene (see *Z. D. M. G.* xxxvii. 566)—cf. also chap. v. 8. *וְעַד אַחֲרָיו* (*v.* 5) is usually taken to mean “and (so it was) till at last” etc. Gesenius believed *אַחֲרָיו* (*Kēri* אַחֲרָיו, not אַחֲרָיו as most editions read) to be an adj. in the Singular, used adverbially. According to Hitzig it refers to Daniel, “and (so they came) till, as last man, Daniel entered” etc.; Hävernick and Von Lengerke explain it as a plural form. But nowhere else does *אַחֲרָיו* or *אַחֲרָיו* mean “last” or “at last”, and it is therefore probable that we should read *וְעַד אַחֲרָיו* “and yet another entered” etc., as J. D. Michaelis renders. The *Kēthib* אַחֲרָיו represents another pronunciation of אַחֲרָיו, the *ā* being weakened to *ē*, cf. the Christian Palestinian הוֹרִין “another”. In *שָׁם* (cf. Ezra v. 1, in the Targums שָׁם), the primitive *š* has been changed to *u* through the influence of the following labial; see what has been said on *וְבָרִין* chap. iii. 8. As to the name בַּלְטַשְׁצַר cf. chap. i. 7. The phrase *דִּי רִיחֵי אֱלֹהִין קְרִישִׁין בְּהַ* seems to be imitated from Gen. xli. 38 *אִישׁ אֶשֶׁר רִיחֵי אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ*. “The holy gods” was, in all probability, an expression commonly used by the heathens of Syria, since it occurs in Phoenician inscriptions (הַאֲלֹהִים הַקְּרִשִׁים), in the Inscription of Eshmun-‘azar). In *v.* 6 Daniel is described as “chief of the magicians”, referring to chap. ii. 48. *אָגַם* is apparently “reduces to straits”; in Esth. i. 8 (the only other passage in the Old Testament where this verb occurs) it means “to compel”, as it does in the Talmud.

7—15. The imagery in the dream which Nebuchadnezzar now relates is obviously borrowed in great part from Ezek. xxxi. 3—14. “And as for the visions of my head upon my bed, I looked and behold” etc. The king first perceives a great tree, and afterwards, in *v.* 8, sees it become yet greater and stronger; for the sequence of the tenses in *v.* 8, cf. *vv.* 2, 31. *תְּהוֹתָהּ* “the sight thereof”, is, if correctly pointed, from a form similar to Syr. *šēlōthā* “prayer”, *mēhōthā* “blow”, but perhaps we should pronounce *תְּהוֹתָהּ* (cf. chap. viii. 5, and Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 115). Theodotion has *τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ* “its expanse”, which is probably a mere guess. In any case we have no right to assume, with

Hitzig and Ewald, that חוזה means "breadth", and to connect it with the Arab. *ḥauza* or the Hebr. חוה "breast". With עֲפִייה (v. 9) "the foliage thereof", cf. עֲפָאִים (for עֲפָיִים) Ps. civ. 12. On אֲנַדְעָה for אֲנַדְעָה, see what has been said on אֲנַדְעָה chap. ii. 9. מוֹזֵן, like the corresponding Syr. *māzōnā*, has a long vowel in the first syllable. Nöldeke is inclined to regard this *mā* as a very ancient form of the prefix (*Mand. Gramm.* p. 130). In תִּטְלֵל (as contrasted with תִּדְרַק chap. ii. 40, 44) we have one of the very rare instances, in Aramaic, of a geminate verb uncontracted in the Haphel, cf. Hebr. תִּדְרַק, תִּדְרַק, תִּדְרַק. For יִדְרֹן (i.e. יִדְרִין) the *Kēri* substitutes the fem. form יִדְרֹן (cf. v. 18); in the Targums the substantive צִפּוֹר or צִפּוֹר (of which the Sing. does not happen to occur in Biblical Aramaic) is, like the Hebr. צִפּוֹר, usually feminine. In v. 10 the angel who descends from heaven is described as "a watcher and a holy one". Here for the first time in Jewish literature we find this peculiar use of עִיר "watcher"; in the Book of Enoch the term is extremely common, as also in the Syriac Fathers. There is no reason to suppose that in Daniel the word "watcher" refers, as it does in some patristic writings, to a particular class of angels; in Enoch it is used, sometimes at least, for angels generally (see Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, pp. 104, 105). With קְרִיִּשׁ, as applied to an angel, cf. Hebr. קְרִיִּשׁ in Zech. xiv. 5. Ps. lxxxix. 6. Job xv. 15; the last passage clearly shews that when angels are called "holy", this conveys no idea of moral purity or goodness, but expresses the awfulness and mysteriousness of their nature¹. It is therefore quite fanciful to assume, with Von Lengerke and others, that this angel is designated as "holy" in order to distinguish him from the fallen angels; עִיר וְקְרִיִּשׁ is merely a collocation after the fashion of גֵּר וְתוֹשֵׁב Gen. xxiii. 4 etc. On the vocalization of נִחַת, see יְכַל chap. iii. 17. To whom the angel is speaking in vv. 11 and 12 we are not told. Possibly this vagueness is intentional, indicating that the judgment upon the king is to be brought about by wholly inscrutable means. "Nevertheless leave ye the stump

¹ On the phrase "a watcher and a holy one" the Christian Father Polychronius remarks, ἅγιον καλεῖ οἶον ἐξαι-

ρετόν τινα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
κεκτημένον τὴν φύσιν.

of its roots in the earth" (v. 12) evidently means that the punishment does not involve total destruction—a hope of restoration still remains (Job xiv. 7—9). But the following words, "and with a band of iron and brass in the grass of the field", are certainly obscure. It is very far-fetched to refer this to "the chains with which madmen are bound" (Jerome), or to "the bands of iron put round a tree to prevent it from cracking" (Von Lengerke). Hitzig and Ewald take the phrase as metaphorical, though neither makes it quite clear. Perhaps the most natural supposition is that since "iron" and "brass" are familiar types of firmness and unflinching severity (Deut. xxviii. 48. Jer. i. 18. Micah iv. 13), "the band of iron and brass" is a figure of speech for the stern and crushing sentence under which the king is to lie (see v. 14). עֶקֶר is, of course, for עָקַר, the second vowel being primitively long, as in הָיָר "white" (chap. vii. 9); see Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 109. The last clause of v. 12 is rendered by Von Lengerke "and with the beasts let him share the herbs of the ground"—according to which interpretation the author here drops the metaphor of a tree and speaks of Nebuchadnezzar in literal terms (cf. v. 30). That such is the case in v. 13 is obvious—"Let his heart be changed from man's"; אֲנוּשָׁא (*Kērī* אֲנִישָׁא) is scarcely a Hebraism, since אֲנוּשׁ occurs in Nabatean (Euting, *Nab. Inschr.* N^o. 9). מִן-אֲנוּשָׁא is equivalent to מִן-לֵבב אֲנוּשָׁא (cf. chap. i. 10), and the use of מִן is like that in I Sam. xv. 23. I Kings xv. 13. Less probable is the view of Von Lengerke, who translates "away from men", i.e. the king's heart is to be changed so that he will be driven from human society (v. 22, 30). Here the "heart" is, as usual, the intelligence. By "seven times" are meant, it would seem, seven years (see chap. vii. 25); so at least the phrase is interpreted by Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 10. 6), by Rashi, by Ben-Ezra, and by most modern commentators. With בְּגִזְרַת שִׁירִין "by the decree of the watchers" (v. 14) compare what has been said on גִּזְרֵיין chap. ii. 27. שְׂאֵלָתָא, properly "the petition", is here a synonym of פִּתְקָמָא "the word", cf. Arab. *hāja*, properly "want", hence sometimes "affair", "business"—see also chap. iii. 29. That in this passage the "watchers" are identical with the "holy ones" is shewn by v. 10. The use of שִׁירִין and קְדִישִׁין instead of שִׁירָיָא and

מְקִדְשֵׁיָא is in imitation of the poetical style (cf. מְקִדְשֵׁים Job v. 1). עֲרֻדְבְּרַת is perhaps a mistake for עֲלֻדְבְּרַת (chap. ii. 30). With שְׁפַל אַנְשִׁים “*the meanest of men*”, compare אָדָם בְּסִיל אָדָם Prov. xv. 20. אַנְשִׁים, אַלְפִים (chap. vii. 10, *Kēthīb*), and מְקָבִים (Ezra iv. 13) are the only examples, in Biblical Aramaic, of the plural in *īm*; Kautzsch regards the two first as scribal errors (*Gramm.* p. 85). In v. 15 the *Kēri* unnecessarily substitutes פְּשָׁרָה for פְּשָׁרָא, cf. also v. 16.

16—24. On hearing the vision Daniel “*was astonished as it were for a moment*”. אֲשַׁתּוּמָם is a hybrid form, based upon the Hebr. הִשְׁתּוּמָם (cf. אֲשַׁתּוּמָם chap. viii. 27), with change of the ה to א after the analogy of the later Jewish Aramaic (see p. 37); here only do we find *Sēgōl* in the prefix. Hitzig renders הַשְּׁעָה הַזֶּה “*about an hour’s time*” (wohl eine Stunde lang). But the ה does not necessarily imply that what follows is a fixed measure (cf. בְּמִעֻט רְנַע Is. xxvi. 20), and הַזֶּה corresponds merely to our indefinite article (cf. אֲהָר chap. viii. 13). In יִבְהַלֵּךְ the suffix is added to the simple form of the Imperfect (i.e. without the usual insertion of *in*, as in יִשְׁיַבְנֶךָ chap. vi. 17), after the fashion of the East-Aramaic dialects. It is possible that we should read יִבְהַלֵּךְ (Jussive, as in the parallel passage, chap. v. 10), since the syntax here admits either of a singular or a plural verb. As to the form מְרֵי (*Kēri*) see what has been said on מְרֵה chap. ii. 47. Before interpreting the dream Daniel repeats it, with some variations. This repetition greatly increases the rhetorical effect of the announcement הוא מלכא “*it is thou, O king*” (v. 19). Instead of the *Kēthīb* רבית רבית (i.e. רְבִיתָ “*thou hast grown*”) the Masoretes, for no apparent reason, read רְבַת, which would be 3rd pers. fem. The form רְבִיתְךָ (with *Shēwā* in the first syllable, cf. also רְבִי v. 33 and רְבִיתָ v. 18; vii. 24¹) is very peculiar, for the analogy of Syriac would lead us to expect רְבִיתְךָ “*thy greatness*”, the abstract noun from רָבָא, רָב “*great*”. Perhaps the following verb רְבַת may have suggested to the Masoretes that the clause meant “*thy growth has grown*”, which would lead to the pronunciation רְבִיתְךָ, and this passage may have influenced the others. For the construction of v. 20 see chap.

¹ So also in the Targums with Babylonian vocalization, see Merx, *Chrestom. Targ. Glossary*.

ii. 41, 43. In *v.* 21 that which before has been termed “the decree of the watchers” (*v.* 14) is called “the decree of the Most High”. The *Kēthīb* מטיה (*Kēri* מטת), instead of which most editions have מטת, is either a mere blunder, as Kautzsch supposes (*Gramm.* p. 79), or else may have arisen out of another reading מטיה (participle). Verse 23, “And that they commanded (i.e. it was commanded) to leave the stump of the roots of the tree (signifieth that) thy kingdom (shall be) secure to thee from the time when thou shalt recognize that the heavens rule”. Very remarkable is the use of שָׁמַיָּם, “the heavens”, for “God”. This is without analogy in the Old Testament, but exactly agrees with the use of שָׁמַיָּם in the Mishnah (cf. ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in the New Testament). On the meaning of לְהָלַךְ (*v.* 24) see chap. ii. 6. כְּרִי (Kēri כְּרִי with א for the consonantal י, as in כְּרִי for כְּרִי) is probably for כְּרִי, i.e. a Plural of כְּרִי, Syr. *hētāhā* (so Hitzig). Kautzsch regards the word as a Singular (*Gramm.* p. 104). That כְּרִי (stat. absol. fem., without the change of כ into ר which this root exhibits in Syriac) is not a Hebraism but genuine Aramaic, appears from the occurrence of כְּרִי “the due” in the Inscription of Taimā¹. This proves also that long before the book of Daniel was written the word had acquired the special sense of a “payment for religious purposes”, so that Theodotion is possibly right in rendering כְּרִי ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις “by alms-giving”; כְּרִי often has this meaning in the Talmud, and quite similar is the Syr. *zedhkēthā*. Von Lengerke, Ewald and others, prefer to translate “by righteousness”. כְּרִי (Theod. λύτρωσαι, Vulg. redime) is rendered “redeem” by Hitzig and Ewald. But though כְּרִי, both in Hebrew (Ps. cxxxvi. 24) and Syriac, may mean to “redeem” persons, it never signifies to “expiate” offences, for כְּרִי, which the Pēshītā here employs, proves nothing as to native Syriac usage. More probably we should translate, with Von Lengerke, “break off,” “cast away”; the metaphor is taken from the breaking of a yoke (cf. כְּרִי עַל מַעַל צִנְאֵרָה Gen. xxvii. 40, as also in the Mishnah כל הפורק ממנו עול תורה “every man who casts off the yoke of the Law”, *Ābōth* III. 9). כְּרִי (in the less

¹ See Nöldeke's article, “Altaramäische Inschriften aus Teimā,” in the *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1884.

correct editions עֲוֹתָךְ presupposes a singular אֶתְּךָ stat. absol. אָוֶיךָ (see the Targum, Ps. li. 4, 7); to derive it from a Singular אֶתְּךָ (Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 102) is contrary to analogy, since the Plural would then be אֶתְּוֹךָ. With בְּמִתְּוֹן עֲנִיִּים cf. מְחֻוֹנֵי עֲנִיִּים (כִּי עֲנִיִּים) Prov. xiv. 21. עֲנִיִּין (not עֲנִיִּין, as most editions have) is for עֲנִיִּין, from עֲנִי which may have been formed, after a false analogy, in imitation of Hebr. עֲנִי. “*If haply there may be a lengthening of thy prosperity*”—for הֵן in this sense cf. Ezra v. 17; Von Lengerke points out the similarity of this clause to Acts viii. 22, “repent.....if haply (εἰ ἄρα) the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee”. Hitzig renders, “*If thy prosperity is to be lasting*”, taking הֵן as simply conditional. אֶרְכָּה (pointed as if from a primitive form *arakat*) has the same meaning here as in chap. vii. 12 (cf. Ezek. xii. 22), and עֲשֵׂלֹתְךָ seems to be an abstract noun corresponding to the adj. עֲשֵׂלָה in v. 1. The Peshittā renders this clause “until He removes *thy sins* far from thee”, pronouncing עֲשֵׂלֹתְךָ or עֲשֵׂלֹתְךָ, instead of עֲשֵׂלֹתְךָ. So also Ewald interprets, and, substituting אֶרְכָּה “healing” (Is. lvii. 8) for אֶרְכָּה, he translates “*If haply thy folly may be healed*”.

25—34. In כָּלֵךְ, “*all this*”, the emphatic termination has the force of a demonstrative. עַל הַיֵּבֶל מִלְּכוּתָא דִּי בָבֶל (v. 26) “*on (the roof of) the royal palace at Babylon*”, cf. II Sam. xi. 2. In v. 27 בְּנִיחָהּ is far better attested than בְּנִיחָהּ, but is altogether anomalous. In the Old Testament “to build a city” often means nothing more than to fortify it or erect buildings within it (II Chron. xi. 5, 6). לְבֵית מְלָכֵי “*for a royal residence*”, cf. בֵּית מְמַלְכָּה Amos vii. 13. Instead of בְּתַקָּהּ we should rather expect בְּתַקָּהּ (as some editions read, though on insufficient authority), or else בְּתַקָּהּ, after the analogy of רִנְיָו. Perhaps the vocalization בְּתַקָּהּ may have arisen from an attempt to assimilate this word to the following לִיקָר. In v. 30 the effect of the sentence upon Nebuchadnezzar is described—since “the heart of a brute” (v. 13) has been given him, he becomes gradually changed in outward appearance. The last part of the verse is of course elliptical—כְּפִשְׁרֵי־ “*like (the feathers of) eagles*”, כְּצִבְרֵי־ “*like (the claws of) birds*”, cf. מְדַאנֵּשָׁא in v. 13. The comparing of hair to plumage is not unnatural, as Meinhold supposes, nor is there any reason to doubt the accuracy of the text;

the special mention of "eagles" is due to the length of their feathers (Ezek. xvii. 3). The Aramaic טפר (Syr. *tephra*), like its Arabic equivalent ظفر^ص, applies equally to the nails of human beings, the claws of birds, and the hoofs of quadrupeds (cf. chap. vii. 19). In v. 31 "the days" are the seven years before mentioned (v. 13, 22, 29). That Nebuchadnezzar recovers his reason on looking heavenwards offers a curious parallel with Euripides, *Bacchae* 1265 ff., where the same thing happens to the frenzied Agauē. The resemblance is the more remarkable because the Bacchants, like Nebuchadnezzar, are in some sort assimilated to animals—they not only wear the skins of beasts but also suckle young fawns and wolves (*Bacchae*, 699). Both in Daniel and in Euripides the looking heavenwards indicates a return to humanity. This conception is perhaps based upon some popular superstition. With חַי עֲלְמָא cf. חַי הָעוֹלָם chap. xii. 7. The latter part of v. 31 and the whole of v. 32 form a parenthesis; in v. 33 the author takes up the narrative again by repeating the statement in v. 31 that Nebuchadnezzar recovered his reason, and the effects of the change are then described. It is quite unnecessary to suppose, with Hitzig, that v. 31 and v. 33 refer to separate events. Verse 32 is in part suggested by Is. xl. 17. כְּלָה חֲשִׁיבִין is usually rendered "are counted as nought" (Theod. *ὡς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθησαν*—so also the Peshittā). According to this interpretation לָה (elsewhere written לֵא) is here used as a substantive, "nothingness". But for this there is no analogy either in Aramaic or Hebrew, for from Job vi. 21 no safe conclusion can be drawn. The Talmud, *Yōmā* 20^b, explains that לָה here means חרנא "mote"—which is, of course, a mere fancy. Perhaps we should take לָה חֲשִׁיבִין as a single conception, "persons of no account", cf. in Hebrew לֹא לֶחֶם "that which is not bread", Is. lv. 2, and the Targum, Is. liii. 3, בְּסִרְיָן וְלֹא חֲשִׁיבִין "despised and not respected". חַיִּל שְׁמַיָא "the host of heaven", is a phrase used both of the angels and of the stars, for the latter, as is well known, were often regarded as living beings¹. "There is none who can reprove Him, and say to Him,

¹ Such passages as Is. xl. 26 and Job xxxviii. 7 admit of being taken as mere poetical metaphors, but more than this must be meant in the Book

What hast Thou done?" cf. Job ix. 12. Eccles. viii. 4. The phrase "to strike on the hand", i.e. to reprove, interfere with, is found in the Hebrew of the Mishnah (*Pēsāhūm* iv. 8, מִיָּהוּ בִירָם "they reprov'd them") and elsewhere in later Jewish literature. In v. 33 the words מְלִיקָר מִלְכוּתֵי הָרְרִי וְזִינֵי יְתוּב עָלֵי are omitted in the Pēshittā—but this is a mere blunder, due to the homoioteleuton יְתוּב עָלֵי. Von Lengerke renders, "And moreover to the renown of my kingdom, of my majesty, and of my splendour, it (i.e. מְנַרְעֵי "my reason") returned to me". Hitzig and others take ל as introducing the subject of the clause, "and also the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and my splendour returned to me"—but the passages cited by Hitzig in support of this are not conclusive. Rosenmüller takes הָרְרִי וְזִינֵי alone as the subject, "And to the glory of my kingdom my majesty and my splendour returned to me", and explains מְלִיקָר as meaning "ut gubernatio mea et regni administratio debito gauderet aestimio civibusque proficua esset". Instead of יְבִעוֹן (so Baer, in most editions יְבִעוֹן) we should expect יְבִעוֹן, since the Pael of this verb is not employed elsewhere. For הִתְקַנַּת "I was established" most MSS. have הִתְקַנַּת which, if intended for the 1st pers., is quite anomalous. On the use of the Hophal in Biblical Aramaic, see p. 37, and compare, besides הוֹסַפַּת in this verse, chaps. v. 13, 15, 20; vi. 24; vii. 4, 11. The verb תִּקַּן "to be straight" occurs in Biblical Hebrew in the Kāl and Piel only (Eccles. i. 15; vii. 13; xii. 9), but in the Targums, as in Syriac, the Aphel אִתְקַן is found¹. In v. 34, מְרוּמָם is, of course, borrowed from the Hebrew; the verb רוּמַם "to exalt" occurs again in the Targums and in Christian Palestinian, which shews that it had really passed into common use. On מְהִלְכִין see chap. iii. 25. In this last verse the author sums up the teaching which the chapter is intended to convey.

of Enoch (xviii. 14—16), where we read of a prison "for the stars of heaven and the host of heaven". These stars, we are told, are fallen angels. See also Rev. ix. 1.

¹ The root תִּקַּן probably has no con-

nection with the Arabic *yaḥīna* "to be sure", since this latter is derived, through the Aramaic, from Gr. *εἰκῶν*; see Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, p. 273.

CHAPTER V.

(V. 1—VI. 1.)

The Fifth Chapter of Daniel relates events which are said to have taken place at the end of the reign of the Chaldean king Belshazzar (*v.* 30), son of Nebuchadnezzar (*vv.* 2, 11, 13, 18, 22). The question whether king Belshazzar ever existed, has already been discussed (p. 18). We have seen that Nabū-nāid, the last Babylonian king, really had a son named Bilshar-uşur. As to the end of this prince nothing is known, for Prof. Schrader's suggestion that he may have been slain in battle at the time of the fall of Babylon (*Cuneif. Inscr.* p. 435), seems to be a mere hypothesis. That the name Belshazzar is of Babylonian origin cannot be doubted, but what legends connected with the name may have reached the author of Daniel, it is impossible to say.

The general teaching of this chapter has considerable affinity with that of the preceding one. In both we see the representative of the heathen power exalting himself in utter forgetfulness of the True God, and smitten forthwith by a sudden and mysterious judgment. But in this chapter the author makes far more obvious allusions to the circumstances of his own time than in chap. iv. The offence of Nebuchadnezzar is simply pride, whereas Belshazzar commits the more heinous crime of profaning the vessels taken from the Temple at Jerusalem and of bestowing upon idols the worship due to the True God only (*v.* 23). So far Belshazzar answers exactly to Antiochus Epiphanes. But here, as elsewhere, the author of Daniel introduces into the narrative elements which are purely ideal. Thus the honour which Belshazzar pays to Daniel cannot have been suggested by anything in the conduct of Antiochus, but serves to shew how the Gentile power must in the end be brought to reverence the representatives of the God of Israel.

1—5. בלשאצר, less correctly בלאשאצר (*v.* 30; vii. 1; viii. 1),

is, as we have seen, a corruption of *Bīl-shar-uṣur*, i.e. “Bel, preserve thou the king!” With עָבַר לָחֵם “he made a feast” cf. the corresponding Hebrew phrase עָשִׂים לָחֵם Eccles. x. 19. The words “and in the presence of the thousand he was drinking wine” are added for a special reason, since in the ancient East kings usually feasted in an apartment by themselves or with a few persons only (Athenaeus, Bk iv. p. 145). בָּטְעִים חֲקָרָא (v. 2) “as they tasted the wine”, i.e. in the midst of the revel; here only in Biblical Aramaic is בָּטְעִים used in its literal sense—the Hebr. טָעַם also may be either literal (Num. xi. 8) or metaphorical (Prov. xi. 22). The mention of the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar brought from the Temple at Jerusalem evidently refers back to chap. i. 2, מְאֵנָא being exactly equivalent in meaning to the Hebr. בָּלִים. מְאֵן (which happens not to occur in the Singular in Bibl. Aram.) can, of course, have no connection with מָן “what?” (as is suggested in the 11th ed. of Gesenius’ *Handwörterbuch*, s.v. מְאֵן), but is a noun with prefixed מ, akin to the Hebr. אֲנִיָּה “ship” and the Arabic *inā* “vessel” (see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 129). וַיִּשְׁתְּוּן “that they might drink”, cf. וַיֵּאָדָע “that I may know”, chap. ii. 9. The women who attend the feast are distinguished as the “wives” and the “concubines” of the king. The term שְׂגִילָא was applied by the Jews, and perhaps by the Arameans also, to the wife of the Persian king (Neh. ii. 6). Whether the title was restricted to one wife we cannot say—among the old Hebrews a royal court might include many מְלָכוֹת (Cant. vi. 8, 9), so that there is nothing surprising in the use of the plural שְׂגִילָתָא. The word לְחַנְתָּא “concubine”, which the Targums employ both in the Sing. and the Pl., is peculiar to West-Aramaic, the corresponding Syriac term being *dērūkhṭā*. The primary meaning of לְחַנְתָּא is unknown; Fleischer supposes it to have been originally a term of abuse, akin to Arab. *lakhnā'u*. With נִפְקִי (נִפְקִיָּה *Kērī*), in v. 5, compare אֶתְעַקְרוּ chap. vii. 8 and נִפְלוּ id. 20. In all these cases the *Kēthīb* is probably the original reading, and the *Kērī* a correction for the purpose of making the verb agree with the feminine subject (see Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 46). The use of נִפְקִי etc. for both genders alike is not necessarily a Hebraism but may be due merely to grammatical laxity, for the same phenomenon appears

in Nabatean (Euting, *Nab. Inschr.* N^{os.} 3, 8) and modern Arabic¹. נְבִיר־שֵׁמָא “lamp”, in Syriac *nabhreshṭā*, is a foreign word of unknown origin. גִּירָא “chalk” (cf. גִּר Is. xxvii. 9) is not found in Syriac, but is common in later Jewish Aramaic and appears also in Arabic. With קְתֵלָא (Pl. emphat. קְתֵלָא Ezra v. 8) cf. רָנו chap. iii. 13. “*And the king saw the hollow of the hand which wrote*”—we must suppose the hand to have appeared above the place where the king was reclining. פֶּס (stat. emphat. פֶּס v. 24) answers to the Rabbinical Hebrew פֶּס, sometimes in the fem. form פֶּסָה, and to the Syriac *passēthā*, which, like Hebr. פֶּה, may mean both the “palm” of the hand and the “sole” of the foot².

6—12. On יוֹהִי see chap. ii. 31. שְׁנוּהִי is usually explained as meaning “was changed *for him*”, but this use of the suffix is very doubtful. We should probably read either שְׁנוֹן עֲלוּהִי (acc. to v. 9), as Kautzsch proposes (*Gramm.* p. 156), or else simply שְׁנוֹן קִטְרֵי חֲרָצָה “*the joints (lit. fastenings) of his loins*”; for the phrase, cf. Ps. lxix. 24. חֲרָצָא, prop. “the lower part of the back”, is the common form in later Jewish Aramaic; in Syriac we find *ḥaṣṣā*, with assimilation, but in Mandaitic האלצא (pron. *halṣā*), agreeing with Hebr. חֲלָצִים. The Arab. *khasr* sides with Jewish Aramaic in having *r*, but transposes the last two consonants; whether the primitive Semitic form had *r* or *l* is

¹ The old fem. plur. of the Perfect, with the ending *ā*, is common in the Targums; in Christian Palestinian the *ā* seems to have been weakened to *ē* (e.g. אִזְלִי “they went”, זִבְנִי “they bought”, אִשְׁבְּחִי “they found”, in the *Lectiary*, p. 33). This final *ī* is not to be confounded with the final א־ which appears in the corresponding Syriac forms, according to the so-called Western orthography, since in the latter case, the א־ is a mere conventional sign introduced by scribes in order to distinguish the fem. pl. from the masc. sing.

² The Targums use פֶּסְתָא for “palm”, but for “sole” פֶּרְסְתָא,

which is of course identical with Syr. *parsēthā* and Hebr. פֶּרְסָה “hoof”. [In II Kings ix. 35 the Targum, as edited by De Lagarde, has פֶּרְסַת יְרִיא, but the Bomberg editions read פֶּרְסַת יְרִיא. Since the existence of a root פֶּרְסַת is very doubtful, the idea naturally suggests itself that פֶּרְסַת may have been formed from פֶּרְסַת, with assimilation of the ר; but the objection to this hypothesis is that the forms with ר still continued to be used, though with a difference of meaning. The Phoenician פֶּרְסַת “tablet” is probably metaphorical, from the resemblance of the object to the “flat” of the hand.]

therefore uncertain. Instead of מִשְׁתַּרְיִן (Hithpaal) we should expect rather מִשְׁתַּרְיִן (Hithpeel), since in Bibl. Aram., as in Syriac, the Pael שָׁרַי (Ezra v. 2) means “to begin”, not “to loosen”—for from מִשְׁתַּרְיִן (v. 12) no conclusion can be drawn. The Targum however uses מִשְׁרַי (which, if the text be correct, must be a participle Pael) for “looseneth”, in Job xii. 18. אֲרָקְבָתָהּ (so Baer, in accordance with the best MSS.) “his knees”, is a form with prosthetic א, and occurs also in the Targums (Eccles. xii. 3), side by side with the more primitive רַכְבֵּיָהּ, רַכְבֵּיָהּ (cf. Arab. *rukba*). The doubling of the ב in the Biblical form is probably a late change (Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 31). The promise made by Belshazzar in v. 7 seems to be in part suggested by Gen. xli. 42, where Pharaoh arrays Joseph in fine linen and places a chain of gold about his neck. הַעֲלָה stands for *ha*“*ālā* (or, with dissimilation, הַנְּעֲלָה chap. iv. 3), according to the rule in Hebrew that when a guttural has *Ḳāmeṣ*, a *Pathah* immediately preceding becomes *Ségōl* or *Ḳāmeṣ*. אֲרָקְבָתָהּ, “purple”, is here spelt with ו, as in the other Aramaic dialects; from the Aramaic is derived the Arabic *urjuwān* and probably also the Persian *arghawān*. The Assyrian form is given as *argamannu* (Schrader, *Cuneif. Inscr.* p. 155), but whether it was really pronounced with *m*, like the Hebr. אֲרָקְבָתָהּ, or with *w*, is uncertain, since *m* and *w* are not distinguished in the cuneiform character. אֲרָנָהּ and אֲרָנָהּ are commonly supposed to be of Indian origin; to this, however, there are two objections, firstly that the red purple dye was produced, not in India, but on the Mediterranean coasts, secondly that אֲרָנָהּ occurs already in Judges viii. 26. הַמִּינְכָה (הַמִּינְכָה—the forms הַמִּינְכָה, הַמִּינְכָה are erroneous), “necklace”, appears in later Jewish Aramaic as מִינְכָה, in Syriac as *hamnīkhā* or *hemnīkhā*, and in Greek as *μανιάκης*. That the word is originally neither Aramaic nor Greek appears certain. Possibly it may be from the Persian *himyān*, “girdle” (which has passed both into Syriac and Arabic) with the diminutive ending *ak*; this hypothesis would account for the *Kēthīb* הַמִּינְכָה, but the change of meaning involves some difficulty. פֶּלְתִי (in vv. 16, 29, פֶּלְתִי) is ordinarily translated “third” (Theod. *τρίτος*), i.e. “as third ruler”. In this case, however, the grammatical form remains wholly inex-

plicable, for the ordinal is תְּלִיחִי (chap. ii. 39), never תְּלִיחִי. Gesenius regarded תְּלִיחִי as stat. emphat. of a form תְּלִיחִי "third rank", while Kautzsch takes it to be an "abnormal" stat. emphat. of תְּלִיחִי (*Gramm.* p. 121). Such a form as תְּלִיחִי, תְּלִיחִי, "third rank", is not only unknown in Aramaic but is wholly unsupported by the analogy of the other Semitic dialects—not to mention the difficulty of supposing that in *v.* 16 תְּלִיחִי is equivalent to תְּלִיחִי תְּלִיחִי in *v.* 29. Still more improbable is the explanation of Kautzsch, for it involves *two* irregularities, the use of תְּלִיחִי instead of תְּלִיחִי, and the disappearance of the long *ē* in the emphatic state. The LXX., the Pēshittā, and Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 11. 2) translate "a third part", which in the Targums is תְּלִיחִי תְּלִיחִי. This interpretation might perhaps suit *v.* 29, but in *vv.* 7 and 16 it is inadmissible, since the verb תְּלִיחִי never governs a direct object. That תְּלִיחִי and תְּלִיחִי are mere mistakes for תְּלִיחִי is scarcely probable, for why should so well-known a word as the latter have been thus strangely distorted, and that three times over in the same chapter? In view of these difficulties I would suggest, as a possible solution, that תְּלִיחִי may be the Aramaic equivalent of the Arabic *ath-thilth* (with which it almost exactly agrees in form) "every third day", i.e. "every other day" (cf. תְּלִיחִי? אִמּוֹס iv. 4). In this case תְּלִיחִי in *v.* 7 would be a mistake due to a scribe who, not understanding תְּלִיחִי, read the word as תְּלִיחִי "third". The proclamation that the interpreter of the writing on the wall should reign over the kingdom on alternate days with the king himself, may seem extravagant, but it is certainly less extravagant than the decree of Darius in chap. vi. 8—10. On עֲלִילִין, in *v.* 8, see chap. iv. 4. It is somewhat strange that *v.* 8 should describe the wise men as "entering", since in the latter half of *v.* 7 they are already present. Whether their inability to read the inscription was due to its being written in a strange character or, as the medieval Rabbins imagined, to some peculiar arrangement of the letters, we are not told. מְשֻׁבְּבִין (v. 9) is not merely "were perplexed", but "were thrown into confusion" (Hitzig). The queen who appears in *v.* 10 is regarded by almost all modern commentators as the mother of Belshazzar, not as his wife. This view is based partly on the fact that she is distinguished from the

king's wives (*v.* 3), partly on the manner in which she speaks of what had taken place in the days of Nebuchadnezzar (*v.* 11). Many writers have maintained that the queen here mentioned is a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, but there is nothing in the text to favour this assumption, and the phrase "thy father" which she uses in addressing her son (*v.* 11) certainly appears to indicate that she is speaking rather of her husband than of her father. לְקַבֵּל מִלִּי מַלְכָּא is rendered either "because of that which had happened to the king" (Bertholdt, Von Lengerke), according to the use of מַלְכָּא in chap. ii. 23, or else "because of the words of the king" (Hitzig, Ewald), which agrees better with the context. The *Kēthīb* עֲלָה (i.e. עֲלָלָה, *Kēri* עֲלָה, according to the later usage) is analogous to עֲלִילִין in *v.* 8. Instead of the forms יְבַהֲלֶנָּךְ and יִשְׁתַּנּוּ we might have expected יְבַהֲלֶנְךָ and יִשְׁתַּנּוּ¹, but the accuracy of the Masoretic text is here confirmed by the Aramaic inscription of Taimā, in which we find ינכחוהי "may they expel him!" Hence it follows that יבהלוך and ישתנו 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). Verse 12, as it stands in the Masoretic text, is quite contrary to syntax, for to take עֲבָלְתָנִי as a stat. constr., with Rosenmüller and Von Lengerke, is manifestly inadmissible. Accordingly there is little doubt that we should read מְפִשֵׁר for מְפִשֵׁר and מְשַׁרְא for מְשַׁרְא, according to the Vulgate and most recent interpreters (see Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 65, note)—i.e. "Because an excellent spirit and knowledge and understanding, the interpreting of dreams and the explaining of riddles and the loosing of spells (lit. knots), were found in Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar—now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation". אֲחֻנִּי is stat. constr. of the Infinitive of אָחַן (= הָחַן), cf. הַנְּזַחַת Ezra iv. 22. אֲחֻנִּי אֲחִידָה would be the exact equivalent of the Hebr. הַגִּיד הַיְדָה (cf. Judg. xiv. 12—14). אֲחִידָה, Syr. *uḫdēthā* or *uḫadhēthā*, is properly "a thing closed in, concealed", from the verb אָחַד (Hebr. אחד). De Lagarde very plausibly suggests that the

¹ The only other cases of the absence of the final *n* in the 3rd pers. pl. of the

Imperfect are the doubtful forms יִחִיטוּ Ezra iv. 12 and יִאֲכְרוּ Jer. x. 11.

Hebr. הִירָה is borrowed from the Aramaic (*Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, p. 73), in which case the verb הוּר (Judg. xiv. 12) would be merely a denominative. קָטְרִין, “knots”, is usually explained to mean “*difficult questions*”, but it is much more probable that there is here a reference to the well-known superstitions about magic knots which it required special skill to untie¹. The verb הִשְׁתַּבַּחַת agrees in gender and number with שִׁבְלֵהֶנִי (cf. v. 14), the intervening words being an explanatory parenthesis.

13—vi. 1. Daniel, on entering, appears to be personally unknown to Belshazzar, although, according to chap. viii. 27, he had been employed in the king's service. In v. 15 the words וּבִשְׂרָה לְהוֹדֵעַתְנִי are, of course, a continuation of the preceding clause, לְהוֹדֵעַתְנִי being equivalent to יְהוֹדֵעַנִי. On the form תּוּכַל (*Kēri* (תפול), in v. 16, see chaps. ii. 10; iii. 29. The general term בְּשָׂרִין is here substituted for the more special הֶלְמִין in the parallel passage, v. 12. Instead of נְבִינְיָהֻדָה (so Baer), in v. 17, some editions have נְבִינְיָהֻדָה; the formation of the Plural, with an additional י, is anomalous—on נְבִינְיָה see chap. ii. 6. In v. 18, אַנְתָּה is a *Nominativus pendens*, and is taken up by the suffix in אֲבִיךָ (cf. the somewhat less bold construction in chap. ii. 29); the general sense therefore is “Thou, O king, art the son of that Nebuchadnezzar to whom” etc. For מַחָה (v. 19), partic. Haphel of הָיָה, some MSS. and editions wrongly read מָחָה “striking” (Theod. ἔτυπτεν). In v. 20, רָם can hardly be taken as a passive partic., but is rather a Perfect with intransitive vocalization, exactly similar to Syr. *māth* (Hebr. מָת). בְּרָסַי, stat. constr. of בְּרָסַיָּא (see chap. vii. 9), is from an older form *kursai* (cf. Syr. *kursyā*, stat. constr. *kursai*). It is commonly supposed that here the ר is inserted to compensate for the loss of the doubling which appears in Hebr. בָּסַס, Assy. *kussû*; but

¹ Among the Syrians the *ḫātrai ketrē*, “tiers of knots”, were a species of enchanters (see *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Lamy, II. p. 419, and Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, p. 130). It is related that a Jew cast a spell upon Mohammed by tying knots in a cord and

hiding it in a well. The prophet, at the suggestion of the angel Gabriel, sent for the cord and recited over it verses of the Koran; at each verse a knot came undone, whereupon the spell was dissolved (Al-Baiḏāwī on the Koran, cxiii. 4).

possibly the form with ר may be the more primitive, since in Phoenician also we find כרסים “thrones” (where the י is necessarily *consonantal*, as in the Aramaic forms)—the Arab. *kursī*, “chair”, of course proves nothing either way, since it is borrowed from the Aramaic. This word can scarcely be connected with כסה “to cover”, or with כָּסָא “full moon”, but is very probably of non-Semitic origin¹. Instead of וַיִּקְרָה we should perhaps read וַיִּקְרַה (according to the Pēshittā) with Rosenmüller and Hitzig. With הָעָרִי cf. הָעָרִי cf. הָחֶסְיָנִי chap. vii. 22. In v. 21 we find אֲנִשָּׁא קָנִי אֲנִשָּׁא substituted for the simple אֲנִשָּׁא of chap. iv. 22, 29, 30. The *Kēthīb* שׁוֹי can be explained only as another form of שָׁוָא “it was equal”, a verb common in the Targums and in Syriac (cf. Syr. אַוּוּ or אַוּוּ “to rejoice”, אַוּוּ or אַוּוּ “to be intoxicated”), but the *Kērī* שָׁוִי “they placed” is preferable, the omission of the ו being due to the ו following; the Syr. *shēwe* “equal” would of course be שָׁוָה or שָׁוָא in Bibl. Aramaic, not שָׁוִי. Accordingly שָׁוִי עַם-חַיֹּתָא שָׁוִי is “and his heart (i.e. mind) they placed (on a level) with (the heart of) the wild beasts”. The ellipse עַם חַיֹּתָא, for עַם-לִבָּב חַיֹּתָא is exactly similar to that in chap. iv. 13. “The wild asses”, אַרְרָא, are here mentioned as a type of savagery (cf. Job xxxix. 5—8). On אֲרִי (v. 22) see chap. ii. 8, and on the Hebrew form אֲרִי (v. 23) see chap. iv. 34. With אֲרִי “thy ways”, i.e. “thy destinies” cf. Jer. x. 23. In v. 25 the inscription on the wall is read, in vv. 26—28 it is explained, but the divergence between the reading and the explanation has always perplexed commentators². In v. 25 Daniel reads מִנָּה מִנָּה תִּקַּל; in the explanation no account is taken of the repetition of מִנָּה, and פָּרַס is substituted for מִנָּה. If the vocalization be correct, תִּקַּל and פָּרַס cannot signify “weighed” and “divided”, as the interpretation in vv. 27, 28 seems to require; the form מִנָּה

¹ That the Hebr. כָּסָא may be from כָּרִס is the view of Olshausen (*Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, p. 347). The form of כָּסָא would in itself suggest a foreign origin, since this nominal form is found only in adjectives (עָרִי, עָרִי, etc.) and in a few abstract verbal nouns

(e.g. חֲלִין Lev. xiv. 43, יִשְׁלֵם Deut. xxxii. 35). According to Schrader (*Cuneiform Inscr.* p. 383) the word is Akkadian.

² The ancient Versions, with the exception of the Pēshittā, avoid the difficulty by altering the text of v. 25.

likewise has no apparent sense. We may therefore assume that the phrase *מנה מנה תקל ופרסין* was not arbitrarily invented by the author, but was borrowed from some other source, the interpretation in *vv.* 26—28 being an attempt to extract from the words, in spite of grammar, a meaning suitable to the occasion. An examination of the passage was published in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1886 by M. Clermont-Ganneau, who points out that the mysterious inscription consists in reality of *names of weights* (see also Nöldeke in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. I. pp. 414—418). *מְנָה* (stat. absol.) is the exact Aramaic equivalent of the Hebr. *מִנָּה* (Ezek. xlv. 12; Ezra ii. 69 and in the Mishnah), which the Greeks, borrowing from the Phoenicians, made into *μνᾶ*, Lat. *mina*. In Syriac the word seems not to occur in the stat. absol. of the Singular; the stat. emphat. is *manyā*. *תִּקְלָל* is stat. absol. of *תִּקְלָלָא* (Targum Onk., Exod. xxxviii. 26), Hebr. *שֶׁקֶל*. *פְּרָסִין* might be taken as a plural of *פְּרָם* in *v.* 28 (according to the analogy of *לָחֵם* stat. emphat. *לָחֵמָא*), but whether the vocalization is here correct may be doubted. In the Mishnah and other Jewish writings the half-mina is called *פְּרָם* (lit. “division” of the mina), and an Assyrian weight in the British Museum bears the inscription *פרש* (in the Aramaic character), which Nöldeke explains as being probably equivalent to *פרם*, since the Assyrians appear to have interchanged *שׁ* and *ס* in pronunciation. In Daniel therefore we must either regard *פְּרָם* and *פְּרָסִין* as mistakes for *פְּרָם* and *פְּרָסִין*, or else suppose that the forms *פְּרָם* and *פְּרָם* were synonymous. Thus the inscription is—A MINA, A MINA, A SHEKEL, AND HALF-MINAS. Why these words are here introduced, whether they have any special reference to the situation of Belshazzar or to the times of the author of Daniel, remains altogether obscure. Verses 26—28 are plays upon the words of the inscription; in *v.* 28 the play is a double one. “MINA—God hath NUMBERED thy kingdom and finished it. SHEKEL—thou hast been WEIGHED in the balance and hast been found wanting. HALF-MINA—thy kingdom hath been DIVIDED and given to the Medes and PERSIANS”. Instead of the *מִנָּה* (*v.* 27) of the ordinary editions, Norzi and Baer have the doubtful singular form *מִנָּה*. Kautzsch suggests that this form may be due to the pedantry

of the scribes, who reflected that the object weighed must be in one scale of the balance (*Gramm.* p. 85). וְהִכְרִזוּ עָלָיו (v. 29) "and they proclaimed concerning him". הִכְרִזוּ, Syr. *akhrez*, is probably taken from some form of the Greek *κηρύσσειν*, cf. כְּרוֹזָא "herald" chap. iii. 4¹. The story closes with the summary mention of the murder of Belshazzar—by whom he was slain we are not told—and of the accession of Darius the Mede. That chap. vi. 1 properly belongs to what precedes and refers to what took place immediately upon Belshazzar's death, is obvious. As to Darius the Mede, and as to the meaning of the phrase "he received the kingdom", see p. 20 and the introduction to the next chapter. The statement that Darius was about 62 years old when he came to the throne, is probably based upon some chronological calculation of the author, but what data he had before him we have no means of knowing.

CHAPTER VI.

(Verses 2—29.)

This chapter, which closes the first half of the book, is occupied with the history of Daniel during the reign of Darius the Mede, and describes in particular how Daniel, in consequence of his strict adherence to the usages of the Jewish religion, was sentenced to death, but miraculously delivered. The general

¹ Kautzsch supposes (*Gramm.* pp. 58, 119) that from *κηρύσσειν* the Aramaeans coined a verb כְּרִז, whence כְּרוֹזָא would be regularly derived, and that the Haphel הִכְרִיז is merely a denominative from כְּרוֹזָא. But of the existence of a Peal כְּרִז there is no proof—for in the Peshittā Acts xv. 36 the true reading is **וְהִכְרִיזוּ**—and that כְּרוֹזָא may be formed from

הִכְרִיז is shewn by the Syr. *pēyāsū* "persuasion", which is formed as if from a Peal, though the verb is *apīs*, Gr. *πέπεισται*. De Vogüé has argued from the inscription לְכַרְזִי on a seal of uncertain date (though from the writing it would appear to be very ancient) that the Aramaic root כְּרוּ has no connection with Greek (see the *Corpus Inscr. Sem.* Pt. 2, N^o. 86).

aim of the chapter is therefore much the same as that of chapter iii., and in a few places the verbal resemblance between the two narratives must strike every reader (iii. 12; vi. 14—iii. 25; vi. 24—iii. 28; vi. 23). The main difference is that chapter iii. insists upon the negative duty of abstention from idolatry, while chapter vi. dwells upon the positive side of Judaism. This difference naturally affects the form of both stories. Since the author purposes, in chapter vi., to represent an Israelite condemned to death for refusing to abandon the practices of his religion, and since during the Exile the religion of Israel consisted merely in acts of private devotion, it was necessary that Daniel should be placed in a situation which made even the private worship of God a capital offence. The task was not an easy one, and this amply accounts for the startling means which the author here adopts. The story taken in itself is of the strangest character, but on examination it will be seen that the features which most astonish us are essential for the attainment of the didactic purpose. It would therefore be a waste of time to inquire how any ruler not completely insane could issue an edict forbidding his subjects to ask petitions of god or man, himself excepted, for the space of thirty days—why Darius adopts the singular proposal made to him without first consulting Daniel, who is his chief minister—why the enemies of Daniel are at one time represented as coercing the king, and at last are condemned to death *en masse*, together with their wives and children. Nothing can be more unfortunate than the attempts of apologists to make these things appear probable. Thus Hengstenberg and very many others have maintained that the edict of Darius was merely a claim to divine honours such as were paid to the ancient kings of Persia—as if under the kings of Persia it had ever been forbidden, on pain of death, to ask petitions of god or man! But when we consider the account of the edict in question as a literary device whereby the faithfulness of Daniel is conspicuously shewn forth, for the edification of Israelites persecuted on account of their religion, the difficulties are at once removed.

That this narrative is based on a historical tradition cannot be argued with any show of reason, for, as we have seen (p. 19),

Darius the Mede is unknown to history. It has often been supposed that the Darius of Daniel is a confused reminiscence of the historical Darius Hystaspis, but this is scarcely probable. The author of Daniel knew of four Persian kings (chap. xi. 2), of whom the first is Cyrus and the last doubtless Xerxes. The other two are presumably Darius and Artaxerxes. But the name Xerxes (אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ) appears in Daniel as the name of the father of Darius the Mede (chap. ix. 1). Thus it would seem that the author, knowing that there had existed a Median Empire before the Persian supremacy began, but not knowing any real Median names, gave Persian names to his Median kings. If it be asked why a Median king, not Cyrus the Persian, is represented as taking possession of the Chaldean Empire, the answer is found in the Old Testament itself. For in several passages written during the Exile (Is. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11, 28) it is predicted that the Medes will conquer Babylon. This the author of Daniel, who knew something of the prophetic books, supposes actually to have taken place.

2—10. For the word אַחַשְׁדַּרְפַּנִּיא see chap. iii. 2. In this chapter the 120 "satraps" are evidently not satraps in the real sense of the word, for in the time of Darius Hystaspis the whole Persian Empire contained only 20 satrapies (Herod. III. 89)¹. Perhaps the 120 satrapies may be merely a variation of the 127 provinces into which, according to Esth. i. 1, the Persian Empire was divided. עָלָא מֶן (v. 3) "higher than", "above", does not occur again in Biblical Aramaic; its opposite is אֲרַעָא מֶן (chap. ii. 39, *Kéthib*). סַרְרִינָא, which is found also in the Targums, seems to be from a Persian word *sarak* "chief" (formed from *sar* "head"), cf. Syr. ܣܪܐܢ from ܣܪܐ. In v. 4 עֲשִׂיתָ is usually taken as a Perfect, with *scriptio plena*, for עֲשִׂיתָ or עֲשִׂיתָ, but according to Nöldeke it is a participle, passive in form though in meaning merely intransitive, i.e. "the king (was) minded" etc. (see the *Götting. gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 1019). After the verb הִשְׁכַּחְתָּא (v. 6) we must of course understand עָלָא; for the use of the Perfect referring to the future after לְהֵן

¹ Similarly the title *marzbān*, which under the Sāsānian dynasty corresponded in meaning to the older "sa-

trap", is sometimes used by later Arabic writers for Persian officials generally.

“except”, cf. the Hebr. construction *לא אֲשַׁלְחֶךָ בִּי אִם-בְּרָבָתִי* Gen. xxxii. 27. *הִרְגִּישׁוּ* (*v.* 7) properly “made a tumult”, hence “*came tumultuously*”, cf. the Targum, Ruth i. 19, where *וְתוֹהֵם בְּלִהְשֵׁי* and *עָלִיָּהוּן* is rendered *ווארגישו כל יתבי קרתא עליוהון*. In *v.* 8 the Masoretic accentuation separates *קָם* from *מִלְכָּא*, so that the sense would be “*that the king should establish a statute*”, cf. in Hebrew *לְקַם לְכֶם שְׁמָה הַרְצֵחַ* Numb. xxxv. 6. This rendering is adopted by Rosenmüller and Hitzig, whereas Von Lengerke, Ewald, and most moderns, discarding the accents, make *קָם* a construct state, “*to establish a royal statute*” (Theod. *τοῦ στήσαι στάσει βασιλικῆ*), which view is favoured by *אָסַר מִלְכָּא* *v.* 13; the objection of Hitzig that the statute must be established not by the ministers but by the king, is inconclusive, for *לְקַמָּה*, though grammatically active, may be virtually equivalent to a passive “*that a statute should be established*”—so also the Infinitive is used in *v.* 9 (*דִּי לָא לְהַשְׁנִיָּה*), and in Biblical Hebrew (*לְטָבוֹת* Jer. xxv. 34. *לְהַשִּׁיב* Esth. viii. 8). *וּלְתַקְפָּה אָסַר* “*and to make a strong interdiction*”; the Aramaic root *תקף* (Arab. *تقف*) according to Gesenius means originally “*to strike*”, “*come upon*”, but perhaps the more primitive sense is “*to be straight, upright*”, whence we may derive that of “*being strong*”, “*prevailing over*”, “*seizing*” (Koran ii. 187). The Hebr. verb *תקף* (Job xiv. 20; xv. 24) is probably borrowed from the Aramaic. *אָסַר* “*interdict*” corresponds to the Biblical Hebr. *אָסַר* (Num. xxx. 3) and to the post-Biblical Hebr. *אָסַר*. *אָסַר* *בְּעִי* is not necessarily a “*prayer*”, but any “*petition*”, as is shewn by the common Syriac phrase *bēbhā’ū mennākh* “*I entreat thee*”. *גֹּב*, in *v.* 13 written *גֹּב*, stat. emphat. *גֹּבָא* *v.* 17, is properly a “*pit*”, cf. Arab. *jubb* “*well*”. *אָרְיוֹתָא*, pl. of *אָרְיָה* (chap. vii. 4), formed like *בְּרָסָן* (chap. vii. 9) from *בְּרָסָא*, exactly agrees with the Syriac form as vocalized by the East-Syrians (Nestorians); the West-Syrians pronounce *aryawāthā* with short *a* in the second syllable. This verse refers to the custom, which existed already among the Assyrians and from them was passed on to the Persians, of keeping lions for the chase. According to *v.* 18, the “*pit*” must have had a narrow mouth which could be closed with a stone; that lions were really confined in pits of this description

appears at least improbable. With *v.* 9 compare Esth. i. 19. “*The writing and the interdict*”, in *v.* 10, means, of course, the writing which contained the interdict (cf. אֶת־הַמְּנִלָּה וְאֶת־הַדְּבָרִים Jer. xxxvi. 27).

11—18. The clause וְכִינִי פָתַחְתִּין וְנִי is parenthetical, “*now he had in his upper chamber windows opened toward Jerusalem*”. כִּינִי would be in the Sing. פָּתַח, stat. emphat. פָּתַח, which is the Syriac form. הָיָא קָרַךְ (so Baer) “*he was wont to kneel*”, for which most editions have הָיָא קָרַךְ. The practice of praying three times in the day appears also in Ps. lv. 18, unless we understand that verse as a mere poetical figure; the turning towards Jerusalem in prayer is a custom which seems to have originated among the Jews during the Babylonian Exile (see I Kings viii. 38, 48, a passage probably composed at that period), and which continued for many centuries afterwards¹. The last words of *v.* 11 are usually translated “*as he had been wont to do aforetime*”, see chap. ii. 40; but perhaps here also דִּי קָל־מְקַבֵּל may be taken in its ordinary sense, i.e. “*forasmuch as he had been wont to do (it) aforetime*”. With מִן קְרַמַת דְּנָה cf. מִקְרַמַת דְּנָה Ezra v. 11. In *v.* 13 יִבְעָא is used absolutely, i.e. without the addition of קָעִי as in *v.* 8. בָּל “*mind*”, “*thought*” (*v.* 15) does not seem to occur elsewhere in Jewish Aramaic, but is common both in Syriac and Arabic; its original sense is altogether obscure². Instead of מְעָלִי (as Baer reads, following the Masora) some MSS. have מְעָלִי and others מְעָלִי, which last is no doubt the correct pronunciation (see Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1884, p. 1020); מְעָלִי, from the root עָלַל, is for מְעָלִי, like הַעֲלָה chap. v. 7 for הַעֲלָה, and corresponds to the Syr. *ma“ālai* (in the phrase כַּרְבֹּלַת זַבְוֵא II Kings xi. 5 Pēsh.). Thus מְעָלִי נִשְׁמָשָׂא is equivalent to the Hebr. מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ “*the entering in, i.e. the setting, of the sun*”. הָנָה מְשַׁתְּרֵר “*he was bestirring himself*”; this verb appears as אִשְׁתַּדַּל in later Jewish Aramaic, and as

¹ As is well known, Mohammed at first commanded his disciples to follow the Jewish custom of praying towards Jerusalem, but afterwards, when he broke with the Jews, altered the *kibla* (i.e. facing-point) to Mecca.

² The Arabic phrase *lā ubālī*, “*I do not care*”, of course throws no light upon the meaning of *bāl*, for if *ubālī* be connected with *bāl*, as the Arabic grammarians suppose, it is merely a denominative verb.

הַשְּׂמַדִּל in the Mishnah (*Ābōth* II. 5; IV. 18). The original meaning of the root שָׂדַד or שָׂדַל seems to be that of “setting in motion”, hence אֲשַׁדְּדוּר “commotion”, “rebellion”, Ezra iv. 15, Syr. *shaddar* “to send”, Jewish Aram. שָׂדַל “to persuade”, prop. “to incite”, “urge on”, and Arab. *sadara* or *sadala* “to let loose”, applied to hair, garments, etc.¹ בְּתַרְיָא “continually” (v. 17) is in the Targums usually תַּרְיָא; the word is derived by Gesenius, no doubt correctly, from רוּר “to revolve”—that it can have anything to do with שָׂדַד (Kautzsch, *Gramm.* p. 112) is impossible. On הִיִּתִּיתָ (v. 18) see chap. iii. 13. The form שָׂמָה “was placed” is very peculiar, since the analogy both of Biblical Aramaic and of Arabic would lead us to expect שָׂמַח, שָׂמַח, as Kautzsch proposes to read (*Gramm.* p. 74). Instead of the חֲתִימָה of the ordinary editions, Baer has חֲתִימָה; for יִבְעִנְקָתָּהּ he reads יִבְעִנְקָתָּהּ (plur. constr.), following the best MSS. “That nothing might be changed concerning Daniel”, i.e. that nothing might be done to rescue him. צָבִי prop. “purpose”, “intention”, is here used, as in Syriac, in a perfectly vague sense.

19—29. טָוָה “in a state of fasting” (from *tāwāyūt*) is properly a fem. substantive in the absolute state, used adverbially (cf. Hebr. מְהֵרָה “quickly”). The meaning of דְּהִתְנִין is unknown. Theodotion and the Peshittā render it by “food”, the medieval Jewish commentators by “instruments of music”, while most moderns take it as “concubines”, in accordance with a signification which the Arabic verb *dahā* sometimes conveys; in Aramaic and Hebrew, however, the root רָחַח, רָחַח, always means “to thrust away”, “overthrow”—it is only in Arabic that it has acquired the sense of “spreading out” like a carpet (Koran LXXIX. 30), whence its metaphorical application is derived. Rosenmüller compares the Arab. *dukhān* “smoke”, and explains דְּהִתְנִין as “incense”, “odours”. With the clause גִּדְתָּהּ עֲלוֹהֵי יְשׁוּעָתָהּ cf. chap. ii. 1. שְׁנִיתָהּ is written with *Dāghesh forte*, according to the analogy of such words as מִלְתָּהּ, although the root is not שָׁנַן but יָשַׁן (cf. Syr. *shennēthā*, constr. *shennath*). “Then the king rose at dawn, as soon as it was light” (v. 20)—שָׁפַרְפְּרָא, which is used in

¹ See Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.* xl. p. 735—צָדָה is there, of course, a misprint for צָדָה.

the Targums also, has almost exactly the same sense as נָנְהָא; in Syriac and Arabic we find the simple forms, *shaphrā* and *safar* respectively. The phrase נָנְהָא עֲצִיב “with a lamentable voice” (*v.* 21) occurs again in the Palestinian Targum, Exod. xii. 31. נָנְהָא is from עָצַב “to bind”, a root common to Syriac and Arabic, the ideas of “tightness” and “pain” being closely connected in the Semitic languages¹. In *v.* 22 the verb מָלַל “he spake” is construed with עִם, as often happens in Syriac even when the meaning is simply “to speak to”, not “to hold a conversation with”². In *v.* 24 the Perfect טָאַב (Syr. *ṭē’ebh*) seems to have been formed on the analogy of נָנְהָא (see *v.* 15), since in the former word the ט does not properly belong to the root, as the Hebrew and Arabic forms shew. With הַנְּסָקָה for הַסָּקָה cf. הַנְּעָלָה chap. iv. 3; on הַיָּמִין see chap. ii. 45. אַרְעֵית (*v.* 25) is formed from אָרַע (chap. ii. 39) as in Hebrew תַּחְתִּית “the lowest part” (Exod. xix. 17) from תַּחַת. The decree of Darius in *vv.* 26—28 is mostly composed of phrases used in chaps. ii. 44; iii. 31—33; v. 19. Before דִּי־לָא תַחְתַּבֵּל (*v.* 27) we must, of course, understand מְלַכֵּי. Verse 29, as contrasted with the corresponding passage, chap. iii. 30, uses הַצִּלַּח in the intransitive sense.

CHAPTER VII.

We now enter upon the second part of the book, describing four visions seen by Daniel. These pieces purport to have been written by Daniel himself, for in chap. vii. 1 we are told that he “wrote the dream”, and from that point to the end of the book he speaks in the first person, the sole exception being the heading of chap. x. Though Daniel is never actually designated as a prophet, the literary form of the visions is, to a large

¹ Cf. in Arabic ^س ^ص ^ع ^ص ^ي ^و ^م ^ع ^ص ^ي ^ب “a painful day” (Koran xi. 79); Al-Bai-dāwī explains the word ^س ^ص ^ع ^ص ^ي ^و ^م ^ع ^ص ^ي ^ب as ^س ^ص ^ع ^ص ^ي ^و ^م ^ع ^ص ^ي ^ب. In ^س ^ص ^ع ^ص ^ي ^و ^م ^ع ^ص ^ي ^ب.

Hebrew this root is used only in the derived sense (I Kings i. 6. Is. lxiii. 10); עָצַב “to fashion” (Job x. 8) is quite different and probably corresponds to Arab. عَضِبَ “to cut”.

² Exactly similar is the modern Persian use of *bā* with *guftan*.

extent, borrowed from the prophetic writings. Thus, in chaps. vii. and viii., Daniel, like Zechariah, is shewn visible objects of which the symbolical meaning is forthwith explained to him by angels. Other details were doubtless suggested by the book of Ezekiel. The author of Daniel likewise follows the prophets in prefixing dates to the visions. This custom was, among the ancient prophets, a perfectly reasonable one, for as their visions referred primarily to the circumstances of the moment, it was desirable, for the right understanding of the piece, that the reader should be informed of its date. But in the visions of Daniel the real subject is always "the time of the end", not the time in which Daniel lived, so that the prefixing of a date is unessential.

The vision in chap. vii. differs from the rest in that it takes the form of a *dream*, based upon the same idea as the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in chap. ii. In both chapters we read of Four Gentile Empires, in both the Fourth Empire is dwelt upon at much greater length than the first three, and in both it is predicted that the Fourth Empire will be overthrown by a divine interposition, in order that an everlasting kingdom may be set up. Here the resemblance between the two visions ceases. In chap. ii. 41—43 much stress is laid upon the *divisions* of the Fourth Empire, but chap. vii. passes them over in silence. Moreover in chap. ii. 34, 35, 44, all the Four Empires perish alike, whereas in chap. vii. 11, 12 the Fourth Beast only is destroyed, the other Beasts being suffered to live, though they are deprived of their dominion. But what especially distinguishes chap. vii. is the prominence which it gives to the last king of the Fourth Empire, who is represented by "a little horn", and who "wages war against the Saints".

To argue from these divergences that the Four Empires of chap. ii. are not the same as those of chap. vii., or that the two chapters are the work of different authors, is altogether unreasonable. We have no right to expect in an apocalyptic writing that strict consistency which we naturally demand of a historian. We must also make allowance for the different frame-work of the two chapters. Chap. ii. describes a revelation sent to Nebuchadnezzar (see *vv.* 29, 30, 45), whereas chap.

vii. is a revelation sent to Daniel, the representative of the true Israel. Hence it is only in the second case that the sufferings of the Saints in the last days can be appropriately mentioned¹.

We may therefore assume, with the great majority of modern interpreters, that the Empires in chap. vii., as in chap. ii., are (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Greek or Macedonian. It is also clear that the "little horn" is Antiochus Epiphanes. This was distinctly recognized by Porphyry, and must also have been known to the Jews of the 4th century after Christ, since it is the interpretation given by Ephraim Syrus, who was quite incapable of inventing it. At the present day it is so generally admitted as not to require demonstration. But there are two questions which deserve to be more particularly examined, namely (1) What are the "ten horns" of the Fourth Beast? and (2) What is meant by the One like a son of man who comes with the clouds of heaven?

As to the former question, there can at least be no doubt that the "ten horns" represent ten individual kings (see *v.* 24), not ten kingdoms, as is the case with the "four horns" of chap. viii. 8. This appears from the fact that in chap. vii. 8 the "little horn" rises *among* the ten horns, which is explained, in *v.* 24, to mean that *after* ten kings have arisen, another king will arise. In chap. viii. 9, on the contrary, the "little horn" rises *out of* one of the four horns. If therefore the Fourth Beast of chap. vii. is the Greek Empire and the little horn is Antiochus, it follows that the ten horns must be ten *predecessors* of Antiochus. So far most interpreters are agreed, but as to the identification of these ten predecessors there is great difference of opinion. According to Bertholdt and Von Lengerke, the ten kings are (1) Seleucus Nicator, (2) Antiochus Soter, (3) Antiochus Theos, (4) Seleucus Callinicus, (5) Seleucus Cerau-

¹ This obvious consideration is overlooked by Meinhold, who says, in discussing chap. ii., "Was c. 7. 8. 11 besonders betont ist, dass in der Endzeit Israel hart bedrückt sein, aber aus der äussersten Not von Gott befreit werde, fehlt hier gerade" (*Kurzgefasstes Commentar*, 8te Abt. p. 274), and

hence argues that the author of chap. ii. cannot have written the latter part of the book. I may here mention that De Lagarde, in the *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* for 1891, pp. 497—520, has endeavoured to prove that Dan. vii. was composed in the year 69 after Christ.

nus, (6) Antiochus the Great, (7) Seleucus Philopator, (8) Heliodorus, (9) Ptolemy Philometor, (10) Demetrius Soter. Others, as Hitzig, Cornill, and Kuenen, begin with Alexander the Great. This is decidedly more natural, for if the Fourth Beast represents the Greek supremacy, why should Alexander be omitted? It is true that in chap. viii. a distinction is made between "the great horn" (Alexander) and the horn out of which "the little horn" rises, but this is because the "four horns" of chap. viii. are contemporaneous kingdoms, not a series of successive kings. In chap. vii. nothing is said about the divisions of the Macedonian Empire—we have only a series of kings; hence Alexander must head the list. We have also to consider that the ten kings are mentioned, not on their own account, but because they lead up to the eleventh (Antiochus Epiphanes), i.e. the number 10 is introduced only in order that the readers may the more clearly recognize who is meant by the "little horn". Accordingly Hitzig and Cornill believe the ten kings to be (1) Alexander the Great, (2) Seleucus Nicator, (3) Antiochus Soter, (4) Antiochus Theos, (5) Seleucus Callinicus, (6) Seleucus Ceraunus, (7) Antiochus the Great, (8) Seleucus Philopator, (9) Heliodorus, (10) Demetrius Soter.

Of the ten horns, we are told in *v. 8*, three are "plucked up" on the appearance of the eleventh horn—which signifies that the last king will "humble" three of the former kings (*v. 24*). Porphyry made these three kings to be (1) Ptolemy Philometor, (2) Ptolemy Euergetes II., his brother, and (3) Artaxias, king of Armenia, whom Antiochus Epiphanes defeated and took prisoner. In order to refute this interpretation Jerome strangely asserts that Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes "died long before the birth of Antiochus"¹. In reality they both

¹ "Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanem Antiochum suspicatur, et de decem cornibus tria evulsa cornua, sextum Ptolemaeum cognomento Philometorem, septimum Ptolemaeum Euergetem, et Artaxiam regem Armeniae, quorum priores multo antequam Antiochus nasceretur, mortui sunt,

Contra Artaxiam vero dimicasse quidem Antiochum novimus: sed illum in regno pristino permauisse". Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* vii. 8. Appian says of Antiochus Epiphanes—'Ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλὼν ἐτελεύτησεν κ.τ.λ. (*Syr.* 45).

survived him. But we may rightly urge against Porphyry's theory that these three kings were in no sense *predecessors* of Antiochus Epiphanes. That Ptolemy Philometor attempted to seize the throne of Syria on the death of Seleucus Philopator is a notion which rests on the sole authority of Porphyry himself (see Jerome on Dan. xi. 21), and it is highly probable that here, as in some other cases, Porphyry's statements are not derived from an independent historical source but are simply deductions drawn from Daniel. According to Von Lengerke, the three kings are (1) Heliodorus, (2) Ptolemy Philometor, and (3) Demetrius Soter. This interpretation is in part open to the same objections as the former one. It appears therefore much more reasonable to explain the three kings, with Hitzig and Cornill, as (1) Seleucus Philopator, (2) Heliodorus, and (3) Demetrius Soter. Seleucus Philopator, son of Antiochus the Great, died in 175 B.C. According to some historians he was murdered by his minister Heliodorus. In any case Heliodorus placed himself at the head of the state, but was very soon dispossessed by the brother of Seleucus Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes, who had secured the help of Eumenes king of Pergamum. Meanwhile Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator and rightful heir to the throne, was living as a hostage at Rome, whither he had been sent shortly before his father's death¹. It would seem, from this chapter of Daniel, that some persons at least attributed the death of Seleucus Philopator to the instigation of Antiochus Epiphanes—that the pious Jews should have believed their persecutor to be capable of any crime, was quite natural. Hence there is no difficulty in regarding Seleu-

¹ "Ὡδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι διέθεντο τὰ δορί-
κτητα, Ἀντιόχου δ' ὕστερον τοῦ μεγάλου
βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος γίγνεται Σέλευ-
κος ὁ υἱὸς διάδοχος. καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὄδε
Ἀντίοχον ἐξέλυσε τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ὀμη-
ρέας, ἀντιδοὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Δημή-
τριον. Ἀντιόχου δ' ἐπανιόντος ἐκ τῆς
ὀμηρέας καὶ ὄντος ἐτι περὶ Ἀθήνας, ὁ μὲν
Σέλευκος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς
τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀλλήν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸν δ'
Ἡλιοδῶρον Εὐμένης καὶ Ἀτταλὸς ἐς τὴν

ἀρχὴν βιαζόμενον ἐκβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸν
Ἀντίοχον ἐς αὐτὴν καταγόουσιν, ἐταιριζό-
μενοι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τινῶν προσκρου-
μάτων ἤδη καὶ οἶδε Ῥωμαίους ὑπεβλέ-
ποντο. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου
τοῦ μεγάλου Συρίας ἐπεκράτησεν· ὅτε
παρὰ τῶν Σύρων ἐπώνυμον ἦν ἐπιφανῆς,
ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρπαζομένης ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων
βασιλεὺς οἰκείος ὄφθη". Appian, *Syr.*
45. See also Livy xli. 19.

cus Philopator and Heliodorus as two of the horns "plucked up" before Antiochus. But whether the last of the three horns is Demetrius Soter, appears more doubtful. The latter was not actually king, but merely heir to the kingdom. Could he therefore be considered as one of the three kings whom Antiochus "humbled"? The thing in itself is not unlikely. Von Gutschmid, however, has suggested (*Kleine Schriften*, Vol. II. pp. 175—179) that by the last of the three horns is meant, not Demetrius, but a brother of his, who, according to a fragment of John of Antioch, was put to death by Antiochus (see Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* IV. p. 558). This view Kuenen is inclined to adopt.

Much more important is the question as to the One like a son of man (*vv.* 13, 14). On this subject two opposite interpretations have existed from a very early period down to the present day. According to some, the One like a son of man represents the coming king, i.e. the Messiah; according to others he represents the kingdom of the Saints. The former view cannot be proved to have been known in pre-Christian times, for chaps. xlv—lvii of the Book of Enoch are of uncertain date, nor is it even settled whether they are the work of a Jew or of a Christian. But in the New Testament this view is constantly assumed, nor can there be any doubt that the term "the Son of man", so frequent in the Gospels, contains an allusion to Dan. vii. 13. The Messianic interpretation seems to have been almost universal in the early Christian Church (see especially Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. xxxi), and is found likewise in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 98^a). In the Middle Ages it was maintained by Rashi and by most Jewish commentators. In modern times it has been defended by critics so impartial as Von Lengerke, Bleek, and Ewald.

Yet this view, popular as it has been, presents insuperable difficulties. In the first place the interpretation contained in this chapter of Daniel says not a word about a personal Messiah, but states expressly that the kingdom is to be given to the people of the Saints (*vv.* 18, 22, 27). If the Being who comes in the clouds represents a person, that person must surely be of immense importance. Why therefore does the angelic inter-

preter pass him over in complete silence, and speak of "the Saints" instead? Nor is it legitimate to argue that the description of this Being, in *v.* 13 and 14, so clearly proves him to be personal as to render a special explanation unnecessary. The One like a son of man, that is, One in human form, obviously stands in contrast with the Four Beasts. Since the Four Beasts represent Four Empires, not four individual kings, it is reasonable to suppose that the One like a son of man also represents an Empire. The human form, as opposed to the bestial, teaches that the last kingdom will not be, like the Gentile kingdoms, a supremacy of brute force, but a supremacy essentially spiritual. As the Gentile Empires rise out of the sea (*v.* 3), so the last Empire comes with the clouds of heaven. The former statement is manifestly figurative, why therefore should the latter be taken literally? The rising out of the sea expresses the fact that the Gentile Empires are of this world (see *v.* 17); the coming with the clouds shews that the last Empire will be ushered in by the power of God. Thus in the chapter itself there is nothing which suggests the idea of a personal Messiah, and it is particularly important to observe that the rest of the book bears out this conclusion, for wherever the author speaks of the future kingdom he maintains the same significant silence as to a future king (chaps. ii. 44; xii. 3). Everything therefore tends to shew that the Being introduced in chap. vii. 13 represents the kingdom of the Israelite Saints. This interpretation was evidently known to Ephraim Syrus, and is accepted by Ben-Ezra. Such is also the view of Hitzig, Nöldeke, Schürer (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, II. p. 426), and most recent writers.

It has sometimes been objected that the idea of a future kingdom necessarily implied a personal king. But this is by no means borne out by facts. It is notorious that in several of the post-Biblical Jewish writings the future kingdom is conceived simply as a reign of Israel over the Gentiles, without any reference to a personal Messiah¹. This is the case, for example, in the *Assumptio Mosis* and in the *Book of Jubilees*, both of which probably date from about the beginning of the Christian era.

¹ On the whole of this question see *the Christian Messiah*" (1886), especially pp. 109—118. Prof. Stanton's work, "*The Jewish and*

1—6. In dating this vision from the first year of Belshazzar, whose death has been already related (chap. v. 30), the author purposely abandons the chronological order which he has hitherto followed, that is to say, the visions are not a continuation of the narratives but form a series by themselves. The words *וְחָזוּ רְאִישָׁהּ עַל־מִשְׁכַּבָּהּ* are added as a further specification of *הַלֵּם*, cf. *רְאִישָׁהּ וְיָצְרָהּ* chap. vi. 10. “Then he wrote the dream”; at the beginning of this new portion of the book it was important to state that Daniel, like other seers, put his revelation in writing; in the case of the remaining visions this is not actually said but is everywhere assumed (see chap. xii. 4). *הָאֵשׁ מְלִין* “the sum of the matters”, that is, the essential import of the revelation, cf. *רְאִישׁ דְּרִבְרָה* Ps. cxix. 160. On the interjection *אָרִי* (*v.* 2), see chap. ii. 31. *מְגִיחֵן* is usually taken as intransitive, “breaking forth upon the great sea”, according to Judg. xx. 33; but in this case we should expect *עַל־יָמִין* or *בְּיָמִין*. It therefore appears more natural to translate, with Levy (*Chald. Wörterb.* s.v. *גִּיחַ*), “stirring up the great sea”; the phrase *אֵינִיחַ קְרָבָה* “to go to war”, lit. “to cause war to burst forth”, is extremely common in the Targums. “The great sea” is usually the Mediterranean (Josh. ix. 1). Here the sea represents the nations of the earth (cf. Is. xvii. 12), and accordingly, in *v.* 17, it is explained by *אֶרֶץ* “the earth”. In *v.* 3 the Four Beasts are described as “different one from the other”, because they symbolize different Empires. The first (*v.* 4) is the Babylonian. It appears as a lion with eagle’s wings; since it is the earliest of the great Empires, it is here compared to the noblest of beasts and the noblest of birds, just as in chap. ii. it is represented by the most precious of metals. *גְּזִינִי* “wings” is, as Nöldeke has shewn in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* for 1884, p. 1019, from the root *גָּרַח*, cf. Arab. *jadafa*, “to fly”, “to row”. In Syriac also we find

¹ Prof. Robertson Smith suggests that the imagery in Dan. vii. 2 is borrowed from the ideas of cosmogony which were current in the ancient East. According to Philo of Byblus (quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* i. chap. 10), the Phœnicians believed the world (*Αἰών*), personified as a man, to

have been born *ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμων καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Βάαυ* (i.e. Hebr. *בְּהַי*). Here the wind *Kolpia* seems to be *הַרִיחַ כָּל־רְבָרָה* “the wind from every quarter”. For other explanations see Von Baudissin’s *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1876, i. p. 13.

geppā "wing", but in the Targums the more primitive form נִפְּרָא occurs. "I looked until its wings were stript off, and it was lifted up from the earth and made to stand on two feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it". Von Lengerke explains these words as referring to the *decline* of the Babylonian Empire—the wings, the symbols of swiftness, are taken away, and it is reduced to the condition of an ordinary human being. But on this hypothesis the last clause would be meaningless, for "a man's heart" evidently implies superior intelligence, not loss of power. Accordingly Hitzig and Ewald see here an allusion to the experiences of Nebuchadnezzar in chap. iv. As in chap. ii. 38, Nebuchadnezzar and his Empire are treated as identical. The Babylonian Empire, on its first appearance, has a purely animal, i.e. heathen, character, but after a while the animal attributes disappear, the Empire is, as it were, humanized in the person of its representative. The passive Perfect הִקְיַמְתָּ clearly shews, by its second vowel, that it is not a Hebraism; the form exactly corresponds to the Arab. *uk̄imat*, excepting that the initial ה has been retained. Verse 5 introduces the Median Empire, in the form of a bear. It is "*raised up on one side*", i.e. half crouching, cf. chap. ii. 39 where the Median Empire is described as "*lower*" than the Babylonian. שֵׁטֶר "side" is in the Targums סִטְרָא stat. emphat. סִטְרָא ; some editions wrongly read וְלִשְׁטֵרְתָּהּ . The vocalization הִקְיַמְתָּ , in some editions wrongly read הִקְיַמְתָּ , assumes that the verb is transitive, "*it raised one side*", but probably we should read הִקְיַמְתָּ or הִקְיַמְתָּ , as in *v.* 4. The meaning of the "*three ribs in its mouth between its teeth*" is very obscure. Most commentators refer this to three countries (Ewald), or three cities (Hitzig), which were conquered by the Medes. According to Von Lengerke, the author intends merely to represent the Median Empire as a ravenous beast devouring the remains of some slain enemy, the "three" being a round number. At all events the following words, "*And thus they spake to it, Arise, devour much flesh*", seem to shew that the Medes are here regarded as a power whose chief characteristic is destruction—an idea suggested by those passages of the prophets in which the Medes are summoned to ravage Babylon (Is. xiii. 17. Jer. li. 11, 28). The leopard (*v.* 6),

representing the Persian Empire, has four wings (i.e. its power extends in all directions, towards the four quarters of the earth), and four heads, by which are meant the four Persian kings (see chap. xi. 2). על-גביה (על-גבה *Kērī*) is usually translated “on its back”, but the plural form favours the rendering “on its sides” (cf. Syr. *gabbā* “side”, from the root גבב). The clause, “and dominion was given to it”, is added in order to emphasize the vastness of the Persian Empire, cf. chap. ii. 39 where this Empire is described as “ruling over all the earth”.

7, 8. The Fourth Beast, i.e. the Greek Empire, is too fearful to be likened to any known creature; both in strength and fierceness it far surpasses its predecessors. We are so accustomed to consider the Graeco-Macedonian power as a civilizing agency that this description seems at first singularly inappropriate. We should however remember that the work of Alexander must have appeared to Orientals in a light very different from that in which we usually regard it. The former Empires had generally involved nothing more than conquest, and had left local customs untouched; the Macedonian Empire was, in the fullest sense, “different from all Empires” (v. 23), since it produced a radical transformation of the old oriental world. Moreover the atrocious massacres, at Tyre and elsewhere, by which Alexander endeavoured to strike terror into the conquered races, were not easily forgotten, and amply suffice to explain the image here employed—that of a monster “devouring, crushing, and stamping the residue under foot”. אִמְתָּנִי “terrible” is the fem. stat. absol. of אִמְתָּן, which occurs in the Targums; in Syriac, adjectives in *-thān* form their fem. stat. absol. in *-thānyā*, not *-thānī*. The reading אִמְתָּנִי, found in some editions, is erroneous. Besides the “iron teeth”, v. 19 mentions “claws of brass”, but Ewald is scarcely justified in inserting these words into v. 7, in order to assimilate the two passages; it would be equally reasonable to insert v. 21 after v. 8. On the “ten horns”, see the Introduction to the chapter. With v. 8 compare the parallel passage, chap. viii. 9. Antiochus Epiphanes is represented by a “little horn” because he at first appeared feeble and seized the throne by “treachery” (chap. xi. 21). אִשִּׁיר is doubtless an old diminutive form, from *zu'air*. Instead of

the normal סִלְקָת, the Masora prescribes אַתְּעָקְרוּ (*Kḗrī* אַתְּעָקְרוּ) see אַתְּעָקְרוּ chap. v. 5. The “eyes like the eyes of a man” are the symbol of intelligence, cf. viii. 23 where Antiochus is designated as מִבְּיַן הַיְדוּת. The “mouth speaking great things” is an allusion to his pride and especially to his blasphemies against the God of Israel (chap. xi. 36).

9—14. The Divine judgment upon the Gentile power is now executed. The scene described is obviously intended to be figurative, since those who are judged are primarily Empires, not individuals; cf. Joel iv. 1, 2, a passage which the author of Daniel may have had in his mind. The forensic imagery is here consistently carried out. Thrones for the heavenly powers are set up, God Himself appears in the likeness of an aged man seated among flames, which, according to the well-known conception of the ancient Hebrews, are the accompaniment of the Deity (Ps. xviii. 9), and the books, recording the crimes of the Gentile potentates, are opened¹. On the form קָרְסָנָן see chaps. v. 20; vi. 8. With רְמִיּוֹן “were placed” compare the Syriac use of *rême* “thrown” for “lying”, and the Hebr. יְרִיתִי Gen. xxxi. 51. Here, as in chap. iv. 14, the heavenly powers are associated with God Himself in judgment. With עֲתִיק יוֹמִין “one ancient of days” cf. the Hebr. קָא בְּיָמִים Gen. xxiv. 1 etc. “His raiment was like pure snow and the hair of His head like spotless wool”; most commentators, discarding the Masoretic accentuation, render, “His raiment was white like snow”. On שְׂבָבִין see chap. iii. 22. That the throne has “wheels” is in accordance with Ezek. i. and x. In v. 10 וְנָגַד וְנָפַק seems to mean “was advancing and coming forth”, נָגַד being used in its primitive sense (cf. Hebr. נָגַד “in front”). For the imagery, cf. אֵשׁ לְפָנָיו תֹּאבֵל Ps. l. 3. On אֲלָפִין (*Kḗrī* אֲלָפִין), see אֲנָשִׁים chap. iv. 14. For the genuine Aramaic רַבּוֹן (pron. רַבְּוֹן) the *Kḗrī* substitutes the Hebraized form רַבְּבֹן, as if from a Sing. רַבְּבָה corresponding to Hebr. רַבְּבָה. דִּינָא יָתֵב “the judgment sate”—דִּינָא here means

¹ The same metaphor is used by the “heathen” Arabic poet Zuhair, “Hide not from God that which ye devise, hoping that it will be concealed, for whatever men seek to hide from God

that He knoweth; it is reserved, laid up in writing, and kept in store against the day of reckoning, or else requited speedily.” (xvi. 26, 27 Ahlw.)

“those who judge”, compare the use of סור “deliberation” for “persons who deliberate” (Jer. xxiii. 18. Ps. lxxxix. 8). In *v.* 11 the Greek Empire is finally destroyed on account of the blasphemies of Antiochus Epiphanes, the idea being that in him the guilt of the Empire reached its height (cf. כְּהִתָּם הַפְּשָׁעִים chap. viii. 23). The other Beasts (*v.* 12) are humbled, though not destroyed, i.e. Gentile kingdoms are still to exist for a while, but they are to acknowledge the supremacy of the Saints (cf. *vv.* 14, 27. Is. lx. 10, 12). It may seem illogical that the Beasts, who represent Empires, should be said to lose their Empire; what the author means is that the *nations* once dominant are to survive the loss of their dominion. On אֲרָבָה, see chap. iv. 24. In *v.* 14 the eternal sovereignty of the Saints is described in terms applied elsewhere to the sovereignty of God Himself (chaps. iii. 33; iv. 31; vi. 27).

15—28. In *vv.* 15 ff. the narration of the dream continues. The author, in order the more clearly to explain his meaning, represents Daniel as being troubled by what he had seen and as questioning “one of those that stood by”, i.e. one of the attendant angels mentioned in *v.* 10. The angel first gives a brief and general answer (*vv.* 17, 18), and afterwards, when Daniel desires more special information as to the Fourth Beast, supplies further details (*vv.* 23—27). אֶתְבָּרִית (instead of the more primitive *ithkaryath*, which would correspond to the Syriac form) is, if correctly pointed, taken from the masc. אֶתְבָּרִי (cf. הַתְּמָלִי chap. iii. 19), with doubling of the *’* in order to preserve the preceding vowel (cf. Hebr. פָּרְיָה from primitive *pāriyat*). For the idea, cf. וַתַּפְּעֶם רִיחוֹ ch. ii. 1. The construction אֶתְבָּרִי אֶתְבָּרִי אֶתְבָּרִי is the same as אֶתְבָּרִי אֶתְבָּרִי אֶתְבָּרִי Ezra vii. 21. Instead of נְרִיָה (so Baer) most editions have נְרִיָה. The word occurs again in I Chr. xxi. 27 (נְרִיָה “its sheath”), and appears in the Targums both as נרנא and לרנא; it is no doubt derived from the Persian *nidāna* (in Sanscrit *nidhāna*) “vessel”, “receptacle”. In Daniel therefore the correct pronunciation is probably נְרִיָה “its sheath” (see Nöldeke in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* for 1884, p. 1022—נְרִיָה, in the note, is of course a misprint). The “sheath” of the soul is the body; for the image cf. Job xxvii. 8. In *v.* 17 the *Kḥērī* substitutes the fem. אֶנְיָ (Syr. *ennēn*) for אֶנְיָ (Syr. *ennōn*), which is

properly masc. (cf. chap. vi. 25). אַרְבַּעַה מַלְכֵינָא “four kings”, i.e. four heathen Empires. יִקְבְּלוּן מַלְכוּתָא (v. 18) “they shall receive the kingdom”, i.e. they shall come into possession of supreme power (cf. chap. vi. 1). The Israelite Saints, who are also called simply קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיּוֹנִין (vv. 21, 22) are here, as in vv. 22, 25, 27, described as קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיּוֹנִין (LXX. and Theod. ἅγιοι ὑψίστου, Pesh. קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיּוֹנִין). Since קְדִישֵׁי is used especially of angels (see chap. iv. 10), there can be no doubt that the author has selected the phrase קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיּוֹנִין in order to express the *heavenly* character of Israel as contrasted with the nations of the earth. עֲלִיּוֹן “the Most High”, as a name of God, is the Hebrew equivalent of עֲלִיָּא, עֲלָאָה (Dan. iv. 14, 21); the use of the Plur. עֲלִיּוֹנִין is probably to be explained, with Hitzig, as due to the Plural preceding—so also we find בְּתֵי קְלָאִים used as the Plural of קְלָא (Is. xlii. 7, 22). Others take עֲלִיּוֹנִין as a Plural of majesty, but in the case of an Adjective this hypothesis is precarious. צְבִית לִיִּצְבָּא (v. 19) “I desired to have certain knowledge”; the verb יִצֵּב bears somewhat the same relation to the Adj. יִצִּיב (see v. 16) that the Arab. *aikana* “to be sure” bears to *yakīn* “sure”. Verse 20 is mainly a repetition from vv. 7 and 8, but it adds, respecting the eleventh horn, the words וְהוֹנָה רַב מִזְּהַרְתֵּיהֶם “and its appearance was greater than (that of) the rest”. This in no wise contradicts the expression “a little horn” (v. 8), as is shewn by chap. viii. 9, where the “little horn” rapidly *grows* to a portentous size. Verses 21 and 22 are a parenthesis, in which Daniel recapitulates what he has witnessed, at the same time adding fresh details; that the horn in question waged war against the Saints had not been mentioned previously, and indeed it is difficult to imagine how Daniel could “see” such a war taking place. דִּינָא יְהֵב (v. 22) is usually explained as “justice was done”, i.e. the judicial sentence was pronounced in favour of the Saints. But perhaps Ewald may be right in reading דִּינָא יְהֵב [יְהֵב וְשִׁלְטָנָא] “and the judgment sate and the sovereignty was given” etc., cf. vv. 14, 26, 27. וְזִמְנָא מָטָא “and the time came”, i.e. the time fixed by God as the limit of the heathen domination. When the angel states, in v. 23, that the Fourth Empire is to “devour the whole earth”, this must, of

course, be taken in a rhetorical sense; similarly in chap. ii. 39 the Third Empire, i.e. the Persian, "bears rule over all the earth". In *v.* 25, לְצַר "against" has much the same meaning as לְנַגַּד in chap. x. 13; the parallel passage, chap. xi. 36, uses עַל. יְבִיא seems to mean "he shall afflict", cf. I Chr. xvii. 9 where לְבַלְתּוֹ is substituted for the לְעוֹתוֹ of II Sam. vii. 10; elsewhere the Hebr. בָּלָה takes an impersonal object (Is. lxxv. 22. Job xxi. 13. Lam. iii. 4—from the corrupt passage Ps. xlix. 15 no conclusion can be drawn). "And he shall think to change seasons and law, and they shall be given into his hand for a time and times and half a time". The primary reference is to the attempt of Antiochus to suppress the Jewish religion; perhaps other acts of the king may also be alluded to, for according to I Macc. i. 41, 42, which can scarcely be a pure fiction, he appears to have interfered even with heathen cults (see chap. xi. 37). By יָמִין are meant, not only the great religious feasts, but all religious observances which take place at fixed times (cf. Numb. xxviii. 2). דָּת is used, as in chap. vi. 6, for "the code of religious precepts" (Hebr. תּוֹרָה); in Rabbinical Hebrew דָּת often means "religion" generally. With עָדוֹן וְעִדְיָיו וּפְלִגֵּי עָדוֹן cf. chap. xii. 7. Almost all commentators recognize that "a time" is "a year" and that עִדְיָיו has a Dual sense (cf. עִיָּין *v.* 8)¹. Thus the Jewish cult is to be "given into the hand" of Antiochus, i.e. abolished by him, for three years and a half (see the Introduction to chap. viii). In *v.* 26 יָתֵב is, of course, the ordinary Imperfect Peal of יָתַב and corresponds to Syr. *nettebh*; Baer absurdly takes it to be a contraction of יָתַבְתִּי. The object of לְהַשְׁמָדָה וּלְהוֹבִדָּה is שְׁלֵטָנָה understood. עַד-סוֹפָא "finally", i.e. for ever (cf. chap. vi. 27). In מְלָכּוֹת תְּהוֹת כְּלִשְׁמַיָּא (*v.* 27) the words תְּהוֹת כְּלִשְׁמַיָּא are treated as a substantive, i.e. "the majesty of the kingdoms of (the regions) under the whole heaven"; so in Syriac כְּסֵי חֵיּוּ "between the eyes" is used for "forehead" (Pěsh. Ezek. iii. 7, 8). יְהִיבַת "shall have been given"—for this use of the Perfect to express certainty cf. נִעְשָׂתָה chap. xi. 36. The suffixes in כְּמִלְכּוֹתָהּ and לָהּ refer to עַם (cf. יִרְעֵי אֱלֹהֵי עַם chap.

¹ In Syriac, as is well known, the old Dual termination *ain, ayin*, almost always becomes *in* and is thus indistinguishable from the Plural.

xi. 32). In *v.* 28 Daniel closes the account of the vision—"So far is the end (i.e. limit) of the matter". אֲחֵרֵי includes the whole revelation, both the things seen by Daniel and the things spoken by the angel, cf. אֲחֵרֵי chap. x. 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

As to the general sense of this chapter there has been comparatively little difference of opinion. In *vv.* 20—25 the author gives so clear an explanation of the vision that even the Christian Fathers could not wholly fail to grasp its meaning. Some details, however, still remain obscure, which is probably due in part to corruptions of the text.

The vision is dated from the third year of Belshazzar but it contains no reference to the Babylonian Empire. Its main subject is the rise and the conclusion of the Greek Empire, which, as we have seen, is the Fourth Empire of chaps. ii. and vii. The author therefore passes as rapidly as possible over the pre-Greek period, and after mentioning the conquests of Alexander hastens on to relate the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is represented, as in chap. vii., by a "little horn". Jerome and nearly all modern apologists, while denying that Antiochus Epiphanes is the "little horn" of chap. vii., fully admit that he is the "little horn" of chap. viii., and many fanciful attempts have been made to shew that the two descriptions cannot possibly refer to the same person. But to an impartial reader no real contradiction will appear to exist.

The principal difficulty in this chapter is the statement that the suspension of the daily sacrifice, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, will last 2300 evenings and mornings (*v.* 14), i.e. 1150 days. How is this to be reconciled with chaps. vii. 25; ix. 27; xii. 7, 11, 12? The question is confessedly obscure, and any explanation should be offered with diffidence. It must first be remarked that these five passages agree at least in making the final distress last during three years and a fraction—the only difference lies in the magnitude of the fraction. Chaps.

vii. 25; ix. 27; xii. 7 offer comparatively little difficulty, for it might be supposed that the "times, time and half a time", and the "half of the week", are mere rough computations. But where the days are counted, no such vagueness can be admitted. The question therefore is, Do the 1150 days begin at the same moment as the 1290 days of chap. xii. 11? The mention of the abolition of the daily sacrifice in both passages certainly appears to indicate that this is the case. Accordingly a period of 140 days must elapse between the end of the 1150 days and that of the 1290 days. Perhaps the most probable hypothesis is that the author of Daniel, like most of the later Jews, regarded the future redemption of Israel, not as a single momentary act, but rather as a series of events, which might be separated by intervals of some months. After 1150 days from the abolition of the daily sacrifice (i.e. near the beginning of the year 164 B.C.¹) the Jewish worship in the Temple was to be restored, but the time of affliction was to last for 140 days longer, and after 45 more days the period of complete rest was to set in (chap. xii. 11, 12). It is noteworthy that the author of Zechariah xii—xiv. represents the final deliverance of Israel as about to take place *at a time when Jerusalem is being besieged by the heathen* (Zech. xiv. 2—4). If, as is in itself highly probable, the author of Daniel shared this belief, we can understand why the cleansing of the sanctuary precedes, by some months, the final consummation, for in order that the nations may be "gathered against Jerusalem to battle", it is necessary that the city should first have been restored to Israel. By what means the restoration of the city is to be brought about, we are not told.

Cornill, who believes the book of Daniel to have been written soon after the Purification of the Temple (which took place near the end of the year 165 B.C.), supposes that this event forms the conclusion of the 1150 days; since the desecration of the Temple lasted only three years, he is obliged to make the 1150 days begin, not with the cessation of the daily sacri-

¹ I here follow Schürer in supposing that the desecration of the Temple took place near the end of the year 168 B.C. (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, i. 155).

But some scholars, e.g. Kuenen (*Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*, 2nd ed. ii. 455), place it a year later.

fice, but with the publication of the edict against Judaism (I Macc. i. 41 ff.), which he places at the end of October 168 B.C. This theory involves a considerable straining of the text, for why should the daily sacrifice be mentioned in Dan. viii. 13, if in reality the starting-point of the 1150 days has no connection with it? Moreover it is hardly credible that chaps. ix, xi and xii were composed *after* the Purification of the Temple, for in chap. ix. 17 the sanctuary is still "desolate", and the last vision recorded, which distinctly mentions the cessation of the daily sacrifice (xi. 31; xii. 11), says nothing about its restoration. Thus we are forced to conclude that when the book was finished, the restoration of the daily sacrifice was still future.

1—4. For the construction **אֵל אֲנִי רִנָּה** cf. chap. vii. 15, and for the vocalization of **הַיְנָאָה**, where the article is taken by the Masoretes as equivalent to the relative, cf. I Kings xi. 9. Is. lvi. 3. **בְּתַחֲלָה** is not "in the beginning" but "*previously*", and refers of course to chap. vii. (cf. chap. ix. 21. Gen. xliii. 18, 20). In v. 2 the seer finds himself carried in a vision to Shushan, as Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem (Ezek. xl. 1—3). Shushan (Susa), the capital of Susiana, was one of the principal residences of the Achaemenid kings (Neh. i. 1), and appears from the book of Esther to have been regarded by the later Jews as the seat of the Persian Empire¹. Hence it is chosen to be the scene of this vision which describes the overthrow of the Medes and Persians by Alexander. **בִּירָה** "fortress", "citadel", seems to be the Assyrio-Babylonian *birtu* (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gramm.*, Glossary), and occurs first in Nehemiah². The fortress of Susa was celebrated in antiquity (Herod. v. 49. Polyb. v. 48). The author speaks of Susa as being "*in the province Elam*" (i.e. Elymaïs). Elam is here used in its wider sense and includes Susiana, from which it is distinguished in Ezra iv. 9. **אֵיבָל** "stream", which occurs here only, seems to be a mere phonetic variation of **יֵבָל** (Jer. xvii. 8). Ulai has long ago been identified with the Eulaeus, the river on which, according to Pliny and Arrian, Susa was situated. Herodotus, on the other

¹ In much later times the tomb of the prophet Daniel was shewn at Susa or, as it was called by the Persians,

Shūsh (Nöldeke, *Ṭabari*, p. 58).

² Ezra vi. 2 is probably of later date.

hand, places Susa on the Choaspes, and it is not clear whether both names belonged to the same river or whether different rivers are meant¹. The Eulaeus seems to be identical with the modern Kārūn. In *v.* 3 the empires of the Medes and Persians (see *v.* 20) appear to Daniel in the form of a ram—a well-known symbol of power and dominion (Ezek. xxxix. 18)². That a single animal represents both the Median and the Persian Empires is due to the fact that the two nations are regarded as being akin to one another; but in order to shew that the period of Median supremacy and the period of Persian supremacy are distinct, the author tells us that the higher horn of the ram rose last. לְפָנַי הָאֵבֶל “*opposite the stream*”, cf. לְקַבֵּל נְבִרְשֶׁתָא chap. v. 5. קַרְנַיִם and קַרְנָיו (*v.* 7) are Duals, but, for some reason which it is impossible to guess, the first part of the word is vocalized according to the analogy of Plurals; similar cases are דְּרָבָיִם Prov. xxviii. 6, 18 and דְּרָלְתַיִם, if this be from דְּרָלַת. הָאֵחָת is here used for הַרְאֵשֶׁנָּה, in opposition to הַשְּׁנִיָּת, cf. Gen. i. 5, 8; ii. 11, 13. The ram pushes westward, northward, and southward, but not eastward, for the eastern conquests of the Achaemenidae, which extended as far as India, are of no interest from the point of view of the Jews. In *v.* 4 הַגָּדִיל, as in *v.* 8, does not mean “became great”, but “*did great things*” (Ewald).

5—8. מִבִּינ “*observing*”, cf. Is. lvii. 1. צָפִיר or עֵיִם occurs also in Ezra viii. 35. II Chron. xxix. 21; in Biblical Aramaic likewise we find צָפִירֵי עֵיִן Ezra vi. 17, in Syriac *sephrūyā*. Perhaps the word may have been borrowed from the Aramaic—in older Hebrew a he-goat is usually שְׂעִיר עֵיִם or שְׂעִיר. The original meaning of צָפִיר is obscure; that it is connected with the Arab. ضَفَر “to leap” is improbable, since the cases in which Arab. ض seems to correspond to Aramaic פ are extremely few (see Wright, *Comp. Gramm.* pp. 62, 63), and perhaps not one of them is certain. With the phrase עַל-פְּנֵי כָל-הָאָרֶץ “*over the face of all the earth*” Von Lengerke rightly compares I Macc. i. 3, where it is said of Alexander διηλθεν ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς. That the he-goat moves without touching the earth signifies

¹ On this question see Nöldeke's article *Ulai* in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*.

² So also in Arabic *kabsh* “ram” often means “a chief”, “a warrior”.

the incredible rapidity of the Greek conquests — the invaders seemed rather to fly than to march. וַאִין נוֹגַע בְּאַרְרִין should probably be taken as equivalent to וַאִינְנוּ נוֹגַע בְּאַרְרִין, the suffix being understood as in *v.* 27. קָרְנוֹ הַזֹּהוֹת “*a conspicuous horn*”, called in *vv.* 8 and 21 “*the great horn*”. בְּחֵמַת כָּחוֹ (v. 6) “*in the fury of his might*”; חֵמָה is originally “*heat*”, and may express the “*impetuosity*” of an onset, just as elsewhere it expresses the “*virulence*” of a poison (Deut. xxxii. 24. Ps. lviii. 5). In *v.* 7 אֶצֶל must be taken as indicating closer proximity than עַר in *v.* 6. For וַיִּתְמַרְמַר אֵלָיו “*and he was angered against him*”, see p. 30; אֵל is here used for עַל. הַזֹּהוֹת אַרְבַּע (v. 8) is usually rendered “*four conspicuous horns*” (Von Lengerke, Hitzig), or, “*as it were four horns*” (Ewald). Both interpretations, however, are extremely forced, and there can be little doubt that Graetz is right in reading אֶחָדוֹת for הַזֹּהוֹת, according to the LXX. καὶ ἀνέβη ἕτερα τέσσαρα (Cod. Chis. τέσσασα) κέρατα κ.τ.λ., cf. also the parallel passage in chap. xi. 4. The corruption is easily explained from *v.* 5. The sense of *v.* 8 therefore is—“*And the he-goat did exceeding great things, and when he had become strong the great horn was broken, and there arose others, (even) four, in its place, toward the four winds of heaven*”.

9—12. With יָצָא before a feminine subject, cf. I Sam. xxv. 27. I Kings xxii. 36. מִצְעִירָה is generally supposed to mean “*from smallness*” or “*out of smallness*”, hence “*small*” (Von Lengerke). Hitzig considers the כֵּן “*redundant*”, but none of the passages which he quotes in support of this (II Sam. xiv. 11. Ps. xlix. 15. Ruth ii. 20) is conclusive. Ewald wishes to read מִצְעִירָה “*showing smallness*” i.e. “*appearing small*”. Graetz emends the passage by simply striking out the מ, but it is perhaps more probable that we should read קָרְנוֹ אֶחָדוֹת צְעִירָה in accordance with chap. vii. 8 קָרְנוֹ אֶחָדוֹת יְעִירָה. The corruption may be due to the האחת מהם almost immediately preceding. For יָתֵר the LXX. has καὶ ἐπάταξεν (i.e. וַתֵּר), which at first sight might seem preferable, but the Masoretic reading is confirmed by Is. lvi. 12; hence the ordinary translation “*exceedingly*” must be retained, cf. יְתִירָה chap. vii. 7, 19 and Syr. *yattir*. The little horn waxes great “*towards the South, and towards the East, and towards the Glory*”. By “*the South*” is meant Egypt

(see chap. xi. 25), by "the East" Media and Persia, and by הצבי, "the Glory", Jerusalem and the Temple, cf. ארץ הצבי chap. xi. 16, 41, הר צבי קדש xi. 45, and also Ezek. xx. 6. Instead of הצבי the LXX. has הצפון, which Graetz adopts, but it has all the appearance of a corruption, since the preceding words might easily lead a scribe to substitute הצפון for הצבי, whereas the contrary process would be inexplicable. This verse refers not merely to the foreign conquests of Antiochus, but to the extension of his influence and to the success of his intrigues, cf. chap. xi. 22—24. In v. 10 the relation of Antiochus to the Jews is more clearly defined. Here, as in chap. vii., the heavenly character of Israel, as distinguished from the nations of the earth, is specially emphasized. The "host of heaven" represents the people of God; but the term צבא is here used in a double sense and contains an allusion to the "service" in the Jewish Temple (Numb. iv. 23), as appears from v. 13. The "stars" are not distinguished from "the host of heaven"; the ו in ימין הכוכבים is explicative, as in Zech. ix. 9 (Hitzig). By the casting down of some of the stars are meant the cruelties perpetrated at Jerusalem by Antiochus and his agents (I Macc. i. 24, 30), and perhaps there may be a special reference to the deposition and subsequent murder of the high-priest Onias III. (see chap. xi. 22). Verses 11 and 12 are among the most difficult in the whole book, as is shewn by the great disagreement between the commentators. That the text is here very corrupt can scarcely be doubted. The transition from the feminine gender to the masculine (הַנְדִיל v. 11) would not in itself present any great difficulty, for it might be supposed that the author here drops the metaphor of a horn and speaks of Antiochus in direct terms, but in the second half of v. 12 the feminine gender reappears, although the horn has not again been mentioned—so that the above hypothesis must be abandoned. The idea naturally suggests itself that v. 11 and the first half of v. 12 may be an interpolation, but this notion is contradicted by v. 13. Nor can any help be derived from the LXX., which is here hopelessly confused. Even after we have struck out the obviously interpolated words *καὶ ἐρρίφη χαμαὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ εὐδώθη*, we cannot recover with any degree of

certainly the original text of the translation, still less the Hebrew text which lay before the translator. The following are the principal modern interpretations of the passage. Von Lengerke renders—“*Even unto the Prince of the host it exalted itself and took away from him the continual offering, and the place of his sanctuary was given up to destruction, and an host is delivered over together with the continual offering on account of iniquity, and it casteth the truth to the ground and will undertake and carry out with success*”. It is scarcely necessary to point out the difficulties of this translation—the construing of **סָבָא** as feminine¹, the rendering of **עַל** “together with”, etc. Hitzig agrees with Von Lengerke as to v. 11, excepting that he reads **וַהֲשִׁילָהּ** (historic Infinitive) instead of **וַהֲשִׁילָהּ**. In v. 12 he substitutes **וַהֲשִׁילָהּ** for **וַהֲשִׁילָהּ**, and translates, “*And a warfare was undertaken against the daily sacrifice with iniquity* (Und zu Felde gezogen ward wider das tägliche Opfer mit Frevel), *and the truth was cast down to the ground, and it* (i.e. the horn) *accomplished this, and made it to prosper*”. Ewald in v. 11 follows the *Kérī*, i.e. “*from him the daily sacrifice was taken away*”. In v. 12 he has, “*And armed force is imposed upon the daily sacrifice through iniquity* (Und Heerzwang wird auf das Tagtägliche durch Frevel gelegt)” etc. It will be observed that Hitzig and Ewald agree in attributing to **צְבָא** in v. 12 a sense altogether different from that which it bears in v. 11. Thus it appears that the passage, in its present form does not admit of a satisfactory rendering, and since no plausible emendation has, so far as I am aware, been suggested, we can conclude only, from what follows, that vv. 11 and 12 contained some allusion to the cessation of the daily sacrifice and to the pollution of the Temple with heathen rites. Beyond this all is mere conjecture.

13, 14. The vision properly so called is followed by a dialogue between two angels. Daniel has already seen that the daily sacrifice is to be suspended, and he naturally desires to

¹ Isaiah xl. 2 proves nothing as to the gender of **צְבָא**, for **מְלָאָה צְבָאָה** probably means “she hath finished her warfare” (i.e. **מְלָאָה**, cf. Gen. xxix. 27, 28). The Masoretes, who pronounced

מְלָאָה, evidently understood the words as “she is filled with her host”—the Targum has **אֲרִי עֵתִידָא רְתִיתְמְלִי** מעם גְּלוּתָהָא.

know how long the period of desolation will last. The question however is not uttered by Daniel himself but by an angel—an idea which was possibly suggested to the author by Zech. i. 12. With וְאִשְׁמָעֵל (in some MSS. וְאִשְׁמָעֵלָה) cf. אִשְׁמָעֵל I Kings xix. 20 and אִשְׁמָעֵלָה Is. xxvii. 4; Olshausen regards these forms as scribal errors, for in each case the original vowel of the second syllable must have been *ā* (*Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 122). On the phrase אֶחָד קָרָא see p. 30, and for the repetition of אֶחָד in the sense of “one” and “other” see Exod. xvii. 12. Jer. xxiv. 2. The LXX. presupposes אֶחָד both in the former and the latter clause—but this is no doubt an error. פְּלִמוֹנִי is absolutely unknown elsewhere, and is taken by all moderns as a contraction of פְּלִי אֱלִמֹנִי. So Symmachus has *τινὶ ποτε*, whereas the LXX., Theodotion and the Peshittā, not understanding the word, simply transcribe it, as though it were a proper name. The intentionally vague phrase “some one or other who spake” seems to be used in order to indicate that the angel was invisible to Daniel. What the first speaker said is not told us; the second asks a question which in the Masoretic text presents great difficulties. Von Lengerke translates, “*For how long is the vision—the continual offering and the desolating iniquity—the treading down both of the sanctuary and the host?*” Not to mention the wholly unparalleled construction תַּת וְקָדֵשׁ וְצַבָּא מְרַמָּם¹ (which, as the accents shew, was intended by the Masoretes), Von Lengerke’s rendering is open to the objection that, if the question refers, as doubtless it does, to the *suspension* of the daily sacrifice, the speaker is here made to express himself in as awkward and obscure a manner as can be imagined. Hitzig prefers to connect תַּת with what precedes, and translates “*For how long is the vision of the daily sacrifice—to leave unchecked the horrible iniquity and to trample down sanctuary and host?* (Bis wie lange das Gesicht vom täglichen Opfer? den entsetzlichen Frevel gewähren zu lassen, und Heiligthum und Heer zertreten?)” Whether this interpretation removes the difficulty may well be doubted, for not only is the placing of תַּת after its object without analogy, but the meaning “gewähren lassen” is

¹ Hävernick endeavours to defend this by citing Ps. lxxvi. 7 and Jer. xxxii. 20, but neither passage is conclusive.

altogether unproved. Under these circumstances it is impossible to believe the text to be correct. On the whole, the least improbable solution may perhaps be as follows. The LXX. has, "Ἔως τίνος τὸ ὄραμα στήσεται καὶ ἡ θυσία ἢ ἀρθείσα καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐρημώσεως ἢ δοθείσα, καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐρημωθήσεται εἰς καταπάτημα; here *στήσεται* was probably added as a gloss by the translator or by a later copyist, but the words *ἢ ἀρθείσα*, as Graetz observes, cannot be so explained and imply some additional word in the Hebrew. Graetz suggests הוֹרֵם; it is however more natural to postulate מוֹרֵם, for the presence of a participle after הִתְקַמֵּיר would account for the rendering of הָיָה by *ἢ δοθείσα*. To the article in *ἢ ἀρθείσα* and *ἢ δοθείσα* no importance can be attached, for it has been already shewn that the translator added the article in a perfectly arbitrary fashion (p. 51). For וּצְבָא he appears to have read יִצְבָא, as also in v. 12 [11]—but this is no doubt an error. The Hebrew basis of the LXX. may therefore have been—

עדמתי החזון והתמיד מורם והפשע שמתתוקרש וצבא מרמם

which may be read—

עד מתי החזון התמיד מוֹרֵם וְהַפְשַׁע שֶׁם מִקְרָשׁוֹ קִרְשׁ וּצְבָא מִרְמָם :

i.e. "For how long is the vision to be, while the daily sacrifice is taken away, and the Iniquity set up—from the time when he shall tread down the sanctuary and the service?" In this case הִתְקַמֵּיר מוֹרֵם is a circumstantial clause descriptive of the period which begins with the treading down of the sanctuary. The angel asks how long this period will continue. The "iniquity" which stands in opposition to the daily sacrifice must be identical with the "abomination" of chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11. For the Passive Participle שֶׁם, see Num. xxiv. 21. Obad. 4. The verb שׁוּם is the very word used of the setting up of heathen altars in Jer. xi. 13, cf. also Jer. vii. 30; xxxii. 34. In chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11 the author of Daniel uses the verb נָתַן in this connection, but שׁוּם and נָתַן are often employed interchangeably by Old Testament writers, even in the same context (Deut. vii. 15. Is. xli. 19; xliii. 16, 19. Jer. vi. 8; ix. 10. Ezek. xxv. 13; xxxv. 4). That in these passages of Daniel the verb should vary, would be no more astonishing than that we find פָּשַׁע in one passage

and שְׁקוּץ in the two others. In this verse both the Masoretes and the LXX. translator have been guided by the desire of assimilating the expression to that used in chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11, but in *both* cases the assimilation has involved a syntactical anomaly. Verse 14 contains the answer to the angel's question, and אֱלִי is therefore altogether inappropriate. The LXX., Theodotion, and the Peshītā all read אֱלִי, which Ewald, Hitzig, and most modern commentators accept as correct. The phrase עָרַב וּבָקַר must be explained according to v. 26. Consequently it is not, as Von Lengerke and others have supposed, a period of 24 hours (Gr. *νυχθημερον*), but is equivalent to ערב ובקר "successive evenings and mornings" (so Ewald, Hitzig, Kuenen, and Cornill), cf. Gen. viii. 22. Since it is a question of the suspension of the daily sacrifice, the verse alludes, no doubt, to the evening oblation (chap. ix. 21) and the morning oblation (Exod. xxix. 41). וְנִצְדַק קֹדֶשׁ "and then the sanctuary shall be justified"; the Niphal נִצְדַק, which is used nowhere else, seems to mean properly "to prove oneself just" and hence "to be manifested as just", cf. נִקְדַּשׁ "to shew oneself as holy" (Lev. xxii. 32. Ezek. xx. 41). The justification of the sanctuary is the vindication of its cause, for as long as it is polluted it lies under condemnation. The vagueness of the words וְנִצְדַק קֹדֶשׁ certainly appears to confirm the view of those who hold that when the author wrote the event had not taken place.

15—18. As in chap. vii., an interpretation of the vision is supplied by an angel. וְאַבְרָמָה בִּינָה does not necessarily imply a prayer to God, but is equivalent to צְבִית לְיִצְחָק (chap. vii. 19). The word נָבֵר is evidently used with reference to the name נְבִרְיָאֵל. קוֹל אָדָם (v. 16) "a human voice", i.e. a voice speaking in human language. בֵּין אֵילִי "between (the two banks of the) Ulai"—a somewhat strange ellipse; for the idea cf. chap. xii. 6. נְבִרְיָאֵל (Man of God), who among the later Jews was reckoned one of the archangels, appears here for the first time. It is well known that no names of angels are mentioned in any Jewish writing older than the book of Daniel¹, whereas works of the period

¹ The ancient Israelites, as Ewald observes (*Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, II.

283), assumed as a matter of course that an angel had no individual name,

immediately following, above all the book of Enoch, contain a highly developed angelology. To what influences this was due cannot, of course, be here discussed. הָלֵךְ, the shortened form of הַלְּכָה (which occurs only in Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxvii. 19), is the etymological equivalent of the Arabic relative pronoun ^{الذي} الَّذِي, shortened from the far commoner ^{الذي} الَّذِي. Elsewhere הָלֵךְ, and the feminine הַלְּכִי (Ezek. xxxvi. 35) are always appended to a determined noun (as is the case with הָנֵחָה, הַהוּחָה etc.), except in I Sam. xiv. 1, where הָלֵךְ has the adverbial sense "there". For the construction of הָלֵךְ with ל cf. chap. xi. 33. The terror with which Daniel is seized at the approach of Gabriel (*v.* 17) seems at first inconsistent with chap. vii. 16, but may be ascribed to the fact that 'Gabriel is no ordinary angel. Daniel is addressed as בְּנֵי־אֲנָךְ, a phrase presumably suggested by the book of Ezekiel; he is bidden to mark well, "*for the vision is for the time of the end*", i.e. it refers to the final crisis of the world's history, and is therefore worthy of peculiar attention. Unless we are prepared to deny that the chapter refers to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, this verse clearly shews that to the author the time of Antiochus was "the time of the end", or, in other words, that the Divine Kingdom was then to be established¹. In *v.* 18 Daniel, who was already prostrate, loses consciousness on hearing the angelic voice, cf. the parallel passage chap. x. 9. The phrase עַל עַמֶּר (cf. chap. x. 11) after the verb עָמַר is peculiar to the post-exilic style (Neh. xiii. 11. II Chron. xxx. 16; xxxiv. 31 etc.); an older writer would here use תַּחֲתָי (cf. I Sam. xiv. 9).

19—25. The interpretation of the vision is now given. The angel informs Daniel of what will take place "*in the last days of wrath*", i.e. at the end of the heathen domination, for the period of the subjection of Israel to the Gentiles is the period of the divine wrath (chap. xi. 36). כִּי לְמִתְעַרְבֵי גִזְן "*because*

i.e. he was merely one of a class (Gen. xxxii. 30), or else that his name was unutterable (Judges xiii. 18).

¹ Hävernick, who is forced to admit that "the little horn" of chap. viii. is

Antiochus, endeavours to save his theory of the book of Daniel by explaining that "the time of the end" means only "one of the most important periods in the history of Israel"!

(it is) for the time of the end"; cf. *vv.* 17, 26, and chap. x. 14. עֲתֵיָהָן and מוֹעֵד גָּזֵן are identical terms, since עֵת bears much the same relation to מוֹעֵד that שָׁבָת bears to מוֹשָׁב (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 17; cxxxii. 13)¹. Verse 20 explains that the ram represents the "kings", i.e. the empires, of the Medes and Persians, cf. chap. vii. 17 where the Four Empires are called "four kings". In *v.* 21 "king" is used in both senses; the he-goat is the "empire" of the Greeks, and the great horn is the first "king". הַשָּׁעִיר is scarcely an epithet ("hairy"), but a synonym of הַצִּדְיִיר, added by way of explanation. הַנִּשְׁבָּרָת (*v.* 22) is a *Nominativus pendens*, "and as for the horn that was broken, so that four arose in its place" etc. On the peculiar form מְלֻכִּיּוֹת see p. 30. Instead of מְנוֹי we should perhaps read מְנוֹיּוֹ, with Graetz, though the reading of the LXX. τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ proves very little; the conjecture is supported by what follows, וְלֹא בָּכְחוֹ, where the suffix obviously refers to Alexander (cf. ch. xi. 4). The form יַעֲמֹדְנָה is rather to be regarded as an Aramaism than as a survival of primitive Hebrew inflection—the only cases apparently analogous are Gen. xxx. 38. I Sam. vi. 12. The "four kingdoms", which in *v.* 8 and chap. xi. 4 correspond to the four winds, are, according to Porphyry, Macedonia, Syria, Asia, and Egypt—according to Von Lengerke, Hitzig and others, Thrace (North), Egypt (South), Syria (East), and Macedonia (West). But since in chap. xi. the Seleucidae are called kings of the North, not kings of the East, it is perhaps more probable that chap. viii. 22 refers to Syria, Egypt, Parthia, and Macedonia; of the two latter, with which the Palestinian Jews never came directly in contact, the author may have had but a vague knowledge, so that we need find no difficulty in the fact that the Parthian kingdom was formed long after the other three. In *v.* 23 the phrase כְּהִתֵּם הַפְּשִׁיעִים is rendered by Von Lengerke and Hitzig, "when the sinners fill up their measure". By "the sinners" are meant the heathen oppressors. The LXX., Theodotion, and the Peshittā read "the sins" (הַפְּשָׁעִים), and this has been accepted by Ewald, on account of chap. ix. 24. But if the author had meant "when

¹ I here assume that Delitzsch is right in connecting עֵת with יָעַר. Others have derived עֵת from עָרָה or even from עָרָה.

the sins have come to the full", he would presumably have said *בָּתוֹם הַפְּשָׁעִים* (cf. Is. xviii. 5). The objection which has sometimes been raised (e.g. by Meinhold) that the full measure of sin was not reached until after Antiochus had arisen, is hardly cogent, for the reign of Antiochus is obviously included in the *אַחֲרֵית מַלְכוּתָם*, and all that the author intends, by inserting the words *כִּהְתָּם הַפְּשָׁעִים*, is to designate the *latter* days of Greek supremacy as the worst. "*A king insolent and skilled in double-dealing*"—*חִירוֹת* has here a more general sense than "dark sayings", and means much the same as *חִלְקָלְקוֹת* in chap. xi. 21. Verse 24 contains several difficulties. *וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ* signifies, according to Hävernick and others, "not by his own power, but by the permission of God". Von Lengerke more naturally explains "not by his strength, but by his intrigues" (cf. chap. xi. 23 *וְעָלָה וְעָצָם*), *כֹּחַ* being used in a double sense. Very improbable is Ewald's interpretation, according to which the suffix in *כֹּחוֹ* refers to Alexander the Great. Perhaps *וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ* in *v.* 24 has been wrongly introduced from *v.* 22; in any case, if we strike out these words the sense is in no wise impaired. *וְנִפְלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִית* is rendered by almost all commentators, "*and he shall destroy wonderfully*"; in support of this Job xxxvii. 5 is quoted, but from such a passage no safe conclusion can be drawn. Graetz admits that *יִשְׁחִית* is suspicious, but suggests no emendation. I venture to propose *וְנִפְלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִח* or *וְנִפְלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִח* "*and he shall utter monstrous things*" (cf. *וְדַבֵּר נִפְלְאוֹת* chap. xi. 36). The verb *יִשְׁחִח* is almost entirely confined to the poetical style, but the borrowing of poetical words is, as we have seen, characteristic of Daniel. The latter part of *v.* 24 must be discussed in connection with *v.* 25, which is usually translated "*and through his cunning he shall cause fraud to prosper in his hand*" etc.—contrary to all syntax. Graetz, following the LXX., reads *וְעַל קְרָשִׁים שְׂכָלוֹ*—which we may safely accept. It has already been suggested (p. 53), in discussing the LXX. text of this passage, that the last words of *v.* 24 *וְעַל קְרָשִׁים* are an interpolation occasioned by the beginning of *v.* 25. This view is confirmed by an examination of the context. We should scarcely be told first that Antiochus "destroyed the people of the saints", and afterwards that "his mind was against them". Accordingly it appears that

by the “many” (עַצְיוֹמִים) in *v.* 24 we are to understand, not the Jews, but the political enemies of Antiochus, who, being a usurper, naturally had many opponents among the upper classes (see chap. xi. 22—24). It was not until he had firmly established himself on the throne that his hatred of the Jewish religion began to shew itself. Thus the author, having described in *v.* 24 the political successes of Antiochus, passes on, in *v.* 25, to describe the king’s contest against Judaism, and fittingly introduces the subject with the words וְעַל קְרָשִׁים שָׂבָלוּ “and against the Saints shall his mind be”, cf. וּלְבָבוֹ עַל-בְּרִית קֹדֶשׁ chap. xi. 28. בְּלָבָבוֹ יִגְדִיל is usually explained as “he shall be proud”, but it is rather, “he shall devise great things”; the Hiphil expresses the idea of *producing* something great, whether in the way of deeds or thoughts. The destroying of many “unawares” perhaps refers to the treacherous attack upon Jerusalem described in I Macc. i. 30; for the phrase בְּשִׁלְלוֹהָ see p. 31. The “Prince of princes” is God, cf. chap. ii. 47. “Without hand” means, of course, “not by human means, but by a special divine intervention”, cf. chap. ii. 34.

26, 27. The angel ends his speech with a solemn assertion of the truth of “the vision concerning the evening and the morning”, i.e. concerning the daily sacrifice (*v.* 14). Here for the first time Daniel is commanded “to hide the vision”, see chap. xii. 4; the author of the book evidently intends by these words to explain how the revelation made to Daniel had remained hidden until the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The ellipse in כִּי לְיָמִים רַבִּים is precisely like that in *v.* 19. In *v.* 27 נִהְיִיתִי and the following ו are ignored by the LXX.; if the Masoretic text be correct, נִהְיִיתִי means “I came to an end” (cf. chap. ii. 1), i.e. “I was exhausted”, but it must be admitted that nowhere else is נִהְיִיתִי so used. The Pēshittā has zā’ēth “I trembled”—evidently a guess. The words וְאִין מְבִין “and there was none who understood”, do not, of course, imply that Daniel communicated the vision to others, but the phrase must be taken as signifying “and (I was) no understander (thereof)”; see what has been said on וְאִין מְבִין in *v.* 5, and for the idea cf. chap. xii. 8.

CHAPTER IX.

The two last visions of Daniel (chaps. ix—xii) differ from the preceding ones in that the events of history are no longer exhibited in the symbolical form of beasts, horns, etc., but are communicated to Daniel in direct terms. The vision in chap. ix. is dated from the first year of Darius, and is introduced by a long preface. The text of *v.* 2, interpreted in its most obvious sense, informs us that Daniel “understood by the Scriptures” the prediction of the prophet Jeremiah, according to which the desolation of Jerusalem was to last *70 years*. Thereupon Daniel confesses before God the sins of Israel, acknowledges the justice of their punishment, and implores mercy. Whilst he is praying, the angel Gabriel appears with the announcement that *70 weeks* are decreed for Israel, and that at the end of that period the sins of Daniel’s people will be pardoned for ever.

This vision has been a subject of controversy, from a very early time, both among Jews and Christians. Ecclesiastical writers of the 3rd century differ widely from one another on the subject, and even so late as the time of Jerome there was no interpretation generally accepted in the Church. Similar disagreement prevailed among the medieval Rabbins, and in modern times the methods devised for solving the problem have been innumerable. To pass in review all the rival interpretations is therefore impossible; the utmost that can be attempted is to make a general classification, giving specimens of the principal types.

The main points to be discussed are (1) What is meant by a *week*? and (2) What events form the starting-point and the conclusion of the series?

As to the first of these questions, the great majority of interpreters, whether Jewish or Christian, ancient or modern, have held that a “week” is a period of *seven years*. Some early

Christians, however, according to Eusebius (*Demonstr. Evang.* VIII.), explained the last week as a period of *seventy years*, while admitting that the other sixty-nine weeks were periods of seven years only. To this very arbitrary assumption they were led solely by the desire of making the 70th week cover the time between the Crucifixion of Christ and the reign of Trajan. A notion still more extravagant has in modern times been defended by Kliefoth, Keil, and others. According to these writers the "weeks" are "symbolical" "heavenly" or in plain language *unknown* periods, and Keil proceeds to assure us that the incomprehensibility of the revelation is a striking proof of its divine origin¹. Every other interpretation, it seems, does violence to the text; this alone satisfies all the conditions of the problem. But in reality, this theory is more obviously at variance with the text than any other that has been proposed. Verses 22, 23, and 25, certainly imply that the duration of the weeks was definitely known; indeed, save upon this assumption, the speech of the angel would be, from beginning to end, a piece of elaborate mockery.

Very much greater is the difference of opinion as to the beginning and end of the 70 weeks. On this subject no pre-Christian interpretation has been handed down to us, for to argue, with Hitzig and others, that the LXX. translator regarded the 70 weeks as coming to an end in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, is unsafe, owing to the confused state of the Greek text in this passage. According to Jerome, the Jews of his age made the 70 weeks to begin with the date of the vision, i.e. the first year of Darius the Mede, and to end with the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian. The medieval Jews, on the other hand, usually reckoned the weeks from the destruction of the First Temple to the destruction of the Second, under Titus, the

¹ Lest it should be suspected that I have here exaggerated the absurdity of Keil's theory, I will cite his own words. "Die Weissagung verliert dadurch, dass sie die Entwicklungszeiten der zukünftigen Vollendung des Gottesreichs und dieser Welt nach symbolischen nicht nach irdisch-

chronologischen Zeitmaassen vorausverkündigt, nicht das Geringste von ihrem Offenbarungscharakter, sondern erweist dadurch erst recht ihren göttlichen über menschliches Meinen und Denken erhabenen Ursprung". Keil, *Commentar*, p. 332.

first 7 weeks being the period of the Exile and the "Anointed One" of v. 25 being Cyrus¹. But Ben Ezra, while admitting that the 70 weeks end with Titus, makes them to begin with the date of the vision, the first seven weeks extending as far as Nehemiah, who is the "Anointed One".

Early Christian theologians naturally endeavoured to find in the passage a prediction of Christ, but the great discordance between them sufficiently proves the difficulty of the task which they undertook.

According to Julius Africanus (ap. Euseb.), the 70 weeks begin with the decree of Artaxerxes, in the 20th year of his reign (Neh. ii. 1—9), and end with the Crucifixion of Christ in the 15th year of Tiberius. But as this amounts to 475 years only, instead of 490, which is the number required, Julius Africanus attempts to get over the difficulty by saying that we are to count by lunar, not by solar, years.

Hippolytus differs from Julius Africanus in that he recognizes a meaning in the division of the 70 weeks into 7 + 62 + 1. He makes the 7 weeks to extend from the date of Daniel's vision to the Return of the Exiles under Joshua the high-priest, Ezra, and Zerubbabel (*sic*), and the 62 weeks from the Return of the Exiles to the birth of Christ. The 70th and last week Hippolytus severs from the rest, and places at the end of the world, in the time of the Antichrist (see the fragments of Hippolytus' *Commentary on Daniel*, in Migne's *Patrologia Graeco-Latina*, Vol. x, and also *Das neu entdeckte vierte Buch des Daniel-Kommentars von Hippolytus*, ed. Bratke, Bonn, 1891).

Eusebius (*Demonstr. Evang.* VIII.) dates the 7 weeks from the Return of the Exiles in the 1st year of Cyrus to the completion of the Temple and the surrounding buildings in the 9th year of Darius Hystaspis². The 62 weeks he makes to extend from the time of Darius to the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, in 63 B.C. He explains the "Anointed One" as a collective term, referring to the Jewish high-priests from Joshua son of

¹ So Saadia the Gāōn (cited by Ben Ezra), and Rashi.

² This Eusebius reckons as a period

of 49 years, whereas it amounted in reality to 26 only (from 538 to 512 B.C.).

Jozadak to Alexander (Yannai), whose death (79 B.C.) he places 482 years after the accession of Cyrus¹. Another view which Eusebius admits to be possible, is that the 70 weeks begin with the second year of Darius and that the 69th week ends with the death of the high-priest Hyrcanus II. (30 B.C.). The 70th week Eusebius, like Hippolytus, detaches from the others; but he does not regard it as still future. It extends, according to him, from the beginning of Christ's public ministry to the middle of the fourth year after the Crucifixion. The causing of the sacrifice and offering to cease (Dan. ix. 27) refers to the fact that upon the death of Christ the services in the Jewish Temple ceased to be recognized by God².

Apollinarius, according to Jerome, maintained that the 70 weeks did not begin till the birth of Christ; in the last week (from 483 to 490 A.D.) Elijah and the Antichrist were to appear. On this theory Jerome sagely remarks, *Periculose de incertis profert sententiam*.

It will be seen at once that the above patristic interpretations agree in nothing but in the attempt to establish a more or less fanciful connection between the 70 weeks and the rise of Christianity. Not one of them has any claim to be regarded as the interpretation current among the Christians of the Apostolic age, still less as an interpretation derived from a pre-Christian source. Here, as in so many other cases, a "traditional" explanation does not exist. The explanations given by the Rabbins and the Christian Fathers follow no definite system whatsoever, but are merely the random guesses of individuals, the gropings of men who lacked the clue to the book³. The endeavour made by modern apologists to obscure the subject by the introduction of dogmatic considerations is therefore alto-

¹ Strictly speaking therefore the 62 weeks (i.e. 434 years) should close at the death of the high-priest Alexander, not at the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey 16 years later.

² Some of the details of Eusebius' theory are uncertain, as the Latin translation by Jerome varies considerably from the present Greek text, but

any one who compares the two will, I think, admit that the abstract I have given is, in the main, correct.

³ "*Scio de hac quaestione ab eruditissimis viris varie disputatum et unumquemque pro captu ingenii sui dixisse quod senserat*". Jerome, *Comm. in Dan. cap. ix.*

gether futile. If the question is to be decided at all, it must be decided on scientific grounds alone.

The first principle to be laid down for the interpretation of the vision is that it should be studied in close connection with what precedes. The prayer of Daniel and the revelation made to him are indissolubly linked together (*v.* 23). What then is the principal subject of Daniel's petition? Verse 20 supplies the answer—he prays on behalf of the “holy mountain” of God, that is, Jerusalem and the Temple. Accordingly we have a right to assume that Jerusalem and the Temple are also the subjects of the revelation; any interpretation which makes the speech of Gabriel to turn upon some different topic, must be unhesitatingly rejected. The 70 weeks, we are expressly told, concern, not the world in general, but the people and the holy city of Daniel (*v.* 24).

Another point to which special notice must be called is that the revelation sent to Daniel is intended “to give him clear understanding” (*v.* 22), he is to “understand and know” its contents (*v.* 25). We are therefore bound to suppose that the author of the chapter knew what was meant by a week, and knew from what point the 70 weeks were to be reckoned.

The 70 weeks obviously stand in connection with the 70 years of *v.* 2. Elsewhere in the Bible the word “week” always means a week of days (*Dan.* x. 2), but that this cannot be the case here is evident, and the idea of weeks of years therefore naturally presents itself. The institution of the sabbatical year proves that the *notion* of a week of years was quite familiar to the ancient Jews—the word Sabbath being applied indifferently to the 7th day and to the 7th year (*Lev.* xxv. 2, 4). It has often been noticed that, according to the author of the book of Chronicles, the 70 years of captivity foretold by Jeremiah corresponded to 70 sabbatical years (*II Chron.* xxxvi. 21 as compared with *Lev.* xxvi. 34, 35). Moreover if we believe the book of Daniel to have been composed in the Maccabean period, there is yet another reason for the connection between the 70 years and the 70 weeks of years. For, as I have before pointed out, the 2nd verse of this chapter states that the author understood by reading the Scriptures the number of the years fixed for the

desolation of Jerusalem according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, i.e. he discovered in the Scriptures something which enabled him rightly to understand Jeremiah's prediction. But to what passage of Scripture does he here refer? Some light is thrown on the question by *vv.* 11 and 13, where the punishment that has come upon Israel is said to be "written in the law of Moses". All commentators are agreed that Lev. xxvi. 14 ff. is at least one of the passages which the author had in mind. But no one, so far as I am aware, has noticed that the *special* allusion is to Lev. xxvi. 18, 21, 24, 28, where it is emphatically declared that the Israelites are to be punished *seven times* for their sins. The 70 weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10 with Lev. xxvi. 18 ff. The motive is obvious. Since he firmly believed in the infallibility of Jeremiah's prediction, and was at the same time painfully conscious that the prediction, in its literal sense, had received but a very partial fulfilment, it became necessary to seek for some new interpretation. This was supplied by the passage in Leviticus. The 70 years of Jeremiah were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected. In the exegesis of the later Jews such deductions, formed by artificially combining different passages of Scripture, were extremely common.

If therefore the 70 weeks are merely the 70 years of Jeremiah multiplied by 7, it is clear that the 70 weeks must begin in the time of Jeremiah. The question has often been discussed whether the *terminus a quo* is the date of Jeremiah's prediction, as is maintained by Hitzig, or the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, as is maintained by Von Lengerke, Ewald, and Schürer. It is probable, as Graetz remarks, that the author of Daniel did not separate these two events in his mind but regarded them as contemporaneous. To the post-exilic Jews what seemed important was the fact that Jeremiah, the prophet of the last days of the Judæan kingdom, had foretold 70 years of desolation. The precise date of the prophecy was immaterial. Accordingly in II Chron. xxxvi. 21 the 70 years are represented as beginning with the destruction of Jeru-

salem¹, and there is every reason to suppose that the author of Daniel took the same view.

On the other hand, those modern interpreters who connect the 70 weeks with the coming of Christ naturally endeavour to place the *terminus a quo* much later. For this purpose two principal theories have been proposed: that of Hengstenberg who dates the 70 weeks from the 20th year of Artaxerxes I., and that of Auberlen who dates them from the 7th year of the same king. In order to make the 490 years end at the time required, Hengstenberg has recourse to the extraordinary assumption that Artaxerxes I. came to the throne in 474 B.C. (so that his 20th year would begin in 455), and discovers, as we might have expected, many wonderful confirmations of this idea. But since it is now admitted by every one that Artaxerxes I. began to reign in 465 or 464 B.C., Hengstenberg's theory has been generally abandoned. With regard to the theory of Auberlen, it is sufficient to remark that it contradicts the text, for how could Daniel be said to "understand the vision", if the *terminus a quo*, upon which the whole matter depended, were an event that took place some 70 or 80 years after his death? Are we to suppose that on some previous occasion, of which nothing is recorded, the history of the reign of Artaxerxes had been supernaturally revealed to him?

Since therefore the 70 weeks begin with the destruction of Jerusalem, we may proceed to examine the division into $7 + 62 + 1$. Great as are the obscurities of the text in some matters of detail, the following facts stand out clearly. The first 7 weeks date from "the going forth of the word" for the building of Jerusalem, and end with the appearance of an Anointed One, a Prince. The 62 weeks end with the cutting off of an Anointed One. The one remaining week is divided into halves—during the latter half "sacrifice and oblation" are suspended. All critical interpreters identify the second half of the last week with the "time, times, and half a time" of chap.

¹ This is quite compatible with the fact that the Chronicler seems to regard the Return of the Exiles under Cyrus as the close of the 70 years

(II Chron. xxxvi. 22). Zechariah, writing circa 519 B.C., evidently thought that the 70 years were only just coming to an end (Zech. i. 12).

vii. 25, so that the middle of this week must coincide with the cessation of the daily sacrifice, by the order of Antiochus, near the close of the year 168 B.C. (see p. 128, note), and the 70th week therefore ends in 164. But here a difficulty arises. From 588 B.C. (the probable date of the destruction of Jerusalem) to 164 there are only 424 years. Of this fact various explanations have been suggested. Ewald imagines that the full sum of 490 years was diminished, owing to an afterthought of the writer, and even goes so far as to maintain that a passage, in which this was stated, has fallen out at the end of the chapter. The theory has, it need hardly be said, found few adherents. Von Lengerke and Hitzig make the 7 weeks to run parallel with the first 7 weeks in the next series (i.e. the 62 weeks), instead of preceding them. But this interpretation, if less fantastic than Ewald's, is at least highly artificial and scarcely reconcilable with the text. Finally, Graf, Nöldeke, and Cornill have given it as their opinion that the author of Daniel, who lived amongst a people very imperfectly acquainted with the chronology of remote ages, followed an incorrect computation. Schürer agrees with this view, and shews that a precisely similar error is found in other Jewish writers; thus Josephus places the reign of Cyrus some 40 or 50 years too early (compare *Bell. Jud.* vi. 4, 8. *Antiq.* XIII. 11, 1; xx. 10), while Demetrius, an Egyptian Jew who composed a work on chronology about the end of the 3rd century B.C., places the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.) 573 years before the accession of Ptolemy IV. (222 B.C.)¹. We cannot suppose that either Demetrius or Josephus was exceptionally ignorant of chronology, and if professed historians could fall into such mistakes, it is absurd to expect superior accuracy in an apocalyptic work such as Daniel. The difficulty of calculating dates in the ancient world was much greater than is usually imagined². Until the establishment of the Seleucid era, in 312 B.C., the Jews had no fixed era whatsoever. Hence the length of the period between

¹ See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, II. p. 616.

² A curious instance of this is seen in the fact that the Persians, under

the Sāsānian kings, reckoned only 266 years from Alexander the Great to the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty (228 A.D.).

Cyrus and Alexander could be discovered only by summing up the reigns of the Persian kings, and it may be doubted whether, in the Maccabean age, one Jew in ten thousand was acquainted even with the names and order of these kings, not to mention the length of their reigns, for the study of non-Biblical history was never a part of Jewish education.

It has sometimes been objected that since the author of Daniel recognizes only 4 Persian kings (see chap. xi. 2), and since the existence of the Seleucid era must have enabled him to compute approximately the date of Alexander, he cannot have made the interval between Cyrus and Alexander so great as the above interpretation would require. But this objection proceeds upon the unfounded assumption that all those chronological difficulties which occur to us must have occurred to the author of Daniel.

1—3. On Darius, son of Ahasuerus, see the Introduction to chap. vi. The name אַחַשְׁוֵרִיִּשׁ was possibly borrowed by the author from Ezra or from Esther, in both of which books it is spelt as in Daniel. But the form originally in use among the Jews was no doubt אַחַשְׁיָרֶשׁ (pron. *Ahashyarsh* or *Ahshayarsh*), for the native Persian form is *Khshayārshā*, and on an Aramaic stele found in Egypt and now preserved at Berlin, the name is written חַשְׁיָרֶשׁ (see the *Corpus Inscr. Sem.* Pt. 2, N^o. 122). With בִּינְתִי (v. 2) compare רִיבוֹתָ Job xxxiii. 13. These forms were regarded by Ewald as shortened from הַבִּינְתִי and הַרִיבוֹתָ, but Nöldeke has shewn, in the *Z. D. M. G.* xxxvii. p. 525 ff., that the dropping of the ה of the Hiphil, where there is no prefix, is impossible in Hebrew¹. Accordingly בִּינְתִי is either a *Ḳal*, inflected according to the analogy of the Hiphil and of such forms as סְבוֹתִי, or else a mere scribal error for בְּנִתִי, cf. בְּנִתָּהּ Ps. cxxxix. 2. בִּינְתִי בַּפְּרִים is rendered by Von Lengerke “*I sought to understand the Scriptures*”, and by Hitzig “*I marked in the Scriptures the number of the years*” etc. But if the view suggested on p. 146 be correct, the sense must be “*I understood by the Scriptures*” etc.—the Scriptures being here the Pentateuch. With the form מְלֹאוֹת cf. מְלֹאוֹת Jer. xxv. 12 and מְלֹאוֹת Jer. xxix.

¹ See also Wright, *Comp. Gramm.* p. 244, where the same view is taken.

10. Such forms are combinations of the vulgar pronunciation מְלוּחַ, מְלוּחַ, with the etymologically correct מְלִיחַ, מְלִיחַ; see again chap. x. 3. In *v.* 3 “to seek prayer and supplication” is, of course, to apply oneself to them, cf. Zeph. ii. 3.

4—9. This prayer bears a striking resemblance to those in Neh. i. 5 ff.; ix. 6 ff., and to that in the Book of Baruch i. 15 ff.¹ It is commonly supposed that the author of Daniel copied from Nehemiah. But it is also possible that both writers were merely using current formulae, for the language of devotion is peculiarly liable to flow in traditional grooves, and how often must prayers such as these have been offered up by the devout Israelites during the long ages of Gentile oppression! Daniel here speaks as the representative of his people, and it is remarkable that in the whole prayer there is not a single verse which does not apply at least as well to the days of Antiochus Epiphanes as to the days of the Babylonian Exile. Nowhere does the speaker even hint that he is at a distance from Palestine; in *v.* 7 the phrase “all Israel, those who are near and those who are afar off in all the lands whither Thou hast driven them”, can scarcely mean anything but “those Jews who are in Palestine and those who are in foreign countries”, the speaker himself belonging to the former of these classes. The expression “our kings”, in *v.* 8, does not, of course, assume the existence of a Jewish king at the moment, any more than it does in Neh. ix. 32. The speaker is here looking back upon the history of Israel, and he confesses that from of old his people have been transgressors.

10—14. For מְלִיחַ see *v.* 27 and Jer. xlii. 18; xlii. 6. II Chron. xii. 7; the same metaphor occurs again in Ps. lxxix. 6 and Rev. xvi. “The curse and the oath which is written in the law of Moses” refers back to *v.* 2 and, as has before been said, to Lev. xxvi. 18 ff. In *v.* 12 “judges” is apparently a general term for “rulers” (Amos ii. 3. Ps. ii. 10). Ewald, believing that the author of Daniel copied from Baruch, considers this verse an abbreviated form of Bar. ii. 1, where the word “judges”

¹ Compare especially Dan. ix. 4 with 15—17; Dan. ix. 12, 13 with Bar. ii. Neh. i. 5 (which again is based upon 1, 2; Dan. ix. 14 with Neh. ix. 33. Deut. vii. 9); Dan. ix. 7, 8 with Bar. i. Bar. ii. 9; Dan. ix. 15 with Neh. ix. 10.

is evidently used in its special historical sense. For אֲשֶׁר “so that”, in אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִנְעָשׂוּתָהּ, see I Kings iii. 12. Is. lxxv. 16. To the pious Jews the outrages committed by Antiochus at Jerusalem appeared altogether unparalleled, as we can see from the terms, doubtless somewhat hyperbolic, which are employed in I Macc. i. 39, 40; ii. 7—12. In v. 13 the אַתּ in אַתּ כָּל־הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת is probably due to the preceding passive, בָּתוּב, cf. Num. xxxii. 5. I Kings ii. 21. לְהִשְׁבִּיל בְּאִמְתָּךְ is rendered by Von Lengerke “to become wise through Thy truth”, and by Hitzig “to have insight into Thy faithfulness (einzusehen deine Treue)”, i.e. to realize that God fulfils His threats; the original meaning of the root שָׁבַל is, of course, “to gaze”, “to contemplate”. With the phrase וַיִּשְׁקֹד יְהוָה עַל־הַרְעָה (v. 14) cf. Jer. i. 12.

15—19. Upon the confession of sin now follows the prayer for deliverance. “*And so Thou gattest to Thyself renown as at this day*”, i.e. the memory of Thy deeds is still living among us, cf. Ps. xlv. 1 ff. That the recollection of God’s acts in the remote past and, above all, of the Exodus from Egypt, contributed greatly to rouse the enthusiasm of the Jews in the Maccabean age, appears from many indications. In v. 16 צְדָקֹתָךְ (with defective spelling, according to Baer) “*Thy righteous acts*”, are the works which God has wrought for His people, cf. Judg. v. 11. I Sam. xii. 7. The words “*Jerusalem and Thy people are a reproach to all that are round about us*” exactly express the position of the faithful Jews under Antiochus, since in addition to the tyranny of the king they had to endure the taunts of their heathen neighbours, the Edomites, the Ammonites, etc. The word שָׂמָם (v. 17) is chosen with special reference to שְׂקוּיֵן שָׂמָם (chap. xii. 11), i.e. the heathen altar set up in the Temple. Instead of לְמַעַן אֲרֵדֶיךָ the LXX. has ἔνεκεν τῶν δούλων σου δέσποτα, i.e. לְמַעַן עַבְדֶּיךָ אֲרֵדֶיךָ, which gives a decidedly better sense. For though in this prayer the speaker several times passes from the second to the third person without any apparent reason, the words לְמַעַן אֲרֵדֶיךָ, following immediately upon a petition, would be very harsh. Nor can it be objected that לְמַעַן עַבְדֶּיךָ is inconsistent with the confession of the utter unworthiness of Israel, for the same phrase occurs in Is. lxiii. 17, a passage of very similar import. The opening words of

v. 18 are almost identical with II Kings xix. 16. Is. xxxvii. 17.

20—23. Though Daniel had already *understood* the meaning of Jeremiah's prophecy (v. 2), Gabriel appears, before the prayer is ended, to give him fuller and more explicit information. With *הָאִישׁ* "the man", as applied to Gabriel, cf. *בְּמַרְאֵה* *בְּמַרְאֵה* chap. viii. 15 and also Acts i. 10. For *בְּתַחֲלָה* "*previously*" see chap. viii. 1. The peculiar phrase *מְעַרְבֵי עָרָה* is rendered by Hävernick and Von Lengerke "*being caused to hasten with haste*", *מְעַרְבֵי* being taken as a participle Hophal from *עָרָה*, a verb which elsewhere is used only in the *Kal*, and which, it must be admitted, never means "to hasten" but "to be weary". *עָרָה* is a noun of the same form as *עָרָה*. Theodotion, the Peshittā, and the Vulgate have here "*flying*", according to which interpretation *מְעַרְבֵי* would be from *עָרָה*; but to this there are two objections, firstly that *בְּתַחֲלָה* would then become inexplicable, and secondly that nowhere in the Old Testament are angels represented as flying¹. Meinhold takes *מְעַרְבֵי עָרָה* as referring to Daniel, and translates the clause, "*whom I had seen previously, when I was exhausted*", cf. chap. viii. 17, 18. *נִגְשָׁה אֵלַי* "*approaching me*", cf. Jon. iii. 6. Job iv. 5. "*About the time of the evening oblation*", see Acts iii. 1. The mention of the oblation doubtless refers to the suspension of the daily sacrifice—Daniel is praying for the holy mountain of his God at the hour when, in the usual course of things, the evening oblation would be offered. For *וַיְבִינֵנִי* (v. 22) "*and he instructed (me)*", the LXX. and the Peshittā read *וַיָּבֵא* "*and he came*". The phrase *לְהַשְׁכִּילָךְ בִּינָה* apparently signifies, not "*to cause thee to understand the meaning of the prophecy*" (Von Lengerke), but rather "*to give thee clear understanding*"—*בִּינָה* being used adverbially, cf. *אֶל תִּתְנֶנּוּ בָם מְלַחְמָה* 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 in *וַיְבִינֵנִי בְּהֵם* and *וַיְבִינֵנִי בְּהֵם* I Sam. xix. 8) to the so-called accusative of manner (as in *וַיְבִינֵנִי בְּהֵם וְהַשְׁכִּילָךְ* Jer. iii. 15). *וַיֵּצֵא דְבָר* (v. 23) "*a word went forth*", i.e. the divine sentence, which now follows, was uttered. With the term *חֲמוּדוֹת*, applied to Daniel, we must

¹ Jacob's dream, in Gen. xxviii. 12, obviously assumes that angels are wingless.

compare אִישׁ תְּמִדוֹת in chap. x. 11, 19; the expression is a peculiar one, for elsewhere תְּמִדוֹת is used of things, never of persons (see Dan. x. 3; xi. 38, 43); the only passage in which the verb תמד has God as its subject is Ps. lxxviii. 17, the object being *impersonal*. The LXX. has here ὅτι ἔλεεινός εἶ, and ἄνθρωπος ἔλεεινός in chap. x. 11, 19, i.e. the translator read חסדות (חֲסָדוֹת) instead of תמדוֹת, for ἔλεος is the most usual rendering of חֶסֶד. In favour of this reading it might be urged that אנשי חסידות “men of piety” actually occurs in the Palestinian Talmud (*Sōtāh* ix., near the end). But, on the whole, the Masoretic text is here to be preferred, for singular as the expression אִישׁ תְּמִדוֹת appears, it may have been suggested by some such phrase as יָלַד שְׁעֵשׂוּעִים Jer. xxxi. 19. With the use of the fem. plural תמדוֹת as “an object of affection”, cf. בְּרָכוֹת “an object of blessings” Ps. xxi. 7. וְהָגוּ בְּדָבָר וְהָגוּ בְּמַרְאֵה “therefore heed the word, and give heed to the vision”; גִּיּוֹ is here the Imperat. קָל, of the same form as שִׁים (see what has been said on בִּינְתִי v. 2), and apparently does not differ in meaning from הָגוּ, cf. רְשָׁעֵנִי v. 15 and הֲרַשָּׁעֵנִי v. 5.

24. This verse lays down the fundamental principle, which is afterwards explained in detail. The 70 years foretold by Jeremiah are to be understood as 70 weeks of years, and by the end of this period the redemption of Israel will be complete. It has already been remarked that elsewhere in the Old Testament שְׁבוּעַ always means “a week of days”, here only “a week of years”; in this latter sense it is sometimes used in post-Biblical Hebrew, e.g. in the Mishnah, *Sanh.* v. 1. Instead of the Pl. שְׁבָעִים, which occurs 6 times in Daniel, other Biblical writers employ שְׁבַעַתוֹ (e.g. Exod. xxxiv. 22. Deut. xvi. 9. II Chron. viii. 13). On נִחְדָּתָה “have been decreed”, see p. 30; for the use of the singular form of the verb with a plural subject, cf. Gen. xxxv. 26. Job xxii. 9, in both of which cases the verb has, as here, a *passive* meaning. The expression “thy people and thy holy city” does not imply, as Jerome imagines, that Israel and Jerusalem are no longer recognized by God, but is used because Daniel represents the true Israel, cf. עַמְּךָ chap. xii. 1 and the phrase בֵּית קְדְשֵׁנִי וְתַפְאֲרָתֵנִי Is. lxiv. 10. Von Lengerke rightly observes that the Infinitives which now follow

refer, not to the events which take place during the course of the 70 weeks, but to the blessings with which the 70 weeks conclude. מְרַפָּא לְבָלָא stands for מְרַפָּא לְבָלֹת, as in Jer. xxxviii. 4 מְרַפָּא stands for מְרַפָּה, owing to the confusion (doubtless the result of Aramaic influence) between roots with final א and those with final י. Von Lengerke chooses to read לְבָלָא, which he renders "to shut in" (einschliessen); but such a metaphor is very forced. In וְלַחֲתֵם הַטְּאוֹת the word וְלַחֲתֵם is no doubt a mistake for וְלַחֲתֵם (Kḥrī), due to the וְלַחֲתֵם almost immediately following. Von Lengerke, however, prefers the Kḥthīb "to seal", although "to seal up sin" elsewhere signifies "to reserve it for punishment" (Job xiv. 17, cf. Deut. xxxii. 34), which cannot be the sense here. Instead of the Kḥthīb הַטְּאוֹת the Masoretes read חֲתָם, for the sake of the parallelism, but this is unnecessary (see Micah i. 5). Hitzig translates this passage "to complete the transgression and to fill up the measure of sin" ("zu vollenden den Abfall und zu füllen das Sündenmaass"); it is however more in accordance with the context to understand כָּלָא and חֲתָם in the negative sense, i.e. "to make an end of", "to abolish" (cf. Num. xxv. 11. Ezek. xxii. 15). The versions read as follows—LXX. συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι (read σφραγίσαι)—Theod. τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας—Aquila, τοῦ συντελέσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν καὶ τοῦ τελειῶσαι ἁμαρτίαν—Pesh. **לְבַלָּא מְרַפָּא לְבָלָא**. The next clause וְיִכְפֹּר עָוֹן is, according to the accents, connected with what precedes, but it should rather be coupled with וְיִלְהַבֵּי אֶרֶץ עֲלָמִים, for the six acts here enumerated naturally fall into three pairs. The words כִּפֹּר and אֶרֶץ are both legal terms, by the "atoning of sin" and the "bringing in of everlasting righteousness" is meant the termination of that controversy or suit (רִיב) which God has with His people (see Is. xxvii. 9). "To seal vision and prophet" is "to confirm" the predictions of the prophets (Von Lengerke, Hitzig), cf., in the New Testament, John iii. 33; vi. 27. The metaphor is taken from the affixing of a seal to a document in order to attest its genuineness (I Kings xxi. 8). The last act is "to anoint the most holy thing"—i.e. to consecrate the Altar in the Temple,

which, when the author wrote, was given up to the heathen worship. Some early Christians and some medieval Jews discovered an allusion to the Messiah in this passage (see the Pēshittā and Ben-Ezra), but the phrase קָרַשׁ קָרָשִׁים, which occurs more than forty times in the Old Testament, never refers to persons, always to things, and is used especially of the Altar of sacrifice (Exod. xxix. 36, 37; xxx. 29; xl. 10).

25—27. וְתָדַע וְתִשְׁבֵּל is rightly pointed as indicating a command, “and so thou art to know and to understand”. The “word” (דְּבָר) is of course the divine promise uttered by Jeremiah; for the phrase, cf. v. 23 and Is. lv. 11. That the expressions להשיב ולבנות and תשוב ונבנתה are meant to correspond to one another, is evident. Yet most commentators translate the former “to restore and to build”, and the latter “shall be built again”, taking the verb first in a literal and afterwards in a derived sense (so Ewald). Von Lengerke and Hitzig endeavour to avoid the difficulty by translating תשוב “shall be restored”. But it appears much more probable that we should read תִּשְׁבֵּל וְלִבְנוֹת “to *people* and to build”, and תִּשְׁבֵּל וְנִבְנְתָה “shall be *peopled* and built”—cf. Isaiah xlv. 26. Jer. xxx. 18. Ezek. xxxvi. 10, 11, 33. If it be asked why the author says “to people and to build” rather than “to build and to people”, the obvious answer is that the *repopulation* of Jerusalem necessarily preceded the *rebuilding*, and as a matter of fact we know from Nehemiah that nearly a century after the First Return most of the city was still in ruins (Neh. vii. 4). By the קִישִׁיָּה נָגִיד most modern interpreters (Von Lengerke, Hitzig, Schürer, Cornill) understand Cyrus, on account of Is. xlv. 1. Graetz however, agreeing with Eusebius, explains it as referring to the line of Jewish high-priests. This view appears to be supported by the following considerations. Firstly in v. 26 and in ch. xi. 22 the words קִישִׁיָּה and נָגִיד certainly seem to designate the High-Priest. Secondly, if the author were referring to Cyrus, he would surely not content himself with saying “till an Anointed One, a Prince”, but would add something to indicate that this Anointed One was the liberator of the Jewish exiles. That the term קִישִׁיָּה may be applied to the High Priest is shewn by Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; vi. 15, and with regard to נָגִיד Graetz has observed that it

exactly corresponds to *προστάτης, προστασία*, used of the High Priest in his civil capacity (Ecclesiasticus xlv. 24. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. 4. 2)¹. It appears therefore that the first 7 weeks end with the reestablishment of the Jewish worship under Joshua son of Jozadak (Ezra iii. 2), who bore the title of High Priest even before the completion of the new Temple (Haggai i. 1. Zech. iii. 1). From that time till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes there was always a *קָוִיִּים נְיִיר* at Jerusalem, and the city continued to be "peopled and builded". But what is meant by *רְחוֹב וְהַרְוִין*? Von Lengerke disconnects these two words and considers *רְחוֹב* to be the subject of the preceding verbs; he therefore renders, "And as for 62 weeks—the street (or, public place) shall be restored and built" etc. Others, following the Masoretic accentuation, take *רְחוֹב וְהַרְוִין* as a single phrase, and suppose that the subject of the preceding verbs is Jerusalem (so Hitzig). *הַרְוִין* is explained by Von Lengerke as "that which is determined", on account of *נִחְרָצָה* in *vs.* 26, 27; his rendering "and it is determined, but in distress of times"—is, however, quite impossible. Most recent interpreters (Ewald, Cornill and others) make *הַרְוִין* to mean "trench" or "moat", and in proof of this the term *הַרְוִין* is cited, which occurs in the Mishnah (e.g. *Ki'layim* II. 8; v. 3) and the Talmud. But it there seems to be used only of "ditches" (in fields or gardens), never of "trenches" for purposes of fortification. And why should "trenches" be mentioned here, for elsewhere we read of "walls" or "towers" as the bulwarks of Jerusalem? A city built on such uneven ground can be but very imperfectly defended by moats. Moreover the coupling together of *רְחוֹב וְהַרְוִין* "public places and trenches" would be very strange. Hitzig translates "nach Strasse und Hof", but for this rendering of *הַרְוִין* there is no authority. The renderings of the LXX. (*εἰς πλάτος καὶ μῆκος*) and of Theodotion (*πλατεία καὶ τεῖχος*) seem to be mere guesses. Graetz proposes *רְחוֹב וְהַרְוִין* "with public places and walls", and thinks that this was the reading which lay before Theodotion. But neither in Ezek. xiii. 10, the only other pas-

¹ *נְיִיר* may also be compared to the Arabic *imām* (cf. *נְיִיר*=*amāma*), which is applied both to temporal and spiri-

tual leaders, but especially to the latter.

sage in the Old Testament where the word occurs, nor yet in post-Biblical Hebrew, so far as Graetz has shewn, does חוץ signify the wall of a city, as the context would here require. Perhaps we should read רחוב וחוץ “with public places and streets”, Pēsh. **רחובות וחוץ**, cf. Jer. v. 1. For the construction of רחוב וחוץ as an adverbial phrase, cf. והשמים התקדרו עבים ורוח. I Kings xviii. 45. Instead of ובצוק העתים the LXX. has *καὶ κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν* and the Pēshīttā **לצוק וכא**, i.e. ובקץ העתים. That the Pēshīttā has here been influenced by the LXX. is improbable. The difficulties of the Masoretic reading are obvious, for, not to mention the fact that צוק occurs nowhere else, the notion of “troubulous times” would surely be expressed, as Graetz remarks, by “times of trouble” not “trouble of times” (cf. עת צרה chap. xii. 1, עתות בצרה Ps. ix. 10; x. 1 and similar expressions). Such a phrase as צוק העתים is altogether without analogy. Moreover the ו before בצוק seems to indicate that here a fresh clause begins; the rendering “even in troublous times” is extremely forced—the Pēshīttā, feeling this difficulty, ignores the ו altogether. I therefore venture to think, with Graetz, that the words in question should be connected with what follows. Whether we should strike out the ו in ואתרי (v. 26), as Graetz proposes, or whether we should regard the words ואתרי ושנים השבעים ששים ושנים as an interpolated gloss, is doubtful; in either case the sense remains the same. וקרת קשיה “an Anointed One shall be cut off”, refers, according to Von Lengerke, to the death of Seleucus Philopator (175 B.C.). Hitzig and others explain it as an allusion to the deposition of the High Priest Onias III., which took place early in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. This latter view appears decidedly the more probable (see chap. xi. 22). The words which follow, ואין לו, are very uncertain. The renderings which have been proposed “but not for himself”, “and he shall have nothing (or no one)”, “and he shall cease to be”—all present grave syntactical difficulties. The idea naturally suggests itself that we should read ואיני “and he shall be no longer”, but it is more likely that some word or words have fallen out. Graetz wishes to read ואין עתור לו as in chap. xi. 45; since however the latter passage refers to the

death of Antiochus, not to the death of Onias III., the emendation is hardly probable. The latter half of *v.* 26 and the whole of *v.* 27 are involved in such extraordinary difficulties that hardly any two interpreters take the same view. Any attempt to construe or emend the passage must be regarded as purely conjectural. As it is impossible to discuss the innumerable suggestions that have been made, I must confine myself to points of special importance. Von Lengerke, following the Masoretic text, translates, "*and the city and the sanctuary shall be devastated by the people of a prince, who cometh and in the flood (shall be) his end, and till the end (shall be) war and a decree of desolations*" ("und die Stadt und das Heiligthum wird verwüsten Volk eines Fürsten, welcher kommt und in der Fluth sein Ende, und bis aufs Ende Krieg und Beschluss der Wüsten"). The "prince", according to Von Lengerke, is Antiochus Epiphanes; after his "people" (i.e. his armies) have ravaged Jerusalem, he is to "come" into Persia, and then "his end" will overtake him in the midst of a "flood" (i.e. an armed multitude). Hitzig and Ewald also make this "prince" to be Antiochus, whereas Graetz identifies him with the "Anointed One" who is "cut off", i.e. the High Priest Onias III. Instead of עַם Graetz reads עַם (according to the LXX., Theod. and the Pesh.), and he explains the sentence as meaning that the city and sanctuary are to share in the ruin of Onias. For the words הַבָּא וְקָצוּ, Graetz substitutes וְקָצוּ (with the LXX.) "*and his end shall come*". That the "prince" is Antiochus seems improbable from chap. xi. 22, but it is likewise unsafe to identify him with the "Anointed One", for in that case the author would presumably have said עַם הַנְּגִיד. I would therefore suggest, though with the greatest diffidence, that we should read וְהָעִיר וְהַמִּקְדָּשׁ יִשָּׁהֲתוּ עִם הַנְּגִיד הַבָּא, "*and the city and the sanctuary shall go to ruin, together with the prince that shall come (after Onias)*". If נְגִיד does not refer to a person previously mentioned, the omission of the article is possible (cf. Gen. i. 31. Ps. civ. 18). The "prince" would seem to be Jason, the brother and successor of Onias III., and to him therefore we may refer the suffix in קָצוּ; his miserable end is described in II Macc. v. 7—10. Since the latter half of *v.* 26 anticipates the events of the 70th week, as is shewn by the

phrase וַיִּשַׁר לִי, we need find no difficulty in the fact that the final overthrow of Jason took place about 170 B.C., i.e. after the 70th week had begun. The metaphor of a "flood", for "destruction", appears again in chap. xi. 22. *"And until the end shall be war (and) a sentence of desolations"*—לִי here means the end of the time of affliction (cf. chap. viii. 17, 19), and the "war" is that which is being waged by Antiochus against the Saints (chap. vii. 21). נִחְרָצָהּ is stat. constr. of נִחְרָץ (v. 27 and chap. xi. 36), properly that which is "cut", "decided". For the present "a sentence of desolations" is being executed upon Jerusalem, but the time of deliverance is near. Verse 27 describes the last week, i.e. the period beginning in the year 171 B.C. Von Lengerke translates, *"A week shall make a firm covenant with the many, and during half the week he shall abolish sacrifice and oblation, and over the edge of abominations (cometh) the desolator; and (this shall be) till the consummation and (till) the sentence shall be poured out upon the desolator"*. According to this interpretation, the "covenant" is the conspiracy of the apostate Jews against the religion of Israel; the "edge of abominations" is the Temple defiled by heathen rites, and the "desolator" is Antiochus. Hitzig agrees with Von Lengerke in taking שְׂבוּעַת אֶתֶר to be the subject of the first clause, but he explains הַנְּבִיר as "make burdensome", and בְּרִית as the covenant of God with Israel, i.e. for a week those who adhere to the covenant are to be persecuted. Each of these interpretations is open to serious objection. In the first place, to speak of a period of time as "making a covenant", or "rendering a covenant burdensome" would be quite without analogy. Secondly, the meanings here ascribed to הַנְּבִיר cannot be proved; in the only other passage where the Hiphil of this verb occurs (Ps. xii. 5) it has a totally different sense. Ewald agrees with Von Lengerke as to the meaning of הַנְּבִיר, though he makes Antiochus, not the week, to be the subject of the verb. Graetz substitutes וְהַעֲבִיר for וְהַנְּבִיר, and thinks that the sense is either, *"And he (i.e. Antiochus) shall abolish the covenant for the many"*, or else *"And he shall cause the many to transgress the covenant"*. Whether the words will admit of this latter rendering is extremely doubtful, and, in any case, if Graetz be right in supposing that hitherto

Antiochus has not been mentioned, it is very unlikely that the verb here refers to him. Perhaps the author may have written *וְהוֹפֵר בְּרִית לְרַבִּים* “and the covenant shall be annulled for the many”, i.e. there is to be a period of general apostasy; cf. Jer. xxxiii. 21. The use of a masculine verb with a feminine subject is particularly common when the verb is *passive* (Judges xvi. 11. Is. xxi. 2. Jer. xxix. 22). The “many” are, of course, the majority of the Jewish people (cf. chap. xi. 33). In the latter half of the verse, the article of *הַשְּׁבִיעִי* shews that it is still a question of the 70th week, not of a subsequent period; thus we are to understand that during the latter half of the 70th week (from 168 to 164 B.C.) “sacrifice and oblation” cease. As it is impossible to discover a subject for the transitive *יִשְׁבִּית* (unless we take the “prince” of *v.* 26 to be Antiochus), we should perhaps read *יִשְׁבֹּת*. Of the clause *וְעַל כָּנָה שְׂקֻצִים מְשֻׁמָּם* innumerable interpretations have been proposed, besides that of Von Lengerke quoted above, but none of them is even plausible¹. If the text be sound, it is clear that *מְשֻׁמָּם* (so Baer reads, not *מִשְׁמָם*) must be taken as an epithet of *שְׂקֻצִים* (see chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11), according to the very rare construction *אֲרָנִים קִשָּׁה* Is. xix. 4. This at once disposes of all those renderings which make *מְשֻׁמָּם* by itself to be the subject of the clause. For *וְעַל כָּנָה* it has been proposed to read *וְעַל כֵּנוּ* “and instead thereof” (cf. chap. xi. 20, 21, 38)—an emendation which appears wellnigh certain (see Kuenen, *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*, II. p. 472). In this case, the suffix in *כֵּנוּ* refers to the *זָבַח וּמִנְחָה*, which, as they together form the daily sacrifice, may be construed as a singular. *מְשֻׁמָּם* may be a corruption of *שְׂמָם* or *מִשְׁמָם* “set up”, from *שָׂם*, of which the Hophal perhaps occurs in Gen. xxiv. 33—see what has been said on chap. viii. 13. In the last clause of *v.* 27 the phrase *וְנִחְרְצָה כָּלָה וְנִחְרְצָה* “ruin and sentence (of judgment)” is quoted from Is. x. 23; xxviii. 22. If *כָּלָה וְנִחְרְצָה* be, as seems natural, the subject of the verb *תִּתֵּן*, we are almost obliged to read *וְעַד* (with Bleek), for when *וְ* introduces a verbal clause, the verb takes precedence of the subject (Gen. xxxviii. 11. Josh. ii. 22. II Sam. x. 5. Prov. vii. 23); a well-known case in which *וְ* has

¹ “Die Ausleger”, says Hitzig, “sind hier selbst mit allerhand *שְׂקֻצִים* in die Wochen gekommen”.

been wrongly pointed as עַר is Job i. 18. שׂוֹמֵם, according to Von Lengerke and Ewald, refers to Antiochus, on whom a divine judgment is to be poured out. But to this there are two objections—firstly, that in chap. xii. 11 שׂוֹמֵם refers to the שְׂקוּיָן, not to Antiochus; secondly, that neither שׂוֹמֵם nor מְשׂוֹמֵם ever means a “desolator”. It is also remarkable, though the difficulty is not an insuperable one, that שׂוֹמֵם has no article. I would venture to propose that for עַל-שׂוֹמֵם we should read עַל-שְׂקוּם “upon him that set them up” (according to the analogy of קָמָי etc.), the suffix referring to the שְׂקוּיָיִם; cf. again chap. viii. 13.

For the convenience of the reader, I here repeat the last four verses of the chapter, emended and translated according to the suggestions made above.

24. *Seventy weeks are decreed for thy people and for thy holy city, to make an end of transgression and to do away with sins, to atone for iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal vision and prophet and to anoint the most holy thing.*

25. *Know therefore and understand (that) from the going forth of the promise to people and to build Jerusalem until an Anointed One, a Prince, (there are) seven weeks, and for sixty and two weeks it (i.e. Jerusalem) shall be peopled and built, (with) public places and streets:*

26. *And in the end of the times [after the sixty and two weeks] an Anointed One shall be cut off and shall have no..... and the city and the sanctuary shall go to ruin together with the Prince that shall come (after him), and his end (shall be) in a flood (of destruction), and until the end (shall be) war, a sentence of desolations.*

27. *And the covenant shall be annulled for the many during one week, and during half the week sacrifice and oblation shall cease, and instead thereof (there shall be) abominations set up, and afterwards ruin and a sentence (of judgment) shall be poured out upon him that set them up.*

CHAPTERS X—XII.

The fourth of Daniel's visions is, from a historical point of view, by far the most important of all. The whole of chap. x., it is true, is little more than a prologue, but in chap. xi. we find a complete survey of the history from the beginning of the Persian period down to the time of the author. Here, even more than in the earlier visions, we are able to perceive how the account gradually becomes more definite as it approaches the latter part of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and how it then passes suddenly from the domain of historical facts to that of ideal expectations. Accordingly those interpreters who endeavour to find in the vision allusions to historical events later than the Maccabean period, have had to contend against the greatest difficulties. As it was impossible to deny that the description up to chap. xi. 21 referred to the predecessors of Antiochus Epiphanes, most of the Christian Fathers took refuge in the hypothesis that between *v.* 20 and *v.* 21 there is an interval of several centuries, although the opening words of *v.* 21, "And there shall arise *in his place* a contemptible man," clearly shew that in the mind of the author there was no interval whatever¹. Nor have modern apologists been more fortunate. Kliefoth takes the liberty of assuming, without a shadow of proof, that a few thousand years elapse between chap. xi. 35 and what follows. Hävernick asks us to believe that chap. xi. 45 refers to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the next verse (which begins, "*At that time* shall Michael stand up") refers to a period still future.

In order to understand the vision it is of the utmost importance to determine, as nearly as possible, the date of its

¹ On chap. xi. 21 Jerome remarks "Hucusque ordo historiae sequitur, et inter Porphyrium ac nostros nulla contentio est. Caetera quae sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille inter-

pretatur super personâ Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes... Nostri autem haec omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur qui ultimo tempore futurus est".

composition, or in other words to discover the exact point at which the description ceases to be historical and becomes ideal. Von Lengerke thinks that the piece was written directly after the death of Antiochus, and that with chap. xii. 1 the author begins to describe his expectations. But there seems reason for believing that the transition takes place earlier, namely in chap. xi. 40. The arguments are briefly as follows. Although it is not certain how many times Antiochus invaded Egypt, one thing is tolerably clear—that in Daniel xi. *three* invasions only are mentioned, i.e. those in *vv.* 25—28, in *v.* 29, and in *vv.* 40—43. To suppose, with Hitzig and others, that *vv.* 22—25 refer to an invasion of Egypt, has been shewn by Hoffmann to be altogether illegitimate (*Antiochus IV. Epiphanes*, pp. 94—96). Both Hoffmann and Schürer (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, i. p. 130) are of opinion that the first Egyptian campaign took place in the summer of 170 B.C. This is no doubt the campaign described in Dan. xi. 25—28 and I Macc. i. 17—19¹. Antiochus seems to have invaded Egypt again in 169 B.C., but the fact is not mentioned in Daniel, for the invasion spoken of in chap. xi. 29 must be that of the year 168 B.C. After this, it would appear, Antiochus never attacked Egypt again. We are thus led, with Cornill, to regard the invasion described in Dan. xi. 40—43 as one which the author expected but which never actually took place. The hypothesis of Von Lengerke and Hitzig that in *v.* 40 the author suddenly goes back to describe events anterior to 168 B.C., does violence to the plain sense of the text. But a difficulty still remains. Porphyry, quoted by Jerome, states that in the 11th year of his reign (i.e. in 165 B.C.) Antiochus again made war upon Egypt, and explains Dan. xi. 40—43 as referring to this campaign². Several modern interpreters, e.g. Hävernick and Hoffmann, have accepted Porphyry's explanation. It is, however, quite incredible that the author of Daniel is here describing facts. A conquest of Egypt such as we read of in this passage, could not have been passed over

¹ In II Macc. v. 1 this campaign is called "the second", but the statement is probably erroneous.

² On Dan. xi. 40, 41, Jerome says,

"Et haec Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemaeum Philometorem dimicaverit".

in silence by all the historians, for Egypt was at that time under Roman protection and an attack upon the country must therefore have at once produced a war with Rome. Nor can we suppose the campaign here described to have been so short that the Romans had no time to interfere. The text implies that it is of considerable duration, for not only is all Egypt at the feet of Antiochus but even the more distant Libyans and Ethiopians make their submission to him. It is a still more fatal objection to Porphyry's interpretation that it entirely contradicts what we know about Antiochus himself at this period. Nothing is more certain than that this king at the end of his reign—far from "having power over the treasures of gold and silver and all the riches of Egypt"—was reduced to great financial distress. We are therefore forced to conclude that Porphyry was here in error. Whether the mention of the "eleventh year" is due simply to the fact that Antiochus reigned eleven years, so that any event which was believed to have occurred at the end of his reign would naturally be placed in his eleventh year, or whether Porphyry has confounded the eleventh year of Antiochus with the eleventh year of Ptolemy Philometor (i.e. 170 B.C.), I do not venture to determine. In any case no historical argument can be built upon Porphyry's treatment of this passage, for it is evident (as Meinhold has observed) that when he describes Antiochus as pitching his tent "in the place called Apedno between the Tigris and the Euphrates", the narrative is based upon nothing but a false interpretation of Dan. xi. 45.

If the above reasoning be valid, these three chapters must have been composed before the death of Antiochus. Indeed it appears well-nigh certain that they were composed more than a year before his death, for they mention neither the great victories of Judas Maccabaeus nor the recovery and reconsecration of the Temple. The deliverance predicted in chap. xii. 1—3 is not to be brought about by human valour or policy but is of a wholly supernatural kind. It is therefore legitimate to conclude that the book of Daniel was finished at the time when the armed opposition of the Jews to Antiochus was in its earliest stage, and had as yet met with little success (chap. xi. 34).

x. 1—3. The third year of Cyrus is the latest date given in Daniel's life; on the difficulty of reconciling this date with chap. i. 21 see p. 63. Some commentators have spent much time in discussing why Daniel remained in Babylonia until the third year of Cyrus instead of availing himself of the opportunity to return to Palestine. If we regarded the narrative of Daniel as historical it might be worth while to seek for an explanation of the fact, but for those who believe Daniel to be an ideal figure no explanation is needed. In *v.* 1 we find the incorrect spelling בלטשאצר (so Baer) instead of בלטשאצר. The latter half of the verse is rendered by Von Lengerke—“*And truth is the revelation and (the) distress is great: and understand thou the revelation, and understand it in the vision*”. Both בין and בינה he explains as Imperatives; the author, he supposes, is here addressing the reader, and the suffix in לו refers to הדיבר. Much more probable is Hitzig's interpretation—“*And the word is truth, and great distress; and he heeded the word and gave heed to the vision*”. But the meaning of צָבָא is here very uncertain. The proper sense of the word is “military service”, hence it is applied metaphorically to toil and sorrow (Is. xl. 2. Job vii. 1); since however in Dan. viii. 13 צָבָא seems to mean the “service” in the Temple, it is possible that here some such thought may be present, namely that of an “obligation” or “charge” laid upon Daniel. According to Hitzig, בין is a Perfect Hiphil, with dropping of the initial ה (see what has been said on בִּינִיתִי chap. ix. 2), and בִּינָה is an abstract noun, with the accent thrown back, as in קִינָה הִיא Ezek. xix. 14. Hävernicks makes בין to be an Infinitive used substantivally, a view which is certainly not favoured by the construction of the sentence. Olshausen regards the word as a perfect Kal (*Lehrb. d. hebr. Sprache*, p. 486). There remain two possibilities—בין may be either a mistake for בָּן (Perfect), as J. D. Michaelis supposed, or it may be an Infinitive used in the place of a Perfect (cf. סוּר chap. ix. 11). Instead of וּבֵין both the LXX. and Aquila read יבֵין, which is doubtless an error. In *v.* 2 we are not told for what reason Daniel mourned, but from *v.* 12 we may conclude that it was from anxiety as to the fate of Israel. For the phrase שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁבָעִים יָמִים “*three full weeks*” cf. Gen. xli. 1. Deut. xxi. 13.

לֶחֶם חֲמִירָה “*dainty bread*” (v. 3) is, as Hävernicks remarks, the opposite of לֶחֶם עָנִי (Deut. xvi. 3).

4—8. The vision which now follows took place on the 24th day of the 1st month (i.e. Abib or, as it was called by the post-exilic Jews, Nisan), the month of the Passover; Daniel, with some companions, was by the חֲדָקָל (Tigris), a river which is mentioned nowhere else in the Old Testament excepting in Gen. ii. 14. The form חֲדָקָל is peculiar, for the Tigris is in Syriac *Deḡlath*, in Arabic *Dijla*, and in Assyrio-Babylonian usually *Diglat*; but according to Schrader a form *Idiglat* is also found. Schrader supposes that the Hebrew and Syriac forms, with ק, follow the *Assyrian* pronunciation, whereas the Arabic *Dijla* is based upon the more primitive *Babylonian* form, with g (*Cuneif. Inscr.* p. 33). In v. 5 the description of the angel is probably taken from Ezek. ix. 2; he is “clothed with linen” like a Jewish priest (Lev. vi. 3), and his girdle is of the gold of Uphaz. This district, mentioned nowhere else but in Jer. x. 9, has never been identified. Ewald and others have suggested that אֹפִיר is either a mistake for אֹפִיר (Ps. xlv. 10), or a phonetic variation of the same name. In v. 6 פְּרִשִׁיט (cf. Exod. xxviii. 20. Ezek. i. 16; xxviii. 13) is usually supposed to be the chrysolith or topaz. מְרִגְלוֹתָיו means, according to Von Lengerke, “*the place where his feet rested*”, according to Hitzig “*his feet*” simply; the latter interpretation agrees better with the context, cf. Rev. i. 15 where this passage is imitated. The phrase בָּעֵין נְהִישָׁת קָלָל is borrowed from Ezek. i. 7, and is commonly rendered “*like the appearance of polished brass*”. But although the use of the masc. form קָלָל with נְהִישָׁת would in itself offer no difficulty (see I Kings vii. 45. Ezra viii. 27), the text of Ezek. i. 7 is very suspicious; Cornill suggests that we should there read בָּעֵין נְהִישָׁת וּבְנִפְיָהֶם קָלוֹת according to the LXX. The corruption, if it exists, must of course be older than the book of Daniel; what meaning the author attached to קָלָל it is impossible to say. That קָלָל has anything to do with קָלַל “*to shake*” (Ezek. xxi. 26. Eccles. x. 10) appears extremely improbable. וְקוֹל דְּבָרָיו בְּקוֹל הַמּוֹן “*and the sound of his words was as the sound of a deep murmur*”; since הַמּוֹן is quite a general term, applying to any deep sound, it is unnecessary to limit its

meaning here to a "multitude" or the "sea". In *v.* 7 **לְהִתְקַבֵּא** seems to mean "*seeking to hide themselves*", lit. "in the act of hiding themselves"—we should rather have expected **לְהִתְקַבֵּא** (cf. I Kings xxii. 25). The phrase (*v.* 8) **וְהוֹרִי נְהַפְדָּה עָלַי לְמִשְׁחָת** "*and my comeliness was turned in me to corruption*" is the Hebrew equivalent of **עָלַי יִשְׁתַּנּוּן עָלַי** chap. vii. 28 (cf. also *v.* 9); somewhat similar is the language in which Habakkuk describes the effect of a divine revelation (Hab. iii. 16). For the use of **מִשְׁחָת** in the abstract sense cf. Ezek. xxi. 36. II Chron. xx. 23; xxii. 4. On **עָצַרְתִּי בֶּחַ** see p. 29.

9—11. As in chap. viii. 18, Daniel becomes unconscious; **וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי נֶרְדָּם וְגו'** "*after I had fallen into a slumber*" etc., seems to be a circumstantial clause inserted parenthetically, the apodosis beginning with *v.* 10. It has been much discussed whether the being who touches Daniel in *v.* 10 and who speaks in the following verses, is identical with the being described in *vv.* 5 and 6. Von Lengerke regards them as distinct, and supposes that the angel of *vv.* 10 ff. is Gabriel. Hitzig, on the other hand, identifies the angel of *vv.* 5 and 6 with that of *vv.* 10 ff., but denies that Gabriel is intended. The question is fortunately not of any great importance, as it concerns the form only, not the substance, of the vision. **וַתִּנְיַעַנִי עַל-בְּרָכָי וְכַפּוֹת יָדַי** is usually explained as a *constructio praeagnans*, i.e. "*and caused me to tremble upon my knees and the palms of my hands*", meaning "*and set me upon my knees and hands which were trembling*". On **אִישׁ חֲמָרוֹת** (*v.* 11) see chap. ix. 23, and on **עָלַעְמָרְךָ** chap. viii. 18. **מְרַעֵד** is here intransitive, as in Ezra x. 9.

12—14. The angel now proceeds to reveal what has been passing in heaven. From the beginning of the three weeks, when Daniel set himself "*to attain to understanding*" (as to the destiny of Israel) and to humble himself before God, his petition had been accepted. **וַאֲנִי בָאתִי בְּדַבְרֶיךָ** "*and I am come by reason of thy words*", cf. **וּבְרִיךְ (Kēri)** I Kings xviii. 36. The coming of the angel was delayed for a while (*v.* 13) by the opposition of "*the prince of the kingdom of Persia*", i.e. the guardian angel of the Persian Empire—not Cyrus, as Hävernick and others have imagined. The belief in the guardian angels of nations is perhaps assumed in Is. xxiv. 21 and Ps. lxxxii.;

since however both passages are not only very obscure but of unknown date, we have no means of discovering at what period the idea arose among the Jews. The fact that in Dan. x. this belief is rather presupposed than definitely stated shews that the author is here dealing with a conception already familiar to his readers, and hence nothing can be more absurd than to argue from Ecclesiasticus xvii. 17 that Ben-Sīrā must have borrowed the idea from Daniel. The guardian angel of the Jews is Michael (see chap. xii. 1), who is here described as one of "the chief princes", i.e. the archangels, and who comes to the aid of the speaker. נִתְרַתִּי is variously explained as "I obtained the precedence" (Gesenius, Hävernicks, Von Lengerke), "I remained", i.e. I was delayed (Hitzig), and "I was superfluous" (Ewald). But nowhere else does the verb bear any one of these meanings. Graetz proposes to read וְאַתּוֹ הִתְרַתִּי "and him I left", alleging the authority of the LXX. and Theodotion. But the words καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ κατέλιπον are probably a mere guess, and do not presuppose any variant, for the insertion of αὐτὸν and the substitution of a transitive for an intransitive verb are quite in the manner of the LXX. translator. Perhaps, retaining the traditional text, we may take וְאֲנִי נִתְרַתִּי וְיָגִי as a circumstantial clause describing the previous situation of the speaker, "whereas I had been left (alone) there, (contending) with the kings of Persia", cf. Jer. ii. 21; xxiii. 32. Ezek. xiii. 7. מְלָכֵי פָּרָס "the kings of Persia" seems to be an intentionally vague phrase for "the Persian dynasty" or "the power of the Persian Empire". It is quite unnecessary to suppose, with Bertholdt, that the word שָׁר has fallen out before מְלָכֵי, for the rendering of the LXX. (μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγού τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν) is probably an expansion of the original, just as in v. 20 שָׁר פָּרָס is translated μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγού βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν. It is of course impossible to say what was the author's conception as to the nature of the contest between this angel and the angel of the Persian Empire. Von Lengerke suggests that the passage refers to some change in the policy of the Persian government towards the Jews, but this is to import into the book ideas which are nowhere expressed in it, for Daniel's solicitude on behalf of his people is described in perfectly general terms,

without any hint that his anxiety was due to special circumstances. With *וּבְאַהֲרֵי לְהַבִּינֶהָ* (*v.* 14) compare the parallel passage in chap. ix. 23 *וַיֵּאָנֵן בְּאָזְנוֹ לְהַגִּיד*; the following words were apparently suggested by Gen. xlix. 1 *וַאֲנִי־דַרְשָׁה לְכֶם אֶת־אֶרֶץ־יִגְרָא אֶתְכֶם*. The Masoretes read *יִגְרָה*, instead of *יִגְרָה*, in order to assimilate the two passages. The phrase *כִּי עוֹד הָיוּ לַיָּמִים* is rendered by Von Lengerke "*since the vision is still for these days*", i.e. for the aforesaid *אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים*; but if this were the meaning, we should expect *כִּי עוֹד לַיָּמִים הָיוּ*. Hitzig substitutes *לַיָּמִים* for *לַיָּמִים*, on account of *כִּי לַיָּמִים רַבִּים* in chap. viii. 26. It is perhaps more natural to translate, retaining the Masoretic vocalization, "*since there is yet a vision for the days*", i.e. there is one vision more, relating to the days before mentioned.

15—xi. 1. *גָּתַתִּי פָנַי אֶרְצָה* "*I bent my face towards the earth*" does not imply that Daniel again fell prostrate. The "one like the sons of men" (*v.* 16), who touches Daniel's lips, must be the angel who has spoken previously. When at length Daniel speaks, he seeks to excuse his confusion, "*My lord, by reason of the vision my pangs came upon me, and I retained no strength; and how should a servant of my lord speak with my lord?*" The expression *נְהַפְכּוּ צִירֵי עָלַי* is a metaphor borrowed from child-birth (I Sam. iv. 19); such comparisons are used elsewhere to describe the prophetic excitement (Is. xxi. 3). On the Aramaic form *הִיָּה* see p. 29, note. In *v.* 17 *וְהִנֵּה* is a demonstrative particle added by way of emphasis (cf. Gen. xxvii. 21), and corresponds in meaning to the German *da*; in English we have no exact equivalent. The latter half of *v.* 17, if the Masoretic text be correct, must be a continuation of Daniel's speech—"and as for me henceforth there remains in me no strength, nor is any breath left in me". Von Lengerke takes these words as part of the narrative, but though in German we may say "von nun an" in speaking of the past, the Hebrew *מֵעַתָּה* always refers to the present. Von Lengerke's objection that since Daniel has already said *לֹא עֲצָרְתִּי בָּח* in *v.* 16, it is needless for him to make a similar statement in *v.* 17, proves very little, for terror and perplexity may naturally lead to repetitions. But however we take the passage, it must be owned that *מֵעַתָּה* is very strange in this connection—the Pēshîttā omits the word, and the LXX. has *ἤσθε-*

νησα (i.e. מַעֲרָתַי, cf. Ps. xviii. 37). Possibly מַעֲרָתָה may be a corruption of מִבְּעָתָה “from terror”, cf. נִבְעַתִּי chap. viii. 17; the root בעת is applied specially to supernatural alarm or panic (Is. xxi. 4. Job vi. 4; xviii. 11 etc.). In v. 18 the expression בְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם “one who wore a human form” is the subject of the preceding verbs, cf. בְּרַמִּית בְּגֵי אָדָם in v. 16. For הָנוֹק וְהָנוֹק (v. 19) the LXX. has ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἰσχυε, the Peshittā אַחַשְׁבַּל אַחַשְׁבַּל, apparently reading חוֹק וְחוֹק (Deut. xxxi. 7, 23. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9, 18. I Chr. xxii. 12; xxviii. 20). חוֹק וְחוֹק is at least exceptional, for when the Imperative is repeated, the conjunction is not used (Judg. v. 12. II Sam. xvi. 7. Is. li. 9; lii. 1, 11; lvii. 14. Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Ps. cxxxvii. 7). Instead of וַיִּבְרָרְוּ, which is found in the ordinary printed texts, the best MSS. have וַיִּבְרָרוּ. The first clause of v. 20 is an affirmation put into the form of a question, for Daniel has already been informed as to the reason of the angel’s coming (v. 14), cf. I Sam. ii. 27. Ezek. xx. 4. The train of thought in vv. 20 and 21 may appear at first sight to proceed “in a zig-zag” (Hitzig), but the connection is probably as follows—“I am come to bring thee a revelation, but cannot linger, for I must return at once (עָתָה) to contend against the enemies of Israel; I will however (אֲבָל) stay long enough to unveil the future to thee, although during my absence from the strife there is no one but Michael to defend the right cause”. וַיֵּצֵא יוֹאֵץ is explained by Von Lengerke, “and I go forth (to fight with the angel of Persia)”; Bertholdt and Hitzig more naturally interpret “and as soon as I come forth (from the contest with the angel of Persia), the angel of Greece will appear (to oppose me)”—i.e. as soon as the Persian supremacy is over, another enemy will arise. The “writing of truth” is the book of divine decrees, cf. Ps. cxxxix. 16. On the phrase מְתַחַוֶּק עִמִּי “helping me”, see p. 29. עַל-אֵלֶּה “against these” refers doubtless to the angel of Persia and the other hostile powers. The first verse of chap. xi. must be examined in connection with what precedes. As the text stands, it presents great difficulties, and those difficulties are further complicated by the wide disagreement between the ancient versions. Von Lengerke renders, “But I also, in the first year of Darius the Mede, stood by him as helper and defender”. He explains the verse as alluding to the

conquest of Babylon, and makes the suffix in לו refer to Michael. Others, e.g. Hävernicks, refer the suffix to Darius. But the statement that the speaker had helped Michael, or Darius, some years earlier, has nothing to do either with the verse preceding or with the verse following. Moreover the use of עמדי, "my standing", in the place of עמדי is scarcely justified by such a passage as Job ix. 27. The LXX. reads—*Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ Κύρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπέν μοι ἐνισχύσαι καὶ ἀνδρῖζεσθαι.* There is here no trace of אני, and even the καὶ does not necessarily presuppose a conjunction in the Hebrew¹. Thus the Hebrew basis of the LXX. appears to have been [ו]בשנת אהת לכורש [המלך] אמר למחזיק ולמעוז לי. Here אמר is presumably a corruption of עמד. The Peshittā comes nearer to the Masoretic text, but attaches ואני to chap. x. 21, and reads עמדי for עמדי and לי for לו. Hence the reading לי is supported by the combined testimony of the LXX. and of the Peshittā, and the Masoretic reading עמדי is supported by neither. Prof. Robertson Smith has suggested that the words בשנת אהת לריוש המדי are a fragment of a heading which was wrongly introduced here by a scribe (cf. the headings in chaps. vii. 1; viii. 1; ix. 1; x. 1). After the words had been incorporated with the text, ואני may have been added in order to make sense. This hypothesis would account for the absence of ואני in the LXX. If we read עמד for עמדי, and לי for לו, the latter part of the verse may be understood as a continuation of chap. x. 21, ואין אחר מתחוק ואין אחר מחזיק ולמעוז לי עמי על אלה כי אם מיכאל שרכם עמד למחזיק ולמעוז לי, i.e. "*there is none that helpeth me against these, save that Michael your prince standeth as a strengthener and a defence to me*".

2—4. The revelation properly speaking now begins. There are to be three more Persian kings after Cyrus, and the fourth Persian king, that is, the last of the three above-mentioned, will be richer than all his predecessors. In this last king all commentators recognize Xerxes, the two preceding kings being probably Darius and Artaxerxes. Nor is it any valid objection to this interpretation that in reality there were many more than four Persian kings after Cyrus, and that the first Artaxerxes

¹ Cf. chap. vii. 19 שניה *καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ δδόντες αὐτοῦ*; ix. 19 תאחר *καὶ μὴ χρονήσης*.

reigned after, not before, Xerxes. For in the Old Testament, which was doubtless the principal source of information accessible to the author of Daniel, only four names of Persian kings happen to occur, viz. Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, and as to the order in which the last two reigned nothing is positively stated. That the Darius mentioned in Neh. xii. 22 is a different person from the Darius mentioned elsewhere, may easily have escaped the notice of readers in the 2nd century B.C.

וּבְהִזְקָתוֹ בְּעֵשְׂרוֹ *“and when he shall have grown strong by reason of his wealth”* (so Hitzig), cf. II Chr. xii. 1; xxvi. 16; הִזְקָה is here a verbal noun like יִרְאָה. The phrase יַעִיר הַכֹּל אֶת מַלְכוּת יוֹן is very obscure. Von Lengerke renders *“he will stir up all, (even) the kingdom of Greece”*; but if the clause refers, as it apparently does, to the war of Xerxes *against* Greece, such an expression would be meaningless. More natural is the interpretation of the Vulgate, which is followed by Bertholdt and De Wette, *“et concitabit omnes adversum regnum Graeciae”*. It is true that, as Von Lengerke objects, אֶת nowhere else means *“against”*—excepting where some such word as נִלְחַם or מִלְחָמָה precedes (Gen. xiv. 9. I Chr. xx. 5)—but since עִם is so used (Ps. xciv. 16), the thing cannot be pronounced absolutely impossible. Hitzig explains אֶת as indicating motion *“towards”*. Perhaps יַעִיר הַכֹּל אֶת may be a corruption of יַעִיר לְ[קַר] אֶת, *“he shall array (his armies) against the kingdom of Greece”*, cf. I Sam. iv. 2. II Sam. x. 9, 10, 17. The expression *“the kingdom of Greece”* shews, as Hitzig remarks, that the author imagined Greece to have been a monarchy, like the Oriental states. The *“mighty, or warlike, king”*, who appears in *v. 3*, is doubtless Alexander the Great. The beginning of *v. 4* is usually translated, *“and when he has stood up”*, but probably we should read, with Graetz, וּבְעֵצְמוֹ *“and when he has become strong”*, according to the parallel passage, chap. viii. 8. The corruption may easily be explained by the וְעָמַד of *v. 3*. Much less plausible is Hitzig’s interpretation, *“and when he dies”* (taking עָמַד as equivalent to עָנָה), for the verb *“to die”*, though common in Syriac, is unknown in Jewish Aramaic, as well as in Hebrew. With תִּשְׁבֵּר מַלְכוּתוֹ *“his kingdom shall be broken up”*, cf. גִּישְׁבֵּרָה הַקָּרֶן הַגְּדֹלָה chap. viii. 8. The form וְתִדְוָץ, *“and it shall be divided”*, is peculiar, for we should

expect וְתִהְיֶה, since the Imperfect is here used in the sense of a simple Future; similar are וַיֵּשֶׁב in v. 16, וַיֵּשֶׁם (not וַיֵּשִׁים) in v. 17, וַיִּשָּׁב (not וַיִּשְׁב) in v. 28, etc. Prof. Driver supposes that in all these cases the apocopated form is used incorrectly "without any recollection of its distinctive signification" (*Tenses*, p. 247). The latter half of v. 4 seems to mean, "and (it shall) not (belong) to his posterity, nor (shall it be) according to the rule which he had ruled, for his Empire shall be overthrown and (shall belong) to others, besides these". After וְלֹא לְאַחֲרָיו and after וְלֹא לְאַחֲרֵים we must understand הֵיא or תִּהְיֶה, cf. chap. viii. 19, 26, as well as Ps. xvi. 8. The rule of Alexander's successors is to be feebler than that of Alexander himself (cf. וְלֹא בְכָחוֹ chap. viii. 22). To whom אֵלָה refers is not clear. Von Lengerke, following Jerome, makes it apply to the first successors of Alexander, i.e. his empire was first to be divided among his generals, and afterwards was to be still further broken up. According to this view, the אַחֲרֵים would be the dynasties which arose in Cappadocia, Armenia, and other countries, during the century and a half that followed upon the death of Alexander. Hitzig, on the other hand, translates "to others, to the exclusion of these", referring אַחֲרֵים to the first successors of Alexander, and אֵלָה to his posterity (אַחֲרָיו), i.e. his two sons who were murdered in their infancy; but מְלִבְדּוֹ elsewhere means "in addition to", not "to the exclusion of", which would rather be פַּחַת (Gen. iv. 25. I Kings xx. 24).

5, 6. From this point onwards the history is confined to the kingdoms of the South and the North, i.e. the kingdom of the Ptolemies and that of the Seleucidae. These two dynasties successively dominated Palestine, and therefore occupy the attention of the author. During the greater part of the 3rd century B.C. the country was under the Ptolemies, but about the end of that century it was permanently incorporated with the Seleucid empire. The king of the South, in v. 5, is Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagus, who having long been master of Egypt, assumed the title of king in 306 B.C. The verse is usually rendered, "And the king of the South shall be strong, and one of his captains (shall be strong likewise), but he (i.e. the latter) shall become stronger than he (i.e. the former), and shall rule, a great

domain shall be his dominion". Probably, however, the Masoretic accentuation is here erroneous, and the words *וּמֶלֶךְ הַיָּם* should be taken, as Hitzig proposes, with what follows, so that the sense will be, "*And the king of the South shall be strong; but as for one of his captains he shall become stronger than he*" etc. It is unnecessary to read *יחזק* for *יחזק*, with Meinhold, since the construction is the same as in chap. vii. 20 *וְיִחְזַק לְהָאֵלֹהִים*. For the omission of *אֶחָד* "one", before *מֶלֶךְ*, cf. Exod. vi. 25. Neh. xiii. 28. The suffix in *וּמֶלֶךְ* refers to Ptolemy Soter; the captain in question is Seleucus Nicator, who served in the army of Ptolemy and afterwards, in 306 B.C., became independent sovereign of Northern Syria, Babylonia, and the other eastern provinces of Alexander's empire. Seleucus' son and successor, Antiochus Soter, is here passed over in silence. Verse 6 describes the relations between Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) and Antiochus Theos, son of Antiochus Soter. About 250 B.C. Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus Theos, on condition that the latter should divorce his former wife Laodice and that the posterity of Berenice should succeed to the throne of the Seleucidae. When after two years Ptolemy died, Antiochus took back his former wife and divorced Berenice. Laodice, however, fearing that her husband might change his mind, poisoned him. Berenice and her infant son were soon afterwards murdered near Antioch. Von Lengerke translates, "*And at the end of some years they shall make an alliance together, and the daughter of the king of the South shall come to the king of the North, to establish an agreement. But she will not retain any power of support, and neither he will abide nor his support, and she shall be given up, and those who have made her a bride, and he who begat her, and he who obtained possession of her in those times*". For the phrase *לְמֶלֶךְ הַיָּם* cf. II Chr. xviii. 2. The verb *יִתְחַבְּרֵי* refers, of course, to the king of the South and the king of the North; the author however, considers it unnecessary to state that the kings in this verse are not the same individuals as those mentioned in v. 5. *מִיִּשְׁרָיִם* elsewhere means that which is "right" or "fitting", hence it is used for "an equitable arrangement"; Hitzig compares the use of *díkaios* in I Macc. vii. 12. As *וְיָרֵת* is employed

metaphorically in *vv.* 15, 22, 31, we may take it so here; since however the notion of an "army" is inappropriate in this verse, הַזְרֹוֹת may signify the political "support" which Berenice gave to her father Ptolemy. But Von Lengerke's rendering of וְלֹא הַזְרֹוֹת תִּשְׁעָר בֹּחַ הַזְרֹוֹת, "aber sie wird Kraft des Beistandes nicht behaupten", is syntactically open to objection. Wherever else the phrase עָזַר כַּח occurs, כַּח is in the absolute state, and, as Graetz has noticed, the analogy of II Chr. xiii. 20 is certainly in favour of regarding הַזְרֹוֹת as the subject of the clause. וְלֹא יִעֲמֹד וְזֵרְעוֹ is understood by Von Lengerke as meaning "neither Ptolemy will abide, nor his support Berenice". But if the preceding הַזְרֹוֹת refers to the support afforded by Berenice, it is very unlikely that וְזֵרְעוֹ refers to Berenice herself. More probably we should read, with Hitzig, וְלֹא יִעֲמֹדוּ זֵרְעוֹ (see *vv.* 15, 31), "nor shall his arms abide". But the suffix in זֵרְעוֹ can scarcely refer to the feminine הַזְרֹוֹת, as Hitzig supposes—it is far more natural to explain it as referring to Ptolemy. Thus the sense of these two clauses would seem to be, "neither shall that support (which is afforded by Berenice) be of any avail, nor shall his (other) supports prove effectual". The remainder of this verse presents such insuperable difficulties that there is every reason for believing the text to be corrupt. To interpret תִּתְּנֶנָּה as "she shall be given up to destruction" is to assign to the verb a sense which it bears nowhere else, for in Is. li. 12 יִתְּנֶנָּה need mean no more than "which shall be made as grass"; when נתן is construed with ל or בְּיָד, we may of course render it by "give up" or "deliver over", but תִּתְּנֶנָּה by itself signifies only "she shall be given". מְבַיְצָה (so the best MSS. read, with defective spelling) is referred by some, as Ewald, to "those who accompanied" Berenice from Egypt to Syria, and by Von Lengerke to "those who concluded her marriage", i.e. her father and her husband. Hitzig understands it of her husband only, the Plural being used for the Singular (cf. בְּעֵלְיָד Is. liv. 5). הַיְלֵלָה, if correctly pointed, must be Ptolemy; for the use of the article before a participle with suffix compare הַמְּבַרְהִי Is. ix. 12. מְחַזְקָה is referred by Von Lengerke to Antiochus, the verb having the same sense as in *v.* 21; Ewald and Hitzig explain מְחַזְקָה as "he who strengthened her" or "he who upheld her", and refer the

word to Ptolemy. קָעַתִּים may perhaps be equivalent to קָעַתִּים קָהָה (v. 14), just as in chap. x. 14 לְיָמִים seems to mean "for those days". But on the whole it is more probable that here something has fallen out.

7—9. The three verses which now follow describe the reigns of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) and of Seleucus Callinicus, eldest son and successor of Antiochus Theos. Ptolemy Euergetes, at the beginning of his reign, avenged the murder of Berenice by invading Syria and Babylonia, whence he carried off an immense booty. מִגְצָר מִשְׁרָשֵׁיהָ is usually explained as "one of the offshoots of her roots", the מִן being partitive, as in v. 5, and גְצָר being a collective noun. Possibly however we should read גְצָר מִשְׁרָשֵׁיהָ (LXX. *φυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ*), see Is. xi. 1. בְּנו evidently has the same meaning as עַל-בְּנו v. 20, 21, i.e. "instead of him". With בְּנו used thus adverbially, cf. the Arab. *makāmahu*; the indiscriminate use of עַל-בְּנו and בְּנו is like the indiscriminate use of בְּבַיִת הַאֱלֹהִים (II Chr. iv. 11; xxii. 12) and בְּבַיִת הַאֱלֹהִים (I Chr. ix. 26; II Chr. iv. 19) "in the house of God". The suffix in מִשְׁרָשֵׁיהָ obviously refers to Berenice, and the suffix in בְּנו to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus there is to arise in the place of Ptolemy Philadelphus an offshoot of the roots whence Berenice had sprung, i.e. her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes, will succeed to the throne of Egypt. וְיָבֵא אֶל-הַסֵּהַל is explained by Von Lengerke, Ewald, and Hitzig, as "and he shall come to the army", i.e. he shall place himself at the head of his army in order to invade Syria. But it is not easy to see why the king should be described as coming to his army rather than with it (see v. 13). Hävernicks rendering "and he shall come into power" is wholly unsupported by usage. Perhaps we should read וְיָבֵא אֶל-הֵם [מִן] חַיִל "and he shall bring an army against them", i.e. against the Syrians; for the use of אֵל instead of עַל, see chap. viii. 7. Hitzig is probably right in making מְעוֹן in this verse refer to the fortified city of Seleucia, on the Mediterranean coast. According to Polybius (v. 58), Seleucia was taken by Ptolemy during this war and remained for many years afterwards in the power of Egypt. וְעָשָׂה בָהֶם וְהִתְהַוֶּה "and he shall do as he wills with them and act valiantly" (cf. יִתְהַוֶּה וְעָשָׂה v. 32, also Neh. ix. 24)—the suffix in בָּהֶם refers to the Syrians, as do also

the suffixes in אֱלֹהֵיהֶם and the following words (v. 8). נִסְבֵּיהֶם certainly means "*their molten images*", and unless it be merely a mistake for נִסְבֵּיהֶם, is from a Singular נָסִיךְ synonymous with נָסִיךְ (Is. xlvi. 5); similarly we find פְּסִילִים "*graven images*" used as a virtual plural of פֶּסֶל. Jerome relates, presumably on the authority of Porphyry, that among the spoils which Ptolemy brought away with him were the statues of Egyptian gods carried off by Cambyses some 280 years earlier. Hence, it is said, the Egyptians gave to Ptolemy the title of Euergetes. With כְּלֵי הַמִּדְחָם "*their costly things*" cf. II Chr. xxxii. 27; xxxvi. 10. The words כְּסָף וְזָהָב can scarcely stand in apposition to כְּלֵי הַמִּדְחָם, for in that case we should expect הַכְּסָף וְהַזָּהָב, the preceding nouns being defined by the suffix. It is better to take כְּסָף וְזָהָב as a term of specification (Arab. *tamyīz*), "*in silver and gold*"; cf. הַרְוִיבִים זָהָב I Chr. xxviii. 18. The last clause of v. 8 is interpreted by Von Lengerke, Hitzig, and Ewald, "*and for some years he will refrain from (attacking) the king of the North*"; see Gen. xxix. 35. II Kings iv. 6. Others explain, "*and he shall continue alive some years longer than the king of the North*". In v. 9 the verbs בָּא and שָׁב must refer to the king of the North. Some years after Ptolemy's invasion of Syria, Seleucus Callinicus made an expedition against Egypt. He was totally defeated, and returned with a small remnant of his army to Antioch.

10—12. The next ten verses are occupied with the times of Antiochus III., known as Antiochus the Great. Seleucus Callinicus left two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus. The former was killed, after a reign of two years, during a campaign in Asia Minor. Antiochus, who succeeded to the throne, soon afterwards made war upon Ptolemy Philopator, son and successor of Ptolemy Euergetes, and conquered Syria as far as Gaza. Thereupon Ptolemy marched from Egypt and defeated him with severe loss at Raphia, about twenty miles to the south west of Gaza. Antiochus having retreated northward, Palestine was again annexed to the empire of Ptolemy. In v. 10 בָּנָיו "*his sons*" refers to Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus. Von Lengerke has observed that though Seleucus Ceraunus never actually made war upon Egypt, his expedition into Asia Minor

may be regarded as a prelude to an intended attack upon the Ptolemaic Empire. Hence it may be said of him and of his brother, "*they shall war and gather together a multitude of great forces*"—but the following words must describe events subsequent to the death of Seleucus¹. For the placing of the Infinitive absolute בוא after the Perfect, see Num. xxiii. 11; xxiv. 10. The words בוא וקבץ בוא וישטף are referred by Von Lengerke and Hitzig to Antiochus; Ewald more naturally refers them to the multitude (המון) mentioned before. Thus we may render, "*and it (i.e. the army of Antiochus) shall come onward and shall sweep away (all before it) and overflow (the land); then it shall return again (to the attack), and they shall war even to his stronghold*". The word וישב seems to allude to the fact that after the conquest of part of Coele-Syria, the army of Antiochus retired northward to winter in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, garrisons having been left in the conquered cities (Polybius v. 66); in the following spring the army "returned again" to complete the conquest. For the Plural יתגרו the *Kḥrī* substitutes the easier יתגרה. Von Lengerke refers יתגרו to Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator. Since however the next verse represents Ptolemy as "coming forth" to fight, it is more natural to suppose that יתגרו (assuming it to be the original reading) refers to the army of Antiochus, which may be treated either as a Singular or a Plural. The word קעוזה "*his stronghold*" is explained by Von Lengerke as meaning the stronghold of Ptolemy, viz. Raphia; Hitzig interprets it as the stronghold of Antiochus, viz. Gaza. This latter view may at first appear irreconcilable with v. 7, where קעוזה קעוזה קעוזה seems to designate Seleucia; but since in v. 19 we read of קעוזה ארצו, there is no reason why several places should not be called by this title. That Pelusium (סין), described by Ezekiel as קעוזה ארצו (Ezek. xxx. 15), cannot here be meant, is obvious, for Antiochus never advanced so far during this cam-

¹ The words of Jerome—"Post fugam et mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, provocati spe victoriae et ultione parentis, exercitu congregato adversus Pto-

lemaeum Philopatorem arma corripunt"—are apparently nothing but a deduction drawn from this passage of Daniel, for in reality Seleucus Ceraunus died before the accession of Ptolemy Philopator.

paign. In *v.* 11 Ptolemy appears upon the scene. At first he made no attempt to arrest the progress of Antiochus, but was at length induced by his ministers to advance with a large force. For *וְהִתְמַרְמֵר* see chap. viii. 7, and also p. 30. The latter half of *v.* 11 means, according to Von Lengerke, "*And he* (i.e. Ptolemy) *shall raise a great army, and the army shall be placed under his command*". So also Hitzig, excepting that he prefers to read *וְנָתַן* "*and he shall place*", rather than *וְנָתַן*. But in either case it is extremely doubtful whether the text will bear the above sense; the passages cited by Hitzig (II Kings xviii. 23. Ps. x. 14) are far from conclusive. It is certainly more in accordance with Hebrew usage to translate "*the multitude shall be given into his hand*" (i.e. it shall be defeated by him), cf. I Kings xx. 28. But since *וְהִקְטִיִּיר* must refer to the *וְהִקְטִיִּיר* immediately preceding, it becomes necessary to take the verb *וְהִקְטִיִּיר* as having Antiochus for its subject. Hence we may interpret, "*And he* (i.e. Antiochus) *shall raise a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his* (i.e. Ptolemy's) *hand*". This view is confirmed by *v.* 13, where the "multitude greater than the former one" evidently means the army of Antiochus. Verse 12 is interpreted both by Von Lengerke and Hitzig, "*And the multitude shall stand up (to fight), their courage being raised, and he* (i.e. Ptolemy) *shall cast down myriads, but he shall not shew himself strong*". According to this explanation, *וְנִשָּׂא* has the same sense as in Is. xxxiii. 10, and *וְרִימִים לְקִבּוֹ* is a circumstantial clause. But if, as has been before suggested, the *וְהִקְטִיִּיר* of *v.* 11 is the army of Antiochus, the *וְהִקְטִיִּיר* of *v.* 12 must refer to the same thing. Accordingly the first half of *v.* 12 appears to mean, "*And the multitude shall be swept away* (i.e. routed), *and his* (i.e. Ptolemy's) *heart shall be puffed up with pride*" (reading *וְרִימִים* according to the *Kēri*). For this use of *וְנִשָּׂא* see chap. ii. 35 and Is. xl. 24; xli. 16; lvii. 13. The term *וְרִימִים* "myriads" must be understood in a rhetorical sense. According to Polybius (v. 86), the losses of Antiochus at Raphia amounted to nearly 10000 infantry and 300 cavalry, besides 4000 taken prisoners. *וְלֹא יַעַז* "*but he shall not shew himself strong*", accurately describes the conduct of Ptolemy on this occasion. Instead of following up his success, he contented himself with the acquisition of Coele-

Syria, and made peace with Antiochus as soon as possible (Polybius v. 87).

13—16. About 12 years after the battle of Raphia, Ptolemy Philopator died leaving an infant son, who succeeded to the crown and is known as Ptolemy Epiphanes. Antiochus soon took the opportunity of again attacking the Ptolemaic Empire. In *v.* 13, וְשָׁב is adverbial, “*And again the king of the North shall raise a multitude, greater than the former one...*”. In the latter half of this verse, שָׁנִים is explained by Von Lengerke as being in apposition to הַעֲתִים, i.e. “*at the end of the time (consisting of) some years*”—in which case the presence of הַעֲתִים is altogether unnecessary and even disturbing to the sense. Ewald translates, “*At the end of the times he will come repeatedly (יבוא בוא) during some years;*” but for this we should expect שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה (see Neh. x. 36) rather than שָׁנִים. Perhaps שָׁנִים may have been added by a scribe in order to explain the vague term הַעֲתִים, in accordance with וְיִלְחָן שָׁנִים in *v.* 6. For the placing of the Infinitive Absolute בוא after the Imperfect, cf. II Kings v. 11. רְכוּשׁ which here seems to mean “*implements of war*” (so Hitzig, Ewald) and which in *v.* 24 means “*possessions*” in general, is a word peculiar to the Pentateuch and to post-exilic writings. In *v.* 14, the “*many*” who “*stand up against the king of the South*” may be taken as a reference to Philip, king of Macedon, the ally of Antiochus, and to the rebellions which at this time broke out in the provinces subject to Ptolemy. The rest of the verse evidently alludes to events which took place in Palestine. According to the usual interpretation, the בְּנֵי פְּרִיצֵי עֲמֶק, “*the sons of the violent among thy people*” are those Jews who took part with Antiochus. The author, it is supposed, hating the Syrian rule, here expresses his disapprobation of those who helped to bring Palestine under the Seleucidae. Before discussing this theory, it is necessary to examine the words which follow, לְהַעֲמִיד חַיִּו, which are commonly rendered, “*so as (thereby) to fulfil the prophecy*”, i.e. the conduct of the Jews who sided with Antiochus, though in itself blameworthy, was necessary for the fulfilment of the Divine predictions. Against this it may fairly be urged that the author cannot here be speaking of an attempt which *succeeded*, but rather of an attempt which *failed*

(וּנְכָשְׁלוֹ). Accordingly Graetz wishes to render לְהַעֲמִיר חֲזוֹן “to cause the Law to totter” (um das Gesetz wankend zu machen), cf. Ezek. xxix. 7. He explains the verse as referring to an attempt on the part of the Hellenizing faction among the Jews to abolish the Mosaic law. That such attempts were made at the period in question is quite possible, but חֲזוֹן means “vision”, “prediction”, and is never used as an equivalent of תּוֹרָה or בְּרִית. Hence there seems to be no choice but to take חֲזוֹן לְהַעֲמִיר in its literal and obvious sense—the author speaks of persons who “lift themselves up for the purpose of fulfilling prophecy”, but the attempt fails, “they are overthrown” (וּנְכָשְׁלוֹ). But who are the בני פְּרִיעֵי עַמְּךָ? The phrase, as it stands, is very singular, for “the violent among thy people” would surely be expressed by בְּנֵי פְּרִיעֵי עַמְּךָ or בְּנֵי הַפְּרִיעִים. We can no more say בְּנֵי פְּרִיעִים for “violent persons” than we could say בְּנֵי צְדִיקִים for “righteous persons”. Perhaps we should read בְּנֵי פְּרִיעֵי עַמְּךָ “those who build up the breaches of thy people”, cf. Amos ix. 11 and the somewhat analogous phrase מְחַוְּלֵי בְּרָגֶךָ Ezek. xxvii. 9. Our total ignorance as to the internal history of the Jews at this period makes it impossible to say what event the author of Daniel has here in view, but it may be suggested as at least not improbable that at the time when the Ptolemaic dynasty was losing its hold upon Judaea some of those who aimed at a restoration of Israel may have entertained hopes of throwing off the foreign yoke altogether and thereby of fulfilling the predictions of the prophets¹. Such hopes were of course doomed to disappointment. The opening clause of v. 15, “And the king of the North shall come”, is understood by Von Lengerke as a mere repetition of the statement in v. 13, since v. 14 is of the nature of a parenthesis. Hitzig, on the contrary, refers v. 15 to a campaign subsequent to that mentioned in v. 13. Although the details of the war between Antiochus and Ptolemy Epiphanes are obscure, there can be no doubt that it lasted several years.

¹ It hardly requires to be said that the account given by Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 3, 4) of the help which Antiochus received from the Jews—even if it be strictly true—does not necessarily ap-

ply to the whole nation. We have also to remember that Josephus always does his best to conceal the hatred with which the Jews regarded the Gentile rule.

The fate of Palestine was virtually settled by the great victory which Antiochus gained at Mount Panium, near the Bāniyās source of the Jordan, over Ptolemy's general Scopas (Polybius XVI. 18; XXVIII. 1). According to Jerome, Scopas afterwards sought refuge, with an army of 10000 men, in the fortress of Sidon, which Antiochus besieged and took¹. To this there seems to be an allusion here, "*And he shall cast up earth-works and take a fortified city*". Instead of מְבַצְרוֹת we elsewhere find the Plural מְבַצְרִים, as in v. 24. Theod. and the Pesh. appear to have read עָרִים בְּצֻרוֹת. The following words describe the total collapse of the Egyptian power in Syria. "*And the forces of the South shall not withstand (Antiochus), nor (even) his (i.e. Ptolemy's) chosen men, and there shall be no strength to withstand. (v. 16) And he (i.e. Antiochus) who shall come against him (i.e. Ptolemy) shall do as he wills, and none shall withstand him, and he shall stand in the land of Glory, with destruction in his hand*". וְרֵעוֹת, for which v. 31 has וְרָעִים, is a general term including not only armies but all means of offence or defence, cf. בְּאֶרְצֵת וְהָיִל Ezra iv. 23. The phrase עִם מְבַחְרָיו is peculiar, but may be compared to כָּלִי מִחֲמַדְיָה II Chr. xxxvi. 19. Whether the suffixes in מְבַחְרָיו and אֱלֹוֹי refer to Ptolemy or to "the South" is not quite clear; the sense in either case is the same. On אֶרֶץ הַיְבֵי, as a name for Judaea, see chap. viii. 9. The rendering given above for וְכֹלָה בְּיָדוֹ is that adopted by Hitzig. Von Lengerke and Ewald translate, "*and it (i.e. the land) shall be wholly in his hand*", taking כֹּלָה as an adverb (Gen. xviii. 21). But, as Hitzig remarks, if this be the meaning we must at least read וְכֹלָה, with Bertholdt. Von Lengerke's objection that the idea of "destruction" is here out of place because the Jews were on the side of Antiochus, has no weight, for even if the Jews sided with Antiochus (as Josephus states), it is still possible that this clause may refer to the "destruction" of the Egyptian armies.

¹ "Antiochus enim volens Judaeam recuperare et Syriae urbes plurimas, Scopam duce[m] Ptolemaei juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, inito certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misit

Ptolemaeus duces inclytos Eropum et Menoclem et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit: donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit et nudus cum sociis dimissus est". Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* xi. 15.

17—19. “*And he shall set his face to come with the power of his whole kingdom, but he shall make an agreement with him*” etc. Hävernicks and Von Lengerke refer the suffix in מְלִכְיֹתוֹ to Ptolemy, and accordingly explain, “*He* (i.e. Antiochus) *shall set his face to come against the power of his* (i.e. Ptolemy’s) *whole kingdom*”. But after the description of the utter defeat and helplessness of Ptolemy (*vs.* 15, 16) it would be very unnatural to speak of “the power of his whole kingdom”. Ewald’s translation, “*to come into possession of his kingdom*”, assumes for the word תִּקַּף a sense which it bears nowhere else. It is therefore much more probable that the suffix in מְלִכְיֹתוֹ refers to Antiochus (so Hitzig). The author seems to mean that after the conquest of all Syria, Antiochus determined to apply his strength to the conquest of Egypt itself, but thought it advisable, for the moment, to come to terms with Ptolemy. Instead of וַיֵּשֶׁה we should no doubt read וַיַּעֲשֶׂה (so Hitzig and others), according to the LXX. καὶ συνθήκας μετ’ αὐτοῦ ποιήσεται. יִשְׂרָיִם is either a mistake for מִיִּשְׂרָיִם (see *v.* 6) or else a word of exactly the same meaning; in the latter case it would be a Plural of יִשְׂרָיִם. The suffix in עָמֹי must refer to Ptolemy. The latter half of *v.* 17 is obscure. “*The daughter of women*” seems to be Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, whom he betrothed and some years afterwards married to Ptolemy. With the singular phrase בַּת הַנְּשִׂיִם Hitzig compares בְּרִצְאוֹנוֹתָם Zech. ix. 9. The LXX. has θυγατέρα ἀνθρώπου, the Pesh. כּוֹס אֲנִישִׁים, but whether this proves the existence of a reading בַּת אֲנִישִׁים may be doubted. The suffix in לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ is referred by De Wette, Hävernicks, and Von Lengerke, to מְלִכְיֹתוֹ, i.e. “*and he shall give to him* (i.e. Ptolemy) *the daughter of women, to destroy it* (i.e. the Empire of Egypt)”. Von Lengerke supposes that the object of Antiochus, in giving his daughter in marriage, was to excite against Ptolemy the resentment of the Romans. But if מְלִכְיֹתוֹ means the kingdom of Antiochus, the suffix in לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ must refer to Cleopatra herself, i.e. he will give her in marriage “*to her ruin*”. Perhaps, however, we should read לְהַשְׁחִיתָיָהּ (with Hitzig), i.e. “*in order to work ruin*”. The verbs תִּעֲמָד and תִּהְיֶה should probably be taken impersonally (see Is. vii. 7), “*but it shall not avail, nor shall he*

attain it (i.e. his object)". In *v.* 18 the *Kēthīb* יִשָּׁב is preferable to the *Kēri* יִשָּׁב (LXX. καὶ δώσει) since it is a question, not of a purpose (as in *v.* 17), but of actual motion (as in *v.* 19). "And he shall turn his face towards the isles and shall take many" etc. יִשָּׁב, as elsewhere, has the general sense of "lands by the sea". In the year 197 B.C. Antiochus made an expedition, by sea and land, against Asia Minor. For a while he met with great success; at length, in 190 B.C., he was severely defeated by the Roman general Lucius Scipio near Magnesia, and made peace on the most humiliating conditions. To this catastrophe the latter half of *v.* 18 probably alludes. Von Lengerke translates, "But a Commander shall put an end to his insults, nothing but his insults shall he repay to him". The first לוֹ Von Lengerke explains as meaning "to his hurt" (cf. Jer. xviii. 35. Ruth iv.

14). The word קָצַן seems to be derived from קָצָה (Ar. قَضَى "to decide", "to pronounce a legal sentence"), in which case the grammatical formation would be quite unique in Hebrew. As קָצַן is elsewhere used both of civil and military officials, it may well be applied here to Scipio. But the latter part of the verse presents great difficulties. Nowhere in the Old Testament does בְּלִי mean "only", "nothing but" (Von Lengerke, Hitzig), and to appeal to Is. x. 4 is to elucidate the obscure by means of the more obscure. Equally unproven is the meaning "and moreover" (ausserdem dass), proposed by Hävernick. Graetz's emendation בְּלִי, "on the cheek", is ingenious, but though "to smite on the cheek" is a familiar Hebrew metaphor (Micah iv. 14. Ps. iii. 8. Job xvi. 10), such a phrase as "to requite an insult upon the cheek" is unknown. Perhaps some help may here be derived from the LXX, which has καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ὀργὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐν ὄρκῳ κατὰ τὸν ὀνειδισμόν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέψει [αὐτῶ· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει] τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. The words in square brackets I have supplied from conjecture—their omission is easily explained by the homoioteleuton. Instead of קָצַן וְהַשְׁבִּית הַשָּׁבִיב the translator appears to have read קָצַף וְהַשְׁבִּיב, but here the Masoretic text is obviously preferable. In the words immediately following there is a wide divergence between the two texts. It is possible that the original reading may have

been לו *שיב לו* “*he shall requite his insults sevenfold*”, cf. Ps. lxxix. 12. This hypothesis at least will account both for the present Masoretic text and for the variations of the LXX. לו בלתי may have arisen out of שבעתים, since in some forms of the older alphabet ל and ו are little more than vertical strokes. On the other hand the LXX., in which the first לו is absent, may have confused שבעתים with שבעה, ἑβδος. Verse 19—“*And he shall turn his face towards the strongholds of his (own) land, and shall be overthrown and fall and disappear*”. After his discomfiture Antiochus retreated to the lands east of the Taurus, and was at length killed in the attempt to plunder the temple of Bel in Elymais.

20. This verse describes in a few words the reign of Seleucus Philopator, son of Antiochus the Great. The usual rendering is, “*and there shall arise in his place one who shall cause an exactor to pass through the glory of the kingdom*” etc., (so Von Lengerke). This is supposed to refer to the mission of Heliodorus for the purpose of robbing the Jewish Temple (II Macc. iii. 7), and by “*the glory of the kingdom*”, the author, it is said, means Judaea. With this view Hitzig substantially agrees, but he renders “*towards the glory of the kingdom*”, and explains הָרַר מְלִכוּת to be Jerusalem. In either case the usage of Hebrew would require a preposition before הָרַר (cf. Zech. ix. 8). Moreover it would be very strange to call Judaea or Jerusalem the glory of a *heathen* kingdom, and in v. 21 הוֹר מְלִכוּת evidently means “*royal honour*”. Since הוֹר and הָרַר are so frequently coupled together, we may assume that הָרַר מְלִכוּת and הוֹר מְלִכוּת express much the same idea, הָרַר being a mere phonetic variation of הָרַר. For these reasons Graetz inserts בְּלִי before הָרַר, “*there shall arise one who shall cause an exactor to pass (through the land), without royal dignity*” etc. But the words מַעְבִּיר נוֹגֵשׁ, without further specification, would be scarcely intelligible—not to mention the boldness of adding בְּלִי. It appears to me simpler and more satisfactory to read מַעְבִּיר נוֹגֵשׁ instead of מַעְבִּיר נוֹגֵשׁ, i.e. “*And there shall arise in his place an exactor who shall cause the royal dignity to pass away*” etc. For this use of מַעְבִּיר see II Sam. xii. 13. Esth. viii. 3. The suffix in בְּנֵי naturally refers to Antiochus the Great. By the “*exactor*” would be

meant Seleucus, who made himself unpopular by his avarice; Livy speaks of this king's reign as "otiosum, nullis admodum rebus gestis nobilitatum" (Bk. XLII. 19). Such a prince, following immediately upon Antiochus the Great, might well be described as "causing the royal dignity to pass away". "*And in a few days he shall be broken*"; for יָמֵים נִקְרָאִים cf. Gen. xxvii. 44; xxix. 20. "To be broken" is "to be ruined", not necessarily "to be slain" (cf. v. 26). Those who find in the preceding words an allusion to the mission of Heliodorus, generally explain the "few days" as the time which elapsed between that mission and the death of Seleucus. Rosenmüller thinks that the whole reign of Seleucus, which lasted 12 years, is here called "a few days", as contrasted with the much longer reign of Antiochus the Great. Perhaps the author may mean no more than that the fall of Seleucus will be sudden and unexpected. The last words of the verse are usually translated "*but not in wrath* (i.e. by open violence), *nor in war*". But for this we should expect נִקְרָאִים rather than יָמֵים נִקְרָאִים. Graetz plausibly suggests יָמֵים נִקְרָאִים "*in battle array*", cf. Ezek. xvii. 21; xxxviii. 6, 9, etc. It has been already mentioned, in the Introduction to Chap. vii., that Seleucus Philopator is said to have been murdered, and that the author of Daniel seems to have attributed the murder to the intrigues of Antiochus Epiphanes, who at the time was on his way back from Rome to the East.

21—24. "*And there shall arise in his place a contemptible man, upon whom they have not conferred royal dignity, but he shall come in unawares and shall seize the kingdom by guile.*" In the "contemptible man" all modern commentators recognize Antiochus Epiphanes, younger son of Antiochus the Great. The words וְלֹא נִתְּנָה עָלָיו הוֹד מְלֻכּוּתָהּ are best understood as a relative clause, וְנִשְׁפָּט being omitted; cf. Ps. xxii. 30, where וְנִשְׁפָּט לֹא וְנִשְׁפָּט stands for וְנִשְׁפָּט לֹא הָיָה. The subject of נִתְּנָה is "men" in general (cf. I Kings i. 1, 2); for the phrase, see I Chr. xxix. 25. The meaning is that Antiochus Epiphanes had never been treated as heir apparent to the throne. On חֲלָלְקוֹת and בְּשִׁלְיָהּ, see pp. 31, 32. Verses 22—24, as we have seen, are understood by many, from Porphyry onwards, to refer to the campaigns of Antiochus against Egypt. This view is accepted by Von Len-

gerke, who explains *v.* 22, as follows—“*And the overwhelming forces* (lit. the arms of the flood, viz. the forces of Egypt) *shall be overwhelmed from before him and shall be broken, and also an allied prince*” (viz. Ptolemy Philometor, son and successor of Ptolemy Epiphanes). But since Egypt is nowhere expressly mentioned until we come to *v.* 25, it seems much more probable that *vv.* 22—24 describe events which took place in Syria during the first five years of Antiochus’ reign, i.e. between 175 and 170 B.C. Moreover the phrase *וְרֵעוֹת הַשָּׂטָף* would be a singularly inappropriate designation for the armies *defeated* by Antiochus—*שׂוֹט שׂוֹטָה* (Is. xxviii. 15), which is cited as a parallel, evidently describes a *victorious* army. Also the use of *בְּנֵי בְרִית*, instead of *בְּעַל בְּרִיתוֹ* (Gen. xiv. 13) or *אִישׁ בְּרִיתוֹ* (Obad. 7), is quite anomalous. I would therefore propose to read *הַשָּׂטָף*, instead of *הַשָּׂטָף*, and to render, “*And forces shall be utterly overwhelmed before him, and shall be broken, and likewise a Prince of the Covenant*”. The word *וְרֵעוֹת* may be used absolutely, like *וְרֵעִים* in *v.* 31, and in all probability refers to Heliodorus and the other domestic enemies whom Antiochus had to overcome at the beginning of his reign; *מְלֻכָּיו* corresponds to *מִן־קַרְמִיָּה* in the parallel passage, chap. vii. 8. The “Prince of the Covenant” seems to be the Jewish High Priest Onias III. (so Hitzig), who was deposed by Antiochus about 174 B.C., and some years afterwards murdered near Antioch (II Macc. iv. 33—36)¹. On the term *בְּנֵי*, as applied to the High Priest, see chap. ix. 25. *בְּרִית* (here, as in *v.* 32, without the Article) is the “covenant” of God with Israel, and hence Israel itself as a religious community, cf. *בְּרִית קוֹדֶשׁ* *v.* 30; similarly, in Syriac, *kḗyāmā* “covenant” or *kḗyāmā kaddīshā* “holy covenant”, is used for “the clergy” (see Hoffmann’s *Julianos der Abtrünnige*, p. 62, line 5, and p. 63, line 25). Verse 23—“*And from the time when they shall ally themselves with him he shall practise fraud, and shall rise and become strong with (but) few men*”. Thus all who ally themselves with Antiochus are outwitted. *מֶן* is here used as

¹ According to II Macc. iv. 7—10, the deposition of Onias III. was due to his brother Jason (named originally Jesus, see Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1),

who by bribing Antiochus obtained the High-Priesthood for himself. About 171 B.C. Jason was deposed in favour of a certain Menelaus.

in chap. ix. 25; the form הַתְּחַבְּרוּת, in which the abstract ending is added to the Infinitive, may be compared to הַשְּׂמֵעוֹת Ezek. xxiv. 26, although in the latter case the vocalization is not above suspicion. The subject of הַתְּחַבְּרוּת is unexpressed, cf. Ps. xlii. 4 קָאָמַר אֵלַי “when they say to me”, for which v. 11 of the psalm has בְּאֶמְרָם אֵלַי. בְּאֶמְרָם נוֹי seems here to be used in the sense of עַם. The “few men” are the partisans of Antiochus, i.e. those by whose help he was able to rise to power (וְעָלָה וְעָצַם) and overcome his rivals. The word גְּשֻׁלָּה (v. 24) Von Lengerke connects with v. 23; מִשְׁמַנֵּי מְרִיקָה he explains as referring to Lower Egypt, invaded by Antiochus. Ewald, following the Masoretic text, translates, “*He shall come unawares even into the fattest provinces*”—by which provinces Ewald understands Galilee. But to describe Lower Egypt or Galilee as “the fattest parts of a province” (מְרִיקָה Singular) would be a strange figure of speech; the phrase אֶבְיֹנֵי אָרֶם (Is. xxix. 19), which Hitzig here cites, is no real parallel, since אָרֶם is a collective and cannot form a Plural. Graetz explains, “*In peace and with the honourable men of the land he will present himself*”—taking מִשְׁמַנֵּי according to Is. x. 16. Ps. lxxviii. 31. But even if we admit such a use of מְרִיקָה, why should this connection between Antiochus and “the honourable men” be specially mentioned? Perhaps we should read וּבְשֻׁלָּה בְּמִשְׁמַנֵּי וְנוֹ “*And by stealth he shall assail the mightiest men of (each) province*”. For בָּא in the sense of “to come against”, “to attack”, see v. 30. This agrees moreover with chap. viii. 25, וּבְשֻׁלָּה יִשְׁחִית רַבִּים. The מִשְׁמַנֵּי מְרִיקָה are presumably included in the עַצוּמִים of chap. viii. 24, i.e. the “many” foes whom Antiochus contrived to ruin. The following words describe his marvellous success—“*And he shall do what his fathers have not done, nor the fathers of his fathers; spoil and plunder and riches shall he scatter among them, and against strongholds shall he devise his devices, but (it shall be only) for a time*”. The root בּוֹר appears nowhere else in the Old Testament but Ps. lxxviii. 31. The suffix in לָהֶם is referred by Von Lengerke, Hitzig, and Ewald to the מִשְׁמַנֵּי מְרִיקָה, i.e. to the inhabitants of the regions in question, but if the מִשְׁמַנֵּי מְרִיקָה are the enemies of Antiochus, the suffix in לָהֶם must refer to his adherents; this vague use of the Plural is particularly com-

mon in Daniel (e.g. מִצְרַיִם v. 7, יְהוּדָה v. 25). By the “strongholds” we should probably understand the frontier of Egypt; it is here a question, not of invasion, but merely of ambitious plotting (cf. I Macc. i. 16 καὶ ὑπέλαβε βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου). This state of things, however, is to last only for a time.

25—28. These four verses describe the war of Antiochus against Ptolemy Philometor in 170 B.C. “*And he shall rouse his might and his courage against the king of the South, with a great army; and the king of the South shall engage in the war with an army great and numerous exceedingly, but he (i.e. Ptolemy) shall not stand, for they shall devise devices against him*”. For this use of אָרַם cf. Ps. lxxviii. 38. The “king of the South” in this verse is supposed by Hitzig to be Ptolemy Euergetes II. (commonly known by the nickname Φύσκων, younger brother of Ptolemy Philometor), who in the course of this war was proclaimed king at Alexandria¹. But since the “two kings” in v. 27 are certainly Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometor, it may be assumed that also in vv. 25, 26, Ptolemy Philometor is meant². In spite of his great resources, Ptolemy could not maintain the contest, owing to the treachery of his adherents (יְהוּדָה וְעַמּוּתָא). He was defeated by Antiochus near Pelusium, and at length fell into the power of the Syrian king. This is further explained in what follows (v. 26) “*And those who eat of his dainties shall ruin him, and his army shall be swept away, and many shall fall down slain*”. By “those who eat of his dainties” (cf. chap. i. 5) are meant the courtiers of Ptolemy, perhaps in particular Eulacus and Lenaeus, two men who, after the death of his mother Cleopatra (about 174 B.C.), had complete influence over him (see Polybius xxviii. 21, and Jerome on Dan. xi. 21 ff.). Instead of אֲרָם we should probably read אָרַם, according to v. 22. In v. 27, Ptolemy is in the hands of Antiochus.

¹ “*Ἀρχει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Φιλομήτωρ πρότερος ἔτεσις ἕνδεκα μόνος. Ἀντίχου δ’ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περιελόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ διάδημα, οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῷ νεωτέρῳ ἐπέτρεψαν τὰ πράγματα, καὶ διώξαντες Ἀντίχον ἐρρῶσαντο τὸν Φιλομήτορα*” κ.τ.λ. Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, ed. Schoene,

i. p. 162.

² A commentary on this passage is furnished by I Macc. i. 18, 19—the author of I Macc. here speaks of one Ptolemy only (i.e. Philometor), ignoring Physcon altogether, which confirms the interpretation given above.

"And as for the two kings, their minds (shall be bent) on mischief, and at one table they shall speak lies, but it shall not avail, for there is yet a limit (fixed) for the time". After the defeat of the Egyptians, Antiochus allied himself with Ptolemy Philometor, on the pretext of helping him against his younger brother (who, as we have seen, was now reigning at Alexandria); but the league was a hollow pretence—while feasting together, each was planning the ruin of the other. מָרַע, pausal form of מַרְע, is an abstract noun from the root רעע, cf. סַבַּב from מָסַב. The subject of תִּצְלַח is indefinite, cf. תִּעְמַר and תִּהְיֶה in v. 17. The "time" (כְּאוֹשֶׁר) is the time during which Antiochus is suffered to domineer over Egypt. Whether he was driven out or left of his own accord, v. 28 does not tell us. "And he shall return to his land with great riches, and his mind (shall be set) against the Holy Covenant; so he shall do (his will) and return to his land". On his march northwards, Antiochus found Jerusalem in a state of tumult. A report had gone forth that he was dead, in consequence of which Jason, the deposed High Priest, had seized the opportunity to reinstate himself by force, and had massacred many of the partisans of his rival Menelaus (II Macc. v. 5). Antiochus, not unnaturally, regarded this as a rebellion against his royal authority, entered Jerusalem with his army, and put great numbers of Jews to death. He then marched to Antioch, carrying with him the spoils of the Temple (I Macc. i. 20—24. II Macc. v. 11—21).

29, 30. "At the time appointed he shall return and enter into the South, but it shall not be in the latter time as in the former time. And there shall come against him ships from Kittim, so shall he be cowed, and shall return and be wroth against the Holy Covenant, and shall do (his will), and return and have regard unto them who forsake the Holy Covenant". In the spring of 168 B.C. Antiochus again invaded Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor and his brother, who at this time were reigning conjointly, had already despatched embassies to Achaia and to Rome, to ask for help against the Syrians (Polybius XXIX. 23. Livy XLIV. 19; XLV. 11). On this occasion Antiochus fared much worse than before—the latter expedition was not as the former one. For the construction קְרָאֲשָׁנָה וְקָאֲחָרוֹנָה cf. Josh. xiv.

11. Ezek. xviii. 4. The phrase $\text{יָצַדְתָּם יִצְדִּים}$, in which יִצְדִּים is, of course, an adjective, seems to have been suggested by Numb. xxiv. 24. Originally יִצְדִּים meant the inhabitants of Cyprus, but among the later Jews it was used for all the western maritime countries (I Macc. i. 1; viii. 5. Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 6. 1). The allusion here is to the Romans, who sent Caius Popilius Laenas to Egypt, summarily demanding that Antiochus should quit the country. The king, thoroughly humiliated, was forced to obey¹. The Niphal הִצְדִּיךָ is from a root which occurs frequently in Syriac, but which appears nowhere else in the Old Testament except in Ps. cix. 16 and possibly in Ezek. xiii. 22. Job xxx. 8. The double בְּצִי in *v.* 30 is taken by Von Lengerke in an adverbial sense, i.e. "and he shall *again* be wroth"—"and he shall *again* have regard"; but, as Hitzig remarks, the first בְּצִי probably refers to the march of Antiochus from Egypt towards Judaea, the second בְּצִי to his march from Judaea towards Antioch. Whether Antiochus, after leaving Egypt, came in person to Jerusalem, is not clear, for I Macc. i. 29, which describes the events of this time, speaks only of an official sent by the king with an army. But it is certain that in the autumn of 168 B.C. Jerusalem was plundered by the king's order, many Jews were slain, and a systematic attempt was begun to suppress the Jewish religion. For the use of הִצְדִּיךָ cf. $\text{הִצְדִּיךָ הַלְבִּיחִיךָ}$ chap. viii. 24. "*He shall have regard unto them who*

¹ "Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔνεκεν τοῦ Πηλοῦσιον κατασχεῖν ἀφικόμενον, ὁ Ποπίλιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, τοῦ βασιλέως πρόρρωθεν ἀσπασομένου διὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνοντος, πρόχειρον ἔχων τὸ δελτάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα κατατέτακτο, προὔτεινεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκέλευε πρῶτον ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Ἀντιόχον, ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μὴ πρότερον ἀξιῶσας τὸ τῆς φιλίας σύνθημα ποιεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπιγνῶναι τοῦ δεξιουμένου, πότερα φίλιος ἢ πολέμιός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγνοὺς ἔφη βούλεσθαι μεταδοῦναι τοῖς φίλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προσπεπτωκότων, ἀκούσας ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐποίησε πρᾶγμα βαρὺ μὲν δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ τελέως ὑπερήφανον· ἔχων

γὰρ πρὸ χειρῶν ἀμπελίνην βακτηρίαν περιέγραφε τῷ κλήματι τὸν Ἀντιόχον, ἐν τούτῳ τε τῷ γύρῳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ξενισθεὶς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, βραχὺν χρόνον ἐναπορήσας ἔφη ποιήσειεν πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποπίλιον τότε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ἅμα πάντες ἠσπάζοντο φιλοφρόνως. ἦν δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα λύειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον πόλεμον. διὸ καὶ δοθειῶν αὐτῷ τακτῶν ἡμερῶν οὗτος μὲν ἀπήγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, βαρυνόμενος μὲν καὶ στένων, εἰκὼν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρόν". Polybius xxix. 27. The last words strikingly correspond to Dan. xi. 30.

forsake the Holy Covenant", i.e. he will henceforth fix his attention upon the apostate Jews, and in every way further their designs (cf. v. 37, also Job xxxi. 1).

31. "And forces sent by him shall prevail, and they shall desecrate the sanctuary, the stronghold, and abolish the daily sacrifice, and set up the abomination". יַעֲרִי is rendered by Von Lengerke, "shall arise", i.e. shall be set on foot, and by Hitzig "shall remain", i.e. shall be left to garrison the fortresses of Judaea, after the departure of Antiochus. But the analogy of v. 15, 25, is in favour of the meaning "shall prevail". The desecration of the Temple was the work of the Syrian soldiery, abetted by a party among the Jews. הַמְעִיז is in apposition to הַמְּקַיֵּם—both before and after this period the Temple at Jerusalem appears to have had fortifications. As to the precise date of the abolition of the daily sacrifice, I Maccabees tells us nothing; but we are informed that on the 15th of Chisleu, i.e. near the end of December, 168 B.C., a heathen altar was built upon the stone platform which in the post-exilic Temple served as the place of sacrifice (I Macc. i. 54; cf. iv. 42–47). Ten days later, i.e. on the 25th of Chisleu, sacrifices were offered on the new altar. According to II Macc. vi. 2, the Temple was at this time dedicated to the Olympian Zeus. Hence almost all commentators are agreed in explaining "the abomination" (יִצְפְּתִי) to be the heathen altar mentioned above. But as to the term מְשַׁמֵּם there has been considerable difference of opinion. As it is impossible to draw any conclusion from the corrupt passages viii. 13 and ix. 27, we must be guided chiefly by chap. xii. 11, where we read of a מְשַׁמֵּם יִצְפְּתִי. The oldest exegetical tradition on the subject is that contained in the LXX. which has βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως (chap. xi. 31) and τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (chap. xii. 11). The phrase βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως is used also in I Macc. i. 54, and seems to have been borrowed from Daniel—whether from chap. xi. 31 or chap. xii. 11 it is impossible to say. This does not prove that מְשַׁמֵּם and מַשְׁמָה were used as abstract nouns, but only that they were connected with the *idea* of desolation. Most modern commentators translate מְשַׁמֵּם "desolating", and explain מְשַׁמֵּם in chap. xii. 11 as an equivalent form. But a Poel מְשַׁמֵּם "to desolate" is not known to

exist. Hitzig interprets both *קִישָׁם* and *שָׁם* as "an object of horror", but without any valid proof. Great light seems to me to have been thrown on this question by Nestle, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883. He thinks that *שָׁם* is an intentional disfigurement of *שָׁמַיִם* (in Phoenician inscriptions *בעל שמם* or *בעשמם*, in Aramaic *בעלשמין* or *בעלשמן*), the Semitic equivalent of the Greek *Zeús*¹. The only objection which can be raised against Nestle's theory is that in Daniel *שָׁם* means, not the god, but the altar of the god. This however is of no great consequence, for when once the phrase was formed it might easily be applied to everything connected with the worship of Zeus, just as among the later Jews *עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה* meant either "idolatry" or "an idol". If therefore *שָׁם* is a term coined in order to connect the worship of *שָׁמַיִם* with the idea of "desolation" (*ἐρημωσις*), it must appear very unlikely that the author of Daniel used *שמם* and *משמם* indifferently. It is at least remarkable that in both passages where *משמם* (משומם) occurs, it produces a syntactical construction which, if not impossible, is at all events open to grave suspicion, for in chap. ix. 27 we should expect *קִישָׁמַיִם* and in chap. xi. 31 *הַמִּשְׁמָם*. On the whole the most probable hypothesis is that in chap. ix. 27 *קִישָׁמַיִם* is an error, and that in the verse before us *משמם* was inserted by a scribe who wished to assimilate the two passages.

32—35. "And those who bring guilt upon the Covenant he shall make apostates by treacherous means, but a company who know their God shall be valiant and do exploits. And the teachers of the people shall give understanding to the multitude, and they shall fall by sword and by flame, by captivity and by

¹ In addition to the proofs given by Nestle may be mentioned a passage of Philo of Byblus, cited by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* i. 10. 7), "Τοῦτον γὰρ Θεὸν ἐνόμισον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, Βεελσαμὴν καλοῦντες, ὃ ἐστὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησι". Moreover in a bilingual Palmyrene inscription of the year 134 A.D. the words *עלמא מרא לבעלשמן* are rendered by

Δι μεγαίστω κερανωω (see *Z. D. M. G.* xv. p. 16, and De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 50, note). How easily the play upon the word *שָׁמַיִם* might occur to a Jew is shewn by a passage in the *בראשית רבא* (sect. 4, near the end), where the sky is said to be called *שָׁמַיִם* because people are *astonished* at it (*שהבריות משתוממים עליהן*).

spoil (many) days. And when they are falling they shall be holpen with a little help, and many shall join themselves unto them—treacherously. But (when) certain of the teachers shall fall, (it shall be) in order to purge them and cleanse and make white, until the time of the end, for it is yet for the time appointed". מְרִשְׁעֵי בְרִית is usually rendered "those that sin against the Covenant" (Ewald). Von Lengerke translates "die Frevler des Bundes", i.e. the sinners among the covenanted people, and Hitzig "those who condemn (i.e. renounce) the Covenant". But it is more natural to suppose that the מְרִשְׁעֵי בְרִית, "those who bring guilt upon the covenanted people", stand in opposition to the מְצַדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים of chap. xii. 3. The subject of the verb יִחַיֶּה is, of course, Antiochus. Those Jews who already had leanings towards heathenism he induced by specious promises (בְּחֻלְקוֹת) openly to apostatize from the religion of Israel (see I Macc. ii. 18). Elsewhere in the Old Testament הוֹחִיף is "to defile" the earth with bloodshed etc. (Numb. xxxv. 33. Jer. iii. 2); here the object is personal. חֻלְקוֹת evidently has the same meaning as חֻלְלָקוֹת (v. 21, 34); if the pointing be correct, it is formed like קִטְנוֹת, but elsewhere we find חֻלְקוֹת (Is. xxx. 10. Ps. xii. 3, 4). In contrast to the apostate Jews stand those "who know their God", i.e. those who have a practical knowledge of His ways (Jer. ix. 23). עַם is not in the construct state, but in apposition to יִרְשֵׁי אֱלֹהֵי, cf. Ps. xcv. 10. Ezek. iii. 5. The suffix in יִרְשֵׁי אֱלֹהֵי refers to עַם (Jer. vii. 28). In v. 33 עַם מְשֻׁבְּלֵי is rendered by some "the wise of the people" (so Von Lengerke), as also חֲכָמֵי שְׁבִילִים in v. 35 and chap. xii. 3, 10. Ewald and Hitzig translate by "teachers", according to chap. ix. 22. The probability is that the author uses מְשֻׁבְּלֵי in a double sense, i.e. it includes both the possession of wisdom and the imparting of it; similarly יִבְיִנוּ is here active, "shall give understanding", whereas in the parallel passage, chap. xii. 10, we have to render "shall understand". In any case it is clear that a special class, or rather party, is here meant, viz. the leaders of the anti-Hellenistic movement, who were known as the "pious" (חַסִּידִים, see I Macc. ii. 42; vii. 13. II Macc. xiv. 6). Around these enthusiasts gathered a great multitude of their co-religionists, who till then had been halting between two opinions. The subject of נִכְשְׁלוּ may be

either the רבים (Hitzig) or the מְשֻׁבְּלֵי עַם (Von Lengerke). The latter is perhaps the more probable view, as those who “fall” in *v.* 33 must be identical with those to whom “many join themselves” in *v.* 34. That the verb נִשְׁלָו does not imply the extermination of the מְשֻׁבְּלֵי עַם is obvious from what follows. The “*little help*” (*v.* 34), in the midst of adversity, refers doubtless to the first successes of the pious party, headed by Mattathias (I Macc. ii. 42–48), before any of the great battles had been fought. The ruthless severity which “the pious” displayed, produced its natural effect—many joined them from mere terror and were ready at any moment to turn traitors. Verse 35 should probably be taken as an explanation of what precedes. לְצַרוּף בָּהֶם is literally “to purge amongst them”, i.e. to perform a purifying process in their midst. The suffix in בָּהֶם, to judge by chap. xii. 10, must refer to the people at large, not only to the מְשֻׁבְּלֵי עַם; the meaning therefore seems to be that the death of some of “the teachers” is no excuse for despair, but is necessary in order that their adherents, “the many”, may be duly tested. לְלָבֵן, if correctly pointed, is a contraction of לְהַלְבֵּן, which again stands for לְהַלְבִּין (cf. הַנְּהַל Deut. xxxii. 8, for הַנְּהַיִל); similar are לְעֵשֶׂר Deut. xxvi. 12 and בְּעֵשֶׂר Neh. x. 39. But more probably we should read לְלָבֵן, with Hitzig. The Piel of לָבֵן does not indeed occur in the Old Testament (for from Ps. ix. 1, to which Hitzig appeals, no conclusion can be drawn), but is common in post-Biblical Hebrew.

36—39. “*And the king shall do according to his own will, and shall exalt and magnify himself above every god, and against the God of gods shall he speak monstrous things; so shall he prosper until the wrath is over, for a sentence hath been executed. And to the gods of his fathers he shall have no regard, nor to the Desire of women, nor shall he have regard to any god, but shall magnify himself above all*”. After describing the sufferings of the faithful Israelites, the angel returns to the subject of Antiochus, who is called, not “the king of the North”, but “the king” simply. The portrait of Antiochus here given, as one who “magnifies himself above every god”, and who “has no regard to the gods of his fathers”, certainly does not appear at first sight to agree with the accounts of the western historians;

both Polybius and Livy speak with admiration of the honour which Antiochus paid to the gods. We must, however, remember that though he acquired a reputation for piety among the Greeks by his splendid presents to temples etc., his conduct may have produced a very different impression upon his Oriental subjects, both heathens and Jews. Indeed Polybius himself tells us that men differed greatly in their opinion of the king's character—some thinking him a good-natured easy-going man, others a maniac (Fragm. of Bk. xxvi.). His waywardness and his contempt for established customs were peculiarly calculated to shock Oriental conservatism. When to this we add his persecution of the Jews, it is not surprising that in Daniel he should be represented as a marvel of impiety. "*The God of gods*" (v. 36) is the God of Israel, cf. אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים chap. ii. 47. The phrase אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים is borrowed from Is. x. 25. On נִרְצָה see chap. ix. 26, 27. The Perfect נִשְׁפָּטָה expresses certainty, i.e. the sentence of punishment must first have been executed before the divine wrath (אָמ) is over. In v. 37, "*the gods of his fathers*" are the deities whose worship was officially recognized in the Seleucid Empire. In what manner Antiochus shewed his disrespect for "the gods of his fathers" we are not here told, but it is by no means improbable that his attempts to centralize his empire by the abolition of local usages (see I Macc. i. 41, 42) may have spread the notion that he despised all established religions. "*The Desire of women*" must, to judge by the context, be some object of worship. Most modern interpreters, following Ephraim Syrus, explain this as a reference to the goddess Nanaia, whose temple in Elymais the king endeavoured to plunder shortly before his death¹. But to this view there are two objections. Firstly, the attack upon the temple of Nanaia cannot have been heard of in Judaea till the year 164 B.C. Secondly, there is no reason why Nanaia should be designated as the Desire of women. Even if her worship was, as has been supposed, of a voluptuous character, this would scarcely give rise to such an appellation. It appears therefore much more probable that Ewald is right in explaining the Desire

¹ See Polybius xxxi. 11 where this goddess is called Artemis, and Appian, Syr. 60, where she is identified with Aphrodite.

of women as Tammuz (Adonis), whose cult had been popular in Syria from time immemorial, especially amongst women (Ezek. viii. 14). The meaning of *v.* 38 is doubtful. Von Lengerke interprets, "*But the god of strongholds shall he honour upon his pedestal, and a god whom his fathers have not known shall he honour with gold and with silver and with precious stones and with costly things*". The "god of strongholds" and the "god whom his fathers have not known" Von Lengerke takes to be designations of Jupiter Capitolinus, in whose honour Antiochus began to erect a temple, profusely adorned with gold, at Antioch (Livy XLI. 20). But why should it be mentioned that Antiochus honoured Jupiter "upon his pedestal"? It is decidedly preferable to translate על־בְּנוֹ "instead thereof" (with Gesenius), the suffix referring to בָּל in the preceding verse, cf. *vv.* 20, 21—the meaning "instead" is the only one which will suit all three passages. But as to אֱלֹהֵי מְצֻדִים there has been much difference of opinion. The Pēshītā has אֱלֹהֵי מְצֻדִים "a mighty god". Some moderns (e.g. Keil) have thought that "the god of strongholds" is War personified. Hitzig reads מְצֻדֵי יָם instead of מְצֻדִים, and interprets as follows—"But the god of the stronghold of the sea (i.e. the Tyrian god Melkart, see Is. xxiii. 4, where מְצֻדֵי הַיָּם means Tyre) shall he honour in his place (i.e. in his temple at Tyre)". But by "the god whom his fathers have not known" Hitzig understands Jupiter Capitolinus. The obscurity of this passage may be due to the fact that the author is alluding to some report which was current among the Jews but which perhaps had little real foundation. The beginning of *v.* 39, as it stands in the Masoretic text, is quite unintelligible, for to translate, "*And he shall act towards the strong fortresses as towards the strange god*" (Ewald), or "*And so shall he act towards the strong fortresses, together with strange gods*" (Von Lengerke) is unnatural in the extreme. Probably we should read עַם instead of עִם, with Hitzig, so that the sense will be, "*And he shall procure for the strong fortresses the people of a strange god*", referring to the fact that Antiochus settled heathen colonists in the fortified cities of Judaea, especially in Jerusalem (I Macc. iii. 36, 45). For this use of עִשָׂה see II Sam. xv. 1. I Kings i. 5, and with עִם אֱלֹהֵי נֶגֶד cf. עִם בְּמוֹשׁ Numb. xxi.

29. The following words are explained by Von Lengerke, "*Whosoever shews recognition (Anerkennung übt), on him he shall bestow great honour*", the word הכיר being used as in II Sam. iii. 36. Ps. cxlii. 5. The passage, according to Von Lengerke, refers to the apostate Jews. Somewhat fantastic is the view of Ewald, who interprets "Whosoever recognizes the fortresses as deities", etc. Hitzig more naturally takes הכיר as having Antiochus for its subject—"Whomsoever he favours he shall raise to great honour, and shall make them rule over the many, and the land he shall portion out for gain", i.e. the favourites of Antiochus are to be made rulers of the country, and the lands of "the pious", who have been slain or ejected, will be sold in order to fill the royal treasury. For the use of הָיִיר "to have regard", "to shew favour", see Deut. xvi. 19; xxi. 17; xxxiii. 9. Ruth ii. 10. For הכיר the *Kērī* substitutes יָיִיר, but this correction is unnecessary, since the clause אשר הכיר is virtually hypothetical ("if he shall have favoured any one"), and therefore may take the Perfect, while the verb of the apodosis is in the Imperfect (cf. אֲשֶׁר בָּרַכָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִּתְּנֶנּוּ לוֹ Deut. xv. 14).

40—45. With regard to these verses there are, as we have seen, three rival hypotheses, viz. (1) that they relate historical facts which took place *after* those already mentioned, i.e. after the year 168 B.C., (2) that they give a general sketch of the course of events from about 171 B.C. to the death of Antiochus, (3) that they describe, not real facts, but merely the expectations of the author. A careful examination of the details will, I think, shew that the third hypothesis alone is tenable. The opening words of v. 40, "*And at the time of the end*", indicate that what follows is *subsequent* to the persecutions described in v. 35, which are to last "until the time of the end". The king of the South, i.e. Ptolemy Philometor, will go to war (lit. will exchange thrusts) with Antiochus; for the metaphor, see chap. viii. 4. Antiochus will come against him like a whirlwind, with a vast armament. Verse 41 describes his march through Palestine (ארץ הצבי cf. v. 16). רבות is taken by Hitzig as "*many lands*", referring to אַרְצוֹת in the preceding verse. But the analogy of v. 12 (וְהַפִּיל רְבֵאוֹת) is certainly in favour of reading

רבות "myriads of men", as De Wette proposes, cf. Neh. vii. 71. That the Edomites and the chiefs of the Ammonites should not be among the victims of Antiochus, is perfectly natural, for both these peoples seem to have helped him against the Jews (I Macc. iv. 61; v. 3—8). Why the Moabites, who had long disappeared, should be specially mentioned, is not obvious. Ewald supposes that Edom, Moab, and Ammon are not to be understood literally, but are terms of reproach applied to the apostate Israelites. More probably the mention of Moab is a mere reminiscence of the older writings, in which Moab and Ammon so frequently appear together¹. In vv. 42, 43, Antiochus subjugates Egypt. The word מכמנים, "hidden things", i.e. "treasures", occurs here only. The Aramaic root כמן (in the Targums כָּמֵן, in Syriac *kēmen*), whence is derived the late Hebrew הִקְמִין "to place in ambush"—means, it is true, "to lie in wait", and is never actually used for "storing up", but that the same root may have both senses is shewn by the Hebr. צָפַן (Prov. i. 18; ii. 7)². The phrase "the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be in his train" evidently implies that these peoples submit themselves to Antiochus. To suppose, with Hoffmann (*Antiochus IV.* p. 103), that the passage refers merely to certain Libyans and Ethiopians who happened to be in Egypt at the time, is very far-fetched. The omission of the Article in לָבִים וְיָשִׁים is quite in accordance with analogy (cf. צִירִים Deut. iii. 9; I Kings xi. 5). With בְּמִצְרַיִם cf. the synonymous בְּרִגְלָיִם Judg. iv. 10. The last two verses of the chapter close the story of Antiochus. What the "tidings from the East and North" may be, we can only guess, but since Antiochus is now in Egypt the tidings presumably refer to events in Palestine. If, as has been suggested in the Introduction to chap. viii., the author expected the Temple service to be restored some months before the end of the time of affliction, this passage may possibly mean that the king, while in Egypt, will hear of the recovery of Jerusalem by the Jews. That such news should move his bitterest resent-

¹ Compare the list of hostile nations in Ps. lxxxiii., which very many commentators assign to the Maccabean period.

² The Arab. *kamīn* "ambush" is borrowed from the Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 243).

ment, would be natural. He goes forth (from Egypt) to destroy and to exterminate many. "And he shall plant his palace-tents between the seas and the glorious holy mountain; so shall he come to his end, and none shall help him". אַפְדָּן, in Syriac *āphadhnā*, is from the Old Persian *apadāna* "palace"¹. "The tents of his palace" are the tents which form his head-quarters. יַמִּים is here, as in Judg. v. 17, equivalent to הַיָּם, i.e. the Mediterranean. Thus Antiochus will encamp between the sea and Jerusalem (הַיָּם וְיְרוּשָׁלַיִם). The notion of some commentators, e.g. Hävernicks, that by the "seas" are meant the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and by the "glorious holy mountain" the temple of Nanaia in Elymais, may be dismissed at once, for how could a strict Jew designate a heathen temple as יַמִּים קְדוֹשִׁים? Von Lengerke and Hitzig, while fully admitting that the beginning of v. 45 describes Antiochus as encamped in Palestine, suppose that in the latter half of the verse the author suddenly passes on (overleaping several years) to relate the death of Antiochus in Persia; they therefore explain וְיָצֵא עַד-קֶצֶוֹ as meaning, "And he shall go (into Persia) to meet his end". But by this hypothesis the first half of the verse is deprived of all meaning. What connection can there be between the fact that Antiochus encamped in Palestine in 168 B.C. and the fact that he "came to his end" in Persia four years later? It is much more reasonable to assume that the author describes the king as encamping in Palestine because it is in Palestine that he is to "come to his end". That Palestine, the scene of his greatest crimes, should also be the scene of his final overthrow, was, from the point of view of the persecuted Jews, a very natural expectation. No details are here given, but since in chap. viii. 25 we read that Antiochus will "be broken without hand", we must suppose that the author looked forward to some divine intervention by which the great enemy would perish "with none to help him."

xii. 1—3. The opening words of v. 1, "And at that time",

¹ The Arab. *fadan* is, of course, a loan-word. See Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. 138—*Fadanun yuṭifu bihi-n-Nabiṭu*

muraḡfa'ū, "a lofty palace which Nabateans encompass", i.e. such as Syrians inhabit.

clearly shew that what follows will take place at the time of the overthrow of Antiochus. Michael, the guardian angel of Israel (chap. x. 13), will arise to defend the Saints. The precise nature of the coming time of affliction is left undetermined, but, as has been before remarked, the author of Daniel probably looked forward to a gathering together of the heathen nations against Jerusalem (Zech. xiv. 2 ff.). The conception of a great battle in which the assembled Gentile powers are to be defeated, appears elsewhere both in Jewish and Christian apocalypses (Enoch xc. 16. Rev. xvi. 14; xix. 19). With the words, "And there shall be a time of affliction" etc., cf. Jer. xxx. 7. By עַמְּךָ "thy people" is meant, of course, the true Israel, "all who are found written in the book". The metaphor of a "book", in which the names of the righteous are inscribed, occurs also in Exod. xxxii. 32. Ps. lxxix. 29. cf. Mal. iii. 16. Verse 2 introduces the resurrection of the dead. To what extent this belief existed among the Jews in pre-Maccabean times, cannot here be discussed, but this is in any case the earliest passage where the belief is unambiguously set forth. Here, however, the resurrection is far from being universal; it includes "many", not all, of the dead. That only Israelites are raised is not expressly stated, but appears probable from the context. The phrase עָפַר אֶרְצָהּ is very peculiar; we should expect rather עָפַר הָאָרֶץ¹. Those who awake are divided into two classes, corresponding to the division in chap. xi. 32. חַיֵּי עוֹלָם "everlasting life", like the חַיֵּי עוֹלָם of the Targums (Lev. xviii. 5. Ezek. xx. 13), evidently means individual immortality, and is thus distinguished from חַיֵּי עַד הָעוֹלָם Ps. cxxxiii. 3, which implies nothing more than the perpetual existence of Israel (cf. Ecclesiasticus xxxvii. 25; xliv. 13). The wicked who are raised will be objects of reproach and abhorrence for ever. דְּרֵי אֵין, constr. of דְּרֵי אֵין, seems to have been suggested by Is. lxvi. 24, the only other passage where the word is found. As to הַמְּבַטְלִים (v. 3) see what has been said on chap. xi. 33. Here, as before, "the teachers" are distinguished

¹ It has been suggested to me by Prof. Robertson Smith that in Ps. xlix. 12 אֶרְצוֹת may be a corruption of אֶרְמוֹת "cairns" (Arab. *iram*, Pl. *ārām*

or *urūm*). If this were so, we might read אֶרְצוֹת עָפַר in Daniel. But the word in question has not hitherto been found in Hebrew or Aramaic.

from the rest of the faithful Israelites—they not only live for ever but are eternally glorified. זָהָר “*splendour*” occurs also in Ezek. viii. 2; the verb הִזְהִיר “*to shine*” is found nowhere else in the Old Testament, but the root זָהָר often has this sense in the Aramaic dialects and in Arabic. Whether the Biblical הִזְהִיר “*to warn*” comes from the same root, does not seem certain, though it is generally assumed¹. “*Those that justify the multitude*” are apparently identical with “*the teachers*”. For the phrase, see Is. liii. 11. As to the meaning of “*justification*” cf. the Mishnah, *Ābōth* v. 26, 27, “*If a man makes the many righteous, sin cannot prevail over him, but if a man makes the many to sin, he is deprived of the power of repentance. Moses was righteous and made the many righteous, and the righteousness of the many depended upon him*” (מִשָּׁה זָכָה וְזִכְּתָה אֶת הָרַבִּים) (וּזְכוּת הָרַבִּים תְּלוּיָהּ בּוֹ), etc.

4. As in chap. viii. 26, the vision ends with an express command to “*hide*” the revelation. By הַסְּפָר “*the book*” are meant all the revelations that have been made to Daniel (so Hitzig); see chap. vii. 1. It is quite gratuitous to suppose, with Hävernick and Von Lengerke, that “*the book*” includes only the last vision, for no reason can be given why this vision should be more carefully concealed than the others. It may indeed be asked by what means Daniel could prevent the unsealing of the book before “*the time of the end*”, but the difficulty, however obvious to us, did not necessarily occur to the author’s contemporaries. In their eyes the passage would satisfactorily account for their previous unacquaintance with the work. The latter half of the verse is extremely difficult. Of the word יִשְׁטָטוּ there are two common interpretations, “*many shall wander to and fro*” (Von Lengerke), and “*many shall peruse the book*” (Hitzig, Ewald). According to the former view, the phrase refers to the *difficulties* of the prophecy; it was only

¹ Possibly הִזְהִיר “*to warn*” may be ultimately connected with the root זָוַר “*to turn aside from the way*”, which is common to Hebrew and Arabic—cf. the roots נָוַר and נָהַר, נֹוַר and נֹוַר. This would explain why הִזְהִיר

means “*to divert*” a person from a path of danger (II Kings vi. 10. Ezek. iii. 18), and the common אֹוַר means “*to beware of*”, in Syriac. Hence might be derived the more general sense of “*teaching*” (Exod. xviii. 20).

after many generations had been *perplexed* by it that its true sense would be understood (וְהִרְבָּה הַדְּעָת). According to the latter view, which is the more popular, יִשְׁטָטוּ refers to the zeal with which the book would be studied. But neither view agrees with the other passages in which שִׁטַּט is used (Jer. v. 1. Amos viii. 12. Zech. iv. 10. II Chr. xvi. 9). The verb seems always to denote rapid motion, and especially motion hither and thither. Everywhere else the motion is meant in a literal sense, and it is therefore very bold to apply it to “mental perplexity” or the “perusal” of a book. And how do the above interpretations agree with the beginning of the verse? It is natural to suppose that the clause which follows the words “Seal the book till the time of the end” will explain the reason of the command, just as in chap. viii. 26 the angel adds כִּי לְיָמִים רַבִּים. That in the present case the particle כִּי is omitted, proves nothing to the contrary—cf., for example, אֶל-תִּירָא אֲנִי עֲוֹתֶיךָ Is. xli. 13 with the parallel passage אֶל-תִּירָא כִּי נִאֲלַתִּיךָ Is. xliii. 1. But to say “Seal the book—many are to peruse it”, or “Seal the book—many are to be perplexed by it”, would be altogether meaningless. The most probable solution of the difficulty is to be found in the LXX., which instead of וְהִרְבָּה הַדְּעָת has καὶ πλησθήσῃ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας, i.e. וְהִרְבָּה הַדְּעָת “and many shall be the calamities”. For the use of the verb in the feminine singular with the subject in the feminine plural, see Is. xxxiv. 13. Jer. iv. 14. Zech. vi. 14. Neh. xiii. 10. This reading appears to be signally confirmed by I Macc. i. 9, where it is said of the successors of Alexander (i.e. with reference to the very period which the author of Daniel has here in view) καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κατὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ “and they multiplied evils in the earth”¹. That the author of I Maccabees elsewhere quotes the book of Daniel is generally admitted, and even if we hesitate to regard I Macc. i. 9 as a quotation, it shews at all events with what feelings the

¹ Perhaps the original Hebrew text of I Macc. had וִירְבּוּ הַדְּעָת, which may be read וִירְבּוּ and ἐπλήθυναν—but also וִירְבּוּ, which would make the resemblance to Daniel even closer. It is remarkable that in the 1st chapter of

I Macc. there are several other passages which seem to be reminiscences of the latter part of Daniel, cf. v. 15 with Dan. xi. 30, v. 17 with Dan. xi. 40, v. 18 with Dan. xi. 26.

Jews looked back upon the period in question. The meaning of the verse would therefore seem to be, “*And do thou, Daniel, hide the words and seal the book till the time of the end—many shall rush hither and thither, and many shall be the calamities*”, i.e. the revelation must remain concealed, because there is to ensue a long period of commotion and distress.

5—7. The speech of the angel is now ended, and Daniel perceives two figures, doubtless angels also, standing on opposite banks of the Tigris, which is here called, not **הַיְדֵקָר** as in chap. x. 4, but **הַיְאֵר** (see p. 32). Why *two* angels are here introduced, is explained by *v.* 7, since for an oath, as for any other fact, two witnesses are necessary (Deut. xix. 15). In *v.* 6 it is very doubtful who is the speaker. That “the man clothed in linen” is identical with the being described in chap. x. 5, 6, cannot be questioned. His position “above the waters of the river” agrees with chap. viii. 16, where an angelic voice speaks from “between (the banks of the) Ulai”. Von Lengerke, as we have seen, identifies with Gabriel the being who brings his speech to an end in *v.* 4, and he supposes that Gabriel is also the speaker in *v.* 6. The view of Hitzig, viz. that the angel who has been speaking previously is “the man clothed with linen”, and that the speaker in *v.* 6 is one of the two angels mentioned in *v.* 5, appears, upon the whole, more probable. We should indeed have expected, in this case, **וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָד מֵהֵם**, or some such phrase, instead of the simple **וַיֹּאמֶר**, but the use of a verb or suffix without any distinct indication of the person referred to is found elsewhere in Daniel. The reading of the LXX. **καὶ εἶπα, ὁ ἄγγελος**, has not the appearance of genuineness, for the analogy of chap. viii. 13 favours the view that it is an angel, not Daniel, who asks the question, “*How long (will it be till) the end of the marvels?*” By **הַמְפְלְאוֹת** “the marvels” are meant the events which have been foretold (cf. Is. xxix. 14), as is evident from the oath which follows in *v.* 7. The lifting up of the hand in swearing is mentioned in Gen. xiv. 22. Exod. vi. 8; here both hands are lifted for the sake of greater emphasis. The angel swears “by Him who liveth for ever” (cf. **חַי עַלְמָי** chap. iv. 31) that the end will come “after a time, times, and half (a time)”, i.e. after three years and a half; see chap. vii. 25. In

לְמִיּוֹד the prep. ל expresses the idea of limitation, cf. לְשִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים, "after the seven days", Gen. vii. 10. The three years and a half begin with the abolition of the daily sacrifice (see v. 11). To the author of Daniel and to his readers the length of this period was a matter of vital interest, and it is therefore not without reason that the book closes with the most emphatic statements on the subject. The last words of v. 7 are obviously a further specification of what precedes, and cannot refer, as Hävernäck imagines, to some period subsequent to the 3½ years. Von Lengerke renders, "And when the scattering of a portion of the holy people should come to an end, all this should be ended". So also Hitzig, except that he reads וְכִלְלוֹת נְפִיז, which is certainly more in accordance with Hebrew syntax. By the "portion of the holy people" the writer, it is supposed, means the Israelites in exile. But even if we admit as possible this use of י, the difficulty remains that the verse, so construed, is tautological. It is surely unnecessary for the angel to assert in so solemn a manner that all these visions are to be fulfilled "when the Israelites are no longer dispersed". The final deliverance of Israel, to which all the visions in Daniel lead up, naturally includes the gathering together of the dispersed of the holy people. Some other commentators, e.g. Ewald, render, "when they shall cease to break in pieces (or scatter) the power of the holy people". But this is no less tautological than the former interpretation, not to mention the strangeness of the metaphor י נְפִיז. In view of these difficulties the correctness of the text becomes very doubtful. The LXX. has ὅτι εἰς καιρὸν καὶ καιροῦ καὶ ἡμῖν καιροῦ ἢ συντέλεια χειρῶν ἀφέσεως λαοῦ ἁγίου καὶ συντελεσθήσεται πάντα ταῦτα¹. Here the words ἢ συντέλεια χειρῶν ἀφέσεως are so totally meaningless that we have every reason to regard them as a literal rendering, i.e. the translator read י נְפִיז instead of י נְפִיז. The substitution of the Plural (χειρῶν) for the Singular (י) is, of course, of no consequence. If therefore we read וְכִלְלוֹת י נְפִיז עִם קִרְשׁ, the passage

¹ That the Syro-Hexaplar has כְּרִשׁ וְכִלְלוֹת does not prove that Paul of Tellā read ἀφέσεως χειρῶν but merely that he took the

words to mean "the hands' releasing" and was obliged to invert the order, owing to the exigencies of Syriac syntax.

will signify, "And when the power of the Shatterer of the holy people should come to an end, all these things should be ended". For this use of נפץ cf. Judg. vii. 19. Jer. li. 20 ff. Ps. ii. 9, and for ככלות יד cf. ככלות כהן Ps. lxxi. 9, ככלות בשרך Prov. v. 11, as well as the common application of כלה to "failing" of the eyes. This reading seems moreover to be supported by chap. vii. 25, "they shall be given into his power (גִּירָה) until a time, and times, and half a time". By "the Shatterer of the holy people" would be meant Antiochus Epiphanes, and, so understood, the passage is no longer tautological, its object being to assure the readers of the book (who naturally comprehended the allusion) that this great oppressor was to be last oppressor of all—when *his* power ceased, the sufferings of the holy people would be ended for ever.

8—13. That Daniel is represented as not understanding the angel's words, shews that those words must contain a special reference to the time of the author, for to suppose that *v.* 7 was meant to be unintelligible to the *readers* would be absurd. On Daniel's inquiry, "What is the end of these things?" he is dismissed by the angel (*v.* 9), who reminds him that the words are to be "hidden and sealed till the time of the end"¹ (see *v.* 4), i.e. the revelations are really intended, not for Daniel himself, but for readers in the distant future. In *v.* 10 the coming time is briefly described—it is to be a time in which "many" (Israelites) are purified (by afflictions), while others will only plunge themselves more deeply in guilt. The words לֹא יָבִינִי Von Lengerke explains as "shall not understand the end of these things" (see *v.* 8). But there appears no reason for this limitation of the sense, and it is more natural to interpret, with Hitzig, "but the wicked are all without understanding", i.e. they are acting blindly, whereas "the teachers" possess true wisdom. In *v.* 11, 12 the limits of "the time of the end" are given. "And from the time when the daily sacrifice is taken away and the abomination of desolation is to be set up, are 1290 days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to 1335 days". הַיּוֹם is

¹ That people who believe "the time of the end" to be still future should write commentaries on the Book of

Daniel is one of the most singular examples of the irony of history.

probably to be taken as a Perfect; for the syntax cf. מִיּוֹם יְבִישָׁה הַחֵלִי וּבְרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים Jer. xxxvi. 2 and וּבְרַחֲמֵי הַחֵלִי II Chr. xx. 22. The ל in לָתֵת expresses a purpose (cf. chap. ii. 16). That the 1290 days and the 1335 days date from the same moment, is generally agreed; we have therefore here two events, one of which is to happen 1290 after the desecration of the Temple, and the other 45 days later. Hävernick and Von Lengerke suppose that the 1290 days end with the re-consecration of the Temple, and the 1335 with the death of Antiochus. Hitzig, on the other hand, places the death of Antiochus at the end of the 1290 days. It is impossible here to discuss the chronological difficulties to which these hypotheses lead. I have before endeavoured to shew that the book of Daniel was finished some time before the re-consecration of the Temple, which, according to I Macc. iv. 52, took place exactly three years after its profanation, i.e. near the end of the year 165 B.C. If this be so, the end of the 1290 days, and *a fortiori* the end of the 1335 days, must have been still future when the author wrote. It is therefore impossible for us to guess what particular events are here contemplated, and why the numbers 1290 and 1335 are chosen—but it would appear from the context that at the end of the 1290 days some great deliverance is to be wrought, and that at the end of the 1335 days the period of complete blessedness is to begin. “*And do thou depart to (await) the end, and so thou shalt rest and stand up to (receive) thy portion, at the end of the days*”. The last verse of Daniel is one of the most obscure. That מָן here means “the end of Daniel’s life” (Von Lengerke) is scarcely probable, for in that case we should expect לְקַדֵּךְ (cf. chap. xi. 45. Ps. xxxix. 5). Still more objectionable is Hitzig’s rendering, “*go to the goal*”, i.e. go thy way; in Hab. ii. 3, to which Hitzig appeals, מָן does not refer to the “purpose” or “goal” of a person, but to the “accomplishment” of a prediction. Prof. Robertson Smith supposes that the first לָקֵץ was wrongly introduced by a scribe, whose eye, passing from the preceding לָ, caught the last letters of לַגֵּרֶךְ in the second half of the verse. The sense would then be, “*And do thou depart and take thy rest*”, etc. Most commentators, e.g. Von Lengerke and Ewald, explain וְתִנְיָה וְתַעֲבֹר as meaning “*and so thou shalt*

rest (in thy grave) and rise (from the dead)", etc. To this Hitzig objects that in no Semitic dialect does עמר mean "to rise from the dead". But those who find here an allusion to the resurrection can reply that if this belief were new in the days of the author, a fixed technical term may have been wanting. Even in later times, when the resurrection was a familiar idea, several quite distinct words were used for it—the Rabbins usually said תָּחִיית הַמֵּתִים, the Syrian Christians *k̄ȳāmtā* or *nuḥ-hāmā*, the Mohammedans *k̄iyāma*, *ba'th*, or *ḥashr*. However this may be, אֶחְרִית הַיָּמִין can scarcely differ in meaning from אֶחְרִית הַיָּמִים chap. x. 14; it is contrary to all analogy to explain it, with Hitzig, as "the end" of Daniel's earthly life.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE PALMYRENE DIALECT.

OF all the Aramaic dialects spoken by the heathens of Syria that which has left the most considerable remains is the dialect of Palmyra (in Greek Πάλμυρα, in the Old Testament תְּרִמֹר, II Chr. viii. 4, in the native inscriptions תרמור or תרמר¹, and in Arabic تدمر^٢). The Palmyrene inscriptions were mostly set up during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and are of various kinds, honorific, funereal, religious, etc. They are written in a character which, like the present Hebrew character, is a modification of the old Aramaic Alphabet². Many Palmyrene inscriptions are accompanied by Greek translations. The largest collection is that made by the Count De Vogüé in his great work *La Syrie Centrale*, Paris, 1868—1877. Most of the Greek texts have been published by Waddington in his *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris, 1870. From these works the following specimens have been taken, with the exception of No. III. and the Greek text of No. I. I have availed myself also of Nöldeke's "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte" in the *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. xxiv., and Mordtmann's "Neue Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyra's" in the *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1875.

¹ According to Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 6. 1, the Syrian pronunciation was Tadamor (Θαδαμορα).

² To express numbers the Palmyrenes use the following signs—Simple strokes

for units up to 4—Y for 5—∩ for 10—3 for 20. A number followed by ∩ expresses hundreds, e.g. ∩/// = 300.

Words and letters which are uncertain or which have been supplied conjecturally are enclosed in square brackets.

I.

(De Vogüé, No. 36 b, p. 41)

(1) דכרנא דנה די הו יקר בת עלמא בנא ימלכו בר
 מקימו די מתקרא אקליש בר מלכו בר בלעקב
 (2) תדמריא ליקר בנוהי ובני בנוהי עד עלמא בירח ניסן
 שנת 233332

(Greek text, publ. by Mordtmann, "Neue Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyra's", p. 27)

- (1) MNHMEION AIWNION ΓΕΡΑΣ ΩΚΟΔΟ
 (2) ΜΗΣΕΝ ΙΑΜΛΙΧΟΣ ΜΟΚΕΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥΤ ΚΑΙ
 (3) [ΑΚ]ΚΑΛΕΙΣ[ΟΥΤ] ΤΟΥΤ ΜΑΛΧΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚ-
 [ΝΟΙΣ]

(Translation of Palmyrene text)

(1) This memorial, which (is) a sepulchre of honour, was built by Yamliku, son of Mokīmu, who (was) called Akkalish, son of Māliku, son of Bēl-ʾakab,

(2) the Palmyrene, to the honour of his sons and his sons' sons, for ever. In the month Nisān (*i.e. April*), the year 394 (*of the Seleucid era, i.e. 83 A.D.*).

(Notes)

(1) ܕܟܪܢܐ (according to the Syriac pronunciation) corresponds to the Bibl. Aram. דְּכַרְוִיָּה (Ezra vi. 2), דְּכַרְנִיָּא (id. iv. 15); in Christian Palestinian we find דיכרון (pron. דְּכַרְוִין), and in a Haurān inscription

דכרון (De Vogüé, No. 2)¹. יקר גֵּית עֶלְמָא lit. "the honour of an eternal abode"—in Syriac also **ܩܪܘܢ ܩܪܘܢ** means "sepulchre" (*Apocryphal Acts*, ed. Wright, p. **ܩܪܘܢ**), cf. **ܩܪܘܢ ܩܪܘܢ** in Eccles. xii. 5. **ܩܪܘܢ**, like many other Arabic names in these inscriptions (e.g. **ܩܪܘܢ**, **ܩܪܘܢ** etc.), has the Arabic termination *u*, which in classical Arabic is the sign of the nominative case. The name **ܩܪܘܢ** appears in Greek either as **ΜΑΧΟΣ** or **ΜΑΙΧΟΣ**, and therefore seems to be the common Arabic **مَلِك**. **ܩܪܘܢ** (Gr. **ΒΗΑΚΑΒΟΣ**) apparently means "Bel has granted issue, posterity". The occurrence of the Babylonian deities Bel and Nebo in Palmyrene names shews how wide and how lasting an influence was exercised by Babylonia over Syrian religion.

II.

(De Vogüé, No. 123 a, I—p. 73)

17233332111 [ב]ירח אלול שנת (1)

[חמנא דנה ועלתא ד]נה (2)

[ע]ברו וקרבו לשמש וזביר[א] (3)

בני מלכו בר יריעבל בר נשא (4)

די מתקרא בר עבדבל די מ[ן] (5)

פחד בני מג[ר]ת לשמש[א] (6)

אלה בית אבוהן על ח[ייהו] (7)

[ו]חיייהון וחיי אחיהו[ן] (8)

ובניהון (9)

(Translation)

(1) In the month Ilūl (*i.e.* September), the year 396 (*i.e.* 85 A.D.),

(2) this Sun-pillar and this altar

¹ In the 11th ed. of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, s.v. **ܩܪܘܢ**, this form is wrongly given as Palmyrene.

- (3) were made and consecrated by Lishmash and Zebīdā
- (4) the sons of Māliku son of Yarī'bēl son of Neshā
- (5) who (was) called son of 'Abdibel, who (was) of
- (6) the clan of the Sons of — to the Sun,
- (7) the god of the house of their father, for his welfare
- (8) and their welfare and the welfare of their brethren
- (9) and their sons.

(Notes)

(2) חָמָן "Sun-pillar" is used in Biblical Hebrew in the Plural only, unless הַחֲמָן in Is. i. 31 be a corruption of החמן, as De Lagarde has suggested. עֲלְתָא "altar" is common in Syriac. For the feminine of "this" the Palmyrene dialect uses either דְנָה or דָה (= דָּא in Daniel).

(3) לְשִׁמְשׁ signifies "(consecrated) to the Sun", and זְבִידָא "given", "bestowed (by God)", cf. the Hebr. זָבִיר I Kings iv. 5.

(4) The name בֵּל גְּרָטֻם is explained by De Vogüé (p. 59) as "quem Bel gratum habebit", from the verb רָעָה; but this does not satisfactorily account for the form יֵרִיעַ. Perhaps יֵרִיעַבֵּל may mean "Bel causes to thrive", from the Arabic verb رَاعَ Imperf. يَرِيعُ "to thrive".

(6) פָּחַר is the Arabic فَخْدٌ lit. "thigh", hence "clan", as sprung from a single ancestor. The word presupposes male kinship, just as بَطْنٌ (Hebr. בְּטָן), when used for "tribe", presupposes female kinship. The name מְנָרָה is uncertain, since in this inscription נ and ר are not distinguished, as they usually are in Palmyrene, by the diacritical point.

III.

(See De Vogüé, "Inscriptions palmyréniennes", in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1883, and Sachau "Ueber den palmyrenischen Νόμος τελωνικός" in the *Z. D. M. G.* xxxvii. pp. 562 ff. Of this long inscription, which is grievously mutilated in parts, only the beginning is here given.)

- (1) דגמא די בולא בירח [ניסן] יום 2777 // שנת
 בפלהדרותא די בונא בר 73327777 //
- (2) בונא בר חירן וגרמטיא די אלכסדרס בר אלכסדרס
 בר פלפטר גרמטוס די בולא ודמס וארכוניא
- (3) מלכו בר עליי בר מקימו וזבידא בר נשא כד הות
 בולא כנישא מן נמוסא אשרת
- (4) מדי כתיב מן לתחת ברילדי בזבניא קדמיא בנמוסא
 די מכסא עבידן שגין חיבן
- (5) מכסא לא אסקו והוו מתגבין מן עידא במדעם די
 הוא מתכתב באגוריא די
- (6) מכסא [י]הוא גבא היך בנמוסא ובעידא ומטל כות
 זבנין שגין על צבותא אלן
- (7) סרבנין הוו ביני תגרא לביני מכסיא אתחזי לבולא
 די ארכוניא אלן ולעשרתא
- (8) די יבקן מדעם די לא מסק בנמוסא ויכתב בשטר
 אגריא חדתא ויכתב למדע[ם]
- (9) מדעמא מכסה די מן עידא ומדי אשר לאגורא [י]כתב
 עם נמוסא קדמיא בגלל[א]
- (10) די לקבל היכלא די רבאסירא ויהוא מבטל לארכוניא
 די הון בזבן זבן ועשר[תא]
- (11) [ו]סדקיא די לא יהוא גבא אגורא מן אנש מדעם
 יתיר

(Greek text)

(1) ΕΤΟΤΣ ΗΜΤ̄ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΤ̄ ΙΗ ΔΟΓΜΑ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣ

(2) ΕΠΙ ΒΩΝΝΕΟΤΣ ΒΩΝΝΕΟΤΣ ΤΟΤ ΔΙΡΑΝΟΤ
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΤ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΤ ΤΟΤ

(3) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ
ΔΗΜΟΤ ΜΑΛΙΧΟΤ ΟΔΛΙΟΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΟΤ ΝΕΣΑ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ

(4) ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΤ ΑΓΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΕΨΗΦΙΣΘΗ
ΤΑ ΤΠΟΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙ
ΧΡΟΝΟΙΣ

(5) ΕΝ ΤΩ ΤΕΛΩΝΙΚΩ ΝΟΜΩ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΤΩΝ
ΤΠΟΤΕΛΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗ ΕΠΡΑΣΣΕΤΟ ΔΕ
ΕΚ ΣΤΝΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΕΝ

(6) ΓΡΑΦΟΜΕΝΟΤ ΤΗ ΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΛΩ-
ΝΟΤΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΑΞΙΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΑΚΟΛΟΤΘΩΣ
ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ

(7) ΣΤΝΗΘΕΙΑ ΣΤΝΕΒΑΙΝΕΝ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΚΙΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤΤΟΤ ΖΗΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΓΕΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΞΕΤ ΤΩΝ
ΕΜΠΟΡΩΝ

(8) ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΑΣ ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΟΤΣ
ΕΝΕΣΤΩΤΑΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΤΣ ΔΙΑ-
ΚΡΕΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ

(9) ΤΑ ΜΗ ΑΝΕΙΔΗΜΜΕΝΑ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ ΕΝΓΡΑ-
ΨΑΙ ΤΗ ΕΝΓΙΣΤΑ ΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΠΟΤΑΞΑΙ ΕΚΑ-
ΣΤΩ ΕΙΔΕΙ ΤΟ ΕΚ

(10) ΣΤΝΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΔΑΝ ΚΤΡΩΘΗ
ΤΩ ΜΙΣΘΟΤΜΕΝΩ ΕΝΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΠΡΩ-
ΤΟΤ ΝΟ

(11) ΜΟΤ ΕΝ ΣΤΗΛΗ ΛΙΘΙΝΗ ΤΗ ΟΤΣΗ ΑΝΤΙ-
ΚΡΥΣ ΙΕΡΟΤ ΔΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΤ ΡΑΒΑΣΕΙΡΗ ΕΠΙΜΕ-
ΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΤΣ ΤΤΓΧΑ

(12) ΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΟΤΣ [ΤΟΤ] ΜΗΔΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΑΣΣΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΙΣΘΟΤΜΕΝΟΝ.

(Translation of Palmyrene text)

(1) Decree of the Council, in the month Nisān, the 18th day, the year 448 (*i.e.* 137 *A.D.*), during the Presidency of Bōnnē son of

(2) Bōnnē son of Ḥairān and (during) the Secretaryship of Alexander son of Alexander son of Philopator, Secretary of the Council and of the People—and the Archons (being)

(3) Māliku son of Olai son of Moḡimu, and Zebīdā son of Neshā. When the Council had been assembled according to law, it decreed

(4) what is written below — Whereas in former times in the law of taxation many articles subject to

(5) taxation were not included, and (so) they used to be charged according to custom in (pursuance of) what was written in the contract, (namely) that

(6) the tax-collector should charge according to law and custom, and (whereas) in consequence of this many times upon these subjects

(7) disputes arose between the merchants and the tax-collectors—it seemed good to the Council of these Archons and to the Ten

(8) that they should examine whatever was not included in the law, and (that) it should be written down in the new document of contract, and (that) there should be written down for each

(9) article its tax which (is) according to custom, and (that) after it had been ratified by the contractor, it should be written, together with the former law, on the stele

(10) which (is) opposite the Temple (called) Rabasīrē, and (that) care should be taken by the Archons who are (in office) at any time, and (by) the Ten,

(11) and (by) the Syndics, that the contractor do not demand any extra charge from any man.

(Notes)

(1) פלהדרותא is the Greek *προεδρία*, but with the Aramaic termination.

(3) אִשְׁרַת lit. "certified", from the root שרר.

(4) מְרִי, in Bibl. Aram. always מָה דִי (Dan. ii. 28, etc.). מְרִי "tax", as distinguished from מְרִיָּא "tax-collector" in lines 6 and 7. With עֲבִירָן compare עֲבִירָתָא Dan. ii. 49. Instead of שְׁנִין (pron. שְׁנִין) we find also שְׁנִיאָן (pron. שְׁנִיאָן, De Vogüé, No. 15) and even סְנִיאָן (ibid.), with the substitution of ס for ש—which substitution is exceptional in Palmyrene, as in Biblical Hebrew. The syntactical construction מְרִיָּא מְרִיָּא, where the Adj. in the absol. state is made to govern a direct object, occurs often in Syriac; cf. the Hebr. בְּתִים בְּתִים Deut. vi. 11.

(5) אִסְקוּ (Causative of the verb סלק) may be read either as active אִסְקוּ, or as passive אִסְקוּ. הוּוּ or הוּוּ is properly masc. plur. but is here used with a fem. subject. עִירָא pron. עִירָא. מְדַעַם "something", "anything", is common in Jewish Aramaic; in Syriac it becomes *meddem*. אִנְיָרָא (*μισθωσις*) is an abstract noun from the verb אָנַר.

(6) נְבָא pron. נְבָא (Participle). מְטַל בְּנָת "because of this" (corresponding to Hebr. עֲלֵיָן) does not seem to occur in the other Aramaic dialects; in Jewish Aramaic בְּנָת means "like", "as". וּבְנִין, in the sense of so many "times" (French, *fois*), is feminine, as usually in Syriac. צְבִיחָא (probably צְבִיחָא) is Plural of צְבִיחָא (see Dan. vi. 18).

(7) סְרַבְנִין pron. סְרַבְנִין (so Sachau). תְּנָרָא is shortened, as in Syriac, from תְּנָרָא; similarly we find מְלִכָא for מְלִכִיא "kings" (De Vogüé, No. 28). It is possible that in the spoken language this shortening was much commoner than would appear from the writing. עֲשְׂרָתָא is stat. emphat. of עֲשְׂרָא "ten".

(8) יִבְקֵן, for יִבְקֵן, from the verb בִּקֵּא. מְסַק (according to the analogy of Hebrew and Arabic) or מְסַק (according to the Syriac)¹ is the passive participle of the Causative conjugation. יִבְתַּב, Imperfect passive of the Peal. אֲנִיָּא is for אֲנִיָּא (see line 5).

(9) מְדִי is here "when" (*ἐπειδὴν*), like Syr. ܡܕܝ. אֲשֶׁר pron. אֲשֶׁר, passive of אֲשֶׁר (see line 3). אֲנִיָּא pron. אֲנִיָּא.

(10) מְבַטַּל or מְבַטַּל lit. "made to be a care". הוֹנ pron. הוֹנ Pl. of הוֹא "being", "existing".

IV.

(De Vogüé, No. 1, p. 5)

- (1) בולא ודמס עברו צלמיא אלן תרויהון
 (2) לאעילמי בר הירן בר מקימו בר הירן מתא
 (3) ולחירן אבוהי רחימי מריתהון ורחלי אלהיא
 (4) בדילדי שפרו להון ולאליהון בכל צבו כלה
 (5) ליקרהון בירח ניסן שנת 2332////

(Greek text, see Waddington No. 2586)

- (1) Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΙΔΙΑΜΕΙΝ
 ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤ
 (2) ΤΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΘΑ
 ΚΑΙ
 (3) ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΤΣΕΒΕΙΣ
 ΚΑΙ
 (4) ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΦΙΛΟ
 (5) ΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΑΡΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ
 (6) ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
 (7) ΕΤΟΥΣ Ἰϛ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥΤ

¹ In Bibl. Aram. the participle of unless we reckon מְהִימֵן (Dan. ii. 45; the Hophal does not happen to occur, vi. 5).

(Transl. of Palm. text)

(1) The Council and the People have made these statues, both of them,

(2) to A'ailamī son of Ḥairān son of Mokīmu son of Ḥairān (son of) Mattā,

(3) and to Ḥairān his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods,

(4) because they were pleasing to them and to their gods in every respect —

(5) to their honour, in the month Nīsān, the year 450 (*i.e.* 139 *A.D.*).

(Notes)

(1) תְּרִיָּהוֹן is a very peculiar form, instead of which we should have expected תְּרִיָּהוֹן.

(2) Before מַתָּא the word בַּר is omitted, as often happens in these inscriptions.

(3) Pron. מְרִיָּתְהוֹן; רְחִימֵי מְרִיָּתְהוֹן; מְרִיָּתְהוֹן, or מְרִיָּתְהוֹן, means "city" in Palmyrene as in Syriac, not "province" as in Biblical Aramaic.

(4) בְּכָל צִבּוֹ כֻּלָּה lit. "in every thing, the whole of it".

V.

(De Vogüé, No. 123 a, II—p. 74)

(1) לְבָרִיךְ שְׁמָה לְעֵלְמָא טַבָּא וּרְחֻמָּא

(2) מוֹרָא מְרִיָּן בַּר זַבְרְבוּל בַּר מַלְכוֹ עַל

(3) חַיְוֵהּ וְחַיָּא אַחוּהּ בִּירְחַ תְּשֵׁרִי

(4) שְׁנַת 450

(Translation)

- (1) To Him whose name is blessed for ever, the Good and the Merciful,
 (2) Madyūn gives thanks, the son of Zebad-bōl, son of Māliku, for
 (3) his welfare and the welfare of his brethren. In the month Tishrī (*i.e. October*),
 (4) the year 533 (*i.e. 221 A.D.*).

(Notes)

(1) The formula *לעלמא טבא ורחמנא* is extremely common in the religious inscriptions of Palmyra. *רַחֲמָנָא* "the Merciful", as a name of God, is found also in Jewish writings, but there is no proof that the Palmyrenes borrowed the term from the Jews, as has often been asserted.

- (3) *חיא* is for *חיי*.

VI.

(De Vogüé, No. 4, p. 8)

- צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים (1)
 זבירא בר מקימו בר זבירא עשתור (2)
 בירא די אקים לה תגרא בני שירתא (3)
 די נחת עמה לאלגשיא ליקרה בריל (4)
 די שפר להון בירח ניסן שנת 27 (5)
 ///Υ233 (6)

(Greek text, see Waddington, No. 2599)

- (1) ΙΟΥΤΑΙΟΝ ΑΤΡΗΑΙΟΝ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΑΝ
 (2) ΜΟΚΙΜΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΟΤ

- (3) ΑΣΘΩΡΟΤ ΒΑΙΔΑ ΟΙ ΣΤΝ ΑΤΤΩ
 (4) ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΟΛΟΓΕΣΙ
 (5) ΑΔΑ ΕΝΠΟΡΟΙ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ ΑΡΕ
 (6) ΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΤΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
 (7) ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ ΤΟΤ ΗΝΦ ΕΤΟΥΣ.

(*Transl. of Palm. text*)

- (1) This statue (is that) of Julius Aurelius
 (2) Zebīdā son of Moḵīmu son of Zebīdā (son of) 'Ashtōr
 (3) (son of) Baidā—which was erected to him by the merchants belonging to the caravan,
 (4) who went down with him to Vologesias—to his honour, because
 (5) he was pleasing to them. In the month Nīsān, the year 558 (*i.e.* 247 *A.D.*).

(*Notes*)

- (2) עשור seems to be the masc. form of עשתרת Gr. Ἀστέρη.
 (3) אקים is for אקימו; it would appear that in Palmyrene, as in Syriac, the final *ū* was often dropt in pronunciation. For שירתא "caravan", see the Pēshittā, Gen. xxxvii. 25.
 (4) Vologesias is identified by Mordtmann ("Neue Beiträge", p. 12) with the city known in Mohammedan times as Al-Kūfa, in Babylonia.

VII.

(De Vogüé, No. 28, p. 28)

- צלם ספטמיום אדי[נת] מלך מלנא (1)
 ומתקננא די מדיתא כלה ספטמיא (2)
 זבדא רב חילא רבא וזבי רב חילא (3)
 די תדמור קרטסטא אקים למרהון (4)
 בירח אב די שנת גכ 3333 (5)

(Translation)

- (1) Statue of Septimius Odainat, king of kings,
- (2) and stablisher of the city, all of it; the Septimii,
- (3) Zabdā, chief general, and Zabbai, general
- (4) of Palmyra, most noble persons, have erected (this) to their lord,
- (5) in the month Āb (*i.e.* August) of the year 582 (*i.e.* 271 A.D.).

(Notes)

- (1) Odainat (Gr. ΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟΣ, see De Vogüé, No. 21) was king of Palmyra and husband of Zenobia.
- (2) Pron. קִיִּתְקַנָּא, from קָנַן "to set in order".
- (4) The Greek word *κράτιστοι* appears in Palmyrene either as קרטסטא (with the Aramaic plural ending *ē*), or as קרטסטוא (where וא represents *oi*, pronounced in later times somewhat like the French *u*).

VIII.

(De Vogüé, No. 29, p. 29)

- (1) צלמת ספטמיה בת זבי נהירתא וזרקתא [א]
- (2) מלכתא ספטמיוא זברא רב חילא
- (3) רבא זובי רב חילא די תרמור קרטסטוא
- (4) אקים למרתהון בירה אב די שנת 73333/1

(Greek text, see Waddington No. 2611)

- (1) ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΑΝ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΜ
- (2) ΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΤΣΕΒΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ
- (3) ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΙ ΖΑΒΔΑΣ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΤΡΑ
- (4) ΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΑΒΒΑΙΟΣ Ο ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
- (5) ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΟΙ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΙ ΤΗΝ
- (6) ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΑΝ ΕΤΟΤΣ Β̄Π̄Φ̄ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΛΩΩ.

(Transl. of Palm. text)

- (1) Statue of Septimia, daughter of Zabbai, the illustrious and the just (lady),
- (2) the queen; the Septimii, Zabdā, chief general,
- (3) and Zabbai, general of Palmyra, most noble persons,
- (4) have erected (this) to their mistress, etc.

(Notes)

(1) צלמת, not צלם, since the statue is that of a woman. At the end of the line an נ seems to have been effaced, as Nöldeke has remarked. Instead of זרקתא we should have expected זריקתא (pron. זריקתא); perhaps the ī was pronounced short in the closed syllable.

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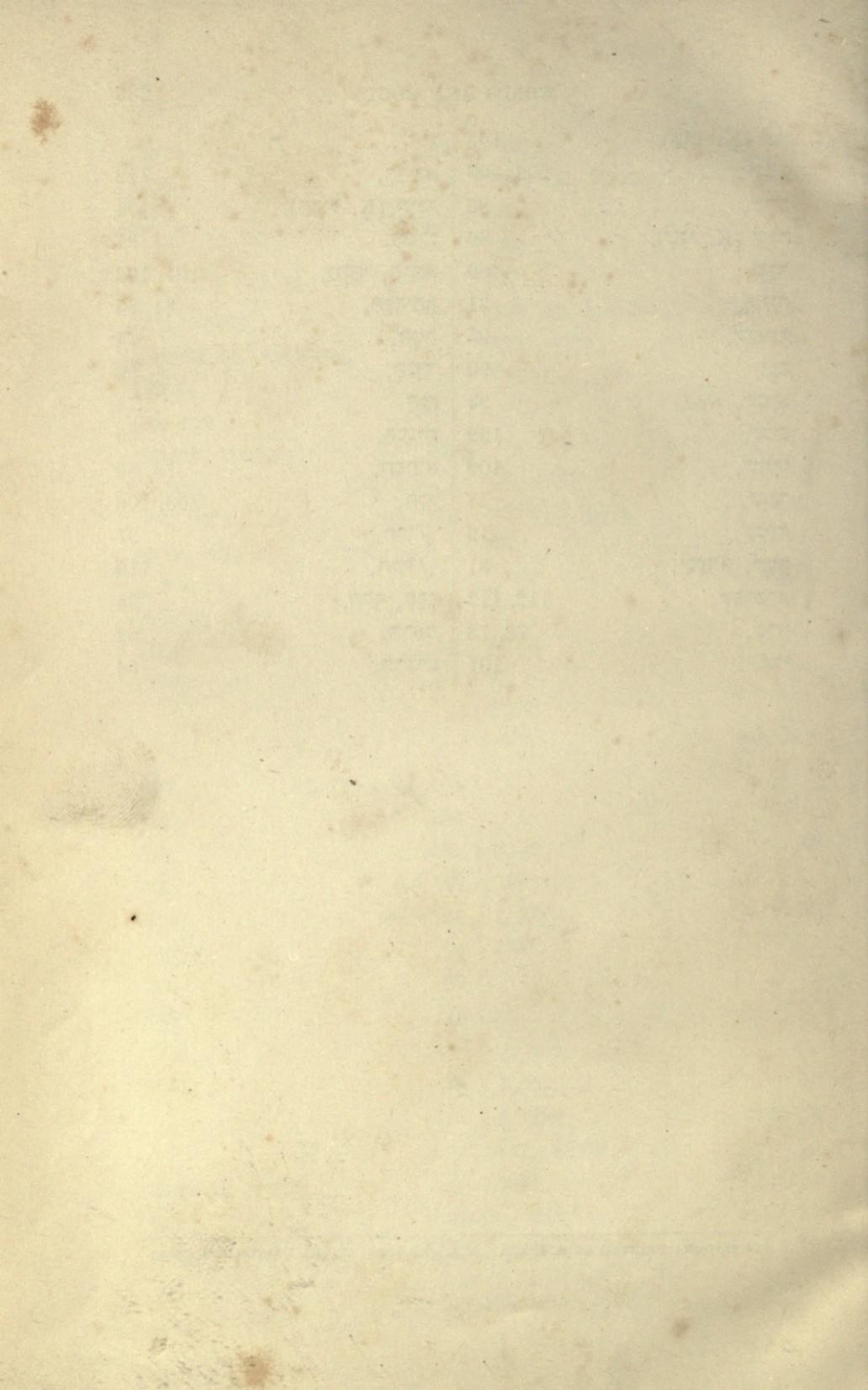
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