THE BOOK OF DANIEL
THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN P. PETERS
MORRIS JASTROW, JR.
ALBERT T. CLAY

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN
PREFACE.

In the summer of 1918 Doctor John P. Peters did me the honor of asking me to collaborate with him on this commentary, which volume had long been assigned to him, but which his manifold activities had not permitted him to undertake. Extraordinary duties prevented me from accepting until the following year. I had then but one brief interview with Doctor Peters on our common task. He died November 10, 1921. The publishers generously acknowledged me as heir to his undertaking, and the inheritance has given me an added sense of responsibility for a work which should have borne his name.

With Doctor Peters, my early teacher and friend, I associate the names of two close and dear friends who also during the prosecution of these labors have passed away—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., who died in 1921, and Professor Albert T. Clay, whose loss befell us last year. These three men were remarkable types of a brilliant generation in American Oriental studies. May they indulge me in recalling their ancient association with one another and my own intimate relations with them in work and friendship by the dedication to them of this volume.

The mandate laid upon me in this commission was, it appeared obvious, the presentation of a primarily philological commentary. With all honor to the several brief commentaries on Daniel in English and German during the last generation or longer, we had still to depend, with the exception of the elaborate apologetic commentary of d'Envieu, upon works of the third quarter of the last century and earlier; indeed, in large measure upon commentators of the first third of that century. Meanwhile, within very recent years the philological apparatus has been enormously enlarged by the discovery of the Elephantine papyri, along with a wealth of other new materials, in correspondence with the rapid development of all Orientalistic studies. Not that Daniel has been neglected. He has been the objective of higher criticism and apology to an unparalleled extent, especially since the revelations of Assyriology. But all such
studies have necessarily been one-sided, have not met the need of a commentary devoted primarily to philology. Even in the field of Biblical Aramaic grammar no comprehensive grammar has appeared since that of Kautzsch in 1884, and none which includes the new sources for study of that dialect. And the lack in this line has been especially evident in English and American scholarship.

In the second place, my interest has been attracted to the textual criticism of the book. I have gone so far afield in this respect that that part of my work may be regarded as an avocation, but I trust that on this score it may claim some originality, if its results be approved. Again, with the treatment of the texts of the versions goes their interpretation. In the first place, their bearing on textual criticism cannot be valued unless they be understood as in the large interpretative documents, to be studied in and for themselves; and in the second place, as the earliest interpretations of the Biblical books, they have an inestimable interest to the exegete, even if the results do not much affect the original text—as in Daniel they do not.

In regard to the literary and historical criticism of the book, I have taken positive position, as one must in the clashing Entweder-Oder of the long discussion. The briefs have long been at hand in the cause célèbre, nor is there sight of its adjudication. I have not been able to do much more than to register my reasoned decisions, opinions which I trust will not appear captious or arbitrary to those from whom I differ. In some respects, e.g., the dating of cc. i–6, I have broken, along with a number of recent scholars, with the regnant view of one camp that the whole book is Maccabæan. A positive contribution, however, may be found in my attempt to respect Daniel as a work of literature and as containing documents of real interest and value for the understanding of the Orient of its day. To this end I have tried to illustrate my work as far as possible from the history and traditions of its age—an eclectic world in which mingled Semitic, Persian, and Hellenic cultures.

It has been my desire to do full justice to my predecessors, not only for honor’s sake but from interest in the study of exegesis, in the case of Daniel a peculiarly fascinating study. I have been concerned to discover and record the initiators of interpretations, and it has often been surprising to find how much that
passes as "modern" may appear in an old-time Protestant or Jewish or Patristic commentator. On the other hand, except in cases of peculiar interest, I have not deemed it necessary to give *catena* of all the witnesses of interpretation, for one scholar or a few may be right, and the majority does not count as in a democracy. My regret is that I have not been able to make greater use of the Jewish commentators—the initial key to Biblical exegesis, and of the great Protestant and Catholic scholarship immediately subsequent to the Reformation. As far as possible I have economized space and labor by reference to generally accessible authorities. But there has been expansive treatment of certain subjects, especially those in the fields of Aramaic and comparative Semitic grammar, so that the work may serve as a guide to the reader who desires introduction to fields which largely lie beyond the scope of usual Biblical studies. I should be gratified if my work may prosper the cause of Aramaic studies. The English reader may welcome the constant registration of the four current English versions, and the opportunity to trace their dependence upon both elder and modern scholarship.

The fully articulated Table of Contents will, it is hoped, facilitate reference for the reader, while at the same time it avoids the necessity of elaborate indexes.

In conclusion I have acknowledgments to make to several kind friends: to Professors G. A. Barton and R. P. Dougherty for painstaking contributions which will be acknowledged in the pertinent places; to Professors R. Butin, E. M. Grice, A. V. W. Jackson, M. L. Margolis, A. T. Olmstead, and D. M. Robinson for drafts upon their skilled knowledge; to Doctors C. D. Benjamin, H. S. Gehman, and M. J. Wyngaarden, for the pleasure as well as profit I have had in co-operative studies with them; and very particularly to Doctor Gehman for his generous assistance in reading much of the manuscript and all the proof. And I acknowledge my obligations to the publishers for their patience with my delay and with a volume that is swollen beyond original expectations.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

December 15, 1926.
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**KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.**

Names of authors and works frequently cited, especially the commentators and philologians, have been abbreviated. In cases where a work is cited under the name of the author alone, the title is given in this Key in parentheses. Further abbreviations of titles are given under the authors' names in the Bibliography, or the abbreviation can easily be understood. It has not been deemed necessary to give here the customary abbreviations for Biblical and other books, nor those of common use in such an apparatus, grammatical and otherwise, and only a few such are recorded here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abb.</th>
<th>Abhandlung(en).</th>
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<tr>
<td>AEz.</td>
<td>Aben Ezra (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology.</td>
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<td>AJSL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akk.</td>
<td>Akkadian ('Assyrian' language).</td>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>Cowley, Aramaic Papyri.</td>
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<td>APA</td>
<td>Sayce and Cowley, Aramaic Papyri.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aph. Syr.</td>
<td>Aphrem Syrus (comm.).</td>
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<td>APQ</td>
<td>Sachau, Aramäische Papyrus.</td>
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<td>Aq.</td>
<td>Aquila.</td>
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<td>Arab.</td>
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<td>Aram.</td>
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<td>Ass.</td>
<td>Assyrian.</td>
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<td>AV</td>
<td>'Authorized Version,' King James' Bible, the modern text.</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>Beiträge zur Assyriologie.</td>
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<td>Bab.</td>
<td>Babylonian.</td>
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<td>BDB</td>
<td>Briggs-Driver-Brown, Hebrew Lexicon.</td>
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<td>Bible Dictionaries.</td>
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<td>BE</td>
<td>Babylonian Expedition, University of Pennsylvania.</td>
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<td>Behr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bergstr.</td>
<td>Bergsträsser (Hebräische Grammatik).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bert(h).</td>
<td>Bertholdt (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bev.</td>
<td>Bevan (comm.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bk., bks.</td>
<td>book(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>Bauer-Leander, Grammatik d. hebr. Sprache.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boutflower</td>
<td>(In and Around the Bk. of Dan.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brock.</td>
<td>Brockelmann.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSira</td>
<td>The Heb. text of Ecclus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buxt.</td>
<td>Buxtorf (Lexicon).</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>circa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c., cc.</td>
<td>chapter(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calv.</td>
<td>Calvin (comm.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBMich.</td>
<td>C. B. Michaelis (comm.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>Cambridge Bible Series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha.</td>
<td>Charles (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ChrPal.</td>
<td>Christian-Palestinian dialect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrys.</td>
<td>Chrysostom (comm.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clem. Alex.</td>
<td>Clement of Alexandria.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comm.</td>
<td>main text of this Commentary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key Abbreviation</td>
<td>Reference or Description</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>comm.</td>
<td>commentator(s), commentary (-ies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn.</td>
<td>Cornill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>COT</td>
<td>Schrader, Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticum latinorum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cypr.</td>
<td>Cyprian.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalm.</td>
<td>Dalman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCB</td>
<td>Dictionary of Christian Biography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del.</td>
<td>Friedrich Delitzsch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>de R.</td>
<td>de Rossi, critical apparatus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>dittog.</td>
<td>dittograph(y).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dlz.</td>
<td>Deutsche Litteraturzeitung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr.</td>
<td>Driver (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAram.</td>
<td>East Aramaic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia Biblica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ed., edd.</td>
<td>editor(s), edition(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ehr.</td>
<td>Ehrlich (Randglossen).</td>
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<tr>
<td>dEnv.</td>
<td>d’Envieu (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epiph.</td>
<td>Epiphanius.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERE</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eth.</td>
<td>Ethiopic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eus.</td>
<td>Eusebius Pamphilus.</td>
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<td>Ew.</td>
<td>Ewald (comm.).</td>
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<td>Exp.</td>
<td>The Expositor.</td>
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<td>Exp. T.</td>
<td>The Expository Times.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Field</td>
<td>Field's Hexapla.</td>
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<tr>
<td>vGall</td>
<td>von Gall (Einheitlichkeit d. B. Dan.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB</td>
<td>Gesenius-Buhl: Heb. Hwb.²⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCS</td>
<td>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ges.</td>
<td>Gesenius.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GGA</td>
<td>Gelehrte Anzeigen of the Göttingen Academy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GK</td>
<td>Gesenius-Kautzsch, Hebräische Grammatik.²⁶</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gr., Grr.</td>
<td>Greek; Greek version(s).</td>
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<td>Gr.</td>
<td>Grammar, Grammatik.</td>
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<td>Graetz</td>
<td>(Beiträge).</td>
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<td>GV</td>
<td>Luther's German Version.</td>
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<td>haplog.</td>
<td>haplograph(y).</td>
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<td>Häv.</td>
<td>Hävnergick (comm.).</td>
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<td>Heb.</td>
<td>Hebrew.</td>
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<td>Hengst.</td>
<td>Hengstenberg (Authentie).</td>
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<td>Her.</td>
<td>Herodotus.</td>
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<td>Hipp.</td>
<td>Hippolytus (comm.).</td>
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<td>Hitz.</td>
<td>Hitzig (comm.).</td>
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<td>HP</td>
<td>Holmes-Parsons.</td>
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<td>IR</td>
<td>Hatch-Redpath, Concordance to the Septuagint.</td>
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<td>Hwb.</td>
<td>Handwörterbuch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iren.</td>
<td>Irenæus.</td>
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<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal asiatique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jahn</td>
<td>(comm.).</td>
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<td>Jastr.</td>
<td>Jastrow (Dict. of the Talmud).</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature.</td>
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<td>JDMich.</td>
<td>J. D. Michaelis.</td>
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<td>JE</td>
<td>Jewish Encyclopaedia.</td>
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<td>Jeph.</td>
<td>Jephth (comm.).</td>
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<td>Jer.</td>
<td>Jerome.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JPOS</td>
<td>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</td>
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<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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</table>
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

JThSt.: Journal of Theological Studies.
Jun.: Junius (comm.).
JV: 'Jewish Version,' i.e., The Holy Scriptures acc. to the Masoretic Text, Philadelphia, 1917.

Kamp.: Kamphausen (text in SBOT).
KAT: (Schrader-)Zimmer-Winckler, Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.².
Kau.: Kautzsch (Gramm. d. Baram.).
KB: Schrader’s Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
Ken.: Kennicott, critical apparatus.
Kit.: Kittel (ed. of Hebrew Bible).
Klief.: Kliefoth (comm.).
Knab.: Knabenbauer (comm.).
Kön.: König.
Kr.: the Krē.
Kran.: Kranichfeld (comm.).
Kt.: the Kitt.
Lamb.: Lambert (comm.).
Lag.: Latin.
LCB: Literarisches Centralblatt.
Lex(x): lexicon, lexica.
Lidz.: Lidzbarski.
Löhr: critical apparatus in Kittel’s Bible.
Lucif.: Lucifer Calaritanus.
Lużz.: Luzzatto (grammar).

Mar.: Marti (comm.; grammar cited by sections).
Mass.: Massora, Massoretic.
Maur.: Maurer (comm.).
Mein.: Meinhold (comm.).
MGWJ: Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.

Midr.: Midrash.
Moab.: Moabite.
Moff.: Moffatt, Eng. tr. of Bible.
MVAG: Mitteilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.

Nab.: Nabataean.
NE: Lidzbarski, Nordsächsische Epigraphik.
NHeb.: New Hebrew (i.e., post-Biblical).
Nöld.: Nöldeke.
Notes: philological notes in this Commentary.
NSI: Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions.
NSyr.: New Syriac.

OAram.: Old Aramaic.
Occ.: Occidental (Mass. tradition).
OLat.: Old Latin (i.e., pre-Hieronymian).
Olsh.: Olshausen.
OLZ: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
OPers.: Old Persian.
Or.: Oriental (Mass. tradition).
Or.: Origen.
OSlav.: Old Slavonic.

PAb: P. Aboth.
Palmyrene.

pap(p): papyrus, papyri.
Pers.: Persian.
PG: Migne, Patrologia graeca.
Phcen.: Phoenician.
PL: Migne, Patrologia latina.
Pole (Synopsis criticorum).
Polyb.: Polybius.
Polych.: Polychronius.
Pr.: Prince (comm.).
PRE: Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>PSmith</td>
<td>Payne Smith (Thesaurus).</td>
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<tr>
<td>PsSa.</td>
<td>Pseudo-Saadia (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>QS</td>
<td>Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ra.</td>
<td>Rashi (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue biblique, New Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>rdg(s)</td>
<td>reading(s).</td>
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<td>ref.</td>
<td>reference.</td>
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<td>resp.</td>
<td>respectively.</td>
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<td>rev.</td>
<td>review.</td>
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<td>Riess.</td>
<td>Riessler (Das Buch Daniel).</td>
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<td>rt.</td>
<td>root.</td>
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<td>Rosen.</td>
<td>Rosenmüller (comm.).</td>
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<td>RV</td>
<td>English Revision of AV, 1884.</td>
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<td>RVV</td>
<td>RV + SV.</td>
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<td>Sa.</td>
<td>Saadia (Arab. tr.).</td>
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<td>Sab.</td>
<td>Sabæan.</td>
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<td>Sach.</td>
<td>Sachau.</td>
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<td>Sam.</td>
<td>Samaritan Aramaic.</td>
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<td>SBA</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy.</td>
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<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
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<td>SBO7</td>
<td>Haupt's Sacred Books of the O.T.</td>
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<td>Schr.</td>
<td>Schrader.</td>
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<td>Schult.</td>
<td>Schultens (Opera minora).</td>
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<td>seq.</td>
<td>and following.</td>
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<td>Sib. Or.</td>
<td>Sibyline Oracles.</td>
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<td>Str.</td>
<td>Strack (text; grammar cited by sections).</td>
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<td>Stu.</td>
<td>Stuart (comm.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>suppl.</td>
<td>supplet, -ent.</td>
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<td>SV</td>
<td>'Standard Version,' American Revision of AV, 1901.</td>
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<td>sv.</td>
<td>sub voce.</td>
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<td>Sym.</td>
<td>Symmachus.</td>
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<td>Syr.</td>
<td>Syriac.</td>
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<td>Talm.</td>
<td>Talmud.</td>
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<td>Targ.</td>
<td>Targum.</td>
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<td>Tert.</td>
<td>Tertullian.</td>
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<td>Test. XII Patr.</td>
<td>Testaments of the XII Patriarchs; Test. Jos. = Test. of Joseph, etc.</td>
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<td>Test. Jos.</td>
<td>Test of Joseph, etc.</td>
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<td>Theod.</td>
<td>Theodotion.</td>
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<td>Theodt.</td>
<td>Theodoret.</td>
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<td>TLZ</td>
<td>Theologische Literaturzeitung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tr., tr.</td>
<td>translate, translation(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trem.</td>
<td>Tremellius (cited from Pole).</td>
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<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Texts and Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TSBA</td>
<td>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSK</td>
<td>Theologische Studien und Kritiken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU</td>
<td>Texte und Untersuchungen, Second Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v., vv.</td>
<td>verse(s).</td>
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<td>var(r)</td>
<td>variant(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>versus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VS, VSS</td>
<td>(ancient) Version(s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAram.</td>
<td>West Aramaic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Westcott-Hort, N.T. in Greek.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>R. D. Wilson (Studies in the Bk. of Dan.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>C. H. H. Wright (Daniel and his Prophecies).</td>
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<tr>
<td>WSem.</td>
<td>West Semitic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands.</td>
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<tr>
<td>YOS</td>
<td>Yale Oriental Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZATW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZKR Inscr.</td>
<td>Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, no. 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNTW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die neustamentliche Wissenschaft.</td>
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</table>
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Zöck.: Zöckler (comm.).
ZPT: Zeitschrift für protestantische Theologie.

Zts.: Zeitschrift.
ZW T: Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS IN THE TEXTUAL APPARATUS.

A: Codex Alexandrinus.
Aq.: Aquila.
B: Codex Vaticanus.
CB: Coptic-Bohairic Version.
CS: Coptic-Sahidic Version.
c: text of the Chigi MS.
G: Old Greek Version (‘Septuagint’).
GrG: Greek text.
GrS: Syro-hexaplar text.
GrVen: ‘Graecus Venetus.’
H: Hebrew-Aramaic text.
h: text of Hippolytus.
hG: Greek text.
hS: OSlov. text.
L: Old Latin Version(s).
LWgs: Weingarten Fragments.
LWab: Würzburg Fragments.
Lu.: Lucian.

˘: Massoretic apparatus to H.
˘B(ab): the Babylonian punctuation.
˘Oc: the Occidental tradition.
˘Or: the Oriental tradition.
OrC: Constantinopolitan-Origenian text (A-group).
OrP: Palestinian-Origenian text (V 62 147).
Q: Codex Marchalianus.
S: Syriac Version.
Sym.: Symmachus.
V: Codex Venetus (= HP 23).
H: Vulgate.
HAm: Codex Amiatinus.
Γ: Codex rescriptus Cryptoferrentensis.
Θ: Theodotion (= B, unless otherwise defined.)

The following symbols are also used:
† indicates that all the cases in the Hebrew Bible are cited.
* a theoretical form.
+ a critical plus.
|| parallelism.
> etymological process toward.
< etymological origin from.
[ ] used to give context of word or words discussed. In the translation [ ] has bearing on the text of H, ( ) expresses an interpretative addition.
INTRODUCTION.

I. THE BOOK.

§1. THE CONTENTS.

The Book of Daniel is a composition partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic, found in the third place from the end of the Ketubim or Hagiographa, the third division of the Hebrew Bible. It purports to give the story of one Daniel who suffered the first exile under Nebuchadnezzar and lived in the Eastern Diaspora. The story begins with the hero's youth, when he is a boy at school, and continues the story to an age when the promise of a life beyond the grave is a comfort (12 13). The bk. is divided into two nearly equal portions (not coincident with the two languages).

I. The first section presents six anecdotes of his life in company with certain compatriots (one of the anecdotes being confined to the experiences of the latter) as a confessor of the Religion and a seer of the future.

C. 1. Year 3 of Jehoiakim and on. The faithfulness of Dan. and three companions in their education at the Bab. court.


C. 3. The martyr-constancy of his three companions in refusing to worship a golden Image.

C. 4. Dan. interprets Neb.'s dream of a great Tree.


C. 6. His deliverance from the Lions' Den, whither he was cast for refusal to worship Darius. His subsequent elevation in the reigns of Darius and Cyrus.

II. The second section details four visions granted to Daniel.

C. 7. Year 1 of Belsh. A vision of the conflicts of four monstrous Beasts, of the Fourth Beast and its Horns, and the Theophany which introduces the divine dominion.

C. 8. Year 3 of Belsh. A vision of the conflict of a Ram and a Buck and of the Little Horn of the latter's four horns, which
grew great. The vision is expounded by the angel Gabriel as of the Medo-Persian and Greek empires, the latter to culminate in a blasphemous tyrant, whose end is foretold.

C. 9. Year 1 of Darius. Dan.'s prayer for the restoration of Israel; the appearance of the angel to him and his exposition of the 'seventy years' of prophecy.

CC. 10–12. Year 3 of Cyrus. In answer to Dan.'s pious exercises undertaken for the boon of greater illumination, the angel again appears to him (10–11)', and unrolls a panorama of Kingdoms and Kings culminating in a godless and inhuman tyrant, whose end is depicted along with the transcendental vindication of saints and sinners (11th–12th); with a supplementary confirmatory vision and a word of personal assurance to Dan. (12th–13th).

It will be observed that parallel historical sequences are followed in the two sections, following a Jewish tradition of the progress of secular history: I. Neb., Belsh., Darius, the continuance of the seer's career into the reign of Cyrus being denoted 121, 627 (28); II. Belsh. (two visions), Darius, Cyrus.

§2. EARLY TESTIMONY TO THE BOOK AND ITS PLACE IN THE CANON.

The hero's name was given to the bk. with the usual traditional implication that he was the author, a surmise which was naturally supported from 124. The name, יְדֵעַ, was wide-spread in Sem. antiquity; s. at 16. It is also the name of an evidently traditional saint (יהוה) who is associated by Ezekiel with two other primitive worthies: 'Though these three men, Noah, Daniel and Job were in it (the land), they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness,' 1414, 20; and, 285, the Prince of Tyre is thus apostrophized: 'Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel, there is no secret thing they can hide from thee.' These passages written in the years 6 and 11 of the Exile (i.e., dating from 597) cannot refer to the youthful hero of our book, but to a figure of antique and cosmopolitan tradition, like the Noah-Utnapishtim of the Flood story and the Job of the Arabian steppes, one of the Wise of the East. If we seek an assimilation of the two Daniels it would be due to the fact that the writer most arbitrarily adopted the name of the otherwise un-
§2. EARLY TESTIMONY TO THE BOOK

sung sage of the past, even as Enoch, Noah, Baruch, Ezra were made titular authors of Apocryphal bks. But the hypothesis is unnecessary. The name was taken from living Jewish folklore.¹

There is then no reference to our Daniel as an historic person in the Heb. O.T., although his life is attributed by the bk. to the 6th cent. B.C. Nor is his name found in the list of Worthies presented by Ecclus. 44–50 (c. 200 B.C.), although the writer names the three other ‘Major Prophets’ and ‘the Book of the Twelve,’ i.e., the ‘Minor Prophets.’ The earliest allusions to, or citations from, our bk. appear in the Jewish literature of the 2d cent. B.C.² There are many such in Enoch, of which the Dream-Visions, cc. 83–90, may go back to the days of Judas Maccabee.³

A section of the Sibylline Oracles, viz.: iv, 388–400, which dates back toward the middle of the same cent., certainly cites our bk.’s description, cc. 7, 8, of the godless tyrant; the passage is cited in Comm. at 73–8.

1 Mac., composed at the end of the same cent., after the reign of John Hyrcanus, has many reminiscences of Dan.; e.g., the citation of ‘Abomination of Desolation,’ 1:54 after 6 of Dan., and the specific allusion to the deliverance of the three companions of Dan., by name, and of Dan. ‘in his perfectness,’ 2:59 ff., cf., Dan. 3:6. Cf. a list of chief instances given by Wright, p. 65.

¹Traditionalist comm. differ in their treatment of the possible identification; some ignore it, e.g., Stu., Pusey; others insist that Eze.’s ref. is corroboration of the historicity of our hero and bk., so Heng., 70 ff.; Keil, 25 ff.; Wright, 48. It is idle to debate over appropriateness of the name, a fancy indeed which induced the story of Susanna, in which Daniel (‘God-judges’) did ‘come to judgement,’ with Shakespeare; or as though the judgments of God are the theme of the bk.; or as if a Pers. origin were to be sought, e.g., from OPers. dānu, ‘wise,’ with Cheyne, Origin . . . of the Psalter, 105, note t. The name was of a type that rendered it available for angels, and so it appears for one of the fallen angels, En. 61, 69, and of an evil spirit in the Mandaic Ginza.

²The innumerable correspondences between Dan. and the Chronicler (e.g., the prayers Dan. 9, Neh. 9) are insisted upon by Pusey (p. 355 ff.) and others as proof of the priority of Dan. to Neh. Wright recognizes the weakness of this argumentation. After accepting Pusey’s argument, he proceeds to remark: “The true lines of ‘defense’ of the Bk. of Dan. do not rest upon the foundations laid by Heng. or Pusey . . . But the real defense . . . ought to a large extent to be based upon the internal evidence presented in the bk.” For dependence of Dan.’s prayer on the Chronicler s. the extensive argument by the Catholic scholar Bayer in his Danielstudien.

³For a full list of these ref. s. Charles, Book of Enoch, Index, p. 312. For a review of this literature s. Wright, c. 2.
The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, which was written about the same time, has many current citations; s. index in Charles, Eng. tr., p. 238. Jubilees, a bk. of the same age, has in common with Dan. the scheme of year-weeks. And the Apocryphal Baruch has, 19–29, a mosaiclike resetting of the prayer in Dan. 94–9, s. §13. Also the Apocryphal Wisdom cites Dan. 129, and gives, 38, an interpretation of Dan. 722. The Psalms of Solomon, written after Pompey’s death, cites Dan. 122, a true Pharisaic theme.

Schechter’s Hebrew ‘Fragments of a Zadokite Work’ (misleadingly so called) is a product, probably or possibly, of an early ‘Pharisaic’ sect and of the 2d cent. B.C. Its parallelisms with Dan. have not been sufficiently remarked by Schechter, but the correspondences in terminology are very instructive as to its date. Note: p. 4 (Heb. text), l. 4, ‘those who stand up at the end of the days,’ cf. Dan. 1210; p. 5, l. 21, יבשיה יאלוד, cf. 924; p. 20, l. 8, ידוהי יתלע = 718, etc.; p. 20, l. 24, פירז = פירז אנה נבל החור = פירז יתלע 1114 (of value for interpretation of the latter); p. 20, l. 26,ילל מרשית יוהוד בום מזרפת = יילל מרשית ביהת 1132, and for the ‘refining’ cf. 1135, 1210; also cf. p. 20, l. 28, with 95.

The existence of the ‘Septuagintal’ tr. of Dan., doubtless to be assumed for the 2d cent. B.C., and also of a ‘pre-Theodotiotic’ tr. prior to the N.T. further attests the immediate wide-spread authority of the bk.; s. §§11 ff.

There is no question of the authoritative character of Dan. in the N.T. The name is mentioned but once and with the title of ‘prophet,’ Mt. 2415 (not in the approved text of the parallel Mk. 1314). Heb. 1135–f, ‘stopped the mouths of lions (after 6), quenched the power of fire,’ recalls the stories in cc. 3, 6. But the influence and language and the spirit of the bk. are powerful


5 Cf. also the expression p. 9, l. 21, ‘the man shall be excluded from the Purity (הנתרון)’ with i Mac. 1493, ἐπολοῦν πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῇ ἁγιασμ., i.e., in the sacred precincts of the temple.
throughout the apocalyptic sections of the N.T., the Parousia passages of the Gospels, 2 Th. and esp. Rev.6

Josephus presents the story of Daniel as a ‘prophet’ quite at length AJ x, 10–11. The contemporary 2 Esd. draws largely upon it. And by the final canonization of the Heb. Scriptures about the end of the 1st cent. A.D. our bk. was included without question or doubt. The bk. and those of the Chronicler are found at the end of the Canon.7 For those who defend the 6th cent. origin of the bk. this fact is indifferent, for they hold that these ‘closed-up words’ (124) were not published until late. But they do not explain how the bk. was published just at the right time or why it agrees exactly with the apocalyptic literature with which the 2d cent. b.c. was rife.

The Christian Church, fed on the Gr. trr. of the bk., took it over con amore, and along with it certain Apocryphal accretions; s. §4. The literary rearrangement effected by the Hellenistic Jews in the order of their Canon attached Dan., with its Apocryphal satellites regarded as one with it, to the Major Prophets, where it ranked fourth (but in the lists of Melito and Eusebius as preceding Eze.); s. Swete, Int., Part II, c. 1. For a full catena of the evidence s. R. D. Wilson, ‘The Bk. of Dan. and the Canon,’ Princeton Theol. Rev., 13, 352–408.8 For the views of the authorities in the Talmud, for whom Daniel was not a ‘prophet,’ s. §23; this lower rating of course never derogated from the actual canonicity of the bk.

§3. LITERARY DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK.

For the eldest tradition of ‘chapter’ divisions we must go to the Christian tradition.1 The Theodotionic order placed the

6 There are also several reminiscences of Dan. which have been generally overlooked by N.T. editors in consequence of their failure to diagnose the Gr. texts. E.g., I note as signal instances 220, cf. 1 Cor. 124; 22, cf. Mt. 214; 73, cf. Mt. 273; 73, cf. Rev. 114 (dependent on C’s corrupt text).

7 This general statement is to be precised more exactly that in the classical Talm. passage on the Canon, Baba bathra 14b seq., Dan. and Est. exchange places, prob. a shifting on historical grounds; s. Ginsburg, Int., pt. 1, c. 2, and Ryle, Canon of the O.T., Exc. C.; also de Rossi, Variæ lectiones, 1, p. xxvi. Ryle, Exc. B., gives the Talmudic passage in translation.

8 Dr. Wilson’s learned article combats the chimera that the claim of later age for the bk. contradicts its canonicity. He brings absolutely no new evidence to show that the bk. was even known before the 2d cent. b.c.; how he can ‘possibly’ find a ref. to Dan. at Ecclus. 468 passes comprehension, and as for the witness of 1 Mac. he overlooks the fact that this bk. was composed near the close of that cent.

1 On this subject s. Swete, Int., Part II, c. 1, and for Dan. in particular p. 260.
Apocryphal Susanna first, then our Dan., and at the end the Apocryphal Bel and the Dragon; and this is the order of the uncial A B Q, also 147 and \( \text{L} \), but the reverse order in V 62 \( \text{G}^2 \text{G}^5 \). Consequently the Gr. Dan. was divided into twelve 'Visions' (so A Q): Susanna = no. 1, Dan. cc. 1–9 = nos. 2–10 (inclusive of the Song in Vision 4), Dan. 10–12 = no. 11, Bel, etc. = no. 12. MSS 62 147 have occasional notation of the Visions, but begin them with Dan. 1; s. Benjamin, p. 305. There was also another division current in the Gr. MSS, that of Lessons, e.g., B indicates 21 such (for the whole Gr. bk.), one cursive has 9, etc.\(^4\)

The Syro-Hexaplar (s. §8), although casting Susanna after our Dan., enumerates the cc. after the traditional system so that our c. 1 is c. 2, the series terminating, however, with cc. 8–12 (the whole regarded as one vision, or scribal neglect after this point?).\(^5\) I have no information as to main divisions in the early Latin Bible. Cod. Amiatinus of \( \text{B} \), containing also Jer.'s Preface to his translation, indicates for our bk. 27 capitula with specific rubrics, plus four additional capp. covering Susanna, etc. = 31 capp.; s. Tischendorf, Bibliia Sacra Latina V. T., pp. lxiv seq.

The Mediaeval division of the Bible into chapters\(^6\) is that which all Western use appears to have followed for Dan. Unfortunately the unity of cc. 10–12 was ignored and the one Vision was divided into three chapters (after the ancient scheme of twelve Visions?).

\(^2\) We can trace this tradition back to Hipp.; s. Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Kommentaren Hippolyts,' \( TU 1897, \) pt. 2; so the Bohairic; but the Slav. tr. places Susanna at the end.

\(^3\) I do not understand why Swete has not followed this order of his authority Cod. B in his edition; it is disconcerting, in lack of explanation, to the student, who immediately finds in the marg. to the int. of Dan. 1 that Codd. A Q entitle it 'Vision 2.' Swete's order is that of Origen's arrangement. Tischendorf-Nestle places Susanna first. An extraordinary mistake has been made by Swete in his \( \text{Int.} \), p. 260, with his statement: "In the Greek MSS no break or separate title divides these Greek additions from the rest of the text, except that when Daniel is divided into 'visions,' the first vision is made to begin at i. 1, Susanna being thus excluded from the number." This statement is contradicted by his own apparatus.

\(^4\) See Swete, pp. 351 ff.; cf. the divisions of \( \text{H} \) and \( \text{M} \), v. inf. A has the division into Visions, enumerated as in A; s. §14, n.

\(^5\) Similarly in the Chigi MS, containing our sole Gr. MS of the Septuagint and also a Theodotionic text (c), the order is that of the Syro-Hexaplar.

\(^6\) See in addition to Introductions to the Canon, etc., G. F. Moore, 'The Vulgate Chapter and Numbered Verses in the Heb. Bible,' \( JBL 12, \) 73–78.
The Jewish divisions have been obscured to the reader of the Heb. Bible by the most unfortunate practice of dividing the printed Bibles according to the Mediæval chapter division. This procedure, which still obtains in Bär’s professedly Masoretic text, has been corrected by Ginsburg and Kittel (best by the former, throwing the chap. and v. numerals into the margin). There was an ancient Seder or Lection division in the Heb. bks., which has survived in the Mass. tradition. In the apparatus to his text of Dan., p. 95, Bär gives a list of these Sedarim, which are denoted by א as seven in number. Ginsburg, who finds vast fault with Bär (Int., 21) for his registration of the Sedarim in general, gives a slightly variant division (ib., 60):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seder</th>
<th>Bär</th>
<th>Gin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>611 (10)</td>
<td>629 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>1021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gin. also conveniently notes these Sedarim in the marg. of his text. It will be observed that these seven divisions are about quantitatively equal, the last two being somewhat shorter than the preceding ones; they possess no literary reason and must have been made on the pious principle of ‘a chapter a day.’ The editors of the printed Heb. Bibles introduced the Christian system of chapter division, but altered it in two respects: they followed the Seder division about 330, actually making it at 331 (41), so perpetuating the error of including Neb.’s profession within c. 4; and at the end of c. 5, following a pasuk-pathuh (a greater paragraph division), they began c. 6 with 531 of the Christian use (here the exact point of division may be indifferent).

Throughout this Comm. citation will be made after the use of the printed Heb. Bibles; where the Christian use varies, the correspondent figures will be given also in parenthesis, where at all necessary. This practice will also be followed in the case of the plus of vv. in c. 3 of the Gr., due to the insertion of the Song. The Jewish chapter divisions may be followed, very conveniently, in JV; they are noted in the marg. of RVV.
§4. A. APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS; B. LATER PSEUDEPIGRAPHA; C. LEGENDS.

a. Apocryphal Additions.

As far back as the testimony for them goes the 'Septuagint' (G) and Theodotion (Θ) included with our bk. certain Apocryphal accretions.¹ This material comprises: (1) Susanna, which in the tradition of Θ at least always preceded our bk. (for the reason that Dan. appears in it as a young and unknown man). (2) What the English Bible calls 'The Song of the Three Holy Children,' 67 vv. inserted in c. 3 between vv. 23 and 24; this piece actually comprises: (a) vv. (24-45), a Prayer of Azarias,² being a prayer of confession and supplication; (b) a prose Interlude, vv. 46-51, describing the heating of the fire and the descent of the Angel of the Lord to cool the flames³; (c) the Benediction (the liturgical 'Benedicite') of the Three, vv. 51-90. Then appended to our bk. is a collection, treated as one 'Vision,' containing: (3) the story of Bel, and (4) that of The Dragon, to which is added a manifest supplement introducing the prophet Habakkuk.

The discussions over the originality of these Additions, which of course involves that of the original language, are manifold; s. Schürer, GJV 3, 452-458, and the Introductions to the Apocrypha. Despite Jer.'s desire to separate the Apocrypha from the O.T. and his scholarly rubrics that these Additions are not found in the Heb.,⁴ the Latin Church appears to regard them as integral parts of the bk., even as they are physically such in the edd. of Θ.⁵ This position is not wholly confined to that Confession; e.g., Howorth, 'Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible: VII. Dan. and Ch.,' PSBA 29 (1907), 31-38, 61-69, holding these additions to be integral parts of the bk.

¹ Swete conveniently gives the text of Cod. A for the two Odes in c. 3 at end of vol. 3, pp. 804 ff.; ed. 2, pp. 826 ff.
² Not of Ananias, otherwise the first-named of the three Companions. The change appears to have been effected by the alphabetical rearrangement of the names in the Gr.
³ There is a verbatim allusion to this—the earliest notice of these Additions—in 3 Mac. 6, ลาζος σαξ xάμαν = our v. 140.
⁴ Before the Apocryphon in c. 3 and before Bel.
⁵ E.g., the comm. of d’Envieu and Knabenbauer; and so Székely, Bibliotheca apocrypha, Freiburg, vol. 1, 1913, excludes them from his contents.
§4A. APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS

More particularly there has been considerable recent debate as to the authenticity of the prose Interlude. Rothstein, in his comm. on the Additions, in Kautzsch, *Apok. u. Pseud.*, 1, 175, has proposed a theory whereby the Interlude is original, but the Apocryphal intrusion, first of the Benediction, then of the Prayer, has upon ultimate censorship caused the loss of the included genuine Interlude. André, *Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament*, Florence, 1903, pp. 214 ff., agrees with Rothstein, but regards only vv. (24. 46-50) as original; Jahn (an enthusiast for §6) retains only vv. 49-51. Bennett, upon this Apocryphon, in Charles, *Apoc.*, 1, 629, inclines haltingly to the same position. That is, modern editors of the Apocrypha incline to save some flotsam of this Apocryphon; but, on the other hand, all comm. of the Heb., outside of the Latins and Jahn, have excluded this as well as the other Additions from serious consideration.

The present writer at first, years ago, hailed Rothstein’s view as correct. Subsequent cooler consideration has made him renounce it, not for reasons philological or critical but dramatic. He avers that the Heb. story is far more striking in leaving the discovery of the marvel to the heathen king’s eyes, rather than with the banal explanation made to precede it. Which is all a matter of taste! He is thus relieved from further treatment of the subject in this Comm.7

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7 A few notes may be added here. In orig. Θ v. 22b has been lost whether through homoiotel. in the orig. μόρ in the Gr., or because it was excised in view of v. (40). § and Θ present but variant texts of the Prayer and the Benediction. The bulk of the interlude in § (the balance being evidently supplemental) appears in Θ (including the characteristic “Septuagintal” phrase δι περί τ. ‘Αλεξάντι. αν. cf. § v. 23); it looks as though the whole Apocryphon first appearing in § has been subsequently inserted in Θ, which would explain how the latter’s text includes it despite his scrupulosity for the *veritas hebraica*. The Syr. is translated from the Gr., not from a Sem. original at all; not only is this the general judgment upon all Apocrypha in the present Syr. O.T. as secondary (e.g. Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 36), but it is distinctly so stated for this Apocryphon by Polychronius at 28, “this hymn is found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Syriac Scriptures,” while Aphrem Syrus ignores it in his comm. The Daniel Apocrypha of the Syr. are to be found in the London Polyglot in vol. 4; for c. 3 only the Prayer and the Benediction (without the Interlude), which were prob. introduced from some Gr. collection of ‘Odes.’

M. Gaster has published an alleged ‘Aramaic Original of Theodotion’s Additions to the Bk. of Dan.’ in *PSBA* 16, 280 ff.; 312 ff.; 17, 75 ff. But as Dalman remarks, *Worte Jesu*, 11, n. 1, the texts are pieces from the Chronicle of Jerahmeel which the author himself says he translated from the Greek Bible.
b. Later Pseudepigrapha.


The following literary note may be added. In his fascinating book, *Heaven and Hell in Comparative Religion*, N. Y., 1921, President K. Kohler recalls that the Jew Immanuel of Rome, the admirer and imitator of Dante, takes Daniel as guide in his Hebrew poem on Hell and Paradise.

c. Legends.

Legendary amplification of Dan.'s history grew apace. *Josephus, AJ* x, 10, 1, makes him offhand a prince of the blood royal, an easy deduction from 1:2 (q.v.), and *Bel* v.1. *G* makes
§5. THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC TEXT

him a priest. (Ps.-)Epiphanius knows his father's name as Sabaan and his birthplace as Bethabara, Adv. haer., iv, 3, Vita proph., x. For various Jewish and Arabic legends s. JE 4, 427, 429. His tomb has been shown, since the 6th cent., at Susa, a little west of the acropolis; s. Loftus, Chaldea and Susiana, 1857, pp. 317 ff. (with illustration reproduced as frontispiece in Dr.'s comm.); JE p. 429 (with another picture). There is a ref. to this tomb in Tabarl, s. Nöld., Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber, §8. See also F. W. Hasluck, 'The Caliph Maimun and the Proph. Dan.,' Journal Hell. Studies, 42, 99-103, with full bibliography; he notes that there is another tomb of Dan. at Tarsus. This tradition agrees with Josephus' datum that Darius took Dan. with him to Media (AJ x, 11, 4), borrowed by Jer. in his comm. at 525. Jos. himself has (ib., §7) the tradition of a tower the prophet built at Ecbatana which is the place "where they bury the kings of Media, Persia and Parthia to this day."

The Jewish Aggada on Dan. is collected in Rabinitzki and Bialik, Sepher Haaggadah (Heb. title), Berlin, 1922, vol. 4, pp. 187 ff., and in tr. in L. Ginsberg, vol. 4, Philadelphia, 1913, pp. 326-350 (a memorandum kindly contributed by Dr. E. Speiser).

II. TEXT AND LANGUAGE.

§5. THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC TEXT.

The bk., as at hand, is written in two languages, i.e., Hebrew and, for 26-7, Aramaic, this section being introduced by a rubric gloss, הָאָרָמִיּוּס Aramaice. The problems of text are the same for both languages. But the Aram. text appears to be far less definitely fixed by tradition than that of the Heb.; this being due to the fact that the later editors were primarily occupied with the literature and phonetics of a language in theory divine, and so were less sure or more careless in the treatment of the Aram.;

*Dr. E. Sukenik, of the Dropsie College, kindly reminds me of the design of Daniel in the Lions' Den worked in the mosaic pavement of the 2d cent. synagogue at 'Ain-dák in the Jordan Valley (s. Vincent, RB 1919, 532 ff.; plan p. 535, showing one of the lions). To cite Dr. Sukenik: "Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion that we have here Daniel in the lions' den was confirmed by Père Vincent's excavations, when they found on the other side of the man the inscription נָחַל דֶּנֶּא, which means 'Daniel rest in peace!' or 'Daniel in peace.' The field was apparently regarded as the most honorable spot in the synagogue. Père Dhorne's first impression of the synagogue was that it was dedicated to Daniel."
also the latter was the Jewish vernacular, and this rendered it susceptible to current contamination in contrast with the rigidity of classical Heb. Withal the whole bk. exhibits an extraordinary amount of variation, not only in Kṭ̄b and Kṝ in their exchanges, but also in actual variant rdgs. of ms's, many of which correspond to those of the VSS. Hence the problem of original text is peculiarly accentuated for this bk.

The Massoretic text (ם, as distinguished from ה, the consonantal text, which alone lay before the eyes of the ancient translators) is the result of an idealistic striving after a final, flawless text of Holy Scripture, with a fixed Kṭ̄b or consonantal basis, accompanied with an apparatus to indicate the exact pronunciation and reading of the words and phrases (involving syntax), along with corrections of the Kt. to be observed in the actual enunciation,—the Kṝ. This ideal unity was never perfectly achieved. In the latter half of the first millennium two Schools had formulated variant Massoretic texts, the Oriental and the Occidental, and another complication exists as between the rival texts of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali of the first half of the 10th cent. The Western tradition prefers the authority of Ben Asher and naturally and professedly follows the Occidental Massora; even when an editor, e.g., Ginsburg, critically prefers an Oriental rdg. he presents it only in the marg.¹

In view of such an artificial condition of text, the writer has made it his practice to cite, quite regularly, the variant rdgs. of four standard editions ofם, namely those of J. H. Michaelis, Bär, Ginsburg, Kittel, and, in addition, of Strack’s Aram. text.²

To this apparatus of the Occidental Massora can now be added a partial apparatus for an Oriental Massora brought to light in recent years: texts provided with the ‘Babylonian’ vowel-system, one less adequate than ours, the ‘Tiberian,’ but of great

¹ Consult Strack, Prolegomena critica in V.T. hebr., 1873, Pt. I; Ginsburg, Int.; Buhl, Kanon u. Text d. A.T., pp. 82-108; Kahle in BL §§6-9; also Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture, c. 7; Geden, Outlines of Int. to the Heb. Bible, c. 2.

² See Bibliography. Bär gives an extensive Appendix of Mass. apparatus; Gin. in his mg. presents a summary apparatus. The primary value of Kit.’s Bible lies in its being a reproduction, with slight changes (s. Preface) of Jacob Chayyim’s Bomberg Bible, 1524-5, which became the standard exemplar for Bible prints. The non-Mass. critical apparatus in the mg. of this ed. is the work of M. Lohr, and this part will be duly attributed to him. The traditional differences between the Oriental and Occidental Schools are denoted by מים, מים. Strack in his Gr. (v. inf.) has given collations of a Berlin Codex = Ken. 150, and Cod. Erfurtensis 3.
§6. THE HEBREW

interest to the philologist. For the material of this apparatus and discussion summary reference may be made to P. Kahle, 'Masoreten des Orients,' Heft 15, *Beiträge z. Wiss. vom A.T.*, 1913. Kahle has rendered particular service to the student of Dan. by publishing accessible portions of this Oriental text of our bk.: viz., *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff. for 281-49, and in Strack, *Gr.*, edd. 3-6, for 312-15, 20-24, 421-7 (all Aram. passages). Where citation of this apparatus is necessary the signature αβ is used.

But the critic is concerned in going behind this ideal unity of a Textus Receptus, back to the ms. For this comparison he has at hand the two great collections of variant rdgs. compiled by the labors of Kennicott and de Rossi, for which s. the Bibliography. The study of these variants in Dan. has proved interesting but may not be enlarged upon here. As a sample there may be noted the cases where the variants agree with rdgs. of VSS. For example: 514 + יִירָשָׁה = Q Lu. of Θ tradition and G; 827 + יִירָשָׁה = Θ; 1010 הַיְיִם with G Heb. יִירָשָׁה; 108 om. Heb. יִירָשָׁה . . . יִירָשָׁה with G G; 1010 יִירָשָׁה with G G for יִירָשָׁה. The most notable of all variants is in Ken. 313 at 927, where for the difficult נָבֶעַל מַיִם שֶׁיָּה יָהּ is read יִירָשָׁה שֶׁיָּה יָהּ מַיִים such a rdg. as the translator desiderates, and supported by G (one text) and H. This rdg., first detected by Ken., was enthusiastically accepted by JDMich., who proclaimed it 'masorethica lectione ueriorem.' But de R. acutely observes that the ms has an accompanying Latin tr. and that the unique rdg. is doubtless a Christian contamination.

§6. THE HEBREW.

For this subject a large lexical and grammatical apparatus is now accessible. For the language and diction of the Heb. ref-
ference may be made to the statistics in the opposing arguments of Pusey, pp. 575–598, and Dr., *Int.*, 504–508, summarized in his *Comm.*, pp. lx–lxiii; cf. his list of peculiarities in Chr. in the former work, pp. 535–540, and Curtis, *Chron.*, pp. 27–36. It is universally accepted that the language of our bk. is that of Chr.-Ezr.-Neh. and Est., while its literary use of Eze. is acknowledged as term. a quo for the bk. Whether Dan. is anterior (with Pusey), or subsequent (with Dr., dating it in the 2d cent.) to the Chronicler, is the primary moot point. The writer agrees with Dr., *Int.*, 504, that “the great turning-point in Heb. style falls in the age of Nehemiah . . . and not, as is sometimes supposed, the Captivity.” If this literary judgment is true, then Dan. can hardly be earlier than the 5th century, and Pusey’s argument falls. If the Chronicler belongs to the 4th century, as critics now generally hold; and if Ezra’s activity is subsequent to Neh., c. 400, as many have come to see, the a quo limit is still further lowered.¹

Statistical arguments are not conclusive. *E.g.*, the brief summary given by Behr., *Dan.*, p. iii, is not rigorous and contains fallacies; he notes the loss of sense for the modes of the vb. and their consecution (*cf.* F. T. Kelly, ‘The Imperf. with Simple Waw,’ *JBL* 39, 21); the absence of the article (but this in cases where the noun becomes ‘proper,’ *e.g.*, נביה ‘Covenant’; at most a stylism); irregularities and inconsequences within the book, but most of these may be laid to the account of intentional or accidental change.² The Aramaisms of vocabulary are actually not numerous.³ In Dr.’s list are noted only יָבִל, rt. אשש, רשע, צופר, מלכודת, מיעד, תֶל ה, מֵלָה, תור; phrases like מֵלָה, מִלְכָּד, מִל ה; there may be added as features of late usage the use of Hif. for קאל in certain vbs., and the development of process as between Piel and Hif., corresponding to that of NHeb. and the Aram. dialects. The little we possess of comparable prose diction of the post-classical Heb. (Neh. is still classical) is not adequate to provide exact dating. Ben Sirach, c. 180, wrote in rhetorical poetry, and can only be related to our

¹Torrey, *Composition*, regards the Memoirs of Ezra as part of the Chronicler’s handiwork, a position that would date that document still later.
³See in general Kautzsch, *Aramaismen im AT*, 1902.
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bk. in the general characteristic of words, forms and syntax which are constant in NHeb. It is quite impossible to compare with Dan. the somewhat earlier Eccl., with its barbaric but masterful diction. The opinion of such a connoisseur of Heb. diction as Franz Delitzsch, *PRE* 3, 470, himself no radical, must weigh in casting what is more a literary than a philological decision: the Heb. of Dan. in "general character resembles the Heb. of the Chronicler, who wrote shortly before the beginning of the Gr. period, and, as compared either with the ancient Heb. or with the Heb. of the Mishnah, is full of singularities and harshnesses of style." For a document which reads most akin to the diction of Dan., attention must be called to the so-called Zadokite Fragments, the cross-references of which with Dan. have been noted above, §2. In both there are the same obscure diction and halting grammar, which are only lit up by the moral earnestness of the authors. As literature the Aram. of the bk. is of higher order than the Heb. To sum up, the argument from the Heb. points to a late age in comparison with the known Biblical literature, and it can be assigned with entire philological satisfaction to the 2d cent.; while a date earlier than the 4th cent. cannot on comparative evidence be easily attributed to it.

§7. THE ARAMAIC.

The Biblical texts in this language are found Dan. 2:4-7 and Ezr. 4:8-6:18, 7:12-26, along with a glossated verse, Jer. 10:11, and an Aram. phrase of two words in parallelism with its Heb. equivalent, Gen. 31:47—the earliest literary evidence of the language.

This subject requires more attention than should ordinarily be given in a commentary, for several reasons: the lack of proper grammatical apparatus for BAram. in English; the great increase of practically contemporary documents bearing on the language which have not been registered in the manuals; and the general condition that Aram. is still treated as a luxury and exotic in the study of the O.T. and, one might add, the N.T.

The one compendious grammar on the subject is still that by E. Kautzsch, 1884. With this there are the excellent brief grammars by H. Strack and K. Marti (the latter now in a 3d ed., 1925, which appeared too late for use in this work). Strack and Marti include the Aram. texts with glossaries, the glossary
in Marti being enriched by the contributions of the Iranist scholar C. F. Andreas. Strack adds some critical apparatus and also sections of Aram. text with the Bab. punctuation, edited by Kahle (v. sup. §5). Marti attempts a critically emended text with the original referred to the marg.; in ed. 2 he adds also the first three numbers of Sachau’s papyri. For grammatical bibliography s. Kautzsch, §8. The grammars of Luzzatto, Winer and Brown unfortunately treat the Biblical material along with later Jewish dialects. To his text of Ezr.-Neh.-Dan. Bär has prefixed 44 pp. of a ‘Chaldaismi biblici adumbratio,’ which Nöldeke criticised as a ‘ganz misslungene Skizze,’ GGA 1884, 1014. With this apparatus must now be compared the grammatical surveys in Sayce-Cowley’s and Sachau’s editions of the Elephantine papyri (resp. pp. 14-20, pp. 261-274), as also in Lidzbarski, NE 389-399.

For lexicographical material BDB (final title-page of date, 1906) cites Sayce-Cowley, but it appeared too early to include Sachau’s material; both collections are fully used in GB. The Biblical apparatus is now supplemented by the fully collated Index of the papyrus vocabulary in Cowley, AP.

‘Biblical Aramaic’ (also Chaldee, Chaldaic, Syriac, s. at 24) is an inadequate name, due to its application to what was until recently the unique Aram. literature found in the O.T.; the term was in contrast with the later Jewish Aramaic dialects. With the discovery of Aram. inscriptions going back into the 8th cent., and the gradual unearthing of various brief texts on clay, papyri, etc., hailing from Mesopotamia and Egypt and the lands between, culminating in large papyri finds at Elephantine, at the first Cataract of the Nile, in the first decade of this century, archives of a Jewish garrison colony existing there from the 6th cent. till c. 400 B.C., we are now in a position to recognize the dominant language of the later Semitic world, an official tongue of the empires on the one hand, and on the other a literary language with products similar to those found in the O.T.1

For the Arameans and their language and the earlier material the reader is referred to the rich material on the sub-

1 The Story of the Three Pages, 1 Esd. 3:4, is a tr. from a Pagan Aram. original, s. Torrey, Ezra Studies, c. 3. The theme may have motivated the Story of the Three Confessors, Dan. 3. The Aḥiḳar romance now found in the papyri is a similar product.
§7. THE ARAMAIC

ject. For the dialectic differences which arose in the language and the later division into Eastern and Western with their dialects, similar reference is to be made to the authorities. Fortunately the later dialects and literatures are so close to the earlier language, with which we are concerned, that their grammar and vocabulary are in constant requisition; indeed, the whole Aram. field is indispensable to the close student of the present subject.

In addition to current Dictionary articles, s. Streck. 'Über d. älteste Gesch. d. Aramäer,' Klio, 6 (1906), 185; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, 1911; E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, N. Y., 1918; S. A. Cook, cc. 13–14 of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2 (1924), s.n. 'Aramäans' in Index.

For the elder epigraphic material s. CIS ii; selected texts with full vocabulary and gramm. synopses in Lidzbarski, NE, continued in his *Ephemeris*, vols. 1–3 (1902–1915), publishing the current fresh material, as does also the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 1901 seq.; and G. A. Cooke, *NSI* 1903, with texts, tr. and comm. Of specially noteworthy discoveries and finds outside of the papyri may be noted: for Babylonian docketts, A. T. Clay, 'Aram. Indorsements on the Documents of the Murashu Sons' (5th cent.) in *O.T. and Sem. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, vol. 1, 1908, pp. 285–312, and Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméens*, 1912; the ZKR Inscription (now known to have been found near Aleppo, and at last lodged in the Louvre), Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie*, 1907, no. 86. The wide-spread existence of the language is indicated by an Indian Aram. text, s. Cowley, 'The First Aram. Inscr. from India,' *JRAS* 1915, 342 ff., and the Aram.-Lydian Bilingual, s. Littmann in *Publications of the Amer. Soc. for the Excavation of Sardis*, 1916, cf. S. A. Cook, *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 37 (1917), pp. 77 ff., 215 ff., and Torrey, *AJSL* 34 (1918), 185 ff. The oldest Aram. literary document, outside of the inscriptions, is the ostrakon letter of Asshurbanapal's age published by Lidz., *Alta,wm. Urkunden aus Assur*, 1921. The writer would enter his caveat against the listing, with the handbooks, of the Senjirli inscriptions as Aramaic; only the latest one, the so-called Building Inscription, can be so classed: the others are Hebrew. The ZKR Inscr. is a medley of both languages.

The standard editions of the two Elephantine collections of papyri are those of Sayce-Cowley, 1906, and Sachau, 1911 (with complete photographic reproductions and inclusion of earlier published papyri material). Sayce-Cowley's papyri appear in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, nos. 22, 23, and the first three papyri, *ib*., no. 32 (as also in Mar. Gr., s. above), both edited by W. Stark; Sachau's material is completely reproduced in Ungnad, *Aram. Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911; and finally the whole of the material, with introductions, bibliography and Index of vocabulary in Cowley, *AP* 1923. Cowley has also published an Eng. tr. of selected texts in *Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra*, S.P.C.K., 1979. Noël Giron has made some interesting additions to our sources for Egyptian Aramaic: 'Fragments de papyrus araméens provenant de Memphis' (known to me only in offprint); 'Glanures de mythologie égyptienne', *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Arch. Orientale*, 23 (1925), 1–25; 'Tomb with Aram. Inscriptions,' *Ancient Egypt*, 1923, 38–43, epigraphs of great historical interest, containing reference to king Tirhaka (read Ṭirhākā), placed by the writer between the middle of the 7th cent. and end of the 6th, prob. the oldest known Egypt. Aram. text.

For the Aram. in general s. Nöldeke, 'Semitic Languages,' *Enc. Brü.* 9, reproduced in his *Semitische Sprachen*, 1887, and his series of arts. on several dialects, *ZDMG* 21, 183 ff.; 22, 443 ff.; 24, 85 ff.; Chabot, *Les langues et les littératures ara-
The assimilation of all this fresh material, especially that from Egypt, rich not only in personal letters and business and official documents but also in a noteworthy literary composition (the Wisdom of Ḫăṯkăr), has not yet been fully made with BAram. studies. It has therefore been necessary in the following Comm. to make as complete current reference as possible to the philological phenomena of the fresh texts. The language of this pre-Christian Aram. was, it is manifest, plastically set, and had attained literary form. The orthography of our BAram. texts has suffered in the development of the vowel-letters (in this in company with all Biblical documents), and there is to be noticed the subsequent scribal confusion of final נ and י, which in the elder Aram. were neatly distinguished. There has always been question as to the amount of Hebraism in our texts, with the general tendency on part of modern critics (e.g., Marti, Löhr) to regard these cases as later contaminations. But the papyri, for the most part written also by Jewish hands, show similar conditions of Hebraism, both in form and vocabulary, and we may not lightly emend such cases. Also contamination from the later Jewish dialects has been alleged, but such charges must be very sharply scrutinized.

The Aram. papyri date from the reign of Darius I, with the transcript of his Behistūn Inscription, to a document of the reign of the pretender Amyrteus, c. 400 (s. Sachau, APO p. xi, Cowley, AP no. 35). Their philological bearing upon the date of the Aram. of Ezr. and Dan. has become at once a moot question. Sayce and Cowley remark, APA 20: "Much of the inter-

méennes, 1910. For a survey of the WAram. dialects s. Kautzsch, §5; for publications on the modern Syriac (Lebanon) dialect add Bergsträsser, Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, 13 (1915), nos. 2, 3; 15 (1921), no. 4; ZA 23 (1918-19), 103 ff.

For the later Jewish Palestinian Aram. (JAram.) s. Dalman’s Gr. and the recent brief Grammar by Stevenson; for the Christian-Palestinian, Schulthess’ Lex. and the recently published Gr. by Schulthess-Littmann, 1924. For the vocabulary of the later Jewish literature, Talmud, Midrashim, etc., s. the Dictionaries of Buxtorf, Levy, Jastrow, Dalman. For Syriac there should be named especially the Grammars by Duval and Nöldeke, and for its lexicography Payne Smith’s Thesaurus, the manual Dictionary by Payne Smith-Margoliouth, and Brockelman’s Lexicon, now in process of a greatly enlarged 2d ed., 1923 seq. Nöldeke’s Mandäische Gr. is an indispensable adjunct.

4 See the excellent Thesis by H. H. Powell, The Supposed Hebraisms in the Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic, whose positions, sometimes too stringent in claiming unnecessarily overmuch as Aramaic, have in general been approved by the language and grammar of the papyri.
est lies in the many points of contact which they show as represented by the bks. of Ezr. and Dan.”; similarly Sachau, in the preliminary publication of his first three papyri, p. 3: “Die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken identisch mit derjenigen der aram. Kapitel in den Büchern Esra u. Daniel,” an observation omitted in the fuller edition. R. D. Wilson has pressed this identity of dialect in his paper, ‘The Aram. of Dan.’ 1912, followed independently by C. Boutflower, In and Around the Bk. of Dan., 1923, c. 21. The primary impression the student obtains is in agreement with this position, which has a crucial bearing upon the dating of the Aram. sections of the Bible. But Torrey has subjected this alleged identity to a searching test in ‘The Aram. of the Bk. of Dan.,’ AJSL 1908, 232 ff. = Ezra Studies, 1910, 161 ff. He lays particular stress on the historical process of Aram. (when = Arab. d) to 7; in BAram. 7 alone appears, whereas in the papyri 1 is predominant, and is universal in the Bab. dockets. The dental demonstratives are of the theme 1 except in the combinations ת, ת, ת (each once, in APA, E, F, of resp. dates 447, 441); also, including papyri published after Torrey’s work, we find ב, ב in 6 papp. vs. ב in 2 (7); and יִתָלָל = יִתָלָל each once apiece. It is objected by Wilson and Boutflower that in Akk. the OAram. is represented by d, e.g., ידר = ידר; but the Bab. dockets always have ת (s. Delaporte, cited above, n. 2). Thus this process is only at its beginning in the papyri. On the other hand the process of ב = Arab. ת into ת had already taken place by the 6th cent. Also it may be noted that OAram. ת = Arab. d = later Aram. ת appears in the dockets, e.g., ת ת, exclusively; in the papyri both ת and ת, the former alone in the ancient Ahikar narrative; but outside of the early Aram. gloss Jer. 11:10 never in BAram. Torrey also notes that the papyri have for the 3d pl. pron. ת and ת, whereas BAram. has along with ת (Ezr.) or ת ת (Dan.) also the later ת. Dan. again alone uses the latter as a demonstrative (244) and has the unique ת; but the papyri exhibit a variety of nominal forms, and little argument can be laid on these forms.

Such evidence is not extensive, but the whole weight of differences (as Torrey says: “the points of difference are what we
need most to consider”) forces the present writer to hold that the Aram. of Dan. is not earlier than within the 5th cent., is more likely younger, certainly is not of the 6th cent. As he holds that cc. 1-6 are earlier than cc. 7-12 (s. §21, b), he has no disposition to date down the former section too far. 5

§8. FOREIGN WORDS.

Foreign importations into the vocabulary of Dan. have, apart from their philological interest, a crucial bearing upon the problem of the age of the bk., and so require some detailed notice. See, in addition to the Lexx., Friedr. Delitzsch in Bär, pp. vi–xii, Kautzsch, §64, Behrmann, Dan., p. ix. Dr., Comm., pp. lvi seq.; and for arguments in rebuttal of the alleged witness of such words for the late composition of the bk., inter al., Pusey, Notes A seq. (at end of vol.), Boutflower, cc. 21, 22, containing a useful exposition of the possible influences of Greece upon the Orient; cf. his Chronological Table III, p. xvii, for early contacts of the Greeks with the Orient. In the following summary listing, the place in the Comm. is cited where discussion of the word in question is given; if it occurs elsewhere in the O.T. the bks. are indicated.

a. Words from the Akkadian.

*Cf. Zimmern in KAT 678 ff.* Omitting ancient borrowings, e.g., סדר, סחל, סתר, סילול, סימן, סדר, סחל, סחיל, סער, סTouchEvent elsewhere in O.T.

Also note סער with Akk. mng. 310, and so prob. בוש 55.

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5 Wilson rightly takes issue with Dr. over the latter’s contentions for the late character of the Aram. of Dan., many of which the papyri invalidate. But Wilson commits the same fallacy of indiscriminatingly appealing to the later dialects. It may be remarked that we have no evidence from this age for a distinction, as Nöldeke and most postulate, between EAram. and WAram.
§8B. PERSIAN WORDS

b. Persian words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>הנער 3a, an officer.</td>
<td>2a, 'limb.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אָמּוֹן 2a, 'made known.'</td>
<td>אֵשֶׁר נַכֶּל (etc.) 5a, 'necklace.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פְּרָשֶׁת, 3a, 'satrap,' Ezr., Est.</td>
<td>מַעֲשֶׂה 3a, 'species,' Ps., Ch., BSir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ברם 1a 4a, 'palace.'</td>
<td>רְאֵשׁ 6a, an officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>תַּנְתוֹן 3a, an officer (or = יִכְרֶב Ezr. 7a, or a dittograph).</td>
<td>מִתְעַמְּלָה 2a, 'noble.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קַרְוָה 3a, an officer.</td>
<td>קַרְוָה 3a, an officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קַרְוָה 3b, an officer.</td>
<td>קַרְוָה 3b, an officer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Aram. copy of Darius I's Behistun Inscr. there are no Persian words exc. proper names. Accordingly the Pers. must have made its way very slowly into the Aram., as we might expect for the language of the conquerors of a highly civilized people. Boutflower notes, p. 244, 'the fourteen words which belong to court life,' and argues: "That these words should be expressed in the OPers. by a writer in the position occupied by Dan. is really nothing to be wondered at, nay, is almost what we might expect." But why should even a royal official, who was a Semite and had enjoyed most of his life and experiences under Bab. monarchs, be so contaminated in the diction of his old age with the vocabulary of the new empire? Indeed his Pers. vocabulary is more extensive than his Babylonian.

This fairly large proportion of Pers. words in the Aram. section of the bk. is an argument for the distinction of the first and
the second half of the volume, and further points to the origin of the first part in Babylonia, not Palestine; s. §21, a.1

\textit{c. Greek words.}

There are three words of undisputed Gr. origin, and one generally so accepted. The latter is Κηρύξ 'herald,' a genuine Sem. formation from κηρύσσεως; s. Behr., p. ix; but Noldeke, 
\textit{GGA} 1884, 1019, doubts the Gr. origin. The other words appear in the list of musical instruments in \textsuperscript{3} etc.:  
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{κιθάρας} = Ψαλτήριον;
  \item \textit{συμφωνία} = Συμφωνία.  
\end{itemize}
On these words s. Dr., \textit{Comm.}, p. lviii. The \textit{κιθάρας} is an ancient instrument; the \textit{Ψαλτήριον} first appears in Aristotle; the word \textit{συμφωνία}, 'harmony,' first in Plato, while in the sense of a musical instrument it is first used, probably, in Polybius. And this latter authority uses it, as Dr. notes, "singularly in his account of the festivities in which Antiochus Epiphanes indulged (xxvi, 10, 5; xxxi, 4, 8)."

The rebuttal of this evidence for a low date lies in the stressing of the potentialities of Gr. influence in the Orient from the 6th cent. and on; \textit{cf.}, e.g., J. Kennedy, \textit{The Bk. of Dan. from a Christian Standpoint}, 1898, App. II, and Boutflower, c. 22. The latter offers arguments based upon alleged Hellenic influences in the Orient, \textit{e.g.}, the introduction of the Ionic column, while the tiling in Nebuchadnezzar's throne-room, discovered by Kohl, is even ascribed to that influence. Without doubt we may no longer close our eyes to the interchanges of the currents of the Eastern Mediterranean civilizations; yet we are equally learning more and more of the profound influences exerted by the East upon the West. In the matter of music, for instance, the Orient was far developed; s. the literature on the subject in the \textit{Comm.} at c. 3. If our bk. were otherwise an approved document of the 6th cent., we should be forced to allow that the words in question were of early coinage. But as the evidence stands, these Gr. words must incline the scales toward a later dating. We may allow that the cautious Driver speaks too

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] The Pers. had very slight influence upon the Gr., at least to the lower limits of the Hellenic Golden Age. The present fancy of postulating an extensive Pers. influence in the West must reckon with this philological fact. Sayce, \textit{The Higher Criticism and the Monuments}, 493 \textit{f.}, notes the absence of Pers. vocabulary in the Bab. documents.
\end{itemize}
positively in his categorical statement, p. lxiii, that "the Gr. words demand . . . a date after Alex. the Great"; we might prefer to express his opinion in terms of likelihood; but with every decade as we move back the likelihood would diminish progressively toward zero. The Gr. words are, until more light comes, to be put in the scales with those from Persia, and both categories require a heavy counterweighting to resist their logical pressure.  

In addition to the above words Torrey has argued for the derivation of ἵππος from ἠθύμα; but s. Comm. at 316. One Gr. word appears in the papyri, Ἰλλίλας = στατήρες, in Sachau, \textit{APO Pap.}, 35, of date c. 400, dated in the reign of the Græcizing Amyrtæus, also in a few other undated papyri. In one or two places the writer has suggested Gr. influence upon the diction, e.g., ἦς ὀλκουμένη.

§9. THE LITERARY FORM OF THE BOOK.

It is to the credit of Bertholet in his comm., 1806, to have first recognized poetic passages in the bk., distinguishing them by aligning their (poetic) verses in his translation, but without further discussion of their form. Ewald in his comm., after his usual method, cast his whole translation into apparently metrical form by a system of caesuras. Otherwise this literary characteristic has been generally disregarded by comm. and ignored in histories of O.T. Literature. Marti has given very meritorious attention to this feature, s. his \textit{Dan.}, p. xi, and has cast many passages into poetic form with attempt at metrical analysis. This cue has been taken up, fortunately, by the Jewish Version, as well as by Löhr and Charles. An extreme attempt was made by E. Bayer, \textit{Danielstudien}, the second Study in which is 'Der Strophenbau des Buches Dan.,' with a translation of the whole bk. in verse and strophe. But this is an exaggerated feat without metrical control. Szold has attempted something similar for c. 11, s. Int. to that chap.

The writer has made a moderate attempt at marking out such poetic passages in the translation, with pertinent remarks, but not going as far as Marti. The forms are too spontaneous to

\(^2\) Dalman notes 25 Gr. words (acc. to the count of Wilson, \textit{op. cit.}, 296) in Targ. Onk., s. his \textit{Gr.} §37.
be allowed to control the text. The cases exhibit the fact that Aram. diction could break out into poetry as does Heb. and Arab., in both of which we find the art of the *improvisatore* as in the Italian, a well-known literary phenomenon which has been ignored by many critics who would put the Hebrew writers into metrical strait-jackets. Charles has taken the pains of pointing out the same phenomenon in the Apocalyptic literature.

The form of Aram. poetry is similar to that of Heb. with measured beats, generally trimeter; *cf.* the recognition by Torrey of a 3-beat rhythm in the Story of the Three Pages in 2 Esd., s. *Ezra Studies*, p. 47, and by Lidzbarski for the Mandaic, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. xiii, a form which he believes was carried over into the Manichaean Turkish, Göttingen *Nachrichten*, 1918, 501.

I find definite metrical structure in 331, 41-2, 7b-9, 11-14, and the greater part if not all of vv. 31-34; in 627-28, 79-10, 13-14, 25-27, 924, 129. But metrical criticism may not be pushed too far in the premises.

### III. ANCIENT VERSIONS.

#### §10. SUMMARY ACCORDING TO LANGUAGES.

The ancient VSS often present an older form of text than that of ตร, or at least worthy and interesting primitive varieties. The only method for the study of the VSS lies in the way of their genetic relationships, their language is a very secondary item. But it is convenient to give a preliminary survey of them according to language.

**a. Greek.**

For introduction to the ancient Gr. VSS, their mss, editions, etc., reference can be made to Swete’s *Introduction*, and in detail for the Greek and all important VSS to the often indispensable articles, s. vocc. ‘Versions,’ ‘Septuagint,’ ‘Theodotion,’ and the like, in the BDD, *DCB*, *PRE*. *Cf.* also the more popular *Handbook to the Septuagint* by Ottley, 1920. The texts primarily followed in this Comm. are those presented by Swete in vol. 3 of his *O.T. in Greek* (the Int. to which vol. should be consulted for further discussion of the mss employed); the text of Theodotion appears (but not based on photographic material) in Tischen-
dorner-Nestle's text (Nestle being also a large contributor to Swete's ed.). For the bk. of Dan., Swete offers a more extensive and varied apparatus than usual for the Gr. books. On the left-hand page he gives the vulgarly called 'Septuagint' text, taken from Cozza's transcript of the unique ms in the Vatican, and in the marg. the variants of the parallel 'Syro-Hexaplar' (v. inf.), retranslated from Syriac into Gr. On the right-hand page appears the VS of 'Theodotion' after the text of the uncial B, with the variants of the other uncials A Q and the fragmentary Γ, the texts of A B Q being collated from the photographic reproductions of those codices now at hand, that of the palimpsest Γ from the collation of Cozza, Sacrorum Bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta graeca et latina, vol. 1.

The standard list of Gr. mss of the O.T. is now that published by Rahlfs in his Verzeichniss. For the rdgs. of all other mss except those named above the student of Dan. has had to rely upon the vast variorum work of Holmes and Parsons (HP), 1798–1827, now accordingly a century old. The writer and his collaborators have been able to add some fresh photographic and other material, v. inf.

The material may be conveniently divided into the following groups:

1. The Old Greek or 'Septuagint.'

The Old Greek VS of Dan., belonging to that corpus of translations which is roughly called 'Septuagint' in distinction from later VSS, was early banned by Christian scholarship because of its glaring discrepancy from the ueritas hebraica. A unique cursive ms of that earliest translation alone exists, in the Codex Chisianus, where it is followed, after selections from Hippolytus' comm. on Dan., by a text of the Theodotionic type. Its discovery and publication have a romantic history. Pope Alexander VII, a member of the Chigi family, to which the ms belonged, intrusted it to Leo Allatius, librarian of the Vatican (b. 1586, d. 1609) for publication, but the undertaking was not carried out. It was resumed a century later by Vincent de Regibus and Joseph Bianchini, both of whom died before their labors were over, and the work was finally brought to the press, anonymously, as far as the imprint shows, by Simon de Magistris (de Maîtres) in 1772 in folio, a title in Greek and Latin, s. Bibliography. The vol. contains also Hipp.'s comm. and the
INTRODUCTION

Theodotionic text noticed above, along with five long dissertations, the work of Bianchini. The edition was not copied directly from the MS but from a copy made by de Regibus. Several reprints of the text rapidly appeared, but they are now antiquated for by the critical edition of Cozza in his Sacrorum Bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta graeca et latina, part 3, Rome, 1877. This is the text published by Swete as noted above. There is used for this text the symbol G, which covers equally the Syro-Hexaplar; where the two differ in their rdgs. they are distinguished by the sigilla G and G. This avoids the unfortunate confusion which appears to have arisen through the confusing of Holmes-Parsons' symbol; Parsons used 88 (for both G and ), Field corrected this to 87, and the error has been perpetuated by Swete; s. the writer's note, JBL 1925, p. 289, n. 5.1

(2) The Theodotionic group.

The remaining Gr. MSS belong to the stock of the translation ascribed by ecclesiastical tradition to Theodotion (s. §12). The name (θ) is used here in a general way as including the later Hexaplaric and Lucianic revisions with much material of Aquila and Symmachus in glosses. But in case of variation among the strata, θ is used strictly of the primitive translation. For the material we have:

The uncial codices A (Alexandrinus), B (Vaticanus), Q (Mar- chalianus), the fragmentary I (Codex rescriptus cryptoferraten- sis, text of Cozza, op. cit., vol. 1), the first three in photographic reproduction and all in Swete's apparatus; and V (= HP 23), of which a collation from photographs in connection with this work has been published by C. D. Benjamin (s. §14).

1 A reprint of the editio princeps, in small format and with the exclusion of the Dissertations, was published at Gottingen in 1773 (also the imprint 1774 appears), anonymously but at the hand of J. D. Michaelis. This was followed by editions by Segar, Utrecht, 1775, and H. A. Hahn, Lpz., 1845. See for bibliography and earlier discussions Bludau, De alexandrinae interpretationis libri Danielis indole critica et hermeneutica, Münster, 1891, pp. 37 ff., and the same scholar's Die alex. Uebersetzung d. Buches Daniel, 1897 = Biblische Studien, ii, parts 2, 3, pp. 25 ff. For a note on the authorship s. Nestle, DB 4, 441 ff. The earlier editions still have a value for their presentation of the text of the little studied Theodotion of the MS. An unregistered edition is a print by S. Bagster, London, n.d., The Gr. Sept. Vs. of the O.T. according to the Vatican Edition together with the Real Septuagint Vs. of Dan., etc. The MS has been generally assigned to the 9th cent.; but Tischendorf (Prolegomena to his Vetus Testamentum Graece, ed. 4, p. xlviii, n. 3), Vercellone (s. Field, Hexapla, 2, 567), Bleck-Wellhausen, Einl., 588, Lühr, ZATW 1895, 76, put the date in the 11th cent.; cf. also Swete, O.T. in Gr., 3, p. xii.
Cursives HP 62, 147 have been similarly collated and published (v. ibidem). Of HP’s remaining thirty numbers four (37, 45, 61, 132) are lectionaries, mostly confined to cc. 2, 3; 149 contains cc. 3–6, 105 is a fragment of 3 vv., 229 is the Bible text in a MS of Theodoret’s comm. For HP Θ 88 I have adopted the sigillum c (chisianus), so as to avoid the confusion noted above, following the editio prima and Michaelis’ reprint.

In addition the very full Bible text—by rough calculation about four-fifths of the whole—contained in Hipp.’s comm., now published in full by Bonwetsch, has been adduced for the apparatus, = h. A Jerusalem MS of the Prophets from the Holy Sepulchre has been studied from a photographic copy; for the MS s. Swete, Int., p. 268, at end of list, Rahlfs, p. 84, Holy Sepulchre, no. 2. The latter text is Lucianic without particular value. Tisserant has published Lucianic fragments of 32–15 in his Codex zuquinensis, Rome, 1911.2

(3) The Versions of Aquila and Symmachus.

Theodotion has been noticed first against the usual academic traditional custom; for the reasons s. §13. Aq. and Sym. may be grouped together, for their fragmentary remains are found in the same sources. The thesaurus of these materials is Field, Origenis hexaplorum quae supersunt, etc. (Hex.), 2 vols., 1875.3

A close study of the Gr. of Dan. adds considerably to our knowledge of those translators, especially of Aq. As in the other O.T. bks. our prime source of information is the Syro-Hexaplar, with the respective initials generally marking the glosses from ‘the Three,’ Aq., Theod., Sym. These materials, redone into Gr., most usefully appear in Swete’s marg. to the Gr. text. There come next the citations of the Three found in the Fathers, Eusebius, Theodoret, Chrysostom, etc., and especially in Jer.’s very ample and close comm. And in addition we have glosses of

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2 The writer has not had opportunity to try out thoroughly the ingenious and reasonable theory of F. Wutz for a transcription of the Heb. into Gr. letters as basis for the Gr. VSS: ‘Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus,’ Beitr. z. Wiss. d. A.T., Heft 9, 1925. Wutz applies his theory to the two VSS of Dan., pp. 168–175. But many of his alleged proofs can be explained far more satisfactorily from corruptions, oral and scribal, in the Sem. field. Cf. for example my Notes at 25, 232 for satisfactory explanations which do not require his theory. The theory is hardly applicable to much of Gr.’s free and fluid rendering.

3 N.b. also the Auctarium at end of vol. 2, p. 57, for additional notes. Add to the abundant literature on this subject J. Reider, Prolegomena to a Gr.-Heb. and Heb.-Gr. Index to Aquila, Dropsie College, 1916. The only drawback to this valuable treatise is that it lacks the necessary indices.
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scholiasts to mss, marked or unmarked. Q has some of this marked material, s. at 410, 104, 1110, with a case in A at 96, all which uncial evidence is given in Swete's marg. Still more material to be diagnosed as Aquilanic or Symmachian is found in certain other mss (v. inf.). And probing of the Hexaplaric additions to $\mathfrak{G}$ and $\Theta$ discovers much more material (from which contaminations no MS is free, not even B), that is also to be referred to those translators.

In the following Comm. the material of this order which is had in Field, much of which is handily given by Swete, is not cited except for reason. The two translations have little bearing upon the text, for their text is with a minimum of slight exceptions that of $\mathfrak{H}$. Their importance, apart from their testimony to the fixation of the text, consists in their interpretations, representing as they do, in Aq. at least, authoritative Rabb. exegesis of the first third of the 2d cent., and hence invaluable for the substance and history of interpretation. For brevity's sake reference must be made ad. loc. to the Notes for notable rdgs. In general both translators exhibit the same characteristics as appear elsewhere in the O.T.

In addition to these definitely annotated glosses and the Patristic citations, which are fully given by Field, there are many unique rdgs. and some marginal glosses, most of which are probably to be referred to those Jewish translators. Most of such glosses are found in HP 36 (10 in number); V and 264 follow in number of peculiar rdgs. There are over 30 such cases not noticed by Field, the character of which refers them to those translators. These will be noted when of interest ad loc. For a sample there is the unique and correct rendering by $c$ of $\text{Σπόδος}$ 519 by $\epsilon\sigmaω\nu\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma (\Theta \epsilon\tau\nu\mu\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\nu\nu)$, so only $\mathfrak{S}$. Field notes two citations from $\delta \varepsilon\beta\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (s. Hex., 1, p. lxxi seq.), at 13 and at 926 (Auctarium, p. 58).

But the influence of these translations amounts to far more than a list of citations can show. Origen's Hexapla rested largely for form at least, much less in peculiar vocabulary, upon Aquila. This element will be discussed more at length in connection with the Hexaplaric revisions, s. §14. An exemplary case of filling a lacuna from Aq. is found in $\mathfrak{G}$ 114th-42n.

* Klostermann on this MS, Analecta, 10: "Der als Repräsentent der Rezension des Hesychius (Cornill, Ceriani) [?] wichtige Codex ist nicht gut kollationiert."
(4) The Mediæval Græco-Venetus.
This is a version (Gr. vens) contained in a unique ms at Venice, first made known in the 18th cent. It has been partly published in an exemplary edition by O. Gebhardt: Graecus Venetus: Pentateuchi Proverbiorum Ruth Cantici Ecclesiastæ Threnorum Danielis versio graeca, 1875, with pref. by Franz Delitzsch. It was probably made toward the end of the 14th cent. by a cosmopolitan Jew (one Elissaeus of Constantinople, as Delitzsch suggests), and is done in a way that has earned for him the title of a 'second Aquila.' The Aram. section of Dan. is rendered, by a remarkable tour de force, in Doric in contrast to the Attic of the rest of the tr. It has no value for text criticism, but is of interest as representing Jewish interpretation of the age, Kimhi being the translator's master. See Kamphausen, TSK 1876, 577–586; JE 'Elissaeus,' and vol. 3, 187b.

b. Latin.

(1) The Old Latin.
By this title is meant a version, or rather group of versions, of sporadic origin, which preceded Jerome's translation, the Vulgate, which was published early in the 5th cent. The latter is in general so original that its predecessors can easily be distinguished, even in texts compounded of the old and the new. 6

The OLat. texts are sub-versions from the Gr., and in respect to pre-Hieronymian citations are based upon Θ and Ω. For the change from the former to the latter, which appears in Tertullian and his disciple Cyprian (the date of the Latin of Irenæus is now a moot question), reference is to be made to the discussion in §12, c. The ms fragments and the great majority of the pre-Hieronymian citations are based on Θ, and the symbol Λ will denote Latin texts of that character.

The citations present very complicated problems. But scholarship has been for some time in the fortunate possession of several extensive fragments of Dan. These were published by E. Ranke: Fragmenta versionis sacrarum scripturarum latina antehieronymiana, Vienna, 1868 (the 'Weingarten' Fragments), covering Dan. 218–33, 922–1011 (= Λwing); Par palimpsestorum wirce-

6 See H. A. A. Kennedy, DB 3 52 ff., for a full and compact art., 'Old Latin Versions,' with good bibliography; and now Dold's vol., to be mentioned immediately, with its citations of more recent literature.
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*burgensium*, Vienna, 1871 (the Würzburg Fragments = \(W^\text{Wzb}\)), containing Dan. \(1^{15-29}, 3^{13-26}, 6^8-9^10, 10^3-11^6\); another fragment, \(11^5-39\) in *Stuttgartiana versionis sacrarum scripturarum latinae antekylleronymianae fragmenta*, Vienna, 1888 (so the copy at hand—I suppose identical with the variant title noted by Dold, p. 3, n. 1, *Antiquissimae Veteris Testamenti latinae fragmenta stuttgartiana*, Marburg, 1888); and by P. Corssen, *Zwei neue Fragmente der Weingartner Prophetenhandschrift nebst einer Untersuchung über das Verhältniss d. Weing. u. Würzb. Prophetenhandschrift*, Berlin, 1899 (which I have not seen).

Since the practical conclusion of this apparatus there has come to hand a most important and exhaustive volume by A. Dold: *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- u. Evangelien-Bruchstücke: mit Glossen,* etc., Lpzg., 1923, in *Texte u. Arbeiten herausgegeben durch die Erzabtei Beuron*, i Abt., Heft 7–9. The learned author appears to have substantiated the fact that the so-called ‘Weingarten’ Fragments (a fortuitous name) and the Stuttgart Fragment came originally from the cathedral library in Konstanz. He has accordingly edited under attribution to that place all the MS material which he and his predecessors have been able to ferret out in various parts of Germany (often found made up in bookbindings!), including the Weingarten and Stuttgart material. (The earlier editors with their notes and commentaries are by no means antiquated; but there is constant revision of the earlier rdgs. of the obscure, often palimpsest, texts.) Dold has also contributed considerable fragments of an unpublished text from the monastery at St. Gall: \(1^1-8, 4^{20-22}, 4^{20-818}\) (some sections fragmentary), \(9^{28-10^6, 11^6-12^12}\); also fragments of the Apocryphal Additions. This fresh material came too late for digestion for this work; but important data will be registered in the Comm. Dold’s volume is encyclopaedic in character; it contains, *inter al.*, a comparison of the Dan. texts with the Patristic citations, pp. 154–158; cf. the summary, p. 279. The present writer allows his own list of citations, given below, to stand, as representing his own sources. Naturally the apparatus of the Comm. depends primarily upon these authentic fragments for its use of the OLat.

For the OLat. Patristic citations the one corpus is the classic collection by P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu vetus Italica*, Rheims, 1739–49, reprinted Paris, 1757.
Its material for Dan. is meagre, and the writer has had to make his own collation. He has found gleanings of interest, some of them of textual importance, and presents the survey of citations in outline; it will serve at least for registration of the OLat. references in the Comm. The Fragments of \( \beta \) are also included. The whole material covers perhaps three-quarters of the bk. For critical discussion of this material s. §§12, 13.

15-29 Wzb.
218-33 Wng. = Const.
21 Cassiod., In Ps., 101.
231-35 Cypr., Test., ii, 17; Maternus, c. 21.
23 f. Iren., v, 26; cf. iv, 34, 10.
24 f. Tycon., p. 2.
24-44 Iren., v, 26, 1.
23-30 Wzb.
31-13 Cypr., Test., iii, 1; cf. Ep. ad Fort., c. 11, Epp. vi, viii; Spec., c. 44.
3 (51) Cypr., De dom. or., c. 8.

I acknowledge particular debt to Burkitt’s studies, ‘The Rules of Tyconius,’ TS iii, and ‘The Old Latin and the Itala,’ ib., iv, to which further reference will be made. Cf. now Dold’s register of citations, p. 279, noted above.

The texts used are:
Cassiodorus, In Psalms, PL 70.
Commodianus (c. 250), ed. Dombert, CSEL vol. 15 (for citation of Biblical phrases s. his Index).
Cyprian, ed. Hartel, CSEL vol. 3, pt. 1; Ps.-Cyprian, Ad Novatianum, ib., pt. 3.
Irenæus, ed. Harvey.
Julius Firmicus Maternus (fl. 350), PL vol. 12.
Julius Hilarianus, De mundi duratione libellus, PL vol. 12, pp. 1102 ff.
Lucifer Calaritanus (c. 350), De non parceando in Deum delinquentibus, ed. Hartel, CSEL vol. 13.
Tertullian, Ad ju. Iudaos, ed. Oehler.
Victorinus of Pettau, ed. Hausleiter, CSEL vol. 39 (against Bludau, p. 19, Vict. also uses \( \Theta \)).
De Pascha computus (c. 253?), ed. Hartel, CSEL vol. 3, pt. 3.
De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei (Ps.-Prosper), PL 51, 733 ff. (largely cited by Sabatier).
For Jerome’s Version (H) s. the full article by H. J. White, ‘Vulgate,’ BD. The text used in this Comm. is Tischendorf’s *Biblia sacra latina Veteris Testamenti*, 1873, being the official Clementine text, with the rdgs. of the Codex Amiatinus in the marg. These rdgs. will be distinguished by H^{Am}, they are almost always preferable to the received text. It may be noted that in his comm. Jer. does not always follow his tr., probably in such cases borrowing from L.

**C. Coptic.**

There are two printed texts of Coptic translations of Dan., both of them being sub-versions from the Gr.\(^8\).

(1) The elder, in the Sahidic dialect of Upper Egypt, was published by A. Ciasca, *Fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgia Ni*, Rome, 1889. Its fragments of Dan. are 7^{9-15}, 818-27, 9^{1-27}, 10^{1-11}, 65 vv. in all. For my knowledge of this VS, as yet untranslated, I am indebted to Prof. G. A. Barton for a translation he kindly made for me, and to Dr. Gehman, who has assisted me

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\(^8\) See Vaschalde, *RB* 29, 253, for other fragments and citations in a series entitled ‘Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible.’ On the general subject s. Hyvernat, ‘Étude sur les versions coptes,’ *ib.* 3, 429.
§10D. SYRIAC

in a critical examination of the text. It belongs to the Theodotionic tradition and will be treated in §12, b as $C^5$.

(2) The VS in the Bohairic dialect, of Lower Egypt, was published by H. Tattam in *Prophetae Majores in dialecto linguae aegyptiacae memphitica seu coptica*, Oxford, 1852, vol. 2, accompanied with a Latin tr. As $C^5$ it belongs to the Hexaplaric group, s. §14.

d. Syriac.

There are two distinct translations accessible:

(1) The earlier translation (vulgarly called Peshitto) made directly from the original (= $S$) appears in practically identical texts in the Paris and London Polyglots, the Lee (1823) and Urmia (1852) editions, and the photographic copy of the Ambrosian Codex published by A. Ceriani, *Translatio syra Peschitto Veteris Testamenti ex cod. ambrosiano*, Milan, 1876 seq. The London Polyglot has been generally consulted in this Comm.

(2) The Ambrosian ‘Syro-Hexaplar’ text has been sumptuously published by Ceriani in photographic facsimile, *Codex syro-hexaplaris ambrosianus*, 1874, as vol. 7 of his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Milan. It is a literal translation of a copy of Origen’s Hexapla made, as the scribal notes attest, for Paul of Tella (Tella de-Mauzelath), in 616–7. It is provided with the Origenic asterisks and obeli, and with an extensive apparatus of variant rdgs. in the marg., mostly ascribed to Aq., $\Theta$, Sym., as the case may be. The colophons of the bks. attest this origin, asserting, variously, that the copy was made from the Hexapla, Tetratapla or even Heptapla. The text is practically the Syriac counterpart of the unique ‘Septuagint’ Gr. text noticed above. For Dan. they have identical colophons: “It was written from copies having this subscription: written from the Tetrapla, with which it has been compared.” The colophon to Prov. states that the original was in the hands of Pamphilus and Eusebius;

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the colophon to Isaiah tells that those scholars corrected the text from 'the library of Origen.' The contents of this text will be treated in connection with the Hexaplaric revisions, §14.

(3) There may be noted finally a Daniel text in the remains of Jacob of Edessa's revision of the O.T.; a ms of it is in Paris, s. Field, Hex., i, 649 f., for a description, and for further statement s. Baumstark, Gesch. d. syr. Lit., 251, n. 2.

e. Arabic.

There is only one type of ancient Arabic text of Dan. in print, namely, the identical text in the Paris and London Polyglots. On this text s. the full treatment by H. S. Gehman, 'The "Polyglot" Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities,' JBL 44 (1925), 327-352; outside of studies on the Pentateuch this is the most thorough treatment of any bk. of the Arabic Bible. As it will be considered below in §14.

A tr. of Dan. into Arabic in Heb. characters was made by the great Jewish master Saadia, first part of the 10th cent. This has been published by H. Spiegel (s. Bibliography). It is of great exegetical interest and will be cited currently in the Comm. Saadia often avails himself of interpretative paraphrases.

For very interesting evidence for an early translation of the Bible into Arabic in Spain, s. introduction to Gehman's monograph, and to his art. in Speculum, i, 219. There may be noted here two references to early Muslim use of Dan., given by Margoliouth, Early Development of Mohammedanism: p. 41, a son of the conqueror of Egypt read the works of Dan. and made prophetical calculations therefrom (Tabarl, ii, 399); and p. 235, cf. p. 241, Abû Nu'aim identified the Stone of c. 2 with Mohammed.

f. Other languages.

No Ethiopic text exists in print.

Holmes-Parsons gives (s. Pref. to Gen., p. iv seq.), apparently via translations, variants from printed edd. of the Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic Bibles, the last-named from the Ostrogozok and Moscow edd. Of these the Armenian is of special interest for criticism, but having no control over the original the writer has made no reference to it. Dr. Gehman plans to make a critical study of it.
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However, one Slavic VS has been used in this apparatus, namely the Slavic VS (appearing in German tr.) printed in parallelism with the Gr. text of Hipp.'s comm. published by Bonwetsch. This version, as will be noticed in §12, is of critical value, at times offering a better text than its Gr. partner.

A Hebrew tr. of the Aram. of Dan. and Ezra is presented by Kennicott’s ms 240 in parallel column with the Bible texts. The ms was written by a scribe Menahem in 1327, according to de Rossi, vol. 1, p. lxiii. It has been discussed by I. L. Schulze, Chaldaicorum Danielis et Esrae capitum interpretatio hebraica, Halle, 1782. The tr. follows the text of $\text{ܦ}$, is probably not earlier than the 10th cent., but is of interest as representative of current Jewish exegesis; s. Bertholdt, Daniel, 52, note. Another ms, Ken. 512, gives a similar tr. of the Aram. sections at the end of the respective bks.; it does not appear to have been studied.

§II. THE OLD GREEK VERSION.

As indicated in §10, a (1) and d (2), we are confined for the earliest Gr. tr. of our bk. (G) to two practically identical copies, albeit in different languages, the Chigi Gr. ms (G) and the Syro-Hexaplar (G). Ever since their comparatively modern publication in the 18th cent., scholars have been keenly interested in the character and worth of that translation. The most recent extensive study of it is that of Bludau, ‘Die alexandrinische Übersetzung d. Buches Daniel,’ 1897. He has collated most thoroughly the work of preceding scholars and contributes much in the way of elucidation, although his work is more important for its accumulation of material and registration of difficulties than for solutions obtained. The problem as to the character of G is expressed in the pertinent section, §4, in which the author sums up the views of scholars: “Fast alle Beurtheiler . . . machen dem Übersetzer zum Vorwurf Willkür, Unkenntniss, Tendenzkrämerei, Fälschung, u.s.w. Nöldeke nennt ihn einen ‘Pfuscher,’ u. Field bemerkt: ‘Danielem ab Alexandrino absurde conversum est.’ . . . Nur wenige . . . [of moderns, Cornill, Bevan, Behrmann, von Gall] scheinen sich vom Banne dieses Urtheils ein wenig frei gemacht zu haben.”

Bludau proceeds, p. 31, to make an acute critical distinction
between cc. 3-6, at which most of the condemnation is directed, and the rest of the bk. For this balance the present writer's opinion, independently attained, agrees with Bludau's, that a careful study relieves much of the odium that has been cast upon the translation. The translator worked with three drawbacks: first, the inherent difficulty all translators have ever since contended with, the intentionally mystifying subject-matter of the apocalyptic portions hampering interpretation; secondly, the text with which he worked, especially in the last three cc., was to all appearances execrably written; and finally Aram. and not Heb. was his vernacular. This last point has not been specifically diagnosed in the several summaries of characteristics, e.g., Bevan, pp. 48-52, Behrmann, p. xxxi. See for typical cases the Notes at §16 ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον μακαμά κτλ., and §11 εἰς δροκο.

These points are rightly insisted upon by Bludau, who comes to the final judgment that the tr. is a 'staunenswerthe Leistung' (p. 87). But he has not recognized one feature, the observation of which clears up the greatest difficulties: the presence of genuine glosses, both primary and secondary, which may occur lines away from their proper destination (e.g., ἐως καιροῦ συντελείας 127 is gloss to a lacuna in v. 9), and also of doublet translations. The Notes will abundantly illustrate this statement, and for ocular proof reference is made to the tabulated criticisms of §第11.12 and §第24-27 at the end of the respective cc. When we have analyzed such portions we see that the translator worked faithfully word by word, especially in the obscure passages, and that the present muddled condition is largely due to the shuffling into the text of true glosses or doublets which once stood in the marg. An exactly similar case has occurred in almost all mss of Θ at end of c. 9; s. Note at end of that chap. These glosses, and in some cases the duplicates, are evidently mostly prior to the Origenian revision, which itself has tended further to cover up original §第; for we have always to bear in mind that we are dealing with a thoroughgoing Hexaplaric text, and hence 'Septuagint' is a doubly erroneous term. It would be worth while for some student to attempt the reconstruction of original §第, rejecting the Hexaplaric additions, correcting manifest errors of text-tradition, transferring the glosses to the marg., and arranging doublets in parallel columns. Literally the translator was worthy of such a task, for he was a writer of skill in Greek and
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of ingenious spirit. We may note such elegances as ἀγονιῶ 110, 
κατεπείν 112, συνηλθέ 246, αὐθωρί 315, the dramatic term 
kαταστροφή 72, the neat 'sophists and philosophers' 120, 'Kit-
tim' 1210 = 'Romans'; the avoidance of monotonous repetition 
of names by οἱ προφηταμμένοι 33, For an example of ingenuity 
may be cited the tr. of ἡν = ἔρωτες 25 'be dismembered,' by 
παραδειγματισθήσοτε 'be made an example of,' as though 
ἡν = παράδειγμα, giving capital sense. Space forbids here 
further listings of the characteristics of C.

As observed, cc. 4-6 must be considered separately. See the 
Notes appended to those cc. resp. in the Comm. and cf. Bludau, 
§§18-20. In the Notes the conclusion is reached that there is 
considerable evidence for a translation from a Sem. copy which 
is responsible for much of the additions, largely midrash, now 
in C. The case would be comparable to a similar origin of the 
Apocryphal Prayer, Interlude, Benediction in c. 3 by progres-
sive interpolation (s. above, §4); n.b., the bombastic character 
of that Interlude. The phenomenon appears to point to the 
actual circulation of cc. 3-6 as a distinct collection of stories at 
some stage (n.b., the Gr. Lectionaries appear to contain only 
these cc.), a point perhaps worthy of consideration in regard 
to the compilation of the bk. Another view (e.g., J. D. Mi-
chaelis, Bev., Kamp.) holds to a separate tr. of those cc., which 
after attaining its present garbled form was borrowed by the 
translator of the other cc. in editing the whole bk. But the proof 
presented from vocabulary is not stringent.

The recognition of the character of C and of the fatalities 
that happened to the Sem. 'Vorlage' and then to the copies of 
text, diminishes the range of possible corrections of B from that 
quarter. The very ingenuity of the translator must put us on 
guard against accepting his facile translations as representing a 
better text than B. The lists assembled by the writer for cases 
where C may be used against B yield a small modicum of posi-
tive betterments, many of them hanging in the balance.

In the light of this view, Jahn's thoroughgoing adoption of C 
(Das Buch Dan., 1904) as representing the original text, which 
he reverts into Heb. as the language of that original, results 
only in an exercise in Hebrew composition, which may be left 
to Jewish literati. An earlier, more moderate opinion but spe-
cifically challenging Bludau's judgment of the worth of the text
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of C is that of Riessler, Das Buch Dan., 1899. Of this booklet of 56 pp. only a half, pp. 28–52, is devoted to a treatment of certain select passages for the defence of the writer’s theories, one of which is that adopted by Jahn that the original language of the whole bk. was Heb., and that this was the text before the translator. And similarly Charles, Daniel, p. xxx, comments on the value of C: “A long-sustained and minute study of the text and versions has led him [the writer] to conclude that it is just in these chapters (cc. 4–6) that the LXX makes its greatest contribution to the reconstruction of the original text, particularly in chap. iv.” Such theories appear to the writer entirely baseless, as will appear in the Comm.

As for the date of C, some of its phraseology appears in our Greek 1 Mac., although not to the extent sometimes assumed. Of the correspondences listed by Bludau, p. 8, n. 6, only the following are at all significant: Mac. $1^9$ επλήθυσαν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ = 124; Mac. $1^18$ ἐπεσαν τραυματιαὶ πολλοὶ = 1128; Mac. $1^14$ βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως = 1131; Mac. $4^41$ καθαρίζειν τὰ ἀγας = 814. As for βδ. ἐρ., that may have arisen contemporaneously with Antiochus’ sacrilege. Comm. have long observed the identical phrase ἀπηρεῖσατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλειρ αὐτοῦ $1^2$ = 1 Esd. 29, and so the origin of C of both bks. from the same hand has been proposed by Gwyn, DCB ‘Theodotion,’ note p. 977; Thackeray, DB 1, 761 b; Riessler, with a long list of (often merely nominal) parallels, pp. 52–56; Torrey, Ezra Studies, 84. On rather scanty evidence, that the Jewish historian Eupolemus, c. 150 b.c. (text given by Swete, Int., 370 = Eus., Praep., ix, 31) knew C of 2 Ch. $1^2128$, Torrey holds, p. 82, that the OGr. tr. of Ch.-Ezr.-Neh. (containing 2 Esd.) existed by the middle of the 2d cent. If so, with the equation of C of that series and of Dan., the latter would then precede the Gr. of 1 Mac., which is quite likely, as the Gr. of the latter bk. cannot be earlier than 100 b.c. Torrey holds, p. 83, that the home of the tr. of his C text “may well have been Egypt,” a position naturally to be assumed. This is corroborated by C’s rendering of מִלְאָם Dan. $1^3$ by Ἀβιεσδρι, simply an Egyptian transliteration of the Sem.; a parallel Coptism is found in the Egyptian Cod. A, Βαρτασαρ for Βαλτασαρ (s. on that codex §14).

For the Hexaplaric additions, which are for the most part noted in C and C$^5$ by asterisk and obelus (more correctly
§12. THEODOTION

and consistently in the latter), s. §14 on the Hexapla. For the
usurpation of $\mathcal{G}$ by $\Theta$, entailing almost its extinction, s. §13.

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Before the end of the 2d Christian cent. another translation
than that of $\mathcal{G}$ was making its way into the use of the Church,
and within the first half of the 3d cent. it had become mistress
of the field. This is the translation assigned by all Patristic and
ms evidence to Theodotion, whose age is traditionally put in
the second half of the 2d cent. after Christ. On this subject s.
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The ms evidence for this version in its earliest form is found
in the Gr. and in two sub-versions from the latter, the OLat.
and Sahidic-Coptic. This triple chain of evidence is distin-
guished by the absence of the marks of the Origenian revisions,
so that it must be assigned as a tradition to an age anterior to
the middle of the 3d cent.

a. The Greek $B$ Group.

We possess in the eldest of the uncials, the Codex Vaticanus,
the best type of $\Theta$'s text. This apparently dogmatic statement
is supported by all the tests tried by the writer. That text
stands almost alone in its thoroughgoing correspondence with
the OLat. and $\mathcal{G}^5$, and it is the one which, with exceptions to
be noted in a subsequent section, is the basis of all subsequent
revisions. Empirical analysis has discovered ms 89 130 as
standing closest to $B$, more distantly (with Origenian elements)
26 42; and the text in Hippolytus (h) which is freshly adduced
in this Comm. has particular interest in both its Gr. and Slav.
forms. It is adequate to consider $B$ as the master text of its
group and to observe its characteristics.

This high opinion of $B$ is expressed despite the recognition of
certain shortcomings; but it is as text far cleaner than any of
its colleagues, and is infinitely superior to Cod. A, a most imper-
fect document. Naturally the interest of critical scholars has
been devoted to $\mathcal{G}$, but unfortunately $B$ has been neglected
both in respect to its intrinsic worth and to critical study of it
as an undoubted representative of a pure Theodotionic text, the
like of which can only be discovered with pains in other parts
of the Gr. O.T. Withal scholars have perpetrated the mistake of baldly citing B as though it were ultimate, with no attempt to criticise it apart from its group and to recover the original text. Accordingly, in this Comm. special attention has been paid to B and its congeners, with the purpose of arriving at that original.¹

For faults of all kinds in the text of B the writer has counted some 65 cases, in most of which B is supported by very respectable authority. It contains a small number of unique scribal errors. About 25 interpolations have been counted, but most of them from ȝ, some of which are supported by ʇ, hence primitive contaminations. The resultant verdict agrees with that expressed upon the text of B in the N.T. by Westcott-Hort, Int., 233 f.: “The scribe by no means reached a high standard of accuracy, and on the other hand his slips are not proportionately bad . . . he occasionally omits necessary portions of text,” etc.

There are many cases where ȝ as represented by B has misread or mispronounced his text or had a faulty text (some 30 cases have been listed); e.g., 234. 35 뿔 with two different erroneous translations; 825 דבון = ὅς ἀδίκος; 127 יב ימ = γνώσονται; etc. Judgment of these errors in so difficult a text as Dan. (a large proportion of the errors occur in c. 11) must be lenient.

The well-known characteristics of ȝ appear in B, and they need not be diagnosed at length here. His tr. depends primarily upon ȝ, and hence his independent value often fails, especially in difficult passages, where he simply repeats ȝ, a weakness common to all translators. At the same time he handles ȝ generally with fine discrimination; the opening vv. of the bk. might be observed for this point. His characteristic of literalness ap-

¹ With the development of photographic processes it is only sluggishness when scholarship does not acquaint itself with the exact texts of MSS. The advance now needed is the formulation of a critical apparatus to a group such as that represented by A or B, etc., and to attempt to restore the basis of the group. And this work should be done quite apart from thought of effect on the text of Ṣ; that is another matter. Another requirement is the study of each of the great MSS in extenso throughout the O.T., the kind of work which has been done in the N.T., but which fails utterly in the O.T. field. What is said about the characteristics and the excellences of B is based entirely on its text for Dan. Now exactly opposite results are obtained by Torrey, p. 95, in the comparison of A and B. For his Biblical portion: “The best uncial by far is A; and the worst by far is B.” What shall we say, then, to these things in the case of A and B as wholes?
§12A. THE GREEK B GROUP

pears in his frequent transliterations of words (sometimes with reason, e.g., \( \beta \alpha \delta \delta \epsilon \nu \), possibly a current loan from the Sem., sometimes with tact in case of an unknown word, e.g., \( \varphi \rho \rho \theta \omicron \mu \mu \epsilon \nu \) \( 1^{19} \)). His usual but not constant word-for-word tr. of the Heb. lands him in frequent barbarisms, especially in the case of assimilation of the new with the old, e.g., \( \delta \) \( 16^{16} \) \( (19) \). Withal he drops his literalism quite often, as though impatient of Sem. stylisms and repetitiveness.

One feature of B, worthy of notice in text criticism, is the frequency of abbreviation, ranging all the way from omission of single words of no essential importance to the abbreviation of repetitious phrases. In some cases \( \mathcal{L} \mathcal{C} \) do not run with B in these omissions, and the phenomenon must be regarded then as secondary. While often the omissions might be ascribed to subsequent scribes, especially in cases of homoeoteleuta, the writer has come to the conclusion that this tendency is an original characteristic of \( \Theta \) (Torrey has noticed the same for his section of B, p. 95, but charging them to ‘incredible carelessness’). The lacunae can hardly be attributed to scribal losses, so well supported are they. In most cases \( \mathfrak{G} \) supports \( \mathfrak{F} \) as against B, and that combination is generally to be respected. A case of simplification from an original status where two parallel antique texts were once present in \( \Theta \) texts appears at end of c. 9, where B has selected one of them, with consequently the remission of the more interesting duplicate into the marg. of our Gr. edd. (s. Note at end of c. 9). In general B represents the authentic text of ‘Theodotion’ for Dan.

A note is due on Hippolytus’ Theodotionic text in his comm. to Dan.; see §10, a (2). The Biblical text used by Hipp. is present in double form, in Gr. and in Slavonic, and as the latter varies from the former to some extent we possess an inner apparatus for Hipp.’s text. In some cases the Slav. has better rdgs. than the Gr.; I note: \( 3^{30} \) (97), p. 114 (of Bonwetsch’s edition); \( 4^{24} \), p. 128; \( 5^{11} \), p. 152; \( 6^{3} \), p. 162; \( 7^{9} \), p. 184; \( 8^{5} \), p. 250 (s. Notes ad loc.). The Slav. text has thus its own tradition, a fact suggesting the worth of critical examination into the translations in that language. As the doubly witnessed text has not been studied hitherto for its bearing on text criticism, it is useful to note that it is very closely related to B, agreeing with the latter, in the large, in its characteristic rdgs. and omissions. In a few
cases it is better than B, e.g., in the omission of "έξ ὁμος" and "ἐραπάχθη, Λ conturbatum est, vs. B ἐράχθη." In two places Hipp. has independent renderings of ᾿Ι, and this suggests that that Father had control of Heb. Compare the tradition about him as the 'Expositor of the Targum' and his undoubted acquaintance with Rabbinic learning; s. Achelis (cited in the next note), pp. 113-120. The cases in point are 11, p. 300, and 11, p. 298. The not considerable variations from B are Hexaplaric-Lucianic, more particularly Lucianic. This latter characteristic belongs to the general problem of 'pre-Lucianic rdgs.,' s. §12 end, §15 end.

Now Hipp.'s text is one of our most primitive proofs not only for B but also for the tradition of Θ.² Bardenhewer, p. 68, and Bonwetsch, p. 2, assign the comm. to Dan. quite confidently to the time of Septimius Severus' persecution, 202 A.D., in this followed by Zahn and Harnack, as against Salmond, who places it 'a good deal later,' p. 104β. Whatever may be the fact in that point, Salmond's statement (p. 87β) that Hipp.'s activity may go back to the beginning of the last decade of the 2d cent. (he may have heard Irenæus) argues for the existence of the Theodotionic tr. as authoritative well back into the 2d cent. The date of the Latin tr. of Irenæus being now held by many to be much later (v. inf. [c]), this fact as to Hipp.'s text is of great importance. The 'pre-Lucianic rdgs.' in Hipp. point to a Syrian, Antiochian origin, as do also the OLat. texts, and Hipp. may have been instrumental as purveyor of that form of Θ in contrast to the B text, which is prob. of Egyptian origin.

b. The Sahidic-Coptic.

My list of variations from B in the 56 vv. of the Sahidic numbers all told about 20. This count includes particles and other easily variable factors. In many cases they help to correct B where it can otherwise be proved to be untrue to its group, e.g. the intrusion in 9; in several cases there is correspondence with Λ against B. The most frequent correspondences are with Q 26 233 = Λ. This establishment of some links between the Coptic and Q agrees with the findings of Ceriani, De codice

² See Salmond, 'Hipp.,' in DCB, and consult Bibliography under Achelis, Bardenhewer, Bonwetsch.
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marchaliano, etc., Rome, 1890, as reported by Swete, OTG 3, pp. viii seq. There are agreements with G, also with some of the Origenic groups and so indirectly with Lu. Reference is made to the Note at the end of c. 9 for its interesting form of the text of the last vv. of that chap.

This close correspondence between B and C adds weight to my opinion that B represents the Egyptian type of G, as against others, Palestinian and Syrian. As to the importance of C, the writer’s belief has only grown stronger with repeated study that if the whole of the Sahidic Dan. existed it would be a worthy peer to B.

c. The Old Latin.

The sources of materials for this subject have been given above, §10, b (1). The OLat. ms texts are distinctly pre-Hexaplaric, corroborating Burkitt’s dictum upon Patristic citations that the OLat. nowhere exhibits the Hexaplaric earmarks. And the text is in general that of B. Ranke has placed scholars in his debt by giving an apparatus of comparison of rdgs. with Holmes-Parsons, but with these drawbacks, that he has taken as his basis the faulty Sixtine text (against which the user of HP must always be on his guard), that he simply compares B with no attempt at criticism of its text, and finally that as a purely classical scholar he does not know the Sem. background. Also he often leaves unnoticed many evident faults of the texts that can be easily corrected. This OLat. material bears as a translation the same relation to its Gr. copy as the latter, G, does to II, and hence the work of comparison is immensely simplified. L is of great value in showing the antiquity of errors, glosses, etc., in B, e.g., the doublet 32 pectus et brachia; and conversely it often exhibits a better rdg. which may also be in Gr. mss, e.g., 220 sapientia et virtus = Q alone = T, the rest with a third glossed doublet, which also appears in Cassiodor, ad Ps. ci, + intellectus. As for agreements with the Gr. groups as against B the most correspondences are with the Lucianic group (14 cases), then with the Origenian mss (no Hexaplaric additions!), e.g., with A 13 cases, Q 11 cases, 166 10 cases, etc.

1 “No (asterisked) passage is found in any form of the African Latin,” Rules of Tyconius, p. xcvi.

4 E.g., 825 sermone for δόλω arose from the misreading of δ as λόγω.
The citations of the Patristic material have been given in §10. These numerous cases, which often present three or four parallels, have been fully digested for this work; much chaff had to be winnowed, but valuable gleanings were attained; cf. the Note on Θ at end of c. 9 for a very important rdg. in Tertullian. The criticism of this whole material would be a work in itself, for which important preliminary studies have been made by Burkitt in his Rules of Tyconius and The Old Latin and the Itala.5

It has generally been held that the earliest Patristic text using \( \mathfrak{L} \) is the Latin Interpretation of Irenaeus, whose Against the Heresies was probably written in the eighties of the 2d cent.6 This view of the early origin of \( \mathfrak{L} \) of Irenaeus has been upset by the studies of Jordan and Souter, who very positively refer the Latin tr. to the 4th cent.7 If this judgment be true, Irenaeus' primacy for the critical student of the OLat. is dislodged. But the Lat. of Iren. still remains incontestable proof of Iren.'s thoroughgoing Θ text, for, as Burkitt remarks, Old Latin, p. 6, n. 2, the translator would have revealed traces of the Septuagintal character of his original, if it had such. If, with Venables, p. 254, Irenaeus' birth is to be put between the limits 126 and 136 A.D., the text of Θ must be carried back into the first half of the 2d cent., when as a schoolboy he was initiated into the one text we know he used; and at the other end there is the unadulterated Θ text of Hippolytus, providing us with a continuous catena for a large part of that cent. In addition to Irenaeus we have evidence for Θ in the early part of the 3d cent. in Tertullian in part, while his scholar Cyprian uses both Θ and Θ, sometimes in conflate form.8

Jerome's well-known criticism of \( \mathfrak{L} \) for its 'diuera exempla-

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5 See now the Patristic apparatus presented by Dold, pp. 279 f.; for an earlier listing, Bludau, De indole, 20 ff. Oesterley has collated Ranke's Fragments and Patristic Citations for the Minor Prophets in JThSt., vols. 5, 6.

6 So Venables, DCB 3, 258. All the citations from Dan. are found only in the Latin, with one exception, Dan 12* f. in i, 12, a citation from a heretic, which interestingly enough is from Θ.


8 See in general Burkitt, Old Latin and the Itala. For a theory of a Marcionite Vetus Latina as the first attempt at a Latin tr. of the Bible s. d'Alès, Biblica, 4, 1923, pp. 56 ff., esp. 85 ff.
ria' and the 'interpretum uarietatem' (s. Kennedy, DB 3, 48) appears to be substantiated by the large amount of variation among the Patristic citations and the authentic texts of \( \text{LO} \). It leads nowhere to make the hypothesis of an indefinite number of versions; this did not occur in the primitive Gr. Church. But it may be suggested that there arose early in the Latin-speaking Church an oral ‘Targum,’ since in important dogmatic and also popular passages a crystallized translation would have come in vogue, which itself allowed much room for variation even after it was written down. For instance, the Interpreter of Irenæus with the Gr. before his eyes at the same time had the current Targum in his head; the latter would be modified by his scholarly attention to the text as well as by existing variants in the oral translation. A study of these OLat. texts induces a high appreciation of the fidelity and, comparatively speaking, the scholarship of the early Latin translators.

Finally, the problem of ‘Lucianic’ rdgs. in the OLat. must be touched upon. It has long been observed by students\(^9\) that the OLat. of the O.T. is markedly ‘Lucianic.’ In his Par palimps. wirec., 410, Ranke lists in order the Gr. mss most closely corresponding to \( \text{LO} \) in the latter’s variations from B; and the Lucianic mss 22 36 48 51 231 stand, almost all, at the head of the list. The problem must be discussed in connection with Lucian, §15. There can be but one explanation, that Lucian himself used as a basic text one that varied primitively from that of B. That is, there existed a Syrian or Antiochian form of \( \Theta \), which, as \( \text{LO} \) shows, early made its way from Syria to the West and became the basis of the OLat. translation. Direct connections of the West with Syria, not only via Egypt and the north coast of Africa, as so often assumed, must be allowed. Irenæus came from Asia Minor. Hippolytus probably came from the East. Note also that on Irenæus’ authority Theodotion was an Ephesian. The problem is accordingly connected with that of the Western Readings in N.T. text criticism. Sanday, as cited by Kennedy, has suggested that the text of the N.T. in OLat. and Syriac came from Antioch. It can be positively insisted upon that despite the alleged ‘Lucianisms’ none of the Hexaplaric

interpolations, none of the characteristic Lucianic doublets appears in Ε.

Finally it is to be remarked that with this coincidence of Ε, Ζ, and Patristic citations with B the text of the latter must represent that of Θ back toward 200 A.D. at least; and this judgment, reached independently, agrees with that of Westcott and Hort for the N.T., *Int.*, 222: the text of B and Sinaiticus is 'essentially a text of the second or early third century.'

§13. THEODOTION: TRIUMPH OVER THE OLD GREEK; AGE; THE PROBLEM OF 'UR-THEODOTION.'

Little direct information is at hand for the replacement of the Old Greek ('Septuagint') VS of Dan. by Θ. The triumph, starting as we have seen in the 2d cent., rapidly became an accomplished fact, as witnessed by sub-versions which go back at least to the beginning of the 3d cent. Jerome gives the fullest statement in the Preface to his comm.: "Danielem prophetam iuxta septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiae non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione, et hoc cur acciderit nescio. . . . Hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto iudicio repudiatus est." Origen in his Hexapla fully edited and revised both Ζ and Θ of Dan., although his work in other bks. shows that he depended upon Θ for filling up lacunae in Ζ, e.g., Jer. and Job. It is assumed by many (s. Schürer, *GJV* 3, 442) that the immediate cause of rejection of Ζ was its false interpretation of the Weeks, c. 7 (s. Note at end of that chap.); but the patent incorrectness of Ζ was sufficient ground to prefer a better translation, which had its own good tradition.

Of Theodotion we know next to nothing as to his person and date.¹ The earliest mention of him is in Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.* iii, 24: "Theodotion the Ephesian made a translation, and Aquila the Pontian, both Jewish proselytes." No confidence can be placed in Epiphanius' statement, *De mens. et pond.*, §17, placing him under Commodus' reign, c. 180, which is at once contradicted by Irenæus' use of Θ (s. also Gwyn, arguing for a mistake in the imperial names). As Irenæus names him before

Aquila, there is clear presumption that he antedated the latter, and the convention of naming him after the latter has no more reason than the fact that in Origen’s columns Aquila preceded Theodotion; it is unfortunate that his presumable priority, urged by Schürer, p. 442, is ignored in the authoritative works.² Cf. Jer.’s ignorance as to this translator’s age, in the Pref. to his comm.: “qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit.”

But the age of the translator Theodotion, which must logically be referred back at least to the first third of the 2nd Christian cent., cannot date for us the rise of the ‘Theodotionic’ elements in the Greek Bible. The problem has long been noticed and solutions attempted. Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften*, 1838, 2, 61 ff., proposed that there was an early Christian version of Dan. which would explain the N.T. citations. Gwyn’s hypothesis is the boldest, *DCB* p. 976: “Side by side with the Chisian LXX there was current among the Jews, from pre-Christian times, another version of Daniel, more deserving of the name, claiming to belong to the LXX collection and similar in general character to the LXX versions of other books of the Hagiographa; that this was the version known to the author of the bk. of Baruch ... and to St. Matthew,” etc. Swete’s criticism of this position, *Int.*, p. 49, is cautious and non-committal. Bludau in his full discussion of the evidence from Dan. (*Die alex. Übers.,* §2, p. 23) comes to the result of an older Gr. tr. ‘reformed’ by the historic Theod. of the 2nd Christian cent. Schürer expresses himself similarly, p. 442: “Dieses ganze Material lässt nur zwei Erklärungen zu: entweder Theod. ist älter als die Aposteln, oder es hat einen ‘Theod.’ vor Theod. gegeben, d. h. eine Revision der LXX in ähnlichem Sinne, die dann von Theod. weitergeführt worden ist.”

Only a brief résumé of the evidence, and that for Dan. alone, can be given here; for fuller data reference can be made to Bludau, l. c.

In Clement of Alexandria, c. 150–200 (not included by Bludau) the citations are (after Stählin’s ed. in *GCS* with cross-reference to Potter’s ed.):


² See the author’s *Samaritans*, 77, 202, for Samaritan reminiscences of Theod.; there is ref. to a ‘Targum of Nathanael,’ i.e., Theodotion.
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79a: Paed., ii, 10, p. 222 (P. p. 235) = Θ.
79b: ib., iii, 3, p. 246 (P. p. 262) = Θ.
31f.: Strom., i, 21, p. 91 (P. p. 408) = Θ (Stählin's text much improved).

924-27: ib., p. 78 (P. p. 393) in general = Θ; s. further Note at end of c. 9.

1211f.: ib., p. 91 (P. p. 409) = Θ, but δοθήναι for δοθήσεται with V Q 62 Lu. al.

Justin Martyr († c. 165) cites 79-28 at length, Tryph., xxxi. His other citations are all from the same chapter, except 245 in Tryph., lx, 1, where the text is indifferent between Σ and Λ; and 1136 in cx. 2, where Σ is the basis (n.b. εξαλλά). Archambault's ed. of Trypho in Hammer and Lejay's Textes et Documents has been consulted. Swete has conveniently presented the long passage from c. 7 in parallel with Σ and Θ, Int., p. 421, to which the reader may refer. My result of comparison is that this mosaiclike composition is not due to the intrusion of a later scholiast into Justin's original Σ text; the care with which the variations are made points to the first hand. In most cases the intentional variations from Σ were made where Σ has a corrupt or complicated text, for which Θ offered improvements.

Of three 'Apostolic Fathers' (Gebhardt's text), toward the end of the 1st cent., Shepherd of Hermas appears indifferent between Σ and Θ, except for the citation of Θ 623 (22) in Vis., iv, 2, 4 against Σ. The citation of 245 in Sim., ix, 2, 1 is independent.

Ep. Barnabas, iv, 4 f., contains memoriter citations of 724-27; against Bludau's judgment that Σ is visible, nothing definite can be postulated; Swete, Int., 48, holds that the correspondence is closer with Θ.

Ep. Clement, xlv, recalling Dan. 617 (16), is closer to Θ ἐβλήθη than to Σ ὑπή. In c. xxxiv ἐλευθέρων = Θ 710 vs. Σ ἑθεράπευον. For the inversion of the numerals, 'myriad myriads,' 'thousand thousands,' in company with old ecclesiastical use, s. Burkitt, Old Latin, 22; it follows Rev. 511.

Josephus' Bible text has been variously diagnosed, but without positive results.

1 The writer also depends upon Sem. tradition in his reference to the angel who 'stopped' (νῦν) the mouth of the lions as Θεγραφί α. c., Σεγραφί; s. 'Segri,' DCB Schürer, 3, 441, for the discussions by J. Rendel Harris and Hort.

4 See Bludau, Ryssel, and for other literature Schürer, 3, 422.
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But the New Testament, with its wealth of citation from Dan., offers the best touchstone for the problem. To begin with the kindred Apocalypse of John, we discover propinquity to both G and Θ, often with apparent conflation, and equally with a sovereign independence of known Gr. texts. The following cases of Theodotionic character may be noted and analyzed:

- Rev. 9:20: Dan. 5:22 = Θ, but εἰδώλα = G.
- Rev. 10:5: Dan. 12:7 = Θ ἄμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζωντὶ = Θ, G τὸν ζῶντα.
- Rev. 11:7: Dan. 7:21 = Θ ἐποίει πολέμον μετά τῶν ἄγιων vs. G τοι, συνιστάμενον πρὸς (Θ's plus has been introduced into G v.8); the same correspondence at Rev. 13 but with more variations in the fuller citation.
- Rev. 16:18: Dan. 12:1 the plus ἐπὶ τ. γῆς = Or., Lu., but Θ ἐν τῇ γῇ. (Has this plus entered the Gr. of Dan. from Rev.? I have noticed some cases of the kind in Cod. A.)

Over against these correspondences with Θ are to be reckoned those with G, some seven in number, while yet other reminiscences are more or less independent of either.

But the closest correspondence is found in Heb. 11:33, where ἐφραξαν στόματα λεόντων = Dan. 6:22(22) ἐνέφρ. τα στόμι, τῶν λεοντ., G failing here wholly. An interesting case, rather ignored in N.T. apparatus, is λυκώμησεi Mt. 21:14 = Lu. 20:18 from Dan. Θ 244. Further: Mt. 28:20 = Θ 79 (overlooked in N.T. apparatus); Ja. 11:4 μακάριος ἀνήρ δς ἵπτομένει = Θ 12:12 μακ. δ ἵπτομένων vs. G ἔμμενον. 1 Cor. 1:24 Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν κ. Θεοῦ σοφίαν is a citation of the true text of Θ acc. to Q L = B, vs. B al. The neighboring εξουθενημένα 1 Cor. 1:28 = Θ 44 ἐξουθενημένα.

But the most striking parallelism of an early Gr. document with Θ of Dan. is found in the Epistle of Baruch, the date of which is now most commonly placed about A.D. 70. In Bar. 1:15–2:19 is

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8 Cf. Bludau, 'Die Apokalypse u. Theodotions Danielübersetzung,' Theol. Quartalschrift, 1897, 1–26. The author holds that by the N.T. age a new tr. of Dan. had replaced G, which then was already antiquated, that tr. being eventually incorporated in Θ. But some of the most striking correspondences of N.T. with Θ lie outside of Dan. A critical survey of the O.T. citations in Rev. is given by Swete in his Apocalypse, Int., c. 13.

9 See Overbeck, TLZ 1885, col. 341.

7 But s. now R. R. Harwell's Yale thesis, The Principal Versions of Baruch, 1915. Cf. Thackeray's criticism in his Septuagint and Jewish Worship, pp. 85 ff. Pp. 24 ff., he discusses the problem of 'Theodotion or Ur-Theodotion?' and expresses belief in the necessity of some such theory as the latter.
found a long prayer mostly composed of excerpts, arbitrarily arranged, from Dan’s prayer, c. 9. This appears from the following exhibit of the order of the fragments of Dan.: vv. 8b. 10. 15. 11b. 10. 12. 13a. 8. 13b. 14. 10. 15. 16. 17. 19a. 19b. 18. 20. It is small wonder that the parallelism has induced scholars to make Θ the basis of the Gr. Gwyn, p. 976, appears to have been the first to develop this thesis at length; he is corroborated by Schürer, *GJV* 3, 441, and so *TLZ* 1904, 255 ff.

The many agreements are obvious; Gwyn has presented the most striking ones. But the disagreements must not be ignored. Bar. 1⁰ agrees with $\mathfrak{H}$ v.¹⁴ reading ἐπὶ τ. κακώς, which Θ om. Bar. 1²⁰ reads for $\mathfrak{H}$ v.¹¹ ἐκολλήθη, where Θ ἐπέβλεψε. Bar. 1¹⁷, 2²⁰ use the non-Theod. word προστάγματα. But the crucial case for showing that the Gr. translator was citing ultimately (memoriter?) from the Heb. appears at 2¹² = Dan. v.¹⁶, where he follows a different syntax as well as a different translation from Θ and $\mathfrak{C}$, differing also from the pointing of $\mathfrak{M}$. That is, he is making his own free version of $\mathfrak{H}$.

To interpret these phenomena we have to realize that the passage in Bar. is a prayer following Biblical and liturgical forms. In passing over into the Hellenistic Synagogue Gr. Targums arose, these for long oral in character. In the present case the translator had language ready made, which again he might correct from his knowledge of the original Heb.

And this argument presents experimentally the writer’s judgment on the problem of ‘Ur-Theodotion.’ That there existed some such body of received translation before the Christian age lies beyond doubt; but we must not too quickly assume a written version. Very much can be explained by the hypothesis of a Hellenistic oral Targum, necessary in the first place for correction of faulty renderings, and especially of lacunae in $\mathfrak{S}$. (It is found that early ‘Theodotionic’ rdgs. generally appear in such cases.) And then we may link up this oral tradition with the Theodotion of Church tradition of the early part of the 2d Christian cent. He is the Hellenistic Onkelos, whose work was facilitated by the presence of a large amount of customary oral translation of the Scriptures, possessed by him memoriter. Of course such a theory does not exclude the possibility of literary predecessors of the historical Theodotion.

In his Hexapla (the Tetrapla is included in this generic term) Origen revised both \( \mathcal{G} \) and \( \Theta \), the Gr. and Syr. texts of the former offering the best example we have of the Origenian apparatus. To a large extent he entered the same plusses into both, but in general most of the lacunae were in the abbreviating \( \Theta \). But in very many cases the conflate character of \( \mathcal{G} \) is due to earlier revisions; s. §§11. 12. As for the \( \Theta \) text, the great bulk of the Gr. mss are Hexaplaric (Lucian being sub-Hexaplaric), a contamination that has not spared one of them, even B.

Most of the work for the present apparatus has been devoted to the Hexaplaric group. The argumentation for the results obtained have been presented by the writer in *JBL* 1925, pp. 287-300, ‘The Hexaplaric Strata in the Greek Texts of Dan.,” followed by the corroborative studies of C. D. Benjamin, ‘Collation of Holmes-Parsons 23 (Venetus)-62-147 in Daniel from Photographic Copies,’ pp. 303-326, and H. S. Gehman, ‘The “Polyglot” Arabic Text of Dan. and Its Affinities,’ pp. 327-352. The stress has been applied to Cod. A, an alleged master codex, and the Venetian Codex V (now recognized as an uncial = HP 23) and the Oxford cursives 62 147. The last three have been collated by Benjamin from photographs procured by the Yarnall Library in the Philadelphia Divinity School for this work.1

The chief result obtained is that V 62 147 represent the earliest form of Origen’s revision of \( \Theta \), a position which can be adjudged from Benjamin’s collation and the comparisons registered there with the other groups. The group in question is the basis of a subsequent revision—critically retrograde in its approximation toward the elder Textus Receptus—represented by what we may call the A-group; and again this was succeeded by the Lucianic group. For the group V 62 147 the descriptive epithet ‘Palestinian’ has been taken, as typifying Origen’s own work = Or²; for the A-group the epithet Constantinopolitan, on the hypothesis that it represents the Eusebian revision or-

1 The whole of V in photographic copy is now in the Library of that School, subject to the use of scholars. Similar reproduction of the whole of 62 and 147 is now in process of preparation for the same Library.
dered by Constantine for the use of the Church in his new capital (Eus., *Vita Const.*, iv, 36. 37) = Or\(^c\). Or\(^c\) and Lu. would then be approximately contemporary revisions, made for identical ends, of the Origenian work, one for Constantinople, the other for Antioch. And, however the origin of the A-group is to be explained, the writer has more and more become convinced of the correctness of his opinion that the above hypothesis explains all the essential facts of the problem.

For Or\(^p\) nothing more need be added than has already been published. Of the three MSS, 62 147, although degraded and contaminated types, are closer to the mother text than V, which has rather made an eclectic choice of rdgs. (largely marked with the Hexaplaric asterisks). The group is Aquilanic in the secondary sense that it presents Origen’s work in its closest approximation to his Jewish master.

For Or\(^c\), of the Gr. MSS A Q \(\Gamma\) 106 35 230 42 (the cursives arranged in the order of their worth as empirically determined) are the best representatives of the group; with them go the Arabic (\(\mathbb{A}\)) and the Bohairic-Coptic (\(\mathbb{C}^n\)). Codex A must be extremely discounted as a witness; an early listing has disclosed more than 175 errors, some of them most glaring,\(^2\) a large number solecisms of A. Its closest mate in character and faults is 106, the two serving admirably to supplement one another. Cod. A is Egyptian in physical origin, this revealed for Dan. by its Coptic pronunciations, \(\text{βαρτασαρ} 17\), \(\text{αμερσαρ} 11\) (s. *ad locc.* and *JBL* 298, n. 12), but Constantinopolitan in text, as a codex of the Melchite Church in Egypt. Its colleague \(\mathbb{A}\) is then the early tr. made for the Arabic-speaking Melchites. \(\mathbb{A}\) is infinitely superior in the text it represents to A and its Gr. fellows, and is the truest specimen of Or\(^c\) that we have; it must have been made from an early authoritative codex of which A is a base offspring.\(^3\) See in general Gehman’s full and important

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\(^*\) No attempt has therefore been made to register all the rdgs. of A in the Notes; they are at hand for the curious in Swete’s apparatus. The codex only has value as one of a group.

\(^1\) Ryssel announced categorically, *TLZ* 1895, 561, similar results for the relation of \(\mathbb{A}\) to A and for the avoidance by the former of the latter’s glaring errors. It may be observed that \(\mathbb{A}\) follows A’s enumeration of the ‘Visions’; but through (editorial?) neglect c. 1 is not so marked in the London Polyglot, but c. 2 is Vision 3, etc., proving that Susanna preceded. An independent partial chapter distinction appears at 11, 24, 47, but then lapses. The Paris Polyglot has the additions in their proper order, but no ‘Vision’ rubric until c. 2 = Vis. 3, with an additional chapter rubric at 36.
discussion of the whole subject. Finally the Bohairic appears, from the translation, which has been carefully examined, to be a true and thoroughgoing representative of this group, probably superior again to A. Dr. Gehman fortunately promises a critical study of it.

The Armenian VS has not been studied. It apparently presents many striking identities with Or\(^p\); and its possible relations to Or\(^c\) and Lu. deserve careful examination.

A word is to be said on the very individual Cod. Q. Its text is distinctly Origenian, in its plusses and in its faults, as a comparison with A easily shows. It has several Hexaplaric annotations (s. §10, a [3]) indicating its pedigree and its scholarly character. At 2\(^{20}\) it gives with \(\Upsilon\) alone the correct rdg. \(\delta\nu\nu\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\) for \(\sigma\nu\nu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\); 5\(^{15}\) end, a unique, poss. authentic, plus, \(\kappa\alpha\iota\ e\iota\pi\epsilon\nu\ \nuai\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu\ kai\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu\); 11\(^{14}\) with 33 232 \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\) from Sym. vs. \(\Theta\ \lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\omicron\nu\); also some errors of its own, e.g., 8\(^9\) \(\delta\nu\omicron\omicron\nu\), 9\(^{11}\) \(\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\theta\upsilon\theta\eta\) (but neither absurd). The prevailing theory is that Q represents the Egyptian Hesychian text, for which in Dan. some correspondences with \(\Xi^3\) and \(\Upsilon\) may be noted.

For the considerable balance of minor pre-Origenian variations from B in these groups s. §15.

§15. THE LUCIANIC REVISION.

Field (Hex., 1, p. lxxxiv seq.), corroborated by Lagarde, gave demonstration for the recognition of texts of Lucianic origin.\(^1\) For the Prophets, including Dan., he selected as Lucianic HP 22 36 48 51 62 90 93 144 147 233 308. Most of these titles have been accepted by subsequent students of the Prophets.\(^2\) The writer’s independent study of the text of Dan. revealed a solid group of five mss, often unanimous, often standing alone, obviously representing Lucian, namely the group 22 36 48 51 231. Of these all but 231 are contained in Field’s list, while they are the ones which Cornill in his Ezechiel, p. 65 ff., signaled as Lucianic. With this group are to be associated some others which run closely with it, esp. 229 (a ms of Theodoret’s comm. containing most of the Bible text), and the Chigi Theodotion

\(^{1}\) See the convenient summary of the bibliography by R. K. Yerkes, ‘The Lucianic Version of the O.T. as illustrated from Jeremiah 1–3,’ JBL 1918, 163.

\(^{2}\) See Yerkes, p. 171, for the selections propounded by Cornill, Klostermann, Nestle, Liebmann, Procksch, Burkitt. Cf. also Montgomery, JBL 1925, 293.
As for 62 147 the theory advanced in §14 has defined them as primitive-Origenian, therefore pre-Lucianic, and as the basis on which Lucian worked.

The Gr. stylism of Lu. in Dan. is that so well known and often observed in other bks., and requires no further remark. An interesting phenomenon (also noted elsewhere, e.g., Driver, Samuel², p. li) is the presence of doublets in the text, viz.: at 41, 62 (52), 72, 811, 925, 1110, 1136, 1140, 127. Including these doublet corrections there may be noted not more than about twenty cases where Lu. exhibits variations representing a better translation or at least points of interest in interpretation. His actual contributions therefore are rather small. In two cases at least he follows a tradition which appears in Σ, at 111, 322 (q.v.), which presuppose original information local in Syria. In some cases his text has retained the original, correct form, which has been otherwise corrupted, e.g., 1135, 1110. We may have to allow that he made some contributions, but withal with most constant dependence upon Origen, whom he knew in practically the shape of Or². Accordingly he represents one fork from that master root, as Ore represents another, as has been argued above.

But another condition in Lu. has long since given rise to aggravated discussion, the appearance of ‘Lucianic rdgs.’ in texts antedating Lu. These appear in the OLat. par excellence, also in primitive Gr. texts of the 1st and 2d centuries, perhaps going back to ‘Ur-Theodotion.’ These variations are all slight in value, nowhere exhibit Hexaplaric rdgs. or the plusses characteristic of Origen and Lucian. At times they offer more literal translations in word order, particles, etc., than we find in B. As has been observed above, §12, c, the explanation must be that Lu. was following a form of Θ text which was variant from that represented by B. We must put the historical Theodotion back into the first third of the 2d cent. A.D. at least; we may have to carry the tradition of that text still farther back, and this stretch of time would have involved variations in different regions. A minute examination reveals the fact that Origen’s basal text differed from B: Lucian’s appears to have differed

³ See §10, 4 (1), and the writer’s note in JBL n. 5. This Chigi text is the only Lucianic text that has been edited and printed for Dan. The Lucianic doublets appear in it asterized; the text has many interesting features.
§16. THE OLD SYRIAC VERSION

still more. We have then to postulate different types of text, as we may surmise, one in Egypt = B, one in Palestine = Origen's basis, and one in Syria = Lucian's. The correspondences with the Western texts, as observed at end of §12, the OLat., would then have to be explained by a straight inheritance of the West from Antioch. It is a case similar to the 'Western Readings' in the N.T.4

§16. THE OLD SYRIAC VERSION.

For critical results obtained from study of $\mathfrak{S}$, the ancient and simple Bible text as distinguished from the Hexaplaric, summary reference is made to Wyngaarden's Pennsylvania thesis, *The Syriac Version of the Bk. of Dan.*, Lpzg., 1923. The earliest Syr. comm., Aphraates and Aphrem, offer no essential variations and depend upon our $\mathfrak{S}$; s. Wyng., p. 33, cf. Riessler, *Dan.*, 18. The Old Syr. Gospels (Evangelion de-Mefarrese) do not depend upon it, and are prob. anterior; but it precedes the general publication of the Hexaplaric apparatus, of which it shows no trace, and may therefore be assigned toward the first half of the 3d cent. The tr. appears to come from a Christian hand, s. Wyng., pp. 30 ff.

$\mathfrak{S}$ is generally a literal tr. of $\mathfrak{H}$ except in evident cases of interpretation or theological modification. There are a few cases where it may offer a better text than $\mathfrak{H}$. In regard to the VSS, it is slightly, if at all, dependent upon $\mathfrak{S}$. On the other hand, the translator made constant use of $\Theta$ (Wyng., pp. 19 ff.). Wyng. discusses, pp. 22 ff., the possible affinities with Origen and Lucian (never in cases of Hexaplaric additions), but no dependence can be proved, beyond that of identical basal texts. There are a few cases of identical interpretation between $\mathfrak{S}$ and Lu., but these point only to the root of a common interpretation in Syria (cf. §15). The correspondences with $\mathfrak{U}$ are considerable; many of them are due to the identical Theod. background, upon which Jer. depended as did $\mathfrak{S}$, others are identities of text or of interpretation; e.g., $\text{9}^{26.27}$. It is to be observed

4 My conclusions are the same as those of Burkitt, *Rules of Tyconius*, pp. cxvi seq., cf. his *Fragments of... Aquila*, pp. 26 ff.; s. also the writer, *op. cit.*, *JBL* 1925, 299 f. As for the alleged possible influence of Lu. upon $\mathfrak{S}$, as suspected by Wright and Duval, the relation must be chronologically the reverse; see the next §. Parsons' remarks on Lu., Pref. to vol. 1, c. 1, §8, are noteworthy for their good sense.
INTRODUCTION

that both were composed in the same environment, Christian but subject to vital Jewish influences.

§17. JEROME'S VERSION: THE VULGATE.

This VS has not been particularly studied by itself in the present preparation, its general characteristics being, it is assumed, well known. Jerome was acquainted with all his predecessors, at least through the Hexaplaric apparatus, and his translation as also his comm. are invaluable as summarizing the results of earlier scholarship. His text is that of $\text{\textit{Hi}}$, varying from it, almost entirely, in cases of dependence upon his predecessors, in paraphrases, and sometimes prob. through carelessness. It is fatuous to lay any stress upon $\text{\textit{Hi}}$ as evidence where it agrees with one or other of the preceding VSS. Its chief interest is as an interpretation, reflecting by Jer.'s predilection the Jewish scholarship of which he availed himself; indeed, there occur several cases in which he anticipates the interpretations of the mediæval Jewish comm. Any study of Jewish commentary upon the Scriptures should certainly include Jerome as almost the sole witness for an age otherwise dark, since the Jewish interest in Dan. as an object of learned or midrashic comment appears only in later literature.

§18. METHOD AND USE OF THE TEXTUAL APPARATUS.

The preparation of this apparatus has the object of gaining precision of terms and simplification of reference.

$\text{\textit{Hi}}$ is the Kittib, $\text{\textit{MA}}$ its Masoretic apparatus. The inner variants to these traditional data are noted, the rdgs. of the chief printed editions of $\text{\textit{MA}}$ being carefully registered, along with important ms rdgs. As far as textual criticism is concerned, there is no need of registering all the translations of later VSS, Acq, $\Theta$ $\Pi$.

No single ms authorities are cited as final proof of their respective VSS. $\text{\textit{G}}$ is not the unique Gr. text alone but can only be obtained by composition between that and the Syro-Hexaplar, while the text must then be discounted in respect to its contaminations and Hexaplaric additions. Especially is $\Theta$ not B, although that codex is by far the best exemplar of the VS, and will be cited for $\Theta$ where there is no dispute. Similarly there
§19. THE HISTORICAL DATA

is no use in citing Cod. A as a final authority for anything; it has not that importance even for its own group. The aim has been to discover the groups which represent the various versions and revisions, and to present the results of critical analysis of the witnesses in each group. In general the mss, uncials as well as cursives, will be comparatively rarely cited; reference will be made to the groups in which they belong, e.g., in the complicated field of the Theodotian tradition, to Θ (the literary text antecedent to Origen), Or⁵, Or⁶, Lu., the results being based upon careful digestion. Where there is no true variation of testimony, Θ will stand for the whole Theod. tradition.

As for the valuation of the testimony of the VSS, their real evidence is not obtained by the counting of noses—a theory generally accepted, but not generally practised. In Dan. there is such an interlocking of evidence, Θ depending upon G, Θ and H depending upon Θ, that their combined evidence may not count more than one unit.

Again it is not the coincidence of testimony that evokes confidence, rather the disagreements must be appraised. The identity of G and Θ, of Θ and Θ, may mean nothing; but the disagreements of such pairs are worthy of inspection. And especially the principle must be laid down that the older the VS the greater its interest and perhaps its authority for the primitive text. Accordingly in this Comm. G's rdgs. are always respected as against Θ, even against the writer's prejudice; the combination ǂ + G is not easily overcome; and similarly the combination H + Θ against the later field. On the other hand, the witness of G + Θ against H is of precarious value, for Θ may be dependent upon G.

The sub-versions have to be handled with care. They may not be treated as though they were prime versions, but only as representatives of their groups. So treated they are invaluable, but without laying down their genetic history such comparison is most fallacious.

IV. HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF THE BOOK.

§19. THE HISTORICAL DATA.

Dr. Pusey, distinguished as scholar and Churchman, opens his book on Daniel the Prophet with these words: "The book of
Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-ground between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half-way measures. It is either Divine or an imposture.” Dr. Pusey proposes a theological dilemma. But there is involved also a critical dilemma. For the student must take position as between a view of the bk. which assigns it, along with tradition, to the 6th cent. B.C., as practically the composition of the seer whose name it bears; and a view which regards it as a product of the Hellenistic age. There is a gap of 400 years between the two parties, an extent of time so vast that it is impossible for either to understand the other, or for either to make impression upon the other’s argumentative bulwarks. While the majority of philological commentaries and standard articles upon the bk. now accept the late date for its origin, nevertheless this tendency may not arrogate to itself the whole of scholarship, as there still remain excellent modern scholars who vigorously defend the traditional position. On the ground of the apparent impossibility of the two parties coming to terms or even understanding one another, this Comm. must pursue its own line of logical development, meeting respectfully, if often too summarily, the opposing views on its way. The lines of argumentation have not much changed since d’Enviou and Driver; the fresh archæological data seem to lead to more dispute with no greater prospect of composition of the debate.

a. The appearance of the book in literature.

The absence of any possible citation from or allusion to the bk. before the middle of the 2d cent. B.C. has been indicated in §2.

b. The philological evidence.

It has been shown above that the character of the Heb. of the bk. points at least to a century after the Exile (§6), that the actual variations of the Aramaic indicate a later age than that of the papyri, although our bk. traditionally belongs to the

1 For the past generation the writer can name for comm. on the conservative side only those by the Roman Catholic scholars d’Enviou and Knabenbauer, and those by Fuller, Thompson, and Wright.

2 In addition to the comm. named, there are the collections of studies by Wright (in a complementary vol. to his comm.), Wilson, Studies, and Boutflower, along with a series of articles by Wilson in the Princeton Theol. Rev.; for earlier works those by Deane and Kennedy. For the titles s. Bibliography.
§19C. HISTORICAL OBJECTIVE OF THE BOOK 59
century before these documents (§7), and that the presence of foreign words argues almost indubitably for the age of the Persian settlement well after the Exile, and very reasonably for the Hellenistic age (§8).

c. The historical objective of the book: the four monarchies.

The historical objective of the bk., whether it is understood as contemporaneous to the writer or as prophetically foreseen, is the Hellenistic age. This appears definitely in the climax, the final vision, cc. 10-12, in the exact survey of history from the end of the Persian empire (after ‘the fourth’ king ‘in Persia’) down through a clearly limned sketch of Hellenistic history to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. It may be said that the great bulk of exegesis admits this; opinions vary as to whether or just where the Antichrist appears in the story; e.g., Jerome follows history through 11\textsuperscript{20}, and where others find Antiochus entering the stage, he makes a bold leap in finding the Antichrist in the personage of vv. 21\textsuperscript{ff.}. Most critics allow that Antiochus is the character from that point, the proposed Antichrist being then often found at the end of the chap. In fact, some of the Fathers could pursue the history well into the Maccabean age. See at length the Note at the end of c. 11.

This chapter is the greatest stumbling-block to the ‘traditionalist’ interpretation of the bk. On the one side its defenders only grudgingly allow the Hellenistic features, accepting them as merely prophetic ‘examples’ out of the future, so Keil. The position of Wilson, Studies, 274, is unique, that the whole of 11\textsuperscript{3} “is absolutely within the sphere of ordinary predictive prophecy, and puts one in mind of the indefiniteness of the verse of Balaam: ‘There shall come forth a star out of Jacob.’”\textsuperscript{3} If there is one sure and definite bit of secular history in the bk., it is this chap., which, intentionally obscure as it is, can nevertheless be interpreted and approved by historical scholarship. It is interesting to observe that certain conservative scholars have ventured to regard this chap. as practically inauthentic; so Zöckler, who was inclined to reject it as too utterly alien to

\footnote{Smend, ‘Über jüd. Apokalyptik,’ ZATW 1885, 222 ff., believes that c. 11 is an historical document of first-rate importance—a more honorable treatment of it than Wilson’s ascription of utter vagueness.}
other parts of Holy Writ, cf. the comparative indefiniteness of the earlier Visions, while Wright has actually advanced the theory that the chapter has been overlaid with Targum (for which he most unconservatively cites parallels from the late Jewish literature), and confesses that "the closing prophecy of Daniel, in its present form, cannot be proved to go back to an earlier period than 164 B.C." Wright's theory is a pure assumption. Nevertheless Boutflower adopts the speculation.4

After any possible 'analogy of Scripture,' and indeed any possible interpretation of a book regarded as a unit, the atheistic and inhuman personage described in 11:21ff., who fully corresponds to the rôle of Epiphanes, the tyrannical persecutor of the Religion and forerunner of the idea of the Antichrist, must be identical with the similar personage described 8:24ff., a king in 'the latter time of the kingdom' of 'Greece,' as is specified v.21; and again with 'the little horn' of the Fourth Beast of the first Vision, 7:7f. In the Vision of c. 9, with the avoidance of personal portraiture, the 'prince that shall come,' who 'shall destroy the city and the sanctuary,' v.29, is evidently the same personage. That is, all four Visions of the second half of the bk. culminate in one and the same execrable tyrant, in one and the same expected catastrophe of the Nation and the Holy City. He and his doings are the climax of the 'kingdom of Greece.' It is indeed difficult to understand how any exegete can dodge this exact specification of the last Monarchy.

The kingdom of Greece is introduced in c. 11 with 'a mighty king,' who 'shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will,' upon whose death 'his kingdom shall be broken,' etc., vv.3ff.. This is absolutely parallel to the symbol in c. 8 of the Buck with the 'conspicuous horn,' v.6, which horn was broken, being replaced by four horns, v.8, the whole range of symbolism being historically interpreted in vv.20ff.: the Buck is the king (collectively) of Greece, the great horn the first king, the four horns succeeding the four kingdoms into which his kingdom is divided; and so 11:4 his kingdom is divided to the four winds of heaven. The Buck annihilates the Ram, whose two horns represent the kingdoms of Media and Persia. Here without doubt

4 See Wright, Dan. and his Prophecies, 317 ff., Boutflower, pp. 4 ff. The citation from Wilson given above is his only reference to c. 11.
we have Alexander, the conqueror of the traditional Medo-Persian empire, as it is known to Greek historiography.

In cc. 2 and 7 we find a parallelism of a system of four kingdoms, which parallelism is admitted by all. In c. 2 the four are symbolized by the successive series of metals composing a composite Image; in c. 7 by a series of successive monstrous Beasts. The first of these kingdoms thus symbolized in parallel is admitted by almost all interpreters to be Babylonia, as it is specifically incarnated in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, 237ff. Now, analogy requires the identification of the fourth Beast with its successive horns in c. 7 with Greece as specified in c. 8. According to the equally specific statements at the end of c. 11 and the beginning of c. 12 the predecessor of Greece is the kingdom of Persia, i.e., the third kingdom. The remaining, second kingdom can be nothing else than Media, which according to ancient historiography, as still maintained by historians, e.g., Rawlinson, up to our own day, was one of the Great Monarchies of the ancient Orient. That Media and Persia are assembled in 80 as the two horns of the Ram is not to be pleaded against this identification, if we are justified in seeking the missing second kingdom. Media did actually empty into Persia, as Greece did into Rome. But the distinction between the two is maintained in the clear-cut separation between Darius 'the Mede,' or 'of the seed of the Medes,' absolute monarch, dynastically speaking, over a Median empire, 6ff. 9, and Cyrus 'the king of Persia,' 10ff.

Support for this postulate of a Median negemony succeeding

1 For the history of the interpretation of the Four Monarchies s. Note after c. 2. Consult Rawlinson's 'Third Monarchy' for what was earlier known, almost entirely from the Gr. historians, concerning the alleged Median empire. In the ancient periodic composition of history place had to be found for the Medes, the reputed conquerors of Assyria, and so they were given a distinct position in the hierarchical succession of 'Great Powers.' The history of 'the Medes' remains most obscure still. From the latest datum on the destruction of Nineveh, in Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh, 1923, it was the Umman-Manda which took the city. In just what way we are to harmonize 'Manda' and 'Madai,' whether as identical or confused in tradition, historians have not yet determined; cf. Prášek, Gesch. d. Meder u. Perser, 1, 128. For a writer of the 6th cent., holding office under Belshazzar, the last Bab. scion, and Cyrus, conqueror of Babylon acc. to Biblical, Greek and his own royal proclamations, to have interpolated an intervening Median kingdom, were an absurdity. If he was a writer of much later age, his method is perfectly intelligible; he was following the schematism of the Gr. historians, itself derived from Oriental tradition, and some such empire did exist, cf. Prášek, pp. 124-169. Thus there falls
that of Babylon was had in the Bible itself. Several prophetic oracles had announced the coming destruction of Babylon by the Medes—doubtless a true reflex of the triumph of the Umman-Manda over Nineveh—and this expectation affected the Jewish retrospection. Such passages are Is. 13:17, 21², Jer. 51:11-27-29 (n.b., ‘the kings of the Medes’).

There is one ancient and very respectable reason why the Fourth Monarchy has been sought in Rome. With the putting off of the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic expectation of the consummation of the Kingdom of God, interpretation simply proceeded to keep the prophecy up to date. Accordingly the Jews under Rome found that Monarchy in their new mistress, testa Josephus; and this ruling Jewish interpretation was naturally carried over by the Church with its vivid eschatological hopes. Subsequently the Jewish comm. found that Monarchy in Islam, and in the same spirit Protestant theologians were content to work out the fulfilment of prophecy through the Middle Ages down to their own day (the feet and toes of the Image were German states and what-not), and the Papacy could be identified with the Antichrist. But the early Christian exegesis followed the Jewish interpretation in finding the desecration of the sanctuary, end of c. 9, in the Roman destruction of Jerusalem, an interpretation followed by Jesus himself in expecting the future setting up of the ‘Abomination of Desolation’; it was only subsequently, with the rise of Christian historical scholarship that the chronologers came to devote themselves to the task of reading the mystery of the 490 years, and to find it cul-

to the ground such an assertion as is made by Wilson, p. 147: “It will be perfectly evident that all educated men living in and before the second century B.C. must have had access to so much information with regard to the number and history of the Babylonian and Persian kings, as to render it highly improbable that any writer of the second century B.C. could have been as ignorant of the history of Persia as certain critics represent the writer of Daniel to have been.” If the author of Dan. had read the Gr. historians he would have been corroborated in the scheme of successive monarchies he here presents—which shows that his lack of historical knowledge does not prove him to have been an unlearned and foolish writer. For the still obscure subject of the Median kingdom, or rather kingdoms, s. Justi in Geiger and Kuhn’s Grundriss d. iran. Philologie, 2, 406-413; Winckler, KAT 104 f.; and the brief Outline of Pers. History Based on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, 1922, by Ahl. Supplementarily there is to be added the valuable discussion by Forrer, ZDMG 76 (1922), 247, acc. to which Manda = Madai can be traced back in Akk. and Hit-tite documents to the reign of Naram-Sin.

This latter identification still figures in Boutflower’s presentation of ‘The Roman Scheme,’ p. 14, where the Little Horn = the temporal power of the Papacy!
ominating somewhere in the history of the first-century Christian Church. On the history of this interpretation s. the Note at end of c. 9 and also that after c. 2. It is a vast mistake that has been perpetrated, especially by Protestant theologians in their disregard of the history of exegesis, to hold that the identification of the lower term of the 490 years with the epoch of Jesus Christ has always been the 'Christian' exegesis. This is false to the fact of the great variety of Christian interpretation.

§19D. DARIUS THE MEDE

How then can we identify Darius the Mede? Such is his designation, and he was 62 years old, according to 61 (2). 91 makes him 'son of Xerxes, of the seed of the Medes,' who succeeded as king over the kingdom of the Chaldæans. In the Bible we learn of four Persian kings: Cyrus, e.g., Ezr. 1; Artaxerxes, 47; Darius 4, 56ff, probably Darius the Persian, Neh. 122—so the actual order in Ezr.-Neh.; and Xerxes, Est. 1, etc. Likewise according to Dan 11 there were four Pers. kings, cf. the 'four heads' of the symbolic beast 76. This abbreviation of the length of the Persian empire has its counterpart in the later Jewish reckoning of but 34 years to the Pers. régime; s. Note on the Interpretation of the 70 Weeks, end of c. 9, sub (3). Our Darius the Mede is evidently distinguished from Darius the Persian. Boutflower, p. 143, notes six identifications that have been proposed for the Mede, two of them of recent origin. One of the elder identifications (s. Dr., p. liii) is Astyages, the Median king conquered by Cyrus, whom the latter is gratuitously supposed to have installed as viceroy in Babylon; another Cyaxares (II), who, according to Xenophon's Cyropaedia, viii, 5, 8, married his daughter to Cyrus; but according to i, 2, 1, Cyrus married a daughter of Astyages. We see how little confidence we can place upon Xenophon's romance. This lightness of later tradition is carried on by Josephus, who states, AJ x, 11, 4, that this Darius "with his kinsman Cyrus put an end to the dominion of Babylon; he was the son of Astyages (acc. to Dan., of Xerxes!), and had another name among the Greeks."

1 There is nothing cryptic in the expressions translated 'received the kingdom,' 61, and 'was made king,' 91, v. ad locc.; this against those who hold to indications that Darius was only a viceroy.
One recent identification is that with Cambyses, on the ground that the latter appears to have enjoyed the title of king from the beginning of Cyrus' reign; this was proposed by Winckler, *KAT* 287, and has been warmly adopted by Boutflower, p. 145. But no explanation of the equation ‘Darius the Mede = Cambyses the Persian’ is offered, and Boutflower appeals in vain (pp. 153 ff.) to a hypothesis that the Pers. names were epithetical, titular.

The more popular recent identification is that with Gubaru, Cyrus’ lieutenant, who made the actual entry into Babylon in the name of his master, and subsequently was governor of that province according to the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle. Other texts have since come to light which indicate that Gubaru was a high officer under Neb., probably toward the end of his reign; that under Cambyses he was governor both of Babylon and Abar-Nahara (‘Across-Euphrates’). He appears also in the Behistûn Inscription as one of Darius I’s field-marshals. Herodotus makes frequent reference to him in the history of Darius, and Xenophon gives extensive notices of him in the *Cyropaedia* (as Gobryas). This material has now been assembled and amply discussed by W. Schwenzner, who presents a plausible and most romantic reconstruction of the history of this Persian magnate, who probably as a mercenary enjoyed high rank under Neb., who appears to have made defection from Nabonidus (of the anti-Nebuchadnezzar party) and gone over to Cyrus, then received his high commands in the new empire, and subsequently became one of Darius’ doughty lieutenants in the establishment of his kingdom.¹

But ‘Darius = Gubaru,’ as far as names go, is still as fallacious an equation as is ‘Darius = Cambyses’; such attempts are no bet-

¹ W. Schwenzner, ‘Gobryas,’ *Klio*, 18 (1922), 41-58, 226-252. The texts in their chronological order appear: in Scheil, *Rev. d’ass*. 11 (1914), 165 ff., a text indicating that Gubaru held high rank under Neb. (so Scheil and Schwenzner, but Clay, *JAOS* 41, 466 argues that the date is under Cyrus); in the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle (for literature see note 12 below), acc. to which ‘Gubaru, governor of Gutium, and the soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without a battle,’ and after Cyrus’ entry into the city and proclamation of peace ‘he appointed Gubaru his satrap and prefects also in Babylon’; in Nies and Keiser, *Bab. Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, pt. 2, 1918, nos. 69 and 114, of Cambyses’ accession year, in both of which transgression against the terms of the documents involves ‘sin against Gubaru, governor (*bîl pîhâsit*) of Babylon and of Abar-Nahara (*ebîr nari*)’; in Clay (not the editor, Hilprecht), *BE* viii, 1, no. 80, of Cambyses’ 1st year, recording a ‘canal of Gubaru’; in Strassmaier, *Inschriften v. Cambyses*, no. 96, relating to his private affairs, barns,
ter than those of Darius the Mede to rectify the order of Pers. kings in the later bks. of the O.T. The Behistūn Inscr. knows Gubaru as a Persian, against Wilson's vain attempts to prove the possibility of his being a Mede. Further, the more we know of Gobryas the less can we assign him royal rank. It is well-nigh impossible that a highest noble could have been given the title even popularly, still less by a member of the Pers. court, as the seer Daniel is alleged to have been. Such a title could have been nothing less than high treason, involving the subject as well as the writer. But the Biblical Darius the Mede acts as omnipotent autocrat over a vast empire of 120 satrapies, and the ne plus ultra of royal autocracy appears in the edict he signs that none should worship any god or man but himself. Neither Gobryas nor Cambyses, in his father's lifetime, could have perpetrated such an absurdity. For explanation of the story we can only make surmises. For local reasons not known to us the great Darius I, who made Cyrus' domain into an organized empire, who had to punish Babylon for its rebelliousness in his early days, may have passed as a Mede, and there being no place for him in the line of the four Pers. kings known to the Bible, may have been made the representative of the supposititious Median kingdom and so been placed before Cyrus. In him the captures of Babylon by Gobryas and Darius I may have been compounded, and in so far we may have a residuum of tradition.

etc.; in Pinches, *PSBA* 38 (1916), 29 f., of Cambyses' 4th year, similar to the Nies texts (the title of governorship of Abar-Nahara is omitted). In the Behistūn Inscr. there is ref. to Gubaru-Gubaruua, in §68 in trilingual form, in §71 in OPers. alone, Gubaru being termed 'son of Mardonia, a Persian,' and appearing as one of Darius' field-marshal (s. Weissbach, 'Die Keilinschriften d. Achämeniden,' in *Vorderas. Bibliotheck*). Gobryas appears as a leading personage in Herodotus for the events in Darius I's reign (iii, 70, etc.), while he figures largely in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. Below in sub-section (e) will be given a summary of the story told in viii, 5, of his seizure of the palace in Babylon and the killing of the Bab. king; most of the anecdotes about Gobryas concern his relations with Darius. The historical value of these Gr. traditions is fully discussed by Schwenzner. See also for an earlier discussion C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, 'Gobryas u. Belsazar bei Xenophon,' *Klio*, 1902, 341-5.

* Technically a woful exaggeration, excusable only from the later degenerated use of 'satrap'; s. at 3².

¹⁰ *Cf.* Behrmann, p. xix, Dr., p. liv, Cornill, *Int.*, 258, against which line of argument *cf.* Wilson, cc. 10-12. Cambyses' acts of sacrilege in Egypt may have given rise to this fable of royal claim of deity, yet Darius appears in the story as a friendly character. But the theme belonged to the common satire of Jewish story; acc. to Judith 3⁴ Neb. gave an edict that he alone should be worshipped.
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e. Belshazzar.

The existence of a Belshazzar at the end of the Chaldæan dynasty was strikingly demonstrated by the discovery of his name on the Nabonidus Cylinder, in which he appears as Nabonidus' son. Otherwise Belsh. had entirely disappeared from history except for the ref. in Dan. and the dependent ref. in Bar. where the Jews are bidden to 'pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and for the life of Baltasar his son,' which appears at first sight to be an echo of Dan. A large number of cuneiform references have since been discovered. The following treatment concerns itself only with the main facts and their interpretation.

In the cuneiform texts Belsh. is called either by his name or, as in the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle simply 'son of the king,' i.e., anglice, 'crown prince.' In the Chronicle for years 7, 9, 10, 11 of Nabonidus' reign it is recorded that "the king was in Teima; the son of the king, the princes and his (or, the) army were in the land of Akkad." In the texts hitherto known Belsh. is never given the title of king, and this has been ground for argument against one detail of our story which represents Belsh. as absolute king. But Sidney Smith's presentation of a new text (s. end of Note 12) shows that royal dignity was actually con-

11 Cf. for the first discoveries COT 2, 130.

12 The writer is deeply indebted to Prof. R. P. Dougherty, late of Goucher College, now of Yale, for his generosity in affording him the full use of his materials for a forthcoming volume entitled Nabonidus and Belshazzar, in the Yale Oriental Series. Only as this volume was being finally prepared for the press did the MS copy of Dr. Dougherty's volume come to hand. The data here presented, as, indeed, all the earlier studies, will be much antiquated by Dr. Dougherty's exhaustive volume. But it seems wise to the writer to leave his study in its present state with the presentation of his conclusions as already reached, while referring the reader to that forthcoming volume.

For the literature used here I note the following: Rogers, Cuneiform Inscr. and the O.T., 378 ff., and KAT vol. 3, give the Nabonidus Cylinder already mentioned, as also the Cyrus Cylinder celebrating his conquest of Babylon; these also appear in Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, c. 20, along with the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, first published by Pinches, PSBA 1882, 107 ff. Recently published ref. to Belsh. are those of Pinches, PSBA 1916, 27 ff.; Clay, Miscell. Inscr. in the Yale Bab. Collection, 1915, no. 39; Dougherty, Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (Yale Or. Series), 1920, no. 134, and Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuch. and Nab. (Goucher College), 1923, no. 294. For successive presentations of the material s. Pinches, O.T. in the Light of the Hist. Records of Ass. and Bab. 3, 1903, c. 12; Wright, c. 4; Wilson, c. 6; Boutflower, c. 11. Finally, a new text of Nab. describing his conquest of Arabian Teima has been published by Sidney Smith, Bab. Hist. Texts, 1924, 84 ff.
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ferred upon Belsh. This text, of the third full year of Nabonidus, detailing that king’s victorious campaign against Arabian Teima (as this place has elsewhere been identified by Dougherty), records: “He intrusted a camp to his eldest, his first-born son; the troops of the land he sent with him. He freed his hand; he intrusted the kingship (šarrālam) to him.” That is, in the early part of Nabonidus’ reign, in his third year, his son was invested with royal dignity, which, in view of the active position he held throughout the subsequent years, must have continued throughout his life. That is, the Bible story is correct as to the rank of kingship given to Belsh. Now in several texts the prince’s name is coupled with his father’s in the latter’s prayers and in the omens interpreted for him; and in Pinches’ text and two texts in the Yale Museum his name is associated with his father’s in an oath; on which Dougherty remarks: “There is no other instance in available documents of an oath being sworn in the name of the son of the king.” The induction therefore that had been made from earlier data by Pinches, Dougherty, and others, is now brilliantly corroborated; as in a previous statement of the latter scholar: “It appears that he was invested with a degree of royal authority, not only at the close of the reign of his father, but throughout large part, if not the whole, of the reign of Nabonidus.”

For the capture of Babylon, the fall of Nabonidus and the disappearance of Belsh. from history, the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle is our immediate authority. The following translation is taken from Dougherty: “In the month Tishri,12a when Cyrus fought at Opis on the Tigris river against the troops of Akkad, he destroyed the people with burning; he put the people to death. On the 14th day Sippar was captured without fighting. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day Ugbaru the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without fighting. Afterward, when Nabonidus returned, he was taken captive in Babylon. Until the end of the month the arms of Gutium surrounded the gates of the temple Esagila. No one’s weapon was placed in Esagila or the sanctuaries, and no appointed time was disregarded. In the month Marchesvan, the 3d day, Cyrus

12a E. Meyer, ZATW 1898, 339 ff., corrected ‘Tammuz’ to ‘Tishri,’ as the sequence of events demands; Dougherty reads ‘Tishri’ without comment.
entered Babylon. Harine (?) were carried before him. Prosperity was established in the city; Cyrus decreed prosperity for all in Babylon. Gobryas, his governor, placed governors in charge of Babylon. From Kislev to Adar the gods of Akkad, whom Nabonidus had brought up to Babylon, they returned to their cities.” There follow, as Dougherty notes, the death of a prominent personage and a period of mourning, in the following fragmentary lines: “In the month Marchesvan, on the night of the 11th, Ugbaru . . . In the month (?) the . . . of the king died. From the 28th day of Adar to the third day of Nisan there was weeping in the land of Akkad. . . . All the people prostrated their heads.” Who this personage was is quite doubtful; most scholars, while recognizing the uncertainty, have filled the lacuna with ‘the son [of the king],’ i.e., Belsh.; so, e.g., King, Barton, Clay, Boutflower (p. 129), and Dougherty earlier; but the latter now does not venture to fill the gap. He writes later on: “Accurate interpretation . . . is impossible owing to the illegible condition of the text. However, there is strong probability that Belsh. was slain in connection with the fall of Babylon, as indicated in the fifth chapter of Daniel and intimated by the record of Xenophon.” On this point the writer admires Dougherty’s candid scepticism, for he himself must enter a demurrer against the theory that the conqueror’s own record could have so distinguished the death of a prince who was, when free and alive, a hopeless rebel.

How and where Belsh. came to his end we do not learn from the Akk. documents. But some Gr. data, which have often been alleged as history, must be considered. Herodotus, i, 101, describes at length Cyrus’ capture of Babylon. According to his story the city had been stoutly fortified and provisioned against Cyrus’ attack. But the latter diverted the Euphrates into a great basin, which had been made by Neb.’s queen Nitocris when she was building the water-walls of the city; and by this dry channel he entered the city unawares (by night?—although this is not stated), “as they were engaged in a festival, dancing and revelling until they learned of the capture but too surely.” The story is paralleled by a much longer narrative in Xenophon’s Cyropaedia, vii, 5 (noticed above under the title ‘Darius the Mede’). Cyrus formed the plan of draining off the river into a trench which he had dug; he drained off the waters on a night
when “he heard that there was a festival in Babylon, in which all the Babylonians drank and revelled the whole night.” The attacking party was headed by Cyrus, with his officers Gadatas and Gobryas acting as guides. They entered the city, taking advantage of the revelry in the streets, and easily reached the palace. They entered and found the king standing with his sword drawn; he was made away with by Gadatas and Gobryas and their party, and then ensued a massacre of those found in the streets. Soon after Cyrus held a public reception and entered into the palace.

Certain parallels with the story in Dan. 5 are obvious and interesting, and the reconstruction often made is that this unnamed king of the Cyropaedia is Belshazzar, that he was functioning as king, even without the actual name, and that Gobryas who killed him is Darius the Mede, the Gubaru of the Bab. records.

On these stories it is to be remarked that historians now universally reject the tradition of a forcible capture of Babylon in view of the plain record of the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle that Cyrus’ troops under Gubaru peacefully occupied the city and captured Nabonidus in it, he himself celebrating his triumph a little later. Furthermore we have the account of Berossus preserved by Josephus, C. Apionem, i, 20, which varies somewhat from the official records but gives no room for a ‘king Belshazzar.’ We read: “When Nabonnedus perceived that Cyrus was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and, joining battle with him, was beaten and fled away with a few of his troops, and was shut up within the city Borsippa. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him great pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippa to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly treated by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania as a place for him to inhabit and sent him out of Babylonia.” It is to be noticed that there are variations from the Chronicle, especially in regard to the resistance put up by Nabonidus and the difficulty of taking the city promptly. It must be borne in mind that Berossus himself is a witness 240 years after the events he narrates, although withal a much
more reliable authority than the earlier Herodotus and Xenophon.\(^3\)

There remains, however, but only after Xenophon's Romance, the death of an unnamed king of Babylon in his palace on a night of revelry at the hands of two Persian officers, one of them Gobryas, doubtless a reminiscence of the historical Gubaru. That the unfortunate Belsh., abandoned by his father in his chivalrous resistance to the conqueror, should have been popularly called king by his faithful subjects is not impossible, and, as Lehmann-Haupt remarks, in note 8, he would have passed in native tradition as the last Bab. king. Nor, it must be allowed, would the Chronicle, edited by the new administration, have granted him that title even if he had actually assumed it, as Cyrus regarded himself as the legitimate successor of Nabonidus.\(^4\) But whether a Jewish writer, contemporaneous with the conqueror and one of his court, would have desired or dared to use the title 'king' of the prince Belshazzar, whom the Pers. dynasty could only have regarded as a rebellious upstart, is a matter for serious deliberation for those who must pass upon the historicity of the Biblical story.

Yet other data are given in Dan. 5 which have a bearing upon our investigation. The 'Queen,' recognized by all to be the queen-mother, enters the banquet-hall to bid her son call in the sage Daniel, who 'in the days of king Neb. thy father had been made by him master-magician.' What is to be said about this asserted paternity of Nebuchadnezzar? And can we identify the lady?

In the foundation cylinder of Nabonidus, already cited and existing in duplicate (\(KB\) 3, 96) Belsh. is spoken of as 'the first son proceeding from my heart' (\(libbi\)). Wilson, pp. 117-122, considers at length 'the possibility of a man having two fathers.' After an excursus on the vague use of 'son' in Oriental languages, he presents eight different ways in which Belsh. may have been called 'son' of Neb.\(^5\) E.g., he may have been Neb.'s

\(^3\) A longer account by Berossus of the Chaldaean empire has been preserved in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius, first published by Mai; s. C. Müller, \(Fragm. hist. græc.,\) 2, 504. Berossus' narratives appear to be generally ignored by the apologists for c. 5.

\(^4\) See the arguments by Wilson, c. 5, 'The Use of the Word "King."'

\(^5\) He gives as an instance of the ideal or spiritual use of 'offspring of my heart' the application of that term to Nabonidus by the high priest of Harran.
own son adopted by Nabonidus, in which case the family history in Dan. is literally exact; or he may have been Nab.'s son, but a grandson of Neb. through a possible marriage of Nab. with a daughter of Neb.; etc., etc. Boutflower advances and prefers yet another possibility, pp. 115 ff. Recognizing that Belsh. must have been born before his father's accession to the throne, and doubtless the latter as a private citizen not being eligible to a queen-mother's hand, he argues that Nab. had married the queen of Neb., the famous Nitocris of Herodotus, after his accession, and so in this way by a complicated legal casuistry had made his own son legal son of Neb. There are indeed all sorts of possibilities and combinations, but in lack of evidence it is simplest to accept the family relationship at its face value, and this would agree with Herodotus' foreshortened view of the Chaldaean dynasty (i, 188); he makes Labynetos (II = Nabonidus) the son of Labynetos (I = Nebuchadnezzar) by Nitocris. And so, more correctly as to the names, Abydenus, cited by Eus., Praep., xi, 41, 6, knows only two kings, Neb. and Labynetos. And this is equally the understanding of Bar. 1, which presents Neb. and his son Belsh. in the fifth year after the destruction of the city. The historical bks. of the O.T. know only of Neb. and his son Evil-Merodach; but between the latter and Nabonidus history now certainly inserts Neriglissar and his son Labashi-Marduk after Berossus, Jos., C. Ap., i, 20.

Yet another item in c. 5 involves discussion. Whosoever should read the mystic inscription was to be called 'third' in the kingdom. The elder popular view was that the second after the king was the queen-mother; and to this view the writer would subscribe in case 'the Third' is not in itself a proper title, like Heb. ṣāliṯš; s. at 57. But the discovery of Belshazzar's name as 'king's son,' and coregent with his father has quite naturally induced the supposition that the triple hierarchy should begin with Nabonidus; so Wright, p. 133, Boutflower, p. 110, and such is Dougherty's conclusion. We should then have to think of a traditional reminiscence of Nabonidus as in the background of

16 Wright also assumes identification with Nitocris. Nab. ascended the throne 17 years after Neb.'s death, but Boutflower does not observe that the lady in question was probably rather advanced in years to enter a new harem. As I understand Dougherty's position, the queen-mother is the daughter of Neb. and wife of Nabonidus and so mother of Belsh. Why, however, he gives her the name Nitocris, which is that of the consort of Neb., i.e., Labynetos I, acc. to Her., I do not see.
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Belsh.'s 'reign.' But for the story itself, considered as a dramatic unity, only the queen-mother can be included. When a king is pictured in the plenitude of royal estate, as is Belshazzar, a super-king cannot easily be surmised.

To sum up, the story of Belshazzar is not imaginary fiction, but possesses true historical traditions, as do Herodotus and Xenophon, and is superior to the two Greeks in knowing the name of the last Bab. prince. The parallelism demands—and Dan. is closer to Xenophon than to Herodotus—that we recognize in all three traditional developments of the popular memory of the fall of Babylon.

f. The third year of Jehoiakim; the Chaldaans; etc.

Other points, almost innumerable, in the alleged history of Daniel, are impugned by the critics; and they are defended with equal tenacity by the apologists. The minor points should be approached from the judgment obtained for the main historical considerations, the questions of Darius the Mede, Belshazzar, the Fourth Monarchy. If the decisions fall out in favor of these points as historical, it remains for the historian but to discount minor difficulties and inaccuracies. The argument depends upon the accumulation of evidence pro or con.17

The datum at the opening of the bk. that there was a captivity of Jehoiakim and his people in the 3d year of his reign, a year before Neb.'s defeat of Necho at Karkemish (Jer. 46:2), is inexplicable from anything we know of Oriental history at that time or from inner-Biblical data, except a statement in 2 Ch. 36:6. 7 that Neb. came against Jeh., bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon, and carried off the vessels of the temple. Nothing is known of this captivity in the parallel in 2 Ki. 24. Our author has preferred Ch. to Ki., and appears to have combined the datum of Ch. with that of 2 Ki. 24:1, that Jehoiakim served Neb. three years, then rebelled, and Neb. sent against him marauding

17 It is a vast pity that apologists have gone so far as they have in attempting to maintain every iota of statement in the bk.—this in their zeal to support not so much its historical accuracy as its divine infallibility. In consequence they demand an extreme of respect for Dan. which is not required by conservative critics for the historical bks. of the O.T. or even for the Gospels, in which the play of human limitation and inexactness is generally allowed. Equally some radical critics have overreached themselves in finding 'absurdities' throughout the bk.
bands, so obtaining the third year by a very daring deduction—very likely an interpretation that had already been made before the composition of the bk.\textsuperscript{18}

There is internal trouble with the date of year 2 of Neb. at 2\textsuperscript{1} because of the prima facie disagreement with the three years’ discipline required of the youths 1\textsuperscript{5}; s. Comm. at 2\textsuperscript{1}. For Dan.’s continuing unto year 1 of Cyrus, 1\textsuperscript{21}, v. ad loc. The remaining regnal years: 7\textsuperscript{1} Belsh. year 1; 8\textsuperscript{1} do. year 3; 9\textsuperscript{1} Darius year 1; 10\textsuperscript{1} Cyrus year 3, appear to be arbitrary; or was 3 years the traditional term for the reigns of Belsh. and Cyrus? Darius’ age of 62 years, 6\textsuperscript{1} (5\textsuperscript{11}) must depend upon some kind of historical tradition.\textsuperscript{19}

Perhaps transcending the obvious historical difficulties recorded above is the naïve use of ‘Kasdim-Chaldaeans’ as a class of magicians: see Comm. at 2\textsuperscript{2}, Dr., p. xlix seq. Schrader, for the first generation of Assyriologists, says (COT 2, 125): “This is in itself a clear indication of the post-exilic date of the bk.”; and equally the conservative Sayce, Monuments, 535: “In the eyes of the Assyriologist the use of the word Kasdim . . . would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty.” It is an anachronism similar to an identification of the historical Egyptians with the Gypsies and their magic practices.\textsuperscript{20}

In regard to the whole background of classes of soothsayers, omen-diviners, etc., among whom the Chaldaeans are rated as a distinct class (e.g., 4\textsuperscript{1} (7)), F. Lenormant, the first student of the Bab. omen texts and magic, has been often cited by apologists for the early origin of Dan. in his appeal to the Bab. coloring of

\textsuperscript{18} See Comm. at 1\textsuperscript{1}. This is really a case of Scripture vs. Scripture, despite Wilson’s arguments, cc. 3. 4.

\textsuperscript{19} C followed by $\Theta$ texts assigns year 18 of Neb. for the story of the Three Confessors, 3\textsuperscript{1}, i.e., the date of the destruction of Jerusalem; this is repeated in C 3\textsuperscript{21} (4\textsuperscript{1}).

\textsuperscript{20} Wilson’s discussion of this technical term, c. 18, has value for its chain of testimonies for this particular professional sense among the Greeks from Herodotus down, the Greeks in general coming to confine it at last to that sense; withal the historical mng. survived among them down to Strabo, just as this sense appears in ‘Belshazzar the Chaldaean king,’ 6\textsuperscript{19}. The first evidence for the latter sense, outside of the disputed bk. of Dan., is in Herodotus, who wrote some 150 years after the opening dates of Dan.; which would seem to argue for the lateness of the bk.’s use of the word in that sense. The new slant to the word is easily explained as arising after the intrusion of the new Pers. empire and religion, when ‘Chaldaean’ became a religious designation just as ‘Jew’ became.
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the bk. with its description of the soothsayers, their classes and their methods, as a proof of its origin in the Bab. empire. His latest statement, as known to the writer, is as follows: 21 “The further we advance in the knowledge of the Cuneiform texts, the greater does the necessity appear of reversing the condemnation much too prematurely pronounced by the German exegetical school against the date of the writings of the fourth of the greater prophets. The language of the book of Daniel, interspersed as it is in various places with Greek words, proves without doubt that the definitive translation (Fr. ‘rédition’), as we possess it, is posterior to the time of Alexander, but the foundation of the work dates much further back; it is tinged with a very decided Bab. tint, and certain features of the life at the court of Neb. are there pictured with a truth and exactitude, to which a writer a few centuries later could hardly have attained.” But passing by some of his critical admissions, we note that Lenormant was not aware of a fact which has since his day been well established, although many still ignore it: the survival of the Bab. religious practices long after the fall of the empire. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period Bab. astronomy was at its acme in the person of Berossus, the Bab. priest and historian who migrated to Cos and founded a school there. And the religious literature continued far later; the youngest specimen known to the writer is a hymn written in 80 B.c., published by Reisner, Sumerische Hymnen, 1896, no. 49, cf. p. xiv.

Now we actually know far more of the religion of the New Babylonian empire than we do of its history. We are woefully ill informed of the data of the reign of that admirable monarch Nebuchadnezzar. But his many inscriptions, like those of Nabonidus, are almost entirely religious. And on this score the religious actions and attitudes ascribed to Neb. and Darius the Mede are incomprehensible. For each of these kings a story is told (cc. 3. 6) of an attempt to foist a single and strange object of worship upon the realm, in the one case a golden Image, 22 in the other the king’s person to the exclusion of any god. No

21 See his Chaldaean Magic, Eng. tr. of his La magie chez les Chaldéens, 1874, without date but with preface dated 1877, and so this authorized and improved ed. is subsequent also to the author’s La divination et la science des présages, 1875. The citation above is found p. 14 of the Eng. tr.

22 For this legend there may be a basis in Berossus’ account of Ochus being the first to erect images; s. Comm. at c. 3.
trace of any such legislation can be found in antiquity, not even in the consummate religious tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes. And, on the other hand, the extreme terms of the royal confessions, 331–33 (41–3), 431–34 (34–37), and especially of the legal decree of Darius, 626–29 (25–28), are, to say the least, hardly probable, although they are not beyond the scope of the story-teller. The subtle inference that Neb. became a worshipper of the one God is not borne out by any known facts or any possible hypothesis based on facts. It is erroneous, as many have done, to argue that the portraiture of these two kings was modelled after the arch-tyrant Antiochus. Neb. and Darius are friendly, human natures; the latter immediately regrets the impulsive action into which he has been inveigled by Dan.'s enemies; the former swells with pride, is punished, but is given opportunity of repentance and is rewarded. On the whole they are models of what kings, when corrected, may become. The milieu of the story is rather that of an earlier age than the Maccabæan, when there were already many ill-wishers of the Jews, much popular anti-Semitism, like that expressed in Judith.23

In general it must be said that the atmosphere of the Pagan world and its contrast with Judaism are capitally presented. There is but one serious fault, when in his zeal over his hero's triumph the writer makes Dan. actual 'master-magician' of the royal court, 46 (9). Were the story true, Dan.'s position as a pious Jew would have been intolerable and impossible for all parties. If it be a romance the naïve faux pas is quite excusable. The upshot of this survey of the facts is that when the alleged historical data are examined, the principal stumbling-blocks can only be explained by ingenious combinations of infinite possibilities and alternatives which daze rather than satisfy the mind. That a series of hypothetical events may, one by one, have happened, no historian can deny; on the other hand, in the large paths of history he cannot become a detective, putting together all the possibilities to make a hypothetical case. He must stand by the ascertained facts, allowing them to be modified only by sure or probable data.

But if the bk. be regarded as a work of religious romance, it

23 The story of Judith presents Neb. in a very different light, as a man who would be a god, 38. None of the usual apologists would allow the credibility of this, and yet, as has been recognized, Judith is not devoid of historical reminiscences.
becomes entirely intelligible. It reflects well the forces of the Babylonian-Persian-Greek civilization, in which there was a continuity of Orientalism slightly altered by the successive political phases. There is the inheritance of the age-old Bab. religion, the stage-setting of the barbarous Persian Empire, all of which rather swallowed up Hellenism than was affected by it. It contains historical legend, which may possibly be woven in with other late traditions to add to our knowledge. But its essential historical value lies in its reflection of the conditions of that Oriental complex of life on which we are too ill informed. This dominant interest of the bk. has been too much overlooked by both radical critic and apologist in their zeal for attack or defence, and the religious and literary merits of the bk. have accordingly suffered. What is here said refers almost entirely to cc. 1-6; the milieu of cc. 7-12 is quite different, s. §21.

The book as an apocryphon.

The bk. as a unit is an apocryphon, that is, a volume of alleged antiquity that had been purposely ‘hidden away’ until the emergency arrived for its publication. The injunction for such disposal of our bk. is given at the end of the final vision, 12:4: ‘Thou, Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end [= ‘Endzeit’].’ It is the first specimen of technical apocrypha that we possess in Jewish literature, and the forerunner of a very extensive series of similar but far more elaborate productions of the 2d cent. B.C. and after, all the apocalypses being characterized by this fiction, the Christian Apocalypse of John being the exception. In most cases the fiction is implied,
e.g., the bk. of Enoch, the antediluvian sage, or Jubilees, the Kabbala of Moses that had been esoterically handed down. In 2 Esd. appears the fullest expression of the fiction, 12: ‘Write all these things that thou hast seen in a book and put them in a secret place’; and still more specifically in c. 14, where Esdras is commissioned to write the bks. vouchsafed him, vv. 45–46: ‘The 24 Books [i.e., the Heb. Canon] that thou hast written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read. But the seventy last thou shalt keep to deliver to the wise among thy people.’

As a specimen of this genre of literature, which first appears in the 2d cent., the apocalyptic portion of Dan., cc. 7–12, must logically be placed about that age. The idea of such ancient mystical literature may go back early in Babylonia. Berossus (Eus., Chron., i, ed. Schoene, p. 14) tells how the mythical monster Oannes not only taught men civilization but “committed this book (λόγον—i.e., on politics) to men,” a story exactly comparable to the legends of Enoch and of Moses as author of Jubilees. This was a kind of literature that naturally came to the fore in the competitions of the wisdoms of the peoples in the Hellenistic age and their precipitation in Greek literary form, in which movement Berossus, Manetho, and Sanchuniathon stand forth; the latter records (Eus., Praep. ev., i, 10) that the seven Kabiri and their eighth brother Asklepios ‘set down these things in memoirs (ὑμνήματα),’ a datum which would easily have induced, if it was not actually based upon, literary compositions. But the closest examples of prophetic apocalyptic pseudographs like those of the Jews in the 2d cent. are found in Egyptian literature. Of these the most striking is the so-called Demotic Chronicle.

This Demotic text, in script and composition, belongs to the 3d cent. It contains a series of obscure prophecies, accompanied with an interpretation, oracle by oracle, with the fiction that the interpretation was composed under the native king Tachos.

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26 The case is entirely different from the anonymous prophecies of the O.T. and the supplements made to the Prophets. It is also different from the ancient Heb. Apocalyptic like the Songs of Jacob and Moses, the Balaam Cycle, to which no apocryphal flavor is attached; s. §20, n. 4.

27 Cf. Zimmern, KAT 530 ff.

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(360 B.C.); up to his time the series of Egyptian kings is presented by name; but after Tachos the history is sketched in ambiguous allusions to the subsequent kings and to the dominion of the Persians and the Greeks, after which there is to be a national restoration with the glorification of the Law, i.e., the Egyptian religion. The parallelism particularly with Dan. 10–11 is evident; here the alleged writer of the 6th cent. presents the series of the ostensibly future Persian and Greek kings in a veiled way, but entirely intelligible to one possessing the key of history. The Visions of Dan. appear then to belong to a definite genre of religious literature exemplified very clearly in Egypt in the 3d cent., although the phenomenon of Apocalyptic there as in Israel is of much older origin.

§20. THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK AND ITS PLACE IN JEWISH RELIGION.

In its contributions to Apocalyptic, Eschatology, etc., the bk. of Dan. enjoys a sovereign place in O.T. theology. At the same time, as the connecting hinge between the Heb. Canon and later Apocalyptic, the bk. serves as an introduction to the later Judaistic literature, with the result that it has been exhaustively handled from every angle. It seems therefore unnecessary to repeat much of the detail of what has been so well and thoroughly said and it suffices to confine this Section to a reasoned presentation of the theology of the bk. that will help fix it in its genetic and chronological relations.¹

The bk. belongs as a whole to the category of Apocalyptic, which itself is a process out of Prophecy. The term itself does not express a distinction from Prophecy, for the latter equally 'reveals' the things known only to God.² And it is difficult to

¹ Among recent comm. Dr. has an exceptionally full and lucid treatment of the theology of the bk., pp. lxxvi–xcviii; and Behrmann’s treatment, pp. xxii–xxvi, deserves notice for its compactness and independence of judgment. In addition to standard Dict. articles and O.T. Theologies (n.b. Stade-Bertholet and König) and the Introductions to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, there may be noted particularly the works of Volz, Bousset, Charles, Wicks, Meyer (Ursprung, 2, cc. 2, 4, 6), Foakes Jackson (1, 126 ff.) and the well-balanced and sympathetic Introduction to the subject by Porter (Messages); also the treatments by Bousset and Charles in the Introductions to their comm. on the Apocalypse of John.

² Ἀποκαλύψεις appears first with a theological sense in Judaistic bks. in the N.T., although it is used of the telling of human secrets Ecclus. 22:4, 42:1. But the vbs. ἀνακαλύπτειν and ἀποκρ. are used respectively by Θ and Θ to translate ἀποκρ. e.g.,
draw any hard-and-fast line between Prophecy and Apocalyptic, for we find in many prophetic oracles of the O.T., especially those of uncertain date and authorship, a process leading up to the more definite characteristics that stamp our bk. and others of its class. Ezekiel has a full-blown Apocalyptic, both in his Gog and Magog prophecy, cc. 38 f., and in his prospect of the physical remaking of the Holy Land, cc. 47 f. From that time on we have an increasing stream of such apocalyptic prophecy, e.g., Joel, Zech., Is. 24–27.

The feature that in general distinguishes later Apocalyptic from earlier Prophecy so called consists in the transcendent element. As we move down through this literature there more and more appears the sharp division between this world and another world, or, as it is put in Dan., between the kingdoms of this world and the Kingdom of God. It comes to be no longer, as in the Ezekielian Apocalyptic, a provincial matter of this earth, the setting off of a Holy State and People which the rest of the world dare not touch. But the antithesis now covers the whole world; it is man's organized empire as against God's. And the several parabolic schemes of Dan. picture this antithesis in ever sharper terms until at last there is the incarnation of this worldly defiance of God in one atheistic person. The rupture between the divine régime and the empire of man has grown wider and wider, until as in the days before the Flood there is required a divine interference to restore the Rule of God.

It is in this respect that Apocalyptic differs from Prophecy, in the ever increasing accent laid upon the necessity which will involve not merely the political and military triumph of God, of

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2. The Syr. equivalent noun is งยงเณ. The technical terms of Apocalyptic appear in Dan.: 37 (Pers.), 'mystery'; אֲדַיִן, 'depths' (cf. Bab. nimbu, 'wisdom'); נִמְבָּא, 'hidden things.' งยงเณ occurs in BSir. 8^3, 12^16, but only in the sense of a private secret; it looks as if the word only secondarily obtained its technical mng. For similar antique use of งยงเณ cf. 'having the eyes uncovered' of the seer Nu. 24^4, and a revelation 'in the ears of' the prophet Is. 22^18.

3. Even the element of definite timed prophecies, comparable to the Weeks and Days in Dan., appears earlier, e.g., not only the disputed 70 weeks of Jeremiah, but also the Isaianic oracle, Is. 7^18 cf. 8^1; also Jeremiah's prediction of the death of Hananiah, 28^16.

4. Critics have erred in too rigorously adjudging Apocalyptic as late, and Gressmann and Gunkel are right in trying to correct the balance. The antique Blessings of Jacob, Moses and Balaam are true Apocalypses. We should rather say that Apocalyptic is the revival of very ancient oracle-forms, with consequently a domestic history within the Heb. religion.
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his people or his Messiah, upon the earth, as in the elder eschatology, but also an absolute change in the conditions of this world, such as can effect a perfect theatre for the divine Kingdom. And the development of the world's history toward the creation of a single world-wide empire only the more accentuated the contrast between human and divine ideals. Hence Apocalyptic becomes a theological philosophy of history, differing from the elder philosophy of the Historians as well as the Prophets of the O.T. in its far greater sophistication, purchased through bitter experience. It has reached the mental resolution that the empire of man cannot save itself, nor be saved by natural cause and effect, that even the Holy People cannot save themselves by their own heroism, but that God alone can set things right which have gone so far awry. In the elder Prophecy God was conceived as using the units of this world one against the other to effect his sovereign purposes for the world. Isaiah could interpret Assyria as God's chastising instrument and Jeremiah and the Rhapso­dist of the Exile regarded Pagan kings as God's Servants and Messiahs. But these were casual explanations that were ever frustrated. That kind of optimism died out after the Exile. There was no Jewish reaction to Alexander's triumphs. Indeed, under Hellenism, and even earlier under the late Persian em­pire, a new disturbing factor had arisen outside of the sphere of politics, namely in the more crucial field of society and civiliza­tion. As Judaism withdrew into itself, realizing that it was not merely one of the many religions of the earth but the True Religion, so much the more it brought upon itself the hatred of its neighbors for its unsociability and 'inhumanity,' the same charges as later made against the Christians. The sense of this acute opposition appears in the two stories of persecution for re­ligion's sake, Dan. 3. 6, which are paralleled by the romances of 'anti-Semitic' passion in Esther and Judith, all which stories antedate the Antiochian persecution.

Comparative Jewish literature shows that the development of Apocalyptic, thus defined and described, does not appear until well down in the Hellenistic period. Indeed, there is nothing approaching its definition until we reach Dan. and the primitive parts of Enoch and the Sibylline Oracles in the 2d cent. It will be argued in §21 that Dan. 1-6 is earlier than cc. 7-12, i.e., of the 3d cent. But for the earlier portion, in c. 2 the theme of the
ever degenerating series of world monarchies is already worked out, and the moral deduction of their necessary annihilation is presented in the Stone which is to grind them in pieces. But there is absent the bitterness of antagonism that appears in the development of the same theme in cc. 7-12; the actual Atheist sitting in high places vowing the destruction of the Religion has not yet appeared in the person of Antiochus. Thus it can be observed that Apocalyptic had its slow process, connecting legitimately with elder Prophecy, on the other hand preparing for the crucial issue which the sense of the People of the Religion foreboded.

The characteristics of this later Apocalyptic, in which Dan. leads the way, are closely interknit. They may be presented as follows: The transcendental character of the Deity; his operation through intermediate spiritual agencies, e.g., the ‘humanlike’ Gabriel who acts as his viceroy and also as medium of inspiration; the transfer of the stage of history to the heavenly places in the archetypal contests between the Princes of the Nations, of Persia and Greece, of Israel in the person of Michael; the limited dualism which allows a long and weary struggle between the cause of God and the evil opposition in heaven as in earth; a theological determinism which regards all history as foreordained, a copy stamped from the drama already enacted above, involving the exact calculation of secular years and days; and then the logical consequence that all this exactly enacted drama could be communicated to a seer living long before the culmination of events, under orders to close and seal the book of revelation which has been given him ‘until the time of the end,’ then to be opened and read in proof of the divine ordering of events in explanation of the delay of the times and for the assurance of the saints through this guarantee of the divine determinism that the dawn will soon break out of the darkness.

These characteristics have in general their roots in the elder Heb. religion. The transcendentalism of later Judaism was a

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6 The writer believes that Apocalyptic is not an ‘Arhat’ but a legitimate development of Prophecy. In this he agrees in general with Charles. The stress of the moral and religious issue of this later age broke down the inadequate reasoning of the Prophets that the right triumphs in this world as it is. The bk. of Job is the earliest protest against the prophetic eudemonism.

6 On this ‘apocryphal’ characteristic s. §19, 6.
necessary result of the vast broadening of the Jew's perspective of
nature and human society. It is far more difficult, speaking philo-
sopherically, to realize the nearness of God in a large world than
in a small one. Indeed, every higher religion is a composition,
not very static, between notions of transcendentalism and im-
manence. Transcendentalism had set in in Judaism long before
the 2d cent., as the contrast of the two Stories of Creation in the
opening of the Bible shows. And this view of a more distant God
involved logically the postulation of intermediate agencies. God
rules the political world as the Pers. monarch did his provinces
by almost autonomous satraps, the Princes, and similarly the
world of nature, as appears in the late Psalms and in the Bene-
dicite, through the spirits of nature, which are not altogether per-
sonifications. Such notions stand simply for what modern the-
ology blandly calls secondary causes. In regard to the Princes of
the nations we have an ancient theologumenon going back to
the Elīm or Benē Elōhîm who constituted God's court, among
whom he distributed his powers as viceroys in the different parts
of the world; so in the Song of Moses, Dt. 32:8-9, acc. to the
doubtless original text of 6. These beings he used as spiritual
and political agents in the world, e.g., Eze. 9:10, Zech. 1 ff., Job
1:2, etc. One advance appears in Dan. beyond the earlier liter-
ature of the Heb. canon, we obtain personal names for two of
these celestial personages, Gabriel and Michael; yet the earlier
bk. of Tobit knows also of Raphael (the el of healing), 'one of
the seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints and
go in before the glory of the Holy One,' 12:15, i.e., an elaborate
doctrine with the notion of angelic mediation.

There is a pronounced moral dualism in the bk., but it is dis-
inctly limited. It presents the conflict between the ingrained
evil of the kingdoms of this world and the divine imperium. This
has its archetype in the heavens, where a primal conflict is being
waged among the divine satraps, wherein the divine viceroy
Gabriel can count only upon the loyalty of Michael the Prince
of Israel. But this conflict of spiritual powers has its thoroughly
Biblical antecedents. The transgression of the Sons of God,
Gen. 6, indicates the primitiveness of this notion in Hebrew cir-
cles; notions of the conflicts of purpose in the heavenly courts,
of the imperfection of the divine courtiers, appear in Job, and
had become crystallized in Scripture by the poetical allusions to
the ancient myths of the Dragon, Rahab, Leviathan, etc. We recall that this explanation of the origin of sin became a dominant one in certain Jewish circles. Our bk. is in line with that development in seeking a transcendental explanation of sin and evil; this belonged to the growing pains of a reasoned moral theology. In any ethical monotheism there comes a stage when the thinker realizes, and truly, that the evil of the world is not attributable to man alone; it is too stupendous a factor to be deduced from man's conscience of sin. The complete step to a principled dualism was made by Zoroastrianism. But in comparison with that the dualism of Dan. is of modest proportions. There is here no speculation on the origin of evil, the Princes are not regarded as fallen angels; the bk. is a pathetic but not hopeless commentary on the ancient discovery that man's thought is altogether evil (Gen. 6, Jer., passim), and that the divine imperium must ultimately crush this rebellious antithesis to its will. And it is significant that no Prince of Evil is devised, a Satan or a Belial, for which notion there were good Scriptural antecedents, and the earlier existence of which is attested by Tobit with its fiend, the Pers. Asmodeus, 38.17. The bk is concerned with actual human history, and its arch-fiend is an atheistic king who within a brief space will meet his doom. Altogether Dan. takes a very sober position in the elaborate dualistic development which was in the air of the Judaism of its day.

Determinism is a far more definite factor in the theology of the bk. than elsewhere in the O.T. But it must not be offhand adjudged a foreign importation. Monotheism easily spells determinism, witness Augustinianism, Calvinism, Muslim fatalism. The prophetical books which the seer consulted, 92, gave a Scriptural basis to this idea. The most un-Biblical expression of the notion is found in c. 4, where Neb.'s fate is fixed 'by the decree of the Watchers, by the word of the Holy Ones,' v.1417. But this exceptional statement, which has its Biblical prototype in the 'we' of the divine council, e.g., Gen. 126, may in part, at least, be attributed to the true dramatic coloring of the story; the Pagan king is addressed in the kind of language his sages

7 It is therefore incorrect to speak of a Danielic Antichrist, except in so far as Antiochus became the Scriptural core of such later speculations. This historical limitation of the theme of evil absolutely distinguishes our bk. from Pers. dualism, the Parsee literature in fact having no historical sense.
might have indulged in. But this faint trace of fatalism is fugitive: when Neb. comes to himself and recognizes the one God, he is forgiven and restored, whereas repentance has no place in fatalism. Judaism possessed the saving salt of a personal religion rooted in the faith in a Living God, and it never was corrupted by philosophical logic. The prayers of Daniel in cc. 2, 9 are a corrective to any such deductions for the theology of the bk.

There is, finally, one unique contribution to Biblical eschatology, namely the assertion of the resurrection of 'many' from their graves, 'some to everlasting life and some to shame, to everlasting abhorrence,' 12. There is nothing approximating this clear-cut notion outside of the late apocalyptic document, Is. 24–27, where we read (26): 'May Thy dead live, may my dead bodies arise! [Response] Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for Thy dew is as the dew of light [], and the earth shall bring to life the shades.' What is poetry there has become dogma here, and the resurrection involves a moral judgment, so that some of the wicked are included (with reminiscence of Is. 66). But there remains the limitation of the resurrection to some only of either party. And the sphere of this resurrection is evidently this world. Outside of that doctrine the eschatology of the bk. is most meagre. The only other real eschatological feature appears in the vision of the heavenly Assize in c. 7. There, it is true, a judgment scene in heaven is depicted: but God's people are represented only symbolically by the 'like of a man,' just as the heathen kingdoms are figured by monstrous beasts. And the consummation of the judgment is the donation to the Saints of the Highest 'of the kingdoms under the whole earth,' i.e., God's kingdom is to be established on earth in the hands of his Saints. Here is the usual Biblical nationalistic and secular eschatology without further development; the writer's contribution is literary, not dogmatic. Noticeable is the lack of a Messianic figure, although the figure of the 'Son of Man' in c. 7 promptly lent itself to the formulation of a heavenly Messiah. Finally it is to be observed that this hope of the resurrection is typical of the individualism of later Judaism; salvation

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8 This dramatic presentation of the Pagan atmosphere is a notable feature of the Stories.

9 Jewish scholars have rightly rebelled against such one-sided misinterpretations. See the fine retort by Montefiore, 'The Spirit of Judaism,' in Foakes Jackson, 1, 35 ff.
§20. THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK

is no longer for all Israel after the flesh; the Saints compose the ecclesia in ecclesia.

In this review there appears little that is otherwise than genuine development of the older Bible religion. Without doubt there was a quickening of Jewish theology from without, for the religions of the ancient world were passing through identical changes in close contact with one another, and the sympathy of experience must have favored interchanges. The tendency toward monotheism, the problems involved in a moral rule of the universe and in the fate of the individual, even scientific speculations, these factors are found working from Persia to Egypt and Greece in the West. But the bk. of Dan. remains essentially Jewish, and in this respect differs from most of the later apocalyptic literature, which is generally marked by a crass eclecticism. The first six cc. present a background of Babylonian heathenism, which still survived under the Persian, Greek and Parthian dominions. Some would indeed have it that there is a heavy deposit of Bab. myth and lore in Dan., e.g., Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, but such views depend upon many assumptions; s. Comm. to c. 7. But the bk. is a standing protest against Babylonism.¹⁰

The influence of Parsism, the religion of Zoroaster, upon the theology and literature of Judaism in this period, with the inclusion of Dan., is stoutly championed by many. The notion was taken up speculatively by scholars of the 18th cent., Bertholdt was under its sway, Kohut and others argued for it, and so particularly, Bousset, s. his c. 25, ‘Das religionsgeschichtl. Problem.’ Most recently E. Meyer has appeared as a rigorous champion of this influence upon Jewish theology in general and the bk. of Dan. in particular; s. his cc. 4. 6 and pp. 174–199. This position is based upon the major premise of his enthusiastic admiration for the work of Zoroaster as ‘the first personality to enter the history of religion with creative worth’ (p. 58), while he makes him the real founder of a cosmic monotheism vs. the Jewish particularism of a provincial god (cf. p. 73). But the whole question of that influence in the comparison of religions is sorely complicated and rendered most uncertain by the doubts as to the age of the Parsee documents. In the discussion of the

¹⁰ See Meyer’s arguments against the postulation of such influence, pp. 51 ff. Of course he is swayed by his pro-Persian penchant.
Four Monarchies in the Comm. after c. 2 the writer has presented the differences of views of scholars as to the age of the documents and the rise of formulated Parsee orthodoxy. The shaft let down in the discussion of that one theme makes him sceptical; he feels that the sources of the Pers. religion are operated with in as uncritical a way as if in the O.T. a critic should accept J and P indifferently for the Mosaic age.

The above presentation of the theology of the bk. shows that it contains no principled dualism. The doctrine of the resurrection breaks forth very naturally in our bk. as born of an emergency, and yet taking its place in a genetic catena of growing belief toward such a necessary dogma. Moreover there is nothing cosmic in the belief there presented; some of the righteous, some of the wicked, of Israel alone, will arise in their bodies for judgment. In the matter of the Four Monarchies Daniel thinks, as has been above remarked, historically, not theologically; four ages may have been given him by some cosmic, numerical scheme (the Greeks had it), but if so he is adapting it to a clear historical order of four actual empires. The Ancient of Days, remarks Meyer, 'is none other than Ahuramazda' (p. 199). But do not all people think naïvely of the Deity as 'der Alte'—a magnified Sheich? The Greeks so depicted their chief god Zeus on their coins. Whether mythical traits may not, indirectly perhaps, have come in from Persia (where others think of Babylon) may be an open question; e.g., the river of fire under the throne of the Ancient of Days, as Meyer claims (pp. 166, 199), and yet that fire is not represented as a means of purgation as in Parsism, nor is fire a monopoly of the Parsee apparatus, cf. Is. 30:27. For the much-discussed 'Son of Man' a Pers. origin is offered, by Bousset in the Parsee 'Urmensch' (p. 407), by Meyer, very cavalierly, in a combination of Sraosha the Genius of religion and the Parsee savior Saoshyant (p. 199). But in Dan. 7 the Son of Man is a symbol which forthwith disappears. There has been noted above, §8, b, the very slow and small impress that the Pers. language made upon the Semitic idioms; we have to postulate equal delay in the spread of Parsee influence. It is more apparent in the N.T. than in the O.T., still more evident

11 Meyer thinks, p. 189, that a Median empire were absurd, because there was none; yet the author deliberately introduces the Median Darius between Belsh. and Cyrus.
§20. THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK

in the Rabbinic literature; that is, its influence was late, not early. 12

For the Jewish praxis of religion the bk. has its historic value: n.b. the punctilious observance of the food laws, 18 ff.; alms and good works, 241; the three times of prayer 611 (10), prayer by running water, 82; and in general the place of prayer in piety, 217 ff. (in contrast to the arts of the magicians). The long prayer in c. 9 is an early liturgical specimen, and there are brief liturgical Benedictions, 220 ff., 333 (43), 431 f. (34 f.), 627 (28) f. Self-mortification is practised in hope of a vision, 105. Repentance is a characteristic of piety, and is accepted from Pagans, 424 (27), of whom the works of the Law are not required. Judaism is not a proselytizing religion; the Pagan confession of the True God is sufficient, as in the cases of Neb. and Darius. Cc. 1–6 reflect the life of pious Jews in the heathen environment of Babylonia.

Behrmann holds (p. xxv) that the bk. is a product of the Essene development of the Chasidic type of religion; but too long a lapse exists between the bk. and our first sources for Essenism to pass judgment. On the other hand, cc. 7–12 are an authentic monument of primitive Chasidism, the Ἀσιδαίοι of 1 Mac. 242, 713. Our bk. represents the principled pacifistic wing of the party. In 1124 there is a solitary reference to Judas’ enterprise, ‘when they shall stumble, they shall be helped with a little help’; but there follows immediate criticism of the movement for its worldly complications, ‘many shall join themselves unto them in intrigue.’ The writer was nearer the primitive type of the party which preferred death to fighting on the Sabbath (1 Mac. 129 ff.), and he rejoices in the present martyrdoms in view of the prize that is set before them, 1133, 35; very much in the spirit of the early Christians. Not by militant means shall the tyrant be overthrown, but ‘he shall be broken without hand,’ i.e., without visible agency, 835, while the Saints shall inherit the Kingdom not by their might but by gift of the Highest, 727.


a. The two books, the Stories and the Visions.¹

The criticism of the unity of the bk. began in the 17th cent. with the observation of the distinction of languages, the Aram. and Heb.; Spinoza discovered two documents, cc. 1–7 and 8–12, referring the latter to the undoubted authorship of Dan., and confessing ignorance as to the origin of the former. The distinction between the Stories and the Visions was first made by Sir Isaac Newton: "The bk. of Dan. is a collection of papers written at several times. The six last chapters contain Prophecies written at several times by Dan. himself; the six first are a collection of historical papers written by other authors"; and cc. 1. 5. 6 were written after his death.² Eichhorn in his Einleitung³, §615, while denying the authenticity of the whole bk., followed the distinction between the Stories and Visions, but aligned the Heb. preface c. 1 with cc. 7 ff. J. D. Michaelis first originated a fragmentary hypothesis, holding that Dan. consists of 'several separate pieces,' any one of which may be rejected as historical without prejudice to the others (Or. u. exeg. Bibliothek, I (1771), 190). And Bertholet in his comm., 1806, proceeded to a diagnosis of nine different sources. Thus the possibilities of critical analysis were early sounded.

But a critical distinction on the basis of diversity of language is now generally denied. The extreme positions taken respectively by the defenders and the impugners of the historicity of Dan. have induced the great majority of critics to assign the


² For these ref. s. Mein., pp. 1 f., vGall, pp. 1 f. Spinoza's brief comment is found in his Tractatus theologicopoliticus, ed. 1674, c. 10, p. 189; Newton's in his Observations upon the Prophecies of Dan. and the Apocalypse of St. John, ed. 1732, p. 10 = Whitla's ed., p. 145. Von Gall also notices Beausobre, Remarques sur le Nouveau Testament, 1742, p. 79, agreeing with Newton and drawing distinction between the 1st and the 3d pers. in the two parts.
§21A. THE TWO BOOKS

bk. as a whole to either the 6th or the 2d cent., with as a rule little or no discussion on part of the comm. of the possibility of composite origin; indeed most ignore the problem. 3

Before discussing the various views which have been proposed the writer will state his positive opinion. The bk. falls into two obvious literary portions, cc. 1–6 the Stories, and cc. 7–12 the Visions. C. 1–2 is absolutely necessary as introduction to the following Stories, and it is difficult to see how scholars, e.g., Eichhorn, Mein., distinguish it as later. 4 C. 7 is pure apocalypse, like cc. 8 ff., and it is fallacious to appeal to c. 2 as also apocalyptic, for that story tells of a heathen’s dream and its interpretation by the hero of the Story, as in the tale of Joseph and Pharaoh. Further, it must be positively denied, as earlier conservative comm., and now Mein., Hölscher, have rightly insisted, that Neb. and Darius are types of the infamous Antiochus, or that the trials of the confessors in the bk. represent the Macc. martyrdoms. 5 They do stand for the fact that Anti-Semitism (in the modern sense) is much older than the Macc. age, and was not confined to the Syrian empire. Our Stories follow the doubtless true historical theme of underhand efforts of officials and the jealous populace to embroil the Jews with the government on the score of their religion; but these Stories, like Est., correctly show that the imperial administrations refused to take action against the Jews, the instigators of those sporadic, underhand persecutions being represented as ‘hoist with their own petard.’ Neb. and Darius stand forth as amiable, religious-minded monarchs. The miraculous deliverances of the Confessors portray the truly remarkable fact that the Jews under the successive Pagan empires down to the Roman found their rights providentially maintained by the imperial government. Only in the case

3 E.g., Dr., in his comm., with only a brief paragraph on the subject in LOT 514. Von Gall presents an extensive argument for the unity of the bk., rejecting only the Prayer in c. 9 as an interpolation. König, in his Einleit., suggests that cc. 1–7 were composed in 168, cc. 8–12 in 165.

4 But Mein. must be credited for the distinction of the pre-Maccabean (cc. 2–6) and Macc. (cc. 7–8) sections, even if, as v Gall insists, some of his argumentation is fallacious. Strack, in his Einleit., proposed the pre-Macc. origin of cc. 1–7.

5 Bevan gives up the case for the unity of the bk. on this score in his very frank admission, p. 23: ‘It is however necessary to guard against a possible misconception. Though the author of Dan. has everywhere the circumstances of his own time in view, we cannot regard Neb. and Belsh., still less Darius the Mede, simply as portraits of Ant. Epiph. The author is contending not against Ant. personally, but against the heathenism of which Ant. was the champion.’
of Belsh. is there condemnation of the monarch, but here the story is following popular Bab. tradition.

There is a further induction from the Stories which has not been drawn by others except those who hold that the whole bk. belongs to the Babylonia of the 6th cent., namely that cc. 1–6 are of Bab. provenance. Corroboration of this position is given by the fact that almost all the Akk. and Pers. words appear in cc. 1–6. Nor are we in the position to maintain that the Aram. of the bk. is the Western dialect; s. §7, n. 5. Further, the historical background of these cc. is Babylonian. Again, their sumptuous barbaric scenery is obviously not that of Palestine; one need only compare the arid scenery of the later cc. And the interest in traditional heroes of the Bab. exile must belong to the Golah in Babylonia. Critics naturally assign the bk. of Tobit to an ‘Assyrian’ origin, and that of Judith as naturally to a Palestinian, while with equal logic Est. should be located in Persia. Finally, as has been recognized by some, the conflict between

1 21 , ‘Dan. continued (i.e., remained where he was) until the first year of king Cyrus,’ and the datum of the third year of that king, with the locality given as the Tigris (101. 4), is cleared up: the implication of the first bk., cc. 1–6, is that Dan. and his faithful companions returned home at once upon Cyrus’ proclamation of release. And actually in the Chronicler’s lists of returned exiles we find a Mishael, Azariah, and Hananiah, Neh. 84. 3. 24 along with a Daniel, 107.

b. The problem of the two languages.

This problem may be considered here, as the boundaries of the two languages approximate the distinction between the two bks., cc. 1–6 and 7–12. Dalman’s solution, in which he has been followed, evidently independently, by Torrey, is the only one which recommends itself to the present writer. Dalman, after postulating those two bks., proceeds: the redactor must first have turned the preface, c. 1, into Heb., and then translated the Heb. c. 7 into Aram., and so have bonded the two into one

* Paton’s reasoning for the Palestinian origin of Est. in his comm., p. 64, is not obvious: “It is a plausible suggestion that the author was a Persian who had come to live in Judæa.”
whole; and so exactly Torrey. This change into the Holy Tongue would have facilitated recognition of the bk. as sacred and eligible for the Canon, while dramatically enough the Aram. could be allowed to stand with the citation of the Chaldaeans' response to the king, and so on. A variant suggestion may be made as to the language of c. 7. Granting that it belongs integrally with the following cc., their author, who was deliberately depending upon the elder bk. of Dan., may have continued its language in his first composition, and subsequently have reverted to Heb. as the more suitable tongue for divine revelation, the use of which would have been appropriate to the enthusiasm of the Macc. uprising. But see sub-sect. (c) for another possible precision of c. 7.

Other hypotheses advanced for this change in language are most diverse. The simplest view, on the assumption that we possess the bk. in its original linguistic form, is that the bilingual composer passed easily from his Heb. introduction into the Aram. of the citation and then continued in the vernacular; the phenomenon would then be similar to the Aram. section in Ezr., beginning at with an official document. But this theory does not explain why c. 7 continues the Aram., and the change to Heb. is made with c. 8.

A favored theory is one broached first by Lenormant (as cited by Bevan and Haupt) and followed by Bevan (p. 27), vGall (p. 122), Haupt (at in Kamp., SBOT), Prince (p. 13) and

1 Dalman, Worte Jesu, 1898, 11; Torrey, Notes, I, 249. Holscher, who appears to be ignorant of those scholars' position, and Preiswerk maintain also that the preface is a reversion into Heb. He and Torrey find evidence of an Aram. original, but both admit that this evidence is not conclusive.

2 This does not involve the absurdity that it was thought even by a late redactor that this vernacular Aram. was the 'language of the Chaldaeans,' 14. However, Preiswerk (pp. 77-91) makes a strong argument for c. 7 as translation from Heb., alleging not only Hebraisms, but more convincingly showing that it can be easily reverted into Heb. as its parallel c. 2 hardly can be so treated, while also c. 1 is an easy subject for reversion into Aram. The authors of the pertinent monographs have noted the dialectic distinctions between this c. and cc. 2-6: the sole use of Ithpeel and Ithpaal vs. Hithp. in the earlier cc. (where however Ithp. 31, 44, 64) and the use of vs. in cc. 2-6. The large number of Hofals is also noticeable.

3 See Charles' review of the discussion, pp. xix-xxvi.

4 So, e.g., Behr., p. ii, Kamp., EB 1, 1005, with the indorsement by Dr. as 'relatively best,' p. xxii. Ryssel, TLZ 1895, 560, offered a theory of a progressive composition by one author: cc. 1-7 in Aram., then cc. 8-12 in Heb., upon which he began reverting into Heb., breaking off however with the citation in 24.
Barton (p. 65) that “a portion of the Heb. text having been lost, a scribe filled up the gap by borrowing from the Aram. version” (which already existed), so Bevan, citing Antiochus’ systematic attempt to destroy the Law. But this hypothesis stumbles on the fact that Aram. begins neatly at the appropriate point.

The view of a Heb. original for the whole bk. is maintained by Riessler, §§3. 4, and by Jahn at length, the latter reverting the whole of 6 into Heb. in order to recover the alleged original. But s. §11 on this perverted appreciation of the text of 6, and the conclusive detailed criticism of Riessler by Preiswerk, pp. 68–77.

Just the opposite view was advanced by Huet (d. 1721) in his Demonstratio evangelica, 472 (cited by Bert., p. 51): the whole bk. was composed in Aram. and then translated into Heb.; in the Macc. troubles the Heb. bk. was in large part lost and the lacunae filled up from the orig. Aram. This view has been revived by Buhl (‘Daniel,’ PRE 3451) and accepted by Marti and Charles (II. cc.), and summarily by Wright, p. 46. But Marti’s linguistic argument from the ‘Aramaisms’ in the present Heb. is most meagre.

c. Further divisive theories.

The suggestion that the bk. is a compilation of so many odd compositions was first made by J. D. Michaelis, who regarded it as compiled of ‘abgesonderte Stücke’ (Or. u. exeget. Bibliothek, 1 (1771), 190). Bertholet (pp. 49 ff.) found nine separate pieces by as many different hands. Similarly Lagarde (GGA 1891, 508 ff.) considered the bk. a compilation of disconnected documents, and most recently Meyer (Ursprung, 2, 184) expresses the opinion that “the bk. is composed of very different parts and has behind it a long history.” But such positions, indicating a bankruptcy of criticism, have not found applause. It will be convenient to consider the two parts, cc. 1–6 and 7–12, separately in the search for their origins.

1) In the Stories there appears a distinction between those concerning Dan. and that of the Three Confessors c. 3, while the preface, c. 1, may be taken as a welding of the Daniel-cycle with that extraneous tale; this is the more obvious in that in c. 3
Dan. is totally absent, so that commentators have been non-plussed in explaining the absence of the hero of the bk. from that ecumenical scene. This inconcinnity is typical of many others that have been pointed out. But such phenomena can be explained on the hypothesis that the narrator did not invent his theme here or in the other Stories, but was dependent upon existing tales and traditions. C. 3, which in its form may be regarded as a counterpart to the Story of the Three Pages in 1 Esd., doubtless has a traditional background, with the motif of an Image that was to be worshipped (for which an historical basis can be found), while the fiery trial of the Confessors may be a popular amplification of the actual penalty inflicted upon rebellious Jews acc. to Jer. 29, whom popular tradition turned into saints; s. Comm. In c. 4 we have the otherwise vouched-for madness of Neb., which would have afforded a most likely point d'appui for moralization from the point of view of the True Religion. C. 5 contains particularly definite historical tradition; the fate of the last scion of the Bab. dynasty fitted in well with the expected theodicy upon Babylon, while the theme of Belsh.'s impiety (in contrast with the nobility of his 'father' Neb.) follows the popular Bab. condemnation of the house of Nabonidus. In fact 6 (530) with its exact datum about Darius can hardly otherwise be explained than as an extract from a written native document. C. 6 may be more particularly a free invention of the author, dependent indeed upon c. 3 and upon current martyr-motifs (likely enough in actual practice), and yet wholly fresh and original in its composition. Still more is the Story of Neb.'s dream, c. 2, the author's own independent work, dependent perhaps upon current themes of the Ages of the World, but worked up into an amazingly dramatic composition. Daniel may already have become hero of current Jewish story (e.g., in the Belsh. episode), and the author of the whole would therefore have possessed some skeletons of narrative to which he would have naturally adhered. Such stories would naturally have been composed and published at different times, and this artless method of composition, without a purpose of an ultimate integral book, would sufficiently explain the numerous inconsistencies.12

12 See Hölscher, p. 115, for evidence of unity in cc. 1-6 from vocabulary and diction.
Bert. found no less than five different writers in these Stories (cc. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5-6), with most arbitrary assignment of their provenance, geographical as well as historical. Barton (s. note 1) is the only recent scholar who has attempted an elaborate reduction of the bk. into a number of distinct sources. Regarding it as practically Macc. in age, he discovers three original contributors (s. table, p. 81): A cc. 2. 4. 5. 7. 8; B cc. 9. 6 (the latter posterior); C cc. 10-12; and c. 3 as 'possibly from yet another hand,' although related to A; a redactor collected the various writings, prefixed a preface, c. 1, and contributed an epilogue, 125 ff., along with verses and phrases intruded through the bk. A is Babylonian in culture and environment, B similarly Jewish, and C Persian. Barton's position as to the practical unity of time for the components of the bk. disagrees entirely with the view adopted above for the major distinction between cc. 1-6 and 7-12; and it must be claimed that the difference between Story and Vision is far more obvious than any other marks of disparateness. Barton assumes compositions of so many various cultures; he does not go so far as to say that the authors lived in so many different lands (as does Bert.); but if they were so different, even leaving out of question their habitats, how did they all happen on the same theme, and this within the few years of the Macc. uprising, and how were their compositions all collected into one within so short a time? It can hardly be held that the series of Babylonian and Medo-Persian kings offers clews of critical distinction, as the episodes simply follow the sequence of dynasties in the 6th cent. as understood by Jewish historiography, and if we admit composition of the bk. in the Hellenistic age, the background is the later complex of the several civilizations.

2) The question of the unity of cc. 7-12 is more difficult. For the romances of cc. 1-6 we can attribute contradictions to the varieties of underlying traditions. But cc. 7-12 are apocalyptic, hence subjective compositions, and we possess no psychological standards whereby to determine the possibilities of variety in the one composer or to probe how far more than one is required. Barton correctly remarks (p. 78) that every one of the important apocalypses known is composite, unless Dan. be an exception. Yet as the actual Daniel-Apocalypse consists of only six chapters and must have arisen within a very few years, we have to
be chary in pressing a fragmentary hypothesis too far. Barton finds in these cc. three main composers. Quite conservative scholars, Zöckler, Wright, have desired to detach c. II from the original composition. And it has been assumed by many but chiefly from the accident of language, that c. 7 belongs with cc. I–6. Most recently Meyer has expressed the opinion that the 'prophecies' of Dan. offer 'several doublets and parallel treatments of the same subject from quite different historical points of view' (p. 188). Accordingly, cc. II and 9 appear as distinct compositions (l.c.), while cc. 2, 4, 7, 8 constitute a separate corpus with distinct Parsee characteristics (pp. 189 ff.).

Sellin (Int., 233 f.) would combine c. 7 with the pre-Macc. cc. I–6, and proposes that c. 7 has been expanded under the later Macc. point of view by the intrusion of direct references to the hateful Antiochus in the judgment scene; he would accordingly delete as unoriginal vv. 8. 20-22. 24 f. Hölscher follows suit (pp. 119 f.), omits as a halting addition 'and it had ten horns,' v. 7, and then deletes vv. 8. 11 a. 20-22. 24 f.; consequently he attributes c. 7, itself an appendix ('Anhang') to cc. I–6, to the 3d cent. Hölscher's arguments from the logic and language of the chap. are not at all conclusive; s. above, n. 9, for Preiswerk's demonstration of its philological difference from the preceding cc. But it must be admitted, as Gunkel has shown, that c. 7 stands out uniquely in the bk. with its mythological background and visional scenery; the Beasts and the Throne appear as quite different conceptions from the historical 'parables' of the Beasts in c. 8 (as also of the Tree in c. 2), and there is certainly a descent in poetic conception from c. 7 in the following cc. \[13\] The present writer is therefore inclined to leave it an open question whether c. 7 is a distinct composition, a forerunner of the apocalypses in the following cc., even without deletion of vv. which would relate it to the Macc. age. Its linguistic distinction from subsequent cc. might then be explained. However, the literary and psychological problem must be weighed, whether one and the same writer may not have developed from the vision in c. 7 and culminated in the veiled historical midrash of c. II. Almost all

\[13\] The reaction against the extreme of Pauline criticism should warn against too easily seeking explanation of variety in divisive hypotheses for our bk. And for cc. 7 (or 8)-12 we are shut up on any critical theory to a very brief term of years for room for literary accretions.
students agree that cc. 8–12 are from the same hand. Yet in these there is a noticeable variety; c. 8 has its symbolism (which Meyer believes to be the explication of c. 7 by the same author), this disappears in c. 9, an angelic announcement taking its place, while the substance of the final vision is absolutely unpicturesque. Yet the prosaic character of these cc. is broken by the long and fervent prayer in c. 9, and by the vision of the Man in c. 10 which is told with psychological verisimilitude. Certainly for cc. 8–12 (cf. Hölscher), and it may be added for c. 7 as well (cf. vGall), although here we are dealing with a different language, no clear linguistic arguments can be adduced against their unity. 14

d. The dating of the two sections.

1) Cc. 1–6, according to the argument above, are pre-Maccabean, composed in Babylonia: they may be roughly assigned to the 3d cent., to an age not earlier than the division of Alexander’s empire by the Diadochi. More precisely we may not speak; s. Note at end of c. 2 for the ancient view of Polychronius, followed by Grot., Bert., Torrey, Hölscher, that the ‘mingling of the seed of men,’ 247 B.C. The collection contains a series of stories based on Jewish and Bab. traditions, which were gradually written and finally compiled in one book. There is no reason to dispute the assumption of one literary hand for the whole.

2) Cc. 7–12 belong to the first years of the Macc. uprising, 168–165 B.C., the four Visions to be regarded as composed seriatim. 16 In them the temple is pictured as profaned, but its restoration is expected, along with the cataclysmic destruction of the tyrant. This is also the milieu of the last Vision, in which there is a passing reference to the militant and seemingly insig-

14 For extreme views of the origin of the book or of its sections may be noted that of E. Havet, Le christianisme et ses origines, vol. 3 (1878), 304 ff., suggesting that the second half belongs to the age of Herod; and that of Lagarde, in his review of Havet (GGA 1891, 497–520), attributing cc. 7, 9–12 to 69 A.D. Cf. also Hertlein, Der Daniel der Römerzeit, 1908, assuming Roman age for final form of cc. 2–7, also his Menschensohnfrage im letzten Stadium, 1911 (rev. by Volz, TLZ 1909, 357 and 1912, 69).

16 For the possible exception of c. 7 as distinct from what precedes and follows, s. above [c]; but this hypothesis depends upon excision of passages which obviously refer to Ant.
§21D. THE DATING OF THE TWO SECTIONS

significant Maccabees (II34), while the climax is expected in a final great battle in the Holy Land, when the tyrant shall be overthrown by divine operation. That is, the Visions were composed well before the retaking of the temple and its purification, which latter event occurred Chislev (about December) 25, 165, according to the record just three years to the day after its profanation.16

But the Visions contain what purport to be exact calculations of the time of devastation. In $7^{26} = 127$ this period is to last for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. In addition there is a more specific calculation by days, $8^{14}$, '2300 evenings, mornings,' i.e., 2300 matin and vespers sacrifices = 1150 days (v. ad loc.).17 Comm. have naturally attempted to relate these 1150 days to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years: but the latter figure, at 360 days, = 1260, at 365 days, = 1278. On the other hand the 1150 days would approximate the three years of the actual profanation acc. to I Mac, i.e., at 365 days to a year $1150 = 3$ years + 55 days; at 360 days $1150 = 3$ years + 70 days. A way out of attempting any solution is offered by Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, 266–270, who regards the $3\frac{1}{2}$ in c. 7 as a mystical, mythological number. But for a people which reckoned both days and years in sevens (in the popular calendar as well, because of the years of Release) there need have been nothing ultra-significant in the figure. We calculate by decades, and so speak of half-decades (decennium, quinquennium), and the comparative import of the latter would be that of brevity. Similarly seven years might imply a long or full period, $3\frac{1}{2}$ an abbreviated one. And the following historical basis for such an expectation may be observed as possible. If the high priest Onias' death be placed at 171 B.C. (s. Schürer, 3, 195), about half a septennium would have elapsed by 168; and as the erroneous chronology, followed by the author, would have terminated Jeremiah's 70 Weeks, understood as 490 years, three years later, it would have been natural to balance one half-septennium

16 Acc. to 1 Mac. 144 the temple was profaned on Chislev 15 (168), but it is generally recognized that this is error for '25,' to be corrected in agreement with the statements of 44 (cf. 2 Mac. 105) as to the exact three years. There appears now to be general agreement as to the dates 168, 165; s. Schürer, GJV vol. 1, §4, Meyer, Ursprung, 3, 159, 209. Josephus, in stating that the profanation lasted for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (B.J. iii, 1, 1) makes accommodation with Dan. It is noteworthy that 1 Mac. made no such accommodation, a testimony to its chronological reliability.

17 The '1290 days' and '1335 days' of 1211 (v. ad loc.) are successive later insertions, due to the retardation of the term of 1150 days.
against the other. Even if we allow that c. 7 is entirely distinct in thought and authorship from c. 8, we have still to regard the author of the latter as interpreting the 3½-year datum of the former, qualifying it for some reason of his own, but there still remains the question of his 1150 days. It can be equated neither with the 3½ years nor with the recorded three years of the profanation. The latter fact excludes the hypothesis of a vaticinium post eventum, and indeed the whole bk. is evidently anterior to the Macc. success. If post eventum, then 814 must be regarded as a later addition, which no critic has claimed; but even then there would remain the question as to the term of the 1150 days, which in that case must have meant something. 18

The result of this argumentation is that the 3½ years is a round figure, and the 1150 days an exact calculation based on terms wholly obscure to us; neither of the calculations was exactly fulfilled, hence they both must have been devised ante eventum. In the rough the expectation was fulfilled—in briefer time indeed, in three years, shorter than the 1150 days by 55. This deduction may be satisfactory neither to the theologian nor to the historian. The latter naturally disowns the element of prediction in history, while the modern theologian deprecates it in prophecy (but cf. §20) and would admit it still less in our bk. However we may explain the fact, the majority of scholars who maintain the Macc. origin of cc. 7–12 regard them as composed before the triumph of the Maccabees in 165, and hence implicitly, if not explicitly, admit the historical fulfilment of their expectations. So Kuenen, Einleitung, §§88. 89 (as written before Judas’ defeat of Lysias); Wellhausen, Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.4, 256, n. 2; Schürer, 3, 256; Kamp., EB 1, 1013. And so almost all recent comm., exc. Behr. at 814, who agrees with Cornill for a post eventum date, as does Meyer, p. 186. And some recent comm., following Stuart, Zöckler, al., find here ‘genuine prediction’ of the Macc. success, e.g., Dr., p. lxvii, Charles, at 814. It may be remarked that predictions of seers have often had their

18 For the history of the interpretation of the 70 Weeks s. Note at end of c. 9. Cornill, Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels, 21–26, has made a very learned argument based on certain chronological determinations to the end of defining the 1150 days; assuming that the figure must be post eventum, he dates back its starting-point to Tisri (October) 168, when, he argues, Ant. issued his decree for the establishment of one religion. But as subsequent scholars have insisted, the starting-point is obviously the actual profanation in Chislev, and Cornill’s position has met with no favor.
effect on events, as in the case of Jeanne d'Arc; and so these forecasts of our bk. may have nerved the Macc. heroes to their illustrious triumph in 165 at the end of the '70 Weeks.'

e. Losses and additions to the original book.

For the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical tradition which regards the Apocryphal Additions as integral to the bk. and for modern views which would salvage some part of the episode between the prayer of Azarias and the Benedictus, s. §4. For criticism of the position held by a very few scholars that $\mathcal{G}$ offers a fuller and better text and that its actually midrashic expansions should be honored, s. §11.

In regard to supplements, the most extensive addition that has been alleged, namely, by vGall, otherwise a rigorous champion of the unity of the bk., is the Prayer in c. 9; this opinion is rejected in the Comm. On the other hand, the Comm. follows Gunkel in excising 1211–12 as later, although very early, attempts at rectifying the number of predicted Days; this criticism removes one of the greatest difficulties.

Otherwise the changes adopted are few, many not being more than glosses of a few words or doublets, the latter an interesting phenomenon of early variation. Certain passages have been objected to as secondary 'joints,' but if the writer of the Stories used various traditional materials, these 'joints' may be attributed to him as well as to another hand. In general the diction of the bk. is what German would call 'spröde' ('splay'), and we may not apply too fine a standard of logic and literature.

The principal excisions from the text adopted or allowed as possible in the Comm., barring occasional single words, are (cf. the list of glosses, etc., accepted by Marti, p. x, and Charles, p. xxxi):

12, ינוי אלרי
216, יฤ (?
228–29, doublet, v. 29 secondary.
42, a doublet.
4, 'and visions of my head.'
426, greater part doublet of v. 12.
6, ל FUNC, doublet.
71, a few words.
726, om. after 'I was seeing.'
82, 'and I saw in the vision.'
89, ינוי עדין.
812, last two verbs.
813b, a gloss of items.
927, נדדים שמים.
1020, 21, a doublet.
1118, a gloss.
1118, containing a poss. doublet.
1211, 12, two successive glosses.
§22. AN APPRECIATION OF THE LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE BOOK.

In view of the peculiar genre of Apocalyptic its literary aspect cannot easily be distinguished from its spiritual content. To some extent this is also true of the Stories in Dan., for as in the Visions we find here the elements of intentional art and fiction. But the two must be treated as separate compositions of different authors and times.

a. The Stories.

These stories have hardly been sufficiently appreciated as literature in the commentaries and the histories of Biblical letters; this in consequence of the devotion of almost all students to the polemic involved in the Higher Criticism of the bk. The writer would briefly express his growing admiration for these religious tales as examples of the story-telling art. Dan. has its ancestry in the classical Heb. literature, and also joins hands with an almost perished story-literature, that of the Aramaic. The latter survives only in the mutilated Aḥikar Romance and the Story of the Three Pages in 1 Esd., but these are testimony to a well-established and artistically developed branch of romantic moralizing letters. The latter are Wisdom stories addressed to the more cultured ranks of society; those in Dan. are religious tales composed for the edification of the rank and file of the Jewish faithful. But they are admirable as examples of the short story; each one has its definite theme, and each is composed with notable dramatic art. Also this art is not monotonous in the choice of subjects nor in the development of the plot. The most striking and original of the compositions is the figure of the Image in c. 2, which deserves to be regarded as a notable creation, a veritable Frankenstein monster. The highly colored but sombre scene of Belshazzar’s Feast, c. 5, a notable historical romance, comes next in power. Equally dramatic is the story of the discipline of Nebuchadnezzar, c. 4; the fall of human arrogance has never been better sketched in a few strokes. The stories of the Three Confessors, c. 3, and Daniel in the Lions’ Den, c. 6, are more strictly hagiological; but they celebrate brave men of faith, and if the deus ex machina appears to solve the impasse of the right, we have to remember that from the
Greek drama down a Providence has ever been invoked to effect the triumph of the good, for every great drama is a moral theme and so ultimately religious, whether in the background looms a Nemesis or the Living God. Withal the depiction of the characters, the weak point in Oriental romance, is made briefly indeed but with accuracy. Daniel, humble in character but self-possessed and dignified before kings, the Confessors, more shadowy saints but immortal for their defiance to the king, 'If our God can save us... but if not'—the several distinct characters of the three kings, all these stand forth as individuals. Even the minor *dramatis personæ*, the royal officers in cc. 1, 2, the Queen-Mother in c. 5, the artful conspirators in c. 6, are all appropriately limned. The stories are plainly, simply, compactly told; yet they are not artless, rather inspired by a withal natural and cultivated art, *kunstvoll* therefore, and it is a misunderstanding of what constitutes religious literature when apologists and critics ignore or depreciate the literary form of these stories.

In §20 the Theology of the Book has been treated. Actually of more pertinent importance is the religion of the bk., particularly for cc. 1–6. On the historical side we see the Jews of the Golah, no longer hanging their harps on the willows, but bravely taking their place in the world and proving themselves the equals and superiors of their Pagan associates, not by reason of their race or human excellences, but through their constancy of character founded on faith and trust in God. They exercise themselves naturally and dutifully in the rites of their religion, while on the negative side they abstain from 'the forbidden things,' whether these be contaminated foods or false objects of worship. The bk. was written, it is often said, for the encouragement of the community; but it is equally an expression of the life actually lived by Jews who were 'the salt of the earth' at the end of the Old Dispensation, the men who preserved for later ages the illumination of the Lawgivers and Prophets. While they guarded that treasure, often 'cabined, cribbed, confined,' as we may think, they had, like every responsible age of religion, their own contribution to make. They faced a problem far more difficult, complex, apparently hopeless, than confronted an Isaiah or Jeremiah. In the Hellenistic age God's world had become a vast, unified, articulated Cosmos, in the Johannine sense,
tremendously interesting, intellectual, artistic, beautiful, but also cruel and beastly, religious in the sense of superstitious, or else sceptical and atheistic, godless in sum. Supermen ramped over the stage, self-styled gods whom nations did worship to; the only worldly hope of escape from any one of these was in the usurpation of another like him. To this condition our bk. made answer, but not by a new theology; the bk. is founded four-square on the centuries-old belief that 'God is king, be the earth never so unquiet.' But its contribution to religion lies in its formulation of faith 'in the Kingdom of God,' that men should 'know that the Highest rules in the kingdom of men,' 422 (19).1 To this there is added the corollary, arising from the logic of faith rather than of intellect, of God's necessary vindication of his cause in the world. This may take place in the way of human catastrophes, as in the judgments upon Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. Or else the godlessness of the world drives the faith and patience of the saints to the breaking-point, and the transcendental action of God is demanded; this theme appears in c. 2, where the successive kingdoms of the world are represented as breaking down in a moment before the 'Stone cut without hands.' In this scene there is the kernel of the Apocalyptic of the later chapters, the reason why an apocalyptic series could be composed as a supplement to the Stories.

b. The Visions.

Literary appreciation of this material is more difficult.2 The vision in c. 7 rises to a picturesque grandeur, due to the assimilation of ancient mythical elements in part, which however are freely and originally handled. The following visions are prosaic and rather arid, broken only by the more lively personal interludes of the Prayer in c. 9 and the overwhelming vision to the seer in c. 10, along with the concluding word of comfort at the end of c. 12. Indeed the symbolical disappears in the midst of the vision in c. 8, and after that there are only spoken oracles.

1 Cf. Driver's excellent review of this theme, pp. lxxxv–xc. The 'ethical character' of Apocalyptic is presented by Charles, pp. xvi–xix, but Dan. is religious primarily rather than ethical.
2 For literature s. §20, note 1, to which should be added Gunkel's treatment of the mythological elements in Apocalyptic, and particularly in Dan. 7, Schöpfung u. Chaos, 323–335.
§22B. THE VISIONS

We feel an increasing 'De profundis' motif in these visions: they are the reflex of the bitter stress of the times and move with a heavy-footed indignation. On the one hand, there is the horror of things as they are, with no hope in the world as it is; on the other, a grim determination of faith that God will interfere. And in this respect the faith was prophetic and the Religion was saved, although not in the terms of the prediction, as is always the case with both Prophecy and Apocalyptic.

There is a problem in these Visions which has concerned all students of Apocalyptic. How far have we in them genuine vision, how much, if not all, is artificial? Answer is obtained largely according to the various attitudes of students toward theological inspiration. C. 7 may be, as claimed by many, a learned composite of mythological motifs; c. 11, according to Bousset and others, smacks of the student’s study with its correct historical sequence. The present writer acknowledges that there is a predominant element of the intellectual and of the artificial in a certain sense; there is deliberate use of the facts of historical knowledge and of elaborated symbols. But this is art of the same kind as appears in Dante or in Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress; it is primarily literary art. And this includes the artifice of ascribing the visions to an ancient Daniel, in which respect the Visions follow the Stories and an ancient tradition of that kind of literature. In this characteristic of artistic creation composed for written literature (‘the Book,’ r24), Apocalyptic differs from the elder Prophecy, which was oral and more spontaneous, only subsequently and in part committed to writing. Distinctly literary Prophecy appears first in Ezekiel, himself an apocalyptist; in the Second Isaiah we have a litterateur’s composition, and this technically literary characteristic appears in all the subsequent Prophets.

On the other hand, the intensity and gravity of the theme produced a mental exaltation which at least by the composer was interpreted as true ecstasy or vision. He did not distinguish between his own materials and art and the illumination which came to him in the process of absorption in the quest of revela-

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* Charles has again and again insisted that this artifice was necessary in order to procure a hearing after the Prophetic Canon was closed; and Bousset is inclined to admit this motive (Offenbarung, 14). At the same time the literary mode of anonymity and then pseudonymity had long ago set in. Cf. §19, 8.
tion. One feels a genuineness, subjectively speaking, in the visions of the Apocalypse and 2 Esdras, even as in Paul's ascent to the third heaven; and the same impression is given by the record of the visionary phenomenon in c. 10. In all these three bks. there is discovered a genuine personal touch which appears to reveal actual spiritual experience. At 10 we learn of the practice of prayer and self-mortification in order to obtain illumination even as in 2 Esd.; and this spiritual discipline along with the resultant experiences has ever been native to the mystic's life. Apocalyptic will never be sympathetically appreciated until we bring it under the category of the poet and the seer. Psychologically literary and religious inspiration have very much in common, and the intellectual and artistic elements may not be discounted in religious inspiration. Our modern rationalism does not easily fancy Apocalyptic, but before casting it aside we should make an honest effort to appreciate it as genuine literature and as genuine religion. To be sure, a criticism that first of all will appreciate, will reserve to itself the right of discrimination; it will distinguish between the higher and the lower, the true and the false, for it must be borne in mind that mystical absorption in seeking the truth and the will of the Divine easily involves illusion. As Prophecy produced its exaggerations until at last the whole order of the Prophets fell into disrepute, so Apocalyptic had its rise and fall. But it is not just to condemn any one book for the faults of all the others. Dan. is the classical apocalypse of the O.T.; with all its peculiar literary art and its mystical practice of religion, it remains true to Judaism, and, more than this, it develops the latter legitimately in translating it into transcendental terms. Similarly the Church adopted only one of the products of its many prophets into its Canon, the Apocalypse of John. One such book in each Canon is sufficient, perhaps, but the two deserve their place in the proportions of the True Religion. Each visualized for its generation, in days of greatest stress for believers, the Kingdom of God as above all and to come on earth, and inspired a faith and comfort that was not disappointed.

4 See the admirable Presidential Address by Prof. C. R. Bowen in JBL 1925, i ff., 'Why Eschatology?' On the literary characteristic of Apocalyptic see the writer's paper, The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse, to appear in JBL 1926.
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In the Comm. at the end of cc. 2, 9, 11 are given sketches of the history of exegesis of certain outstanding themes of the bk.; the reader is directed thither for more explicit statement. The following is a summary review.¹

For early Jewish interpretation we are thrown back upon the N.T. and Josephus, Philo omitting all ref. to the bk. Jos. speaks of Dan. in the highest terms as one of "the greatest of the Prophets . . . for he not only prophesied of future events, as did other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment" (AJ x, 11, 7): and so 'Dan. the prophet,' Mt. 24¹⁵ (but not in the parallel Mk. 13¹³). Jos. interpreted the Fourth Kingdom as of Rome (although finding Ant. in the little horn of c. 8), but 'thought it not proper to relate the meaning of the Stone,' thus kept him from expounding the bk. more fully, to our loss.

In the Talmud Dan. is spoken of as weightier than 'all the wise men of the peoples,' Yoma 77a. For Talmudic and other Rabb. references see Hamburger, RE 1, 224: in them he is presented in the highest terms as a saint and an example, but the allusions are of personal, not theological interest. The Mediæval Jewish opinion appears to have been less favorable to Dan., this on the score of the technical distinction of the bk. from the 'Prophets,' and also probably because of the Messianic interpretation given to it by the Church. Both Maimonides, d. 1204 (Moreh Nebochim, 2, 41), and Kimḥi, d. 1240 (Pref. to the Pss.),¹² distinguished between Prophecy and the Holy Spirit, valuing the former as far higher because it dispossessed the recipient of his natural faculties, while the latter is but an illumination, and Kimḥi notes that Dan. was inferior to Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the other Prophets in that he could not 'maintain strength' (108) when he awoke from his dreams.

The great Jewish commentators all interpreted the bk.: Saadia, 892—941; Jephet, c. 1000; 'Rashi' (Solomon b. Isaac),

¹Cf. esp. Berholdt, pp. 156—162; Rosenmüller, pp. 38—51; Zückler, Pref., §§ 12, with the fullest bibliography; and the admirable presentation in brief by Behrmann, pp. xliv—xlix. Knabenbauer’s survey, pp. 57—64, is valuable for its inclusion of the mediæval and later Catholic literature. The Bibliographies in Wilson and Boutflower are useful for presentation of recent archaeological discussion.

¹²See C. B. Michaelis, pp. 33 ff.
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d. 1105; Aben Ezra (Abraham b. Meir b. Ezra; s. JE s.v. ‘Ibn Ezra’), d. 1167; Isaac Abrabanel, d. 1508 (first printed ed. 1497); Joseph b. Yahya, c. 1559. Of these Saadia’s comm. has not yet been published. The ‘Saadia’ who accompanies Rashi and Aben Ezra since the Bomberg and Buxtorf Bibles (the texts followed in this Comm. are those in Mikraoth Gedoloth) has long been recognized as a much later composition and can only be cited as Pseudo-Saadia; but Aben Ezra frequently quotes Saadia’s comm. and Jephet polemicizes against it. In the later Jewish exegesis there appears to have been a reaction toward the Mess. interpretation of Dan. (s. Note, end of c. 9). Of this development Abrabanel is an example in his work on Dan., on which remarks L. Ginzberg, JE 1, 128: “He controverts both the Christian exegesis and the Jewish rationalism. . . . In opposition to the Talmud and all later rabbinic tradition he counts Dan. among the prophets—but therein only agreeing with the current Christian interpretation. He is impelled to this by the fact that Daniel furnishes the foundation for his Mess. theory.” Jephet is valuable as representing the Karaite exegesis; his comm. has been published in the Arab. with Eng. tr. by Margoliouth, 1889. His observations are often acute and exhibit an ancient line of tradition; but cf. Margoliouth’s judgment upon him as a commentator, p. viii. In the Comm. constant use has been made of Jephet, Rashi, Aben Ezra, with reference to Pseudo-Saadia. In addition to the commentators the Jewish lexicographers are valuable: the elemental work of Ibn Janah, c. 1050 (which has been consulted for the Heb. in the Comm.), and the Aruch of Nathan b. Yechiel of the 12th cent., which with the labors of Elias Levita lies at the base of subsequent lexicography. The immense debt of the Prot. commentation and vernacular Bibles to the Jewish commentaries is evident at every step in the exegesis of Dan.

4 Rashi was translated by Breithaupt, 1713, and b. Yahya by l’Empereur, 1663 (the latter comm. I have not seen). A. F. Gallé has published selections from the comm. of ‘Saadia, Aben-Ezra, Rashi, etc.’ 1900, the ‘Saadia’ being the late commentary. Bibliography of other later Jewish comm. is given by Rosenmüller, pp. 38–40.
4 The text of Ibn Janah’s Book of Heb. Roots followed is that by A. Neubauer, 1875. The Aruch completum has been published by A. Kohut, 1878 seq.
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In the Church the first commentator was Hippolytus of Rome, whose 'On Daniel,' written c. 202 A.D., has been published in full by Bonwetsch and Achelis; s. §§10, 1, §§12, a. The work is ardently hortatory, expectant of the Parousia, but its historical exegesis is sane and valuable. Origen’s comm. has been lost but for ‘a brief extract of his notes’ (Salmon, DCB 4, 11). The Gr. tradition was carried on by Chrysostom (in homiletic manner), Polychronius the brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, the two latter representing the Antiochian school of exegesis. Polychronius’ work, preserved only fragmentarily, is, on account of its objective, historical point of view, the most fascinating of all the Patristic literature on Dan. Hipp., Polych. and Theodt. have been particularly consulted for this Comm. The Syriac-speaking Church is represented by its great Father, Aphrem (Ephrem, Ephraim) of the 4th cent., whose comm. on Dan. is a notable work. A commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia, also translated into Syr., is now lost; s. DCB 4, 940; Baumstark, Gesch. d. syr. Lit., 103.

The prince of the commentators is Jerome. His work gains in value as it is primarily an apology against the Neo-Platonic Porphyry’s attack upon the historicity of Dan., claiming that it was Maccabean. This polemic purpose appears in the opening words of the Pref. to the comm. Jerome has done the service of preserving Porphyry’s argument in very full form, often in citation, and the polemic has caused him to compose a very careful work. His comm. is intrinsically valuable for its constant dependence upon the tradition of the rabbis under whom he studied, and the work is a monument to the earliest stages of Jewish exegesis, as appears from its frequent agreement with the Mediæval representatives of the latter. Of Porphyry’s work we know nothing further. His position as to the date of Dan. has been vindicated by most of modern scholarship.

Of the Mediæval commentaries may be noticed those of Albertus Magnus and Nicolas de Lyra. The In Danielem postillae

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6 See §12, n. 2, for monographs on Hipp. as commentator.
7 Published by A. Mai in vol. 1 of his Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, 1825. Mai also adds a catena of annotations (Commentarii variorum) on Dan. by other Gr. writers, Ammonius, Apollinaris, et al.
8 He then notes that Eusebius, Apollinaris, Methodius had written apologies against this attack of Porphyry's, extracts from which are preserved only in Mai's catena, s. note above.
attributed to Thomas Aquinas (Paris, 1640) is not recognized as genuine by the editor of the sumptuous Leonine edition, Rome, 1882 seq.; s. vol. 1, p. xcii. Of the Roman Catholic commentators after the Reformation many are cited in Pole's Synopsis criticorum, e.g., Pereira, Maldonat; for the 17th and 18th centuries, e.g., Sanctius, Cornelius à Lapide and Calmet; we note also the merits of de Maitres and Bianchini, s. §10, a (1). Recent Roman commentators of importance are d'Envieu, 1888–1891, and Knabenbauer, 1891. The former work, in three vols., is an extremely apologetic and polemic treatment as against radical criticism.

The Protestant Reformation produced a flood of learned annotations and commentaries upon Dan. as upon all the Scriptures. The writer has depended for his knowledge of these great scholars upon the Critici sacri, London, 1660, and Pole's Synopsis criticorum. They include, besides Luther, whose great contribution was his Bible translation, such names as Calvin, who dedicated characteristically brilliant lectures to Dan., S. Münster (whose influence on the English Version was very great), Geier, the illustrious Grotius (in some respects the father of the modern interpretation of Dan., and the first to introduce at length the parallels from Classical letters). For the 18th cent. may be particularly noticed C. B. Michaelis, Wm. Lowth and Venema, along with the scholarly apparatus of J. D. Michaelis in his ed. of the Heb. Bible.

Meanwhile a line of radical interpretation had started in the 17th and early 18th centuries, denying in part or in whole the authenticity of the bk. and its traditional age. The partial criticisms of Spinoza and Sir Isaac Newton (s. §21, a) were developed by Marsham, Collins, Corrodi and others in the 18th cent. (s. Note at end of c. 9, §5) and precipitated the fully formulated theory of the late, pseudepigraphic character of the whole book, presented by Eichhorn, the father of modern Biblical Introduction, and by Bertholdt (1806), the first commentator at length on these lines. Porphyry now came into his own. Bertholdt was followed, but with tempering of his rationalism and extravagances, by Rosenmüller (1832), von Lengerke (1835), Maurer (1838), Hitzig (1850—indulging in Persian origins), Ewald (1868). This radical position was however warmly contested, with the support of many doughty theologians, as Hengstenberg
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(1831), C. H. Auberlen (1854), Pusey (1864), Hävernick (1832—he and von Lengerke are rich in allusions to Classical literature); Stuart of Andover (1850—the first American philological commentary on Dan., an exemplary work); Keil (1867—the extreme of the apologetic position); Kliefoth, Kranichfeld (both 1868—excellent commentaries); Zöckler (1870—a very sound commentary, with full bibliography, and the latest Protestant work with exposition of the elder interpretations).

In the '80's a fresh stimulus was given to the study of Dan. in its philological phase by Kautzsch's Grammar, and especially on the archaeological side by the Assyriological discoveries. But most of the formal comm. (exceptions noted §19, n. 1) accept the radical position: Meinhold (1899); Bevan (1892—admirable for philological acumen and freshness); Behrmann (1894—with very independent criticism); the American Prince (1899—stressing the Assyriological point of view); Driver (1900—the fullest of recent commentaries, only limited as based on the Eng. text); Marti (1901—all too brief); Charles (in the New-Century Bible); also A. Lambert (a brief Heb. comm.). To these should be added the series of select notes on the bk. by Graetz, 1871; Torrey, 1909 and 1923 (s. Bibliography); and Ehrlich in his Randglossen, 1914. For critical presentation of the text Kamphausen in Haupt's SBOT, 1896, and Lohr in Kittel’s Bible, 1906, should be consulted: the former with admirably cautious treatment, the latter far more radical, in general following Marti’s criticism.

Archaeology has, however, inspired a considerable revival of the defence of the authenticity of the bk., with many extensive monographs, e.g., those of Wright, Wilson and Boutflower, which have been noticed at length in §19 (for literature see there, note 1); and that Section exhibits the reaction toward recognition of a far greater amount of historical tradition in the bk. than the elder criticism had allowed—a position maintained in this Comm.
A COMMENTARY ON DANIEL.
I. THE HISTORIES.

CHAPTER 1. THE EDUCATION OF DANIEL AND HIS THREE COMPANIONS.

(1) 1. 2. The deportation to Babylon. (2) 3–7. The education of Daniel and his three companions in the Chaldaean sciences. (3) 8–17. Their piety. (4) 18–21. Their singular wisdom approved by Nebuchadnezzar.

1. 2. With this datum of a reduction of Jerusalem by Neb. in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim and the deportation of the latter and his court to Babylon, the narrator as briefly as possible links up his story with traditional events of the last days of the national life. There is no historical corroboration of such an event in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, at which date indeed Neb. could only be called ‘King’ by prolepsis. Our prime authority, 2 Ki. 23:36–24:7, assigns an 11-year reign to Jeh., recording that ‘Neb. king of Bab. came up and Jeh. became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him’; and the LORD sent against him bands of Chaldreans, Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, to destroy Judah. But Jeh. did not survive the catastrophe; ‘he slept with his fathers.’ His son Jehoiachin capitulated to Neb. in person after a siege, having reigned three months. There ensued the despoliation of the temple and the deportation of the royal family and upper classes to Babylon. Also Jeremiah informs us with particular fulness about this period. The 4th year of Jeh. is equated with the 1st year of Neb., 26:1, cf. 46:2, acc. to which the latter’s defeat of Necho at Karkemish occurred in the 4th year; and c. 36 details the history of the writing and the fate of the first edition of the bk. for the 4th and 5th years, while the elegy on Jeh. in c. 22 knows of no such catastrophe happening in that king’s reign. But a further development of the history appears in 2 Ch. 36:5–8, viz., that, without definition of date, Neb. came up against Jeh. and bound him in brass fetters ‘to bring him to Bab.;’ for this the variant and probably earlier text of 1 Esd. 5:8 reads ‘and led him to Bab.,’ i.e., הַלְוָיָהוֹן יְיָיִלְיָיִלְיָי for יְיָיִלְיָיִלְיָי. As was recognized by
vLeng. and is maintained by most recent comm., this datum of Ch. has been combined with the 'three years' of Jeh.'s submission to Neb. in 2 Ki. 24; ergo his captivity happened at the end of the 3-year term. This gradual midrashic expansion ignores the valuable data of Jer. The close dependence of Dan. upon Ch. appears in the almost exact equivalence of our v.² with 2 Ch. 36, 'Neb. also carried some of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Bab., and put them in his temple at Bab.,' an identity which has actually affected the subsequent history of the text of Dan. and the Grr. (v. inf.). A rational motive for the shoving back of the date of the captivity to Jeh.'s 3d year may be found in the probable desire to obtain the fulfilment of the exact 70 years of the Exile, 2 Ch. 36 = Jer. 25; so Curtis, Chron., ad loc., cf. Mein. But exact calculations are not to be attributed to our author but to tradition.

Support of this captivity of the 3d year has been claimed from Gr. sources; e.g., by Heng., Authentie, 52 ff., and so modern apologists, Wright, Dan. and His Prophecies, c. 3, §1, Wilson, Studies, c. 4. One unnoticed Jewish legendary parallel is found in Polyhistor, cited by Eus., Praep. ev., xi, 39 (from the Jewish historian Eupolemus, s. Freudenthal, Alex. Polyhistor, 16); after telling that King Jonachim had set up a golden image of Baal, the extract narrates how Neb. made a victorious campaign through Palestine, captured Jerusalem, took Jonachim alive, and carried off to Babylon the gold in the temple along with silver and bronze; this 'Jonachim' appears to be Jojoiaikim, but there is possible confusion with Jehoiachin. More important is the testimony of Berossus as cited by Jos., AJ x, 11, 1 = C. Ap., i, 19: Neb. was ordered by his father to chastise the rebellious satraps of Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia, which task he completed, annexing these lands to Babylonia (an anachronism indeed as far as Egypt is concerned). Then hearing of his father's decease, he set out on a forced march across the desert to receive the crown, and ordered the captives, Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians and Egyptians, to be sent on, and these he colonized in Babylonia. This statement is arranged anachronistically by Jos., who makes it follow another extract from Berossus telling of Neb.'s capture of Jerusalem and its destruction by fire, i.e., the event of 586. But in the former passage there is no reference to a capture of Jerusalem or captivity of Jehoiakim. Operations
of Neb. in Syria-Palestine in the 4th year may correspond with the datum of Chaldæan and other troops that attacked Judah acc. to 2 Ki. 24. Jos. by no means draws the conclusions of modern apologists. Acc. to AJ x, 6, 1, after the battle of Kar kemish Neb. "took all Syria as far as Pelusium except Judæa." In the same chap. Jos. records that later, at the end of Jeh.'s reign, Neb. came against the latter, took Jerusalem, slew Jeh., and had his body cast outside of the walls (itself a perversion of history, dependent upon 'the burial of an ass' that was to be Jeh.'s fate acc. to Jer. 22). As an example of Jos.'s absolute unreliability at times it may be noted that he makes Dan. and his friends captives of the captivity of 586, x, 10, 1, deliberately ignoring the datum of Dan. that they were taken captive in 606; i.e., Jos. is no witness for apologetic on this point.

Commentators have been ever embarrassed over this 3d year. Ra. makes the 3d year the last of the three years of revolt, Jeh. 'dying under Neb.'s hand'; and so AEz., PsSa., Jeph. The Christian tradition following the unfortunate identification by of the names Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin as 'Iwakelmu (2 Ki. 23:236–24) blundered through the royal succession of this age. Mt. 110t. identifies the two under 'IeXovlas; despite Jerome's argument against Porphyry that two kings are required here. Hipp., 1, 2, §§23, 6, is in utter confusion as to the series of kings and their names; in §6 he identifies the three years with the three months' reign of Jehoiachin. Jer. gives to both kings the one and the same name Ioacim, but is obscure as to his deductions. The early Prot. comm. were equally troubled, proposing many of the exegetical devices since attempted; e.g., Grot. suggested that eight years of Jeh.'s reign were discounted because his captive brother Jehoahaz was still alive for that term. The Cath. Mald. and the Prot. CBMich. fall back upon the Jewish identification of the three years with the term of Jeh.'s revolt. Heng. maintained the unvarnished credibility of the datum, followed by many; their arguments are most completely stated by Klief., pp. 49–69, and Keil, pp. 46–56. Of the points made may be noted: Berossus' statement (made to imply a reduction of Jerusalem); a prolepsis in Neb.'s title as king (cf. Wilson, c. 5); denial that $n$ means 'arrived at' but rather 'started to go' (so Kran., Keil, Knab., as particularly correct if the writer were in Babylon); insistence that Jeh. was only taken prisoner,
not removed to Bab. All other recent comm. reject the historicity of the datum, with exception of Behr., who holds to the taking of Jerusalem on Berossus' testimony without further elaboration. All secular historians, Rawlinson, Meyer, Winckler, Rogers, ignore or condemn the datum. For the Winckler theory that Jeh.'s 3d and 4th years may have coincided in part with Neb.'s 1st years, the chronological table given by Dr., p. xlix.

In v. 2 the narrator assumes the capture of the city and proceeds to detail its two chief consequences for the subsequent history: the captivity of the Jewish king, which prepares us for the appearance of youths 'of the royal family,' v. 4, and the desecration of the sacred vessels by Belshazzar, c. 5; however, the v. is but a duplicate of 2 Ch. 36 61 a. But the clumsy condition of the v. in \( \text{Hebrew text} \) has been recognized by all comm. If the accusative in 'he brought them' refers both to the king and the vessels, there arises the absurdity that the captives were brought into the king's temple; if it refers to the vessels alone (so \( \text{Greek text} \)), then there follows the repetition that they were 'brought into the treasure-house of his god.' But orig. \( \text{Greek text} \) reveals an elder condition of text than \( \text{Hebrew text} \), which relieves the problem. On Hexaplaric testimony 'the house of his god' in v. 2 was not read by \( \text{Greek text} \) (s. Note); the Hexaplaric insertion in \( \text{Greek text} \) is taken bodily from \( \text{Hebrew text} \), producing an awkwardness in the text as revised. The insertion of 'in the house of his god' in our \( \text{Greek text} \) was prob. due to the interpretation of 'them' as neuter, with the VSS, along with reminiscence of 2 Ch. 36 7, 'and he put them in his temple in Bab.' This induction from \( \text{Greek text} \) agrees with the elision of the phrase by Dr., Mar., Löhr, Ehr., Cha. Pr. (and so Mald.) preserves the text by supposing that the questionable phrase refers to a triumphal presentation in the temple; but this luxurious note is out of place. Behr. without any textual authority would delete the whole of v. b. Hitz., Mein. interpret יִתְנְוָא אֱלֹהֵי יְהוֹיָקִים as 'the land of his god,' and cf. Hos. 8', 9 15. While the Jewish comm. admitted the captivity of Jehoiakim and against the VSS correctly regarded the obj. as including the captives, some of the apologetic school of the 19th cent., e.g., Häv., Keil, Zöck. (so also Rosen., vLeng.), confined the obj. to the vessels alone so as to avoid the deportation of Jeh. to Bab. There still remains a certain inconcinnity; 'them' must imply Jeh. and his family
and entourage; but the implication is so clear that it is not necessary with Ew., Ehr., to suppose that some phrase expressing the large circle has fallen out.

The initial sentence in v.², 'the Lord (Adonai, on which s. Note) gave into his hands' is a statement of the divine Providence ordering the tragedy. 'The house of God' stands in the Chronicler (cf. inf. 5⁹) for the earlier 'house of YHWH.' 'Shinar' is archaizing, despite Mar., as it is in Is. 11¹¹, Zech. 5¹¹; it is well chosen as denoting the land of the arch-rebel Nimrod, Gen. 10¹⁰, and of the Tower of Babel, which is the antithesis of the theme of Dan. In v.⁵ the disposition of the sacred vessels is briefly recorded; they were placed in the treasure-house of Neb.'s god. The sing. mng. of בֵּית הַדָּוָד is to be preferred with ב אָדָם; but ב understood it as pl. with the nice word אֵין דָאָלָיו. The former view is supported by 4⁵, where 'Belteshazzar' is interpreted by Neb. as 'according to the name of my god,' obviously, Bel, cf. Bel and the Dragon, v.². The later Paganism was henotheistic. בֵּית תָּמָם means 'god-house,' so Ju. 17⁶, and either 'Gotteshaus' or 'Götterhaus.' Every temple had its treasure-chamber, the sacred things of even a conquered religion being still holy; hence Belsh.'s act in c. ⁵ was a sacrilege even to Pagan eyes. Cf. the similar account of the deposit of these vessels in 2 Ch. 36⁷, Ezr. 5¹⁴. The plundering of these stores of booty was a constant aim of conquerors. Aph. Syr.'s view, followed by Theodt., Häv., al., that Neb. desired to honor the vessels of God by bringing them into the presence of his gods is a vagary, answered for the Jewish mind by Ra.: he brought them there 'to praise his false gods.'

1. ובשנה [For the gen. construction s. GK §134, o.—שִׁלְיוֹת] Many mss defective.—שִׁלְיוֹת] A formation of ancient Heb. usage, e.g., Nu. 24⁷, ¹ Sa. 20⁷, ¹ Ki. 2¹², along with בִּנְיָםִין, also בִּנְיָמִין, which comes to predominate under Aram. influence in the Hagiographa and NHeb. For the vocal בֵּית גִּלְבְּרָת, but בֵּית נְבוֹת ¹ Sa. 20³⁰. The term is not otiose with the following 'king,' as ² feels; it refers to the royal era, the first year of which began in Assyria and Babylonia with the first New Year's day after the accession.—וְאָדָם As noted above, some comm. insist that this vb. can mean the inception of the action; e.g., Gen. 45¹⁷, Jon. ¹. But it seems absurd to hold that this very curt passage made a distinction between the moments of starting and arrival.—לִבְּרוֹת Otherwise in Dan. יְבָרְדוּ וְיִבְרְדוּ, e.g., ³, or יִבְרָדָה, e.g., ¹⁸; אֲדָם desired to use the fullest spelling at the first occurrence of the word. The
correct form, is found only in Eze. and sections of Jer. (also here in Ken. 245), strangely enough failing here, if Dan. be a contemporary document. For the Gr. forms s. BDB, GB, and Schrader, ZPT 188, 610 ff.; the forms with -n- for -r- are found only in the Jewish tradition (Berossus in Eus. has -n-, but after the Eusebian spelling). For the frequent division of the word into two parts in many MSS, so also here, see Elias Levi, Masoreth ha-masoreth, ed. Ginsburg, p. 210, Ginsburg, Int., 200 ff. For before a liquid in place of cf. ירששלון etc.—א"פ ירשקו ירשקו, etc.—א"פ insist on this Kre perpetuum except in the Aram. sections, where ולולש עלירא a. Dan. Many MSS other MSS, Ken. 245 Jahn restores here ירשקו, but, except in the Prayer, c. 9 and its introduction v.3, the bk. always uses ירשקו, and presumably this was read originally here. But the identification of the deity was required and this was fixed by the Kre perpetual, which then entered into the text. Similar indifference as between ירשקו and ירשקו appears in later Jewish literature, e.g., the Targums, where the abbreviation of ירשקו is used for the Bibl. ירשקו; so also in BSira, cf. the equivalents for א"פ in Smend’s Index.—א"פ ירשקו ירשקו = Brigham (s. Bev., GK §95, n, and other refs. in GB), cf. ירשקו, תכננה (vs. DDB to be listed under rt. ירשקו); = Hebrewized ירשקו, e.g. זKi. 624, and parallel to ירשקו, between which and this word confusion occurs (s. GB s.vv.). The word is partitive here (otherwise at v.9), as at Neh. 770, and like ירשקו זKi. 1221 (s. Burney, ad loc.), and has the same use in זKi. (Aram.). The partitive use of ירשקו is common in the Talmud, s. Jastrow, s.v. The corresponding word in זCh. 367 is the simple ירשקו. The earlier identification with מידי sumeri, ‘land of Sumer,’ South Babylonia (so e.g., Pr.) is now largely doubted; s. GB s.v. But to the Jews it meant Babylonia, as if reads here and Zech. מידי. The Jewish terms for Babylonia are ‘land of Babel,’ Jer. 5129, ‘land of Chaldees,’ Eze. 213, or ‘Chaldan’ (עברית), Is. 4820. ירשקו It has been observed above that this phrase was not in orig. צ or probably in orig. צ Origen interpolated from צ יכונן צו צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי צי Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Ци Цי
3-7. The education of the youths. 3. The king orders 'his Chief Eunuch' to introduce into the court certain high-born youths of the Jewish captives in order to educate them as royal pages, in line for such promotion as their abilities might deserve. Throughout history this has been the honorable destiny of aristocratic captives; it was doubtless the lot of the family of Jehoiachin, 2 Ki. 25:27-28, as evidenced in the favor shown to Zerubbabel, whom 1 Esd. 3:1 treats as similarly a royal page, νεανίσκος, even as the Grr. here at v. 4 designate these young men. The Chief Eunuch is simply the majordomo; it is not necessary to draw the conclusion that the youths were made eunuchs, as Jos. hints: "he made some of them eunuchs," nor to combine the ref., after Theodt., with the alleged fulfilment of Is. 39:7. The Pers. heir apparent was brought up by eunuchs; s. art. by A. V. W. Jackson, cited below at v. 5. But the notion in Jos.'s mind had its corroboration in many cases, e.g., without doubt, Nehemiah; cf. the condition represented by Is. 56:3. Jewish tradition agreed with Jos., as Jer. indicates, and was continued in Targ. Est. 4:6, where the eunuch Hatak is identified with Dan., Iarchi ad loc., Epiph., De vita proph., x (these passages cited by vLeng., p. xcvi). But AEz. denies that the three youths were eunuchs: they were not to stand before women but before the king, while that condition would be a blemish contradicting v. 4, involving a diminution of mental ability. The understanding of v. b depends upon the number and kinds of classes to be distinguished. G and Θ, each with an exegetical plus making the first class definitely of the Jewish captivity, distinguish three classes: Israelites, members of the royal family, and nobles, the latter two classes being by implication Babylonian. But the objective of the story is the fate of the Jewish captives solely. Jeph., CBMich. find three classes: (1) 'ex filiis Israel promiscuae sortis'; (2) royalty; (3) nobles; but this arrangement is not orderly. 'Israel' is applied to the laity in contrast to the Levites, as indeed AEz. understands 'Israel' here; but the distinction is not used as between secular classes, with exception of possible appeal to Hos. 5:1. It is best, therefore, acc. to a Sem. usage, and following Jun. and Trem., Bert.,
Behr., Mar., al., to regard the 2d and 3d conj. as correlative, i.e., 'Israelites, both of the seed royal and of the nobles.' The use of the Pers. word מַהְמָה for Jewish gentlemen is not contradictory; it may represent actual courtly use, or be affectation of a high-sounding term, like our 'grandees'; so Ra. capitally interprets, דָּמֵךְ, 'duces,' and Sa. 'patriarchs,' a Syr. Church title. Jos. at once assumes that the youths of the story were of the royal family 'of Zedekiah,' and so Theodt.; so constant later Jewish tradition, s. Hamburger, RE 1, 'Daniel,' at end. But this is as much surmise as the notion that Dan. was a priest, G Bel1.

4. The persons to be selected were boys, i.e., of teachable age, of perfect physique and comeliness, with mental powers approved by their primary education, so that they were wholly competent to take their part in the king's court. The stress lies, as naturally in a Jewish story, on the intellectual training. The three phrases used of the youths' mental qualifications are simply accumulative and do not permit analysis into distinct mental functions; it is therefore difficult to give a satisfactory translation of the Sem. rhetorical idiom (s. Note). It is a question whether the three ppls. are to be understood as futuritive (cf. GK §116, d) with some comm., or as qualities already acquired, with others. Grot. thinks of their education in the Law, the wisdom of Solomon, etc., but Jeph. properly denies that the king had any use for that sort of wisdom. But it is best with the Jewish comm. (so Sa. very positively in his tr.), to refer the ppls. to the past, of the preliminary humanistic education. The mng. of 'letters and language of (ancient) Chaldæa' has been made clear only since the discoveries in Assyriology, which were only slowly applied by the comm. to the elucidation of the phrase. Keil (1869) first among the comm. noted the possibility of understanding by it the language of the cuneiform script, and Knab. and Pr. still more positively insisted on the identification, followed by their successors, exc. Mein. There must have existed a wide-spread popular tradition of the ancient hieroglyphic language (ἦρωνδύματα) that had descended as the medium of the Chaldæan sages; its monuments with its cabalistic script were still in the public eye. Pliny names three cities famous at a late date for their 'Chaldæan learning,' Hist. nat., vi, 30, Babylon, Warka, Hipparene; cf. Strabo, xvi, 1; and for the late sur-
vival of the cuneiform languages s. Int., §19, f. The parallel to the letters and wisdom of the Chaldæans is found in ‘all the wisdom of the Egyptians’ in which Moses was educated, Acts 72, a common midrashic notion. As in the latter case reference was not to the vulgar Egyptian of the day, but to the hieroglyphic language, so the tradition here concerns not the Bab. vernacular of later times, but the mysterious language of the past surviving only among adepts. Had the writer meant Aramaic he would doubtless have said so; but there would have been no point in his insisting on a culture in that tongue. So Nicolaus of Damascus reports (Müller, Fragg. hist. gr., frag. 67), that “Cyrus was versed in the wisdom of the Magi,” as well as trained in the arts of a gentleman. The query concerning the identity of this Chaldæan language is an ancient one. The most ancient interpretation (Jos. speaks only of the wisdom of the Chaldæans, not of the language) identifies it with the Aram. dialect, which is taken up at 24; Jer. in his Pref. to Dan. calls this language chaldaicus sermo; and so in Pref. to Kings he identifies the Syrian and Chaldaic tongues. However, in his comm. here he discusses Philo’s opinion that Heb. was the same as Chaldee, as Abraham came from Chaldæa; but he inclines to the opinion of others that Abraham knew two languages. This identification was Jewish, appearing prob. in the Talmud (s. Dalm., Gramm., p. 3), and was held by AEz., who interprets the Chaldæan language and the Aram. as the tongue of the king. Until the rise of Assyriology this view remained the prevailing one.

Jeph.’s comment on this assembling of cultured men at the royal court is pertinent: “The king’s object was twofold: to gratify his fancy for men of knowledge; and to be able to boast that in his court are the greatest men of the world.” Elder comm., e.g., Rosen., Häv., illustrate from a similar practice at the Sublime Porte. The royal court of letters played its part in ancient antiquity as well as in later civilizations; the Epistle of Aristeas represents the Jewish tradition of Ptolemy II’s intellectual coterie of scholars; the Story of Aḥikar proved how valuable the trained thinker was to the king in his political emergencies. It became a later problem how far Daniel and his friends practised these heathen arts of the Chaldæans. Chrys. argues that no blame lies in learning but only in the use, and Geier similarly holds that we must distinguish between theory
and practice, that a knowledge of magic is useful in order to counteract it. Calv. more positively decides that Dan. would have made short work with any superstitions just as he did with the unclean foods. But the story stands for the readiness of the Jews to accept secular education, as all through their history, without despite to their religion; cf. the story of Joseph.

5. As cadet members of the court the youths were taken on the budget of the royal ménage and given a stated assignment of food and drink from the royal commissariat. A technical Pers. term is used of this gratuity, = 'assignment, appropriation,' and while the elder tr. 'portion' (AV JV) rests primarily on an erroneous Jewish etymology, it is more accurate than 'dainties' (RVV) or 'delicacies' (Dr.), although by implication such fare must have been of superior quality. The Gr. fellow derivative, ποριβαζεις, was used of honorific gifts from the royal table. Also the gift of the 'royal wine' (cf. Est. 17), the indispensable drink of the Persians, is specified. Dr. cfr. for these honorary gifts of food, Gen. 4334, 2 Sa. 118, 2 Ki. 2530. But the Pers. court far exceeded all its predecessors in lavish entertainment, and both Est. and the Gr. writers report the tradition of the opulence of the feast and of the regular support of innumerable guests at the royal table—a proof that the Pers. customs are in mind, not the Bab., as Hengst. argues, p. 335; s. Rawlinson, SGM 'The Fifth Monarchy,' c. 3. The youths were to be given the normal three years of training acc. to the Pers. system. See vLeng. at v.4 for the Gr. notices on the education of the Pers. youth; acc. to Plato, Alcibiades I, 121, the higher education began in the 14th year, and Xenophon, Cyrop., i, 2, assigns a limit above this at the 16th or 17th year. This triennium has its origin in the Avesta (SBE4 4, 311 ff.): "How long a time of a year's length shall a student go to a master of spiritual learning? For a period of three springtides (years) he shall gird himself with the holy education"; s. A. V. W. Jackson's excellent article on 'Pers. Education' in Enc. of Education, which gathers all the material on the subject and fully illustrates our story. Much later in the old Pers. territory a three years' course was the vogue in the famous Nestorian school at Nisibis; s. Baumstark, Gesch. d. syr. Literatur, 114; Labourt, Le christianisme dans l'empire perse, 297.

6. The four heroes of the following Stories are now introduced.
They are said to belong to the preferred tribe of Judah; were they of royal blood, as later tradition claimed (s. at v.9), this would have been noted. A failure in historic verisimilitude appears in the absence of patronymics. The four names occur predominantly or solely in late bks. of the O.T.; all four appear in Neh. On Daniel s. Int., §2 and Note inf. 7. The Chief Eunuch signifies the adoption of these aliens into the court by giving them native names, which naturally contain elements of the Bab. religion. This change of name was a requisite for members of the court, and has its Bibl. precedent, as AEz. notes, in the change of Joseph's name (cf. Dr., DB ii, 773b: Erman, Life in Anc. Egypt, p. 517). We have so to explain the names of Zerubbabel, Shenassar and Sheshbassar, who were prob. brought up in the royal court. In any case there appears to have been but small objection on the part of Jews to the adoption of heathen names; Esther and Mordecai have their parallels in the papyri and in all Jewish literature. This tendency long preceded the subtle Hellenization of the 2d cent. Indeed the Jews, except possibly in periods of reaction (e.g., at present Jews returning to Palestine are adopting Heb. names), have never stickled at foreign names, even those with heathenish implications: see Zunz, 'Die Namen der Juden,' in Gesammelte Abhandlungen, vol. 2. In Dan.'s cognomen Bêlêshaṣṣar the Akk. word is evident as Balâṣu-âṣur, 'Protect-his-life!' (or with some, Balâṭ-ṣar-âṣur, 'Protect-the-life-of-the-Prince!'). Strangely enough Jewish tradition has vocalized this so as to insert the name 'Bel,' to agree with 466, acc. to which Dan. was named after Neb.'s god, i.e., Bel. If the writer meant to include 'Bel,' then he did not know how to analyze Bab. names. But there are other traditions of the vocalization of the name; so Ṣ with Belîtṣâṣar, i.e., as compounded with Belit, the paredros of Bel (but based on the Gr., not the Sem. spelling, which requires t, not ī). The Gr., which Π followed, identified the name with that of King Bêlêshaṣṣar, rendering both with Balτâσαρ. The three other names are disguised. The third doubtless stands for original 'Abed-Nebo,' 'Servant of Nebo'; Šadrak is prob. perversion of Marduk; Mēṣak has not been explained. The outlandish heathen names of Babylonia were sardonically played upon by the Jewish tradition. The theophoric elements Marduk and (his father) Nebo are characteristic of the later Bab. religion: s. Jastrow, Rel. Bab.
A COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

u. Ass., 1, c. 14. In the Apocryphon in c. 3 these Pagan names are discarded.

3. אֵיתָא [אֵיתָא] in the mostly late mng. ‘command,’ as in Arab.—הָנִמֵן] Despite Cheyne’s gratuitous condemnation of the word, EB s.v., and the comparison or identification with וֹנֵנַה Gen 10:5 (Hitz., Cheyne), following unconsciously Jos.’s precedent with his ‘אֵיתָא: AJ ix, 10, 2, the name occurs as וֹנֵנַה in an incantation text from Nippur published by Myhrman in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, 345, 346, republished in my Aram. Incant. Texts, 145. With the name should be compared אִסְפָּסָאָנְדָא in Clay, BE x, p. 41. For elder views s. Rosen., vLeng., the latter with Rödiger’s suggestion of Pers. aspa-nādā, ‘horse-nose.’ Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, 46, connects with Syr. ašpīza, Mand. sapinsa, ‘post-station,’ NPers. siphanj, which can mean ‘guest.’ See Nestle, Marg., 38, with a possible ancestry from Lat. hospitium (1). Prof. A. V. W. Jackson and Dr. Gehman have kindly examined the word for me and report no satisfactory results. G’s ‘Aβεσιερί: is due to identification of this officer with ἡ τεκτική, v.11, q.v. for the derivation of ’Aβ. from τεκτική. Φ Ασπάζ, Lu. ‘Ἀσπαζώνος—Correctly the Grs., ‘his chief eunuch,’ i.e., chamberlain. For various titles in the Oriental court compounded with ῥαβ s. Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., 1, 31; these compounds spread in the WSem. world, s. Lidz., NE 366. Aq. pedantically, ‘teacher of the eunuchs.’ This title appears also 2 Ki. 18:17, Jer. 30:18, and in CIS ii, no. 38 (687 B.C.); cf. Phoen. הֵסָבָר (‘exalted chief eunuch’?), Lidz., i.e., Cooke, NSI no. 21. Sarts appears in Akk., Del., Hwb., 694, and Jastrow has demonstrated the same mng. for sarīn in the Ass. Law Code, JAOS 41, 18. Haupt, JBL 1916, 321, explains ס as a Safel of ס. ‘with the testicles mashed.’ But Winckler, Jensen, al., prefer to find in ס סא רְסִי, ‘Vorgesetzter,’ s. GB, Manitius, ZA 24, 100, n. 1. The phenomenon of high military officers bearing the title appears to have raised doubts whether it meant primarily ‘eunuch.’ But it is easier to think of the latter word developing into the mng. of an official title than vice versa. Ancient evidence points to the use of ‘eunuch’ as of a royal minister, and in Test. Joseph, 7, the eunuch Potiphar is not only married but has children. (On the other hand, Burton records that the actual eunuchs in Mekka have wives.) Further, eunuchs often distinguished themselves both in political and military affairs. Apart from the probable case of Nehemiah, I note what Olmstead says, Hist. of Ass., 153, of Dāiian-Ashur, Shalmaneser’s great vizier, remarking that a large proportion of highest officers, many of the military commanders, etc., on the testimony of the reliefs were eunuchs, and that “there is good reason to believe that D.-A. was one of these unfortunates.” A general, Bagoas, of Ochus’ expedition
against Syria was a eunuch (Schürer, *GJV* 3, 233, n. 22). Several such cases may be cited from Byzantine history, e.g., the illustrious commander Narses.—To introduce, not ‘to bring’ from Judah, with CBMich.—The theocratic name of the people is employed (Hitz.) after the prevailing use of the Chronicler, unlike Neh.’s Memoirs and Est., where ‘Jews’ is used (s. Torrey, *Composition*, 35, for these terms in Chr.); all the Twelve Tribes are ideally included. At v. the selected youths are described as of Judah. C inserts ‘[of the sons] τῶν μεγαστάνων [of Israel],’ and Θ τῆς αθυγαλοποίησ. Blud., p. 51, suggests a primitive των = C || νους = Θ. But μεγ. in C (also 1 Esd. 18) appears to be an attempt to obtain a grading in the three classes. *Megistanī* became the official designation of Parthian grandees (Suetonius, *Calig.*, v, Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv, 27, cf. Mommsen, *Rom. Gesch.*, 5, 343 f.), and possibly τ. μεγ. is a doublet to ἐξελέκτων = Pers. μεγαστάν. Θ’s τ. αθ. is an insertion from 25, and may be exegetical, as v. speaks only of the captivity of the king.—[τὸν κ. . . . τούτῳ] The conjs. are correlative, ‘both . . . and,’ with Jun.-Trem., Bert., al.; cf. 7 20, 8 11, Gen. 36 24, Ju. 6•. Some MSS om. τ. A similar usage in Syr., Nold., SG §340, Duval, GS §387, b.—[τοῦ κ. . . . τούτῳ] The anonymous ‘Hebrew Interpreter’ tr. εύγενῶν, and Jos. εὐγενεστάτους, i.e., thinking of Jewish nobles. The word came down from Pers. court language and apparently survived as designation of nobles. Cf. a Pers. title of like origin, Ράθι, of Waidarnag at Yeb, APO pap. 1, l. 5, and the title Ῥάθι, on Gr. coins of Persia, s. Hill, *Gr. Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, p. clxiv seq.; that is, these titles survived to a late date.

4. מְיוֹל] *Gra. μεγάλος*, as of the Three Pages, 1 Esd. 3•.
uses יתפשה. Similarly Arab. ghulām means page.—טומא] Exc. here and Jer. 31' מוכ always ון. It is best with Torrey, Notes, II, 229, to regard this form as a conflate spelling of ון and ר aprender ‘anything,’ and so to hold them apart. See Lexx. for proposed derivations: the two as identical, דומד = ‘spot’ (so most recently BL 528, s), or as distinct words, which is far preferable. For ויומש (cf. Akk. indefinites, mamma, mumma, etc.), cf. Arab. mahma, ‘whatever’ < ma-hu-ma (s. de Sacy, Gram. arabé, 1, 195) = Heb. ma-(h)u-ma; this derivation avoids the objection on ground of accent lying against Ges.’s derivation (Thes.) as from הו ון. Jewish lexicography is uncertain, Jastr. s.v. ון; but the Jewish comm. here as ‘blemish,’ and so Sa. in his tr. ג תimitate the word דומד. Blud. has assembled several such cases of ג’s assonantal renderings, e.g., י20 ופלוסופיפא = ויומש, י6 וקוקקכ = ויומש; cf. Dr., Text of Sam., at 58.—ויאריאר מבר. Dr.; the expression is frequent in Est., e.g., י11 יתפש ון. The comm. try their hand at obtaining exact specifications and a logical order in these three phrases, e.g., Hitz., but many confess it cannot be urged too far (e.g., CBMich., vLeng.). But it is best with Behr. to regard the phrases as superlatives, or rather cumulatives. Cf. י40 יתפש ון, and the synonymity of these rts. in י21. The terms here are reversed י17. Sem. diction abounds in the heaping of adjectival clauses to produce not an analytic but a single effect; e.g., frequently in the Arab. philosophic tract published by Dieterici, Thier u. Mensch.—דר עיי ויומש] Cognate accusative, י40 יתפש ון י21.—דר פ] An Aramaism in form as well as in origin, s. Kautzsch, Aramaismen, 51; = ‘knowledge,’ e.g., 2 Ch. י17 י; in Ecc. י60 understood by many as ‘seat of thought, mind,’ but the parallelism here demands an objective gen. Later עי = ‘Gnosis’ in the particular field of the Mandean sect; cf. Akk. muddu, epithet of Enmeduranki and a priestly title, s. KAT 533, n. 9, p. 591; Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., 2, 55. 148. But ג uses פסוכס here for עיי.—וכו = ‘ability’; summing up the virtues listed, and referring to the youths’ ability to carry themselves worthily in the royal presence.—ר י[ Technical term for attendance on the royal court; so, more fully, יפנ יтан, vv. י19, cf. 1 Sa. י60, etc.; and so of the servitors of Deity: of the priests, Dt. י8; of the prophet, 1 Ki. י7, cf. ‘standing in the divine council,’ Jer. י18; of the angels, י10, Lu. י19. Cf. APO pap. 49, l. 9, and pap. י51, l. 13. Cf. Akk. nasāsu ina ָפָּנָן, s. GB s.v. 2, d.—היא[ In Akk. ‘palace,’ as here, but in the WSem. field most commonly of the god’s temple, and so generally in O.T. So Aq., Sym. here, ָפָה, possibly preserved in Orc ָפָה, error for ָפ; cf. VSS at 41. The same use as here appears in the Aḥikar papp. Later usage reduced the word to the sense of ‘mansion’: s. Mandaic text in my Aram. Incant., Texts, no. 38, l. 2, and the word survives in the same sense in the
Arab. of the Lebanon.—o,0SS1]. The infinitive depends upon evv. This abstract use of the word appears at 117, Is. 2912. The same use of the word in Syr., e.g., Jn. 716 (= γραμματα), Acts 725; also Ep. Mar Scapion, in Cureton, Spicilegium, 43, l. 9. Orig. tr. ἐστιν ἤρεμον Ju. 111 by πελάς γραμμάτων. Aq. unfortunately (δοθέων.) In NHeb. γράμμας, γράμματα = 'letters,' 'mathematics.' The noun is paired with the following ἡμιος as a const. This construction is not so rare' as GK §128, a. n. 1, holds, asserting that the present case and ἡμιο Is. 112 can be treated as 'ein absolut stehender Genetiv'—whatever that may mean. Other cases are to be found in Gen. 1418, Ju. 13, and freq. in Est., e.g., 16. 14, 79, esp. 'script and tongue,' 127, etc. Behr. cites the Jewish coin legend ἡμιον. The same use appears constantly in BAram., e.g., 32, 619, Ezr. 415, 57, etc.; and in Sachau's pap. no. 1, l. 23. In Syr. the paired construct is rare, Nödl., SG §209 A, citing but one case; it is occasional in Mand., Nöld., MG p. 309. In Arab. it is occasional in early poetry, frequent in later prose writers, Wright, Gr., 2, p. 201. In general the usage is proper where things go in pairs, as here. The accent on ἡμιο is divisive, and so CBMich. argues for the distinction of 'letters and the Chald. tongue'; so apparently G, but not Θ. But Sa. tr. definitely, 'the script of the Chaldeans and their tongue.'—[The language of Chaldea,' so the force of the anarthrous ἡμιο] = 'Philistia,' etc., and the several Gentile pls. in Gen. 1018.1. A Chaldean district and tribe still survived on the Persian Gulf in Strabo's day, xvi, 1, 6.

5. ἡμιο] 'Assigned,' in sense of numerical distribution; as here, v.10; in v.11 of assignment of a command. Cf. Kautzsch, Aramaismen, 108. The ἐστιν in similar use Is. 6512, Ps. 1474. = Jer. 5218 of the portion assigned to Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach; so of the duty of the ministers of the temple, 1 Ch. 1637. = 127. Also inf. and 128. This separation into two words has prevailing Mass. authority and is accepted by Bär, Gin. (s. their notes, the ancient Hilleli Cod. treating it as one word), but not by Mich., Kit. Kamp. notes that as one word θ should not have dageš, cf. יープ 316. The separation was due to a popular etymology, as though ἡμιο = Heb. 'portion,' an etymology not known to the ancients. Ra. says that the word means cooked food in contrast to raw, AEz. interprets 22 from the erroneous 22 Ezr. 257. Sa. also tr. with two words, 'bread and condiment ('udm). G paraphrases correctly, 'an allowance (ἐκθεσις, cf. Blud., p. 35, n. 5) from the king's house'; Θ apparently connects with Aram. אירוס and tr. ἡμιο 'portion,' excellently annonam. The word is OPers. pakhaga (= Sansk. prati-bhaga), 'portion,' taken into Syr. as יקנין (so here in G), and into Gr. as παραφαίζεις. For its definition s. Athenæus, xi, c. 109, acc. to whom
it included certain honorific gifts; in Syr. = 'dainties,' s. PSmith. The identification with ὡτιμᾶτα was made by Grot. and Castellus.—וֹתֵימָנִין Sing., cf. v. 19 and s. GK §93, ss, cf. 1 Sa. 19; possible other cases GK §124 k. AEz. interprets the pl. of the various wines at the different seasons.—וֹתֵימָנִים For the loose syntax of the infin. cf. the exact parallel Gen. 42 28. The infin. may depend by a zeugma of mgs. on וֹתֵימָנִין (cf. 2 24 וֹתֵימָנִים), or be a case of the loose construction of the infin. with equivalent to a finite: e.g., Am. 8 5, and Baram. inf. 216, 16; 315; s. GK §114, p, Dr., Tenses, §206; cf. Eng., 'and so to.' There is no need with Mar., Löhr, to reverse the two halves of the v., aligning וֹתֵימָנִים with וֹתֵימָנִים and וֹתֵימָנִים. Ehr. cancels the first half as superfluous; but the apparently minor point of the cuisine is the hinge of the story. The vb. means, not 'nourish' with Q; & CBMich., al., Moff. It means 'educate,' with וֹתֵימָנִים and Q, & CBMich., al., Moff. It means 'bring up' physically, e.g., Is. 1, and then intellectually, e.g., 2 Ki. 10 4, and so = Syr. וֹתֵימָנִים. It means 'education.'—וֹתֵימָנִים = 'at their end,' as vv. 15-18, after the more common sense, not 'some of them' by reason of the masc. suff., so וֹתֵימָנִים. (AEz. offers both constructions; Sa. definitely tr. as here.) Such inconcinnity of agreement appears freq. in Heb., e.g., inf. 8 9, and s. GK §135, o, Diehl, Das Pronomen pers. suff., Giessen, 1895, and for the Aram. dialects, Kau., §53, Anm. a. b, and Nöld., MG §147,—וֹתֵימָנִים The infin. construction is resolved into the finite with reason as a change of subj. is involved; CBMich. cf. Is. 32 6. Cf. the Arab. subjunct. with fa, Wright, Gr., 2, p. 30. Dr., Tenses, p. 139, n. 1, cites this as a case 'in inferior prose,' but hardly with justice. For similar usage in Aram. s. at 716.

6. וֹתֵימָנִים Gin. notes a Sebț (s. his Int., p. 187) וֹתֵימָנִים. For sing. vb. with pl. subj. s. GK §145, o. p. In Baram. the present construction appears in Ezr. 5 8 9, and is frequent in Syr., Nöld., SG §322.—וֹתֵימָנִים = 'among them,' so e.g., Ex. 14 28. В's paraphrase makes the identification of Judah as one of the tribes of Israel.—וֹתֵימָנִים = Eze. 14 14, 28 9 28. В's paraphrase makes the identification of Judah as one of the tribes of Israel.—וֹתֵימָנִים = Eze. 14 14, 28 9 28. Кt. וֹתֵימָנִים of the traditional sage; also a son of David, 1 Ch. 3 1, and a priest, Ezr. 8 9, Neh. 10 7. The name is also Akk., דָּנִילִים, and Sab., Palm., Nab., s. Lexx.; also of an angel, Enoch 69. There is no reason to doubt the mgs. 'El has judged'; the name is taken from tradition, not invented for this bk. Geiger, Urschrift, 296, Gin., Int., 397, think of the Mass. pointing as intentionally obscuring the sacred element el; but it is phonetically correct.—וֹתֵימָנִים See Lexx.; it appears in Akk. transcription as Hananiyama and on an Aram. docket from Nippur, וֹתֵימָנִים; also in Sachau's papp.; in Jewish inscriptions, Lidz., NE 278, Eph. 2, 72; in Tobit, 5 15, and in N.T.—וֹתֵימָנִים Name of a cousin of Moses, Ex. 6 2, and of a person in Neh. 8 1. Delitzsch (in Bär, p. xi) interprets, 'who is what God is?'; so BDB and most modern comm.; Hommel, Anc. Heb,
Tradition, 300, 'who is a god?' (but Hwb., 'wer ist der der Gott ist?'), and cf. ַחַיָּהנֶשׁ as Hitz. had done, deriving element ָּה from ֵשׁ 'be like.' But Schrader rightly refutes such an etymology, COT 2, 106; Methusael is not similar. The name = יָּבִּיד with ה = 'salvation,' as in the Moab. name ֵשׁ; cf. ַחַיָּהנֶשׁ hos. 104, יָּבִּיד אֵל. And so, I find, Torrey, Notes, I, 257, decides.—הָיָה[. An ancient name, common in the later age; also in the papp.; s. Lexx. ֶנֶשׁ has conj. before this last name, אָ ת supplies it to the last three names; אַ ת has asyndeton throughout, and is prob. original; s. at v. 27. The order of the last three names is alphabetical. Some Gr. mss, also אַ ת, place Azarias before Mishael, probably in consequence of the central position taken by the former in 321.——7. חֲשֹּׁנֶשׁ ... כְּבָד יָּשׁ] Cf. 2 Ki. 174, Neh. 97; otherwise the phrase appears only in BArum. (52), Syr., NHeb., JArum.; cf. Jastr., s.v. כְּבָד. There is no reason with Schetefelowitz, Arisches im A.T., 64, to hold that the phrase is due to Pers. influence.—כְּבָד אָ ת om.; it is superfluous and may have come in from v. 8.—כְּבָד יָּשׁ] In ro 1 (not all mss) כְּבָד יָּשׁ. The name prob. = BaIatsu-usur (with Akk. 5 > Heb. 8), cf. Schrader, COT ad loc., BDB; but GB prefers BaI-at-su-usur, but hardly with reason appealing to the Gr. form; Professor Clay has informed me that this derivation 'is not possible.' Delitzsch, in Bär, p. ix, thinks that the name has been abbreviated from Bel-balatsu-usur, which would then explain 78. None of these suggested names actually occurs in Akk. Wilson, p. 30, assumes Bel-Ilt-su-usur, 'Bel protect the hostage of the king,' but without warrant. The testimony of the VSS is against אַ ת's doubling of the ה, which may represent the original penultimate accentuation (appearing actually in some cursives). The element usur is variously vocalized, e.g., עֲהוֹשׁ. The Gr. identified this name with 'Belshazzar,' hence for both BAlatsasarp; A Bærtsasarp is due to Coptic exchange of liquids, cf. Aμαρσαρ v. 11.—כְּבָד יָּשׁ] This and the following כְּבָד were analyzed by Del. in Bär, p. xii, as containing the Sumerian element akur, 'moon god;' approved by Schrader (for only alone) and by Kön., Hwb. Lenormant, Jensen suggested identification with the Elamite god Šturuk (EB 4420). It is most reasonable to conclude with Zimmern, KAT 396, Jahn, that כְּבָד, like דַּנֶשׁ (2 Ki. 1927 (so for the latter Cheyne earlier), is an intentional perversion of כְּבָד, 'Marduk.' For such a n. pr. cf. the Aram. docket name כְּבָד in CIS ii, no. 68, and cf. Jehu, Hadad, etc.—כְּבָד ] K. Kohler, on these names, ZA 1889, 4551, and Winckler, Allor. Forsch., 3, 56 f., suggested a perversion of כְּבָד, cipher for Babel, Jer. 2326 (Grot. had made the comparison). Again Marduk may be contained in the word. The spelling of these names in Gr. mss with ש appears to be Origenian.—כְּבָד יָּשׁ] Again the elements separated by אַ ת against the orig. use; at 32 שָׁנֵר אַ ת. The first element very common in late names, Biblical and epigraphical, s.
8-17. The test of piety demanded by Daniel. 8. Dan. made up his mind not to defile himself with the heathen foods, and proffered his petition to the Chief Eunuch that he might be excused; the sequel shows that he was also speaking for his companions. VLeng. first exhibited at length the motives for this abstention: the scruples against meats sacrificed 'with the blood' (so PsSa.) and probably εἰδώλωσιν, Acts 15:29, and against wine as generally graced with a religious libation (cf. 1 Cor. 10:21), while at least the later law was peculiarly rigorous against the defilement of drinkables and their vessels. Jos. gives a parallel in his anecdote of the pious Jews in whose cause he went to Rome, who lived only on figs and nuts, Life, §3. So Judas and his company preferred to live in the mountains like wild beasts and to eat grasses to escape pollution, 2 Mac. 5:27. The scruple is finer than that exhibited in 1 Mac. 1:62 ff., etc., where Jews resisted the compulsory eating of taboo foods. We may rather compare the pious practice of Tobit, who abstained from eating the food of the Gentiles, Tob. 1:10 f., and of Esther, who acc. to a Gr. addition to Est. 4 (13:26) pleaded to God that she had not eaten of Haman's table or honored the king's symposium or drunk wine of oblations. The story of Judith first illustrates the practice of a Jew carrying a wallet (πήρα = N.T. κόφιον, the cophīnus of the satirists) to avoid contamination from unclean foods, Jud. 10:6, etc. The extreme of this principle is summed up in Jub. 22:15, 'Separate thyself from the nations and eat not with them'; with which cf. and contrast the story of Peter in Acts 10. For this Jewish regulation of life s. Schürer, GJV 2, 91 ff. It is
accordingly quite out of question to compare Esther’s fasting, Est. 4:17, or to suppose that Dan.’s action was tinged with asceticism (so Whiston to Jos., l.c., Aph. Syr., Albert Magnus, Knab.), or was symptomatic of early Essenism (so Behr., p. xxv), or to rationalize with Jos. and Calv. and to think of a puritanic discipline of body and mind. Issue must be taken with vLeng., al., that this feature implies the Macc. puritanism; cf. Tobit, while the practice was logically based on the Law; cf. Eze. passim, Is. 52:11, Zech. 14:21, etc. 9. 10. Divine grace prompted the official to a sympathetic reply. Jewish romance always represents its heroes as on good terms with officialdom, cf. Esther, the story of Joseph the Tobiade in Jos., AJ xii, 4, etc., a feature which had its corroboration in actual history, e.g., the cases of Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Jews of the Elephantine garrison. But the official deprecated the request on the ground that the physical condition of the youths would suffer, for which the king would hold him responsible. A capital penalty is not involved in the caution he feels; the final phrase means that they would bring the responsibility on him, s. Note. The king’s suspicions would be aroused when he ‘saw their faces (appearance) out of sorts in comparison with the youths of their own age’ (not ‘of their sort,’ with AV).

11-16. Dan. then appeals privately to a lower official, the ‘warden,’ as the Heb. word means, who was charged with the care of the youths and their diet. With the exception of G and Jos. and of a few moderns who have a penchant for G’s text, the tradition has rightly distinguished between this official and the Chief Eunuch. But the question as to the word hammelšar lies between the interpretations as of a proper name, so ΘΣΠ AV RVVmg, and of a title, as the article proves; but it is doubtless the latter, and the Akk. or Aram. original can be recovered by help of the vocalizations preserved in Σ Lu. Η, and the translations of Α and Sa.; s. Note. An underling might grant the boon without fear of discovery. Dan. lays a wager of faith with the warden on the issue of the test to judge of their physical condition. A bit of Oriental color is added by the Grr. in translating, ‘he was taking to himself,’ ἀναποτύμως, i.e., enjoying the ‘graft’ of the arrangement, and this notion is followed by Θ Η Sa. and the Jewish comm. The latter are inclined to press the miracle; Jeph. thinks that the Creator must have put something
extra into the food and water. Mar. rationalizes; better Grot., who while he recalls a Gr. line to the effect that 'a fat belly does not make a fine mind,' insists that here where beauty was concerned the work of God is evident. But the test was above all a miracle of faith with its complement in the divine help; Jer. notes that Dan. even fixed the time; and Theodt. holds that this incident is one of many proving that nothing is stronger than faith. Cf. the story of Joseph in Test. Jos. 34, who 'fasted for seven years and appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face,' and on the other hand deliberately ate of the poisoned food without harm, c. 6. The 'pulse' of v.12 doubtless included grains, e.g., the parched grains so common a food in the Orient; s. Note for variety of specifications of the word. In v.13 tr. 'as thou seest fit,' not 'as thou seest [us]' EVV. In v.15 not their faces were fatter (AV), but their persons, so RVV JV.

17. In the process of the 3-years course of education the excellence of the Jewish youths was demonstrated. All four accredited themselves in letters and philosophy ('learning and wisdom,' AV), while Dan. distinguished himself in the 'understanding,' i.e., power of interpretation, of visions and dreams. This faculty may have been exhibited in competition with the other students, for the training of the sages was especially directed toward these recondite mysteries (s. at 22 for the several classes of Wise Men). Dan.'s specialty in visions and dreams does not belong to the highest category of revelation, that of prophecy; the Prophets had long since passed away, 1 Mac. 446, and the highest business of the Jewish sage was the interpretation of their oracles, cf. Dan. 92 and Ecclus. 391: 'He will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients and will be occupied with prophecies.' Dreams and visions belonged to a lower and often deceptive form of revelation, cf. Jer. 23, a fact recognized in Ecclus. 34ff. But in competition with Pagan interpreters of those phenomena (of whose power in those arts there was no doubt) pious and spiritually cultivated Jews might gain their laurels. Joseph was the classic instance in antiquity; and now 'a Daniel is come to judgment' with the arts of the Chaldæans, who also, acc. to Diodorus Siculus, ii, 29, were adepts in dreams. The color of the story is true to the stress laid by the Bab. culture upon dreams, and is evidence, like the magical papyri and
the Classical writings on dreams and omens, for the continuance of the 'Chaldean wisdom' long after the disappearance of the Bab. empire. For the part played by dreams s. Int. to c. 2.

8. 'made up his mind,' so Mal. 2²; cf. Acts 5⁴, 19⁻⁴ (similarly Pesh.). The phrase is not identical with יִכְבָּד יַעֲשֵׁה ani
devitore, e.g., Is. 47⁻², יַעֲשֵׁה. Exc. Gen. 11⁻², Ex. 20⁻⁶, late, = יַעֲשֵׁה Aram. אֲדֹנֵי; s. Kön., Syn. 574, GK §157. יַעֲשֵׁה late = Syr., softened from יְעַשֶּה; Mar. cf. מְשֻׁר > מַעְשֶׁה; in Priest Code סַעַר. Sym.'s מְטַּעֲנָה (Field) supported by the glosses to 36 233.—שָׁפַךְ. In the original 'seek demand,' later in weakened sense 'ask'; v.²⁰ 'ask a question.'—9. יִמְצֵא This may be understood as a case of wayy-consec. where the sequence is not historical but that of order of ideas, cf. Dr., Tenses, §§75. 76; and so AV Moff. But rather the sequence is historical; upon the request of the strange youth God inspired the official with favor toward him.—וֹרַח לָכְךָ. The phrase but without יַעֲשֵׁה I Ki. 8⁶, Ps. 106⁴, Neh. 1¹ (cf. 2 Ch. 30⁻⁸), and APO I, I, 2, and Test. Jos. 2², אַלְכֹּה וַתַּמְרִינוּ; the same with יַעֲשֵׁה alone lies behind Judith 1⁰, אַלְכֹּה וַתִּצְרְפֹּנֶנ. A similar construction in Gen. 43¹⁴, and note Test. Jos. 2², where in צָרָפָנ x. מְזֻמְּרִינוּ orig. יִמְצָא was read יִמְצַא. The sentiments are made concrete in their object, cf. Hos. 9⁻⁷. יָבָא יִמְצֵא. The vocalization is abnormal; we expect יָבָא יִמְצֵא, s. Kön., Lgb., 2, p. 34, 'eine durch Kürze abweichende Wortgestalt,' cf. p. 407, יָבָא יִמְצֵא, etc.—10. יְהֵם נַעֲשֵׁה = Aram. הֵם יִמְצֵא Ezr. 7²³, Syr. מַעְשֶׁה, so G here; = יְהֵם נַעֲשֵׁה Song r⁻⁸. Similar Aramaisms Jon. 7¹⁻⁸, Ecc. 1², cf. Dr., LOT 475, note.—יְשָׁע יִמְצֵא] Ehr. prefers the verbal adj. יְשָׁע as in I Ki. 20⁻⁹; but the pointing is corroborated by Gen. 40⁶, Pr. 19⁻¹². The rt. = 'disturb,' e.g., of the sea, Jon. 1¹; then as here and Gen. 40⁻⁶ (whence the word is taken) mentally 'disturbed, upset, out of sorts,' passing into the idea of anger, e.g., Pr. 19⁻¹². CorrectlyΘ σκοτόπων, 'melancholy,' as G Gen. 40⁻⁷, Lu. 27⁻¹⁷, esp. Mt. 6⁻¹⁸, also as result of fasting. G διαταραξόμενον, 'perplexed.'—יְסֵנִי = 'in comparison with'; cf. Arab. 'אַּנָּן.—12. Kit. מְעַנְלֵי] Cf. Bär's and Gin.'s notes. יָּבִא from rt. יָּבִא יִמְצֵא = יָּבִא יִמְצַא = יָּבִא יִמְצַא (cf. יָּבִא). So in Sam. (e.g., Targ. Gen. 1⁻⁷), NHeb., where יָּבִא יִמְצַא = 'his contemporary,' s. Jastr., and Buxtord, as of one born under the same star; hence not an Arabism, vs. Jahn. Arab. jīl is used in the same way; Rosen. cf. Hariri, Assemblies, 4, p. 35, ed. de Sacy, ma'at jīlātika wajiratika, 'with your contemporaries and neighbors.' Cf. Syr., 'sons of one's years,' SH here and at Gal. 1⁻¹⁴. Θ θύ· correctly translate; G's συντρεφόμενος a conjecture, the addition των ἄλλων ἀλλεσκόμενων not in G, a gloss to the word. Sa. tr. correctly, and AEz. notes the word as late Heb.—וֹרַח לָכָּךָ] Lit. 'condemn my head to the king.' The rt. is Aram. rather than Heb.; the noun בָּטֶה Eze. 18⁻⁷ is doubtful (בָּטֶה is read by Wellhausen, Dr., at 1 Sa. 22⁻²); the rt. appears
The phrase is transliterated literally by Θ; "I will run the risk of my head"; Θ 'the king will cut off my head.' So in this rigorous sense the comm. generally. But cf. the Syr. mesām berēs, 'penalty,' not necessarily capital, e.g., Acts 4:21; cf. the expression to 'put one's way on his head,' 1 Ki. 8:28, Eze. 9:16. The phrase is curt for 'put (the responsibility) on my head'; cf. Sus. v.65, ἐφευρίσκει εἰς τὴν σειστοὺς κεφαλὴν, i.e., 'to your own condemnation.' And so Sa. interprets, 'you will bring it down upon my head.'—11. ῶηGames] Θ by misreading Αμαλασάρ = Ε at 1:16; Orp (apparently orig. Or, e.g., 106 at v.14) Αμαλασάρ = Α Αμαρσάρ by Coptic exchange of liquids, cf. Bar. 19:13; Lu. Αμαλασάρ; Θ ἱππότα (so Ambrosian and Urmi texts vs. Walton and Lee ἱππότα); A has the same tradition μνασίρ, s. Gehman, p. 339; ἱ Malasar. Thus Lu. Θ Α agree in a similar vocalization vs. Λ. Schrader, COT, and Delitzsch (in Bär, p. xi) proposed derivation from Akk. ῶμας, 'watch,' e.g., ῶμας ἱβαβ, 'sentry of the gate.' This clue is corroborated by Θ μενασάρ (Pael ppl.) and Α μνασίρ, 'keeper.' As this is supported by the vocalization of Lu. and Λ, I suggest a Pael ppl., μενασάρ, with differentiation of n into l in proximity with m; cf. ῶημασάρ Song 7:1 = ῶημινιατ, ἱππότα Eze. 1:14 prob. = ἵππος; and n.b. Ενεμμασάρ Tob. 1:5 = Salamaneser, and vice versa, Herodotus' Labynnetos for Nabonidos. The word is then an old Akk. or Aram. term for a 'guard'; the rt. in OArat, Lidz., NE p. 325. The ancients treated the word as a n.pr. But Sa. and Ibn Janābī (p. 355) recognized it as ḥāzān or ḥāzin, 'treasurer,' and so the Jewish comm.; and the early Prat. comm. mostly followed the Jews. For various attempts at interpretation s. CBMich., Rosen., Hitz., Keil. Lenormant suggested ἁμελ-εσσαρ, 'treasurer.' But Mar., Cheyne (EB 3018), Jahn, Cha. prefer the rdg. of G ἁβεσσαρ, with which G had replaced the Ashpenaz of v.3. If G be right, then Θ is to be corrected in both places. But such identification ignores a clever moment in the story, the appeal to a lower servant. In matter of fact the phrase in G represents the actual text of ἁβεσσαρ, ἱππότα = ἁβεσσαρ, ἱππότα = ακριμασάρ, ἱππότα, ἱππότα = ἁβεσσαρ, ἱππότα. Accordingly ἁβ is to be explained from ἁβ, viz.: the two final consonants = ἁβ, as normally in such forms (e.g., ἔμμασε); the labial m became l, the l, weak in Coptic, disappeared. The change arose through the oral transmission of the story under Egyptian influence, with the result of evolving a good Heb. name. Josephus also identifies the two officials, but rdg. Ashpenaz (Aschanes) in v.3, then substituting this name here for ἁβ. It is possible that ἁβεσσαρ in both places is subsequent to Jos.—12. ἁβ] 36ακ (= Aq.) δοκιμασάρ, so v.14.—ἡμιτιτ In Dan. as in the Chronicler the numeral stands as often after as before the noun. The 10-day period, like the week or our fortnight, was a common expression for a few days; like
the 7-day week it had its own term, סָבָט, cf. Gen. 24:5 and Acts 25:6, '8 days or 10.' There is an allusion to these 10 days of trial in Rev. 2:10, and acc. to Jewish tradition Abraham had 10 temptations, Jub. 19:8 (s. Cha.'s note to 17:17), Pirke Aboth 5, 4 (s. Taylor, ad loc.), and likewise Joseph, Test. Jos. 27. הֶלֶף For indef. subj. cf. GK §144, f. g; not necessarily an 'Aramaism' (Behr.). יֵשֶׁר 'what is sown,' i.e., seedling, vegetable, Lev. 11:37, Is. 61:10; for the forms s. Lexx. In v.18 הָסָרֵנִי is used = Syr. zarōn, Talm. zarôn, the Aram. equivalent. For variety of forms of the same word in Dan. s. Behr., p. iii, who ascribes it to carelessness, so Kamp., but per con. Mar. objects. Prob. the common word of later use has intruded itself into the second place (or was it in the Aram. original in both places?). The Soferim have allowed both forms to stand as recognized varieties of reading; cf. Boström, Alternative Rdgs. in the Heb. of the Bks. of Samuel, Rock Island, 1918, p. 19. גָּזַרְצוּח (+ הָנֵבָט) adopted by Orp Lu.) 'pulse' (EVV), so Jewish comm., who include berries, etc.; Sa. 'grains.' יִסְפָּרַתָו as from בככ, legumina, which Dr. prefers. Jos. has 'pulse and dates'; cf. the diet of figs and nuts recorded for certain Jews in his Life, c. 3. Acc. to Krauss, Talm. Archäologie, 1, 115, זָרָנִי means beans and the like; but Löw, JE 3, 332, cites Kilaim ii, where the word includes turnips, onions, etc. AEz. has a long discussion of the word at v.18, evidently a moot point. G. F. Moore, in Harv. Theol. Rev., 17, 358, n. 176, remarks: "The reason for the specification of 'pulse' is perhaps that, being dry, it did not contract uncleanness from contact with unclean hands," and gives reff.

13. הָסָרֵנִי Also MSS וּסָרֵנִי; sing. like foll. וּסָרֵנִי and as at v.18 with sing. vb.; גָּזַרְצוּח, cf. EVV; the pl. vb. is due to the two subjects. הָסָרֵנִי For הָסָרֵנִי in place of normal הָסָרֵנִי; cf. König, Lgb. 1, p. 531, GK §75, hh. No explanation can be given of the vowel, exc. poss. as an Aramaism (so BL p. 425). The vb. means 'see fit, have opinion,' and so גָּזַרְצוּח, JHMich., Behr., al., apparently Ra.; so the pl. Est. 2:9 and freq. in NHeb.; cf. אִסָּר inf. 3:19. In regard to this matter? חָשָׁב לְשָׁם רֹאֵשׁ כֶּפֶר הָסָרֵנִי correborates, rdg. וּסָרֵנִי as וּסָרֵנִי. לִשְׁמָא חָשָׁב וּסָרֵנִי Constructio ad sensum, Hiv.; it depends upon the pl. suff. So Sa., who inserts 'their bodies [were fatter],' and RVV JV; גָּזַרְצוּח makes the phrase adjectival to 'faces' = AV. חָשָׁב correctly but ungrammatically, מַרְדָּאֲשַׁנָּא אִסָּר אֵלֶּה אֵלֶּה אֵלֶּה. תַּחֲצָה which is substantiated by יִפְסָא יִפְסָא, which clever amendment appears also independently in Lu. אֵלֶּה יִפְסָא יִפְסָא. הַגּוֹזְבָּה הָסָרֵנִי, where הָסָרֵנִי (= Lat. habitus) represents an interpretation as though זָרָנִי, which is found in BSir 16:14 = 'creation,' in NHeb. 'creation, constitution.' 35:16. וּסָרֵנִי Not necessarily Aram. usage, vs. vLeng.; it appears in Heb., but early only rarely, Dr.
Tenses, § 135 (5). For ἀνακρόμανος a gloss in 36ns λαμβάνον (Aq. 7).

17. The prefixing of the subjects emphasizes them and mutually contrasts them; e.g., 2 Ki. 17:9, and cf. Dr., Tenses, §160, Obs.—יוסף = Eze. 1:19; the same form for 7 in 2 Sa. 21:9; a case of this form in BAram., inf. 3:20, q.v. The opening phrase is variously rendered by the Gr. VSS and revisions; η εἰς ἀλλα εὐθύς the same form for 7 in 2 Sa. 21:9; a case of this form in BAram., inj. 3:23, q.v. The word for 'vision' in Dan.; mostly late, cf. mi, m n. The word is used collectively (א properly as pl.), so Hos. 12:11; cf. Aram. אתי, 2:19, the use of כִּסֵּךְ הָאָדָם הַיּוֹם. In this v. א has been glossed: by the plus כִּסֵּךְ from θ; at the end by the plus כִּסֵּךְ אֹרָה = חֲכָמִים. Also a primitive error כִּסֵּךְ אֹרָה has been corrected by the plus כִּסֵּךְ אֹרָה.

18-21. Acc. to vv.16. 19 at the end of the 3-year term the Chief Eunuch introduced the corps of young alumni to the king, who by personal inquisition found Dan. and his three comrades superior to all the rest. The result was that they were given commissions in the court ('stood before the king'). The practical use of such sages appears in the art of the wise Aḥikar in unriddling the riddles of the king's competitors, and a somewhat similar function is that of Dan. in 5:12. In addition to the classical case of Joseph, we find the bk. of Tobit making Aḥikar a nephew of the pious Tobit; Ben Sirach expresses the pathetic desire to 'serve among great men and to appear before him who rules,' Ecclus. 39:4. In the cosmopolitan character of those empires a wise Jew might reasonably have adorned the court of a great king, with no questions asked as to his religion. Later Jewish tradition boasted of the cosmopolitan learning of Hillel: "There was no wisdom, no language he knew not," and so of Jochanan b. Zakkai (Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 190).

20 reinforces the king's findings in v.19 by telling how in all subsequent issues he found the answers and advice of these Jewish courtiers 'ten times preferable' to those of their colleagues. Hitz., ignoring this new moment, thinks that the narrator returns to v.19a in order to detail the degree and the points of their
superiority. Mar., followed by Jahn, Cha., repeats Hitz., holding that the v. is a disturbing anticipation of c. 2; hence it should be elided, along with v. 21 (v. inf.). But such criticism would wreck any naïvely told story. Kings are forgetful as well as ungrateful, a fact illustrated in the story of Mordecai. A similar inconsequence is found in the compilation of the story of Belsh.'s feast with the earlier cc. The ‘magicians and enchanters,’ harûmmûm, 'assâpîm, who are distinguished in comparison with the Jewish youths, are inclusive terms, the one representing the Egyptian magic (so the first word is used in the Egyptian stories, Gen. 418, Ex. 83, etc.), and the other the Bab. magic, where a correct Bab. term is used, ḳâṣîpû. They are not to be treated as having technical mn.; the writer has no special knowledge of the elaborate development of those castes. Ḡ cleverly rationalizes these two classes into ‘sophists and philosophers’ (with an alliterative word-play, s. Note at v. 4); Jer. makes apology: “discunt ergo ea mente doctrinam Chaldaorum qua et Moyses omnem sapientiam Aegyptiorum dixerat”; similarly JHMich.: “magos, non qua praestigiis et fascino deditos, sed qua philosophos ac naturae scrutatores et sapientes.” Θ has truer equivalents, ἐπαυγόι (= 'רנ also Ex. 711, etc.), ‘enchanters,’ and μάγου (outside of Dan. only in Aq., Sym., e.g., Aq. Dt. 1811 = בֹּל); similarly H ariolî et magi. Sa., tr. ‘wise men and astronomers’; so Ibn Janâh for 'מש. Ra. understands the two terms as of necromancers who used the bones of the dead, and astronomers; AEz. explains both as of physicians and dream-interpreters.

21. ‘And Daniel continued [when and how he was—colloquial Eng., ‘remained on’] until the first year of King Cyrus.’ The implication is that he was vouchsafed the joy of the release under Cyrus, and possibly that he like other faithful Jews returned home upon that glorious event. Such a return was understood by one form of Midrashic tradition, s. Hamburger, RE 1, 225. The contradiction with 101, acc. to which Dan. had a vision in Cyrus’ 3d year, in the Far Orient, is removed by the critical distinction of cc. 1–6 and 7–12 as distinct books; s. §21, a. This removes the arguments made by Mar., Jahn, Cha. against the originality of the v. The editor of the whole bk., or composer of cc. 7–12, did not observe the clash between the dates (recognized however by Ḡ which reads ‘first year’ at 101).
To overcome the contradiction and for the interpretation of the vb. ‘continued’ various exegetical expedients have been devised: he remained in honor, AEz.: or, in the king’s gate, Hitz.; or, in prophecy, Stu.; or, in Babylon, so Jer. at 68, CBMich. holding that he was then removed or exiled to Media. The Heb. vb. הָנָי ‘to be,’ in the sense as translated here, ‘continued,’ is fully corroborated, as noted byHAV., al. The tr. of GV Moff. ‘lived’ has the implication that Dan. died thereupon.

18.־וָאֵין] Not ‘(the days) which’ with RVV JV, but with a general relative sense, as ‘at the end of the time that the king ordered them to be introduced’; so H AV.—ירָבְכָא] Waw-consec. after time-determination, s. Dr., Tenses, §27; cf. v.20. The obj. of the vb. is the whole college of pages, the Sem. syntax being loose in defining antecedents.—ירָבְכָא] 35 232 εὐλέκτων = Τον ἔντον in conspectu, the orig. rdg. of Θ vs. prevailing εὐλέκτων.—20.־ךְָםְךַי 35 148 פַּדוּ כַּף, prob. = orig. Orf.—הֵסָתָם] The const. relation is broken by the VSS (also Sa.) with ‘and,’ which Mar., Ehr. demand. The parallelisms presented by Behr., ראש נב 125, etc., are not pertinent. The const. relation may be cumulative, as in the series of constructs Is. 28, but that is poetical syntax. JHMach. considers the case ‘emphatica constructio synonymorum,’ cf. Ps. 164, הי יִת מְנַה יָא. The latter case and מְנַה יָא Ps. 324 CBMich. regards along with this as superlatives. Hitz. interprets as ‘(practical) wisdom of the (higher) intelligence’; Kamp., and Dr. as ‘wisdom determined or regulated by understanding.’—ברָכָא] Classical Heb. might prefer the impf., but the aorist is justified by 25; cf. an Arab. example from Tabari, given by Reckendorf, Arab. Syntax, §7.—ירָבְכָא] Reduplicative, as e.g., Gen. 43, יִשְׁר עֵמֶל נַח. The latter case and מְנַה יָא Ps. 324 CBMich. regards along with this as superlatives. Hitz. interprets as ‘(practical) wisdom of the (higher) intelligence’; Kamp., and Dr. as ‘wisdom determined or regulated by understanding.’—ברָכָא] Outside of Dan. used only of Egyptian magicians, Gen. 41, etc. Its origin is obscure; as from יהוה ‘inscribe’ so BDB, Kön., Hdb.; others cf. Arab. הַרְפִּים, ‘snout,’ hence ‘leader,’ e.g., הַרְפִּים יִדְחַף, ‘leaders of the people,’ cf. ‘anif, ‘that which is in front’; or the ‘snuffer’ (s. GB) who speaks through his nose. Boissier, PSBA 35, 189, has attempted a Sumerian derivation.—ירָבְכָא] The asyndeton is revised in a few MSS and all VSS, except Lweb incantatores magos; L must have followed orig.Θ, which then corroborates ו. Asyndeton is common in BAram. and has often to be restored in Θ on authority of Grr. This kattal form only in the Heb. of Dan.; in the Aram. יֵשָׁם (216). It = Akk. ašipu (ašipu?) ‘exorciser,’ for whose functions s. Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., Index, s.v., KAT 589. The Akk. ppl. form was retained in BAram., but the secondary nom. opificium was developed in Heb., similar to the
CHAPTER 2. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM AND
ITS INTERPRETATION BY DANIEL.

(1) 1-16. Neb. is disturbed by a dream, and demands of his wise men its interpretation, confounding their artifices in advance by requiring first the statement of the dream, 2-11; on their confession of inability before so extraordinary a request, he issues order for their summary execution, which is respited on Dan.'s plea, 14-16. (2) 17-23. Dan. and his friends pray for illumination, and the desired revelation is vouchsafed to Dan., who offers a confession of praise. (3) 24-45. He asks that he be taken in before Neb. to interpret the dream, 24; after the initial colloquy with the king, 25-28, Dan. relates the dream, 29-35, and then interprets it, 36-45. (4) 46-49. Neb. pays divine honors to Dan. and makes confession of his God; he advances Dan. to great dignity in his realm, in which honors the friends share.

For the notable part played by royal dreams in ancient history reference may be made, for the Mesopotamian field, to Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., 2, 954 ff., who cites cases extending from Gudea to Assurbanapal and Nabonidus. Among these the most similar to the present dream is that of Gudea's; he saw a man whose figure reached from earth to heaven, on his head a crown, etc. (s. Thureau-Dangin, Les inscriptions de Sumer et
d'\textit{Akkad}, 141, Gudea cylinder A, col. iv). Similarly the Pharaoh's dream in the Joseph story, of which the present narrative is reminiscent, has its parallels in the Egyptian literature, e.g., in a dream of Merneptah's in which he "saw a statue of Ptah standing before him... it was like the height of (?)..."; also in the dream of Tanutamon.\textsuperscript{1} Comm., e.g. Dr., cf. the symbolical dreams recorded by Herodotus, i, 107 f. 209, iii. 30. 124, vii, 19, mostly dreams of or concerning Persian monarchs, Cyrus, Cambyses, Xerxes, for the interpretation of which the dream-interpreters of the Magi (\textit{o}i \textit{δυνατολοι των μαγων}) were consulted. More particularly for the Saga concerning Neb.'s visions we may refer to c. 4; as there so also here we may adduce the testimony of the well-informed Abydenos (2d cent. B.C.?), contained in Eus., \textit{Praep. evan.} ix, 41, according to which Neb. had an oracle from an unknown god of the calamity to come upon his people. Neb.'s visions appear to belong to a cycle of legend on which our writer has drawn. Bevan, p. 65, n. 1, cf. a similar royal dream related in Hišām's Life of Mohammed, which "appears to have been borrowed in part from Daniel, while in other respects it diverges." Our story has a literary parallel in Alexander's dream of the Jewish high priest, in Jos. \textit{AJ} xi, 8, 5. For the spiritually inferior character of dreams, which serve however to exhibit the superior illumination of God's saints, and for the extent of dependence upon the Joseph story, see Note at end of the chap.

1–16. Nebuchadnezzar's dream. 1. The contradiction of the datum of the second year of the reign of Neb. with the three years of schooling that intervened after the deportation of the captives, c. 1, has given perennial concern to comm. It was early seen that some other era must be postulated than that based on 1\textsuperscript{r}. So Jos., \textit{AJ} x, 10, 3, identifies the year with the second year after the sacking of Egypt; this view is accepted by Jer., on the authority of the Jews and citing Jos.; so Polych., and Jeph., who calculates that it was the 32d year of his reign (1). Ra., AEz. make it the second year after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586. Modern apologetic has generally taken refuge in postulating a double reckoning for Neb.'s reign; in 1\textsuperscript{r} he was still coregent with his father Nabopolassar, here he is sole monarch;

so comm. from CBMich. to Behr. Knab. and Dr. call attention to the post-dating practice in reckoning royal years in Babylonia, so that the extra year would be the uncounted accession year of Neb.—yielding, to be sure, only ‘academic years.’ Others have proposed, following Ew., to revise the date, rdg. ‘the 12th year,’ and this has been accepted by Lenormant, Kamp., Pr., Mar., Jahn; cf. the similar omission in Jos. 24.12. Knab. suggests that numeral letters were used. א, the ‘ten’ being lost; but the papyri show that numeral letters were not used. It would be simpler to read ו ‘six’ for כ ו, and the writer sees that Torrey has already made this suggestion, Notes, II, 228. There are, however, cases where ‘two’ has been used to fill out a lacuna, e.g., 1 Sa. 13, ‘Saul was . . . years old when he began to reign and two years he reigned over Israel’; cf. also the datum of ‘two years before the earthquake,’ Am. 1. First an attempt may have been made to introduce a ‘year,’ and this was subsequently filled out with ‘year two.’ In that case the date would be secondary. If it is original and there is intention in it, the point might be that it was in his second year, the year after Karkemish, that Neb. became lord of the world; so AEz., but dating from 586. Of course there may be simple disagreement with the three years of c. 1, that detail with the introductory chap. being on the whole secondary to this story. The writer was not wholly dependent upon Biblical traditions of history, as will appear in the subsequent stories.

In this second year Neb. had a dream-experience (so the pl. המדים); he was agitated in mind (the vb. indicates repeated strokes), and his sleep broke [or, went] from him, with EVV; GV, ‘dass er aufwachte.’ Comparing 6.9, this tr. appears to be intrinsically correct, and with all varieties of interpretation of the difficult vb. has been followed by most VSS and comm. Aq. and א alone of the former express the obvious Heb., ‘his sleep was upon him,’ i.e., he fell asleep again. This would imply that he forgot the dream, a feature that has been erroneously read into vv.3-6. For interpretation of the vb. s. the Note.

1. The initial conj. is corroborated by ס OrP, other VSS om.; it is the only case of a story in Dan. beginning with ‘and.’ mss 62 147 begin the chap. with 1. The repeated ‘Neb.’ is represented in ס by paraphrase. The first instance is omitted by Ken. 117, ס restored by
Orp. c Lu.; it is required by the date formula.—חַגְּרוֹתָה] Pl. here and v.?, sing. v.?, and so ג. The VSS and inner variants in Θ variously introduce the sing. The simplification from pl. to sing. is more likely than the reverse process, unless we agree with Ehr. that נ is dittograph of the following two letters. The pl. is indefinite, of a dream-state, cf. ד', the definition of the single dream appearing in v.3; cf. ‘visions of my head,’ 4:1, †.—חַגְּרוֹתָה] For the accent s. König., Lgb., 1, 271; v.8 Nif. is used = Gen. 41*: ה has thus included both the earlier and the later use of stems. The Grr. have experimented with various vbs; מ contentritus est = Aq., whose rdg. can be restored from Gen. 41*, אתְּאֶנְבּרָפָה—נָּתַנְתָה הָנָּהוּ] ג תְּאֶנְבּרָפָה את אָויְנַתָא, so with variant vbs. Lu., Sym. (= 36*ς) = מ; Aq. literally את אָויְנַתָא = מ. Hence there is no suspicion of variants to מ, except in the Gr. prep. את which appears to be interpretative. A too simple emendation to suggest is וּנָּתַנְתָה. With the usual mng. of ה the phrase can only mean ‘his sleep was upon him;’ and so Jun., ‘when his sleep was upon him,’ and Jeph., Calv., ‘and sleep came upon him,’ i.e., he fell asleep again. DeDieu, dEnv. treat the prep. as adversative, contra eum, i.e., adversus ei et molestus. CBMich. appears to have inaugurated a fresh and favorite understanding of the vb., as expressing completion of being and so its termination; he paraphrases, “somnus confectus erat ac esse desiderat super eo.” VEng. follows Ges., ‘der Schlaf war dahin für ihn,’ with ויִּתְרָם in sense of ‘fertig, vorüber sein,’ ‘was all over with him’ = Eng. tr. of Zöck., with ויִּתְרָם as dative, as at 6:19; so Dr., defining the vb. by actum est, but insisting, after Keil, that וי be taken in its common psychological sense, e.g., Ps. 42*, ‘I pour out my soul upon me.’ But parallelisms with Eng. and German idioms are not at all conclusive. Dissatisfaction is expressed by some; Ehr. proposes a vb. דבר (= Arab.) ‘forbid,’ and Behr., Mar., Jahn, Cha. too easily revise the text by rdg. הָנָּהוּ, cft. 6:19. Grot. tr. ‘his dream,’ with the implication that it had passed from Neb.’s mind, and Haupt renews this suggestion on the basis of Akk. סָעַת ‘dream’ and tr. ‘his dream weighed upon him’; objection to which is that then we have two words for ‘dream’ in the same period. Another way out of the difficulty recommends itself to the writer, following Ra., who cft. Eze. 7:27, andHAV., namely to find the rare vb. הנָּה ‘fall’ (identical historically with ויִּתְרָם), and so ‘sleep fell away for me.’ With this cft. the repeated ויִּתְרָם at 8:27, || with ויִּתְרָם, ‘I was sick,’ where the former can mean ‘I collapsed’; v. ad loc.

2. 3. Neb. bids the attendance of his wise men ‘to tell (i.e., interpret) to him his dream,’ not only as Pharaoh did in Gen. 41, but also as was the universal custom in such royal perplexities. In the Bab. world there were several classes of adepts who
stood at the service of the king, to obtain for him oracles and to interpret dreams and omens; s. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, c. 19, ‘Das Orakelwesen’; *KAT* 604 ff.; and in detail R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1900. For the Persians there existed similarly the Magian dream-interpreters named by Herodotus, *sup.* In this passage to the two classes named at 120, the magicians and the enchanters, two others are added, the sorcerers and the Chaldæans. The fourfold listing indicates the levy of the whole fraternity on this occasion. The profession denoted by the sorcerers, בְּרִית עֵנָן, is condemned through the O.T. as representing black magic, e.g., Ex. 22:17, or in figurative scenes of immoral seduction, e.g., Is. 47:9. The Akk. has the same vocabulary for the evil sorcerer, esp. the witch, kaššapu, kaššaptu; kišpu, ‘bewitchment,’ etc.; s. Tallqvist, *Die ass. Beschworungsserie Maqla*, 15, *KAT* l.c. No scruple is felt at relating Dan. with this as well as with the other less obnoxious classes (although the sorcerers do not again appear); cf. 248, 49, 511, in which passages he appears as dean of the whole fraternity. But it is to be observed that later the rt. kišp was weakened, until in the Syrian Church it came to be used of prayer. For the term ‘Chaldæans’ s. Int., §19, f. In this passage and elsewhere in the bk. the several classes of diviners are listed with no technical or exact sense, as the variability of the lists shows. Dr. presents the following table of these:

120 magicians, enchanters.
22 magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, Chaldæans.
210 any magician, enchanter, Chaldæan.
227 wise men, enchanters, magicians, diviners.
4(7) magicians, enchanters, Chaldæans, diviners.
57 enchanters, Chaldæans, diviners.
511 magicians, enchanters, Chaldæans, diviners.
515 wise men, enchanters.

Various classes of Bab. soothsayers are similarly enumerated in *Sib. Or.*, 3, 218 ff.; and so also ‘magicians, astrologers and soothsayers’ in some VSS of the *Ahiķar* Legend, s. Conybeare, etc., *Story of Ahiķar*, p. Iviii.

2. θυτις, Lu. Q al. καλέστε.—Θ follows Θ in rendering the classes of adepts: εποίησοι, μάγοι, φαρμακοί, καλέστε, but avoids...
the latter's literal error in construing the last term as gen. to the preceding ones.— Classical Heh. would prefer וָאָרָא to the word; s. GK § 114 p. For the mng. 'tell', ‘interpret’ cf. Gen. 41:24; of interpretation of a riddle Ju. 14:5, etc.— 3. [We may compare the interesting dream fragment in CIS ii, no. 137, B, l. 1, where הָעָרָא אָלֶמָה אָרָא; this also illuminates 4:9, 9f.—] The VSS render freely this psychological phrase.

4. The several classes of wise men are summed up in the comprehensive term ‘Chaldeans’; so also below. Both ‘magicians,’ 4:6, and ‘wise men,’ e.g., v. 48, are similarly used. These are said to have responded to the king ‘in Aramaic,’ so JV correctly; סְפֹרֵטִי, syriacaya, = AV ‘in Syriack,’ RV ‘in the Syrian language.’ Through combination of this datum and 1:14 ‘Chaldaic’ came into Christian use, first in a gloss to סְפֹרֵטִי 2:26, and then in Jer., e.g., Praef. in Dan., ‘chaldaicus sermo’; so GV ‘auf Chaldäisch’; and ‘Heb. and Chaldee’ were the current names for the O.T. languages into the latter half of the 19th cent. For the various translation names of the Aramaic dialects s. Dalm., Gr., pp. 1 ff. Oppert first suggested (Éléments de la grammaire assyrienne, 1860—s. Haupt in Kamp. for bibliography, and Nestle, Marg., 39) that מַלּוּעַ is equally to be elided in Aramaic, a marginal note indicating the change of language; he has been followed by Knab., Bev., Haupt (vs. Kamp.), Pr., Mar., Cha., and this view appears preferable. For arguments for originality see dEnv., pp. 127 ff., Behr., Kamp. For the introduction here of Aramaic s. § 21, b. Against Oppert’s view, accepted by his followers in this point, that מַלּוּעַ is equally to be elided in Ezr. 4:7, see Meyer, Entstehung d. Judentums, 17 ff.— O king, live forever. Cf., along with the same formula in Heb., but in the 3d pers., 1 Ki. 1:8; Neh. 2:9, the common Akk. formula, e.g., ‘May Nebo and Marduk give long days and everlasting years unto X my lord’ (cited by Pr. from BA i, p. 239). Zöck. cfr. similar forms of address to kings and magnates: Judt. 1:24, ‘May thy soul live’; Αἰλιαν, Varia historia, i, 31, Κασίλευς Αρταγέρου, δό αἰωνος βασιλείους; Q. Curtius, vi, 5, ‘Tu rex (Alexander) perpetua felicitate floreas’; and the phrase was current in the later Pers. empires.

4. מַלּוּעַ So pointed 2 Ki. 18:24, Is. 36:11, Ezr. 4:7, in sense of aramaice, but with gentilic mng. always מַלּוּעַ (so one ms here, Bär). As Nöld,
remarks, SG p. 80, note, the second vowel is artificial, formed as though from 'arām, not the orig. 'aram or 'arm. (On Akk. forms of the name s. Schiffer, Die Aramäer, 14.) The same word occurs in APA pap. K, ll. 4–6, where it is similarly adverbial, 'aram . . . as . . . סֶרֶך. Staerk in his small edition rightly notes this as a case of the Aram. (Syr.) adverbial form, and that it should be pointed 'armayit; another case of this adverbial form I note is APO pap. 1, l. 5, s. also Note on line 67. ꝏ points here Hebrew-wise. Sa. tr. 'in Nabataean.' Haupt thinks that a preceding 'a is in the text (which he has been suppressed here).—I.e., 'abdaik, for which K. here and in similar cases almost universally 'abdak; s. Kau., §53, Anm. b, and for similar variations in later Aram., Dalm., Gr., p. 100, cf. Nold., MG §141.—ראשהי[ת] = Θ ἐ; 4 MSS מיצא = γ + αυτοῦ = ὁΡ. c Lu. 8:11. This uncertainty persists through the chap. and without uniformity in the several authorities. In the papyri the emphatic is always in מ, which Jewish scribes often arbitrarily replaced with מ; then the reverse process also took place, מ for מ. The phenomena are primitive, as the VSS show.—ummy, בַּר הָּֽיַּע[ן] Final מ for מ vbs. is supported without exception by Sachau’s papp., s. his statistics, p. 271. Both מ and מ are read (the latter as in pause (?), s. Kau., §47, g, 3, a), the latter preferred by בַּר, s. his text at vv. 7–8. Mar., Gr. §65, c, has rightly recognized that the Pa. pointing is erroneous: the Haf. frequently occurs, e.g., מ, and our pointing as Pa. (the usage in Syr.) has arisen in those cases where preform. מ was suppressed. Torrey, Notes, I, 253, regards this emendation as preposterous: but מ is wont to distinguish forms arbitrarily after the varieties in Kt.

5. The king responded, The thing is certain with me, so JV; vs. AV RVV, ‘The thing is gone from me’ (RVVmg, ‘The word is gone forth from me’); GV, ‘Es ist mir entfallen.’ The mng. of the sentence depends upon the debatable מראת, which has been interpreted both as adj. and vb. The eldest interpretation is that of the Grr., מראת, followed by their daughter VSS, מ, and countenanced by some Jewish comm.; one tradition of מ enforces it by pointing the word to give it the appearance of a vb. But the explanation of the word as a vb., both as to root and form, is most dubious. The other interpretation, correctly adopted by JV is that of מ, followed by some Jewish comm.: ‘The thing, matter, is sure on my part.’ The word in question, an adj., is now generally recognized as of Pers. origin. The phrase is thus equivalent to מְלָה יִרְוִא מְלָה מְלָה יִרְוִא מְלָה מְלָה Gen. 41:33. The king’s alternative is that if they do not tell both dream and interpretation, We shall be cut in pieces
and your houses be made ruins (so rather than a dunghill). In such a story as this it is not necessary to debate whether the barbarous order is another proof of the falsity of the history, with Bert., or not, as others hold, citing cases of similar Oriental despotism, so dEnv. at length, with instances stretching down to the English Protestants and the French Terror. In qua romance, the item has true flavor, and we may recall, as possibly the narrator did, the wholesale massacre of the Magi by Darius I, resulting in their almost complete extermination (Her., iii, 79). The king is simply represented as demanding with grim humor that they satisfy his curiosity on his own terms and imposing the common penalty for disobedience to the royal command. The penalty is that of destruction of person and property; cf. Ezr. 611. The drastic character of the Assyrian-Babylonian punishments is gruesomely represented in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, and detailed in the codes of Babylonia and Assyria. For the recently discovered Assyrian Code s. Jastrow, JAOS 1921, pp. 1 ff., and for a summary p. 7; for the dismemberment of enemies, Beatrice A. Brooks, A Contribution to the Study of the Moral Practices of Certain Social Groups in Ancient Mesopotamia, Lpzg., 1921, pp. 14 ff. The present severity is not, with Heng. (Authentie, 36), a proof of the Babylonian atmosphere of the book. As Häv. rightly holds, the practice of dismemberment was 'wide-spread in the whole Orient,' and he illustrates from the practice of the Hebrews, Persians, Greeks and Romans. For this penalty we have evidence from the age of the Maccabees and the history of Herod (v. inf.). As to the treatment of the criminals' property in this instance, it is a question whether, with the majority opinion, their houses were to be made 'a dunghill,' i.e., ultimately a public privy, or were to be destroyed. For Oriental custom the former interpretation can be abundantly illustrated, as, e.g., in the profanation of the Baal temple, 2 Ki. 1027. Häv. adduces many instances from Oriental history in which a sacred building was thus profaned by edict, e.g., Abu 1-Fidâ's account of Omar's covering the Holy Places in Jerusalem with dung, whence the current satirical perversion of the Church al-Kiýāmah (the Resurrection) into al-Kumāmah (dung). But this is not the most ancient interpretation nor the sole tradition of Jewish comm. In its form the dubious word '?? is obviously Akk., and it is to be related to a common Akk. root,
to destroy.' The bodies of the refractory wise men were to be dismembered their houses pulled down.

5. G Lu. pref. 'and,' against usage, cf. vv. 7, 10, 31, 16. Nöld., GGA 1884, p. 1021, appears to have been the first to suggest that this should be pointed as perf., רֵיֵי; this is substantiated by the pl. phrase רֵיֵי עַבְדֵּי נֶצֶר five times in cc. 2, 3, only once רֵיֵי אֶחָד,ニז. The suggestion is followed by Behr., Kamp., Mar., Löhr, Ehr. The same idiom is abundant in early Syr., Curetonian and Peshitto VSS, Bardesanes, Aphraates, etc., but is not particularly noticed in the Syr. grammars; Kau., §76, d, is inadequate. However Torrey, Notes, I, 264 f., puts in a caveat against text emendations, and indeed both constructions appear in classical Syr.—רֵיֵי = G, ignored by Θ (B Q Hipp al. W), supplied by OrP; this amendment inserted by Lu. after Ḫαדושקכ—סרדניפ Kt., רֵיֵי? Kt.] So generally but inconsequently in ₣ in treatment of gentilics, s. Kau., §11, 1, b. The weakening of ר to ר is EAram. One object in writing the ₣ form may have been to distinguish between the otherwise identical sing. and pl., conveniently distinguished in Syr. by a diacritical point.—רֵיֵי] But רֵיֵי v.ֵי. In the papyri the emph. st. is always in א—; the fem. is in א—, with exception of a very few cases; s. APO 264 f. This evidence would indicate that the confusion of distinction between א and א in ₣ is not original. For the statistics of א and א respectively for the emph. and fem. endings in BArAm. s. Powell, Supp. Hebr., pp. 8 ff. These show that the rules of the papyri are predominantly followed. It has not been noticed by Powell and others that equivalence of א and א existed in certain late Jewish writings, and in cases the dominance of א where Aram. use would demand א, e.g., the Samaritan Aram. dialect and Jewish magical texts from Babylonia as well as from Palestine. For similar variations of spelling in י roots s. at 216.—רֵיֵי, Mich., Str., Kt., רֵיֵי Bär] Also v.ֵי. The latter pointing as plp. (hardly Hebraism for 3d sing. fem.) is due to alleged derivation from a root רֵיֵי = רֵיֵי, 'go.' So ḫא and אֹּתִי אַלְעָה = G v.ֵי (lacuna here) מ Ra., Jeph. Such a root appears in Talm. (in one case of 'escaping the memory'), but the text of the cases is uncertain, רֵיֵי appearing often as a variant (s. Talm. lexx.), so that רֵיֵי was probably manufactured from the Bibl. word. Its occurrence in Syr., PSmith, col. 105, would have the same origin. Withal a pl. (attempted in Bär's pointing) is not pertinent for a preterite. While ר may be philologically exchangeable with י, yet our bk. otherwise knows only ית; see Kau., p. 63. For survey of early views s. CBMich. Of later philologists Hitz. compared Arab. wasada, 'be firm'; Fried. Del. suggested an Akk. etymology, which has been generally rejected. But there exists another ancient tradition of interpretation, which goes back to ס, translating the word...
by ἅρμν, 'sure.' Also it is found in Talm. in sense of 'determined, decreed,' and this mng. is given by AEz. Sa. tr., 'the matter is in earnest with me.' Nöld., in a communication to Schrader, COT ad loc., diagnosed the word as Pers. adā (anticipated by Hitz. in his comparison of adā). Andreas, in Lidz., Eph., 2, 214, n. 2 (also in Mar.'s Glossary) precises the word as Mid. Pers. ad, 'news.' This is in the way of interpretation of ṣר as found in Euting's Strassburg Papyrus (repeated in APO p. 26, AP no. 27). In B, l. 3 is read ṣר which Euting translates, 'si certium factum erit [a iudicibus].' As a component it appears in ṣר, APO pap. 5, ll. 5, 7, where Sachau tr. 'Bekanntmacher.' Torrey, Notes, I, p. 253, objects against Andreas that neither in Dan. nor in the Strassburg Pap. can (논 mean 'news;' but only 'sure,' in which he is right. His treatment of the present form as adj. fem. is, however, open to objection. The opinion of Schettelowitz, cited with approval by Kön., Htw., that the word comes from Pers. ṣad, 'gegangen,' is now upset by the papyri. Cf. מַדֲנָו Hebrews 3:14. Nobilius, cited by Field, notes a reading 'of the Syrian,' ἀπεκτέθη με. The argument of some that ἢπ is incongruous with Nöld.'s derivation is fallacious; ἢπ 'on side of,' is common in spatial relations, s. BDB p. 578b, and is so used psychologically Nu. 3226, Job 43; in Mand. and NSyr. ἢπ < ἢπ in s. Nöld., MG p. 193.—[V.6] The papyri is a case of the spelling πλείως, APO no. 73, l. 18, p. 223. For ἡ < ἢ in the sharpened syllable cf. Arab. Energ. pl. yalilumna.—ךֵשֹד = G Orp. c Lu. Hipp[16] F B; אַשָׁו ms. Ken., deR. = Θ.—[Θ] For the Pers. word, early domesticated in Aram. dialects s. Lexx. Of VSS alone understands the phrase, ἡ τις ἀπολίεν ἡγοῦσθαι (so also 3[9] = H. G, correctly at 3[9] ἐπόμενον, here παραδειγματικός, 'be made an example of;' as rdg. ἢπ ἢπ = παραδειγμα. For the phrase cf. 2 Mac. 18 μελετῶν τοιαύτας, Jos. AJ xv, 8, 4 μελετῶντας (of Herod's penalties).—[V.3[9]] = Syr. as well as Heb. pl. Kau.'s condemnation of the dag. f. as a 'Hebraism' is unintelligible. Mar., Gr. §8, c, and Brock, VG §123 Anm., prefer to regard the dag. as abnormal lene not forte; cf. Kön., Lgb., 2, 55, BL §19, d.—[V.3[9]] Also 3[9] = ἡν Ezr. 6[14]. The common interpretation is 'dunghill,' and for such a penalty cf. 2 Ki. 10[27]; so Ra., R. Joshua in AEz., Eng. VSS, all recent comm. Support for this is the alleged ἡν in Targum II to Est. 8[18] (cited by Paton ad loc., p. 279), but this is a quotation of our passage and is of no authority. The alleged abstract ending is hardly suitable for such a concrete mng., and the Rab. mng. of the root, 'be repulsive,' is not conclusive. The eldest interpretation is that of G, ἀναληθήσεται ἄνων τὰ ἀπάρνησα εἰς τὸ βασιλείου ( = 1 Esd. 6[14] = 3[9] ἡμερινῷ ἡγοῦσθαι = Ezr. 6[14] τὸ κατ' ἑμένα τοιαύτης (where ἡν, not ἢπ, was read, and -τ understood as μιχι), i.e., confiscation. Jeph. follows this interpretation, 'will be confiscate to the sultan,' evidently
comparing Arab. *nâla* 'present gift, possess'; and so Sa., 'booty.' Tor­reya, ZA 26, 80, has followed the same clew with similar translation; he discovers the rt. *bt* in Phoen. in the Tabnit Inscr., l. 7. The present writer prefers the ancient interpretation of Θ διαφανηςντι = יִלָּע (in place of this Q 228 simply εἰς διαφανην) = S, and so AEz. This might be supported by Jensen's identification with a supposed Akk. root *nawalu* ruin, KB 6, 1, p. 363, accepted by the Lexx. But it is preferable to identify it directly with the common Akk. root *nablu,* 'destroy.' Then the final vowel can be explained as the Akk. case ending and the word is a sheer borrowing; it should accordingly be accented *mil'el,* *nablu/i.* The same is true of יִהָוָא Kt., יִהָוָא Kr. Ezr. 78.— The grammarians of the Syr. regard such an Etpeel as primarily Ettafal. But as BAram. had not acquired the Ettafal, it is best to regard this as a proper Etpeel development. Against the present vocalization the expected i-vowel appears in יִהָוָא, and as APO pap. 53, l. 2, offers *dawr,* it is most probable that here and in יִהָוָא Ezr. 42 the vocali­zation should be יִהָוָא, etc., as in Syr.; absence of the vowel consonant induced the other pointing.

6-9. Neb. balances his threat with the promise of royal largesse and honor if the wise men succeed in telling the dream as well as the interpretation. The latter, v.7, repeat their request in a somewhat more respectful tone, but, vv.8–9, the king breaks out in exasperation at them; they are only seeking a respite because they realize the capital danger they are in; they hope for some way out of the dilemma if time be given, either by concocting some false and base reply, or counting on delay to annul their emergency. He repeats his demand; otherwise the one in­exorable sentence remains for them all. V.9 is to be read in the same period with v.9 (ignored by most translations, correctly JV): *because ye know that the decree has gone forth that if,* etc.

10. 11. The wise men make one more appeal: no monarch, however potent, ever made such a demand on any class of adepts; such knowledge is confined to superhuman beings. Cf. Hesiod (ed. Teubner, 1902, frag. 169, p. 183), Μάντις δ’οίδεις ἑστιν ἐπιχειρών ἀνθρώπων ὁστις ἀν ἐιδεῖν Ζηνὸς νοῦν αἰ γόργο. 12. The king vouchsafes no answer but issues his edict, which is put in the hands of the Provost Marshal of the court for execution (cf. v.14). 13. Dan. and his compatriots are equally sought for destruction along with the rest of the fraternity. It was not to be a Sicilian Vespers but a formal execution
under the proper officials and in the appointed place, hence the
first purpose of the officials was to assemble the condemned.
Despite one line of interpretation, represented by Θ and Ω,
execution of the order had not begun when Dan. received notice of
the sentence.

6. ἐκαθήθη Θ ὁ ἀσάλευτος τοῦ λαοῦ, ὁ ἀσάλευτος τοῦ λαοῦ, ὁ ὅπως τῇ ὁμοιωτατε ἡ ἀσάλεια
by δομάτω παντοτοιά (finding ἀσάλεος?). It is generally recognized as
some technical name for gifts. Andreas in Mar., Gr.1, compared MPers.
nibhēz (-āz), leaving ἀσάλεος—unexplained; but he is cited by Lidz., Eph.,
2, 226, as denying that he can explain it from the Iranian. Tisdall, JQR
3, 168, claims an error for Pers. nibhasna (cf. Θ's trg.). The word has
been taken into the Targums, s. Jastr., s.v. A word ᾶοπαίξ combines in the
Sam. (Targ. Lev. 168 ff.) = ῧῶν, which Cowley supposes to be taken
from Arab. nabāda; but it appears frequently in PalSyr. = ἀληθεύονς,
and Schulthess's random suggestion (Lex.) of identification with Syr.
ἵσεσα, ἀσάλεως 'lot' from ἀσάλεως deserves approval; for ῧῶν > ῧῶς cf. Nold.,
MG §§47, 48. It is found in Mand., Euting, Qolasta, no. xiii = Lidz.,
Mand. Liturgien, p. 76, in sense of 'pieces' of the liturgy. And finally
it has appeared in the papp., APA pap. L, 1. 6 (s. Cowley's note, AP),
but with the apparent sense of 'quittance,' and Perles relates it to our
Biblical word, OLZ 15, 219. But it is strange that the extraordinary
form of our word, if in error, should be included in the variant form at
517, ἐκαθήθη λαοῦ ἐκαθήθη λαοῦ ὅπως τῇ ὁμοιωτατε ἡ ἀσάλεια, q.v.—καθίσεως ἐκαθήθη λαοῦ ῧῶν = Heb.
ῥησιμ, a term of indirection for the
royal person.—ὅπως τῇ ὁμοιωτατε ἡ ἀσάλεια] The two current interpretations of the word are
instanced from antiquity: (1) 'but,' Θ Ra., Jeph., JV; (2) 'therefore,'
Θ Ζ Sa., AV RVV. The former = ἐκαθήθη λαοῦ = Syr. ὅπως τῇ ὁμοιωτατε ἡ ἀσάλεια, 'if not'; it appears inf. vv.11, 30, 33, 6b, 8, 13, Ezr. 513, also in the papyri, etc.
Meaning (2), which later vanished from Aram., appears in the Teima
Inscr., CIS ii, no. 113 (Lidz., NE p. 447, Cooke, NSI p. 195) ll. 8, 10 and
in Heb. in Ru. 11 bis (questioned by some). This meaning is demanded
here, v.9, 4b. For the proposed explanations of ἐκαθήθη, 'therefore,' see
the Lexx. and grammars, and especially Torrey's survey and criticism,
Notes, I, pp. 255 ff; Noldeke's and Stade's view that it = la-hinna (cf.
Arab., ob haec) he properly subjects to the condemnation that in
Aram. we should expect ἐκαθήθη, not ἐκαθήθη; he holds to the view that the word
is the same in both cases and that 'the use of this compound covered
more shades of meaning in western Aramaic than elsewhere, extending
through the whole series: 'unless, except, but, only, however, therefore,'. But he does not explain how this extraordinary expansion took place. Retaining his principle, we may regard ἐκαθήθη as from ἐκαθήθη, not, and ἐκαθήθη 'behold,' used interrogatively, 'is it not, lo?' That is, the two uses developed from the two mngs. of hen as
'behold' and (secondarily) 'if.' The compound in the latter sense pre­
dominated and ultimately suppressed the other sense 'therefore.'—
7. For the const. fem. used adverbially in Aram. dialects s.
7. For the const. fem. used adverbially in Aram. dialects s.
Nold., MG p. 201, SG p. 66; similarly 666. Change from
impv. of v.8 expresses appropriate humility; G, followed by Lu., reverts
to the impv. — also MSS Read as by Θ. OrP. C Lu. G H.
8. See at v.6.— Of a surety;' the adj. also v.45, 32, 63.
Cf. the adj. used v.47. —— Eph. 5.6. The Grr. here 'you ask for
time,' Syr. to the Epp. 'buying your opportunity' (kèsra < χαρός).
Since Geier the distinction between the use in Dan. and in Paul has
been observed; in the latter in sense of making the most of time or
opportunity ('going into the market and buying up time'), = emere
tempus (Cicero, Verres, 1, 3, and so here Η H tempus redimere); in Dan.
in sense of 'gaining time,' i.e., respite (dEnv.). Paul's use does not bind
the interpretation here, as 6 correctly saw.— [h] apparently as
though 'all because,' and so still Kön., Hwb., p. 598, Lgb., ii, 2, §339 r,
'ganz entsprechen.' Luzzatto, Gr. §123, first correctly diagnosed the
vocal as = [h] > [h].— For the shifting of the vowel cf. Syr.
lukdad < le + kudam, and lukbal, but with suff. lekubleh. Luzz. cft.
Ecc. 55 = JAram; the distinction into two words may have
been induced by a number of Rabb. phrases, e.g., 127, quantus magis,
127, nihilominus tamen, etc., s. Buxt., Lex., 1045. Mar. alone of the
comm. notes the revision but does not revise his text accordingly.
Torrey, Notes, I, p. 256, objects to regarding 6's division as 'erroneous';
but there is no evidence of such division in the VSS, and the later ten-
dency was to split up long vocables; see on 'Nebuchadnezzar' 1. For
the accumulation of preps. s. Kön., Lgb., ii, 1, §112, 6. For the form kubél
Bev. proposes original diminutive kubail = Arab. kubaila, and cft. Syr.
tehel as < kubahla (against this position Brock., VG 1, §137, Anm. 3).
Similar instances are found in Reckendorf, Arab. Syntax, p. 221.—
With VSS 'because'; Bev. cft. Aram. nidi ור רבכ (CIS ii, no. 164, l. 2); so usual mg. of the phrase, or 'according as,' vv.41. 43, except 52, where = 'despite.'
9. The Grr. understand as introducing a new period: exv
or ἐξων ὄφων, si ergo, and so most comm. 6 nisi, 'that if,' = Sa., Ra.,
correctly diagnosed the syntax as continuing the period from v.8; this
interpretation was renewed by Klief. and followed by Dr., Mar., Cha., JV.
— So 6 literally = Orp ἐν ἐπὶ ἐφημῷ οὐκόν = Lu. = Η
una est de nobis sententia, = Jewish comm. The Grr. fell down here.
6 has apparently a doublet. Ω has ὅπως (finding ὅπως in ἔρια?) and
proceeds, ἐπὶ ἐφημῷ πρετίδης, κτλ. The Pers. word means primarily 'law,
judgment, sentence.' The rival rendering, based on a secondary mg.
of the word, 'one is your purpose,' is vigorously defended by vLeng.,
after predecessors. The word has the secondary mng. of 'personal
judgment' in Syr., but there is no reason to abandon the constant Bibl.
mng., e.g., v. 15. After predecessors, Gr. p. 175, that this word is prob. a noun,
is borne out by Targ. א""א, 'lie.' Similarly the word is nominal (fem. =
neut.), with Behr., GB.—ןוועס Kt.] This may be Haf., גו""ו, so Str.,
or Etpa. with assimilation of tz = xx as in Heb.; Kt., with msb., גו""ו
Bär, or גו""ו Gin. The form without assimilation is correct in Syr.
The Aram. corresponds to Nif. of Heb. יתנ.—[For the impf. of
result, as in Heb. and Arab., cf. Kau., §102.—10. יותנ] So Mich., Str.,
Gin., Kt.; יתנ Bär, on Mass. authority; but the papyri have יותנ.—
ןוועס] Orig. yabesbd, with holding of 2d rad.; so with Barth, Nb., §93,
a, vs. Kau., §59, i, b, as from base haftil; however cf. Heb. יותנ.
Syr. yabesbd occurs in the same secondary sense of 'the earth,' e.g., 1 Mac.
8:2. יותנ The acc., as very often in BAram., precedes the vb.
in a relative clause; cf. Akk. syntax. The point is not noticed
in Kau. and Mar.—[יותנ] Kenn. cites 3msb יותנ, 3msb יותנ. In 5:18
יותנ bsr, where Kr. יותנ; in 3:29 יותנ is prob. to be corrected as
a Hebraism (in papp. only יותנ, etc.), to be corrected with Kautzsch,
Mar., Löhr. The form is defended by Behr., Powell, Supp. Hebr.,
§65, Torrey, Notes, I, 256. But it is likely that there was meant
here the ppl. יותנ, as at v. 27 (cf. msb יותנ), so Syr. meṣkah.—[yotes]
This belongs to a class of nouns which, not consistently, exhibit
the Heb. seghalate formation. They are: (1) found in abs. but not const.
1:8, יותנ יותנ יותנ 1:10; (2) in abs. and const. יותנ; (3) abs. יותנ, const. יותנ;
(4) with variant forms in abs. and const., יותנ abs. and const., also
יותנ const.; יותנ abs. and const., also יותנ const.; (5) const. alone יותנ.
Also note יותנ. In the case of יותנ we find the two forms in the same
v., Ezr. 6:18, יותנ יותנ, and יותנ יותנ, with Nöld., LCB 1806, 305, a
purely scribal distinction; the Heb. form is more appropriate to the
divine decree! For יותנ, const. יותנ appears in 3:15. of the image, but
יותנ in יותנ יותנ 3:10 of the king's face, again apparently an artificial
distinction. It may be observed that most of these nouns are also good
Hebrew. Kau., §54, r, is inclined to the view that these seghalate forms
are Hebraisms. Nöld. denies this, ZDMG 22, 475; and so Powell, §52.
—[yotes] Read with ᾭ's punctuation and JV the two last
words as adj.s to the first, i.e., 'no puissant monarch.' ᾭ 'every king
and every dynasty'; ᾭ 'every great king and ruler.' Sym. finds three
classes, 'any king or great one or authoritative,' and is followed by
Grot., AV RVV (latter with mg. giving first interpretation.).—וניסיון
יוהנ] The conj.s are supported by ᾭ Orp ᾭ; ᾭ om. 'and' 1°; Or ᾭ
Lu. om. 'and' 1° and 2°. For the idiomatic asyndeton construction cf.
1. The vocalization 요 is assured, but ppl. 요 is expected = Akk. āsipu. The customary listing of it under kūtal is impossible, and comparison with Baram. 요 is illegitimate. N.b., the Aram. represents the Akk. word, while the Heb. 요 (s. at 190) offers an Aram. formation.

11. *Heavy,* ג ה הרוגא ה grauis, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19. יוטן 요, 'too difficult is their ransoming'; Behr. cfr. Ps. 130:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

49. "too difficult is their ransoming;' Behr. cfr. Ps. 130:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

12. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

13. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

14. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

15. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

16. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.

17. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz. cfr. Ps. 49:19 AV RVV have 'a rare thing,' a sense found in Syr., not appropriate here. סה ה שדר ה יוצק (doublet from ש) א:לו:ו:ו, i.e., 'difficult,' so JV. AEz.
§76, 3, Mar., Gr. §102, e. Ge recognized this; Θ tr. by impf. The gerundive interpretation is accepted by Sa., EVV Bert., al., and recent comm. For the similar use of ppl. pass. in Syr. s. Duval, GS §331, d, Nöld., SG §278, A. So also in Bibl. Gr., Acts 2:47 τασσεῖνον τον θεόν = salutandos. The ppl. with 'and' replaces the usual Sem. impf.-juss. of purpose; cf. Kau., §102, and below at v. 17 for similar use of inf. Exactly the same construction is found in the Gr. of Acts 15:27—28. Imper-.

cosonal = pass. cf. vv. 18–20, etc., especially 4:27, and Kau., §96, 1, c. The same use appears in Akk., viz. in the Assyrian Law Code, s. Jastrow, JAOS 41, 14, n. 27; and in N.T., e.g., Jn. 1:20, Lu. 15:29, Rev. 1:26, etc.; also a favorite construction in Mishna, s. Bev. at v. 30. Behr. cft. the use of this vb. in Targ. Jon. 1:16, and in the Assyrian Law Code, which corroborates Mar.'s suggestion that the Peil 11 might be understood here.

14. 15. Dan. displayed his good 'sense and prudence,' a characteristic of the Biblical saints, by taking the matter up directly with the Chief Executioner or Provost-Marshar Arioch, whose name belongs to the Jewish literary tradition. He inquires the cause of the 'peremptory' decree. It is not explained why Dan. was not present in the audience before the king; but a good story does not explain every detail. 16. The difficulty of this v., felt by some translators, Ge Lu., and prob. to be corrected acc. to Θ, has been adequately recognized among the comm. by Ehr. alone. How did Dan. enter the king's presence without official intervention (cf. the story in Est.), especially since subsequently, vv. 24–25, he requires the aid of Arioch to present him to the king? Häv. supposes that Arioch presented him duly on this occasion; but now rather than later the terms of the etiquette are desiderated, while these terms in v. 25 are much belated. Now Θ and Ge ignore 11, 'went in and,' and it is plausible that the omission represents the original text; the request for delay could have been transmitted by Arioch. Or with Ehr., making that omission and rdg. 11 τοῦ γεγομένου αποθαναίων 'of the king,' the respite may have been granted informally by Arioch. Sa. meets the difficulty with a paraphrase: 'D. caused (tasabbaba) that he asked.' However Ge read 11. The respite is asked by Dan. with the engagement that he would satisfy the
king with the interpretation of his dream. He exhibits the same calm assurance as in cc. 1. 6.

14. הָנְא כָּלָה] For syncope of נ s. Kau., §11, 3, b, and Powell, p. 30. For נִיָא cf. Heb. נִיָא = נוּ; Syr. ḫādēn, and דֵּנָ (which through attraction to Gr. ἀε became postpositive). נוּ is now found in OAram., s. Lidz., Altaram. Urk., 11. For combination with נ cf. Heb. מִזָּ, used of time, Est. 213. נוּ and ניָא express a new moment or change of subj., Mar., Gr. §131.—נָא.] Cf. Heb. נִיָא ‘answer.’ The following accs. are cognate; cf. Pr. 2616, יָדְעָה אֵת שָׁנָה. Tr., ‘he made a well-counselsled and prudent answer.’ The varied use of מִזָּ in BAram. (s. Lexx.) is due to Akk. usage.—נָא] For the vowel e s. Kau., p. 105, Barth, Nb., §92, Brock., VG 1, §140, Nöld., MG §94, Powell, p. 39.—ניָא] Also the name of the king of Ellasar, Gen. 141; explained by Del., Schr. as Sum. ēri-aku, ‘servant of Moon;’ this derivation is characterized by Zimmer, KAT 367, as ‘ausserst unsicher.’ In any case the name was not used in Nebuchadnezzar’s age (Sayce, DB s.v.) and it was evidently borrowed from ancient literature, even as Arioch appears as king of Elam in Judt. 14.—נָא] So of a Bab. official, 2 Ki. 254, etc. = ‘חָנָא of an Egyptian, Gen. 3716. The root means primarily ‘slay,’ secondarily, in Arab., ‘cook,’ cf. יָדְעָה 1 Sa. 391. Since W. R. Smith, OTJC 262 = Religion of the Semites, p. 396, comm. (Dr., Mar., Cha., BDB GB) have accepted his derivation of the term as going back to its sacrificial idea; the ‘sacrificers,’ as a distinguished class, became the king’s bodyguard. But it appears absurd that a priestly caste should have become a civil police. ‘Executioners’ (‘butchers’) is simple and appropriate enough here; s. Fr., citing use of the root in Akk. = ‘execute,’ and so Kön., Hwb. This corps were the lictors (so here גְּדוֹעַ), whose frequent enough business was the infliction of capital punishment. The Kapidshi Pasha was the chief executioner of the Porte (Bert.). The official then was the provost-marshal of the court. Such may have been the official named in Gen. 3716, although there ג and Josephus, as here ג Θ, tr. ἀρχιμαχητής, ‘chief cook.’ Aez. sensibly remarks that this mng. was impossible in Pharaoh’s court, since the Egyptians did not slaughter. Josephus here, AJ x, 10, 3, entitles the officer as the one over the king’s bodyguards (σωματικῶν ἱππαξκής; EVV ‘chief of the guard’ is very sensible.—נָא] With disjunctive accent, 215, etc.

15. יָנָא כָּלָה | Θ om., supplied from ג by Or. Lu. This may be one of Θ’s frequent abbreviations avoiding superfluous phrases; but ג also omits it along with the following מַלְוָה יָפֵי, equally ignored by orig. ג. Prob. various forms of מַלְוָה were current. ג construes מַלְוָה as appositive to יָנָא, and so Sym. But the vocative
construction, as in \( \Theta \), is far more in place, the other being otiose.—

As in Heb. = ‘respond to circumstances’ as well as to word; cf. vv.20, 72. A capital parallel occurs in \( \text{APO} \) pap. 49, l. 15; cf. Eng. ‘answer’ = ‘correspond,’ of inanimate things. For use in N.T. s. Dalman, \( \text{Worte Jesu} \), p. 19.—\( \text{\( \gamma\omega\nu\mu\nu \) Q by error \( \alpha\nu\omega\mu\alpha \), 233\# \( \beta\omega\upsilon\eta \)).—\( \text{\( \omega\pi\rho\omega\kappa \), \( \Theta \) \( \alpha\nu\alpha\nu\delta\varepsilon\varepsilon \), the latter = Syr. use of \( \eta\varphi\eta \), ‘be shameless.’ But, despite Dr.’s argument for this mng., here (‘urgent is not strong enough’), the word in the two passages requires the sense ‘hasty, peremptory,’ corroborated by the Arab. \( \text{\( h\alpha\zeta\alpha\beta\alpha \), ‘festinare’ (Freytag) and ‘etwas ungestümt beanspruchen’ (Wahrmund); and so, more correctly, \( \Theta \) in 32 \( \ddot{\eta}\pi\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\varepsilon \), \( \Theta \) \( \ddot{\delta}\varepsilon\rho\alpha\gamma\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \). In Talm. the root means also ‘be energetic.’ Criticism from Dan. that the sentence was shameless, or harsh (Bev., Dr.), or cruel (Jer.), would not have helped save his neck. Correctly AEz. \( \text{\( \tau\nu\nu\nu\nu \), AV ‘hasty,’ RVV ‘urgent’; best JV ‘peremptory.’—\( \text{\( 16. \) 1y} \) \( \Theta \) (B Q 26 88 147) \( \Sigma \) om. The ‘critical’ texts ignore this important traditional variation of \( \Theta \). \( \text{\( C\# \) om. ‘Daniel.’—\( \text{\( \kappa\nu\nu\nu \) Lu. + [\( \pi\nu\gamma\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon \) \( \text{\( \alpha\nu\alpha\nu\delta\varepsilon\varepsilon \) \( \text{\( \lambda\nu\nu\nu\nu \) \( \text{\( \dot{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu\varepsilon \), apparently a gloss to give a reasonable subject to ‘asked.’—\( \text{\( \kappa\nu\nu\nu \) Many \( \text{\( \nu\nu\nu \), as is invariably the rule for \( \nu\nu\nu \) vbs. in the papyri; in this case the spelling with \( \kappa \) has by far predominated over that with \( \lambda \).—\( \text{\( \nu\nu\nu \) For the word \( \text{\( \nu\nu\nu \) at vv.21.—\( \text{\( \nu\nu\nu \) For the resolution into an infinitival, gerundive clause cf. vv.18, 20, 518, and for similar construction in Heb. v. sup. 16; here, ‘and the interpretation would be shown.’ See Torrey, Notes, I, p. 257, on the construction; ecf. the same construction in Syr., Nold., SG p. 216.

17-23. The revelation to Daniel. Dan. summons his friends to supplications before God that they, as well as the other wise men, may not perish. To the simple datum of prayer, v.18, for the divine mercy \( \Theta \) adds the element of fasting (cf. a similar supplement in late texts of Mk. 629). Omission of reference to fasting, which was included in all important acts of devotion (e.g., 103, Est. 4) is due to the shortness of time, the few hours of a night, in which the Jewish saints kept up their vigils. Prejudice accordingly marks Häv.’s criticism of \( \Theta \). The desired revelation is vouchsafed to Dan., v.18, but its contents are dramatically reserved for the climax of the story. It comes by night, as again in c. 7, but in a ‘vision,’ not in a dream, the lower means of communication to the Pagan. The intimate scene of the spiritual life of these heroes is concluded, by both natural and liturgical propriety, with a hymn of praise in which Dan. ‘blesses God.’

20-23. The hymn of praise put in Dan.’s mouth is a fine ex-
ample of liturgical construction; it is an original composition, entirely to the point of the story, and is hardly to be characterized, with Mar., as 'aus liturgischen Formeln bestehend.' The four vv. are severally tristich, tetrastich, tristich, tetrastich (Mar., Cha.). The tristich, 2 x 2 x 2, is a resolution of the double 3-beat measure 3 x 3. On these metrical sections s. Int., §9. 20. The saint praises the Name of God, i.e., God in his self-revelation, for his omniscience and omnipotence, attributes revealed in human history, v. 21. His power is exhibited in his providence over 'times and seasons,' Moff., 'epochs and eras,' and in his sovereign determination of all political changes. In this expression lies a challenge to the fatalism of the Bab. astral religion, a feature which in its influence long survived in the Greco-Roman world. (See C. Fichtner-Jeremias, 'Der Schicksalsglaube bei den Babyloniern,' MVAG 1922, pt. 2; Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, c. 7, and for a lively impression of its conflict with the Bible religion, Bardanes' Laws of the Countries, properly a Dialogue on Fate.) The divine knowledge is proved by the occasional revelations God vouchsafes to 'sages and gnostics.' These glimpses of his prescience in human affairs reveal the fact that with him 'the light is lodged,' v. 22, for him there is no darkness at all. There is a progress in the crescendo of 'deep things' (problems), 'hidden things' (mysteries), sheer 'darkness,' with their contradiction in the light which has its home with God. The motive of the light belongs to a poetic field common to Semitic religion; cf. Ps. 104:2, Is. 10:17, and, quite parallel to our passage, Ps. 36:10, 'in thy light do we see light.' Comm. have compared here the somewhat converse idea in 1 Tim. 6:16 of God 'dwelling in the unapproachable light.' The thought of 'the light' has hardly waxed to the extent of a 'Philosophem' with Bert., yet with Hitz. we may compare Wis. 7:24, where Wisdom is 'the effulgence from everlasting light.' It is not surprising then to find 'the light' of this v. interpreted Messianically. In Midrash Echak, fol. 36, col. 2, Wilna ed., are given several 'names of the Messiah,' concluding with the dictum: "His name is the Light, as it is said (Dan. 2:22), The light dwelleth with him." An interesting collection of similar Messianic interpretations of 'light' is to be found in Pesikta R. at Is. 60:1, ed. Friedmann, pp. 161 ff. The connections with the Johannine theme of the Light are obvious. For this theme
s. in general Volz, Jüd. Esch., 328. 24. Change occurs to the 2d pers. in the language of more personal prayer; it uses the intimate phrase, 'God of my fathers,' a term of ancient origin but especially common in Chron. Dan. praises God for the present particular revelation of his wisdom and might in which he has granted him to share. Yet he credits his associates with the power of prayer, "ut et arrogantiam fugiat, ne solus impertrasse uideatur et agat gratias quod mysterium somnii solus audierit" (Jer.).

18. נִּשָּׁב For the inf. s. at v. 18. עָנַיָּתָן Behr. cft. ג'ג 8's rendering of last term by mesām berīšā, by which he would understand 'castigatio;' so Mar. 'Kasteiung.' But it must be taken in one of its classical senses, 'vindication, help,' as Häv. has noted, citing Her., iii, 148, עָנַיָּתָן. Then the first two terms appear to have been glossed in from ג'ג + 7 times in Dan., 4 times in Ezr., 6 times in papyri of APO, = Heb. נִנְחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם, 13 times in Ch., Ezr., Neh., Jon.; cf. Tob. 1018, Judt. 58, 619, 1117. Only post-exilic except Gen. 247, where ג 'God of h. and G. of earth' = 241. As an equivalent of נִנְחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם (for whose antiquity s. the writer's remarks, JBL 1909, pp. 67 f.), the term was disowned in Israel's religion, but was revived after the Exile, when it became the title by which the Pers. government recognized the Jewish God. The correctness of this title in 'Cyrus's edict,' Ezr. 1, has been brilliantly demonstrated by the papyri. The title did not arise under the influence of the Pers. religion, but the existent Aram. term became in the use of the Pers. chancellery a remarkable recognition of the essential content of the Jewish religion. It was generally used by the Jews only in external correspondence, and finally fell into disfavor again as too similar to Zeus Ouranios, etc.; hence ג here נַעֲרָתָן נַעֲרָתָן נַעֲרָתָן. Not exclusive, Dan. and his friends alone to be excepted from the penalty, but they as well as the other wise men; cf. v. 24. פָּשַׁת] See Kau., §56, 6, b, Mar., Gr. §83, c.—תָּנֵד] Pers. word, only in c. 2 and 64; also in BSira 818, 1211. פָּשַׁת] Also הָשָּׁת, v. 20; cf. יָהָשָּׁת Ezr. 417; s. Kau., §29, §47, g (g). For the Pell form s. at 322.

20. נִנְחַת The change of the doubtlessly orig. form נְנִי to נִנְחַת is an arbitrary expedient to disguise not merely a spelling but a pronunciation which was that of the Unspeakable Name YHwH. For arguments for this position s. Mein., Bev., p. 35 (with citation of use in Talm., etc.), Dr., Tenses, §204, Obs. 1 (with extensive bibliography), Mar., Gr. §65, Str., Gr. §16, m, Brock., VG 1, p. 565. The arguments are: 1) The use of pref. ָהָ, common in EAram. dialects, indifferently as impf. and juss. (Talmud, Mandaic, s. Nöld,
appears only in this vb. in BAram., and invariably so, not only in juss. 2) The papyri have always ἡσυχία, never ἀνευ; this constitutes a demonstration of fact against the plausible philological theories of the defenders of ἀνευ. 3) It is instanced only rarely in late WArAm., viz., in jussives, s. Dal., Gr. §61, 1. The defensive is accepted by Kau., Gr. p. 79, apparently by Powell, Supp. Hebr., p. 41, and is stoutly maintained by Kön. in his article, ‘Das l-Jaqtul im Semitischen,’ ZDMG 51 (1897), pp. 330-337. The one plausible argument for support of the authenticity of the form is derived from a Zenjirli inscription. In the Hadad Inscr. (Lidz., NE p. 440, Cooke, NSI no. 61) occur apparently four or five imp£. and juss. forms with l-preformative (cf. Cooke, p. 160). To these cases is now to be added another, in the Aram. ostrakon letter of Asshurbanapal's reign, published by Lidz., Altaram. Urk., 1. 8. The same pref. li is found in several cases in an Akk. text published by Clay, A Heb. Deluge Story, New Haven, 1922; the cases, summarized by Clay, pp. 19 f., he regards as further proof of his theory of an underlying ‘Amorite’ base to the text. But the Zenjirli testimony is wrongly adduced as Aramaic; the early Zenj. monuments are Hebrew, a point not sufficiently recognized, and so with the alleged ‘Amoritism’ of Clay’s document. Even in the ostrakon Lidz. indicates a Canaanism in the same line; he speaks of ‘eine Koine, die stark durch das Kanaanäische beeinflusst war.’ As belonging to the Heb. sphere the cases are rather comparable with the ‘periphrastic future’ of the inf. with ἀ; s. Dr., Tenses, §204. Accordingly these cases are not WArAm. particularly; the most that can be said for the illegitimate ἀνευ is that its introduction was favored by certain formations, even if we may have not to argue to EAram. editing.—[The anticipative pronominal suffix. s. Kau., §81, ε, and cf. Nöl., SG §205, C. For the construction in the papyri s. APO p. 266. In ‘blessed is the Name of God,’ ‘the Name’ has become the surrogate for the actual vocable of the divine name, θεότης τοῦ θεοῦ (on which s. Arnold, JBL 1905, 107 ff.). For this usage s. the O.T. Theologies, e.g., Schultz, Allt. Theologie, 401 ff., the dictionary articles, especially the bibliography in GB s.v. ἀνευ, at end; also Hommel, Ancient Heb. Tradition, 87 f., 99 ff., and for late usage the writer’s Aram. Invention Texts, 56 ff.—] = Heb. formation = JAram. and Mand., where ᾧ λαμβάνεται exists along with Syr. ἄνευ; s. Nöl., MG p. 105.—[For ἀ in closed syll. s. Kau., §9, 4, ε, cf. Nöl., SG §42. In Gr. tradition of Θ Q alone correctly διόνυσις, all others by corruption οὐνίς (the same error again in Lu. MSS at v. 9, and at Job 22:6). ἔστω sapientia et virtus et intellectus, i.e., διόνυσις was read as the second term with Q, later intellectus = οὐνίς was glossed in to conform with later Θ text. Or<Lu. revise by doublet gloss, ἡ ὡνίς x. ἡ οὐνίς x. ἡ ἄνευ x. ἡ ιησοῦς. In a paper in Expositor, Sept., 1921, p. 214, ‘Anent Dr. Rendel Harris’s “Testimonies,”’ I have noted that 1 Cor.
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160 Xpétov Θεού δόξαν υ. Θεού σοφίαν is based on the original Gr. of Dan. The same combination appears in Job 12:21. Oddly enough the current grammars (e.g., Kau., §217), Lexx. and comm. (exc. Mar.) ignore or misinterpret this phrase; e.g., after Zöck., Mein., υ is an emphatic repetition of preceding υ, and so GB, referring to the redundant use of de in Syr. Or υ is taken as = quia with Jer., so EVV ‘for.’ But CBMich. recognized its true character, as exactly the later Aram. suus, etc., possessive pron.; s. Dalm., Gr. §8, 4, and Nóld., SG §69. The combination is found in the 7th cent. Nerab Inscr., I, l. 14, in a Cilician inscription published by the writer in JAOS 1907, pp. 164 ff.; in the Nabataean, and frequently in the papyri, s. APO p. 263, where the two words at times appear written as one (so here some Heb. mss). Translate ‘whose are wisdom and power.’

21. [אשיאה] Cf. foll. התרשא.—דומרין Grr. xarethos χρόνος (and so generally the same equivalents elsewhere); θαυμάσσει tempora (but Cassiodorus on Ps. 101 gives orig. θεος, tempora et saecula); ἰσαμαήνων we'dánē (i.e., reversing the terms; the same phrase in Clem. Rom.; ed. Lagarde, p. 19, l. 22 = ἥτα ραίμεν Gen. 1:14); θαυμάσσει tempora et aetates; EVV ‘times and seasons,’ which terms Dr., Cha. would reverse. For the same combination, with reverse order, cf. 7:2, Eccl. 3:1. In Acts 1:7 and 1 Th. 5:1 χρόνοι x. xapoi is reminiscent of Dan. In the combination the words are synonymous; cf. our proverb ‘Time and tide wait for no man;’ also ירר לו Est. 1:9. N.b. אבך 32 = נופכת 32. For xarethos = χρόνος s. Thayer, Lex. 309a. If υ be of Pers. origin (s. Schefelowitz, Arisches im A.T., 81) from aran, which is most questionable (cf. BDB GB KAT 649, n. 5, arguing for Akk. origin), then it would have meant originally ‘time’ in the abstract sense.—אברתוחא θεος . . . דרומיא—Θ exchanges, on ground that appointment precedes dismissal; ὡρα restores correct order. Against תחנונ cf. תחננ (all examples given by Kau., p. 74, Powell, p. 40); but 1 is demanded in all forms, s. Powell. Where the vowel-letter was not written 1 was used, and subsequently the spellings were confused.—נושיא ייערשכי = ייערשכי ייערשכי ייערשכי.

22. [אשיאה] A word of Gnostic connotation; cf. Job 1:22. The related Akk. nimeku = ‘wisdom’; Ea is bel nimēki, etc. (Del., Hwb., p. 89). Cf. the ‘depths,’ בדָה, of God, 1 Cor. 2:10, 1 Clem. 40; of Satan, Rev. 2:24; and Bathos became a Gnostic figure.—אשיאה Pa. pass. ppl.; θ excellently אַפָּקֲכַּמְע. אַפָּקֲכַּמְע. = ירר שם v.28, Eze. 6:4; for absence of đag. in following letter, true to Aram. use, s. note in Bär.—אפריש = Syr. ḫetibā; on the form s. Nóld., MG §101.—אפריש Kt., אַפָּקֲכַּמְע. Kt. and mss] The latter form common in Jaram (= Heb. נוֹרָא Job 3:5) is preferred by Nóld., LCB 1896, 703. Mein., Bev., Behr., Kāmp. prefer Kt. which = Syr. and PalSyr. nahhiṭrā, generally adjectival, but also nominal as ‘luminary,’ also ‘light,’ e.g., Aphraates, Dem., vi, 1, 2, ed. Parisot, col. 249, l. 21, col. 256, l. 1, etc. The form is corroborated by the abstract
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and the change from Kt. to Kr. is historically more likely. Contrariwise Torrey, Notes, II, 230, who thinks of an artificial combination with רות -דד PASS. pple., 'ungirt,' then 'lodged,' i.e., 'at home.' There is no reason with de Goeje, note to Strack's text, to prefer act. pple. Cf. NHeb. יוה, and the pass. pple. similarly often in Syr., e.g., Aphraates, Dem., vi, 11, sub fin., "the sun's light is lodged in the earth." С [ταρ αυτο] κατάλωμα, i.e., 'solution,' cf. 2 Mac. 8, 'dissolution,' and inf. 5, 16 the vb. = 'solve riddles.'

23. [ונבננ] So edd. exc. Bär. וטב, on slight authority. ——if 1° Better personal, 'who,' with EVV than conjunctive, 'because,' with Grr., II.—תֹּנ, 1 ms Str. ?...? So only תֹּנ 419, תֹּנ 5, otherwise ת. The papyri do not indicate the final vowel in 2d pers. sing. masc., nor in ת 'thou.' It is reasonable to hold that OAram. pronounced the vowel and that the occasional expression of it, e.g., v. 44 תב, and תב, retains the earlier pronunciation, while our present form is late; so Kamp., rdg. ?...?—ת. S. Torrey, JBL 16 (1897), 166 ff., for the true interpretation of the form, and Lexx.; also in forms תֹּנ and ת, the two former in the papyri. Schefelowitz, Arisches im AT, p. 88, in attempting a Pers. etymology (caution in this line!) was still ignorant, 1901, of Torrey's derivation.—[ונבננ] In Syr. -ת; here Heb. influence? V. inf. נָשָׁה, נָשָׁה, i.e., as pple, נָשָׁה. —סלא] B A Q al. סָלָא ( = ל usum), ancient error for סָלָא, which 33 91 148 228 have.—[ונבננ] So Bär, Gin.; Mich., Kit. עב; Str. עב—] For the seghol, sole for this form, s. Kau., §37, 2, u. Bev. notes that in the Bab. punctuation -ana (or -ena), never -ana, is used, and cfr. Merx, Χρεστομαθία ταργυμικά, 12. С Θ independently took the suff. for the sing., μον, which Torrey, Notes, II, 230, prefers.


24. Dan. seeks Arioch, asks him to hold up the order of execution, and requests audience of the king. For the required Oriental etiquette, cf. Est. 4 (s. Paton ad loc.); Häv. adduces Her., iii, 118. 140 for the Pers. custom, and Meissner illustrates it for Assyria, Bab. u. Ass., 1, 70. The present statement is proof that Dan. did not have an earlier audience, vs. v. 16. 25. Arioch goes to the king, 'in haste,' as at 3, so EVV, perhaps more exactly with Behr., in excitement. There appears to be an incongruity in the terms of Arioch's introduction with 18 ff., yet the formal introduction was obligatory, and royal minds are easily forgetful of 'college professors.' 26. The parenthetical addition
of Dan.'s surname Belteshazzar, while possibly a gloss (cf. 1 Esd. 4\textsuperscript{13}, but \textit{per contra} the constant 'Simon surnamed Peter' in Jn.), is a proper literary bond with c. 1 (so vLeng.), giving the name under which the sage was presented. 27. Dan. gives all the glory to God in response to the king's inquiry as to his ability, after Joseph's example, Gen. 41\textsuperscript{8}, and denies the power of human wisdom in the premises, as equally, v.\textsuperscript{30}, any virtue of his own. The humility of Joseph and Dan. is capitally depicted as sprung from reverence before God without fear of man, although courtesy to the latter is not ignored. Paul in 1 Cor. 2 develops the idea of the heavenly wisdom in a similar way, with indeed a reminiscence of v.\textsuperscript{20} (q.v.). 28. That \textit{there is a God in heaven}, as against man-made gods and deified men, is the supreme theme of the book, even as it is the cardinal principle of the Bible, e.g., Ps. \textit{114}. For \textit{the end of days}, so correctly JV, vs. AV RVV \textit{the latter days}, cf. Dr.'s excellent note: "An expression which occurs fourteen times in the O.T., and which always denotes the closing period of the future so far as it falls within the range of view of the writer using it. The sense expressed by it is thus relative, not absolute, varying with the context. . . . Here, as the sequel shows, it is similarly the period of the establishment of the Divine Kingdom, which is principally denoted by it."

28, 29. There is an extraordinary duplication of thought and phrase as between these vv. In both appears 'the Revealer of mysteries,' and there are the parallelisms: 'what shall be at the end of days,' v.\textsuperscript{28} || 'what shall be after this,' v.\textsuperscript{29}, and 'the visions of thy head upon thy bed,' v.\textsuperscript{28} || 'thy thoughts upon thy bed,' v.\textsuperscript{29}. These phenomena are best to be explained—not on a sheer theory of interpolations, so Mar., but as actual ancient duplicates, which may go back to the earliest editions of the book. Probably with the secondary form, v.\textsuperscript{29}, should be combined v.\textsuperscript{30}, the statement of Dan.'s humility, which overlooked motive may have incited a fresh essay at the passage. Similarly Löhr regards v.\textsuperscript{29} as an addition. Jahn (cf. Löhr) argues from a lacuna in 6\textsuperscript{6}, v.\textsuperscript{29}, to a late interpolation of this passage; but he ignores the witness of 6\textsuperscript{5} to the originality of the passage. 30. For the contrast between any possible wisdom in Dan. and the sole ground of the revelation which lies in the purpose of God, Häv. \textit{cft. Gal. 11}; the contrast is rightly ex-
pressed by Hitz., 'nicht durch eine Weisheit, die in mir wäre,' cf. EVV, 'any wisdom.'

24. הָנָה חַלִּית בָּלַא] Best 'accordingly.' The VSS have much trouble with this phrase and tr. most variously.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Idiomatic use of the prep.; cf. Arab. daḥala 'ala fulān, 'he went to one in his house,' Wright, Gr. 2, p. 168.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Cf. 14[.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Ken. 118 Θ Θ om.; ROMSS om. by ḫ supra. Either simplification is possible, so Cha. The vb. by could have arisen by dittograph of the prep., so Mar. in his comm., Lohr, Torrey, Notes, II, p. 257. But the VSS defend by as against יָּהַנְּךָ, and argument cannot be based on superfluity in Aram. diction.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Now found in OAram., in the Hadad Inscr., ll. 22, etc., the ZKR Inscr., the papp. —יָּהַנְּךָ[2] The variants הָנָה הָנָה cited by Gin., and הָנָה הָנָה cited by Bär, are Hebraizing; s. Kau., §46.; הָנָה הָנָה did it read אָנָה אָנָה, 'riddle,' and understand it as the numeral? So also v.15.

25. כִּי נָשָּׁה] The rt. in Pr., Ch., Est., along with original sense of 'dismay,' has also that of 'hurry,' and so here, 34, 62, and NHeb.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] For nasal dissimilation in Aram. dialects, s. Kau., §11, 4, b; Nöld., MG §68; Gr. §71, 4. The phenomenon is still more pronounced in the papp., s. the nouns listed APO 262, and for the forms of this vb. AP Index.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] As against Kau.'s suggestion (p. 174) that the Hafel here is properly Peals. Bev.; the Haf. also in the papp. For the vocalization, which is primitive, s. Kau., §40, 4; so the similar fems., קָּרָנָה, קָּרָנָה. —יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Bär, Str.] Gin., Kit. om.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Also in the papp.; a back formation from the gentilic יָּהַנְּךָ, as Hitz. recognized; cf. "Brock., VG 1, 398, Wright, Arab. Gr. 1, §251.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] C adds יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Rt. used along with יָּהַנְּךָ[2], also in the papp.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Asyndeton, s. 12; for the classes of wise men, s. 24.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Primary mng. of יָּהַנְּךָ[2] is 'cut,' e.g., 24, then 'decree,' Job 29, Est. 2, and so לָא inf. 44. 'decree,' as in Rabbinic, and Syr. גֶּשֶׁטָה = 'fate.' Hence the generally accepted mng., '(fate-)determiners,' i.e., astrologers, so JV, ms. AV RV 'soothsayers.' Θ = simply transliterate, γα categorie (unique to Dan.?). But there is another tradition of the word: Sym. had γα categorie, 'sacrificers,' Θ aruspices (Jer. citing in his comm. Sym.'s γα categorie, which he says = ἀρτοκόπους, cf. the interesting scholium in Field at 44); and this is supported by W. R. Smith, Journal of Philology, 13 (1883), 281, citing from Bar Bahlul's dictionary the equivalence of Syr. kâsômâ with Arab. jazâr, 'slaughterer.' We may then have in this word the Aram. term (also taken over into the Gr.) for the Bab. diviner of liver omens.—יָּהַנְּךָ[2] Θ om.—through homoiot. in Sem. copy? Lu. cleverly restores without disturbing construction of Θ by δόναμις; also found in Clem. Alex., Strom., i, 4 (ed. Potter, i, 330).

26. רָדְקָה] A borrowing from the Heb.?; otherwise BAram. has
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A considerable passage omitted by 

is preserved in 

is known to both Jer. and Lu. It contains the plus, 'O king, live forever.'—

For the psychology 

System of Biblical Psychology, 300: "It is the only trace of the reference of spiritual-psychical events to the head." But the head is referred to as the seat of vision, so Mar., so also Ehr., who 

cf. Ecc. 24, 'the eyes of a wise man are in his head,' a comparison made long ago by Jer. Häv. well says: "Nach einer poetischer Anschauung des Traumes umschwebt derselbe gleichsam das Haupt," etc., and 

cf. II., ii. 20, of the dream god standing 'over the head' of Agamemnon; so xxiii, 68, etc.—Sing. by attraction to following sing. subject-matter; cf. Nah. 514, Est. 418. Incongruence of pron. is 
exemplified in the papyri, e.g., APO pap. 15, l. 2 שד המושתיות.

29. הקדרק קת., הקדרק קר.] So always in 

in OArab., inscriptions and papyri, always יִתא, but doubtless = 'אנתא; s. on יתא at v.22, and Kau., §18, Anm. For the absolute construction cf. v.22, 117, 56, 18; similarly in the papyri, e.g., ARA pap. B, l. 8 הוהי הבשא ('w as caret), 'my house,' and for Heb. usage, s. GK §135, 2.—ירוחית = Syr. re'ydn, 'thought.' The development of Syr. ינוח is from that of 'pleasure,' = Arab. radiya, to 'purpose,' and so to 'thought'; s. Brock., Lex., s.v. The Heb. philologists dispute whether Heb. 8 Ps. 1392, Ecc. 14, etc., יעשו Ecc. 17, etc., hail from root רדיה, so Lagarde, Nöld., BDB (sub III ירות); or from יָאשא 'shepherd,' so Barth, Kau., Aramaismen, 81, GB, Kön., 

Hwb. Legitimately רדיה = Heb. יאשא, which actually exists. But the Heb. words in question are late and are to be explained as direct borrowing from Aram. Our word is with יִתא to be closely construed with י Throne, 'thy thoughts (whilst lying) on thy bed,' so Klief. The elder comm. dispute over the exact mng. of יִתא, without much necessity in the simple Sem. psychology; it includes the king's cogitations (Pr. 'speculations') as well as the vision.—ירוחית, 'thy heart,' following a common Heb. phrase, e.g., 2 Ki. 124, frequent in N.T., יָאשא (s. Lexx. s.v.) הָיַה t. חֲפִלָה, and so in Syr. N.T.; also 2 Esd. 31 (aduced by Cha. here), "conturbatus sum super cubili meo recumbens et cogitationes meae ascendebant super cor meum." Bert. argued for the originality of יִתא's rdg. and is followed by Cha. (without reference to יִתא). The relative clause יִתא דָחַר י is epexegetical to יִתא יִתא י. For similar stative forms s. Kau., §25, e. JHM. properly cites Lat. oboriri; with this idea in mind apparently יִתא paraphrases, cogitare coepisti.—ירוחית An indefinite relative, = Heb. תָּאָשָׁא often, also Arab. and Aram. מְדָא. תָּאָשָׁא This prep. in sing. form appears in OArab. monuments and papyri; it was later replaced by יִתא, found also v.10, etc.—30. יִתא S. at v.10—ירוחית. Also 414; in the papyri יִתא, APO pap. 11, l. 3, etc.; also in Heb., יִתא Ecc. 318, etc.—ירוחית For the impersonal use s. at v.12; it appropriately here veils.
the mysterious agency. θεν γλώσσα, error for θα γνώρισ (so AQ.).—ירבט
The triradical form in BAram. and the papyri, also in PalSyr.

31–45. The dream and its interpretation. For discussion of
the symbolism, s. Note at end of the chap. 31. The v. reads very
limpingly as usually translated and interpreted. Both Θ and Δ
have simpler forms; nevertheless, θ contains all the elements of Θ.
The almost universal construction of the v., following Θ’s
punctuation, appears thus in JV: ‘Thou, O king, sawest, and
behold a great image. This image which was mighty, and whose
brightness was surpassing, stood before thee; and the appear-
ance thereof was terrible.’ But the relatives in the second sen-
tence are not in Θ, and that sentence is manifestly circumstan-
tial, parenthetical, as Hitz., Zöck., Torrey alone, apparently,
have noted; further, ‘lo’ (‘behold’) is generally construed with
a ppl. (e.g., 72, and cases cited inf.). Tr.: Thou, O king, sawest,
and lo, A great image ... standing before thee. For the interior
clauses Torrey, Notes, I, pp. 257 f., has best solved the awkward
condition of Θ by following Δ, i.e., placing בָּר (JV as adj.,
‘great’) as adv. (as adj. it means ‘much’) after the subsequent
ב (JV ‘mighty’). The resultant is: Thou, O king, sawest and lo:
an image—that image was very great, and its splendor extraordi-
nary—standing before thee. For a similar lengthy period cf.
vv. 37–38.

* 31. רות עת לאכ] N.b. the genuine Aram. use of the ppl. with vb. ‘to be,’
expressing continuance of action, also postpositive of vb.; s. Kau.,
§76, f, cf. Nöld., SG §277. For similar Heb. usage s. Dr., Tenses, §135,
4; Aram. influence is obvious in late O.T. use. For ‘thou sawest and
behold,’ cf. 72, Gen. 412, Zech. 18, 21, Rev. 14, etc.; also the frequent
είδεν in Rev.—ירבט] 47. 10, 72. 5. 6. 7. 10. Cf. OAram. וָי
CIS ii, no. 137, A, 1. 1, B, l. 4; on an ostrakon, APA M, b = Lidz., Eph., 2,
229 ff.; also in Lidzbarski’s ostrakon, Altaram. Urk., 1. 9. Opinions differ
sharply as to origin and relations of the two particles. רמות may be ex-
plained as ‘ein verstimmelter Imperativ vom Stamme רומ,’ so Kau.,
§67, 6; the prothetic vowel is common in Syr., particularly in impvs.,
s. Nöld., SG §51; but the root early disappeared in Aram., being repres-
ented in BAram. only by רומ. For רומ Pr. suggested relation with Akk. לוע
‘verily’; Behr. cft. the Rabb. particles רומ, רומ and רומ = רומ, so Dal.,
Gr., pp. 221, 234, citing dialectic Aram. forms; Lidz. denies identity of
the two particles (l.c.), treating רומ as רומ, ‘is it not?’ Their identity
of use in Dan. is beyond question.—ירבט דָּר אל־תפ יָה י־ר תָּד יָה י־ר]
Of the Gr. ὅρπ alone = רומ, εἰδώ τὰ [+] μεγάλη < Θ] πολλά, η εἰδών ἔκκεν η μεγάλη,
on which Lu. depends for second clause; $\Upsilon = \Theta$; $\Theta = \Upsilon$ εἰκών μεγάλης ἡ εἰκών; Q* 26 om. η εἰκ. εἰκ. = Cypr., Test., i, 17, εἰκόνις μεγάλης; Sym., καὶ ἡ εἰκόνις ἡ ἐικόνα, μέγας ἡ ἐικόνας, i.e. = Θ. For $\Theta$'s text s. Comm. $\Theta$ has abbreviated form, abbreviatur and continuing ipsis verbis, i.e., our $\Theta$ should be $\Theta$—οραμ. in the Nerab Inscr. of a carved design, then of a 'statue,' so in Akk., of a god-image (Pr.); = Arab. ẓanam 'idol,' as Jeph. tr. it; Sym., ἀνθρώπος = $\Upsilon$ statua.—$\Pi$ Practically indef. art., so $\text{4}$, $\text{6}$, $\text{18}$, Ezr. $\text{4}$; so occasionally also in Heb., e.g., $\text{8}$, $\text{13}$ (s. Lexx.); similarly $\text{13}$ in Hellenistic Gr.—$\text{127}$] 70. 21 = iste, rather than with Kau., ille, Lexx. 'this.' For formation, δέκ + $\eta$, cf. Bev.; for -$\eta$ as in הַר, וְנָשִׂים, s. Nöld., MG p. 86, n. 3. The form is unique in Aram., which developed a great variety of pronominal forms; cf. כֹּל, APO no. 71 (p. 218) אָליִם הֶרְחִיב הַחַזֵּק 'to that company.' This form may answer Ehr.'s argument against $\Pi$ because of its common gender, he analyzing our pron. into δέκ $\eta$, i.e., 'das so beschaffene Bild.' The demon. pron. in Baram. and the papp. can precede or follow the noun, Kau., §920, also in Syr., Nöld., SG §26.—$\text{131}$] $\Theta$ πέρασσες, i.e., rdg. מִי $\text{18}$ tr. foll. מִי similarly; $\Theta$ follows $\Upsilon$ in the first case, but in the second πέρας. For $\Theta$ αὐτός $\Theta$ has εἰκόνως αὐτός = Cypr., eius imaginis; Maternus, ipsius im.; i.e., the omission in $\Theta$ has been glossed in. $\Pi$ [statura] sublimis, i.e., as from $\text{18}$ cm. The word in same use $\text{4}$; in pl. of the color of the face, $\text{5}$, etc., $\text{7}$. The word, prob. = Akk. zimu, 'Erscheinung, Gesichtsausdruck' (Del., Heb. s.v., KAT 649), means primarily the light effect of an object, its 'shine, sheen,' secondarily 'glory,' as in Syr. AEz. cf. the month name Ziv. Cf. Haupt on equivalence of Akk. šimu 'aspect' and Arab. laun 'color,' JAOS 37, 253. Nöld. has claimed a Pers. origin, MG p. xxxi, GGA 1884, 1022.—$\text{132}$] AV RVV 'excellent,' i.e., 'excelling'; s. Dr., and his Add. Note, p. 32, on the use of this old English word in the Bible; better JV 'surpassing,' Behr. 'ausserordentlich,' 'extraordinary.'—$\text{132}$] I.e., ῥα'υ > ῥαί (cf. ἰαρός > ῥή; s. Bev., Brock., VG 1, p. 293.

32. 33. The details of the Image. The Image is blocked out in five parts, the last two of which have a common element, hence to be regarded as possessing a certain unity. Each part is composed of a separate substance; these substances are arranged in order of value, gold down to clay, in parallelism with the hierarchy of the members of the body, from the head, the seat of dignity, to the humblest limbs, the legs and feet. The head is of fine gold; the chest (lit. 'breasts') of silver; the abdo-
men and the hips of brass, more exactly bronze; the legs of iron and the feet 'partly of iron, partly of clay-fabric.' The word for legs is generally used of the upper leg, the thighs (so σκελή); if so used here then 'the feet' would include the lower leg, even as the word is used in the description of Goliath's armor, 1 Sa. 17, or euphemistically of the whole leg, e.g., Is. 7. But it is preferable to take 'the feet' in the natural sense and the preceding term as meaning the whole leg. Q understands by 'the legs' the lower legs, ἀνάμικρα. Only in the interpretation, vv. 41, is mention made of the toes, probably a later addition (v. ad loc.). The one stumbling-block in the description of this fine work of artifice is the word translated 'clay.' The word (ᾠρα ἥσαφ), which appears with phonetic modifications in all Sem. stocks exc. Heb., invariably means a formed pottery object, whether a complete vessel or its fragments, i.e., potsherds. And so the ancient VSS universally render the word: Gr. δετράκων; ℣ variously, here fichtis (from E, also vv. 34, 45), testa (vv. 35, 41, 43, 45). And so ℣ with the same word, as also Sa. with its Arab. equivalent ḥazaf. Modern VSS and almost all comm. ignore this mng. and render by 'clay.' But the raw material is denoted in v. 41 by הָגַשׂ (EVV 'miry [clay],' RVVmg 'earthenware'), while Ḥaza is identical with 'potter's ware' (rather 'pottery ware') at v. 41, where EVV have 'potter's clay.' No more than in the case of the wrought iron can we think of raw clay daubed on the statue, and yet so Behr. defines 'clay,' 'abblätternder Thon oder Schiefer,' similarly dEnv. as of raw clay; nor of a conglomeration of potsherds. Menodius (in Pole) thinks of an iron ore with clay admixture. The comm. generally fight shy of an explanation, but correctly CBMich.: ferreos et testaceos, and so vLeng. We have to think of tile work entering into the composition of the figure, applied, as it actually was, in the way of decoration, but then in caricature regarded as shoddy work replacing the essential iron structure; the element was doubtless true to architectural forms of the age. There is no question about the use of tile work in ancient Babylonian architecture; we have the terracotta reliefs in Greek art, the tiling of Saracenic art, while the tile-covered towers of modern Persia are witness to this ancient mode of construction. We might even think of the porcelain

2 For the lavish use of bronze in Babylonia cf. Her., i, 181, 'the bronze-gated temple of Bel,' and in general s. Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., 1, 265 ff.
towers of China. How far such work may have entered into the composition of statues we do not know. Chryselephantine images were known in late Assyrian as well as in Greek art, while the extremely ancient art of the inlaying of enamels in metal may have induced the similar use of applied tiles. The caricature of the picture lies in the application of this fragile form of art to the weakest section of the statue, enhancing its decoration but replacing the structural elements.  

32. אָמַּה לְךָ[י] The VSS variously render the pron. Ehr. rightly rejects Behr.’s construction, ‘dies ist das Bild,’ for which נַרְדָּב would be used. Nor is Mar. right, ‘es, das Bild.’ For the indifferent position of the prons. s. at v. 31.—יַעַר not at all ‘vertritt zugleich die Copula,’ with Behr.; nor does it merely replace the construct. The particle retains its primitive mng. as a demonstrative relative; so frequently in Syr., s. Nöld., SG §209, where he speaks of ‘die grössere Selbständigkeit des דּ, eigentlich eines Demonstrativ-(Relativ-)Pronomens (‘der von’); e.g., among his exx. רְבֵית הָרוּס, ‘those of Herod’s party.’ It corresponds to Arab. ذَة, surviving in classical Arab. only in conventional use, s. Wright, Gr., 1, §81. It has a parallel in Heb., e.g., ד, תִּשְׁעִים שֵׁנֶב, i.e., ‘a matter of 20 years,’ s. my note JBL 1924, 227. In the papyri both this construction, יַעַר (v. caret) and the appositive use, יֵשׁ, are found in one line, APO pap. 1, l. 12. Inf. v. 38 אָמַּה לְךָ is rather in line with the usual Syr. constructions of two definites in const. relation.—יַעַר χρυσοῦ B V 88 148 Orp h36 (h3 ‘pure’) = Cypr. bonum; al. χρυσός; [aurum] sauci. For ‘good gold’ cf. Gen. 2:4, etc.—יַעַר The plene writing with י is correct (rarely transgressed, e.g., 5:6, Ezr. 6:11, 7:14), as the papyri show, in which age it was then still pronounced -אָוּחַ.  יַעַר יָרִים is dual, so Schulthess, ZATW 22, 163, and is to be added to Kau.’s list, §51, 1, in addition to יָרִים and יָרִים (72b) with Mar., Gr. §69, and אָוּחַ אָוּחַ 46, q.v.; also note יִשְׁמָעֵאל. Θ has early error: יַעַר read as יַעַר, which was revised by an early doublet, אָוּחַ אָוּחַ אָוּחַ אָוּחַ = אָוּחַ. Orp adds the suff. to the second term, + [שְׁוַיְתֹוּז] אָוּחַ, and so hereafter consistently with אָוּחַ, and Lu. follows Orp in this but not consistently.—יַעַר So יַעַר of the abdomen, Song 5:14; prob. also a dual, and so pointed in NHeb., s. Jastr., s.v.—יַעַר קָרָיו, קָרָיו. So also vv. 31–33. OAr. was careless of grammatical agreement, s. Kau., §98, 2 and APO p. 273, §10. 3; hence Kt. may well

3 For the Mesopotamian art in tiles s. Koldewey, Das wieder erstehende Babylon, 40 ff. (with illustrations in color), Meissner, op. cit., 275 ff. For a terra-cotta relief at Sardes s. Shear, AJA 1933, 131ff., and for Etruscan terra-cotta ‘antefixes’ D. M. Robinson, ib., 1 ff. I note in Bedjan’s Syriac text of Mar Jaballaha, p. 137, l. 6, a ‘dome plated with green tiling,’ אֵשֶׁר.
be original. In the papyri the suff. masc. is מ, the suff. fem. is nonexistent but would not be distinguished in spelling; s. further Haupt's note in Kamp. The terms mean that the feet were partly iron, partly clay (not distributive, as among the toes), and the point is to be borne in mind in the interpretation of v. 42. See Comm., and consult Lexx. for philology; add Fränkel, Lehewörter, 160. Nöld., ZDMG 40, 730, asserts that here the word is used of the raw clay; this is denied by Schwally, ib., 52, 140.

34. 35. The second and final scene of the drama is the collapse of the Image, smitten on its feet by a Stone quarried without human agency; not a trace is left even of the substances which composed the proud creation, while the Stone expands into a Mountain which fills the whole earth. Only here is given the faintest indication of some background, an origin for the Stone; the detail is filled out subsequently in the explication, v. 44, that it was quarried out of the mountain, if the item be original there. The item has intruded itself here falsely in most early texts of VSS, but not in Θ. For the Messianic exegesis of these vv. s. Note at end of the chap. More poetical, as more natural, is the prophecy in Is. 11, 'The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea'; the 'hyperbole' (Zöck.) of the rock filling the whole earth is due to that reminiscence.

34. יִדְעָה Cf. יִדְעָה here as in Heb. poetry, 'used to mark not an absolute clause, but an epoch or turning-point,' as Ps. 110 (BDB 725a); cf. the similar use of Arab. لجأ (y). יִדְעַה I.e., הָעָזָרָא, retaining orig. accent, and then vocalized in Heb. fashion; so תֶּהָרָא inf., הָרָא הַרְמָא v. 46, תֶּהָרָא v. 47; s. Kau., §30, 2, Powell, Supp. Hebr., p. 48. יִדְעַה 'Rare in Syr.' (Behr.), but frequent in the papp. For the vocalization v. sup., יִדְעַה v. 16. All Grr. have plus [λειώθος] יִדְעַה שֶׁנֶּכֶשׁ = פ, or the same prefixed by Lu., exc. Or Υ V 233 Hipp 46 = פנָנָה = פ. This plus in Θ is an intrusion from Ω, for Θ has in v. 45 פָּה שֶׁנֶּכֶשׁ, and Lu.'s placing of the plus here follows order in v. 46. Kamp rightly refuses to accept the addition, against Houbigant, Jahn, Ehr., Cha. This is a good instance of the fallacy of citing B offhand as 'Theod.,' as do those comm. and Löhr (who accepts the emendation here 'probabiliter'). The witness of Jos., AJ x, 10, 4, alleged by Cha., is precarious, as he compresses the story.—נָּדוּי = 'that-of-not,' s. at v. 31; the same in Syr., = JArab. שְׁנָיִם, i.e., 'without'; Heb. פָּה שֶׁנֶּכֶשׁ. So Mich., Str., Kit., and properly, after Syr. vocalization; Bär, Gin. פָּה (the same conditions in
v. 36). For the variant traditions of such forms s. Kau., §47, p. 78.—[35] Cf. Mi. 411, Is. 4114, Mt. 31; a frequent figure of the divine judgment.—[36] Only in Dan.; in Ezr. and papyri פֶּתַי, papp. also פֶּתַי. For -n v. sup. פֶּתַי v. 31; Barth, Die Pronominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen, 1913, 18, relates to Eth. 'emānta. אָבָּד בְּצִיָּה, ב Q הָּֽהֶמְּלֶּכָּה, al. (if HP be correct) אִֽיתְּוַּֽיָּה בְּצִיָּה. This doublet rdg. appears in ס 'ground] them well (22),' and had entered the Theod. texts before time of ל, where we have comminuit eos usque ad finem, Iren., or comm. eos minulatim, Cypr., Maternus; cf. A 'very finely.' As Θ misunderstood מְשָּר v. 38 as מִשְׁר = בּעוּת, we must charge him with a similar lapse here, as supposing a form of הָּֽהֶמְּלֶּכָּה, cf. Jos. 316 מְשָּר, מְשָּר בְּצִיָּה, and Dt. 3126. לְתָּֽיָּה, מְשָּר בְּצִיָּה. The acc. may have been spontaneously restored.

35. פֶּתַי The vocalization demands a rt. פֶּתַי to rt. פֶּתַי in פֶּתַי, but with intrans.-pass. mng., 'broke down'; so Kau., §46, 3, a, and Kön., Hub., giving both rts., which also appear in Rabb., where פֶּתַי only in derivative stems. BDB, GB, Mar., Gr. §66, c, prefer to find the one root פֶּתַי for both, but then abnormal vocalization here; we should expect פֶּתַי, cf. ? מְשָּר Dt. 93. For assimilation of these parallel themes, cf. GK §67, r, §72, dd.—[36] = Targ. Ps. 22. Heb. תַּמַּא Ezr. 234, Ecc. 116, etc.—קְשָּׁת אֲנָוִּים, 5 MSS Ken. קְשָּׁת אֲנָוִּים, at least an interpretative rdg.; ס = ס; Θ reverses order, וֶּֽהַּֽיָּה, כ וְלַב. OrP-C reverts to ס. Cha. adapts Θ's order, but the oldest testimony is against this order, which is due to a rational rearrangement; s. at v. 41. Cf. Kamp.'s very sensible note: 'Even in passages where the readings of the Versions yield a better sense (as e.g. in vv.35, 45 in the order of the metals), it is hard to decide whether ס Θ with their smoother reading present the original text, or whether we must rather attribute some slight roughnesses to the author.' He cf. 5 'gold, silver,' with 527 'silver, gold.' —[36] Aram. would demand the vocalization kaway.—[36] ס אֲכָלְוּעַ 'chaff,' Θ ὀξόρματος 'dust'; Cypr. conflate, palea aut puluis (obvious gloss!). Cf. Hos. 133.—[37] For derivation (?) s. Lexx. Lidz., Altaram. Urk., 16, finds a month תֶּן, 'Tennenmonat' in his ostrakon. I refer to my note on certain secondary intensive formations in the Semitic, in JAOS, 1926, pp. 56–58, for a discussion of BAram. רַּתָּק, רַּתָּק and numerous nouns, esp. in the Aram., where doubling has been induced by a foll. liquid; this is the universal view of them as orig. intensive formations. —תְּנָּק With masc. vb.; this may be a case of incongruence of gender agreement, cf. Kau., 98, 2, a, and s. at v. 33; cf. 32, 40 Kt. In Heb. 'תָּנָּק is predominantly fem. (GB p. 748b), and so in Syr., where even the Holy Spirit was primarily fem. Here for תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק תְּנָּק
Arab. 'qafar; cf. also use of נאום as 'monument' in the Panammu Inschr., I. 18 (Lidz., NE p. 442, Cooke NSI no. 62), and so possibly in SArab., Hommel, Chrestomathie, 121. For the phrase cf. Ps. 103:16; it is cited in Rev. 20:11 = Θ. Θ om. prec. ἧς, Or[5] has.—נוכreas So edd., exc. Str., Kamp., Mar. = נוכreas s. at v.34.—רֹכָב Grr. 5205, exc. Q V Lu. + mss 545 5005. —רוכב So edd., exc. Bär מַלְכָּתי. Kau.'s initial statement, §47, that vbs. נוכreas and נוכreas have been fully assimilated, is to be corrected by his subsequent note, (g), that in this vbs. and נוכreas Ezr. 4:19 the strong formation is intended. The retention of נוכreas is corroborated by the papyri, where we find so treated (s. APO p. 270) נוכreas נוכreas נוכreas נוכreas, and there are traces of this survival in Syr., s. Duval, GS §214, Nöld., SG §172. So here = orig. נוכreas. כְּנַשְׁתָּא, i.e., rdg. נוכreas, as v.34. Hermes, Sim. ix, 2, 1, gives an original rendering of the passage: נוכreas כְּנַשְׁתָּא נוכreas נוכreas.

36–45. The interpretation of the dream. 36. Dan.'s pl. we will say has been a moot problem. Ra. interprets, 'I and His Wisdom' (cf. Acts 15:28), supplementing with the remark that "this is the way of good manners," רָהַב מִיטָד; JHMich. "sc. ego et per me Deus; ut ego cum sociis meis." Acc. to CBMich. the Jews (?) and Socinians, wishing to forestall Trinitarian exegesis, applied the pl. to Dan. himself, 'auctoritatis ac honoris caussa,' cited by Mein., who prefers, with Behr., the reference to Dan.'s colleagues. The pl. approximates the deferential 'we' with Ra. in its impersonality, but is best compared with Paul's 'we' (e.g., 1 Cor. 16), used with a certain humility; the present message was not Dan.'s own. 37. Thou, O king, king of kings: The rhetoric of the passage has been generally overlooked since יְהוֹ, Tu rex regum es, = AV RVV. But 'king of kings' is appositive to 'king'; the balance of the v. and v.38a are a parenthesis, the affirmation being made in v.38b: Thou art the head of gold. So rightly the Grr., יְהוֹ; the rhetoric was ignored by comm. until Hitz., followed by some successors and JV. For Dan.'s courtesy cf. Jer.: "Absque uitio ueritate sociata blanditur ut regi." 'King of kings' was, and still remains, the correct Pers. title for the monarch; applied to Neb. in Eze. 26:7, and = Akk. šar šarrāni, but 'not the customary Bab. form of address' (Pr.). It appears in the Acháemenide inscriptions, and so in Ezr. 7:12. The title was also borne by princes of Armenia, the Bosporan kingdom and Palymra, s. Deissmann, New Light from the Ancient East, 368. The Seleucides were known as 'lords of kings,' אָרָא מִלְכֵּים.
36. Add to Swete's apparatus: $\text{C}^{5}$ + [τ. χρονιν] αυτου.—37. 
Not 'for...to thee,' e.g., AV RVV, following incorrect syntax of prec. words, but 'to whom,' JV; so δ. Also 47. Behr. alone objects to the universal treatment of 'n as synonymous with מגר. His interpretation, ignored subsequently, connects it with Arab. הָזַעֲנָה, and derives the idea of 'riches.' For the dubious relations of '7, s. GB, p. 248. But a suggestion is to be had from the use of the vb. in 718, "take in possession," and in particular from the papyri, where, in Peal and Hafel, it has a technical legal meaning, possibly of fief-tenancy; s. Sachau's note in ApO to pap. 5, l. 6, where he suggests a likeness between this 'possession' and the later "חָיַבְפּרָנָא. So in Jaram. מְדוֹן = 'possession,' and Sa., cited here by AEz., tr., כַּלֶּה יִשְׂרָאֵל 'an inherited kingdom.' Syr. confines itself to the meaning 'be strong.' In the present passage then the king holds his fief under God, and we gain a pregnant climax: royalty, possession, might, honor.—מדֶנ In Nab. 'Vollmacht,' Lidz., NE 387. Θ treats the last three nouns as adjectives to βασιλείαν, $\text{C}$ מְדוֹן as adj.; $\text{C}$ has five nouns, τ. αρχήν being doublet to βασιλείαν. Zöck. oft. the identical terms in the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, Mt. 613; cf. the similar ascription to the Son of Man below, 714.

38. The construction has given trouble since antiquity; e.g., the following varieties of interpretation: JDMich., '(et quae sunt) in omni loco in quo habitant,' etc.; AV RVV 'and wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts, etc., he has given into thy hand,' so apparently the punctuation of $\text{C}$, accepted without comment by mod. Eng. comm.; Mein., 'alles, was da lebt' (הָבַע as 'Gesammtbegriff,' not as spatial), but מְדוֹן has not the idea of abstract existence; JV, following the most common interpretation, after $\text{C}$, 'wheresoever the children of men, the beasts, etc., dwell, he hath given them into thy hand,' so Behr., who, after Bert. and with Mar., recognizes an anacoluthon here: "weil dem Verfasser schon am Anfang des V. מְדוֹן vorschwebte." The difficulty of מְדוֹן was early recognized by $\text{C}穿过 and Heb. mss, and Bert. suggests its elision. Following the early testimony of $\text{C}穿过, we may omit initial 'and,' and read, wheresoever dwell the children of men, along with $\text{C}$, as continuation of v. 37. The first item then is Neb.'s imperium over men, wherever they are to be found, the second his empire over all living things, the third is the summary, 'over them all has he
empowered thee.' As an alternative to this slight correction, with some authority and interpretations, there is Torrey's suggestion, Notes, I, 258, that ἡμᾶς 'illustrates the use of the indefinite 3d pers. pl.' with subject unexpressed, and so the phrase exactly = θέλεσαι τήν οἰκουμένην. But the first construction gives a better climax. The beasts of the field (= Heb. יבשומת ערים, e.g., Gen. 219, etc.), properly the wild animals, and the equally free fowl of heaven (cf. Gen. 120. 39), are reminiscence of Jer. 276 = 2814, where 'the wild beasts' are made to serve Neb. The idea is hyperbolic, not absurd; Neb. as the type and crown of Man has been invested by God with man's charter of dominion over all living creatures, Gen. 128, Ps. 8. An ancient addition to (ו, 'and the fishes of the sea,' glossed into most Θ MSS (it does not appear in the citation of our v. in Judt. 117), is equally not absurd in view of Gen. 1, Ps. 8, against Mar. The dominion of man over the wild life was strikingly exhibited in the sports and menageries of the ancient monarchs, who even like Tiglath-pileser I evinced their prowess over the monsters of the deep (cf. Haupt, AJSL 23, 253 ff., OLZ 1907, 263). Cf. the satire in Bar. 316, 'Where are the rulers of the nations and those who lorded it over the beasts of the earth, those who played with the fowl of heaven?' Also the royal menageries (e.g., the lions' den, c. 6) were symbolical of the monarch's world-power. With pertinence dEnv. cites Ass. inscriptions detailing the tributes of wild and strange beasts and recalls the bas-reliefs depicting them.1 In general, it is not necessary to explain away the extravagance of Dan.'s attribution of universal dominion to Neb. DEnv. makes a correct archaeological point that the Ass. kings claimed such imperium; he cites the title 'king of the four quarters,' and passages like that in the Taylor Prism, col. 12-13, 'Asshur has elevated my soldiers over every habitation in the regions.' But it is equally unnecessary to be as serious as dEnv. in his claim that Neb. "could regard himself suzerain of the emperors of China" (ii, 1, p. 167), or "of the lands in the north of Europe" (p. 169). It is sufficient to note that this universal sovereignty is attributed to Neb. in Jer. 278, and is assumed in Cyrus' edict, Ezr. 12.

1 For the royal hunts and menageries of the Ass. kings s. Meissner, 'Assyrische Jagden' in D. alte Orient, 13, pt. 2 (1911), and, more summarily, in his Bab. u. Ass., 1, 73 ff; for the similar amusements of the Pers. monarchs, s. Rawlinson, SGM 'The Fifth Monarchy,' c. 3, the classical refl. in notes 439 ff.
38. גָּלְגַּל[וֹ] גְּדוֹן, om., conj., ג construing with v. 37.—ג平行 "ס,ֹלְבֵכַכ שְׁכַכַּךָּ בֹּכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּ� שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ שְׁכַכַּךָ Shl. 76. 7

39. After thee [lit. in thy place] shall stand another kingdom lower than thou. The traditional interpretation, e.g., VSS, EVV, of the vb. is 'shall rise up'; but the same vb. in v. 44, used with the eternal Kingdom, is universally translated 'shall stand,' and this mng. is preferable throughout; there is nothing mobile in the scene. The expected designation 'of silver' is added by Orr Lu. and in mss. of ע exc. Cod. Amiatinus; the author instead has used the term 'lower than thou.' The expression 'lower than thou,' EVV 'inferior to thee,' signifies a lower degree of dignity, etc.; but the epithet is not to be confined to the Second Kingdom, for each one of the Kingdoms is equally lower than its predecessor. Hence it is beside the point to argue why this comparison is made here particularly: whether it is a moral inferiority (Zöck.), or lack of unity (Keil), or of ecumenicity (Kliel.), all which views are impossible historically on the hypothesis that the Second Kingdom is Persia. Bev.'s explanation that "of the Median empire next to nothing was known in the time of the author" is the most plausible. But the degradation increases with each kingdom one 'below' the other.
papyri. For its meaning 'in place (track) of,' so actually here, not 'after,' s. at v. 35. With an ancient fem. ending t < ay; for such forms cf. Nöld., MG §124 and p. 154; SG §83; and for Arab. nouns in -ay Wright, Gr. i, p. 179, also 'uḫra(y), our very form. In Heb. cf. 'ayir = הער 'Sarah.' G om. ἀλαν by hapl. with ἀλάνων; as a marginal gloss it has slipped into v. 41. Kt., קדה קר.] Kt. is right historically; the form is an old acc. in -a, to be accented on the penult, used adverbially. Cf. נַּבְּר, and נַבְּר v. 40 (g.v.). These cases correct Kau.'s denial of such forms in BArar. §49. For Heb. s. GK §90, 2. The Kt. may be influenced by the later ו. Ra., AEz. take the word as adj., = נִני, and so Bert., Behr., al. Buxt. appears to have been the first to recognize it as an adv., s. Lex. s.n., 'inferius infra te,' the explanation of the adverbial form being first given by Häv.—אזהה קת., אשה קת. See Kau., §11, 1, b. The change of ו to נ induced change of נ to ו.—וושחנ 2°] Redundant, = 'yet another'; cf. 7°; Θ om.

40. The v. is difficult with its redundacy, which is surprising in this compact narrative. It may be translated: And a fourth kingdom [so correctly the Grs., EVV erroneously 'the fourth'] there shall be, strong as iron, according as iron crushes and smashes wholly; and like iron which breaks, all these things will it crush and break (so with Torrey, disregarding Μ's punctuation, followed by EVV). But the VSS all offer shorter forms of text: G, discounting the Hexaplaric plusses, omits 'like iron' 1°, 'and smashes,' and 'like iron which breaks.' Θ also om. the last-named clause, rdg. simply oōτος 'so' (= יִני ?). Despite the Hexaplaric amendments, which restore the triple 'iron,' the quantum of G has not been brought up to H. With Θ agree Σ Η, although this agreement does not necessarily add weight. OrP restores 'the iron' 3°, not the following 'which breaks.' The critical presumption against 'like the iron which breaks' is accordingly strong, and while Torrey, Notes, I, 258, has done the best to save the whole v. by his repunctuation, he has not made its rhetoric much more sensible. It is best with Mar. (text—in comm. he suggests that the orig. ended with 'wholly'), Löhr, Jahn, Cha., to omit these words; read then for the final sentence: and all these things will it crush and break. Kamp. erroneously argues against Mar. that G read the words omitted. Cha. also would omit 'all these things' (נָלַח וַיִּרְבְּר) as 'not found in Θ Η Σ;' but הָכ = Θ πᾶντα, while the eldest witness G has πᾶν δένδρον, which is simply a misreading of Η as הָכ וַיִּרְבְּר.
40. וְשַׁעַר] Used in later Aram. of the smith's hammer (correct Behr. here!), so JDMich., *Supplementum*, no. 876; JV 'beateth down,' AV RVV 'subdueth' = נֶפֶשׂ. For explanation of the *mil'el* accent as indicating primarily an adverbial form (so always where נָשַׁע occurs, 4:9, 18, Ezr. 5:1, and frequently in the papyri), s. the writer's article, 'Adverbial *kulla* in Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew,' *JAOS* 43, 391.—See Kau., §39 for the Mass. principle in the heightened a, *cf.* פָּשַׁח v. 41. The variation of stem is a further proof of the secondary character of this clause.—תִּירֹּר] *tirro,* s. Kau., §46, 3, a.—At end of v. ג + x. נֶשֶׁתִּירֹּרָה נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו. Cha. accepts 'the whole earth,' rdg., 'so shall it break in pieces and crush the whole earth,' and *cf.* ג, נָשַׁע לְכִיָּהוּ also, of the Fourth Kingdom; similarly Jahn. Blud. suggests, p. 63, that the plus represents original נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו. But actually the clause is composed of two glosses on words ignored by orig. ג; נֶשֶׁתִּירֹּרָה = נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו, read as נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו, which rdg. = נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו; נָשַׁע may be reminiscence of ג.

41–44. As in v. 40, so here is an unnecessary repetition of phrases, and to a greater extent. The idea of the 'mixture' of the two elements is fully insisted on in v. 41, being reinforced in v.41b. It is taken up again in v. 42 with specific reference to the 'toes of the feet,' while the first sentence of v. 43 repeats v. 41b. Jahn and Löhr have noticed this insipid repetitiousness. The former recognizes vv. 42, 43 as a doublet: they "scheinen mir von späterer Ausdeutung des Bildes ausgegangen zu sein. Von Zehen war bei der ursprünglichen Schilderung des Bildes keine Rede; sie sind eingesetzt, um Eisen und Ton besser zu teilen zu können. Von v. 42 sind die Zehen auch in v. 41 eingedrungen." Löhr regards נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו, v. 41, and vv. 42, 43, as 'probable additions' (at which view Torrey, *Notes*, I, 259, n. 2, exclaims). As to 'and the toes,' v. 41, he and Jahn might have claimed the authority of orig. ג, which ignores it. With these critics the writer agrees as to v. 42; it is a thoroughgoing doublet to v. 41; *n.b.*, נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו, נָשַׁע הַגְּדָיו || הַגְּדָיו, חֹזֶה רֶה. The item of the toes suggested itself as an extra satirical touch, and from this v. 'and the toes' intruded into v. 41. Further, the first sentence in v. 43 is identical with the last sentence in v. 41, viz., 'because) that thou sawest the iron mixed with the tile-work of clay.' It looks as if after the insertion of v. 42 the construction of the period was taken up again by the repetition of v. 41b. Omit then 'and the toes' in v. 41a and read on from v. 41b, *According as thou sawest the iron*
mixed with the tile-work of clay, v.43b, they shall be mingling themselves in human seed, etc. Further, Mar., Löhr regard מים [מים] EVV 'miry [clay],' vv.41-43 as secondary on basis of its omission by Θ; but G has it in both cases, τῷ πηλίῳ ὅστρσικον, and it is to be observed that Θ with equal arbitrariness omitted דע שומר [ showMessage] 'potter's,' v.41. The מים has its rhetorical point; in last analysis that potter's work is but mud; for a similar ironic resolution cf. Is. 7:8-9. In the secondary v.42 a new moment is added to v.41, in the distinction of two parts of the kingdom, one strong, the other 'brittle' (so with marg. of AV RVV, rather than the usual 'broken'); these two parts would presumably be the Ptolemaic and Seleucide empires. This interpretation is then reflected back by comm. (e.g., Dr.) to v.41, and such a division read into it. But in v.41 the word usually translated 'divided' (ספנין, s. Note) means rather 'diverse, composite,' and this is borne out by what follows: it [the whole] will have some [partake] of the strength [stockiness] of iron. Also in v.42 the prima facie interpretation of the opening words is: and the toes of the feet—some of them iron, and some of them tiling, a very strained item, hardly agreeing with v.41, although this distinction among the toes has been accepted by a number of comm., s. Note at end of chap. This fact is obscured in EVV by 'the toes were part of iron and part of clay.' The same trouble was then introduced into v.41 by the interpolation of 'and the toes,' and indeed Sa. definitely tr. there accordingly: 'some of the members of it shall be clay, some of them iron.' Altogether 'the toes' have complicated both figure and diction.

43. The subject of the participial vbs. in v.41 is attributed by most comm. to 'these kings,' v.44, by prolepsis, and the subject-matter found in the intermarriages of the Seleucides and Ptolemies. For this question reference is made to Note at end of the chap., where, it is argued, after Jewish comm. and Keil, that the mingling of races is intended. The implied subject in such a participial construction is of course impersonal. 44. These kings: hardly a succession of monarchs or kingdoms but a contemporaneous number of régimes. There is no practical difference between a 'kingdom' and its 'king,' for the latter is the symbol and incarnation of the former; the practical identity of the two nouns is obvious in the text and VSS of c. 11. We may agree with Dalman, Worte Jesu, 75 ff., that in the O.T. (Dalm. adds,
in the Jewish literature in general) ממלכה is a ‘sovereignty’ (‘Königsregiment’), never ‘kingdom’ (‘Königreich’). However, the Last Kingdom replaces the first Four in the dream, and is, in the idea of the scene, spatially bound as are its predecessors; the Mountain fills the whole earth, is not a spiritual Kingdom of Heaven. Since the early VSS, as well as in the tradition of ה, uncertainty has existed whether there should be read ‘the kingdom [to another people shall not be left],’ so AV JV; or, ‘the sovereignty thereof,’ so GV RVV Dr. (AVmg, ‘the kingdom thereof’) after ה, which is based on the actual Kethib, but against ה. In the latter case the pron. might refer to ‘a kingdom’ as antecedent, producing the awkward combination, ‘the kingdom’s kingdom’ (Keil), or better to ‘God,’ i.e., ‘his kingdom’; but ה is best with the abstract ‘the kingdom,’ i.e., ‘sovereignty.’

41. ו יִדְּוּ... ] For similar construction in Syr. s. Nöld., SG §366, C.—[אֵוֶּדְּוּכַּה] Orig. Arabic om.; s. Comm.—[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] For partitive use of ה cf. BDB 580b, and for Syr. Nöld., SG §249, C. Here not ‘some of them,’ etc., as 1 Ch. 9:2, but ‘one part of them’ another part, correctly interpreted by Kethib ה in v.42. —[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] For treatment as nom. opificum and vocalization s. Kau., §59, 1, d. G for ‘יִדְּוַּכַּה’ תֶּרֶםְוַי; TH om.; OrP evidently תֶּרֶםְוַי. The word is universally taken as ‘potter’; cf. Heb. יִדְּוַכַּה ‘potter’s clay,’ for the fabric אֵוֶּדְּוַּכַּה. But the syntax of ה with two indefinite nouns requires that ה refer to the stuff, cf. בֵּיהַר ה v.25, else why not אֵוֶּדְּוַּכַּה as in Heb.? Accordingly I am inclined to regard ה as potter’s ‘clay,’ comparing faḥhār, equally ‘potter’ (acc. to Nöld., MG p. 120, n. 2 of Aram. formation and origin), and potter’s ‘clay,’ e.g., Koran, 55, 13; and so כ understood the word. —[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] Following Buxt., citing Rabb. use, Krief., Ehr. correctly remarks: “...heisst nicht geteilt oder zerstückelt, sondern... in seinen Teilen verschieden.” —[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] So only here, v.42, 43, otherwise אֵוֶּדְּוַּכַּה In usual Aram. use ‘plant, shoot,’ and so G Θ, reversed by Lu. = order in v.42; cf. at v.35.—[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] Following Buxt., citing Rabb. use, Krief., Ehr. correctly remarks: “...heisst nicht geteilt oder zerstückelt, sondern... in seinen Teilen verschieden.” —[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] In usual Aram. use ‘plant, shoot,’ and so Θ, Aq., Sym. χόντον = נ plantario. But rather with comm. the word = ‘strength’ (e.g., AEz. מ), or better ‘firmness,’ Dr., JV. Cf. Eng. ‘stick, stock’ > ‘stocky,’ etc. The prec. ה is partitive, ‘some of the firmness,’ Kran., Behr.—[וְיִדְּוַּכַּה] Cf. Heb. יִדְּוַּכַּה and s. GB יִדְּוַּכַּה for discussion of derivations; n.b. Haupt, JBL 26, 32: “Heb. יִדְּוַּכַּה = Assy. š̄ītu stands for š̄itu with partial assimilation of the fem. ה as in Syr. ar ś̄ītu archer for š̄̂ītu.” Bert regards יִדְּוַּכַּה as pleonasm, cf. בֵּיהַר יִדְּוַּכַּה Ps. 40:4; Kön., Hwb. s.v. יִדְּוַּכַּה, as a superlative expression; Torrey, Notes, I, 259,
an ‘an inferior, miry sort of clay’; for a different interpretation s. Comm.—42. גָּדוֹל בַּיֶּשׁ] The same noun in Heb., א, but here with different partitive mng., ‘in part’; Schwally, cited in GB, draws attention to NHeb. גָּדוֹל, ‘partly,’ Jastr., p. 832.—[בַּיֶּשׁ] Correctly AV RVV ‘brittle’, cf. mng. of פַּעִים v.41.—43. אֲרוֹן קַר] Kt. אֲרוֹן Kt. = Θ (also Iren.). גַּם אֲרוֹנִי, a gloss intended to precede וַיָּעַבֵּר. Hitz. notes the nice difference between the two stems: ‘Sie sind <lurch aus Macht zusammengefügt, aber sie selbst verbinden sich nicht mit einander’; similarly in Syr., Nöld., SG §278, A.—ינֵי וַיָּעַבֵּר] ג interpretatively, elכ γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων. Cf. Jer. 31:28, ‘I will sow the house of Israel . . . with seed of man and seed of beast,’ i.e., by natural generation; here, acc. to Klief., et al., in contrast with divine action.—יֶשׁ, בַּר יֶשׁ[כ] = Palm. יֶשׁ, recognized as one word by the VSS, and a case of false Mass. division, cf. אֲרוֹן וַיָּעַבֵּר, v.8; for origin s. Lexx. ג as prep., אֲרוֹנִי רְבִימִי.—44. אֲרוֹנִי חֶל] = ג Θ Ω; Ω [בַּיֶּשׁ = Θ.—יוֹשָׁב] As adjectival only here.—ינֵי וַיָּעַבֵּר = 63, 714; primarily of inner corruption.—יֶשׁ יֵשׁוֹב] Many MSS א, so ג אֲרוֹן רְבִי = Δ; Θ read as יֶשׁ—(= 3 MSS יֶשׁ—), so Iren., Ω. Keil prefers יֶשׁ—, and so Lattey argues, Biblica, 4, 91 ff.—ינֵי וַיָּעַבֵּר] ג אֲדוֹנִי כְּפֶשֶׁר. For the vocalization s. Kau., §45, p. 74; Powell, p. 40. The rt. in Aram. as in Heb. = ‘come to an end.’ But Ω λάμַעְרֵי = Iren. ventilabit, ‘will winnow’; correctly Häv., ‘er dachte wohl an das Heb. derivatum des der Sturm.’ The same vb. appears in Jesus’ reminiscence of this passage, Mt. 21:24 = Lu. 20:18: ב בֵּא אֲדֹנִי וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּр וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּעַבֵּר וַיָּכְפֶּר. The doubt concerning the mng. of λάμαζω there (s. N.T. Lexxx., e.g., Preuschen actually forging a new mng., ‘zermalmen,’ followed by Deissmann, Bible Studies, 225) collapses; the passage is a verbal citation, and that of a ‘Theodotionic’ translation; s. Int., §13.—ינֵי גין. Kit.; בַּר יֶשׁ, also 67; this pl. form only in Dan., not in the papyri. Θ om. ג om. prec. ול

45a. The seer concludes his climax of the Eternal Kingdom which is to destroy ‘all these kingdoms’ by recurring to its symbol, the Stone: Just as thou sawest that a stone was hewn from the mountain without hands; and he gathers up all the elements of the vision in his miniature of the final catastrophe, how it crushed the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold. Here the interpretation ends, v.b being the asseveration of the truth of the whole vision. The relation of v.a with v.44 appears clearly in the Greek translations, but is ignored by the unfortunate Mass. verse-division, followed by the punctuation of the Η edd., and by the EVV. The true relation was recognized by GV, fol-
lowed by CBMich., *et al.* and all recent comm. exc. dEnv., Knab., Dr., Cha. In this v. we learn for the first time of the origin of the quarried Stone, it was hewn out of the mountain (generic, mountain mass), an item which is to be taken, with Behr., as ‘eine Ausmalung des Bildes,’ unless indeed it is to be rejected, with Kamp., as an early intrusion, for the Stone itself becomes a great mountain filling the whole earth.

45b is the signature to the revelation; Dan. has delivered God’s interpretation, not his own; therefore the dream and its explication are true and reliable, in contrast to ‘the lying word’ the king feared from the mouth of the adepts, v.⁹. For such confirmations of visions *cf.* below 8²⁶, 1¹², 1²⁷, and the example was followed by later apocalyptic writings, *e.g.*, Rev. 1⁹, 2¹⁶, 2²⁶.

45. [*תָּרָאָה*] But v.⁳⁴ ‘והם’. In the reflexive formations with *t* in BAram. cases with *hit* predominate over those with *'it*; *s.* Powell, p. 1⁵, for the statistics. There are almost no exx. in OAram. inscriptions (*n.b.* building in the Zenjirli Building Inscr.) in Sachau’s papyri only two cases, Kau., §2³, ¹, Anm., *'it*, with Arab., is original in Aram., and the cases with *hit* are to be regarded as Hebraisms; also *s.* Brock., *VG* ¹, p. 5³¹.—*א*’s order ‘iron, brass, clay,’ etc. = ¶⁸, other VSS ‘clay, iron, brass’; *cf.* the orders above, vv.³⁶ ¹. *Was אשון supplementary and inserted carelessly?*—אשון ⁴⁵ ¹. Exactly, ‘Great God,’ so *Grtr.*, א תָּרָאָה יָמִשׁ = EVV, Kran., Keil, dEnv., Mein., Pr., Jahn; *cf.* Heb. יָמוֹן, Aram. יָמִשׁוֹנ, etc., ‘holy Deity,’ also Ps. ⁴⁸, אֶל הַיָּמִשׁוֹנ = מֵעָלֶה בָּאֵל בֵּית אֱלֹהִים of the Pers. kings; *v. sup.* at v.¹¹. The argument of Behr., al., for the indefinite ‘a great god,’ is hardly seemly to Dan.’s unswerving religion. In Ezr. ⁵⁸ the articulated אֶל תָּרָאָה.—ָיָמִשׁ But in this vb.; for other survivals in Aram. dialects *s.* Brock., *VG* ¹, p. 5²⁵; it is hardly a borrowing from Heb. (Bev.), as אֶל תָּרָאָה appears in the Aḥiḳar papyri. *Bert.* cft. Ecclus. ⁴⁶ ¹⁸ פָּרָשָׁה בּוֹשַׁה = BSira, חַרְבֶּנְיָה הַרֵּעָה (of Samuel); ⁴⁸ ²² פָּרָשָׁה בּוֹשַׁה = נְפִלָּה הַרֵּעָה (of Isaiah). Correctly, as with gerundive mng., *Grtr.* פָּרָשָׁה.

46-4⁹. Neb. honors Dan. and his God, and prefers Dan. and the Three Friends. There can be no question but that Neb. intended divine honors to Dan. in the true spirit of Paganism. The first critic of our book, Porphyry, took exception to this datum, as Jer. cites here; the latter rejoins with reference to the worship done to Paul and Barnabas at Lycaonia. But, at v.⁴⁷, Jer. cites a parallel instance from Jos., *AJ* xi, ⁸, ⁵, how when
Alexander approached Jerusalem and the high priest came out to meet him invested with the pontifical robes and the golden plate on which was engraved the name of God, the conqueror 'worshipped the Name,' and then greeted the high priest. This bit of the Alexander saga may well have been known to our writer, although he is not so careful in distinguishing between the two phases of the monarch's reverence. Bert's view that only civic honors were offered to Dan. (cfr. the honors tendered to Alexander on his entry into Babylon), is contradicted by the sacrifices terms in which they are expressed; cfr. $\Theta$ and $\Theta$, but Aq. and Sym. avoided the technical mng. of miniḥah. Comm. generally dismiss this evasion of interpretation. Others suppose that Dan. must have, implicitly, deprecated the divine honors, so CBMich., Knab., after earlier comm. Truer to the story is Klief.'s view of Dan.'s 'das heidnische Verfahren passiv gewähren lassen.' Best Bevan: "We need not stop to inquire whether a strict monotheist would suffer himself to be thus worshipped, for the whole description is ideal—Neb. at the feet of Dan. represents the Gentile power humbled before Israel (cfr. Is. 49:23, 60:14)." Jer. is right in substance: "Non tam Danielem quam in Daniele adorat Deum"; which is inspired by Josephus' report of Alexander's reply to Parmenio, who twitted him for adoring the high priest of the Jews: "I did not adore him but the God who hath honored him with his priesthood."

47. The king's confession of Dan.'s God as God of gods (s. Note) and Lord of kings, is the real climax of the story. Given the story, there is no reason for cavil at the Pagan king's confession, for a polytheist can always take on new gods, the monotheist never.

46. The noun, also in the papp., is a dual, cfr. Nöld., GGA 1884, 1019, against Kau., §55, 4. $\Theta$ + χαμαλ, an exegetical plus.—Chap. 3 of worship of gods; in APO pap. 32, l. 3, נָסִיך is the deified place of worship (= Arab. masjid 'mosque'); but $\Theta$ is used of prostration before a man in the papyri, viz. of Abiḳar before Esarhadon, pap. 47, l. 13, so that the contention (e.g., by Dr., who cfr. Targ. use) that the vb. does not imply a divine object is correct.—חומש] The word is used in the papyri (APO pap. 1. 3) of (bloodless) sacrifice at the Jewish temple at Elephantine.—חומש] As here by itself Ezr. 6:10; in Heb. always הָנֵר נֶבֶר = AV 'sweet savour,' i.e., of incense. For these two terms $\Theta$ 00 $\Theta$ x. סְנֹנְדָּס, $\Theta$ μανακ (so the most mss, vs. B
48. 49. There is an historical problem here, as to which Porphyry was the first to inquire, cynically, why the good Jew Dan. did not refuse the Pagan king’s honors; Jer. pertinently replies by citing the instances of Joseph and Mordecai. It cannot be denied that in the matter of political preference a stranger might receive the highest honors from an Oriental despot. As to Dan.’s civic position we know of such provinces as Babel, Sippar, etc., governed by a prefect, ṣakkanaku, s. Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., 1, 121; in the Pers. period the term would have meant the whole of Mesopotamia, s. Meyer, GA 3, 1, §29; for the Greek period the subdivisions were smaller, the Seleucid empire containing 72 provinces acc. to App., De reb. syr., 62, and s. at 62.¹ The point of Dan.’s primacy over ‘all the wise men of

¹ S. Torrey’s interesting discussion, Notes, I, 259, and now at length ‘Medina and Polis,’ Harv. Theol. Rev., Oct., 1923, on the question when ḫurīyim ‘province’ passed into the mng. ‘city.’ Θ’s translation here by χῶρα stands correctly for the earlier use, as also Θ, ‘over the business of Babylonia.’
Babylon' has been stressed by those who deny the historical character of Dan., at least since vLeng. (q.v. on 22). That comm. presents the argument from the closed character of the Magian caste as known from Classical sources (cf. more fully Rawlinson, SGM The Third Monarchy, c. 3), while if the Bab. circumstances are to be insisted upon, the equally sacerdotal and highly technical status of the Bab. religious castes constitutes an equally insurmountable historical objection. See, e.g., Jastrow, Civilization of Bab. and Ass., c. 5, esp. pp. 271 ff.; KAT 589 ff. Further, Dan. cannot be conceived of as primate over their superstitious rites. The most extensive apology for this feature of the story appears in dEnv., pp. 182-191. In controversy of such an argument, 46 bluntly entitles Dan. 'chief of the magicians,' בִּרְכֵיהוֹ יִם מִי. But if the historical truth of the story must be dismissed, the problem that remains is how the Jewish storyteller could conceive of his hero functioning in so ambiguous a position. However, we possess sufficient parallels for this self-stultifying view in contemporary Jewish literature; e.g., the early Jewish midrashists Eupolemus and Artapanus, as well as the exuberant midrashic material presented by Jos., especially in his C. Ap., in which literature the fathers, Abraham, Moses, etc., not only appear as the first wise men but even as the founders of heathen cults. The Biblical narrator is by no means guilty of the extravagances of those writers, but innocently accepts a common theme of hagiology without pursuing or even recognizing its ultimate absurdity. The theme has its actual Biblical precedent in the example of Joseph, who married a daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis, and who according to later story became 'an adept in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' Acts 72.

A minor problem is the question of the relation of Dan. and his three friends and their respective offices. This is relieved by recognition of the final sentence as a nominal clause, Dan. being in the King's Gate (s. Note), and of the mng. of the latter phrase as the royal chancellery. He was in the cabinet, while his friends were subordinate officers in their several bailiwicks. More serious is the question whether v. 49 is redactional to prepare for c. 3; so Hitz., Barton (JBL 1898, 62 ff.), Jahn, Löhr (dubiously), while the hypothesis is denied by Mar. If the v. be a subse-

1 See Schürer, GJV 3, 468 ff., and for convenient presentation of the less-known texts, Stearns, Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writings, Chicago, 1908.
quent redactional joint with a view to c. 3, it is clumsy enough, for it should have informed us why Dan. was absent from that scene. There is good reason, indeed, to hold that c. 3 is based on an independent story (s. Int., §21, c), but the composer of cc. r-6 has cleverly led up to it by introducing the heroes of that scene as Dan.’s comrades and worthy in the development of the present story to share in his honors.

48. For the reduplicated stem, used only in the pl., s. Kau., §59, 4; the development into mng. ‘magnates,’ e.g., 43, as in Syr.—Primarily a judicial district. If as pl., omnes provincias, so imd de R.; Gr. Ven. G renders ὑπὸ by τριάδυον, from v.49. For the appar. zeugmatic use cf. 1. 4. ‘Transpotamia,’ πέραν του Ἱορδάνου = Περσα; also the Gr. ὡς ἄγοντας, 32, etc., and n.b. the title of Mazdai, appearing in coins of Tarsus (G. F. Hill, Catalogue of Greek Coins of Lycaonia, etc., 170 ff.), ‘Chief prefect;’ for s.s. Lexx.; originally of civil officers, but later of Jewish temple adjutants, e.g., οποῖος ἕστη σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ; also of a novice in the Mandean clergy. Θ Sym. have been misled by the usual use of the word and tr. by ‘satraps,’ ‘generals,’ and so so. 49. Hardly a peculiar idiom, with Mar., Gr. §130, c; for the purpose is expressed in terms of result, cf. Ps. 21. ‘Service,’ as in our ‘public, civil service,’ = ‘administration,’ = Heb. הָעַדָלָה. Häv. cft. use of Arab. ‘amila and its derivatives. Cf. τόν ἱπί τοὺς περιγράμματος 2 Mac. 32, etc.; so also a Pergamon inscr., Holm, Griech. Gesch., iv, 167.—G. Θ asyndeton.—Cor. in the identical terminology in Gr. for the Pers. usage, αἱ πόλεις (e.g., Her., iii, 120) and αἱ τῆς θυράς (Xen., Cyrop., viii, i, 6); cf. also Appian, Syr., 145, αἱ πόλεις τῶν αἰών. The same use is now found in the papp., APO pap. 52, 1. 13, of Aššišar, the king’s prime minister, ‘whom I established in the gate of the palace.’ Cf. ‘stand in the royal palace,’ r4.
NOTE ON THE SYMBOLISM OF THE IMAGE AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

For argument for the identification of the Four Kingdoms here and in the Visions with Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece, s. Int., §19, c. That the Stories were an earlier production than the Visions does not militate against this common identification throughout the present bk. With the Diadochi, especially under the Syrian empire, the essential rottenness of the Fourth Kingdom was evident to spiritual eyesight even in the 3d century.

Apart from a striking sentence in Dr., p. 17, commentators and writers on the history of Hebrew literature have in general hardly done justice to the grandly conceived and artistic symbolism of the Image. On the one hand, apologists have been too much concerned to appropriate it as a prophetic chart of the destinies of the world and to seek in every detail revelation and exact fulfilment. On the other hand, the 'higher critics' have been engrossed in countering their opponents, and too often, in their zeal to prove the errors or the inauthenticity of the book, have insisted on its literary characteristic as of bas age and in so far inferior to the productions of the classical, i.e., Prophetic literature. If lineaments of 'lower age' are evident in this conception, yet its simplicity, its magnificence of proportion, its originality, deserve their right valuation.¹

The originality of the 'vision' is not diminished by its evident reminiscences of the story of Joseph.² The setting of the stage is indeed the same: the Pagan king's dream which defies the arts of his Pagan wise men; the interpretation vouchsafed by the one God through a sage saint; the result of the interpretation, the royal recognition of the true God and the honoring of his servants who have relieved the royal anxiety. But unless we are to fault every epic and every drama for imitative dependence upon classic predecessors, the writer agrees fully with Behr.'s assertion: "Von einer Nachbildung der Josephgeschichte kann weder hier noch sonst die Rede sein, wenn auch der mit derselben wohlbekannte Verfasser begreiflicher Weise unwillkürlich an dieselbe erinnert."³ There is also the identical humanity in both stories: here as there the revelation 'to save much life'; here as there the humility and courtesy of the interpreter, as also the high-minded confession by the royal despot of the truth of the revelation, accompanied with his

¹ This against Meyer's opinion, Ursprung, 2, 186, that in the Daniel stories "grösseren poetischen Werth hat nur die Geschichte von Belsazar."
² For literary reminiscences cf. v.¹ with Gen. 41 8; vv.² - 12 with Gen. v. 8, cf. v. 53; v. 30 with Gen. 40 4, 41 19.
³ Discussion of this subject is in place when we note v.Leng.'s sharply contrasted opinion, p. 35: "Die ganze Erzählung von dem Traum und dessen Deutung ist sowohl in Ansehen der ganzen Anlage als in einzelnen Ausdrücken, der Erzählung der Genesis (41) vom Traume des Pharao und dessen Deutung durch den Joseph nachgeahmt,"
munificence toward his God-sent benefactors. But such human themes belong to the humanity of the true Israel.

For the apparatus of the Pagan king's dream there is a common Biblical background; not only in the Joseph story but equally elsewhere, in the dreams of heathen magnates, Abimelech and Laban (Gen. 20:3, 31:24), and of the Midianite soldier (Ju. 7:12). It was a lower form of revelation, parallel to the divine administration in Balaam's 'enchantments in the wilderness.' This lower and always subsidiary character of the dream appears clearly in the Biblical treatment of the *modus operandi* of revelation; and criticism of the dream has its classic expression in Jer. 23:15. That this story was influenced by that common, cosmopolitan genre of literature (cf. the dreams of royalty, s. Int. to this chap.) is not to its discredit. The story-telling art included cosmopolitan Jewry among its clients.

In regard to the Image, or with JHMich., the Colossus, we discover, so far as our literary sources go, an entirely original piece of symbolism. It differs from the symbols of the earlier literature, for these like the Lord's parables are taken from nature or human society. For an historically parallel allegory we may compare Ezekiel's symbolism of the great eagle and the cedar of Lebanon, standing for Neb. and Israel, c. 17; but this, as also the overdrawn parables of Oholah and Oholibah, c. 23, are drawn from natural life. We may rather adduce the bizarre symbols of Zechariah, influenced, as is commonly recognized, by the Babylonian culture and art. And equally here is a conception drawn from the monuments of the ancient world. The fame of the Egyptian Colossi must have spread over the world. Herodotus knew of a golden statue of Bel existing in his day twelve cubits high, and the story must have left its impression on local tradition. Even the diverse composition of the Image had its parallels in ancient art (v. sup. at v. 20). The effulgence, *stw*, of the Image was true to the colorful art of the age.

The Image stands alone without scenery or background. Only subsequently, with more reflection, are we told that it was cut 'out of a mountain' (s. at v. 20). But naturalism is obvious in the collapse of the Image when smitten on its shoddy feet. The grim grandeur required no more scenery than did the torture of Prometheus with the solitary crag.

The conception of the figure is composed of two elements, to which the poet-artist hews strictly. It is, first, the artificial figure of a human body;

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4 I have not been able to find, upon inquiry, any similar figure in the Classical literature. The nearest conception would be the Platonic comparison of the different grades of society with the head, chest, abdomen, etc. The closest approach in literature is the monster created by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

5 Bert. notes that this suggestion was made by Herder in his 'Persepolitanische Briefe' (in *Zur Philosophie u. Geschichte*), no. 7, beginning.

6 Her., i, 183. For this background in fact and fiction, s. Int. to c. 3 bearing on Neb.'s Golden Image.
and, secondly, it is composed of a series of metals of decreasing value. The metallic character of the Image deliberately stamps it as artificial and but heightens the truth of the symbol. For it is the man-made and hand-made construction of the kingdom of this world that the narrator would portray. The figure stands there stiff and stark, the product of human law and convention at their best and truest, but a lifeless creation. Over against this appears the mobile, supernaturally moving stone, coming how and whence none knows, which, as is true of the cosmic forces, crumples up that proud and complacent work of human art. The stone itself remains within the sphere of the inorganic, and so far is dramatically true. That is a drama of a different picture in c. 7 with the Beasts and the Man; but the stone is as pertinent here as the Man there.7

Both these ideas, that of the human figure with its members and that of the series of metals, must be taken in their naturalness and simplicity. It is in offence to true interpretation that most commentators have carried the exegesis off into all kinds of mare’s nests. Hence, for instance, we may not make too much of the hierarchy of the succeeding members; for naturally each of the members is successively ‘lower,’ the corresponding metal then indicating its actual quality. But commentators have pursued the details of the figure to the finest extreme, even lugging in the modern science of anatomy. For example, when we come to the legs, some of the commentators have found in them an added expression of the characteristic ‘divided,’ v. 41 (q.v.), of that Kingdom. CBMich. and others have discovered here the division of the Roman empire into East and West, and what-not else; and Cocceius, to bring the figure down to date, finds the distinction between the ecclesiastical and the civil power of the Holy Roman Empire. Zöck. puts it mildly when he says, “The dual number of the legs is evidently not regarded by the composer.” For the human body has naturally two legs, and we take it that an image would stand more securely on two legs than on one. Similarly the toes—their number is not given—are counted up, or rather counted in; they have been identified with all kinds of tens in history. But the normal man has ten toes, even if we could work out five Ptolemies and five Seleucides to suit the very uncertain date of the composition of the chapter. The narrative appears to lay more stress on the toes, and this may be due to their representing contemporary history, but here, v. 42, following vv. 32, 41, we have to read, not ‘some of them’ bis, i.e., distinguishing the toes, but ‘partly . . . partly.’ However, reason has been given above for regarding the repetitious v. 42 as a later insertion.

Likewise, it is fallacious to pursue the symbolism of the metals: e.g., the gold as symbolic of the splendor of Babylon, or the iron as peculiarly ap-

7 Knab. falls short of the intrinsic articulation of the drama in his otherwise pertinent comparison: “Compara statum hanc metallis conflatam quae tandem quasi gluma et puluis tenuis euanescit cum filio hominis in nubibus coeli.”
propriate to Rome. For the mixture of the iron and clay we may sample the pathetic interpretation of Jer., the witness of Rome’s collapse: “Pedes eius et digitii ex parte ferrei et ex parte fictiles sunt, quod hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius, quando et in bellis ciuilibus et aduersum diuersas gentes alienum gentium barbarum indigemus auxilio” (i.e., the barbarian mercenaries are the clay).

A very different order of treatment of the series of metals is offered by modern students of ancient civilization, by comparison with the antique and wide-spread notion of the succession of four ages, gold, silver, bronze, iron. In the Classical world this notion goes back in identical terms to Hesiod, Works and Days, 106 ff. (cf. Ovid, Metam., i, 89 ff.). In point of view of geographical proximity the correspondence of the series of metals in Dan. with the Parsee philosophy of history is still more striking. According to the Dinkart, there were four periods in the 1,000 years beginning with Zoroaster, of gold, silver, steel, and a substance mixed with earth. And in the Bahman-yašt the prophet sees ‘the roots of a tree on which were four branches, of gold, silver, steel, clay-mixed stuff.’ But scholars differ contradictorily in their estimation of the parallelism and of historical priority. Böklen, Jüd.-christliche u. parthische Eschatologie, 1902, p. 85, Bousset, Rel. des Judentums, 283, 578, n. 3, and most stringently Meyer in his recent work, Ursprun gen u. Anfänge des Christentums, 2, 189 ff., press the Parsee influence.

On the other hand, for denial or minimizing of the theory of Parsee influence in the Jewish motive, s. Söderblom, La vie future d’après le Mazdéisme, 1901, 248 ff.; Scheftelowitz, Die altperische Religion u. das Judentum, 1920, Conclusion, p. 228. Their objections are primarily based on the chronological uncertainty of the origin of the Parsee notions. Another point of view is given by Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, 333, n. 2, pp. 323 ff., for treatment of

8 Hippolytus' interpretation of the toes (ii, 12) is interesting but vague: ἐνακτυλιον ποδαν, γας δεηθωσιν αι κατι τι [...] δημοκρατια αι μέλλουσαι γεγενεσθαι.
9 So far as I can see, Zöck. first among the comm. notes the parallelism.
10 Dinkart, ix, 7, in West, SBE 37, p. 180; Bahman-yašt, 1, op. cit., 5, p. 191.
11 Meyer allows that “die Zertrümmerung durch einen Stein ist natürlich eine Erfindung des jüdischen Schriftstellers,” p. 191, n. 2. On p. 189 he attempts to corroborate his position that the scheme of the Four is borrowed and displays its secondary character, by arguing of Dan. that “wirklich geschichtlich deuten vermag er die Vierzahl nicht, denn er kennt ebenso wie die wirkliche Geschichte nur drei Reiche, das chaldäische, das persische und das griechische”; adding in a note that “historisch wäre eine Mitrechnung des Mederreichs absurd.”
12 The dating of dogmatic Parseeism is not certainly fixed; s. Söderblom, who brings ‘orthodox’ Parseeism well down into the Achemenide age, and prefers to find Greek rather than directly Persian influence in the Bible; also Lagrange’s very sceptical study, ‘La religion des Perses,’ RB 1904, i ff., who would bring Parsee orthodoxy down into the second century B.C. These disputes among competent scholars caution the laymen in the subject against hasty assumptions of Parsee influence.
Dan. 7, and his *Genesis* 4, 241 ff., finding the four ages in the four Covenants with Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses; and yet another by Zimmern, *KAT* 633, regarding 'four' as the figure of the cardinal points; these scholars stress the Babylonian influence. If we have to carry back the 'four' to the Pentateuchal theory of the Covenants—in which there is the conception of progress, not of degeneration—we approach dangerously near the age when it is a question whether dogmatic Zoroastrianism existed. Since the theme of the 'four' is found in ancient Babylonia and the sequence of the zodiacal metals in the eldest Greek literature, it looks as if we were confronting a cosmopolitan idea, not with a direct borrowing. At all events, as far as literary influence is concerned, we find the symbolic four in Zech., in the Four Horses, c. 1, and the Four Smiths, c. 2. At all events, we seem to be dealing with a commonplace scheme, not with an importation.

Keeping strictly to the figure of the Image, the present writer, as indicated above, sees no reason for distinguishing the lower limbs as specifically emblematic. The legs, no more than the arms, are to be interpreted dually. And if the reference to the toes be not spurious, at all events they are not different in character from the feet. The figure of the iron artificially interworked with brittle tiles (s. at v. 33) well fits the thought of the tapering off of the Iron Kingdom into a degenerate and non-consistent polity, whether we would think of the Graecian or the Roman empire. The characteristic of this last stage of the world empire lies in the word 'divided,' נַשְׁם v. 41. Recent comm. still insist here on the division between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, e.g., Behr. (who argues that 'ם must be defined from v. 42, where the division between Egypt and Syria is denoted), Dr., Cha., but not Mein., Bev. But, as has been noticed *ad loc.*, 51 has also the sense of inner division, composition of heterogeneous substances. That is, each leg, each foot, every toe, are severally composed of non-coherent stuffs, all equally subject to fracture and crumbling. The reference to 'the days of those kings' is simply true to the facts of contemporary history (on the theory of the Greek empire, not of the Roman empire, which had a single head); 'king' or 'kingdom' would have been actually incorrect.

The almost universally accepted interpretation of the 'mingling in human seed,' *i.e.*, by natural intermarriage, v. 43, is the application to the state marriages between the Seleucides and Ptolemies with their tragic consequences. The commentary on this history will be found in c. 11, s. at vv. 6, 17, 18. Such an historical reference would have bearing upon the date of the first part

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13 The four-empire theory appears in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant.*, proem. 2: Assyria, Media, Persia, Macedonia, followed by the Romans; and in Claudian, *De laudibus Stilichonis*, iii, 163 (vLeng., p. 87).

14 *N.b.* the Seven Men in Eze. 9 f., which have been identified by many since Kohut with the Amesha Spentas of Parseeism—whose original number, however, was six! And how did Parsee influence affect Judaism early in the 6th century?

15 This combination is first made by Polychronius, who is summarized by Grotius; cf. Int., §21, d.
of Dan. Keil, however, who holds to the identity of the Fourth Kingdom with Rome, but who cannot agree with any of the innumerable explanations of the royal marriages on assumption of that theory; he would think of the race agglomerations within that empire, denying, very properly, that the plural 'they shall mingle themselves,' v. 43, refers necessarily by prolepsis to the subsequent 'kings,' and treating it impersonally. This contention of Keil's, which has good grammatical support, can be as readily accepted by the supporter of the identity of the Fourth Kingdom with Greece, for since the day of Alexander in Babylon, when he took Persian wives and encouraged his generals and soldiers to follow his example, there never was an age in human history, at least till the time of the population of the New World, in which the fusion of races and cultures took place on so magnificent and determined a scale, the spirit of which was abhorrent to Judaism, for it was the revival of the Tower of Babel.

In vv. 44-45 the interpretation of the Stone which destroyed the Image is given. There can be no question of the catastrophic and complete character of the ruin wrought by the Stone, and no evasion of the absolute statement of vv. 34-35, 'not a trace was left.' And this finality belongs to the essence of all apocalyptic prospect of the Last Days. The problem of interpretation has been sorely wrestled with by those exegetes who see the end not yet consummated. For example, 'in the days of those kings' is understood as an historical process, e.g. by CBMich., who finds therein the period of the Church's gradual growth. And Kran. stoutly holds the defensive, pp. 112 f.: "Zu bemerken ist weiter, dass dem Verfasser die Entstehung des messianischen Reiches und die vollige Vernichtung der ganzen feindlichen Weltmacht nicht coincidiren; dass er beide Momente absolut gleichzeitig gedacht habe, geht weder aus C. 2 noch aus C. 7." But the labor he spends is futile against the drastic impression of the immediate collapse of the Colossus and the disappearance of its very elements.

Like the preceding elements, the Stone too is a Kingdom, but one erected by the God of Heaven, to stand forever, in which there will be no change, no shifting to other dynast or people, but which will smash all those other

14 These range all the way down from the marriages of Cæsar, Antony, the Constantines (s. Knab., p. 93) to comparison with the marriages of German emperors, etc. A similar view is that of Auberlen (Zöck., p. 85), who discovers the mingling of the German and Slavic races with the Roman empire. It has not been observed that the interpretation accepted here goes back to the Jewish comm., who interpret the item as of racial admixtures: Ra., "they will be joined in affinity with other peoples"; AEz.: "the Persians will marry the Babylonians, the Sabians the Egyptians"; PsSa.: "Israel intermarried the peoples they dwelt among." Somewhat differently Jeph., who thinks of the difference between the great Religions.

17 Cf. Knab., p. 92: "regnum illud complectitur varias nationes et gentes quae inter se quidem commercia atque connubia inuent."  

18 Some 10,000 followed suit; s. Niese, Griech. Gesch., 1, 165 ff.
CHAPTER 2, NOTE ON INTERPRETATION

kingdoms and replace them for ever and ever. The repunctuation for v. 4a, attaching it to v. 44, gives rhetorical character to the period. The story-teller leaves his parable with its most striking point vivid to our eyes; similar is the terse ending of Ps. 110.

The sphere of that Kingdom is that of its predecessors, only it possesses the everlasting endurance of the natural rock. The supernatural feature is that this Stone becomes a great Mountain. The artifice of men’s hands has been replaced by the earthly type of eternity. It is enough to think of ‘the mountains of God,’ Ps. 36:7, and ‘the everlasting hills,’ Hab. 3:5; there is no need to postulate a mythical background like that of the Mountain of God, e.g., Is. 14:13, or with Keil to see a reference to Mount Sion, cf. Is. 2; Ps. 50 (properly denied by Behr.). Only vaguely does the narrator intimate the emblematic content of the Stone; it is by indirection a People. This must be primarily Israel, ‘the Saints’ of Josephus’ comment is a good interpretation of Dan.’s vagueness before Neb.: “Dan. did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king, but I do not think proper to relate it,” AJ x, 10, 4.

The interpretation of the Stone, in the history of religious exegesis is, with the exception of one line of rationalistic identification with the Roman empire, universally Messianic, in the broad sense of the term. Exegesis divides specifically according as the fulfilment is found in the Messiah or the People, i.e., Israel or the Church. Ra. and AEz. tersely state that the final Kingdom is that of King Messiah, הנכד של ארצה. This follows ancient exegesis. Tanhumah, 31, 4, on v. 24, ‘I saw until,’ remarks: “Dan. saw King Messiah.” On v. 36 Pirke Elieser, c. 2, notes: “The ninth king is King Messiah, who reigns from one end of the world to the other,” and “in their time” (of Edom, i.e., Rome) will rise a shoot, the Son of David” (s. Schöttgen for these passages). Jeph. recognizes more varieties of mng.: “It is either the nation or the Messiah who is of them or of David’s seed.” For the Jewish interpretation of his day Jer. says: “Iudaei et impius Porphyrius male ad populum referunt Israel, quem in fine saeculorum ulunt esse fortissimum et omnia regna conterecer et regnare in aeternum.” In Tanhumah, Ber. 70b and Bemid. 13 (cited by Dalman, Worte Jesu, 197, n. 1) the Stone is interpreted as the Messianic Kingdom. We may also note 2 Esd. 13, in which the Man from the Sea cuts a stone out of a mountain, flies upon it, and finally stands upon it; it is interpreted as Mount Sion.

Similar duality of interpretation appears in the Church, but the strictly Messianic interpretation is earliest and most dominant. There is a direct

19 Behr., at v. 44, rightly denies Schürer’s view of the catastrophe that it symbolizes the overthrow of the Gentiles by Jewish arms. The composition comes from early Asidreal, not Maccabean circles.

26 So Cosmas Indicopleustes, PG 88, 112, Houbigant (the mountain from which the Stone was cut is the Palatine, Bibl. Hebr., iv, p. 549, cited by Knab.) and Grotius.
citation of this theme of the Stone understood Messianically in a logion of Jesus, Mt. 21:44 = Lu. 20:18, citing verbally a pre-Theodotionic version of v.44 (s. Note above ad loc.). This 'stone' is combined in the logion with 'the stone which the builders rejected,' Ps. 118, the first instance of the accumulation of Messianically interpreted 'stones.' Similar combination of such texts is found in Jewish comm. here, e.g., PsSa., who cf. Gen. 49:24, 'the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel,' and Zech. 4:7, 'Who art thou, O great mountain,' etc. Elsewhere in the N.T. the other 'stones' predominate in exegesis, e.g., 'the spiritual Stone that followed them,' 1 Cor. 10:4, which had similar treatment at the hand of the Rabbis (s. Schöttgen, ad loc.). For the Christian confession of Christ as the Stone of prophecy s. Rendel Harris, Testimonies, particularly vol. 1, p. 18, vol. 2, c. 12. Of the early Fathers, Irenaeus, Hippolytus (ii, 13), Tertullian, and for the Oriental Church Aphrem, followed this exegesis.

For the application of the Stone to the Church the earliest instance (overlooked, except in a remark of Ewald's) is in Hermas, Sim., ix. Here, c. 2, we read how the Shepherd "showed me in middle of the plain a great white stone that had come up out of the plain. And the stone was loftier than the mountains, four-square, so that it could fill the whole earth [the Gr. differs from our Grr., s. at v.44]. That rock was ancient, having a gate cut out in it," etc. Later, c. 12, we learn that the gate is the Son of Man, who builds the Church upon the rock; i.e., the Church is rather identified with the rock.

For more specific ecclesiastical interpretations we may note the view, apparently not held by modern exegetes, that the Stone cut without hands represents the Virgin Birth, so Theodoret, Gregory of Nyssa, Aphrem; or that the history of the Stone represents the humiliation and exaltation of the Lord, so Hilary (PL 9, 681, cited by Knab.). The problem early arose as to the delay in the consummation of the Eternal Kingdom; Theodoret polemicized against those who held that the prophecy was fulfilled in the moral Kingdom of God already established by Christ; he himself held to the consummation at the future Parousia of the Lord. Then there was the question whether that Kingdom was heavenly or, at least in part, on earth, i.e., Chilastic. The latter theory came notoriously into the actual political field with the Fifth Monarchy Men of the English Commonwealth, and has had its Millenarian adherents ever since.²¹

²¹ For these varieties of view s. CBMich. at v.44; vLeng., pp. 98 ff.; Kran., pp. 112 ff.; Zöck., p. 88; Knab., pp. 97 ff.
CHAPTER 3.

THE GOLDEN IMAGE AND THE THREE CONFESSORS.

(1) 1-7. Neb. erects a golden idol and requires that all his subjects shall worship it in a great convocation at a given signal on penalty of a horrible death; his orders are pompously carried out. (2) 8-12. Information is laid against the three Jews, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, for their refusal to participate in the heathen rite. (3) 13-18. Summoned before the king, the Three persist in the confession of their exclusive religion and in their readiness to meet death, whether or not their God will interfere. (4) 19-23. The king in his rage forthwith commands them to be cast into the fiery furnace prepared for those who disobey, and takes arrogant and absurd precautions that they shall not escape. They are cast into the furnace, when, (5) 24-30, the king beholds a marvel, the Three alive in the fire, accompanied by a godlike personage. He summons them forth; their signal deliverance from all hurt is attested by his court. The king gives acknowledgment of their God and recognizes His religion, and promotes the Three in their civic offices.

"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" (Bev.). Over against the satirically exaggerated details of the heathen ceremonial and the king’s arrogant defiance to their God, the simple and unflinching faith of the Confessors stands in sharp-drawn contrast and at last evokes the homage of the witnesses.

The archæological background of a colossal golden image is found in the Classical authorities. Herodotus reports for the Babylon of his day (i, 183), 'a great golden statue (ἀγαλμα) of Zeus' in a temple, and also in the same precincts a statue (ἀνδριας) 12 cubits high, of gold, along with some interesting details of its fortunes under Darius and Xerxes. Bert., p. 260, calls attention to the statement of Diodorus Siculus, ii, 9, concerning the three golden images on the top of the Belus temple,
dedicated to Zeus, Hera and Rhea, the first of which was 40 feet high, weighing 1,000 Babylonian talents. The Rhodian Colossus of 70 cubits' height is sufficient to satisfy the seeker of realism in fiction; and if this was a unique object, we may recall the abundant works of massive proportion which adorned the Graeco-Roman world. For these costly and stupendous productions Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xxxiv, 9 ff., may be consulted; n.b. his assertion, §18: "Audaciae innumera sunt exempla. Moles quippe excogitatas uidemus statuarum, quas colossos uocant, turribus pares." Also very close to our subject-matter is Nestle's interesting and original note, *Marg.*, 35, on a golden image of Apollo similar to that of the Olympian Zeus, erected by Antiochus Epiphanes at Daphnae, as recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii, 13, 1. Nestle holds that this was the golden image of Jupiter which, acc. to Justin, *Hist.*, xxxix, 2 ('Iouis aureum simulacrum infiniti ponderis') the Seleucide Alexander II (128-123) undertook to loot. He concludes: "Ich denke, mit diesen Notizen, ist die Frage nach dem speziellen Anlass, der zur Erzählung vom Kolossalbild Nebukadnezars geführt hat, definitiv beantwortet."

But there is also a vague Jewish tradition, equally to the point, which has not been noticed. Alexander Polyhistor, citing the Jewish historian Eupolemus (s. Freudenthal, *Alex. Polyh.*, 1875, p. 16; Schürer, *GJV* 3, 474 ff.), as excerpted by Eusebius, *Praep. evan.*, ix, 39, records (after Gifford's tr.): "Then Jonachim [i.e., Jehoiakim]; in his time prophesied Jeremiah the prophet. He was sent by God and found the Jews sacrificing to a golden image, the name of which was Bel. And he showed to them the calamity which was to come. Jonachim then attempted to burn him alive; but he said that with that fuel they should cook food for the Babylonians and as prisoners of war should dig the canals of the Tigris and Euphrates." The legend parallels Dan. 3 not only in the item of the worship of a golden idol but also in that of the penalty for recalcitrancy; only, the despot is the Jewish Jehoiakim and the scene Jerusalem. Now as to the date of Eupolemus, Schürer (p. 475) argues that he wrote in 158–157, or shortly thereafter, and probably is to be identified with the Eupolemus of 1 Mac. 8¹⁷, 2 Mac. 4¹¹. It looks as if he were following some Jewish legend based on the same theme as that used by the Danielic narrator and applied to the Babylonian
despot. Our narrator has then employed an old hagiological theme, which had its various developments in legend, and accordingly it is very doubtful whether we may attach the idea of the Golden Image to any specific event.¹

There is also a Pagan tradition, not noted by the comm., which may lie at the basis of our theme. Berossus (Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, 2, 558, frag. 16, from Clem. Alex., *Probr.*, in *GCS* c. 5, p. 49) is paraphrased as follows: "The Persians did not worship wood and stone with the Greeks, nor the ibis and ichneumon with the Egyptians. But after some ages they introduced human images, Artaxerxes (II) son of Darius introducing the custom, for he erected first the statue of Aphrodite-Anaitis and gave example for its worship to the Susians, Ecbatanians, Persians, Bactrians, Damascus, and Sardis."

(See Meyer, *GA* 3, §78, for further ref., also A. V. W. Jackson in *ERE*, 'Images,' p. 151, but ignoring Berossus' datum.) This startling innovation may have motivated in popular tradition a story of such an outrageous action as is here attributed to Neb.

Acc. to Hipp., ii, 15, the idea of such an image was induced in Neb.'s mind by the vision of c. 2. As to the impersonation of the image, it has been extensively held, since Hipp., Jer., Chrys., that it represented the deified Neb.; so Dr., 'in all probability,' and dEnv., arguing from the Oriental assimilation of royalty with Deity. But vLeng. rightly points to v.¹⁴ (cf. vv.¹²–¹⁸) against this view, and Jeph. may be followed in regarding the image as a symbol of allegiance to the empire. Its construction of gold has also given rise to extensive argument, with charge of absurdity on one side, e.g., JDMich., with defence based on the fabulous riches of the East on the other. But Herodotus' statements about the golden idols in Babylon afford sufficient background. (*Cf.* Pliny's account of an all-gold image of Anaitis, which was looted by Antony, *Hist. nat.*, xxxiii, 24.) The gold consisted in overlaid plates, for which we possess not only abundant Classical evidence, e.g., the χρύσιν ζδωνα, but also that of the Bible, e.g., Is. 40¹⁹, 41⁷, Jer. 10ᵃᵇ, and the practically contemporary statements of *Ep. Jer.*, vv.⁷–⁵⁴, ⁵⁶, and *Bel*, v.⁷; s.

¹ For comparison with the gigantic images of Assyria s. Knab., pp. 109 ff.; e.g., Ashurnasirapal's statement of his erection of an image to Ninib of 'choice stone and pure gold,' *Annals*, ii, 133 (*KB* 1, 95).
Bert., p. 256, Häv., p. 92. Also the proportions of the ‘image,’ 60 x 6 cubits, have produced extensive treatises, pro and con. There can be little doubt that we are dealing with some sculptured object presenting human lineaments, and hence a monolith or pyramid, with some, is out of the question. The proportions of the human figure are as 5 or 6 to 1, and so the present proportions appear grotesque. But the term of the original, salm, can be used of a stele only partly sculptured, e.g., the use of the word in the Nerab Inscription, where the stone is decorated at the top with the relief of the bust of a human body. At all events, it is not necessary to charge the narrator with an obvious absurdity. Of archaeological interest is the expression of the mathematics in terms of the Bab. sexagesimal system, for which there is a parallel in the rod of 6 cubits in Eze. 40:6.

Jewish tradition doubtless lies behind the penalty of burning meted out to the recalcitrants. With Bert. we recall the false prophets Zedekiah and Ahab, whom the king of Babylonia ‘roasted in the fire,’ Jer. 29:22; so also Bev., p. 78, and Peters’ note, JBL 15, 109. The later Haggadic development of the datum of Zedekiah and Ahab is given by Ball in his int. to the Song of the Three Holy Children in Wace’s Apocrypha, 2, 305 ff.; n.b. also his citation, p. 326, of the passage in Tanhuma, 6, recounting how Joshua the high priest was thrown into the fire along with those false prophets, but was saved unhurt. In the same line of legend lies the extensive midrash about Abraham as saved from a furnace of fire (Ur Kasdim = ‘fire of the Chaldaeans’); s. reff. in Dr., p. 35, n. 1, and tr. in L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, 1, 198 ff. As to the practice of the penalty of burning, it appears in the Code Hammurabi (e.g., §§25, 110), and is recorded for the treatment of captives in 1 R 19 (cited by Miss Brooks, Moral Practices, 20). Is. 30:3 is based upon such a practice. It could hardly have been practised by the Persian fire-worshippers. The same penalty is ascribed to the cruelty of Antiochus Epiphanes in his martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons, 2 Mac. 7.

In fine, Mar. is right (p. 18) in holding that the author did not invent the story but drew its materials from popular legends. It had assumed its form independently of the Danielic cycle and may well have been incorporated by the compiler or com-
poser of the latter without much concern as to the whereabouts of Dan. during the episode. As to the historicity of such a tyrannous decree, it is impossible to find place for it in any knowledge we have of the Bab. religion, despite Wilson's arguments, c. 16, anent this chap. and c. 6. There may have been a basis for it under the more fanatical régime of Persia.

1-7. Neb. erects a golden image in the province of Babylon; he summons all the officials, from highest to lowest rank, to attend its dedication, and orders that all the various classes of his subjects present shall prostrate themselves and worship before it upon a signal given by the attendant orchestra. The pompous ceremony is forthwith celebrated.

1-3. The valley of Dura in the province of Babylon has not been certainly identified. But the name (Akk. dûru, 'circuit = wall = walled place') is common in the geographical nomenclature of Mesopotamia, as has been early recognized by Assyriologists, e.g., Schrader, COT 2, 127, and Delitzsch, Paradies, 216, who notes that acc. to IV R 38, 9-11b there were three localities Dura in Babylonia. Possibly Oppert has identified the name of our place in the river Dûra with the near-by Tulûl Dûra (tells of D.) in the neighborhood; the river flows into the Euphrates some 6 miles S of Babylon, and the tells are 12 miles SE of Hillah.¹

The completion of the image had consummation in its dedication, after the manner of ancient Bab. rites; s. Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, 375 ff., passim, for specimens of liturgies connected with such rites.² To the festival are summoned all the grandees of the empire, and a list of these classes in order of precedence is given. A similar list appears in I R 45 ff., which records that upon the completion of his new residence at Šarrukín (after Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., i, 71): "Sargon established himself in his palace with the princes of all lands, the regents of his country, the governors, presidents, magnates, honorables

¹Oppert, Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie, i, 238 ff., cited at length by d'Env., pp. 228 f. Oppert, followed by Lenormant, d'Env., believed that a massive square of brick construction found in situ, 14 metres square by 6 high, is the pedestal of Neb.'s image.

²In the matter of local color this dedication ceremony is correct; at the same time such a ceremony was doubtless universal in antiquity, e.g., the dedication of Solomon's temple. The dedication was kept up annually as a 'birthday' festival, as we know for the Jewish usage, and also for the Classical world; s. material on Roman rites collected by the writer in JBL 20, 33 f., and cf. Euseb., Praep. evan., i, 10.
and senators of Assyria, and instituted a feast.” Behr. cft. Esar-
haddon’s Zenjirli Inscr., l. 40, with six titles, ranging from šarru
to šāpiru. The unqualifiedly Persian coloring of the story ap-
ppears in the five Persian terms of the list, the other two, the
sagans (2) and pehahs (3) alone being Semitic. The satraps
properly lead off, followed by the sagans or lieutenants (to use
a term of the old English county administration), and the
pehahs, or minor governors. We may compare the satrapy of
Abar-nahāra, with its subdivision Palestine, and as a segment
of the latter Judah, with its pehah, e.g., Nehemiah, Neh. 514, or
Bagoi, APO pap. i, l. 1.3 Of the last two terms in the list,
the first, that of the dātabars, bungled by the Mass. pointing,
has long been explained from the Pers. as ‘judges’; the following
and last term, tīstāyē, remains unexplained philologically, but it
has been discovered in the Strassburg papyrus associated with
daiyānaiyā, ‘judges,’ and doubtless is a minor judicial title. The
two intermediate terms have not been identified with certainty.
We have to depend upon the Iranologists, who are constantly
baffled over OPers. terms. If this story was composed in the
Greek age, it is interesting, but not strange, that the official
titles of the past empires still prevailed. But they witness to
Persia, not to Neb.’s empire. VLeng.’s criticism is too arbitrary
when he urges that the writer ‘heaped together’ all sorts of
official terms without concern; per contra, an intelligent grading
appears in the titles so far as we can define them.

3. G avoided the repetition of the official list, summing them
up in the phrase ‘the aforesaid’; the lacuna was filled in by the
Hexapla from Θ. It is possible that original Θ also avoided the
repetition, and that the list was subsequently filled in. Such
repetition, with which cf. the following fourfold listing of the
orchestral instruments, objectionable to the Classical taste, is
characteristic of Semitic rhetoric.

1. G pref. a date, ἐτους ἐκτόςκεισκέκατου; which has been glossed
into all Θ texts, betraying its origin (ignored by Lohr) by the gen.
of time peculiar to G, Θ using ἕν with dat.; s. at 1, 21. Appeal to Θ for
originality of the datum cannot therefore be made, vs. Jahn, Blud.
p. 51). This datum for the end of Jerusalem is taken from Jer. 5229,
which disagrees with the ‘19th year’ of 2 Ki. 258 (cf. Jer. 322). It is
3 For the organization of the Pers. empire s. Rawlinson, SGW, ‘The Fifth Mon-
archy,’ c. 7; Meyer, GA 3, §§ 24 ff.; E. Bevan, House of Seleucus, 1, 325; cf. inf. at 64.
repeated in G 4. The addition is dramatic in identifying the date of Neb.'s impious creation with that of his destruction of the holy city. G has also a long plus after Naβ. δ βασ., based on Est. 1, ascribing to him administration of all the world 'from India to Ethiopia.' (In G texts of Est. 'to Ethiopia' is lacking, but not in L.) The same expression of geographical extent appears in 1 Esd. 3; also the 'satraps, generals, toparchs' of v. 3 inf. = 1 Esd. 3.—[ן] For the pl. formation s. Noll., SG §81, and GK §87. Against Ehr., but our form appears in Syr., e.g., at Eph. 318.—[ן] Pause has retained the original vowel, i.e., 闪闪; s. Behr. vs. Kau., Gr. §68, Anm. 1.—[עכ] נ is not found in Heb. and Aram. outside of Bibl. tradition; in Arab. בק'ח has the general sense of 'district.'—[ן] = Dura; G by correct interpretation ר י פבּלָלְו, vs. Θ Δεσπόρα, i.e., מֵאֵר (so Ken. 101). There is no reason to hold with Bert. that Θ thought of the Susian אָדָם as 'depression,' the local designation of the valleys of Tigris and Euphrates. Gr._VERBOSE tr. מִבר by מִרְפָּאָה, i.e., as = 'pyre'; cf. G's tr. of מ at Eze. 24.

2.NJSo 'Jm = G with a plus; Θ om. for brevity's sake.—[ן] The vb. is used frequently as absolute of sending messages, orders, etc.; the Gr. rendering ἀποστελλεῖν is similarly used in N.T. The comm. recall the Pers. posts.—[ן] נ is a gloss to G's summary τ. δοῦλος v. 4. 'Satraps'; for origin s. Lexx. and cf. Meyer, GA 3, pt. 1, pp. 51 f. for its transliterations. In Akk. the word appears first in a list of Sargon's, satarpanu (cf. Offord, QS 1919, p. 138), and in texts of later date published by Pognon, JA 11th Sér., 9, 394, and Clay, Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur (no. 2, l. 6, no. 21, ll. 7, 11, s. list of personal names under si-ḥa, p. 38) as akšadar(a)pan; in earlier Gr. = אָמַרְפָּאָה; in 62 at 6g (ס) is found אָמַרְפָּאָה (Aquilanic). G exactly 'satraps.' For the variant use of the word in Gr., both exactly and as of high officers in general, s. the elaborate article by Lehmann-Haupt, Pauly's RE, 2te Reihe, 3, 82–188; n.b. the extensive use in Gr. O.T., e.g., Ju. 6; only in Dan., G and Θ, does sat represent the original. Θ τ. δοῦλος = consules; the contrast of the two terms is indicative of the different ages of the trr.—[ן] See at 28; properly 'prefects, lieutenants'; G Θ στρατηγοὺς, which is used by Polyb. for consul and praetor.—[ן] S. Lexx. and further Clay, Origin of Biblical Traditions, 186, who claims for πήδο Amorite origin; G Θ ποταμα, a term of the Ptolemaic administration.—[ן] As a Pers. word under-
stood by Nöld., Andreas (in Mar.'s glossary) as 'councillor,' s. Lexx.; Meyer, Entstehung des Judentums, 25, prefers mng. 'Obergeneral.' Sym. had, acc. to the Syr. gloss in Ge, x. τούς ἡχοντας τ. ἐπὶ τ. γνῶσεις, Field recognizing that γνῶσις = 'magic'; i.e., Sym. has interpreted the word from ידהו רושמ; this is the basis of RVmg 'chief soothsayers.' Ge οὐκάτους, Ἡ γνωστέων.— נרו' נלעEVV 'treasurers,' so Ps-Sa., but not elder Jewish tradition; accepted by some, e.g., CBMich., Meyer, op. cit. 23, as perversion of נרנו, cf. Ezr. 711; others, e.g., Grätz, Bev., as corruption of נרנו, e.g., v. 24, 'councillors.' A plausible derivation is that offered by Tisdall in JQR 1, 337, equating with a proposed gadhá-bar, 'mace-bearer,' comparing modern Pers. chub-dar and the oxptpóxos of the Pers. court, Xenophon, Cyrop., vii, 3, 16, etc. The word may be dittograph of the following ἱμάρα, so Lagarde, Agathangelus, 157 (cited by Dr.), who argues from the omission of one of the titles in Ge Θ to the fact of a subsequent dittograph in Ἄ. However, haplography, or simple abbreviation on the part of Ge, followed by Θ, in the indefinite τούς εἰς ἐραυων may account for the variation of the Gr. Ge here διοικητας, i.e., fiscal administrators, as in Polyb., so Rosenm.; Θ τυκάννους, for which s. on מיםיר hud 1; Sym. γαθαρφυννος, and for the following word θαγαρφυννος, a similarity in support of Lagarde's theory.— חרבנ = Pers. datadar, 'law-bearer,' 'judge,' in Akk. databar, Clay, BE 9, p. 28.— נדננ] Found now in a sequence of judicial titles in Euting's Strasbourg Papyrus (s. APO p. 26, AP no. 27) B, l. 4. Then אפטאנו is = our preceding אפטאנו, and it may be suggested that our (perverted) אפטאנו represents אפטאנו. Andreas' explanation of the word in Mar.'s Glossary is renounced by him in Eph. 2, 15. Behr., p. ix, and Tisdall, JQR 217 ff., suggest a possible ati-pati 'overlord,' but the mng. is too grand for the office. An elder derivation, e.g., iEmp., CBMich., connected it with the Arab. root giving fetwah, and tr. 'lawyers,' as in RVmg.— נדננ = אפטאנו נדננ = 'all the provincial administrators.' For נדננ = נדננ v. 24, etc., i.e., < סולטן, cf. ליתנ' Ezr. 62 = ?יתנ Ezr. 415; s. Kau., §61, 3, a. For <ון <דנ in Aram. s. Nöld., MG §118, SG §128, B; Barth, Nb., §194, c; Powell, Supp. Hebr., p. 35. Ge throws no light on the series of terms. אペットאנו hopelessly unites nos. 6 and 7 in a phrase. Sym. has all the terms, nos. 5, 6, 7 in (corrupt) transliteration. There is no consistency in the subsequent rendering of these titles; s. Blud., pp. 98 ff., for a convenient table of the renderings. Ge's list, 'satraps, generals, toparchs,' appears also in 1 Esd. 32 and ib. v. 14, with addition of רוסו as here.— נדננ = אפטאנו; for syncope of נ cf. מיםיר v. 19; Ezr. 60; for similar cases in the papyri, s. Sachau, APO p. 263.— נדננ] The root is not otherwise known in Aram.

3. חרבנ נדננ] Also v. 27, where some MSS (so Mich., Str. var.) חרבנ נדננ; Etpeel is to be expected; s. Note on חרבנ 25.
tion of the list of officers of v.², summarizing, as appears from the Hexaplaric marks, in τότε συνήθησαν καὶ ἔστησαν οἱ προσεγγαμένοι (with Θ vs. Θ² προσεγγεῖ). The deficit in Θ was supplied by Or. from Θ's tr., as appears from the use of the latter's terms. Or rather it is probable that Θ also avoided the repetition in v.², and that the present complement with varying order for the first three terms is due to Hexaplaric insertion. N.b. also ἐνεκαινισμὸν v.² from Θ vs. Θ's ἐνεκαίνισα v.². Likewise Θ and Θ plus τῦτον μεγάλοι, v.², seems to represent the insertion of a new rendering of ἀντίστασις as ἀντίστασις, seven terms being thus achieved. The orig. condition of Θ may appear in the plus of Α 106, x. συνήθησαν οἱ τοπάρχαι [x. ἑστηκέςαν].—The final ἐκ κυψέλου ἡ χαίρει ἡ ἡμέρα is given by Θ, omitted by Θ, supplied by OrC; 62 147 have a double gloss. The threefold occurrence of this phrase within two vv. is objected to by Torrey as 'intolerable,' Notes, I, 261, similarly Mar.; but with Kamp. it is better to follow the evidence of B and Θ.

4-7. Proclamation is made by the royal herald that at the fanfare of the orchestra all present,—as expressed in diplomatic language (Häv.),—all nations, tribes, tongues shall fall down and worship, while disobedience shall entail death by burning. Unlike the story of Esther, in which likewise universal edicts are given, the application of the universally expressed edict could have had but local effect; tout le monde was there. With great zest the narrator details the instruments of the orchestra, repeating himself in vv.⁷ ¹⁰ ¹⁵. From his interest in this part of the scene we have an echo of the impression produced by a piece of concerted music upon the ancient mind, just such as the narrator may himself have witnessed at some state pageant. In matter of fact, Β and the Grr. slip up in repeating the full list each time. The list begins with two wind instruments, horn and pipe, followed by three stringed instruments with the sixth and last again a wind instrument, over the character of which there has been great dispute. Of the six instruments two names are of Semitic origin, another is doubtful (= σαμβύκη), and three of Gr. derivation, the kithara, psaltery, symphony (as the latter word appears in the Douay VS, following Β). The words are of interest as giving the only solid philological evidence for the reflection of Hellenic civilization in Dan.; s. Int., §8, c. It is to be noticed that this description is very cosmopolitan as compared with the accounts of the temple music in Chron.¹

¹ For the music of the ancient Semitic peoples reference may be made, inter al., to the articles s.v. 'Music' in DB (by J. Millar) and EB (by Prince), and to Weil-
The burning fiery furnace of v. 6, etc., must have been similar to our common lime-kiln, with a perpendicular shaft from the top and an opening at the bottom for extracting the fused lime; cf. illustration of such an Oriental tannur or ḫābūn in Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*², 65, and Haupt’s description, *AJSL* 23, 245. Häv. notes Chardin’s remarks on the existence of similar ovens in Persia for the execution of criminals (*Voyage en Perse*, ed. Langles, 6, c. 18, end, p. 303). The sonorous phrase may have been, as Bert. suggests, the technical name for this gruesome instrument of execution.

4. נִירָבָּה = eḥwɔ̇x, Grr., etc.; generally understood as derivation, along with denom. vb. in Haf., וְרַכֶר 5toString, from eḥwɔ̇xav. The root is common in late Aram. dialects; in Mand. נורא. Nöld., *GGA* 1884, 1019, doubts the alleged Gr. origin, similarly Mar. The n.pr. ḫār on an Aram. seal, *CIS* ii, no. 86, is not to be compared. For the irregular equation x = c (not p) GB *cf.* ḥwɔ̇xav > Targ. אִבִּיסוֹר; also n.b., וְרַכֶר, n.,⁴ and וְרַכֶר < כָּפַה. For *c* = c *cf.* וְרַכֶר = ḫārav (= שׁוֹר מ?).

The word must have been an early borrowing. Its form, ḫābūl, common for *nomen agentis* in Syr. (Nöld., *SG* §107), is unique in Baram.—[יִירָבָּה] The phrase = ‘call aloud,’ also in 4¹¹, 5¹, *cf.* Rev. 18⁵. For the strong form s. Kau., *Gr.*, p. 92, n. 1, §§55, 5; in Syr. the same, וְרַכֶר, along with other cases, s. Nöld., *SG* §§93, 102. The ‘am is the political unit, so גְּדוֹן, נְּלוֹת. The basis of the following נְנֶב = נְנַל, the mother-stocks, is found in Heb. and Arab. The ‘tongues’ were early distinguished for administrative use, *cf.* the millat of the Arab empire; besides the well-known use of Aram. in the Ass. chancelleries there was the official recognition of the languages in the Pers. empire, e.g., the Behistun Inscr. in three tongues, with its papyrus duplicate in a fourth, the Aram. (*APO* pap. 6¹ ff.). גְּדוֹן (+ gloss x. שָׁפֶרֶת) נְּלוֹת x. γλῶσσα; נְּלוֹת (B 105 14¹ נְּלוֹת), פָּרַס x. γλῶσσα, to which Or.P.C Lu. pref. גְּדוֹן. The phrase is repeated in vv.⁷. ⁴¹, ⁵¹⁴, ⁶¹⁸, ⁷¹⁸ (cf. Is. 66¹⁸, Judt. 3¹), and occurs in various forms in Rev. ⁵³, ⁷³, ¹³², ¹⁴³, ¹⁷¹⁵, in several of which cases the doublet גְּדוֹן נְּלוֹת is found.—5. נִירָבָּה Primarily the curved ‘ram’s horn,’ e.g., Jos. ⁶¹⁸.—[נִירָבָּה] So in Syr.; *cf.* Heb. root, ‘hiss, whistle,’ and derivatives; Grr. נְּלָם, with onomatopoetic equivalence; AV RVV ‘flute,’ JV ‘pipe.’—כָּפַה קָרִים Kt., כָּפַה קְרִים Kt. קָרִים = Targ. to Is. ⁵¹¹ = Heb. נַר! (so here in Heb. tr. in Ken. 24⁰); the vocalization is best

preserved in Syr. *kittārād, = Gr. κιθάρας, κιθάρα*; EVV ‘harp.’—ιππείν] Also ἕ (s. Gins. vs. Bär); = σαψφόνη, a triangular instrument of four strings with high notes; AV RV ‘sackbut,’ a sound-equivalent of the original, but erroneously; s. Dr. for reff. and add Hastings in DB s.v. ‘Sackbut;’ the sackbut was a wind instrument. Dr., JV ‘triagon.’ As to the word Strabo, *Geog.*, x, 3, 17, notes that it is of ‘barbarous’ origin along with νάβλας, etc.—*ἵππειν*] V.־*μέσφις (= Arab. santīr); = ψαλτήριον, EVV ‘psaltery’; s. Dr. on this ‘stringed instrument of triangular shape’ with the ‘sounding board above the strings.’—*ἵππειν*]


“The word, which in Plato and Aristotle has the sense of *harmony* or *concord*, came in later Greek to denote a bagpipe,” so Dr., followed by JV. The first reff. to the symphony as an instrument actually occur in anecdotes of Antiochus Epiphanes’ life, Polyb. xxvi, 10, and xxxi, 4, cited at length by Dr., according to which in his mad freaks Ant. would play on or dance to the symphony. But the mng. ‘bagpipe’ has been strenuously disputed. In *JBL* 1904, 180–190, P. Barry, under the title ‘On Luke xv. 25, σασφόνια, Bagpipe,’ argued for this mng. G. F. Moore replied, *JBL* 1905, 166–175, denying the existence of ancient authority for this tradition. Barry countered in *JBL* 1908, 90–127. Some have suggested that the Gr. σαφων is the original, so a Jewish interpretation, s. Moore, pp. 167 ff.—Of these musical terms orig. อำเภอ avoided their repetition; ס om. throughout the sambake; ס̄ om. the symphonia v.7 (many mss hab.); ס om. it vv. 7, 10, and Θ vv. 5, 7, 10, "the omissions are doubtless due to carelessness. In Θ it has been restored by Or שLu. ס has the complete list in v.7.—יךי נ ‘ein früh recipirtes Wort,’ Nold., *SG* 89, cf. Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, §749; found in Bibl. Heb., BSira, and now in the papp., *APO* pap. 4, l. 3.

6. ??] So Mich., Str., Gin., Kit. (with philological right); Bär, י; s. Bär, and *per con.* Kau., §22. There may be a Rabb. collusion with ?? Ex. 16:18. In JAram., while י is written, it is so spelled for distinction from י; s. Dalm., Gr., p. 71, top.—ידי ] ‘Whoseover;’ the same combination in Heb., e.g., Is. 63:1; cf. י נ sup. 2:18.—הו] Θ (Β 35 h57) om., supplied by αל.—*דנים* יד For the anticipative (demonstrative, not pleonastic) use of the pron. s. Kau., §88; another use repeats the prep., e.g., יג, as is common in Syr., s. Nold., *SG* §222, 2. Similar cases in Heb., Lev. 13:18, Song 5:7.—*קנף* יד mss קנף (s. Str.), also קנף, Mich. and Gin. mg. For the moot question of derivation s. Kau., p. 102, Lexx. One development (as here) has a short vowel (Targ., ChrPal., Mand.), but מס at v.15 and Arab. give מ ‘al. It is best derived from rt. נוש ‘look,’ and the form is a fem. ppl., ‘the looker,’ cf. Germ. ‘Augenblick.’ EVV unfortunately ‘in that hour’; correctly among recent comm.
Mein., Behr., Pr., Mar., 'at that moment,' which mng. is required at 419. VLEng., following Bux., noted the right mng., cjt. Targ. הַדֶּשׁ = Heb. הָדֶשׁ, e.g., Ex. 33ו = exactly inf. 419. The same use is found in Syr., e.g., Mk. ג = שְׂדֵה, and in Arab. The same erroneous view of the Gr. equivalent in the N.T. appears in the EVV, etc.—[תֶּל] Also MSS נ ג. mng., but s. Bär's note; נ 715 is to be otherwise explained. Cf. the Nab. גע ה = within it,' Lidz., NE 248. Kau., p. 99, and GB suggest 'graphic נ'; rather then it would represent the acc. ending, s. on נ 65. But it is best, with Nöld., GGA 1884, 1021, comparing Heb. יונ and Arab. גוֹזָד, to regard נ as radical. In the papp. נ is found, used only adverbially, 'herein, herewith,' s. APA A 15, note.—[תָּגְרָא] Akk. word, like the synonyms מִדֶּשׁ, מִדֶּשׁ; s. Lexx. and Haupt, AJSL 23, 245. The suff. in דַּלְתָּי v.19 vouches for נ as masc.; the agreement here of the fem. adj. מְדֶּשׁ is then with the second component of the const. complex, מְדֶּשׁ, e.g., a similar case in Heb., Ex. 2619, and s. in general GK §146, 1. However, in v.27 מְדֶּשׁ is masc.; v. ad loc.—[תָּז] ה = 516, 611.15 = papp. נ = Heb. הדש = the common Syr. kad. —[תָּז] ה = 521, 611. ...וֹנֵשׁוֹ נָרִב] 'As soon as they were hearing, they were falling down'; Θ correctly tr. with impfs.—[תָּז] Not a secondary predicate, with Θ, but in asyndeton with נ. Cf. נ v.27.

8–12. Information is laid before the king against the three Jewish officials, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, for their refusal to participate in the worship at the dedication. The informants are naturally certain Chaldaæans, members of the caste which cherished a natural grievance against those obstinate religionists who had yet gained the royal favor. In what way the three Confessors exhibited their recalcitrance is not related; that attitude is dramatically taken for granted.

8. וּבְּהֵם] כָּבַר, cf. בָּעַם, מֵעָמִין, and for this effect of the labial s. Dalm., Gr. §14, 2, Nöld., MG §19, and in general, Brock., VG 2, §§178; in Targ. גָּבְרַדֵּה and גָּבְרַדֵּה, in Syr., where it is rare, only the latter. Here, also vV.19, 20, it has the sense 'certain,' cf. Syr. אֵנֶה. Ex. 1620 = the common Syr. נַדְּשִׁין; also so נ ה. Ju. 41. —[תָּז] נַדְּשִׁין v.15; in all other cases Kt. preserves orig. יִתְנָנָה; s. Kau., §§17, 1, b.—[תָּז] אֶלְוַל כֹּרְבָּאָה] Also 614. The phrase = 'eat the pieces of,' i.e., 'gnaw at'; Behr. cf. Lat. rodere; hence 'calumniate, sycophantize against.' This interpretation is far more likely than that offered by Lepsius in Der Christl. Orient, 1897, 152 (cited by Mar.) to the effect that the phrase means to eat the table portions assigned to a magnate's client and so to replace him in the great man's favor. The phrase is ancient Akk. and wide-spread through the Sem. languages, s. Lexx., esp. GB. נ.ב. יונ =
I note that the phrase has survived in the criminal argot of Paris, acc. to Victor Hugo in his dissertation on that subject in Les Misérables, Part 4, Bk. 7, c. 2; ‘manger le morceau’ = ‘dénoncer.’ For the anticipative pron. before the foll. gen. (a usage apparently ignored by Kau., Mar.) s. Nöld., SG §205, C. For ‘?, var. ‘? or ‘? = Targ. s. Bär.—9. ירייתו נב] Θ (B al.) om., OrP-C υπολαβόντες (A υποβα-λόντες ‘suborning’) εἰπαν.—10. יכש] So correctly; mss, also Mich., Hebraizing, יכש.—כש] Denotation otherwise than at 24, and with a somewhat diff. nuance, v.12 inf.; here it is the ‘sense’ of the will, correctly θεγαμ. The VSS paraphrase here; Ag. tr. with γνωμή— reminds... ἔρι] Θ texts om. by haplog. with v.31, leaving πάντα εἰσθησον without construction.—11. ἐπιτι] Θ + το εἰσκεν τ. χρυσῷ.—12. יריף] Unique instance in BAram. of this sign of acc. כ (not noticed in Kau., Gr. §68). The particle is frequent in Targ., prob. in imitation of Heb. כ (so Bev., p. 38), frequent in PalSyri. with pron. suff., rare in Syr., s. Nöld., SG p. 217. It appears as כ in the Hadad Inscr., as כ in Nab. and Pal., s. Lidz., NE p. 263. For the particle s. Lexx., s.v. Heb. כ. It is contained in Aram. ככ, ככ, ככ] 6 Θ om. ‘and,’ and are prob. original.—ככ] = isti; in the papp., also CIS ii, no. 145 B, l. 6.—ככ] Pl., but sing. in mng., with כ, cf. כ כ εἰσδώλω σου, and s. on ככ כ. There is no reason with Mar. to change Κτ. to the sing. ככ, and it is absurd to hold with de R., Mein., Cha., that Κר. ככ indicates a sing. See Kau., §53, Anm. b.—ככ] In BAram. generally of religious service, so in the Carpentras Inscr. (CIS ii, no. 141, Lidz., NE p. 448, Cooke, NSl no. 75), but of human service to royalty in APO pap. 50, l. 1, ‘to serve in the palace,’ and so inf. ככ כ. For the religious significance of the root cf. the parallel ככ and Lat. colere; so with Fr., and Haupt., AJSL 26, 209, against Del., Prolegomena, 176, BDB, Kön., Hwb., who find the original in Akk. palahu, ‘fear;’ the Akk. mng. is secondary.

13-18. The king in rage and passion has the recalcitrant Jews haled before him. He demands of them, v.14, whether it is true (vs. AVmg RV, whether it is of purpose) that they will not serve his god and worship the image. He gives them another chance of compliance, v.15, and repeats the statement of the penalty; and concludes with the arrogant demand: What kind of a god can deliver you out of my hand? The response of the Confessors, v.16, is generally translated, We have no need to answer thee, a reply which has been designated by some adverse critics as the height of arrogance; so Bert., vLeng. Martyrs have actually followed various lines of reaction toward their persecutors, and
an attitude of defiance is at least human. But the term ‘make answer’ is to be interpreted in a legal sense, cf. ἀποδοῦναι λόγον Acts 19:10 and Syr. equivalents of our phrase used in that sense (s. Note), i.e., ‘make defence, apology,’ and so here: There is no need for us to make defence before thee. The indictment is confessed, there is no apology to make. The defendants throw themselves upon their God; yet with the restraint of faith, for they admit that he may not interfere, but nevertheless they will keep faith and defy the king. Had the story meant that they were sure of deliverance, their reply might have been spiritual arrogance.

17. There has been ancient debate as to the proper translation and reference of the introductory particle, which can only mean ‘if.’ The implied doubt as to the divine ability in the obvious ‘if our God is able,’ was an early stumbling-block to the VSS, which agree in rendering the Aram. particle by ‘for’ [our God is able], or Hece enim, ‘for behold,’ followed by Jewish comm. with ‘for’ and by many subsequent scholars with ‘behold.’ Also ΣΣΠΠ carry their scruple into the interpretation of the correlative ‘if not,’ v. 18, disguising or paraphrasing it. With the only correct possible translation of the particle as ‘if,’ two interpretations are offered. One is that of AV RVV, most recently supported by Torrey, viz.: ‘if it be so, our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us, etc.; and he will deliver us from thy hand, O king. 18. But even if he shall not do so, be it known unto thee, O king,’ etc. This, at first sight, appears to avoid the doubt of the divine ability apparently expressed in the other line of interpretation, which is here preferred: If our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the fiery burning furnace and from thy hand, O king, he will save (us); but if not, etc. So now most comm., SVmg ΣJV. But to assert with AV, Torrey, that God is able, and then to hedge with the possibility that he may not interfere, amounts to the same result as the expression of uncertainty concerning the divine action at the beginning. The ‘if not’ of v. 18 would then be adversative to the nearest verb, ‘he will deliver,’ as Torrey allows. There may not then be the absolute confidence in the divine interference such as possessed Dan. in c. 1 (but that in a much simpler matter), nevertheless the Confessors are speaking the language of ‘natural piety’ in asserting, on the one hand, the divine omnip-
otence, and acknowledging, on the other, its possible restrictions in any given case.

13. נַנְנֵה יִשָּׁמָּה] Tradition of Sura ἡ, also elsewhere in fems., s. Bär. = נַנְנֵה [יִשָּׁמָּה] ἡ v. 19; the half-vowel may be colored in the respective cases by the preceding vowel; but cf. ᾱ and γ 21. For a general statement s. Kau., §13, 4. For the form, from שָׂרָה, s. Kau., §56, p. 103, Nöld., MG p. 111, Barth, Nb., §62, e, and note on נַנְנֵה v. 14. The word appears in the Hadad Inscr., l. 33, with identical spelling, an exceptional instance in this Hebraic text of נ for fem. ending.—[תָּעַנְנֵה] ᾀ αἰσθήτων. Cf. the parallel fem. sing. נַנְנֵה 6, both from הָשָׂמָה. The former might be treated as impersonal pl., 'they brought,' with Θ Ψ Ehr., but otherwise the Haf. pointing is נַנְנֵה, e.g., 3; the fem. הָשָׂמָה must then be arbitrarily revised into a pl. (Ehr. proposes nothing here!), with Θ Ψ. In their conjunction the forms must be pass., so Γ Σa, Ra. But, with Kau., p. 67, n., "eine befriedigende Erklärung dieser Passive ist noch nicht gelungen." An elder view is that it is a Hofal, so Buxt., Lex. col. 247: "Tzere est propter sequens," etc.; adopted by Str., §17, b, following M. Lambert and J. Barth. Jahn, Löhboldly vocalize as Hof. Either method of obtaining a Hof. is possible. Ingenious but far-strained theories are offered by Wellhausen, Deutsche Lit.-züng, 1887, 968 (presented by Kamp.), by Behr., and by Powell, Supp. Hebr., p. 43. Torrey, Notes, II, 231, regards the case as a most interesting example of 'alternative pointings,' i.e., an attempt to combine the Hof. and the Hif.; but it cannot be said that the combination is obvious. 14. נַנְנֵה] С оδόκα. Kau. cites, §67, 2, specifically as נַנְנֵה, but without any authority, although noted with approval by others. С оδόκα; Θ et δλητήωσ = Θ ἂνάρκτος = Ἡ ῥερενία = AEz. ἡῖμα, so Sa., AV JV. Buxt. cf. Heb. נַנְנֵה (Nu. 35:20, 2, out of murdererous intent) and tr., 'is it of purpose?' and so AVmg RVV Mar. (glossary), Kön., Heb. But the root is absent in Aram., the form is doubtful, and the mg. is not applicable here. Bev., Behr., suggest נַנְנֵה + ו, cf. 2, corresponding with Θ, etc. But the word has now been found in the ostrakon published by Lidz., Altaram. Urk., l. 12, cf. p. 12: נַנְנֵה יב[א]נֵה יב, 'He will ask whether true (cf. נַנְנֵה inf. 10) are (יתר 3d fem. pl. pron. as copula) these words.' This early occurrence forthwith excludes the proposed Pers. etymology, connecting with נַנְנֵה. Lidz. ventures an explanation with the brief note, "vielleicht ist es eine erstarrte Kurzbildung vom St. נוּנְנֵה." But Torrey in his Notes, I, 261, had already derived the Bibl. word from נַנְנֵה = Arab. wəṣadə, 'be firm,' and specifically as the verbal noun נַנְנֵה with shortening of the vowel, as in נַנְנֵה v. 19, then נַנְנֵה > נַנְנֵה. He is well justified in his Notes, II, 231, in holding that his derivation is corroborated by the new-found text.

15. נַנְנֵה] For the following apopinosis of the apodosis, cf. exx. in
Heb., e.g., Ex. 32, and s. GK §167, 1; for Syr. Duval, GS §416, Nöld., SG §382. Similarly for N.T. grammar cf. Lu. 19, 22, 2 Th. 3, etc.

In Heb., e.g., Ex. 32, and s. GK §167, 1; for Syr. Duval, GS §416, Nöld., SG §382. Similarly for N.T. grammar cf. Lu. 19, 22, etc.

In Heb. ד"ע = 'leave alone,' and so in Stem I of Akk., but in III, it, uṣṣeṣib, it has the sense of 'letting go,' and so 'delivering, saving.' This development explains the difficulty encountered in the law of Ex. 23:

'If thou seest thy enemy's ass crouching under his burden, thou shalt refrain from leaving him alone' (ביהה זהל, עזא), translated usually, e.g., by JV, 'thou shalt surely release it with him,' i.e., the same vb. and stem in opposite mngs. in the one period. Others, e.g., Baentsch, demand a correction of עזא into some other vb. But, after the two mngs. of Akk. esēbu in Stems I and III, we may simply change עזא into the Hif., and, like uṣṣeṣib, gain the mng. 'deliver.' The abs. inf. is, to be sure, Kal, but the inf. need not agree with the finite vb. in stem. Cf. the Hif. of Heb. של, generally 'lassen, ablassen,' but also, e.g., Job 7, 'loslassen.' Similarly Eng. 'lose' and 'loose' are from the same rt., as Prof. R. G. Kent kindly informs me.

16. ד"ע דבש] Orp Θ ב alone have conj.—דבש דבש] The discourteous vocative of the Mass. pointing was not only impossible in etiquette but also in the spirit of the writer. Ra. notes the discourtesy and expatiates on it with zest, and Sa. tr. 'O Neb.;' the interpretation is ancient, appearing in Jer., who notes that 'Neb.' is not accompanied inב (as in ג) by a following 'king,' Bert. tr. 'to king Neb.,' and Hitz. insists on the necessity of revising the punctuation accordingly. Behr. follows suit, but incorrectly alleging that ג read in sequence בטילאכ (so Kamp., Mar.), but בטילאכ is sub asterisco and is not original. The general usage is בטילאכ'2, but with exceptions, e.g., 24, 4, 6 (poss. with emphasis on 'king' in some cases, so Hitz.). Torrey, Notes, I, 262, believes that in the original text the two words were transposed, and so indeed they appear in ג.—דבש] So Bär, Str., ו. Mich., and Kit. In Sem. the ppr. דבש, as an assumed adj. דבש, is approved by the equivalent in Syr., s. Kau., §58, 2, e; but Torrey, l.c., argues for ה.—דבש by] גΘ erroneously construe with דבש.—דבש דבש] For the vb,
with cognate acc. cf. נוש מורה 14; similarly בָּשֶׁ in Heb. with double acc., e.g., 1 Ki. 12:8. For the Indo-European origin of the word s. Lexx., e.g., Armenian patgam. (For the formation cf. הָבַשׁ 14, and וְיָשָׁר ‘idol,' appearing in Torrey's Cilician Inscr., JAOS 35, 369; this is also found in transliteration in ג at Is. 8:21, where פָּרָשַׁ is to be read on Sym.'s authority in place of corrupt פָּרָשַׁ, s. Nestle, DB 4, 441a. The word appears also in the Targ. and freq. in Aram. magical texts.) For the phrase here the common Syr. equivalent is מַשָּׁא־ה לֵב ‘give answer, render account,' and also a more exact equivalent is found in Pesh. Mt. 15:23, 'люд. Zirkel, Untersuchungen über den Prediger (1792), cited by McNeille, Eccles., 42, followed by Torrey, Ezra Studies, 177, presented the novel theory that מ is from φθανόμεν. But this fairly uncommon Gr. word, while meaning ‘voice, utterance, language,' is never used in the sense invariably given by Aram. usage to מ. which always = רָשָׁד andֵ לָבוֹא, the correspondence being substantiated by the phrase equivalences cited. The objection made by Torrey that no proper Indo-European derivation can be found is fairly met by a note by Gehman, JBL 43, 320. The Gr. πράπταν λόγον is rendered in Pesh. at Acts 19:40 by the idiomatic meppah rūḥā, 'make apology, defence.' Our phrase also occurs in Odes of Solomon, 24:7, and can be explained there only by the sense claimed here (Harris ad loc. is unsuccessful in interpretation).

17. מִי = 'if,' as in the condition מִי יַ, v.18, never 'behold,' as in Heb. But the VSS unite in ignoring the conditional 'if God is able to save,' and tr. by 'for,' as noted in Comm. Consequently the syntax was recast: 'Behold (or, for) our God is able to save us from the Furnace, and from thy hand he will save.' So Sa., AEz., most of the earlier comm., GV, CBMich., EW, SVmg, Ehr., etc. The correct tr. 'if' was recognized by deDieu, repeated by vLeng., and is accepted by most modern comm. As indicated above, two interpretations of the condition have been proposed. That accepted by AV RVV tr. מִי יַ by 'if it be so,' i.e., if the king's order is to be executed, and Torrey defends this by comparing מִי 2 Ki. 10:15, 'and be it so.' For consideration of this interpretation s. Comm. above. The interpretation accepted there is also that of יב. נִי[ע] 14 For the suff. s. Kau., §53, Anm. a. ו (B Q V h16 = וֶּפֶּה) ignored the suff.; ג has a plus.—18. מִי יַ מ and ו persist in ignoring any condition, and י dodges it.—נִי[ע] ו (B 89 229 = י) om.

19-23. Naturally enough the despot's features were transformed with rage at the Confessors' pertinacity. He absurdly ordered the flaming-fiery-furnace to be heated seven times hotter than was necessary or was wont, v.19. The strongest men of 14
the army were ordered to bind the victims and to cast them down into the fiery kiln, v. 20—all this to forestall any intervention of gods or men. The three Jews were accordingly bound, clad in their full suits of clothes, mantles and trousers and hats; they had attended the ceremony in full court dress. The three terms of dress are variously interpreted in G and Θ and so in subsequent VSS, and have induced extraordinary variety of interpretations. The Note substantiates the tr. of GV AV, 'coats, hosen (trousers), hats' against RV JV. The defiance of the king to the Confessors' faith in the excessive heating of the furnace had its retribution; the executioners had taken them up to the top of the furnace (s. Comm. at v. 6) and cast them in, when a lambent flame of fire killed the executioners, v. 22. The Confessors themselves were fallen down bound into the furnace, v. 23, when a prodigy attracted the astonishment of the king, vv. 24 ff.—for such is the connection of thought.

At this point is interpolated the great Apocryphon of the Christian VSS; for judgment against its originality s. Int., §4, a. The same opinion is expressed very positively by Torrey, Notes, I, 264, and at length by M. Sprengling, AJSL 37, 132–135.
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pt. 1, pp. 14 ff., for Bab. multiplication tables, which generally employ A-RA 'times,' but one table is given without this symbol. Prob. the obscure n railing Jer. 16:8 represents the same idiom.—

Pass. ppl. of n;wo wv! Jer. 16" reports the same

idiom.—so comment. In Rabb. both n and Heb. n\angle are used in the sense 'seen to' = 'fit'; Sa., 'necessary.' See Lexx. for similar uses of n, v. Consueretal is practically equivalent, adopted by GV, EVV: 'it was wont.' Θ ἐς οὖς ἐς τήλος ἐξάκη α. i.e., rdg. ἐς for ἐς (so in ms Ken., ms de R). Apparently Θ regarded ἐς as from ἐς and treated it as reinforcing ἐς and so tr. adverbially, ἐς τήλος, 'utterly.' E\textsubscript{Wb} strangely enough goes its own way, tanto quam solebat. Θ tr. 'over what it was heated.'—20. ἐς ὑπέρ = 'certain,' cf. v.8.—

\[\text{See Kau., }\]§59, i, e. The phrase is Biblical, having in O.T. the sense of 'trained soldiers,' etc., s. Lexx. s.v., as well as of 'strong, valorous men.'—Or ð Lu. Q al. \[\text{as conj.-}\]N.b. asyndeton with ἐς ὑπέρ, cf. the ppls. v.2—��σλνή] For the prep. ὑπέρ is to be expected as in v.21, etc., or ἐς, which appears in the papp.; but cf. Heb. \[\text{on }\]v.7, e.g., 2 Ch. 24.20—21. ἐς With following ἐς instance of the pass. of the first Stem, so-called Peil, = Arab. katila. This was recognized by Nöld., GGA 1884, p. 1016; by Bev. on ἐς 219, Behr., p. vii, Mar., Gr. §32, al. This against the elder view that it is a verbal development of the pass. ppl.; so Kau., §29, 2, Str., §12, a. Tradition of \[\text{as follows the writing of }\]i plene or defective, s. the exx. in Kau., i.c. The same formation in strong vbs. appears six times in APO, s. p. 270, all written plene. We have to suppose that the vowel under the accent came early to be stressed and underwent heightening of a sort, cf. Heb. hiktîl. Similar archaic passive forms have been retained in Heb., s. GK §53, u. The distinction between the Peil and the ppl. appears in vbs. ἐς, as noted by Luzzatto, p. 32, n; s. Kau., p. 80.

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On these terms s. Lexx., Andreas in Mar.'s Glossary, Blandau, p. 101, Krauss, Talm. Archäologie, s.vv., and esp. S. A. Cook, 'The Articles of Dress in Dan. iii, 21,' Journal of Philology, 26 (1899), 306-313, with wealth of Classical citation. Since for each of these three terms every category of gear for head, body and legs has been adduced (e.g., the EVV and margins), the possible permutations are many. Of the three one can now be surely defined, the last, ἐς = Akk. karballatu, 'helmet,' found in the Nakš-i-Rustam Inscr. of Darius I, §3 (Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden, 89), also in late Akk. texts as prob. 'hats' (Meissner, Supplement, 50). With this agrees the mng. in Talm. and Syr., 'cap' and 'cock's comb,' as imitating the pointed Pers. cap. Oppert, on Darius' inscr., Records of the Past, Ser. i, ix, 76, connected the word with ἄλαται (-att > -att), which appears as the pointed cap of the Scythians (Her., vii, 64) and the Persians (Aristophanes, Birds, 486 f., with satirical ref. to the strutting, cocklike appear-
ance of the Persian). With the third term = hat, the first in the series of garments must be the body garment, coat or mantle, and so ἀθόη is specified as the principal garment in v. 27. The vb. is found in 1 Ch. 15:27, לְשֹׁמֶר עַל (n., 'wrap in a tunic,' from rt. לָעַב. Such is the usual mng. of ἀθόη in Targ. and Talm., and so here Rab., AEz.; and so Theodt. defines it, περατίκην περιβαλλόντων ήδη. Further, Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (PL lxxx, 688), explains it as 'fluxa et sinuosa uestimenta de quibus legitur in Daniele,' a definition ignored by Cook, who only notices an alternative given by Isidore that 'some' define it as 'hats.'

The rt. is doubtless ἄθοη, 'carry, wear,' in papp., Heb., Syr. (for the r cf. נַעַרֵך, לָעַב sup., etc.). The second term ἄθοη must then be the leg­­gear. So a tradition of its mng. as 'breeches' in Midr. Echa, i, 1 (but the rdg. is uncertain, s. Buxt., Bev.), and acc. to one mng. given in the Syriac lexicographers = Arab.  рубάτ, 'leggings' (PSmith, col. 3098). But Sa., AEz., Jeph. tr. it by 'tunics' = RV. Its etymology remains obscure. JHMich., CBMich. connected it with θέκαος, and so Hommel, Geog. u. Gesch. 1, 211, as a gloss to the following term. This order of coat, trousers, hat is corroborated by an appropriate passage in Pollux Archaeologos (c. 180 A.D.; ed. Bekker, vii, 58): Περσῶν ἄθοη χάνδος (a Median upper garment) καὶ ἄναξυρίς (leg-gear) καὶ τίφρα, ἢν καὶ κυλισμένα κάλυσιν. Pollux, ensuite, cites the poet Antiphanes, who in a verse similarly itemizes στολαὶ, στεῖλεα, τίφραι. Cook ignores this substantiation of θεοῦ's order.—But the traditions of the VSS have complicated the definitions of the terms. θεός has only two, ὑποδήματα, τίφραι; Ὁ all three, ἄραράρα, τίφραι, περιχειμάλες = Β braccae, tiae, calceamenta; θεός also the three, the first two in transliteration, the third infixed after the foll. 'and their clothing,' as γυνικὴ = Syr. 'cap' or 'mitre,' so agreeing with the etymology given above. On basis of these discrepancies in the VSS and after Hommel, Cook argues for the elimination of ἄθοη as a gloss (but why was it inserted?), and thinks he can simplify the resultant. But I believe that θεός did have ἄθοη, but rdg. it as γυνικὴ = ἑκά τ. κεφαλῶν ὔτῶν; i.e., θεός read the third term as τίφραι and then shifted the erroneously read second term after it so as to obtain 'hats on their heads.' Unfortunately Ὁ followed θεός in keeping tiaras in second place, removing the second term to third place, but translating it properly by περιχειμάλες; and Β followed suit. Thus possibly the text of θεός may be vindicated from the VSS and the rdgs. of the latter explained.—The history of interpretation of sar­­belah may deserve particular notice. Ὁ's sarabara = θεός sarabara = θεός is explained by Suidas as a Pers. garment, and it was applied in the West to the baggy Oriental trousers; and so Sym. (on Jer.'s authority) ἀναξυρίς, 'leggings' (but θεός attributes to Sym. 'shoes'). Interestingly enough Jer. notes that Ὁ and Aq. read saraballa and not 'as corruptly sarabara'; if so, our Ὁ text has assimilated the former to the latter better known
word. And at v.27 \( \text{in} \) (not Am.) actually has sarabala, prob. from \( \text{in} \), where his mng. 'breeches' would have been out of place. We are not helped out by Krauss's statement, 1, 172, that the Talm. knows the word in three senses, 'mantles,' 'breeches,' 'shoes.' Scholars have naturally assimilated the word to the well-known Arab. sirwāl (Pers. salwār?), 'trousers,' by which Sa., Jeph. tr. here. But Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 47, also knows that word as 'coats.'—

For \( \text{in} \) pass. \( \text{in} \)-form, rare in Aram., s. Kau., §57, e, and Nöld., *MG* §101, *SG* §113; a few exx. are found in the papp., s. Sachau, *APO* p. 268. \( \Theta \) ignores the word, and Bludau (p. 101) and Cook (p. 311) doubt its originality; but \( \Theta \) witnesses to it. By this general term may be meant 'their other garments,' with EVV, or it may be summarizing.

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22. [\( \text{in} \) = 'because of the fact'; a similar accumulation of preps. in Syr., Clemens Rom., ed. de Lagarde, 31, אָבָא רַבָּא אֲשֶׁר אָמַר, etc. Sprengling's suggestion to tr. 'at this juncture' makes no improvement. —

The first syllable \( \text{in} \) > \( \text{in} \) > \( \text{in} \), as in Syr. \( \text{in} \) (s. Nöld., *SG* §174); another instance of this phenomenon in BAräm., \( \text{in} \) (this under influence of tone); Kau., §15, e, aptly cf. Heb. \( \text{in} \), etc. There is no reason with Ehr. to rewrite \( \text{in} \).—

Also \( \text{in} \) = Syr. אָבָא; as a fem. form to be compared with the advs. with fem. -\( \text{in} \), e.g., *SG* 619 and numerous cases in Syr., s. Nöld., *SG* §155; in Heb., e.g., \( \text{in} \) may be compared. In papp. \( \text{in} \) = Syr. appears.—For the Gr. texts of vv. 22, 23 v. infra.—

\( \Theta \) cf. Syr. \( \text{in} \), nesb\( \text{in} \) > nesb\( \text{in} \), and s. Brock., *VG* 1, p. 159.—

Or \( \text{in} \) Lu. asyndeton.—

Also \( \text{in} \) = Syr. אָבָא תְּלֵאֵה, etc., are analogy-formations, even as Bev. suggests that the pl. element \( \text{in} \) is after analogy of teraih\( \text{in} \), 'two of them'; so also Brock., *SG* §170. This is preferable to an explanation by Kön., *Lgb.*, 1, p. 53.—

For the assured telatt\( \text{in} \) s. Bär's note and Kau., p. 120. The combination -telatt\( \text{in} \) is corroborated by the similar Syr. forms for 'three . . . ten of them,' s. Nöld., *SG* §149. The base of the present numeral is the fem. telatt\( \text{in} \); the subsequent forms in the Syr., 'arbe\( \text{in} \)attaih\( \text{in} \), etc., are then analogy-formations, even as Bev. suggests that the pl. element ai-\( \text{in} \) is after analogy of teraih\( \text{in} \), 'two of them'; so also Brock., *SG* §170. This is preferable to an explanation by Kön., *Lgb.*, 1, p. 53.—

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Properly
were fallen down'; for this sense in Heb., common in the act. ppl. s. BDB 657 b, and cf., with Behr., the similar use in Pesh., e.g., Mt. 310 = βαλλεσθαι. The v. is accordingly circumstantial to v. 24 and the usual paragraph distinction between them is unnecessary; this against Cha. that "this v. is an otiose repetition of 21b."

22b. 23 in the Gr. These VSS are in corrupt condition before the joint of the Apocryphon. V. 22b, 'those men,' etc., is omitted by Θ (also 0). The omission is to be explained as a case of haplog., an early scribe having passed over the first of two equal lines, each beginning with 'those men'; so also Torrey, Notes, I, p. 264. The lacuna is supplied by OrP. c, but for their βαλ(λ)οντας Lu. has διαβάλλοντας (37 51 231 c) or ἐνδιαφέ. These vbs. mean 'to accuse' and might be taken as perver­sions of (εµ.)βαλλειν. But Θ similarly has ἄλλοι ῥητορίζονται, 'their accusers.' We have then to hold that Lu. was following some current Syrian inter­pretation of ἔμοιν, which does not = θη or βαλλειν. Θ, vv. 22-23, is well-nigh hopeless in its bearing on Θ. At least syntax might be pre­served if at end of v. 23 a comma, not a period, with Swete, were used. V. 22b may be a var. of v. 23. The actual equivalent of Θ v. 22b is Θ v. 23a, which is a fair paraphrase of Θ; then Θ, v. 23, is summed up in Θ, v. 23b.

24-30. The miraculous deliverance of the Confessors. The three men were fallen down into the fire when a marvel appears to the king. Dramatically he is made to ask of his courtiers whether it was not three men bound who had been cast into the furnace, and then he states the contradiction of his own eyes: four men loose [the bonds had been consumed!], walking in the midst of the fire without harm upon them, and the appearance of the fourth like that of a divinity [lit. a son of Deity]. It is not said that the others saw this strange being, and he disappears from the narrative as immediately as he was introduced. Both in this term 'son of Deity,' בנו של אלים, and in the synonym for it which is later put in the king's mouth, 'his angel,' the latter is given language entirely genuine to Aramaic Paganism; his terms are taken neither from Babylonian mythology, as Heng., pp. 158 ff., and Keil argue, nor from the Greek ideas of the sons of the gods, with Bert., p. 29. As in the Bab., the pl. ilâni was used as a singular, so also in the Aram. the pl. 'elâhin, s. Note on 21, even as the pl. בני של אלים of the O.T. was a common Semitic concept. Also the term 'angel' was appropriate to common WSem. diction as expressing an appearance-form of Deity. It occurs in the Phœn. מלכחיית חлюдית 'Angel-of-Ashtart,' מלכחיית חלודית 'A.-of-Baal'; and it is now identified by Lidz., Eph., I, 256 (cf.
Dussaud, *Notes de mythologie syrienne*, 1903, pp. 24 ff., cited by Cumont, *Les religions orientales*, n. 23 to c. 5), with the first element in the Palmyrene deity's name (not *ma'ak-*; 'king') 'Mal'ak-Böl,' i.e., 'Angel-of-B.' In these cases the 'angel' is similar to the primitive 'Angel of *YHWH,' and is properly a *rāḥā'il,* i.e., 'Angel of.' Also the preceding formula in this v., 'Blessed (יְהוָּה) is the God of,' etc., is typical of good Syrian religion, occurring in the Palmyrene formula מִלָּה יְהוָּה, which is not necessarily a borrowing from the Jewish (cf. sup. 220), as Lidz. holds, *Eph.* 1, 256; and Torrey corroborates the writer's opinion, s. his remarks, *JAOS* 43, 143. As to the theological interpretation of the son of God, the Jewish comm. identify him simply as an angel; Sa. tr. 'like the angels'; acc. to Ra. he was the angel whom Neb. had seen at the calamity to Sennacherib's host, for Neb. had accompanied that expedition, and hence could recognize the celestial being; AEz. identifies with the Angel-of-*YHWH* appearances. GV RV JV tr. here 'a son of the gods,' with Sym. But Θ's *υἱὸν θεοῦ* 'einem Gottessohn' is correct. Early Christian exegesis naturally identified the personage with the Second Person of the Trinity, so Hipp., Chrys., al., and AV 'the Son of God,' following Münster; but this view has been generally given up by modern Christian comm. (so among the Roman Catholic interpreters Knab.). And Jer. takes exception to this identification: "sed nescio quomodo rex impius Dei Filium uidere mereatur." Also the epithet in the king's mouth for the God of the Confessors, אָלֶパソコン, *ο ὑψιστός,* 'the Most High,' is equally germane to WSem. Pagan language and thought. It has its parallel in Heb. צְבָּא הַשָּׁמָיִם, which, however, appears generally as a term outside of Hebrew circles, e.g., the God Most High of Melkisedek, while Balaam is 'acquainted with the knowledge of the Most High,' Nu. 24:16, and the term is put in the mouth of the king of Assyria, Is. 14:14. This *Elyôn* is vouched for in the Phœn. religion by Philo of Byblos ('Ἔλμων *ο ὑψιστός*'), and as *ὑψιστός* appears in the later syncretistic Syrian religions, e.g., the inscriptions of Palmyra; s. Bäthgen, *Beiträge*, 83, Cumont, *op. cit.*, 153 ff., and especially Hehn, *Die bibl. u. babyl. Gottesidee*, pp. 258–264, for a comprehensive statement on this theologumenon, inclusive of the Bab. field. In Judaistic Gr. we find it constantly attributed to Pagan speakers,
e.g., 1 Esd. 2, Acts 16, or to demons, Mk. 5; it is frequent in Enoch (s. Cha. on 99), Twelve Testaments, etc., and in Syriac Christianity (it is, as meraiyemā, the constant term for God, e.g., in the Odes of Solomon). This monotheistic term became current in circles more or less influenced by Judaism; s. Schürer, GJV 3, 174. The epithet is correctly put in the mouth of a Pagan king.

In his summons to the Confessors to come forth (v.26a), the king thus makes his confession of their God as the Highest, summus Deus, in the monotheizing language of the late period. They come forth and the dignitaries in the king’s suite assemble and see that the fire had had no power over them (vv.26b, 27a); in a well-put climacteric, their bodies were not touched, nor their hair singed, nor their garments a whit changed, and not even a breath of fire was perceptible upon them (v.27b). The king then utters a praise of the God who had protected his servants in their absolute trust in him, even to the facing of death (v.29). And he proceeds (v.30) to utter an edict that whoever should speak the slightest thing amiss against their God should be punished as culprits against the realm (cf. 26). The edict moves in terms of current polytheism; the Jewish God does not become the king’s God, but, as so severe a critic of the book as Bert. admits (p. 255), he merely remains their God. But his religion is formally recognized as a religio licita with its rights to respect from all in the realm. Such a pronunciamento may well have been true to the official protection of religions under the later empires, and in fact this recognition of toleration was all that the Jews desiderated.

30. The Reward of the Three Confessors. It is simply stated that the king promoted (so EVV; lit. prospered) the three Jews in their posts in the civil administration of the province of Babylon. In this there is no contradiction to the sequel of c. 2.

24. This true vb. is overlooked by Kau. in his appropriate §40. Doubtless Pers., but the etymology is much disputed. A derivation as = simul-iudex was suggested by v. Bohlen, which is denied by Bev., who is again contradicted by Behr. The most recent discussion is by Rashdall, JQR 1, 338 f., who argues that the word can be explained from a supposititious khadābara, ‘sword-bearer’; the title might then be purely honorific. Steuernagel, ZDPV 35, 95, would correct יָדוֹ to יִדוּ and cfr. עֲדָה APO
pap. 8, l. 4. 23; but is supported by G's interpretation. G here and v.27 of φιλος, cf. 3:1 εταίροι (for ἕννεπενβάρειν), i.e., as from ἰδίον 'associate.' The benai leewitb of Gsmk to v.27 expresses the same thought. Blud., p. 100, cf. φιλος, as title of the highest officials at the Ptolemaic court, but the title goes back to Pers. usage; s. for various ref. Holm, Griech. Gesch., i, 162, Cumont, Les religions orientales, 165, Deissmann, Bible Studies, 167, and Licht vom Osten, 324. G's interpretation is satisfactory here as referring to the courtiers in attendance. Θ varies: here μεγίστανες, v.27 δυνάται, 4:28 ὑψανεν, 6:8 ὑπάτων. Gsmk has μεγίστα 'leaders,' attributed to Θ (attribution properly questioned), an etymology as though from ἰδίον (so Field); the tr. may be Aq.'s; and so Sa., ἐπωνυμία. Similarly the Jewish comm. attempt Heb. etymologies. The form is corroborated by Palaram., e.g., מividad, s. Dalm., Gr., p. 290; for the penultimate accent cf. Kau.'s explanation, §47, p. 89, 'an attempt to preserve the consonantal strength of the VoA'; he cf. the pl. μέγιστοι > Syr. malēth. For the generally adopted revision to 1:2 s. at 2:1—μέγιστος. The truth, true!' = NHeb. 1:2, 'Yes'; cf. above μεγίστα 25. Behr. prefers to regard as fem., or as adv., cf. מגדיה v.22, so Mar., but it is masc. emph.—The Grr. supply a joint with the Apocryphon: G x. ēγένετο (= יהיה?) ἐν τῷ ἀναβάτει τ. βασίλεια ὑμνῶντων αὐτῶν, and then follows Θ, τότε Ναβ. κτλ.; Θ x. Ναβ. ἔκκλησεν ὑμνῶντων αὐτῶν x. ἀκούσας. Also orig. G om. the passage from ν. β. to ἀφαίρεσαι, v.26, which was supplied by Hex., the complement = OrC in the revision of Θ; the fault arose from haplog. of ἰδίον v.24, and ν. v.25.

In Θ texts B solus has δ δὲ (Rom. ed., δὲ Swete) ἐγώ. The var. rdgs. are: x. εἶπεν δ βασ. (Rom. ed., δὲ Swete) ἐγώ. Q c al. ὅς ἐγώ; OrP ἀπεξηκόμη x. εἶπεν, δ ὅς ἐγώ; Lu. ἀπεκαθέτηκεν εἶπεν x. ὅς ἐγώ. Of these ὅς is corruption of ὅ δὲ; ὅς was Origen's revision. But B's ὅ δὲ is authentic; Θ om. ἀναίρεσαι, understood ἵνα as ἵνα, and supplying the conj. obtained δ δὲ (so prop. vs. Swete), i.e., 'and he said.' This classicism is prob. unique in the Gr. Bible.— μέγιστος] So with Haf. pointing at 4:4; otherwise Aram. dialects have Pael (= Piel in late Bibl. Heb.). A few ms (s. Bär, Str.) read מגדיה, which is preferred by Kamp., Lühr, Mar. Is this a Mass. fancy in the two passages, to obtain perhaps a denominative, 'walking after the Halaka'? The asyndeton is preserved by GQ vs. GS Θ.—μέγιστος] So Bär, Str., Kit., but Mich., Gin. הציון (yet 6:4 Gin. הציון); the former is correct, as Syr. shows; cf. מגדיה, Ecc. 4:2, 5:2. נביחדכ Kt., קְנִיָּה ק.ר. ] See Kau., §11, 1, b.— ייִשְֹרַע 2] = Θ literatim; G ἐγενείκαλω θεοῦ (cf. v.24); Θ Aq. ὅθε ν θεοῦ = Η filio Dei; Sym. on Jer.'s authority [ομοιωμα] θεοῦ θεοῦ.—26. יִשְֹרַע[ G asyndeton.— יִשְֹרַע Kt., קְנִיָּה K. r. ] Kau., §59, 1, 6, Mar., Gr. §84, regard as a kittel or kuttal form, but the doubling is secondary; cf. Heb.
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In parallelism with v. 17, vs. AN's verse division.

The first three terms as in v. 3, the fourth from v. 24; the latter as brevet title occurs last. Θ and Γ vary from their translations in v. 3. In the third place Θ has αργυρότερα, cf. Jos. 23 = מֵא יֶדֶנֶשׁ. Prob. asyndeton with יִשְׁנֶה, rather than secondary predicate, v. sup. v. 7; cf. Mar., Gr. §129, e ('um zu schen'), who cft. v. 7, etc. Kau.'s note, §102, that asyndeton ordering of nouns and sentences is rare is erroneous; it is a marked feature of BAram., and in the orig. texts was probably still more fully represented, as even the Gr. indicate. For vbs. in asyndeton s. Nöld., SG §337.—יָדֵם יִשְׁנֶה כָּל, only here and 7, "otherwise fem., as in Syr. Similarly the Arab. nār is fem. in most cases, rarely masc."

The following מִצְרוּיָה is 'exceptionally fem., like the Arab. רְה', Behr. See on these two words Féghali, Du genre grammatical en semitique, 1924, pp. 77, 78.—[(7)] Bär, Str., Gin.; קְרָבֶן Mich., Kit.] The former is the Occidental rdg., the latter the Oriental, acc. to Gin. (cf. his Int., pt. 2, c. 9); the universal Kr. identifies the former with the latter and agrees with the VSS, except נ = pl. (early witness to the pl. Kt. of מִצְרוּיָה). The pl. was induced by the pl. in v. 28, but here the sing. is quite proper, cf. following יִשְׁנֶה, and n.b. the support of the VSS; Behr., Kamp., Mar. argue in the opposite direction.—[(1)] Ehr., referring to his notes on Ju. 16, Job 14, argues that this is not 'Brandgeruch, ... sondern die geringste Wirkung ... des Feuers'; but 'a smell of fire' is perfectly suitable here. מִצְרְיָה refers to the men, not to the garments.—At end of v. Or c (A Q V 106 A al.) a plus, 'and the king worshipped the Lord before them'; similarly Lu.

28. מִצְרְיָה [(7) A Q (HP inaccurate here) om. conj.; B conj. here and in Ezr. 6]; these stems have the secondary mng. of 'contradict, disobey,' analogous, as Bars., al., remark, to נִשְׁנָה Is. 24; also cf. Arab. halafa in stems III, VI, VIII. In Syr. מִצְרְיָה = 'disobey,' e.g., Cureton, Anc. Syr. Documents, p. 48, l. 3. Sym. rightly tr. מִצְרְיָה. So the edd.; the Oriental rdg. מִצְרְיָה (Gin.). The Kr. is again identical as in v. 27; the pl. Kt., however, is here supported by ↵Θ נ = 'disobey,' he cft. similar Rabb. use of מִצְרְיָה. Paul has reminiscence of this rdg. at 1 Cor. 13, κατὰ παράδοσιν ὑπὸ σωμάτως μοι ἔργα καυχήσομαι, which latter vb. is thus supported vs. καυχήσομαι (WH); marginal apparatus appear to ignore the citation.

29. מִצְרְיָה (not Or) + שֵׂכָל; cf. Ken. 180 מִצְרְיָה מִצְרְיָה מִצְרְיָה. Paul has reminiscence of this rdg. at 1 Cor. 13, κατὰ παράδοσιν ὑπὸ σωμάτως μοι ἔργα καυχήσομαι, which latter vb. is thus supported vs. καυχήσομαι (WH); marginal apparatus appear to ignore the citation.
In his review of Kau., Gr., Nöld. rightly denies the latter's description of this form (§§12, 57 end) as 'eine künstliche Schärfung der Consonante.' The prec. conj. is ignored by Θ.—יהו Kt., ירשKr.] VSS 'blasphemy.' Ra., AEz. identify with Heb. rts. ירש, ירש, used of careless, inadvertent error; so Targ. tr. these vbs. by ימק, e.g., Job 624, 1216, and such is the sense of Kr., = EVV '(speak) anything amiss'; Sa., 'an absurdity.' The Kt., if not an error, would be a var. form; Kau., §61, 4, b, suggests a pointing after analogy of ירשב; but possibly to be read as ירש 'remiss,' occurring in 4 as 'relaxed.' The noun ירש appears in the same sense in 64, Ezr. 42, 69 (here Gin. accents ירש). For the form s. Kau., l.c., i.e., the participial stem like גלולא; but it is better compared with ירש, etc., i.e., שאל, and then with Heb. heightening of the pretonic vowel. And so the Heb. equivalent ירש. Poss. ירש Job 260 should be read ירש, as a noun is required. Hitz., preferring the Kr., suggested ירש = ירש, cf. 1 Sa. 117, ירש, Kr. ירש, and cf. for the mg. ירש 414, 'word,' hence here 'thing' (cf. use of Heb. רע). So Bev., Kamp., Mar.; the latter suggests that s in the unique spelling ירש en suite was intended as emendation to our word. A third derivation is offered by Perles, JQR O.S. 18 387, preferred by GB, as from Heb. and Syr. ירש, 'despise,' the noun to be read as 'abuse, slander' (also suggesting ירש for ירש 729); but then is improper. I prefer the traditional interpretation with Behr., Dr., Kôn., Hwb., al. For the danger of a ירש even in speech s. Ecc. 5—קמע. Otherwise always ירש, as many MSS here; prob. assimilation to ירש sup. Θ om. prec. conj.—רבקה ימיות] For the penalties and VSS s. at 25.—שניש] The rt. ירש here = ירש 25; there is no reason, with BDB, GB, to postulate two Heb. rts. ירש; cf. Kôn., Hwb.—ירש] S. at 28.—ירש] 'Like this = this,' so Sa.; so Ezr. 5 = prob. ירש APO pap. 10, l. 8; cf. Heb. ירש, e.g., 1 Ki. 37; erroneously AEz., Hitz., Behr., al., 'like this one,' i.e., their God.—30. ירש] Θ asyndeton.—Θ has transposed the words יבכ תגננכנב, יט' ילבנ תג ופכ, i.e., as though יבכ תגננכנב. A by reminiscence of 25 + יט' תג יפכ. All Θ texts add an extensive plus at end, most of them with a doublet ינושאר אבּוֹס || ינושאר אבּוֹס; Λ is in sad confusion.
CHAPTER 4. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S MADNESS.

The story is cast in the form of an encyclical edict emanating from the king, with the salutation c. 3, 31-33 (c. 4, 1-3), and the concluding pronouncement, his confession of God, 34 (37). The body of the document contains three acts: (1) 1-24 (4-27) the problem of the king's mysterious dream and Dan.'s interpretation of it; (2) 25-30 (28-33) the story of the king's mania; (3) 31-34 (34-37) his restoration to prosperity. Definite metrical structure is evident for 31, 41-2. 7b-9. 11-14, and the greater part, if not all, of vv.31-34. The whole story is composed in a lyric strain. Bert. casts all the spoken parts into verse form.

The amazing malady which possessed Nebuchadnezzar, known scientifically as lycanthropy, is presented in a simple and natural way. There is no idea of his possession by Satan, a view advanced by Origen but denied by Jer. (at the beginning of his comm. on the chap.), no idea of metamorphosis, such as has been advanced by some learned if not scientific students (s. dEnv., p. 319), following in the footsteps of Jer., who insipidly cft. Scylla and Charybdis, Hydra and the Centaurs. The disease is well known in the sad annals of the human mind and attested by scientific examination. With it is associated the primitive werewolf superstition, which may have its rationalistic support in the actual frenzies of the human kind. Reff. for this phenomenon from ancient and modern studies have been assembled by Pusey, pp. 428 ff., and in a popular but well-documented volume by S. Baring-Gould, The Book of Were-Wolves, London, 1865, in comparison with whose terrible tales Neb.'s madness was a mild case. Even if the essence of the story were true, that Neb. was so afflicted, after the manner of 'geniuses' and of many royal persons, as George III of England and Otho of Bavaria, corroboration of it can hardly ever be expected from archaeology, for royal families do not leave me-

morials of such frailties. The alleged malady is not an impos­sibility.

A partly parallel saga of Neb., observed by Grot., has been preserved by Eusebius, Praep. ev., ix, 41, 6, and in shorter form, in his Chronicle (only preserved in Armenian); s. ed. Schoene, 1, 42 (the former text also in Müller, Frag. hist. gr., 4, 282). Eusebius says: “I found also in the book of Abydenus on the Assyrians the following in regard to Neb.: Megasthenes says that Neb. became stronger than Herakles, and made wars upon Lybia and Iberia, and having conquered these countries settled a part of their inhabitants on the right of Pontus. After this, it is said by the Chaldeans, he ascended the roof of his palace, and, being possessed by some god or other, cried aloud: ‘O Babylons, I, Neb., announce to you beforehand the coming misfortune, which Bel my ancestor and the Queen Beltis are alike powerless to persuade the Fates to avert. A Persian mule will come, having your own deities as his allies, and will bring slavery. He who will help him in this undertaking will be the son of Medes [or, by correction, of a Median woman, with ref. to Nabonidus and his Median mother, with Gutschmid and Schrader], the boast of Assyria. Would that before my citizens were betrayed, some Charybdis or sea might receive him, and utterly extinguish him; or else that betaking himself elsewhere, he might be driven through the desert, where is no city nor track of man, where wild beasts have their pasture, and birds do roam, and that among rocks and ravines he might wander alone; and that I, before he imagined this, might meet with some happier end!’ Having uttered this prophecy, he forthwith disappeared.” For criticism of these passages and their relation to Dan. 4 s. Schrader’s notable essay, ‘Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebukadnezars,’ in Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie, 1884, 618–629. He would assign only the first part of the statement to Megasthenes, c. 300, and the story of the oracle to Abydenus, who prob. lived in the 2d cent. B.C. He notes the several striking reminiscences of veritable history in the anecdote and cft. with it unfavorably the story in Dan., which certainly lacks any definite historical traces apart from the general coloring, which would better suit a later age than that of Neb. Two plausible similarities between the Greek and the Aramaic story have been observed and variously appreciated by students. One is the
oracle received on the roof of the palace, the other the wild animal-like existence to which Neb. would condemn the traitor to his land. The apologists for Dan. have made the most of these likenesses, e.g., Heng., Pusey, dEnv.; they hold that Abydenus’ version is the younger, a perversion of that in Dan. For the latest lines of defence the pertinent cc. in Wright, Wilson, Boutflower, should be consulted. Others who deny the truth of the story, recognize these features as of a common origin of tradition, e.g., Bert. and Schrader (p. 628); and so Bev., Dr. Others deny in toto any relation, so vLeng., and most recently Torrey, Notes, I, 266. The latter points out that the similarities are in mere commonplaces, and that the wild life desired for the traitor has nothing to do with the king’s affliction. This judgment is the simplest. Neb. left but a faint tradition behind him; Her. knows him only under the name Labynetos I, as father of Labynetos II, i.e., Nabonidus, and Jos., AJ x, 11, 1, after summing up a few items of information concerning him, concludes: “These are all the histories I have met with concerning this king.”

More immediate objects of historical criticism are found in the edict form of the alleged encyclical of Neb. and in its substantial contents of confession by the heathen king of the God of Daniel. As an edict the document is historically absurd; it has no similar in the history of royal conversions nor in ancient imperial edicts. Comparison with the Persian imperial recognition of the God in Jerusalem as ‘the God of heaven’ in Cyrus’ edict, Ezr. 1, and the papyrus rescript of Arsames to the Jews at Assouan offers no parallel. Not only is there no trace of the chancellery style of such documents, but the narrative passes fluidly from the first to the third person and back to the first. Calv.’s remark: “haec autem personarum varietas sensum non

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1 There appears to have been a later midrashic expansion of the legend among the Jews, first hinted at in 68 v. 38 and then specified in Aphrem Syrus at v. 34: “This refers either to Evilmerodach or to Neb.’s wife, who in his absence for those seven years administered the government.” This speculation is found in an expanded form in Rashi (cited here by Gallé), who, at Jer. 52:30 and Is. 14:3, tells how Evilmerodach took his father’s place in his illness, was thrown into prison upon the latter’s restoration, and upon his death refused the crown for fear Neb. might return, but he allayed his fears by casting Neb.’s body out of its tomb. In 68’s form of the story (s. at end of this chap.) we also have early midrash about Neb.’s successor. The treatment of tradition by S. Bernstein, K. Nebucadnesar von Babel in der jiid. Tradition, 1907, 72 pp., I have not seen.
"reddit ambiguum aut obscurum," indicates that he recognized a difficulty but could not relieve it. Some would hold that the section vv. 26-31 was interpolated by Dan., so e.g., Calv., Häv., dEnv. (the latter glosses, p. 367: "Dan. ajouta—pour ses lec­teurs"). Others, Kran., Zöck., boldly recognizing the incon­gruity of the document as a first-hand royal edict, because of its theological character, etc., hold that Dan. was the writer, who composed the declaration by order of the king soon after the conclusion of the events. We have still to inquire into the liter­ary phenomenon of the change of person in this story, a change which sets in, from the 1st pers. to the 3d, in v. 16 (19), the 1st pers. being resumed in v. 31 (34). Acc. to most modern comm. the change is 'a lapse,' or, with Mar., 'the author forgot him­self.' Cha. boldly asserts that this irrational change is an argu­ment for the superiority of 6, which assigns a larger portion to the 3d person. But it has not been observed by the comm. that the same phenomenon appears in the book of Tobit, which begins with the ego of the hero and passes over into the 3d pers. at 37. Here Π and the secondary Aramaic version (Neubauer's text) have the 3d pers. throughout, but it is well-nigh universally admitted that the Gr. Tobit is the original form. The change of person in both stories is due to an unconscious dra­matic sense. In Tobit the hero speaks in the first act, but when the drama passes to other scenes and characters, the ordinary narrative style of the 3d pers. is adopted. And so in our story, in which the alleged edict form sat lightly on the composer's mind, dramatically the account of the king's madness is told in the 3d pers., for of that he would not have been a sane wit­ness; the change of person is anticipated somewhat too early in v. 16. The dramatic propriety involved appears from the fact that probably most readers do not stumble over the incongruity. To the same sense of the dramatic belongs also the shifting from Heb. to Aram. in c. 2.

The text of 6 which rarely runs with Π, will be treated in an appendix at the end of the chap. By the fatality of the Medie­val Christian division of chapters, generally attributed to Arch­bishop Langton of the 13th cent., the first three vv. of this story were attached to c. 3. This arrangement of Π was followed by the printed editions of 9 and also by GV, fortunately not by EVV, except JV, which follows Jewish usage. (See in general
G. F. Moore, "The Vulgate Chapters and Numbered Verses in the Hebrew Bible," *JBL* 12, 73–78.) The ancient tradition was correct in its division, e.g., the pericope titles of the uncials A and Q; the chapter division in 147, the Syro-Hexapla, and the Chigi ms, in Hipp., Jer., Ψ A; so Jeph. (‘fourth chapter’), and apparently AEz. Also in in a Closed (greater) Paragraph begins at 4.31 of the Heb. edd., while Gin. allows no break between cc. 3. 4 (vs. Bär, who indicates a Closed (lesser) Paragraph at that point). Further, the ancient Seder, or Lection division started at v.30. See further §3.

C. 3, 31–33 (C. 4, 1–3). The encyclical epistle is introduced with a salutation in which Neb. declares how it is *my pleasure to declare the signs and wonders that God Most High has wrought for me* (31. 32), concluding with a metrical pean of praise:

33. *How great are His signs: and how mighty His wonders; His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom: and His dominion with age and age along.*

For Neb.’s confession of God Most High cf. Comm. at 328, and v. inf.

31. 6mss Ken., 2mss de R. + יְהֹוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶבֶט (אֶל הָעֲצָא מְלֹט), 3mss + זָכָר = Ψ. The plus is borrowed from 69. Cf. Lu. h. om. conj. in Ψ אָנָא מְלֹט יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶבֶט] Θ εἰσόη ὡς μεν ἐπιθυμηθαι; another tr. of the same formula in Tob. 10 Cod. Sin., χαίρειν σοι παλλα γένοιτο, cf. the greeting πλήρωσα χαίρειν in papp. of 1st cent. B.C. (noted in Charles, *Apoc.*, at Tob. l.c.). In the Elephantine papp. the formula is, e.g., ‘the God of heaven ask much after the health of X.’ For the parallels in Ezr. 57 and 712 s. the writer’s note on *kulla* in *JAOS* 43, 391 ff.—

32. 2mss de R. + יְהֹוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶבֶט] cf. *Ps.* 72, with which comm. cf. Ovid, *Amor.* i, 15 f., “cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit”; cf. our ‘with the morning,’ etc.

1–6 (4–9). Neb., frightened by a dream, summons his wise men for the interpretation, but only Dan. is found competent.
For the theme of royal dreams s. Int. to c. 2. Neb. introduces his tale with a brief idyllic phrase picturing his happiness when the tragic event occurred. (A similar element of pathos appears in the epitaph of Eshmunazar of Sidon, CIS i, 3; Lidz., NE 417, Cooke, NSI no. 5.) He was enjoying life unconcerned (relaxed, careless) and flourishing in the splendors of his Babylonian palace—like another Rich Man in another story (v.1). His quiet is disturbed by an ominous dream which frightened him (v.5). The two parts of the v. are, like v.1, in poetical parallelism, and, as on reasonable grounds (s. Notes), the words and visions of my head are to be regarded as an addition, the v. reads with this omission as a true double trimeter, with the hemistichs rhyming. All the classes of the wise men are summoned to interpret the dream, but they were found incompetent (vv.3. 4), until at last Dan. came in (v.5a (5a)). The king recognizes him, with pardonable pride recalls his court name Belteshazzar, named after my god, i.e., Bel (acc. to the etymology assumed), and welcomes him as one possessed by the spirit of holy Deity (v.9). The story is deftly told. The seer was Daniel to the Jewish readers, but Belteshazzar to the court. And while the story connects with the sequel of c. 2 in stating Dan.'s pre-eminence among the wise men, actually giving him the title of Master of the Magicians (v.6 (9)), it proudly makes him enter alone and last of all, as though of a different class from the other wise men. In historical verisimilitude the king should have consulted the chief of the wise men first, particularly if he recalled Dan.'s extraordinary faculty in interpreting to him the earlier dream (and so transforms the story, s. Note at end of chap.). But a higher dramatic end is gained by having Dan. enter triumphantly at last, when his colleagues again have been nonplussed.

In v.6b (8b), repeated in v.6a, Neb. speaks of Dan. as one in whom is holy Deity's spirit. The last noun is unarticulated (in the abs. state), and is exactly comparable with, and a literal reminiscence of, Gen. 4138, where the heathen Pharaoh calls Joseph 'a man in whom there is a spirit of Deity,' or rather 'a divine spirit.' Here, as in Gen., the pl. for God, יִתְנָא, is not, against Behr., a polytheistic expression, i.e., 'gods,' and it is, against Behr., Cha., the Aram. equivalent of JHWH's epithet in Jos. 2419, רָוְיָא, 'Θ'σ ϵεδ is right as against the pl. of Π (Jer. takes pains to contradict Θ), and against comm. and
modern VSS in general, e.g., Grot., "loquitur ut idolalatra," cited approvingly by Mar. But Ra., CBMich., Ehr. correctly understand it as of singular mng. See further Notes on לְיוֹם 211, 325. In addition to the material in the Babylonian field for the use of ilu, pl. ilâni, as generic terms, we may compare the Egyptian distinction between the universal idea of 'God,' mehet, e.g., in comparison with 'the god of my city,' in the Book of the Dead, chap. cxxv; s. Budge, *Tutankhamen*, etc., 1923, p. 148, with the accompanying discussion. In v. 6 (9) vast trouble has been given by the statement that the king bids Dan.: *the visions of my dream which I have seen and the interpretation thereof tell,* yet at once proceeds to tell the dream himself. But the trouble is removed by the suggestion in the Note to read לְיוֹם ('visions-of') as לְיוֹם 'lo,' i.e., 'Here is the dream, interpret it!'

1 (4). לְיוֹם See on לְיוֹם 329; it is the equivalent of Heb. לְיוֹם, which in Jer. 49:1 is 'care-free,' then 'at rest,' with EVV et al. For the moral implication cf. עליך לְיוֹם, Ps. 73:21.—לְיוֹם So Bär, Str. and Kau., §55, 3; לְיוֹם, Mich., Gin., Kit., preferred by Mar., §76, c. But the former is approved by the similar forms in 217, 329, 611, and the emph. 512, Ezr. 5:12, in all which Gin. so reads without question. For the resp. statistics of את and את s. Powell, *Supp. Hebr.*, p. 53. Bär's rdg. is doubtless the elder form. There are two cases in *APO* where with suffix הֶ֑יָּה is written (s. Index), also in a pap. in *AP*, no. 81, l. 115. All other cases in papp. have הֶ֑יָּה.—לְיוֹם] The green tree is figure of prosperity, for the righteous Ps. 92:18, for the wicked Ps. 37:24.—לְיוֹם G by paraphrase הֶ֑יָּה. The text om.; OrF.C. insert G's rdg. (Jer. regards the rdg. as of Θ), followed by Lu., who adds the doublet לְיוֹם חֶ֑יָּה. Lu.'s rdg. may belong to orig. Θ, having dropped out by haplog., with הֶ֑יָּה. On the impf. following the pf. cf. Kau., §73, 4, Mar., Gr. §101. Kau. remarks: "Die Ablösung des Perfects durch das Imperf. mit ה entspricht hier ganz der Ablösung des hebr. Perfects durch Impf. consecutivum und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass hier die Gewöhnung an die hebr. consecutio temporum einen Einfluss ausgetübt hat." The first part of this statement is correct, the second is not proved. The alternation of pf. and impf. is one of the picturesque elements in the diction of the dialect.—לְיוֹם The word is used of dream fantasies, esp. of impure dreams; s. Heb. and Talm. Lexx. It is used in Mand. for 'Täuschung, Blendwerk,' Nöld., MG p. 64, n. 2, in Syr. of the Fata Morgana, Brock., *Lex*, s.v.; in Rabb. along with vb. לְיוֹם, of concep-
tions of the mind, and then in particular of impure dreams. Also a
magical inscription in my *Aram. Incant. Texts* (s. p. 82) lists the
with incubi and 'visions.' *Cf.* the denotation of Arab. *halama,* and this
particular mg. in Syr. *'ethelalam.* Buxt., Jast. derive from Heb. הלה
'conceive,' and so Behr., who oft. the Bibl. use for conceiving evil ideas,
e.g., Ps. 70. But Arab. *harha,* 'disturb,' with its derivatives, suggests
an independent rt.; *cf.* Arab. *harra,* 'ahbor.' I welcome therefore an
oral suggestion from Prof. M. L. Margolis that we connect with our rt.
here, *hwr = harhar,* the הוהי of Gen. 3.16, universally but with difficulty
derived as from הוהי and interpreted as mg. 'pregnancy'; but the form
requires our rt. הוהי and so means, as Margolis suggests, 'pruriency,' i.e.,
the sexual metaphysical condition. On account of the unpleasant de­
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the sexual metaphysical condition. On account of the unpleasant de­
notation of the word AEz. takes care to specify, הוהי; *cf.* Arab.
6 (9). ἐμὲ τὸν στήθος = 'in whom... for whom,' so rightly Θ and GV ('welchen ich weiss'), but Ψ tr. τῷ by quoniam, and so EVV 'because.'—οὐκ [In O.T. only here and Est. 1:6, שָׁבַח שָׁבַח, 'none compelling'; here 'disturbing, incommoding,' EVV 'troubleth.' The vb. is used in Rabb. of 'forcing, outraging' (so Syr.), and also 'taking by force, confiscating,' and with it is to be connected צָרָה (= Haf.?) in the Nélab Inschr. (Lidz., NE, p. 445, Cooke, NSI nos. 64, 65) and the ZKR Inschr., col. 2, l. 20.—Ὡ] Θ Θ αὐτόν as sing., Ψ pl. This sentence in Ψ, = Ψ, makes Neb. ask Dan. to tell him the dream as well as the interpretation (cf. c. 2), while acc. to vv.5—7 Neb. narrated the dream to him. Θ relieved the obvious difficulty by the plus ἀναγνωστεῖν [τ. φασθεῖν] i.e., as προφ., which is accepted by Mar. in his text and by Torrey, Notes, I, p. 267. Ψ helped itself out by a forced paraphrase, 'in the visions of my head I was seeing a vision of my head, and do thou its interpretation tell.' Giesebrecht, GGA, 1895, p. 598 (s. Kamp.'s exposition), has suggested reading ὅτι ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος 'I will tell.' Ehr. would read ἔδωκεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐν οἴνοις ἰδίως 'the dream which I saw I will tell,' and then takes 'and the visions of my head on my bed,' v.7, as second object. But the simplest emendation is to read ἴησῃ 'behold!' This use of ἴησῃ appears in the papp. APO pap. 1, l. 23, pap. 54, l. 7 (s. Cowley AP index), the ostrakon in APA no. M, col. 1, l. 4, col. 2, ll. 1—2. This was early confused with the word for 'vision,' and Θ felt bound, exceptionally, to insert 'hear.' The reference of the suffix in ἰησῃ is then unimpeachable.

7—15 (10—18). The king proceeds to relate his dream. He saw a great and growing tree which appeared to reach the sky and to extend to the horizon. The dream is paralleled by that of the Median Astyages, who dreamed of a vine growing out of the womb of his daughter Mandane, which came to 'extend over all Asia,' the vine being the future Cyrus (Her., i, 108); and by that of Xerxes, who in preparing for his expedition against Greece saw himself crowned with a shoot of olive, whose branches extended over every land, but afterward the crown about his head disappeared (ib., vii, 19). A similar dream is told of the caliph Othman I (c. 1270); s. Häv., who cites d'Ohsson, Allgem. Schilderung des ottom. Reiches, 273 ff. But our story-teller is also following good native literary tradition. There is Ezekiel's figure of Israel as a cedar of Lebanon which was cropped by an eagle and planted 'in a city of merchants,' where it grew and became a spreading vine, Eze. 17:1 ff.; while the figure is taken up again in vv.22 ff., when the LORD takes a shoot from the top of
the cedar and plants it in the mountains of Israel, where 'it shall bring forth boughs (קדש) and make fruit . . . and shall dwell under it all fowl of every wing (אדום), in the shadow (צל) of its branches dwelling.' Still more articulated is the same prophet's symbol of Assyria (the precursor of Egypt) as a cedar in Lebanon, c. 31: 'Its stature became great (תָּהוּ) . . . and its boughs were multiplied, and its branches became long . . . In its boughs nested (קְנָה) all the fowl of heaven (עֶשֶׂר הַשֵּׁם), and under its branches brought forth their young all the wild beasts (יִנְשָׁב לְשֵׁם), and in its shadow dwelt all (?) great nations' (vv. 5-6). In the judgment upon this cedar we see 'its branches fallen upon the mountains and valleys,' etc., with the beasts and birds feasting on 'the carcass' (vv. 12-13). But our narrator, while reminiscent of the classic figures, is inventive and independent. With him the Tree, symbolic of the Empire of Man, is to be cut down, but not destroyed, that all may know that God is Potentate in that Empire of Man. The Jew here speaks with the universalism of the Second Isaiah; he seeks not his own, nor does he despise humanity, but his sure faith is that God must rule. It may be noted that the trope of the tree for national life is abundant in the O.T.; e.g., the contrast between the cedars of Lebanon which are to be cut down and 'the shoot that shall come forth of the stock of Jesse,' Is. 10:33-11:1; and compare the borrowed tropes of the vine and the cedar in 2 Baruch, representing Israel and the Roman empire.

Bert. appears to have been the first to display the poetic structure of the passage, v.7b-14 (10b-17), with the exception of the prose interlude in v.10 (13a), and his example has been followed by Ew., Löhr, Mar., Cha., JV. But there is not sufficient reason, with Mar. followed by Cha., to compress vv.7b-9 (10b-12) to two stanzas of two stichoi apiece by omitting 'and the height thereof was great,' and 'in it was food for all.' Omitting the introductory 'the visions of my head,' which is either simply a title or a gloss (s. the Notes), these vv. may be translated:

7b. Upon my bed I was seeing—
    And lo a tree
    In the midst of the earth,
    And its height was great.
8. The tree grew and waxed strong,
And its height reached unto heaven
And the view of it to the whole earth’s end;

9. The leaflage of it fair
And its fruit much,
And food in it for all;
Under it the wild life taking shade,
And in its branches lodging the birds of the sky,
And from it feeding all flesh.

In this arrangement the usual double trimeter is divided at the beginning of each stanza into three dimeter feet, a frequent phenomenon in Heb. poetry. But for the angel’s utterance, vv.11-14 (14b-17), not more can be said than that the lines are cast in poetic mould; there is no metrical evenness, it is vers libre!

7 (10). The clause is punctuated with athnah, and must have been regarded as title to the following. Orig. G (which also ignores יִבְשָׁבָה) Θ Om. יִבְשָׁבָה, which is supplied unsyntactically by Or with יִבְשָׁבָה (V al. al יִבְשָׁבָה, so also Q suber lin.), and by Lu., grammatically construing in acc. pl. with v.6. Π = Θ, visio capitis mei in cubili meo. The evidence of the first three VSS authorizes us to exclude the unnecessary clause, which would then be similar to the identical gloss in v.2 and a reminiscence of 228, cf. 7. The comm. either attach it to the prec. v., e.g., Bert., Löh, Ehr., or predominantly regard it as an absolute clause. (Too freely EVV, ‘these were the visions,’ etc.). So vLeng., most recent comm., Torrey (‘a sort of paragraph heading,’ Notes, I, 268).—יִתְנָה—But G יִבְשָׁבָה יִשְׁדִּיו, i.e., as יִבְשָׁבָה, which may be preferable, avoiding the repeated יִבְשָׁבָה. S. Field on the strange tr. of G; I think the Syr. translator found יִבְשָׁבָה for יִבְשָׁבָה, took it for יִבְשָׁבָה, and hence his rendering.—8 (11). יִתְנָה יִבְשָׁבָה יִשְׁדִּיו] It is debatable whether the vbs. indicate process or state; for the former interpretation CBMich., Hitz., Klief., Bev., Pr., and Keil suggestively: “ihnen (the perfects) entspricht im zweiten Hemistich das Impf. יִשְׁדִּיו, als die Form des anstrebenden Antriebs.” This view is doubtless corroborated by the repetition of the vbs. in v.19 and adds liveliness to the scene. So EVV. The other interpretation is accepted by, e.g., vLeng., Behr., Dr., Cha., ‘was grown.’—יִתְנָה] Also v.17; here G Θ תב יִשְׁדִּיו יִשְׁדִּיו (i.e., ‘its circumference,’ יִשְׁדִּיו is used of a concave body), and so Θ v.17, where G יִבְשָׁבָה; in v.19
The second act of the dream drama is ushered in by the vision of a Vigilant and Holy One descending from heaven calling with a loud voice. We have here the earliest mention of the Wakeful Ones, generally known in our translations as the Watchers, who play so important a rôle in Enoch, Jubilees, the XII Testaments, etc. (cf. the short note of Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 371). They appear also in Zad. Frag., p. 2, l. 18 (with correction of actual इन्द्रियेऽन्तिस्ततिः). The word दृष्टिरचणन is Aramaic in form, although it has its Heb. counterpart, and is doubtless an importation from the current syncretistic religion. Hence probably the addition of the epexegetical 'and holy,' to secure the
identification with the angelic category. The same combination appears in Enoch: 201 'the holy angels who watch,' i.e., the archangels; and 122 'his (Enoch's) activities had to do with the Vigilants and his days with the Holy Ones,' the parallelism as below, v.14. While the Vigilants become predominantly fallen angels, the original implication of the term as of beings nearest to God is preserved in these references. The root of the idea is not un-Biblical. Mein. cft. the eyes of the Cherubs in Eze. 1 and 'the seven, which are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth,' Zech. 419. Still closer is Is. 626 with its summons to הַמְּשָׁפְּרֵים 'the Watchers,' and הַדְּחָלֶה הַדוֹדָה 'the Remembrancers of the Lord,' 'to give him no rest' (s. Duhm), suggesting a heavenly caste parallel to our Vigilants. There may indeed be an implied contrast to this notion in Ps. 121, acc. to which 'He that keepeth Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps.' Identification with the many-eyed Amesha Spentas has naturally been attempted, e.g., by Bert. Others, e.g., Heng. (p. 161), Häv., Keil, would relate these beings to the θεοί βουλαίοι of Diodorus Sic., ii, 30, planetary deities who keep watch over the affairs of the universe; and Häv. cft. the celestial ἐρμηνεῖς, φυλακεῖς, ἐπισκοποί, of the later astral theology. Another interesting line of development of the word is that which makes the יְהֵן a guardian spirit; in Philo it appears to be something like the Egyptian Ka, while in both the Mandaic and the Christian Syriac literature the Vigilants are guardian angels (s. PSmith, s.v.). Note also the corresponding רַקִּיב or 'watcher' in the Koran, 5017, who records the dying man’s words. For adequate studies of the word we have still to go back to the comm. mentioned above and to the classical treatise on the subject in the original (anonymous) editio prima of the Chigi text, prefaced to the text of Θ. A fairly modern interpretation, dating from l’Empéreur, and accepted by dEnv., p. 388, is that which would identify the Watcher with the Angel of יְהֵן, the Son of Man, the Messiah, and so with the Second Person of the Trinity. The question also arises whether Neb. is speaking in terms of revelation or acc. to his own Pagan notions. The former is the view of Klief., who argues from the repetition of 'the Vigilant and Holy,' in Dan.’s words, v.20. But it is much more plausible to assume, with Heng., Keil, that Neb.’s description is consciously given a Pagan coloring; Dan. indeed quotes
the king’s terms for the angelic being as a cue, but for him it is, deliberately, ‘the decree of the Highest,’ v. 21, not of the Vigilants as in v. 14. The latter v. is an accurate expression of the later astral determinism.

11 (14). And thus the Vigilant made loud proclamation: Cut down the tree: and break off its branches. Strip off its foliage: and scatter its fruit. The beasts wander away from beneath it: and the fowl from its branches. The pl. impvs. have for their subjects the celestial executors of the decree, cf. Is. 40:1. But v. 12 (13), the tree is not to be destroyed; its stump with its roots is to be left in the earth, clamped with a bond of iron and brass. The significance of this metal clamp has given rise to many interpretations, the most common one of which since Jer. is that all madmen are bound, and so, e.g., Heng., Klief., Knab. Vileng. proposed the rationalistic idea that the bond was to keep the tree from splitting, which would be satisfactory if there were evidence that such a practice was followed in ancient arboriculture. Pr. thinks that it figures in general Neb.’s confinement. Others find in it an allegorical mng., e.g., Rosen., Hitz., Keil, Bev. It is best to follow Ra., with Mar., Cha., Torrey, to the effect of the symbolism that Neb. should not be removed, with which cf. v. 23.

The text further reads that he should be left in a bond of iron and brass in the grass of the field, which might then mean, exposed to the elements, in parallelism with the following clause, let him be wet with the dew of heaven. But as we have then two moments in the one sentence, Torrey’s excellent suggestion is accepted that we supply a vb., let them feed him [with the grass of the field] (s. Notes), which gives the necessary item of his eating grass like oxen, v. 29. This entails the omission of the last two words of the v., in the grass of the earth, which were subsequently introduced to supply the defective moment. The v. then would end with, and with the beasts shall be his lot. With this item there is a change from the metaphor of the tree to the actuality figured; we may compare, with Knab., the similar transition in Eze. 31:11, Mt. 22:13, Lu. 12:46; cf. also the dramatic development of the parable of the vineyard, Is. 5:1 ff. The uncovered reality is continued in v. 13 (16): his intelligence is to be dehumanized, made like that of a beast; the distinctive glory of man is to be taken away from him. And seven times shall pass over (or by) him. The most ancient and common interpretation (e.g., that of Jos., Jer. (at
v.34), Ra., AEz., Jeph., and most moderns) is that seven years is meant; Behr. cft. the corresponding Heb. word for ‘time’ used as year in הָעִיר הָעִיר, Gen. 18:10; and such appears to be the use of the word in the last part of Dan. (s. at 7:25). However, other calculations have been propounded. Hipp. tells of a view which identified a ‘time’ with one of the four seasons. Aph. Syr., Chrys., Theodt. think of a time as one of the two seasons, summer and winter, i.e., after Persian reckoning. See for a long discussion dEngv., pp. 336–341, also vLeng., and for a good abstract Knab. It is vain to expect to know what was meant. There may have been a tradition of a seven years’ madness in Neb.’s case. Or the figure ‘seven’ is conventional, even as nine years was the term for the were-wolf in Greek folk-lore; s. W. W. Hyde, Greek Religion and Its Survivals, 186 ff. For the use of the number in Bab., Jewish and Pers. lore, s. Scheftelowitz, Die altpers. Religion u. d. Judentum, 134.

10 (13). [Grr. vary.—שִׂנְיָר תַּנְיָא יִרְוָע] = v.20. An elder identification (s. Pole, Synopsis) with Heb. רָע, ‘messenger’ (so Kau., §10, 2, a, Behr.) is now generally given up, s. the Lexx., Mar. Glossary. רָע = ‘awake, wakeful,’ הָעָגָל, as in Syr., corresponding to the Heb. ppl. of רָע, e.g., רַע יִבְּרֵי Song 5:1. (However, רָע also = a divine ‘messenger,’ was in the original of Is. 63:8, where כּוֹדֵעַ requires this v. רָע.) Ra. and AEz. have the correct derivation, and observe that the being is an angel. ‘Watchers’ of the EVV is used in the old English sense. כּ tr. the two nouns by דָּרְגֵי הָנָדָר, מִסְמַר. E 36אָשׁ have the gloss דְּרָגֵי מֵעֲנָאָים attached to the prec. מָעָא, taken doubtless from Aq. and Sym., as a scholion given by Field notes. Jer.’s venture into comparative religion may be observed: “Consuetudo autem graeci et latini sermonis λαον uocat, quae per multicolorem arcum ad terras descendere dicitur,” a combination approved by Rosen., Häv. The Slavic version of Hipp.’s comm. actually tr. מָעָא by ‘rainbow,’ p. 123, l. 2. Ehr. attempts to find our רָע in Ecc. 10:15, but without success. The Chigi text of מ bears the title מְבָר אֶרֶג וּרְעָע, on which the anonymous editor has a learned monograph. The second term מְבָר is epexegetical to מָעָא, but not, with Häv., Behr., in order to give it a moral quality, which מְבָר never implies; a parallel is מְבָר מַיִם, as restored in Is. 63:8, v. sup. For the hendiadys כּ tr. ‘the roll and the words,’ Jer. 36:27, Bev. מְבָר הָאָב Reasons, which is a comprehensive legal term. In מְבָר מַיִם is מְבָר מַיִם is a term for divinities, e.g., Dt. 33:3; for angels, e.g., inf. 8:13, Zech. 14:14; and for saints, e.g., inf. 7:21, 22, where מְבָר מַיִם is anarthrous as in מְבָר, along with מַיִם.—שִׂנְיָא] The vivid ppls. of these vv. are
ignored by the Grr. and II; but this ppl. is recognized in the reminiscence of the passage in Rev. 18:2.

11 (14). וַיִּשְׁפִּיטֵהוּ אֵלֶּה [34] poss in APA G, l. 35, 11[35], 'remove.'—ןִיתְנֵיהוּ But הִתְרִישׁ v. 9, 18; Kau., §68, "dürfte als Hebraismus zu betrachten sein"; Mar. (Gloss.), Löhrl accordingly correct to רָשַׁה. Nöld. in his review of Kau. notes the discrepancy as an example of the unreliability of כ, but does not deny the possibility of the rdg. Torrey, Notes, I, 268, defends כ; he cft. Syr. lektēh, and argues that the rhythm demands the present pointing here. But it may be an echo of מִלָּהוּ Eze. 17:23.—12 (15). וַיִּשְׁפִּיטֵהוּ = Syr. ekkēr; — is a Mass. error, after the fashion of shortening the vowel of the const.; cf. כ, v. 9, and poss. וַיִּשְׁפִּיטֵהוּ Est. 7:2; s. Kau., p. 103, n. 1. Similar cases are found in Aram. words in Heb., e.g., חַּ֖וּל Ecc. 4:8, 5:13, but כִּ֣וֹם v. 12; מְדִ֥יב Est. 1:4, etc.; cf. const. מְדִיב Est. 2:4. The doubled כ is hardly original (s. on יד), v. 11; Kau., §59, c. Cf. יַ֣מְכָּד 'Akk. Amkarrūna. For the vitality of the tree stump cf. Is. 61:13, 11, Job 14:8.—רָשַׁהוּ וַיִּשְׁפִּיטֵהוּ כ is not common in Aram.; cf. שָׁוֶ֥ה Est. 7:24, 'eradication, banishment' (?).—רָשַׁהוּ A fresh vb. is expected; however, the hendiadys is supported by v. 28, 'שָׁוֶ֥ה וַיִּשְׁפִּיטֵהוּ, and an additional word would overweight the line.—אַ֥ב מִי מְדִיב Behr., followed by Löhrl, Ehr., elides as a gloss "welche den Ausdruck רָשַׁהוּ כ, aramäischer umschreiben sollte." But why such Aramaic finesse? Those comm. must also elide the phrase in v. 30, on the rashness of which assumption s. Kamp. On the other hand, Mar., followed by Löhrl, om. כ, מְדִיב כ, on the ground that it is absent in v. 30. Torrey accepts this elision, p. 269, noting that v. 20b, after מְדִיב, is a bald repetition of the present v., and that it is secondary, because the interpretation does not verbally repeat the terms of the dream. He then ingeniously supposes an original מִלָּהוּ before מְדִיב, comparing vv. 28, 31; this supplied vb. gives the required item of the king's eating grass 'like oxen.' The vb. was early lost before the intrusion of v. 20, and the moment was clumsily introduced at end of the v. The word כ meant then originally 'lot' as at Ezr. 4:16.—רָשַׁהוּ כ al. כָּלָל אֲוֹתָּהוּ, but v. 20 כָּלָל אֲוֹתָּהוּ, read here by Or Lu. al.; Q notes sup. lin. that כָּלָל is from Sym. and in mg. that כָּלָל is from Θ. Was rt. כ understood here (Bert.)? At v. 30 Θ correctly רָשַׁהוּ.—13 (16). מִלָּהוּ Kt., מֹ֨יֶשֶׁר Kt.] The Kt. only here and v. 14, elsewhere as the Kt., e.g., vv. 29, 26. But מִלָּהוּ is found in Nab., and cf. above מִלָּהוּ כ, מֹ֨יֶשֶׁר; s. Powell, Supp. Hebr., p. 34; GB cft. 'אֵל בַּת מִלָּהוּ מִלָּהוּ Kau., p. 109, assigns the form to בַּת מִלָּהוּ, but Brock., VG 1, 185, to מִלָּהוּ, with כ due to influence of כ in orig. מִלָּהוּ. For מִלָּהוּ cf. מִלָּהוּ 1 Sa. 17:22, Jer. 48:8, 'from being king, people,' also Is. 52:14, etc. Correctly מִלָּהוּ cor eius ad humano commutetur.—רָשַׁהוּ For the impersonal use s. on מִלָּהוּ 21b; similarly inf. vv. 22, 23, 29; cf. Dalman, Worte Jesu, 183. The rt.
A COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

14 (17). The immutability of the divine purpose is stated in a solemn formula like the tolling of a heavy bell: *By the decree of the Vigilants is the command: and by the word of the Holy Ones the decision.* Hitz. has suggested that we have here a replica of some legal formulism; but prob. it was a formula of the astrologers. It has been discussed whether we are in presence of Persian ideas, so Bert., or Babylonian, so Heng., Klief., al. But rather this is an expression of the later eclectic determinism, with which may be compared the statement of Diodorus Siculus, ii, 30, concerning the Babylonian fatalism, ὃ Ὄνεικς κακοφαίρειν θεῶν κρίσις. Cf. below on the Book of Truth 10. As noted above, at v.10, the terminology is definitely Pagan, although there is also a Biblical background to this theologumenon of a divine council; cf. 1 Ki. 2219, Is. 4426, Job 1–2, and the ‘assembly’ or ‘council of the holy ones,’ Ps. 8968. In later Judaism there was a revival of this antique thought; the angelic hierarchy is God’s senate, מריי, or his family, ממלות, with whom God discusses his decrees; s. Weber, Jüd. Theol., §35. Dr. cf. Sanh. 38b, where it is said, “The Holy One does nothing without first consulting the family above, as it is said (Dan. 44): By the decree of the Watchers, etc.” Such terminology is true to color in a Pagan’s vision. The decree is issued and its execution ordered not so much for the chastisement of Neb., but that in the fate of him, the type of human pride and glory, all living may learn that the Highest is potentate in the kingdom of man—one of the immortal sentences of the Hebrew Scriptures! Cf. Rev. 11, ‘the kingdom of the world shall become the kingdom of the Lord.’ This principle is further specified, that God gives it to whom he will, and the humblest of men he can raise up over it—a truism in the facts of history, to be exemplified after a few years in Neb.’s own successors. As vLeng. observes, this is a common theme of the Bible; cf. 1 Sa. 278, Eze. 1724, Ps. 1137, Job 511, Lu. 152, 1 Cor. 122ff., etc.

15 (18). The relation of the dream concluded, the king makes his appeal in pathetic accents to Dan. to give the interpretation, for the latter possesses the spirit of holy God (cf. v.5), whereas the royal wise men have proved incompetent. As has been re-
marked by comm., those professionals would hardly have dared to interpret to their royal master the obviously ill-omened sense of the dream.

14 (17). For similar pass. formations, e.g. יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק, inf., יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק 7 עַד, s. on עַד 24; a few cases in Syr., Nöld., SG §111. For the technical meaning of דע as divine ‘decree,’ hence practically ‘fate,’ s. on דע 257. וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם [Θ (εἰς) Θ as sing.; Θ also tr. וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם by a sing. For the anarthrous state of these pls., cf. Ps. 896, Job 51.——אֲסָרְהוֹמָּ֣ה also נַעֲרֵּ֣ב, and so the citations in Talm. (s. Bär’s note), followed by Ehr., al.; Θ confirms וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם. But as Mar., who reads this clause, with Θ, as an independent sentence, the obvious exact parallelism of the two clauses demands the same construction for דע as for רֹאִים; so JDMich., al.; for similar cases of implied prepositional government in parallelism in Heb., s. GK §119, hh. וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם was misled by Θ and tr. et sermo sanctorum et petito.

ןְתַנְתָּם] The parallel נְתַנְתָּם (s. at 316), as in Ecc. 811, has here the mg. ‘decree’ as the judicial ‘response,’ so Sa., jawab, and the parallelism must set the mg. of דע. But the comm. have widely differed. Depending upon the primary mg. of דע, the Jewish comm. tr. by ‘request,’ so Ra.: the holy ones are consulted first by God—that is the request (cf. Θ וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם; Klief. tr. ‘Beforderung [zu dem Zwecke, dass],’ a construction which destroys the unitary character of the couplet; Cha.’s suggestion, ‘the word of the holy ones is the matter in question,’ is meaningless. Schultens, Animadv., 323, cf. Arab. mas‘alat used in the sense of ‘thing’ (s. also on נְתַנְתָּם, 329), and tr. ‘ad decreatum uigilum res fit’ (so also deDieu earlier). But דע = ‘the thing asked about,’ and so the ‘decision’ upon it. In Targ. to Jer. 121 יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק tr. Heb. יָדַּ֣ע. Further, form II, 1 of Akk. ֶדִּילא is used of mutually asking questions and so of coming to a decision; hence Shamash is maslalum ‘decider’; and the derivative sitallu = ‘Berathung, Entscheidung’; s. Del., Hwb., p. 633. See in general Jastrow, ‘Name of Samuel and the Stem נָבָא,’ JBL 1900, 82 ff., who considers the Heb. and Rabb. testimony on the use of the rt., but does not note the present case. A magical personage, דָּבָא נָבָא הַיָּוָא, ‘son of oracle-giver’ (?), appears in a bowl text; see my Aram. Incant. Texts, 152.——[Cf. יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק (other MSS variant forms); see my Aram. Incant. Texts, 152. Cf. יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק, which is also read by many MSS here, and is accepted by Hitz., Kau., §11, 2, Kamp., Bev., Pr., Mar., Löh. But דע is corroboreated by and כָּכָּכֶנָּם, and the sense is, ‘until they shall know,’ cf. Behr., al. We find the assimilation of יג in יָדַּ֣ע הַצֹּלֶ֖ק in late Aram., s. Nöld., MG §54, but there is no reason to demand here this later vernacular use.——קְרַ֣בַּם בַּֽמָּם] The const. has comparative mg., s. Kau., §85, 4, and for Syr. cf. Duval, GS §366, a. וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם correctly humillimum hominem. For יָדַּ֣ע Θ (B 49 90) ευοδείνημα (other MSS variant forms); cf. 1 Cor. 178 τα ευοδείνημα ευοδείνημα o Θεος. σ. Kau., 710, מְלִיכֵי, מַלְכִּים. Exr. 413 are scribal errors for וְזַמְלַ֣כֶנָּם, s. Kau.,
§51, 2, Powell, *Supp. Hebr.*, p. 51 (who, however, allows their possibility). Unlike the suffixes מ, ב Ezr. 3, 4, 5, there is no support for the variation of -im for -in in the papp. Mar. would read מין, but the pl. is pertinent here; in Syr. the pl. = מינ in general, but also 'people'; s. Nöld., *SG* p. 90, Schulthess, *Lex.*, s.v.—15 (18). מין י נ קְת., יִרְאֶיםKr.] So edd., many MSS יִרְאֶים Kt. Θ support Kt., only 34 הֵמָּה + אָתוּ = ב. מִרְאֶים 2° = OrP (+ Q) = Θ: Θ τῷ σύγκριμα αὐτοῦ, cf. 5 MSS Ken. מִרְאֶים.—Θ ἔρισεν, 36» œ φανερὸν ποιήσαν.

16–24 (19–27). Dan.'s interpretation of the dream. It is introduced by the description of the effect made upon Dan. by the king's narrative. The word used is variously translated: מ intra semetipsum tacitus, in which Jer. must have followed a Jewish interpretation, as Ra. gives the same (חָשָׁם); so SV; AV RV 'was astonished,' JV 'was appalled.' But the vb. is not to be taken at its extreme (as Dr.), but like other psychological terms of the Sem. be understood from the circumstances. A mng. like 'was perplexed, embarrassed,' is more suitable; cf. the same vb. with this sense in 8. His embarrassment was due to the necessity of unfolding the ill-omened dream to its subject, and was characteristic of his humanity. The perplexity lasted for a moment (not for an hour with AV!), but long enough to show that his thoughts were troubling him. The king with equal grace and courtesy reassures him, bids him not to be troubled, and the seer in reply expresses the generous wish, 'an expression of civility and courtesy' (Jeph.), that, The dream be for thy enemies: and its interpretation for thy rivals! 17–19 (20–22). He briefly resumes the dream, in variant words from the original narration, and makes interpretation of the tree that, It is thou, O king, thou who grewest great and strong, whose sovereignty reached the end of the earth. 20. He summarizes the second act of the dream drama, still more briefly than the first telling, if with Torrey (s. Notes) we should excise as secondary the latter part of the v., but the root, etc. 21. He proceeds to its interpretation: This is the interpretation, O king, for (= and) the decree of the Highest it is which has befallen my lord the king: 22 (25) that (= and) thee they will drive out from human kind (with impers. use of the 3d pers. pl.). The seer defines the decree as not of fate, nor ultimately of the Vigilants, but of God himself; s. at v. 14. In v. 22 (25) the veiled allusions of v. 12 (15), which might have defied the skill of any Magians, are definitely interpreted:
the king is to have his lodging in company with the wild beasts, is to be fed like oxen, to be drenched with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over him, until he shall know that the Highest is sovereign in the kingdom of man; he himself is to learn this and through his experience all ‘living beings,’ the utterance of v. \(^{14}(17)\) being now precised. But in the philanthropy of the story Neb.’s doom is not to be like that of other arrogant tyrants, for example Antiochus Epiphanes, who too late on his death-bed ‘came to recognition’ (\(\epsilon i s \; \tau o i g r o s o m\)) that ‘a mortal should not be minded as though he were like God’ (2 Mac. 9.11.12, rdg. \(\iota o \delta e a \phi r o n e i w\) with text. rec.); but the divine power will triumph in him. In accordance with this purpose is the interpretation of the stump left in the ground (v. \(23(25)\)): thy kingdom is enduring for thee after thou comest to know that Heaven is sovereign. For the first time in Jewish religion (s. Notes) we meet with ‘Heaven’ as surrogate for ‘God’; the word may have been chosen here with tact in contrast to the baseness of all that is of the earth earthy. The term itself is one which like ‘the Highest’ has entered into the syncretistic vocabulary of the later religion and would have been understood by a cultured Pagan, Persian or Semite or Western. But, v. \(24(27)\), with the benevolence characteristic of the Bible religion the doom may be averted by the king ‘bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance.’ As Jonah preached his rough gospel of repentance to the Ninevites, so Dan. offers his gentle counsel to the king, that thou break off thy sins by right-doing and thy transgressions by showing mercy to the afflicted. The long twelve months that intervened before the calamity was respite for the possible repentance. It may be observed that this simple moral code was about all that could be demanded of a Pagan,— ‘to do justice and love mercy,’ ‘to leave off from evil and to do good’ (Ps. 34.8), for there was no thought of his conversion to the Jewish religion. But Catholics and Protestants have made this a locus classicus for their dispute over ‘good works’; e.g., Pole ad loc.: “Pontificii (i.e., Papists) ex hoc loco satisfac­tiones suas et merita colligunt.” See the reviews of the discussion in Häv., dEnv., Knab. In part the strife lies about the word ‘righteousness,’ \(\tau e\rho \tau \iota\), on which opinion varies, whether it is to be understood in the general sense or in the later Jewish denotation (passing over into the Syr. and Arab.) of ‘almsgiving.’ This is without doubt the eldest and most constant inter-
pretation, that of Grr., פלושיה (eleemosynis), Jewish comm., most Cath. scholars (so Knab.), JV, and also of some Prot. comm., e.g., Grotius, Berth., and of Calvin, with a shading of the word as ‘benignity.’ The almost equivalence of ‘righteousness’ and ‘almsgiving’ appears in Tobit (a book as old at least as our stories), where the two terms are constantly paired, e.g., 129, 1411. In the Talm. ‘righteousness’ = ‘almsgiving,’ and there are approximations to this mng. in N.T. There is corresponding parallelism elsewhere in O.T., e.g., Ps. 3711, 1124. And indeed why the Protestants should quarrel with the Catholics over the Biblical virtue of charity it is hard to see. A Christian might oppose the Lord’s counsel to the Rich Young Man, Mk. 1021; also the character of Dorcas, who was ‘full of good works (= Rabb. מָלַשׁ מִרְבִּים) and charities’ (Acts 936), and of Cornelius whose chief virtues were his ‘charity to the people’ and his prayers (ib., 107). But it is better not to identify ‘righteousness’ here too exactly with ‘almsgiving;’ rather it is the general expression for good works, in which sense it is used in the Sermon on the Mount, where, Mt. 61ff., סַלּוּקָו is followed by the specific terms of alms, prayer and fasting. Similarly here righteousness is particularly specified by charity. A more crucial question is the mng. of יִדְעָה, translated in EVV by ‘break off,’ for which, however, the ancient rendering was ‘redeem,’ so Grr. λυτρόσαι, redime (so prob. פֶלַשִׂים which transliterates פל). The latter mng. is that held by AEz., Cath. comm. in general, also some Prot. scholars, e.g., Grotius, Bert., Zöck., RVmg; the former by Sa., Ra., Calv. and most Prot. comm., also dEnv. The former interpretation has philological corroboration from the O.T., the other and elder understanding being based upon the later development of the rt. as ‘redeem.’

16 (19). קאו., §36, regards this and בְּעָלְמִין as genuine Ezr. 63 as Hebraisms. But Nöld., ZDMG 1876, p. 326, had claimed such forms as genuine Aramaic; for similar katal formations in Syr. s. Duval, GS §197, Nöld., SG §180, and for their treatment as katal rather than as étal s. Powell, Supp. Hebr., pp. 44 ff.—יִדְעָה יִדְעָה יִדְעָה. For a moment,’ rather than with RV JV, ‘for a while,’ or the absurd ‘for one hour’ of AV; s. on ידוע 34. The prep. כ = time at which, as in Heb., e.g., 84 (s. BDB 454b), not with קאו. as quasi una hora.—אשיש Kt., בִּשָּׁה קְד. Q בִּשָּׁה = Kr.—Θ om. the clause יִדְעָה יִדְעָה יִדְעָה... יָיִן קְדָשִׁים, through confusion with the foll. יִדְעָה יִדְעָה יִדְעָה. The lacuna was supplied by OrP. c Lu.—
Mar., Gr. §52, after Bev., Behr., has recognized this and §5 as true juss. forms with omission of the usual energetic element n before the suff. Similar cases are found in the monuments, e.g., Tema Inscr. (CIS ii, no. 113) l. 14, ἀναστάτω, and in the papp., but the usage is not consistent, s. Sachau, APO p. 270, a; similarly the impfs. unus, ἀναστάτω v.10 have juss. mng.—ἀναστάτω Kt., ἅπε Kt.] Kr. represents the later pronunciation; Kt. is supported by the papp., but an ostrakon presents ἀναστάτω, s. Cowley, PSBA 1903, pp. 264 ff. = Eph., 2, 236 f.—[אומרי] The rt. as strong ἀναστάτω always in the papp., and in some cases in Syr., s. Nöld., SG §172, C.—[עורים] Originally participial form from ἀναστάτω, s. Kau., §58, 2, h. The ppl. gained the technical sense of ‘rival,’ s. Lexx. s.v. heb. רָב־.—[אומרי] ‘It is thou, O king’; cf. for a similar period 23f. 38.—[אומרי] Rel. pronoun, ‘who.’—[אומרי] Kau., p. 79, rightly regards the Kt. as ‘incomprehensible.’ הִיא has carried to the extreme its standardizing process of eliminating y in the diphthong. I cannot follow Torrey’s defence of הִיא in his Notes, I, 271.—[אומרי] Bev. notes the form as ‘very peculiar’: we should expect הִיא after the analogy of the Syr. But the former, along with the latter, occurs abundantly in the Targ.; it is here a cognate nominative: ‘thy growth waxed.’—[אומרי] The rt. is found in the papp. both as אֲנַחָה and אֲנַחָה; e.g., בְּאשָׁר APO pap. 13, l. 2, but אֲנַחָה, pap. 28, l. 6. The pointing here, in place of expected אֲנַחָה, may represent orig. אֲנַחָה; otherwise Torrey, l.c. Also s. on אֲנַחָה v.21.—[אומרי] MSS also אֲנַחָה יִהְיֶה נֶצַח = Η; Η ‘to all ends of the earth.—[אומרי] ב ו V 166 5MSS pref. l. n. Θ αὐλισθήσωμαι: s. at v.12.—from] Θ ἀλλαγήσωμαι but v.18 ἀλλαγήσονσαι.—[אומרי] Torrey’s position that all of v.20 after אֲנַחָה is secondary is very reasonable; I will simply cite his argument (p. 269): “The proof of the fact that the passage in vs. 20 is merely a scribe’s repetition from vs. 12 is found not only in the remainder of verses 20–23 (where it is evident that the plan of the original writer was to refer in a few words to each of the main features of the dream—divine command; destruction of the tree; the stump left in the ground—and not to repeat the original wording), but also, and especially, in the old Greek translation, in which this part of vs. 20 is lacking.”

Also MSS הִיא = Θ + αὐτοῦ.—[אומרי] הִיא om. conj.; הִיא haece est interpretatio sententiae, etc., attempting to obtain a more satisfactory connection. Here and continuing into v.22 with ἀναστάτω there is a simple alignment of clauses without logical articulation; cf. Kau., §102, Mar., Gr. §130.—[אומרי] רָבְנוּ Kt., ἅπε Kt., so Bär, Str.; al. ἅπε Kt. (also ב ו); Mich. ἅπε?] For the rt. s. at v.19. Kau., p. 79, Kamp., comm. generally, regard Kt. as error. Torrey’s valuable comments correctly illuminate the form; it is survival of the ancient stative, i.e., as ἅπε, instanced in Syr., e.g., Jer. 3218 ἅπε, and in Mand. ἅπε; point accordingly ἅπε. —[אומרי] Otherwise always אֲנַחָה, s. at 25a.—[אומרי]
COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

in APO pap. 5, 1. 10 (not recognized by Sachau), s. Cowley, AP no. 33.

The most notable case of this impersonal use of the 3d pl.; particularly d propros to the present case is Lu. 12:20, titly jy nukl


tiyn puxqdy sou aitowin atb sou (n.b. present tense).—23 (26). jy

= 'persisting, abiding,' with ref. to Neb.'s life; in 6:27 as epithet of God.

Of time, so Ezr. 5:12; = Syr., Jo

or iJ 10; cf. Arab. prep. muntJu, 'since'; for the imp£. in place of the poss. pf. cf. Nold., SG §267.

As surrogate for 'God' also 1 Mac. 3:18, etc., P. A both i, 3, etc., Lu. 15:18 ·

and elsewhere in N.T.; cf. 'kingdom of Heaven' = 'k. of God'; for the lit­

erature Schürer, GJV ii, 268, n. 47. For corresponding use in the

Pagan religions (e.g., Latin Coelus) s. vLeng., and Cumont, Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 87, Les religions orientales, c. 5, n. 64.

The VSS generally avoid the heathen implication.

24 (27). 'Therefore,' s. at 2:1.—םלוע] Kenn. om. סemoth, but see Kenn. om. גל].—םלוע] For the Aram. idiomatic use of יב = יב s. at 2:4, and cf. יב 6:4.19.24; similar (Aramaizing?) use in Heb., e.g., יב הורש

Ps. 16:8, s. BDB 758a, GB 588a; for Mand., Nöld., MG §158, and idioms in Arab., Wright, Gr. §59, b. In 3:26 יד is used.—גו קיני

Kt.] If regarded as a sing. the Kt. shows thickening of י into י; parallel

is Syr. hatāḥā. As pl., as is most likely, so VSS, EVV, Kamp., etc., we

should expect with Hitz., Bev. יד, with the Kt. representing יד קיני. But it is possible that the form is equivalent of Heb. יד, with loss of י, i.e., יד.—םלוע] S. Comm.; for 's 'alms' in Talm., cf. P. Aboth, viii, 13 (19) and s. Talm. Lexx. For Jewish and early Christian approxima­
tions of דקיקוד to this mng. s. N.T. Lexx. and GB p. 675b. In

Gen. 15:6 יד is a work of religion, a 'merit'; cf. its use in the Téma Inscr. as 'a religious due' (Bev.). In 9:14 otherwise.—םלוע] For the

VSS and comm. s. Comm. The vb. is best explained from its use in

Heb., e.g., Gen. 27:9, 'and thou shalt break off (דרי) his yoke from thy neck,' where Targ. Jer. tr. with the same vb.; so Ra. with reminiscence of that passage. Cf. P. Aboth, iii, 9 (8), 'whoever casts off (דרי) the yoke of the Law.' Secondarily יד was used in the Targg. as = יד, ממע, 'redeem, save,' e.g., Ju. 11:9, Is. 45:17, which mng. it has in

Syr., e.g., parkānda = 'salvation.' Hence there was an apparent philo­

tological justification for 'redeem' here, as followed by the VSS, but not

in the context, as Keil rightly observes: "weil die Sünden kein Gut sind, das man einlost oder ablöst.'—םלוע] Inf. of יד.—מש יד, Mich., al. יד The form with Mich.'s accentuation (s. on יד, 3:14) is pass. ppl.

of יד, 'be lowly,' with the sing. יד; so GB, König, Hwb., vs. Kau., §57, a, b, who argues for hatāḥ form, so BDB. The other accentuation is prob. reminiscent of Heb. יד form the meek of the land; s. Rahlf, יד und יד in den Psalmen. The ppl. form is corroborated by Targ.

The writer has argued, JBL 1909, 59, that the same word ap-
pears in the ZKR Inscr., I. 2, where יָיוּפָּא = 'man of humble birth'; Torrey similarly, JAOS 35 (1917), 356 f., translating 'in distress.' Accordingly the Aram. word is not 'an imitation' of the Heb., e.g., Pr., who, after vLeng., regards it in the technical sense of 'the poor' of the Pss., i.e., the Lord's people. — For the indirect question cf. the use of אָנָה Job 11, etc.; also Acts 8:22, εἰ ἵνα. — אֶפְרָי] Found APA D, I. 4. So ה here and יָנָא, s. Bär and Kau., p. 94; cf. מִשָּׁמֶשׂ 28, וֹלָשׁ; s. on the next word.— אֶפְרָי The strong rt. also in Heb., e.g., אֶפְרָי. For the formation s. Barth, Nb., §62, c, as katīlat, cf. Brock., VG I, §140; treated by Kau., §57, c, as katīl. For the mg. cf. אֶפְרָי ו. The VSS render here differently: Θ (B and most MSS) ἐστάξαι μακροθύμωσι (cf. Heb. adj. יָיוּפָּא) τοῖς παραπτώμασιν σου (Mss de R. מַשׁוֹשׁ; cf. מַשׁ 39) ὅ θεός; Or P Lu. om. ὅ θεός, and Lu. has μακροθύμωσι; prob. ὅ θεός is secondary in Θ texts. Θ, 'until he remove (פָּנָי) from thee thy transgressions'; II foresitan ignoscat (Am.) delicitis tuis (sc. deus as in orig. Θ). Sa., Jeph., Ra. have the interpretation now generally adopted, e.g., EVV, 'a lengthening of thy tranquility.' But AEz. (so also Grvss) understood מַשׁ, as in Heb., = 'healing,' and followed the VSS in rendering כ as 'error'; so Calv., Münster, hence mg. of AV RVV, 'a healing of thy error.'

25-30 (28-33). It all happened to king Nebuchadnezzar. When at the end of twelve months, the time of the divine respite, he was walking upon the royal palace of Babylon, possibly upon the famous Hanging Gardens, the remains of which Koldewey believes he has discovered, he spake and said: Is not this Babylon the Great, which I have built for a royal residence? While the word was still in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, which announces the hour of doom. The details of the divine decree, obscurely set forth in the dream, clearly interpreted by Dan., are solemnly rehearsed. At that very moment the word was fulfilled. One new touch only is added to the description of the terrible mania which befell him: His hair grew like eagles' feathers and his nails like those of birds.

The setting of the scene and the king's self-complaisance in his glorious Babylon are strikingly true to history. Every student of Babylonia recalls these proud words in reading Neb.'s own records of his creation of the new Babylon; for instance (Grotefend Cylinder, KB iii, 2, p. 39): "Then built I the palace the seat of my royalty (ékalu māšāb šarrātā), the bond of the race of men, the dwelling of joy and rejoicing"; and (East India
House Inscr., vii, 34, KB ib., p. 25): "In Babylon, my dear city, which I love was the palace, the house of wonder of the people, the bond of the land, the brilliant place, the abode of majesty in Babylon." The very language of the story is reminiscent of the Akkadian. The glory of Babylon, 'that great city' (Rev. 18), remained long to conjure the imagination of *raconteurs*. For the city's grandeur as revealed to the eye of the archaeologist we may refer to R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, 1913 (Eng. tr. *Excavations at Babylon*, 1915), with its revelation of Neb.'s palace, the temples, etc. (cf. summary by the same writer in *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1918, coll. 73-81); further, to L. W. King, *A History of Babylon*, 1915 (c. 2 treats the remains and excavations); and for a recent discussion of the size of Babylon and a defence of the reliability of the Classical reff., W. H. Lane, *Babylonian Problems*, 1923 (esp. c. 7). For the Classical reff. s. the appendices to these last two works, Bochart, *Phaleg*, lib. iv, cc. 13-15, and Rawlinson, *SGM* 'The Fourth Monarchy,' c. 4. Acc. to Pliny, Seleucus Nicator (c. 300) drained the city of its inhabitants, but its decayed magnificence must have remained to that age, enough to keep alive the memory of the ancient glory.

For the bestial appearance of the insane Neb. (a common abnormality) Ball, *Daniel*, 27, cft. the description of the 'Babylonian Job': 'Like a she-nâkim or a šûḵû demon he made my finger-nails grow'; and he finds other points of contact between the Bab. story and Dan. 4, pp. 30 f. Also cf. the Ḡîḳar story, 'my nails were grown long like eagles,' Harris's tr., p. 91, and s. his remarks, p. lviii.
usual assignment of this form to ketāl (e.g., Kau., §57, a), remarking: "The slight variation in pronunciation (o for u) is a matter of small concern." The " may have been chosen to pair with ר"בהו. [VSS EVV 'of my power,' and so comm., exc. Behr. 'meines Reichthums'; rather = 'tenure, possession,' s. at 237.—ר
] יבשפ [i.e., liẖarē.—28 (31). יבש] In the papp. APO, also ר"א APA; also in Targ., ChrPal.—קושט יבש] Cf. Mt. 31, 17; Jn. 12, 2, 2 Pet. 1, etc.; s. Dalman, 'Bath Kol,' PRE 443, Worte Jesu, §viii, 1. The same term, ליט קוש, appears in the Pagan Syriac story of Aḥikar for the divine response to the hero's prayer for a son at the beginning of the narrative; accordingly it is 'common-Semitic.'—בש] So with ב' Is. 97.—רש] תארקלו, שד תארך. נמי—30 (33).רשו] Pass. Pell.— وعنשכ] Θ correctly שארה, vs. vv.12, 28.—תארך [Θ oddy enough, בש λεדנ, prob. in reminiscence of ב, ol δονχὲς μου ὠσελ λεδνος.

31–34 (34–37). Neb.'s restoration. With simple but profound significance return of reason is said to have come to the king with his recognition of the true God. The statement, remarks Bev., "offers a curious parallel with Euripides, Bacchae, 1265 ff., where the same thing happens to the frenzied Agaūē." He adds that the likeness is the more remarkable because the Bacchants were in some way assimilated to animals, wearing the skins of beasts, etc. Then follows the content of the king's blessing and praise of God, which represents, stated in the 3d person, his meditations upon the irresistible power of God. In v.32 (36) the statement that his intelligence returned to him is repeated from v.31; Mar. would delete the repetition, which however serves to indicate the two results of the conversion, there in the spiritual, here in the temporal field of restoration to even greater glory.

34 (37). There follows, with the technical particle now, Neb.'s public confession, the climax of the edict. His proclamation of God as King of Heaven, a term unique in the Scriptures (but cf. Jer. 28, 9, Ps. 4, 93, etc.) is advisedly chosen. Neb. holds his fief from Him who is King in heaven and in the kingdom of man.

31 (34). רוה] Torrey, Notes, I, 273: "This imaginative impf. is completely interchangeable with the pf. tense;" s. Kau., §73, 4, Mar., Gr. §101. But vs. Kau. we have here genuine early Aram. diction (lost in Syr.), which is itself characteristic of the 'common-Semitic' use of the two 'tenses.'—ר רה] So Bär, Gin., s. Bär's note and Kau., §9, Anm. 4, c; al. ליטכ. [—ר קסית] Cf. the antique שיבות Gen. 21, 1, etc.—32 (35).
A COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

Many MSS אַלְכָּא, VSS וַֽזָּה וַיֵּלֶעַב, etc. For the sense cf. Is. 40:17 and 59:10 'like those without eyes' (Torrey). I find the same use of נָל in Syr., Clem. Rom., ed. de Lagarde, p. 50, l. 25 'he thought it as naught and cheap to deceive us.' Bev. proposed non respiciendi, but this is 'flat' (Kamp.). Yoma 20b makes נל = אֶנָר 'sun motes' (s. Bär, Behr.), repeated by Ra. But Sa. tr. 'like nothing.' Torrey, Notes, II, 232, thinks of a conflation of נל and הַל, 'all of it,' i.e., the earth. But for the spelling cf. Dt. 3:11 and (?) Job 6:21—דָּאֶנָּה וַחָסְפָּסָה, = סְפִירָה עֹֽזְרָיוּךְ Lu. 2:12. For the thought Behr. cf. Is. 24:1: 'YHWH will punish the host of the height above (הוֹר) in the height and the kings of the earth upon the earth.'—A technical expression in Targ., Talm. for 're­proving, interfering with,' s. Talm. Lexxx.; it was prob. based on some symbolic legal action. Schultens, Animadv. 324, cf. the similar Arab. ﺪﺍﺭﺎﺗﺍ ‘ala yadiki, and so Sa. actually tr. here. For אֲנָא, B al. ﺪﺍﺭﺎﺗﺍ, Lu. Q h128 12MSS ﺪﺍﺭﺎﺗﺍ, which is the rdg. in the citation Wis. 12:12. ﺔﻉ resistat manui eius = EVV, 'stay his hand.'—זִמֹנְו erbim The same phrase in Is. 45:8, Job 27:2, Ecc. 8:1, cf. 2 Sam. 16:10.—33 (36). יְאֵל? So ﺔﻉ; on the anomalous vowel a, v. 17, s. on יְאֵל v. 12.—זִמֹנְו? With EVV, etc., also Sa., it is safest to hold by ﺔﻉ and to understand 'ז as parallel noun with יְאֵל. The most ancient tradition understood it as a vb., Θ ﺔﻉ n perueni (S has lost ﺔﻉ . . . לִיקָב by homoiotel.), the reason for which is revealed by Ra., who tr. 'ז by יְאֵל = Aram. יְאֵל, 'I returned,' a vb. which also later appears as אֵל. Our word being thus identified with אֵל, the יְאֵל was understood as representing the EArarm. termination of the 1st sing. in ַו; so ﺔﻉ, 11, was treated by ﺔﻉ. Geier, Behr., al. have followed suit. The error was reasonable on basis of later linguistic premises, and it must be allowed that a vb. here would keep the balance of the consecutive clauses better. Other combinations of the words have been proposed, for which s. Bev.; Mar. suggests that יְאֵל is ancient gloss to the end of v. 33; Lohr, Cha. would delete the prec. sentence. But Torrey, p. 275, rightly remarks that verbal repetitions are emi­nently characteristic of Dan. It must be admitted that יְאֵל makes difficulty; the rdg. ﺔﻉ, with יְאֵל as appositives, would simplify the construction. May the prep. have entered with the construction of יְאֵל as a vb.—an exegesis as old as ﺔﻉ and ﺔﻉ?—זִמֹנְו? Bär, Str., Gin., Kit., 2? Mich.] Mar. desiderates a Peal, but Torrey, ib.: "the unusual paal stem is used here, obviously for its added effect."—זִמֹנְו? Bär, Str.; 2. ﺔﻉ B Mich., Gin., Kit. (also MSS ﺔﻉ, s. Gin.) The first pointing alone is possible here; the other rhymes with ﺔﻉ. On the genuine Aram. Hof. (so also the following ﺔﻉ), v. Kau., §34 and others (regarding the phenomenon as a Hebraism), s. Powell, Supp. Hebr., pp. 41 ff., who gives the literature. Nine instances are found in BArarm.
apart from the questionable forms of הָאֵת, s. at 313—34 (37). Unique phrase in O.T., = אָבִיל אָשֶׁר 531, found also in 1 Esd. 48 ff.; appropriate in a Pagan mouth, but avoided by the Jew; cf. 'the Queen of Heaven,' Jer. 718.—וְיֹר] B A al. xp[{'ay]<א = [וQ c x[ay]א.—יִתְמַלֶּל] Haf. as in 326; s. there my suggestion that there is implied the denominative idea of walking after the Halakâ.—713] = Heb. לָיָל, s. GB.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF G.

G has a narrative, which despite its omission of much of the material of  and is a quarter longer than the latter's text. For detailed criticism and commentary of G's text reference may be made to Hahn, Daniel, Blud., §18, and Jahn. The following is a brief résumé of G's narrative (citations after Swete's enumeration of the vv.).

The introductory salutation in 31-33, has been omitted, but was reintroduced from H as indicated by the Hexaplaric marks. In place of it are found two parallel proclamations at the end, v.34 b. But v.34 c contains, with expansion, exactly the contents of F's salutation, a fact proving that in an earlier form of G this preface stood in its original place. A date, the 18th year of the king, is given in v.1 (the same in G 31; interpolated also into H at that place), doubtless to make the point of the condemnation of the king for his destruction of Jerusalem at that epoch; the point is specified as indictment against Neb. in v.19. Vv.2-6 are omitted for the apparent reason of the incongruity of the king's consulting the astrologers first after he had found Dan. preferable to them, as in c. 2. The account of the tree in the dream is sadly confused and absurdly amplified. To v.14 is added a repetitious supplement to the narrative of the dream, and there follows an account of the king's concern, which induced him to call in Dan. The latter's demeanor, v.16, is described more at length than in F. In his interpretation of the dream the details are explained one by one, vv.17-23, and there are further supplements in those vv. and vv.24-25. The divine announcement to the king in v.28 is expanded by a long reference to 'a worthless man in his house,' who shall usurp his place. Finally comes the king's story of his seven years of humiliation and of his recovery and consequent homage to God, to whom he engages to make sacrifice all the days of his life, vv.30-34a. As noticed above, the narrative concludes with the two proclamations, one, v.40, 'an encyclical letter,' in which he commands his people to praise the God of heaven and to offer sacrifice to him, recounting the divine favor to himself; the other, v.46, representing the original preface at the beginning of the story. At end of v.46 is the statement that he sent letters to all the nations of his kingdoms, this attaching properly to v.46b.

For the character in general of the variations of G from F s. Int., §11. In c. 4, as elsewhere in cc. 3-6, the variant material has been diagnosed by
almost all scholars since the publication of the text of G as purely midrashic; e.g., Bert., p. 125, Blud., p. 148. It has been left to a few modern scholars to acclaim the superiority of G; so Riessler, p. 33, Jahn, p. 47, and Cha., p. 37. The latter holds that “the older order of the text is preserved in the LXX and not in the Aramaic,” and for this decision gives these three chief reasons: (1) We should expect from the analogy of c. 3 that the narrative of Neb.’s experience should be followed by the king’s edict. But why? Further, Cha. is in error in remarking that there is nothing in G corresponding to the first three vv. in ™; as observed above, this original introduction has survived, but has been transferred to the end, v. 34, in which the future tense, ‘I will show,’ indicates its original place.—(2) The uniform 3d person of G should be preferred as original. This point has been discussed and answered in the Int. to the Comm. on the chap.—(3) “The LXX shows its superiority in omitting vv. 6-9, which recounts the king’s summons of all the wise men” first, and in “representing the king as at once sending for Daniel in v. 18.” This point has been met above in Comm. on vv. 14.—It may further be remarked that if it is true, after Jahn, p. 36, that “the attempts to prove our piece [c. 4] historical, are particularly weak, even ridiculous,” the narrative of G only heightens the absurdity. What can be thought of the great tree with branches 30 stadia long in which dwelt the sun and moon (vv. 8-9)? There is the exaggeration of making Neb. undertake to sacrifice to the Jewish God and also command his people to do the same; certainly, as against Riessler, a secondary exaggeration. In v. 28 appears the earliest stage of the legend in Syriac and Jewish comm. that Neb.’s throne was usurped by his son Evil-Merodach; also an obscure historical reference appears further down in the same v. about ‘another king from the East.’

A more serious question pertains to the critical character of G, which is manifestly composite; even Jahn elides considerable sections. In several passages, for one or more sentences, G runs parallel with ™, with the usual freedom arrogated by G in translation. Θ was evidently acquainted with G and followed it when it was usable, e.g., the rare κοντος v. 8. In vv. 7-8 there is obvious conflation of different texts, and otherwise numerous repetitions and doublets exhibit themselves. An earlier stage of G must have been akin to ™, and that form may have been employed by Θ. Indeed, it may be that, as in the following chapters, original G was an abbreviated form. At the same time there is some evidence that the midrashic expansion took place in a Semitic form of text before translation. Bert., p. 130, boldly asserts that the original document was Aramaic; so also Eichhorn, Einl., 4, §617 end, JDMich., Orientalische Bibliothek, 4, 19 f. Against this view are arrayed DeWette, Einl., §258, Häv., p. xlvi seq., vLeng., p. cix. I note the following cases which argue to an Aramaic original:

v. 8, ὁ ἠλείος κ. ὦ σαλήνος ἐν σαρόν ἐσκον: unintelligible! My own suggestion for clearing this up has been anticipated by Bert. as = Aram.
CHAPTER 5, PREFACE

v.11, εἰπεν αὐτῷ, ἐκκόψατε αὐτῷ: As the angel did not address the tree, Bert. suggests τινί; 'in regard to it.'

v.14, ἀλλοιοθείης τῆς δράσεως αὐτοῦ: τι, οπ. αυτ. = τινί, read as τινί, so τινί = πρόσοψις τινί, etc. (Bousser, Rel. d. Jud., 453, thinks of the phenomena of ecstasy developed here.)

v.24, τούτων τ. λόγους ἀγάπησον: Bert. notes the unusual use of ἀγάπησον and suggests orig. ἀρεί; I would compare similar use of וָֽהָֽמָּה in Heb., e.g., Am. 4, Jer. 5.

v.30, ἐξω τρόπι: as 614, = ὑπο τρόπι.

v.34, πάντας τ. ἀγίους αὐτοῦ: In this doxology we expect the praise of God's mercies; the original may have been וָֽהָם, 'his mercies,' which was misread וָֽהָםי, 'saints' ('נ so occasionally in Pesh.).

v.34b, ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἐκφάντωτε με: i.e., the construction of ἐκφάντωσε with 2.

CHAPTER 5. BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

(1) 1-12. King Belshazzar made a great feast for his court. At the wine-drinking he sacrilegiously ordered the holy vessels of the House of God in Jerusalem to be fetched to the banquet-hall, and while using them the party made their heathen devotions to their gods. A mystical Hand appears and writes on the wall. In his panic the king summons all the wise men for the interpretation of the cryptic legend; they are unable to solve it. The queen then enters and reminds the king of Dan., Neb.'s Master Magian, and of his virtues. (2) 13-28. Dan. is brought in, the king graciously accosts him. Dan. recalls to him Neb.'s experience of exaltation and humiliation, a lesson Belsh. has ignored in his act of sacrilege. He proceeds to interpret the ominous script. (3) 29-c. 6, 1 (29-31). The sequel: Dan. is accorded the promised rewards, while in that very night Belsh. was slain and Darius the Mede succeeded to the throne.

For the historical criticism of this story s. the Int., §19, e. The position there taken is that the story, while unhistorical, nevertheless contains indubitable reminiscences of actual history. Against some comm., e.g., Hitz., Bev., Cha. (Dr. appears uncertain), Belsh. is not the type of the arrogant despot Antiochus Epiphanes; he does not appear as the destroyer of the Jewish religion, only as the typical profligate and frivolous monarch. With Mein., Behr., Mar., al., the story is devoid of reference to Antiochus; it is doubtless far more ancient than the 2d cent. B.C.
1-4. The feast. For the festival which was in progress when Cyrus took Babylon, s. Int., §19, e. There is nothing surprising in the alleged number of guests. Häv. gives examples: acc. to Ctesias (in Athenæus, Deipn., iv, 10) the Pers. king fed 15,000 men daily from his table; there was the brilliant international marriage festival celebrated by Alexander, when 10,000 guests were present (s. Niese, Griech. Gesch., 1, 165 f.); and a similar instance is cited for the last Ptolemy (Pliny, H. N., xxxiii, 47). For such royal feasts as pictured here and the drinking customs of the ancient civilizations the elder comm. have diligently collected the Classical allusions, for which s. especially Brisson, De regio Persarum principatu, ii, cap. cxxvi. The Bible has the parallel story of Xerxes' splendid feast, Est. 1, the crucial point of which is the refusal of the proud Vashti to be presented before the rout. Rawlinson (SGM 'Fifth Monarchy,' c. 3, notes 349 ff.) has assembled the reff. from Athenæus (Deipn., iv, 26) on the banqueting habits of the Pers. kings. For the drinking customs of the Persians s. Ælian, Varia historia, xii, 1, and of the Parthians, Athen. iv, 38. For the lasciviousness and drunkenness of the Babylonians in Alexander's days s. Q. Curtius, v. 1: "Babylonii maxime in uinum et quae ebrietatem sequuntur effusi sunt." Whether the royal women were also present on such occasions has been much debated. Acc. to Her., v, 18, both concubines and lawful wives were admitted to banquets: νόμος ἦστι τοῖς Πέρσαις, ἐπειδὰν δείπνου προτειλομέθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλακάς καὶ τὰς κουρίδιας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους (n.b. the coincidences with terms of our story!); while Plutarch, Symp., i, 1, and Macrobius, vii, 1, say that concubines, not wives, were so permitted. The undignified manners of royal concubines in public are illustrated from the witty allusion in 1 Esd. 4:49 ff. But royal banquets in fin de siècle ages have been much the same the world over, and it is unnecessary to press antiquarian details for or against the historicity of our story.

1. Before the thousand: The expression is technical (cf. Häv., Pr.), and so the king particularly graced the company, facing the guests at his high table. Vice versa, the guests 'ate before' the king, Jer. 52. Vleng. cites Athenæus, iv, 10, who records that the Pers. king generally dined in a separate hall, his magnates in another; but that on festal occasions he dined sitting at a separate table opposite his guests, who then might number
not more than twelve. Bert.'s opinion that the 'drinking before' them meant pledging them (propinare, zutrinken) has not been accepted. 2. At the tasting of the wine (Eng. VSS 'while he tasted the wine'): The phrase, if it is to be exactly defined, can best be understood as technical of banqueting customs, i.e., when the wine began to circulate after the meal. This Pers. habit is illustrated by AElian, xii, 1: μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλήθηναι τροφῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ τε οἴνῳ κ. τοῖς προσπόσεσαι ... ἀποσχολάζουσι, and, ἕτυχε [Κύρος] ἀπὸ δείπνου ὄν, καὶ πάνω ἐμελλε κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν περσικὸν. Ra., AEz. understand the phrase as 'in the humor (ἵστυ 'counsel') of the wine'; so Jer., iam temulentus, followed by Pr., and by Dr. as 'under the influence of wine.' CBMich. cft. the Lat. phrases inter pocula, inter uina; Behr. paraphrases: 'als der Wein ihm besonders gut schmeckte.' The vessels of gold and silver . . . from the temple in Jerusalem, as the only tangible remains of Israel's ancient cult, were uniquely sacred to the Jewish mind; cf. Is. 52:11, Ezr. 1:7, Bar. 1:8. The ref. connects with 1:2. The king must have lost his sense of decency to commit what is to the Oriental view a sacrilege even with the holy things of another religion; cf. Amos's allusion to the profligates of his day, 6:6. His wives (AV RVV, 'consorts' Dr., JV) and concubines: The first term is an honorable one; it is used, e.g., of Artaxerxes' queen, Neh. 2:6; the other denotes the inferior class of harem women, as its etymology may possibly indicate. For the two classes of women in the royal harem cf. 1 Ki. 11:3, Song 6:8. The usual Sem. word for 'queen' (ךֶּלֶד) is used in v.10 apparently of the queen mother. Оm. all reference to the participation of these women in the sacrilege. JDMich. erroneously brought a lascivious note into the scene, translating by false etymology, 'singers and dancers.' 4. They praised the gods of gold, etc. (cited Rev. 9:20, cf. Bar. 6:4). Häv. thinks of some special religious festival and cft. the Pers. Sakae; but with vLeng. it is a common drinking-bout. The customary libations and appropriate snatches of song were in celebration of the gods of wine and joy (cf. dEnv.).

1. יֵשָׁבָתָא | So in this chap. exc. v.30, where the incorrect יָשָׁבָת, which latter spelling is continued in 7:1, 8:1 (s. Bär at 30); = Bel-sar-usur. The name appears on a statue of a private man in Egypt 'aus assyrischer Zeit' as יֵשָׁבָת, Eph., 3, 117. All VSS identify the name with
Dan's surname, Belteshazzar, as בלתשאצר, בalthassar, בלתשאצר. Cod. A, which gave the unique בלתשאצר in the earlier capp., after this v. reverts to בלתשאצר.-ר"ל, ר' This unusual, doubtless antique Aramaic use of י as 'feast,' for which we might expect ירחא as in v.10 (cf. Est. 1:2 ירחא רוח) is paralleled in Ecc. 10:19 ירחא ירחא; also ירחא ירחא BSir 3:43 'at a feast.'—Ὁ construes vv. 19-2 together, and Ι as though ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא ירחא יраб אדriends.

5-9. The vision of the Hand and the Writing on the Wall; the king's panic. 5. Just then came forth fingers of a human hand and they were writing in front of the candelabrum upon the plaster of the palace wall. The royal table was doubtless set on a dais and against a wall, and that quarter of the hall was lit with a great candelabrum, the light of which was reflected on the plastered wall behind the royal seat. The v. gives details which, if we would understand them historically, may be visualized from the excavations at Babylon. In the Gewölbebau, the
assumed Hanging Gardens, was found a great hall, for the description of which we may summarize Koldewey (Das wiedererstehende Babylon, c. 15, p. 103; Eng. tr., Excavations at Babylon). In the southern part of the area lies the largest room of the castle, the throne hall of the Babylonian kings. In every respect it is distinguished from all the other halls, and there can be no doubt that it was the chief royal audience chamber. "If one would localize anywhere the ill-fated banquet of Belsh., it could be found with greatest warranty in this enormous room," which is 17 m. wide by 52 long. In the centre of one of the long sides, opposite the entrance, is a niche, in which the throne must have stood. And the explorer notes that the walls were covered with white plaster, referring also to an earlier statement, p. 88, where it was remarked that "die Innenräume waren mit einem feinen, auf dickerem Gipsmortel aufgetragenen Putz versehen, der aus reinem Gips bestand." Earlier comm., e.g., dEnv., Pr., Dr., have adduced the evidence for such interior stucco work from the descriptions in Layard and Perrot. The word in v. translated by EVV 'palm,' probably means the hand proper below the wrist as opposed to the lower arm, which also is often called 'hand.'

6. Then the king's color changed: The original word for 'color' (EVV 'countenance') is 'sheen, brightness,' s. at 319. Cf. the Arāb. phrase, taqāyyara launuhu, found in Lammens, Riwayāt al-'Agānī, p. 100, l. 14. For the 'loosening of the loins' as symptom of panic fear, cf. Is. 218, Nah. 211, Eze. 211, Ps. 6924, and for the 'knocking of the knees one against the other' Nah. 211. For corresponding expressions in the Classics s. Bert., Häv. 7. The various classes of wise men (s. at 22) are summoned to interpret the mystic writing. A royal boon is promised to him who will read it: he shall be invested with the royal Purple and the Golden Necklace and shall have the official rank of 'Third' in the kingdom. Purple (so AVmg RV JV, 'scarlet' AV) was the royal color in antiquity; among the Persians, Est. 814, i Esd. 38, Xen., Anab., i, 5, 8; the Medes, Xen., Cyrop., i, 3, 2; ii, 4, 6; for the Gr. period cf. i Mac. 1040, 1448 (Simon is accorded sole right to the purple), etc. The 'necklace of gold' is more than a 'suggestion' (Pr.) from the story of Joseph, Gen. 4142. The golden necklace (the word used is of Pers. origin and passed into the Sem. dialects and the Gr., i.e., μαυδήρνης) was peculiarly a Pers.
distinction; it was worn by Persians of rank, *Anab.*, i, 5, 8; 8, 29; was presented by the king as a special compliment, *ib.*, i, 2, 27; *Her.*, iii, 20, ix, 80, r *Esd.* 36 (where *μαυδερνος* as here); s. *Bert.*, *Hāv.*, Dr. Acc. to *Cyrop.*, xiii, 5, 18, the decoration could be worn only when presented by the king. Rawlinson, *SGM* 'Fifth Monarchy,' c. 5, n. 420, observes that this and other particulars of official insignia are confirmed by the Achæmenidan monuments. As to the title 'Third' (also vv.16, 29) there is vast variety of opinion. The most common interpretations postulate for the second member of the triumvirate either (so earlier) the queen-mother or Nabonidus (for other views s. Note). It has been argued in *Int.*, §19, e, that the latter is excluded by the whole tenor of the story, which regards Belsh. as absolute monarch; within the scope of the tale only the queen-mother can be accepted, unless we would find in the term a faint reminiscence of the co-regency of Belsh. with his father, who, however, is said to be Neb. (!). But see the extensive Note, which argues that the term is a true reminiscence of old Bab. officialdom, where the Akk. *šalšū* (= our word spelled both *taltī* and *tallā*) was a high official title, = 'Thirdling' or 'Triumvir,' similar in its use to the Heb. equivalent *šālāš*.

8. *Then all the king's wise men were coming in,* etc.: an apparent conflict with v.7, in which the king *said* to the wise men of *Babylon*, etc., a statement which supposes the presence of those notables at the banquet. Kran. assumes gratuitously a distinction between the three specified castes of v.7 and 'all the wise men' as here. Behr. supposes that יָפָתו, v.7, means 'commanded,' not 'said,' and so Mar.; but this is forced. Cha., after Jahn, readily falls back on *G*, which he holds gives 'a rational order of events,' as 'also supported by *Josephus* (!); but *G*'s narrative concludes, v.8, with a more emphatic repetition than is found in *F*: 'and were coming in the enchanters,' etc.; i.e., *G* had the same apparent confusion in his Sem. text as we find. The rather petty inconsequence may be understood as a case of prolepsis in v.7, or 'careless diction' (Zöck.). But we may observe the force of the ppl., 'were coming in,' and the comprehensive 'all,' v.8; through these ominous hours they were filing in to make essay at the vain enterprise. 9. Their failure cast the king and his magnates as well into the greater *perplexity*.

5. יָפָתו *Kt.*, יָפָתו *Kr.* The same variation appears in the other cases of the 3d sing. fem.: 7* 20. *Kay.*, §23, 2, *Bey.*, Behr. hold that the dis-
tinction made by מ (ד vs. ו) is secondary and due to assimilation to the Targ. form in ד. Palm. uses the form in ד for both genders; there are no pertinent cases in the papp. But Θ's rendering of נַּגְּפָה 70 as נַגְּפָה بال plural proves that the latter was once Kt. The fem. in ד is found in Earam., WAram., and Eth., and occasionally in Heb. (s. Peters, *Hebraica*, 3, 111; GK §44, m). The rdg. of ms Keren, נַגְּפָה = plural is not, with Houbigant, Bert., to be preferred; the frequent order of perf., plural is idiomatically followed.—אֶבֶּל. Acc. to many a foreign, Aryan word, s. Lexx., Behr., Pr., also Tisdall, *JQR* 2 366 (= נַגְּפָה + Avestan barej, 'shine'). Barth, *ZA* 2 117, led the way in regarding it as Sem. by diagnosing נ as = מ by nasal dissimilation before ב (cf. some additional notes on this subject by the writer in *JAOS* 43, 50). Torrey, *Notes*, I, 275 (cf. II, 232), argues for composition from (Eth.) נַגְּפָה and נַגְּפָה = 'fire-stand,' but with little probability. I have for some time derived the word from נַגְּפָה 'be clear, bright,' and as from the Safe! stem with metathesis of consonants. But, as Dr. W. F. Albright has informed me, Halévy long ago hit upon the same root with a probably better analysis: מָבָּרָט > נָבָּרָט > נָבָּרָל > נָבָּרָט, which fully clears up the derivation. Acq.'s tr. here is cited in *Yoma* 410a, מָבָּרָט = Θ. —אֶבֶּל. = Heb. ת. Is. 274. For discussion of origin s. Lexx.; Haupt connects with Akk. נַגְּפָה 'pitch,' s. Pr., p. 227.—אֶבֶּל. ס tr. by the identical word מָבָּרָט, and so נַגְּפָה is used in Rabb. See Bev.'s note and his explanation that "the king saw the hollow of the hand"; but this were hardly possible. König, *Hubb., assuming a rt. 'stretch out,' interprets it as of 'the finger-tips.' But Jastrow, *Dict., s.v., defines the word as 'the hand from the wrist to the tips of the fingers,' and so AEz. here interprets, 'a severed hand,' i.e., without a body; so also Hitz. and Torrey. Similarly Θ = εἰσπραγκαλοῦς = נ articulate. BDB is to be supplemented (cf. GB) by reference to מָבָּרָט, Gen. 374, where נ means the hands and feet, sc. a garment reaching to the wrists and ankles; also, with Maurer, cf. מָבָּרָט, Eze. 474, 'water reaching to the ankles.'—ג. אֶבֶּל. For the casus pendens cf. v. 18. See at 234; for the pl. here cf. Heb. מָבָּרָט. ס tr. מָבָּרָט, as though יִשָּׁר, hence מָבָּרָט, the form is a scribal conflation with that in v. 4. Accordingly read here אֶבֶּל (אֶבֶּל נַגְּפָה); the form is a scribal conflation with that in v. 4. The suff. for the indirect obj. is hardly possible; for Heb. exx. s. GK §117, x. The use is frequent in SArab., and Pr. cites apparent parallels in Akk. Str., §6, p, accepts the text; per contra Nold. in his review, *LCB* 1896, no. 9.—אֶבֶּל For identity of נ with Heb. ו, Syr. hasy, s. GB s.v. ו. For similar use of the sing. and the pl. of the Heb. cf. Targ. Dt. 3312.—אֶבֶּל Ethpeel is to be expected, so Bev.; but Ethpaal in this sense also in Syr. (Behr.).—אֶבֶּל, Mich. אֶבֶּל = Arab. rukbat; for prothetic vowel s. Kau., §60, 1. It is preferable with GB, p. 117, to postulate two rts., I brk = rkb, 'knee, ride,' and II brk (cf. Akk. and SArab. krb), 'bless,' as against BDB and König, *Hubb.*
7. הֶמְדַּן] See Kau., §46, 3, b; the Haf. with nasal dissimilation 25, 4s.
---[הֶמְדַּן] As מַלֶּד, so v.15; but as rt. מַלֶּד v.8, 17. הֶמְדַּן] = Orp. c. Lu. 
Θ (B + 5 MSS) as מַלֶּד = 4 MSS. Ken.—[הֶמְדַּן] = 2 Ch. 25, Palm., Syr., Arab.; Heb. otherwise סְמִית הָעַנְבֹּת Kt., נְדִּֽוָא Kt., Bär, Str.; but as rt. מַלֶּד Gin., Kit.; נְדִֽוָא Mich.; these with Kt. as above; the Ktib maintained strictly throughout] Levy, Bev., followed by Andreas in Mar.'s Gloss., as < MPers. *הָמְדַּן, diminutive of הָמַּדנְנ, 'girdle,' with which cf. Bär’s Kt. Tisdall, JQR 4, 98, insists that Pers. הָמַדנְנ is from Arab. himyän (rt. = 'fall'), mg. 'loin-cloth,' etc., and derives the word from ham + maini, 'necklet,' i.e., 'collection of necklets'; the Targ. form יָמַדנ is then from the unprefixed noun. But הָמַדנ is found in Talm. and Mand. The variants in מָדַּן's tradition represent different forms of the imported word, with which cf. Syr. הָמְדַּנ, Gr. μανάκης, used here. The Targ. אֲמַדָּן tr. יָמַדנ, Gen. 41, of Joseph’s necklace.—[ןָדַּן] Spelled as in Heb. In a note in JAO 1926, 58, the writer has explained the spelling as a development from יָסָר (= Syr.) > יָסָר > יָסָר. יָסָר] = נָדַּן vv.16, 29; = Akk. šalša < šalši (cf. GB, Kön., Hw.), noun of relation from šalša, ‘third,’ s. Del., Hw., s.v., and Gr., p. 207. The word appears in two classes of references. (1) In the one, for citations of which I am indebted to Prof. R. P. Dougherty, we have the term aḫu šalsā, e.g., Streck, Assurbanipal, Rm. III, 48–49 (vol. 2, p. 26), Tammaritu aḫusu šalsu-a. ‘T. his brother of third degree’; similarly KB 4, p. 88 of sons; in these cases it is brother or son ‘number 3’ in the family. (2) In the other class the term is official. The reff. have been conveniently collated by Klauber in his ‘Assyrisches Beamtenm’ in Leipziger Sem. Studien, 5, iii ff. He presents a category of šalsu ( = šalša) officials of various degrees: a šalsu ša šarrī, šalsu dannu mar šarrī, etc. The parallel of Heb. בֵּיתָן (long ago observed by Jer.) at once suggests itself, in its mg. of a high royal officer, e.g., Ex. 14, 1 Ki. 22, Eze. 13, etc., for which Haupt, BA 4, 583 ff., demonstrates the mg. of ‘the third’ in the chariot, the בֵּיתָן, armiger (s. GB s.v. for further reff.). We are dealing here, then, with a customary official title, the numerical denotation of which has been lost. מ has preserved the two Akk. case-forms of the word, talša and talši, by true reminiscence; cf. מַלֶּד = מַלֶּד, etc., s. Note at 25. N.b. that מַלֶּד is not emph. but abs., hence not ‘the third ruler,’ so AV RVV, but rather ‘one of three,’ with JV, and we might translate ‘Thirdling’; and מַלֶּד מַלֶּד, v.15, is the same although on its surface it might mean ‘ruler of the third.’ In a word Dan. was appointed a high dignitary in the kingdom, with a title which had lost its original significance, like ‘tetrarch,’ or ‘chamberlain’ and ‘knight’ in English. The recognition of this Akk. origin accordingly antiquates Kau.’s notion (§65, r, Anm. 3) of ‘an abnormal stat. emph. to מַלֶּד,’ as also the various attempts to rectify the pronunciation, e.g., Behr., Kamp., Mar., Cha. Torrey,
Notes, II, 232, thinks that the author meant '171) in all the three passages, i.e., as 'third' ruler (so Θ τρέττος), with which was combined the notion of the 'ruler of the third part' (as θ understands the phrase). The above explanation does away with the prevailing interpretation that Dan. was the third ruler after the king, so AV, RV, Hipp., iii, 15 έκ τρόπνο τριήμ, and one of Jer.'s alternate views, uel tertius post me; uel unus ex tribus principibus, quos alibi τρειάτας legimus (i.e., the current translation in θ for υπ). And accordingly it disposes with speculation as to the person of 'the second' ruler. According to the theories Dan. would have been third to the king and his wife, or his son (Geier, dEnv.); or to the king and his vizier (JDMich., CBMich., Bert.); or to the king and the queen-mother, which to the writer's mind is the only reasonable alternative. For the view that the two in precedence were Nabonidus and 'the crown prince' Belshazzar, s. Int., §19, e. The oldest interpretation, that of θ, is an erroneous paraphrase, 'there shall be given him authority of the third part'; so practically Sa., Ra., AEz., Jeph. Zöck. cft. the triumvirate appointed by Darius, 65, and Mar. recalls σ τέτει μεγιστάνεν 1 Ess. 5°. In Test. Jos. 13° Potiphar is 'third in rank with Pharaoh'; if not dependent upon our passage, the term may corroborate the above interpretation.—καισινecast] Θ Π as υ'; so IMS Ken.—8. καισινος Ken. and de R. ης; this rdg., as noted by Bär, was followed by Levi b. Gerson.—[] So edd. (= Θ) exc. Mich. Κυρ, Σοβ κυρ (= Θ Π); Bär claims latter as Oriental, but this is denied by Gin., Int., 237.—9. καισινος] For the adv. before the vb. cf. 610. 14; for the same use in Syr. s. Nöld., SG §245.—καισινος For the phrase cf. Dieterici’s text of Thier u. Mensch, p. 51 ad inf., ῥαθαναλαβου ταϊθεϊ.—καισινος = G εκαυεώντο ν.6, i.e., rdg. טב to, cf. I Ch. 16° (Blud., p. 149).

10-12. The queen’s plea that Dan. be summoned. Since Jos. this lady has generally been identified with the queen-mother; some comm., e.g., Origen (acc. to Jer.), Levi b. Gerson, Iacchides, by composition with the Biblical datum in 2 Ki. 2527, make her Evil-merodach’s wife and so mother of Belsh., and similarly the marg. variant in AV ‘grandfather’ for ‘father,’ vv. 2. 11; but most the widow of Neb. (i.e., Nitocris, so Grot.), and so the mother, or grandmother, of Belsh.; so Jos., Jeph., AEz. and most modern comm. The narrator evidently ignores Evil-merodach and regards Neb. and ‘the queen’ as the parents of Belsh. The bald title ‘queen’ suggests prima facie Belsh.’s chief consort, and so interpret Bert., p. 367, Jahn; this position is as old as Porphyry, whom Jer. cites and shrewdly answers: “Euigilet ergo
Porphyrius, qui eam Balthasaris somniatur uxorem et illudit plus scire quam maritum." Also the lady's masterful appearance on the scene betokens rather the queen-mother than the consort.

In the one case where a queen-consort is mentioned in the post-exilic history, she is called נָתַלֶּךְ, Neh. 2:6, the word used above, v.2. In the O.T. the queen-mother bore the title 'Mistress,' נָתַלֶּךְ 1 Ki. 15:15, etc.; the book of Kings relates several episodes illustrating her prime importance in the administration. Pr., citing Bab. letters from the king to the queen-mother (Del., BA 1, 187 f.), calls attention to their respectful tone, and for her exalted position s. Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., 1, 74. We learn still more definitely from Classical reff. of the dominant position of the queen-mother in the Pers. court. Says Rawlinson, SGM 'Fifth Monarchy,' c. 3: "The mother of the reigning prince, if she outlived his father, held a position at the Court of her son beyond that even of his Chief Wife"; and he cites, n. 393, from Arrian, Exp. Alex., ii, 12, a passage indicating that the queen-mother might properly hold the title of queen. Cf. the malign power exercised by Parysatis, the queen-mother in Ochus' reign (ib., c. 7). That the queen came in of her own accord with נָתַלֶּךְ, as against נָתַלֶּךְ, which has her summoned by the king, is historically reasonable, especially if we have here a tradition of Nitocris.

11. There is a man, etc.: Comm. (e.g., Häv., Keil, dEnv.) seek for reasons why Dan. did not officially appear at first. But the story follows dramatic necessity as in c. 4 (s. at 48), with the additional reason of the frivolity of the new and abandoned régime. In place of the usual translation of the grammatical pl. 'gods,' interpret as sing., 'Deity'; s. at 211. For 'light' EVV, translate the abstract noun of the original בְּרָא שׁ by 'illumination'; Θ tr. by a technical philosophical term, γυμνόφρων (s. Note). The characterization of Dan. repeats Neb.'s words to him in 45. For Dan.'s position under Neb. as Master Magician, s. at 248. At the end of the v. appears a superfluous 'thy father the king,' an unnecessary repetition, disguised in נָתַלֶּךְ and EVV.

12. The first part of the v., punctuated by the edd. of the VSS, EVV, GV, most comm., with a full stop, reads like a superfluous repetition of v.11; but if read as protasis to v.11, with dEnv., Bev., it is in place: Since (נָתַלֶּךְ quaia) that extraordinary illumination was actually exhibited in him, now (יִשַּׁב) let Dan. be called. Of the
three phases of his art dream-interpretation has been exemplified in c. 2. For the solution (EVV 'showing,' 'declaring') of riddles (so JV, 'hard sentences' AV, 'dark sentences' RV) as a skilled specialty of the royal councillor we have the classic example in Aššur, the sage vizier of the Ass. kings, who, acc. to the Syr. version of his story, distinguished himself in riddle contests between his royal master and the king of Egypt; cf. BSira at length, c. 39. The earliest case of such royal jousts of wits is found in the story of the queen of Sheba. As the third specialty is named, literally, the loosing of knots (so JV; AV RV dissolving of doubts). The second noun is common in magic for the knots tied by the sorcerer, which sympathetically bound the victim and which had to be untied by counter-magic; it is in this sense (probably that of Θ, συνδέσμος = ίγιατορομ, and accordingly G om. the item) that Bev., Cha. would interpret the term. But, with Mar., "an Zauberei denkt der Verfasser kaum," and it is preferable with him, Dr., al., to interpret after Talm. and Syr. usage as of 'problems, difficulties.' The repetition of the phrase in v.16 indicates that the mystery of the supernatural script fell into this category. At the end of her statement the queen recalls Dan.'s official surname, as it were, in personal reminiscence of 45.
friend Prof. W. R. Newbold has kindly given me an extensive note, which I can only summarize. “This use of γνήσιος goes back to the Aristotelian tradition,” in which εἰγνώμων was “exactly equivalent to our ‘consciousness,’” and so it is an attribute of God as ‘continuously, eternally conscious’; the notion was adopted by Gnosticism, e.g., the divine nature of man is δύναμις καὶ δύναμιν, Poemandres, §15. He sums up that Θ “takes ἔρμη as meaning, not supernatural illumination, but full possession of one’s intellectual faculties.” — A noun form unique in Bar. for the formation in -αν attached to fem. stem cf. יִשֵׁר 77 and s. Nöld., SG §129, and for forms in -תונד 83; similar nouns in -תונד are cited by Duval, GS §255.— The VSS, exc. Θ, ignore.— ὁ πατέρας ὁ ἅγιος Θ Lu. S om.; ὁ πατέρας, ingram, tuis, o rex, which is followed by EVV, throwing the words back so as to follow ‘king Neb. thy father.’ The repeated subject is unnecessary and is to be elided with Löhr, Mar., Cha. Defence of it can hardly be made as an anacoluthon (Kau., §97, 2), or as emphatic (Pr.); the position of the subject may have floated between the beginning and end of the sentence.—12. As Kau., p. 65, n. 1, observes, this is absolute and cannot be treated as const. with what follows. vs. some comm., e.g., CBMich., Rosen., Häv., vLeng.— נַעַרְשְׁ בְּנֵי נַעַרְשְׁ] As the second term is an infinitival noun and נַעַרְשְׁ is used otherwise only in Peal (v. 14), Θ must be wrong in accenting the other two nouns as ppls. Accordingly point them נַעַרְשְׁ נַעַרְשְׁ (2 MSS Bär, Str. נַעַרְשְׁ), with Bert., Kau. l.c., Kamp., Mar., Löhr, and all recent comm. The three terms constitute a parenthesis, the proper gramm. subjects, their etc., being resumed in נַעַרְשְׁ, which is construed in attraction to the leading subject נַעַרְשְׁ. This is the interpretation of Θ. But Θ’s tradition of the ppls. is very ancient, being found in Θ, followed by Θ. Θ found itself compelled accordingly to manipulate the sentence extensively.— נַעַרְשְׁ] Afel inf. of נַעַרְשְׁ for -at cf. נַעַרְשְׁ Ezr. 4:9, also in const.; there is no reason, with Mar., Gr. §47, c, to demand in these two cases the usual ending -at, which is historically secondary; cf. Torrey, Ezra Studies, 165 f. The papp. show other varieties of the insf. of derived stems; s. Sachau, APO p. 270, col. 2. Similar nouns are found in Heb., GK §85, c. Θ tr. by 'ahed, ‘riddling [riddles].’— נַעַרְשְׁ] Against the traditional view of derivation from a rt. נַעַרְשְׁ (so BDB, pp. 295, 1092, also Kön., Hwcb.) is to be accepted Lagarde’s identification (anticipated, acc. to CBMich., by Cocceius) with Syr. 'whāţâ, rt. נַעַרְשְׁ; hence Heb. נַעַרְשְׁ = Aram. וַעַרְשַׁא, that which is ‘held in’ or ‘fast.’ So Targ. נַעַרְשְׁ ‘bolt’ (Behr.), and cf. use of נוֹחֵר Neh. 7: of ‘fastening’ the gates. See Lagarde, Anmerkungen z. d. griech. Uebersetzung d. Proverben, 73, Bev., Kau., Aramaismen, p. 30, GB s.v. hebr. נוֹחֵר. The word, typical of the Aramaic wisdom, was early imported into Heb. (e.g., Ju. 14:9), but without identification with the native rt. נוֹחֵר. Note נוֹחֵר ‘riddles’ in APO.
13-28. Dan.'s audience with the king. 13-16. The king graciously accosts him as one he had not known (vs. 8ff.), Thou art Daniel then?—although he had heard of him. His recognition of Dan. as one of the exiles of Judah, v. 13, is, as it were, a personal reminiscence of 2:25, and dramatically precedes Dan.'s denunciation of the royal oblivion of the episode of c. 2. The I of v. 16 is emphatic, of the royal ego. 17-28. Dan.'s response. In 17-21 after refusing the royal gifts but promising to read the Writing, Dan. utters the conclusive indictment of the royal frivolity and sacrilege. It is balanced in two parts: (1) 17 ff., THOU, O king—the Highest God gave thy father kingship, etc., following with the description of Neb.'s acme of glory and its reversal to the depth of beastlike degradation, until he knew that the Highest is potent in the kingdom of man. And (2) 22 ff., And thou his son, didst not humble thy heart, although thou knewest all this. There is no finer example of the preacher's diction in the Bible than this stern and inexorable condemnation. Compare Nathan's indictment of his royal master, 1 Sam. 12. In this case, unlike that of David or Neb., neither pardon nor respite is offered to the light-minded monarch, for he had known. 23. The realistic picture of the sacrilege in v. 4 is intensified by the spiritual contrast drawn between the gods of earthly material, which see not nor hear nor know (cf. Dt. 4:27, Ps. 115:4ff., 135:15ff.; Rev. 9:20), which were praised in that orgy, and the God in whose hand is thy life-breath and whose are all thy ways. Bev. well renders the last word by 'destinies'; cf. Jer. 10:23, 'I know that the way of man is not his own, it is not of man as he walks to direct his steps.' 24. Then is temporal, as vLeng. insists, referring to the moment of v. 23, rather than causal with ὅ, διὰ τοῦτο, and some comm. The seer solemnly repeats the details of the vision. It appears that the inscription was left upon the wall. 25. We
learn at last what the Writing was; it is presented as "menê menê tekêl ûfarsin." But as earlier Bert. and more recently Peters (JBL 1896, 114-117) and Torrey (Notes, I, 276-280) have insisted, the actual wording of the original epigraph is the three words which alone are interpreted in the exposition vv.26-28: חָמִּים, לַמָּת, וַתַּמְלִיך, "menê tekêl perêš." And that this was the original text in v.26 is corroborated by θ with its μανὴ θεκέλ φαρές, and by Π mane thecel phares. The repeated "menê" and the pl. form with conj., "a-parstn," of the present text are then secondary and do not primarily concern us. Further, as Torrey rightly insists, הו 's tradition of the vocalization of the terms is corroborated by θ (the ūwa vowel of the first radical being indifferently transliterated by a or ε; the second vowel consistently by ε); this tradition can be carried back to the summary at the head of the chap. in ג, which was known to Jos. (AJ x, 11, 3). The words are nominal forms from the respective roots, and were so understood by Jos., who renders them by ἄραμθος, σταθμὸς, κλασμα, in which he is followed by Jer. in his comm. They are interpreted by passive vbs. in vv.26-28, and so in ג and θ. Acc. to Torrey: "they were vocalized uniformly, after the pattern of the simplest Aram. noun-form qetêl; the most natural form for the narrator to choose, if he wished them to be non-committal"; similarly Peters. The first point in the story is that they were read, and there is preserved the tradition of their vocalization, which vocalization left them abstract, ambiguous. As for their interpretation Torrey's axiom (p. 277) can hardly be disputed: "the man who wrote this tale must be supposed to have known what the solution was." And indeed the tradition of the interpretation is the same in ה and ג θ. The words are severally translated as pass. ppls., to be translated, numbered, weighed, divided. For the first item numbered there is given the exegesis: God has numbered thy kingdom and transferred it. Involved in the term numbered is the idea of fate and of the destined number of days which have run their course; cf. Ps. 9012, and the mng. of the practically same form in Heb., יְמִיך Is. 6511 = Arab. manâye, 'fate.' Again: Weighed art thou in scales and found wanting. For the divine weighing of human conduct cf. Job 316, Enoch 41 (with reminiscence of this passage), also Ps. 629, Prov. 162, 212, 2412, etc. And finally: Thy kingdom is divided (perîsâ) and
given to the Medes and Persians (pāras). Here a balanced phrase is obtained by finding a double paranomasia in the mystic word, i.e., division and Persia. Were these ominous words first assembled and applied by our narrator; or did he take them from some source and adapt them to his interpretation (so Bev.)? It is to be noted that the play of words gives ‘Persia,’ not ‘Media,’ despite the fact that in immediate sequence it is Darius the Mede who destroys the kingdom; the enigma is then based on the correct historical tradition of Cyrus’ conquest. (Kran. notes that a play upon יָדֹ ה ‘Media’ could have been found in זֶד, ‘measure,’ equally ominous with the other words.) The terms may have been actual language of the counting-house or of the law, used of the settling of a bargain, winding up a contract, settling a bankrupt’s affairs, or the like.

The above obvious interpretation of the text has been contradicted by an ingenious theory first advanced by Clermont-Ganneau in JA 1886, pp. 36 ff. (= his Recueil d’archéologie, 1, 136-159), and Hebraica, 1887, 87 ff., followed by Nöld. ZA 1, 414 ff. (cf. G. Hoffmann, ib., 2, 45 ff.) and generally accepted, e.g., by Bev., Pr. (s. also his dissertation, Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin, Johns Hopkins, 1893), Haupt (s. note in Kamp.), Dr., Mar. Cha., who gives a good summary of the different views, is uncertain. Acc. to this view we would have a series of money values: the נַוָּ נ = Heb. מְנַנַת, Gr. μνᾶ, i.e., the mina, or Bab. talent; tekel would be the correct Aram. equivalent for šekel; while the discovery of the word שְׁמָ = an Ass. weight as equal to a half-mina (s. Clerm.-Gann.), which mng. פְּרָט = has in the Talmud, appeared to clinch the discovery. Various modifications have been suggested by Haupt, Hoffmann, Mar. (the latter regarding parsin as a dual). Behr., Peters, Torrey stoutly refused to accept this new interpretation, the latter regarding it as ‘untenable and even absurd.’ Of Torrey’s two arguments against the discovery of money values, that which holds that גֶּפֶן, not גֶּפֶר, was used in the Aram. world must be modified by the discovery of גפנָ = גפנַ in one case in the papp. (APO pap. 28, l. 5); as for the other, that the half-mina should be vocalized perās, entailing correction of the well-authenticated פָּרָס, it must be acknowledged we have only Talm. tradition for the vocalization of that word, the corresponding word in Syr. mng. something
different, στουμέτριον, Pesh. Lu. 1242. Behr. well points out that there is no explanation of the illogical order mina, shekel, half-mina. The phenomenon of the writing Hand is of course meant as a miracle. But the reason why the script could not be forthwith read has naturally puzzled many comm. Heng., p. 122, held that the script was such as could be read only through divine inspiration. Some Jewish comm. have suggested an Athbash method of writing, or supposed that the letters were written in some form of anagram (s. dEnv., p. 417)—of course on the theory that the Heb. alphabet is implied. Others, e.g., Grot., Prideaux, have suggested some strange script. At the same time the story may not mean more than that the reading, i.e., intelligent pronunciation (= כַּרְכִּים) of the consonants forming the inscription (= כִּתְבִּים) was meant, and then with that the interpretation. Similarly ambiguous was Isaiah’s proffered enigma, Maker-salal-ḥaṣ-baz Is. 81.

Ken. אָמַר הַנִּשָּׁבְתָּה = Θ. — בְּלָעִיתו. Also mss אָמַרְיִי = Θ; Lu. Θ II as הָנָּבָיה, and so Kamp., Mar., Lohr.—21. יְשׁ קְר., וּףָרְקָר. The latter, as impers. pl., preferred by Kau., §47, g, 3, Bev., Kamp., Mar.; the former, וּףָרְקָר, by Behr., Pr., and so Pell (cf. Θ ἱπποῦς). The combination וּףָרְקָר is found in Syr., Pesh. Jn. 3:18, and cf. וּףָרְקָר, Ps. 28:1.—נַעְרָמְל = 5mss Ken. אָמַרְיִי, i.e., 'flocks,' preferred by Pr. after JBMich. But the expression is hyperbolic and is consonant with the וּףָרְקָר. For the wild ass cf. Job 39:9, Gen. 16:13.—וּףָרְקָר Θ γ IsNot i.e., as impf. (then וּףָרְקָר), cf. 4:14, 22.—וּףָרְקָר] mss cited by Str., אָמַרְיִי; but all edd. inf. וּףָרְקָר; s. on וּףָרְקָר נָבָה 22.—וּףָרְקָר] For the stem s. on וּףָרְקָר 4:16.—וּףָרְקָר] B and A (?) V 106 Lu. al. וּףָרְקָר, al. וּףָרְקָר.—וּףָרְקָר כ = 'breath,' אָמַרְיִי כ as physical, e.g., Gen. 2:1, Is. 22:1; secondarily of the human spirit, e.g., Pr. 20:27 (parallel to מַה), Job 32:8. For the context cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh,' Nu. 16:22, and 'the Lord of spirits,' Enoch 47 (s. Cha.'s note thereon). N.b. the frequent word attributed to Mohammed in the Traditions, 'by Him in whose hand my spirit (nafs) is.'—וּףָרְקָר] Construed properly by אָמַרְיִי with preceding, = (י implied) 'his.' אָמַרְיִי treats it, אָמַרְיִי כ, as object of the following vb., and so Kau., §84, 1, Kamp.

24. וְסִיַּל = 'inscribed'; cf. אָמַרְיִי of a signature, and 16:21.—25. Jer. positively states: "tria tantum uerba in pariete scriptum signauerat: mane, thecel, pharas." The repeated וְסִיַּל may have arisen from the repetition in v. 26. אָמַרְיִי vocalizes here מֵנֶּא מֵנֶּא. The spelling וְסִיַּל distinguishes the word from וְסִיַּל, the universal spelling of 'talent' in OAram. For וְסִיַּל 'half-talent,' identified in Clerm.-Ganneau's theory with our אָמַרְיִי, s. CIS ii, no. 10. PsSa. notes here one of the mgs. of וְסִיַּל as מִת מַעְיָס. Both Sachau's and Sayce-Cowley's papp. present וְסִיַּל in the sense of 'share,' hence probably 'allowance' or 'salary'; in JArab., apart from the sense of מִת מַעְיָס it means a 'portion.' The word also occurs in the Panammu Inscr., l. 6 (Lidz., NE p. 442), as a grain measure = Syr. preásδα στοµέτατον (¿). The pl. of the text may be due to an assumed division between the Medes and Persians, as Bert. suggests. It has been constantly interpreted as at once a pl. ppl., dividientes, and the pl. of מַעְיָי, 'Persians'; in either case the first vowel should be א.—26. וְסִיַּל] Θ ἔπληκτημένων (cf. G ἀξολόγητον) = Θ compleuit, and so Sa., most comm., BDB, Kön., Hwb. But in Ezr. 7:9 this Hafel = 'give back,' and deDieu observed that the corresponding Syr. Afel (also appearing here in אָמַרְיִי) always = 'hand over, deliver,' i.e., = Heb. יְנֵמֵן. Cf. also Heb. לַעֲלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל Is. 38:12, ח, s. G and Duhm ad loc. This view is preferred by Behr., Mar., GB, and if there is some legal or commercial background to this phrase, as suggested above in the Comm., counting would naturally culminate in paying over.—27. וְסִיַּל] The only case of Pell in
2d pers. sing.; the spelling in אַ-nicely marks out the form from a possible Peal יֵשֶׁר. The, followed by Jer. in his comm., understood this and the following יֵשֶׁר as fems., referring to מְבָשְׁרִים Bär (s. his note), Gin., Str.; מִשְׁרִים Mich., Kit.] The latter form as dual, so also in Mand., would appear more natural; so Kau., §51, 1, Bev., Kamp., Mar. But the sing. אַ- is now found in the papp., APA G, l. 24, along with the sing. אַ-וּ in Mand., s. Nöld., MG §124, who supposes that this is a sing. reduced from the orig. dual in -ayin. For sloughing off of the dual in general s. Kön., Syntax, §257, e.—ךְָנוּי] As Behr. notes, this adjectival form indicates, as against the ppl. יֵשֶׁר, ingrained characteristic, i.e., ‘defective.’—ךְָנִי] Sa., Ra., AEz. understood this in sense of וּר ‘break’; and so vLeng., followed by Hitz., held that ו = ה ‘break down,’ on the ground that the Bab. kingdom was not divided but handed over in toto to the Medo-Persians. But the normal sense of וּר may be retained, with יֵשֶׁר; when an empire is destroyed its unity is lost, even if it be absorbed as a whole by the conqueror.—ךְָנוּי] The 2d יֵשֶׁר is due to Mass. heightening; the orig. form is Пər. —ךְָנִי = OPers. Мāda = Akk. Мада; also in the papp. (Behistūn decree), Safaitic, Syriac. This form is accommodated to use as gentilic in מַדָּא ה, cf. Heb. וּר יִּי; cf. Wright, Gr. 1, §251 ff.

29—c. 6, 1 (c. 5, 31). The sequel. 29. Dan. received the promised rewards. 30. And immediately, in that very night Belsh. the Chaldaean king was slain. C. 6, 1. And Darius the Mede succeeded to [a technical term, lit. received] the royal power, being sixty-two years old. For the historical questions involved s. Int., §19, d. e. The Mass. division concludes the story dramatically with v.30; 61 follows very lamely, but it belongs as a postscript to c. 5. The term ‘Chaldaean’ is used in its proper ethnic sense (otherwise v.11, etc.). 6 varies extremely; it om. the note of Belsh.’s death, saying euphemistically that ‘the interpretation came upon Belsh.,’ etc., and revising the succession to Belsh. acc. to some historical theory: ‘Artaxerxes the Mede received the kingdom,’ while Darius appears in 61 without introduction.

29. וַהֲרַע] See on וַהֲרַע 34. —30. וַהֲרַע] For change of spelling s. at v.1; the change here makes liaison with גי, 81.—ךְָנוּי] Orֶ פְּרֶ MsS om. —ךְָנוּי] Вё Xαλδαῖων, error for Вё Xαλδῖκως.—The correct sequence with foll. v. is observed by B. Hipp., Jer., etc., and the Western Bibles. Another division appears in A, which begins a new ‘Vision’ at v.30; this agrees with the chapter division of 65 in the middle of v.30.—C. 6, 1. דִּרְיָא(ו) = Dāriya(ו)uṣ, the Akk. form of the name; spellings in Aram.
dockets and papp. (s. GB, p. 168) are closer to the OPers., e.g., ἡσυχία ἈΠΟ, pap. 1, Ἄδρυαβα(h)ματι—ἡμᾶς. The phrase 'receive the kingdom' is found 718. Here it is used of secular succession, for which use Bev. cf. (p. 20) the same phrase for Julian's succession in the Syr., Hoffmann, Julianos, p. 5, l. 10. And so Π, successit in regnum, and Sa., 'the rule became Darius.' Hence it is not necessary with Mar., Cha., to read in the mg. that Dan. received it from God, nor with earlier comm. (s. Pole) and modern apologists (e.g., Boutflower, c. 14) to argue that Darius, qua Gobryas, etc., received dominion from Cyrus. Also s. on τῆς ζωῆς, σι. ἐν χρόνοις = '62 years old'; 2 of time at which, s. at 418; the 'about' of EVV is unnecessary. G here πληρηθέν τῶν ἡμερῶν κ. ἐνδοξος τῷ γὰρ εἰ, i.e., a doublet: πληρήθεν = τὰς (so πληρήθης Is. 1:4), ἐνδοξος = τὰς. Behr. has an impossible solution, working with letter numerals; but s. at 21.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF G.

See Bludau, pp. 149–151. The text of G is considerably abbreviated. This appears in the curtailing of the king's address to Dan., vv.14ff., and the total omission of Dan.'s reference to Neb.'s experiences, vv.18ff. The omission of both these passages is evidently due to economy; the first of them is a repetition, the second reviews the well-known story in c. 4. For the different order of events in vv.7, 8, and criticism of Jahn and Cha. for their preference of G, s. Comm. at v.8. In v.9 the king summons the queen for advice, a distinct toning down of the historical color in Η. We have noted in the sequel of the story the colorless paraphrase and the substitution of 'Artaxerxes' for 'Darius.' In vv.24ff. the mysterious words are not given, and the interpretations, except for the first case, ἡθομηται, are inexact. Those mystic words were probably dropped as unnecessary antiquarian ballast. V.11b appears to be a later supplement, to give more exactly than is given at vv.24ff. the interpretation of those words; the v. reads: Αὔτη η γραφή, ἡρθομηται, κατέλογοθη, ἐδήμαται, followed by the obscure statement, καὶ ἔστη η γράφασα χειρ, καὶ αὐτὴ η σύγκρισις αὐτῶν. Note that σύγκρισις is Theodotionic. It was doubtless in consequence of this failure that a preface was subsequently prefixed to the chap., giving an abstract of the story, concluding with the data of the mystic words and their interpretation. In no respect is G preferable to Η; it appears to be an intentional abstract. There are but slight clws suggesting that G’s Semitic text was in like abstract form. We may note: v.5, ὅτινοιναι αὐτῶν κατέσπευδον, cf. G at 418 (but G may simply have repeated from that passage). V.7, ἐκ θεωρίαν ἔδωκε: possibly a doublet translation. Ibid., στολήν αὐτῶν, when the original meant περιβολή, but was read περιβολή. In v.21 n.b. the nominal clause, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου ἐν τῷ χαιρὶ αὐτῶν.
CHAPTER 6. DANIEL IN THE LIONS’ DEN.

(1) 2–10 (1–9). Darius appointed throughout his kingdom 120 satraps, and over these three presidents, of whom Dan. was one (not ‘first’ with AV), and the king was minded to make Dan. chief over the whole realm. This purpose aroused the envy of Dan.’s associates, who decided they could find indictment against him only on the score of his religion. Accordingly they conspired to secure from the king a decree, irrevocable according to the law of the Medes and Persians, to the effect that any man who would ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days save of the king, should be cast into the lions’ pit. (2) 11–19 (10-18). But Dan. made no change in his public acts of religion, was denounced to the king, and, despite the latter’s efforts in behalf of his favorite, was cast to the lions. (3) 20–29 (19–28). Early next morning the king hastened to the lions’ den, found Dan. safe, and delivered his accusers to the death they had devised for him. Then the king published a decree confessing Dan.’s God and requiring his people to fear Him.

The story is parallel to that of the Three Confessors, c. 3; Dan. is tested as they were in the supreme article of the Jewish faith. With Bev.: “The main difference is that chap. vi dwells upon the positive side of Judaism.” The introduction of a new régime gives dramatic opportunity for this repeated test. There is no inherent impossibility in the escape of a victim thrown to the lions. But the historical character of the story must be judged from the evidently apocryphal character of the whole series of stories in the book. Far more improbable than this material marvel is the alleged edict demanding that no request be made of god or man but of the king for a whole month, an improbability all the greater under the devout Darius. Even the insensate Antiochus Epiphanes, the ‘Manifest God,’ never made such a claim, and if we desired an historical parallel we should have to come down to the still madder Caligula. The story is based upon the actual solidarity of the Pagan imperialism, in which the king with his despotic power and his formal claims to divine rights was the symbol and summation of the denial of the true God. Hence monarchs like Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, who otherwise are sympathetically treated, appear
as the incarnation of all the forces arrayed against God. A similar claim of sole deity is attributed to Neb. in Judith 3. For defence of this and other edicts in the bk, s. Wilson, c. 16.

2-4 (1-3). Dan.'s preferment. To Darius as the inaugurator of the Medo-Persian empire is ascribed the institution of a new provincial system. The 120 satraps (AV 'princes') is an exaggeration, or at least an inaccuracy. Her., iii, 89, records that Darius created 20 satrapies, and that king's inscriptions give their number successively as 21, 23, 29 [s. Paton at Est. 1]. Acc. to Est. 1 Xerxes had 127 provinces, which is practically identical with our figure. The same technical inaccuracy is found in the Greek historians, who use 'satrap' of lower officials, e.g., Xenophon; Appian, Syr., 62, speaks of 74 satrapies under Seleucus Nicator. See Comm. and Notes at 3. There is no known parallel to the 'three presidents.' The same traditional number appears in 1 Esd. 3. We may possibly compare the triple royal control of the satrapies through the association with the satrap of an independent commandant and secretary; s. Rawlinson, SGM 'The Fifth Monarchy,' c. 7, and Meyer, GA §40. For the suspicious caution of the whole imperial system against loss of revenue and other damage, cf. Ezr. 4. We have here true reminiscence of the elaborate organization and civil service of Persia. Above all these other officials Dan. was distinguishing himself, not with AV 'was preferred.'

5-10 (4-9). The plot of the rivals against Dan. The story does not tell how Dan. was omitted from the consultation of the conspirators and their presentation to the king—an unnecessary scruple in a good story. 5 (4). The last clause, neither was there any error or fault found against him, is tautologous with the similar phrase in the earlier part of the v., and is apparently a dittograph (so Behr., Cha.). In the account of the conspirators' audience with the king a vb. is used which is translated in AV RVV by 'assembled,' in AVmg RVmg JV by 'came tumultuously.' The same vb. is repeated in vv. 12 (11) - 16 (14). The latter mng., which may be etymologically justified, is impossible both in the court etiquette and in espionage. In the Note the conclusion is reached that it means came in concert, collusion. 8 (7). The conspirators claim to speak for the entire officialdom. Their ostensibly honorific plea that the king sign a
decree that none should make request of god or man except of the king for thirty days appears to many commentators as absurd, and probably for this reason omits the item. But these stories are generally reasonable; the terms of the request may be meant as a satiric hyperbole, cf. Jon. 3:8, where the Ninevite king orders both man and beast to put on sackcloth. Behr.'s position is an entirely sensible one that the implication of the story means a petition of religion (not with Bev. any kind of request), and that this one king was to be regarded for the time being as the only representative of Deity. Such a position was absolutely alien to the religion of the historical Darius, but in the Hellenistic age, when kings vaunted themselves as gods, 'of god or man' was entirely appropriate in the premises. For 'to make a firm decree,' AV, or 'strong interdict,' RVV JV, tr. to put in force an interdict. The terms statute and interdict and writing and interdict, v.10 (9), are in the nature of legal pleonasm; cf. Jer. 36:27, 'the roll and the words.' For the alleged irrevocability of the Medo-Persian law, v.9 (10), cf. Est. 1:9, 8:8. Bochart, Hierozoicon, i, 748, cites a passage from Diodorus Sic., xvii, 30, ed. Didot, concerning Darius III's attitude toward his sentence of death upon Charidemos: "immediately he repented and blamed himself, as having greatly erred; but it was not possible to undo what was done by royal authority." For the extraordinarily barbarous forms of capital punishment in the power of the Persian king s. Rawlinson, SGM 'Fifth Monarchy,' end of c. 3; for the wholesale execution at end of the chap. cf. Her., iii, 119, Justin, xxxi, 4, Amm. Marc., xxiii, 6. For the royal zoological gardens of Assyria s. Meissner, Bab. u. Ass., i, 74, and cf. Comm. sup. at 2:8. For the capture of lions for this purpose cf. Eze. 19:4. For the elder material on lions and citation of traditions concerning Dan. in the den, s. Bochart, Hieroz., iii, c. 3; for Rabb. stories, 'Daniel,' JE. The earliest apocryphon to the theme is found in the supplement to Bel and the Dragon. The variation of this apocryphon from our story suggests that it is based upon an earlier, popular form of the story.

2 (1). For the expression of purpose by a parallel vb. cf. 2:9. At 3:2. Acc. to Est. 1, 8:9, 1 Esd. 3:4, 127 provinces, and so reads here. Jos., AJ x, 11, 4 attributes 360 provinces to Darius.— RVV JV 'throughout,' not 'over all,' AV.
This prepositional phrase is found in the papp., JAram., Syr.; for the acc. form cf. מָשָׂא 239, מָשָׂא 240.—נְדָעַת[2] It is generally accepted, since Ges., Thes., as a Pers. word; s. Bev., Andreas in Mar. Gloss., and Lexx. Behr. proposed a Sem. derivation, = Arab. narika, 'be associated.' Aq. gives the same etymology in his 수행-תפּוֹךְ. The word appears in Targ., e.g., Pr. 67, and tr. Heb. מְשָׂא, along with a derivative מְשָׂא. So pointed also in Ezr. 45, and with the same mng.; the *dagesh* in י emphasize the *swa* with י; for other cases of this *dag. lene orthophonicum*, s. Kau., §9, Anm. 3.—נְדָעַת[2] For the rt. s. GB; it appears in Haf. also Ezr. 412, 15, 23, and the borrowed מְשָׂא in Heb., Est. 7. The ppls. of these intrans. vbs., e.g., מְשָׂא Ezr. 44, are pointed as מְשָׂא, not מְשָׂא, as is to be expected.—נְדָעַת[2] The pron. may have been intruded here from v. 5.—נְדָעַת[2] Cf. Heb. פִּילְוֹ of a presiding officer; the Ethpaal appears in the Aram. copy of Darius' Behistūn Inscr., *APO* pap. 62, col. i, l. 11.—א reads v. י, x. יњ *דִּאֶמְשֹׂא* עֲלֹהָיו וּלְיַרְדָּה = *; OrP Lu. supplied the lacuna: x. יњ *דִּאֶמְשֹׂא* עֲלֹהָיו וּלְיַרְדָּה (OrP, רַגִּית* Lu.) x. *דִּאֶמְשֹׂא* עֲלֹהָיו וּלְיַרְדָּה = מְשָׂא[5]. The Sūrah tradition rightly reads מְשָׂא (Bār, Gin.)—נְדָעַת[2] Pass. ppls. with Nöld., *GGA* 1884, 1019, cf. his *SG* §280 for similar use of pass. ppls. in Syr.; s. also on מ 590. Kau., §38, 1, a, regards י as Peal stative with *plene* -writing, s. §39 end. In Sachau's *Aḥikar* papp. מְשָׂא appears in the same sense, also the Ethp. מְשָׂא; but note that in the papp. the pass. ppl. is always written מְשָׂא. For the root in Heb. s. Kau., *Aramaismen*, 72. Θ ignored the word; OrP supplied it, מְשָׂא[6].—נְדָעַת[2] For discussion of the rt. s. GB s.v. *hebr. מְשָׂא* I. In Pesh. the word is used of a legal indictment, ground of accusation, e.g., Mt. 273, as also of a pretext, e.g., Mk. 1240, = πραξινος, and so here Θ.—נְדָעַת[2] מְשָׂא[5] (OrP, תַּּאֵשְׂתֵּוֹ דְסָא[5] Lu.) x. *דִּאֶמְשֹׂא* עֲלֹהָיו וּלְיַרְדָּה = מְשָׂא[5]. The whole of this last clause of the v. Θ om.; OrP θ to τον πλαγίων της βασιλείας = *ex lateri regni*. See Note on מ 724. Other cases of the exceptional assimilation of the prep. Ezr. 511, 614.—נְדָעַת[2] = וּלְיַרְדָּה in the line cited from the Strasbourg Pap. The word appears in BSira 3011. Θ has a doublet παράκτωνικα x. מָמָלַקַת; מָמָלַקַת is an Aquilanic gloss, cf. Jer. in Field, appearing again below in OrP.—נְדָעַת[2] 'Remissness,' also Ezr. 420, 6 in the same sense of defalca- tion in duty, as above 329 Kr. The whole of this last clause of the v. Θ om., OrP supplies (with מָמָלַקַת כַּלֵּ). The clause is doublet to מְשָׂא מְשָׂא above, poss. through variation between מְשָׂא מְשָׂא.—נְדָעַת[2] In the papp. this part is in מ 71. Here of divine law, and so used of the Thorah Ezr. 725. *inf. 725* = 'religion.' The erroneous מ 33 was so interpreted. It means here as in the Talm. 'religion,' s. Jastr., s.v.
A COMMENTARY ON DANIEL

7 (6). וַיָּשִׁימוּן = vv.12, 16. Hardly a word in the O.T. has provoked more variety of interpretation than this in its triple occurrence in the chap. The variety begins with the VSS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v.7</th>
<th>v.12</th>
<th>v.16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>סְדַוָּדְתִּים</td>
<td>פְּעַמִּים</td>
<td>(vacat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>עָשָׂה</td>
<td>סְעַמִּים</td>
<td>(vacat, Or ′פְּעַמִּים)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בָּרָא ′drew nigh′</td>
<td>רָאָה ′watched′</td>
<td>בְּרֵאשׁ ′made outcry′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>סָרִיעָוּרָן</td>
<td>קָוִינַעַאָוּר</td>
<td>′intelligentes′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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II′s סָרִיעָוּרָן appears to mean ′they stole away [to the king],′ and Prof. R. G. Kent corroborates this with his opinion, although he finds no similar use of the Latin vb. Grot. thinks the orig. rdg. was סָרִיעָוּרָן, ′stole to;′ however, the other rdg. is vouched for in Jer.′s comm.: "pulchre dixit, surripuerunt." Similarly the Jewish comm. vary: Ra. at v.7, סָרִיעָוּרָן, i.e., ′felt, stole their way;′ cf. II, and at v.12 this is expanded into סָרִיעָוּרָן, ′stole their way and spied.′ AEz. interprets at v.7 by ′ass ociated themselves,′ and cf. פְּעַמִּים, Ps. 21, and שֶׁפֶר רָאָה, Ps. 5515. But Sa. tr. by three different vbs.: ′came to;′ ′quarrelled with;′ ′rushed against.′ The comm. of the Reformation followed variously: (1) insidiose aggressi regem = II; (2) conuenerunt (so Buxt.), congregarunt, or concursum fecerunt = GV ′drangen,′ AV RVV ′assembled;′ (3) cum tumuliu occurrerunt (Montanus), tumulantiae conuenerunt (Grot., who however tr. with concursantes at v.12 and conglobati at v.16); AVmg RVmg ′came tumultuously.′ Modern comm. have generally adopted the last mng. It is expressed plausibly by Dr., who tr. by ′came thronging.′ But Cha. properly takes exception to ′coming tumultuously′ as not suitable to the context here or in vv.7-12. But Cha.′s remedy lies in textual change; in v.7 he would read after שָׁבְרָא ′approached,′ eliding the word in v.16 with ′drew nigh,′ and interpreting it in v.12 after שָׁבְרָא, ′kept watch, spied,′ and so our vb. is used in Aram., e.g., Targ. Jer. Ex. 21. But this proceeding is quite too arbitrary. Another line may be ventured upon. It has been observed that in Ps. 5515 יָרַשׁ is || to רָאָה and is translated by סְדַוָּדְתִּים, and so שָׁבְרָא cum consensu; also Ps. 642 יָרַשׁ is || to רָאָה and so שָׁבְרָא interprets it. Buxt. also gives the mng. ′fellowship′ to שָׁבְרָא Targ. Pr. 718. Further, Briggs in his Comm. insists that יָרַשׁ. Ps. 21 means ′consent together.′ These instances corroborate AEz.′s interpretation; and Ibn Janâḥ at Ps. 21 tr. ′were assembled.′ Now in Syr. the Peal and especially the Avel of יָרַשׁ have the mng. ′to sense, perceive,′ etc., generally representing יָרַשׁ, אֵלֶּה עַשְׂרִים. But in Syr. of Acts 512 סְעַמִּים.
The vb. appears then to have developed from the thought of scientia to conscientia, common consciousness, fellow-feeling, and so to common action. A parallel development may be found in the Heb. rt. הבנה, whose occurrence in Ruth 19 the Targ. tr. with הבש. This parallelism is borne out by the papp. We find the adv. זָרָה (= hamónayit, adverbial form as in Syr.; s. APO pap. 1, l. 5 = AP no. 30, and APO pp. 26 f., l. 4 = AP no. 27) in the phrase which is best translated 'in league with Waidarnag,' so Cowley, following Euting and Sachau 'conspiracy.' There may be noted too סר בֵּית חַי (Is. 63:15 || 63:7), where the first phrase = 'sympathy.' Has הבש developed from the sense of 'noise' through 'music' to that of 'harmony'? Compare the figurative use of the latter term. Our vb. הבש then may be taken as mng. 'they acted in concert, harmony,' here practically, 'in conspiracy.'

8 (7). וְרָבָּנֶים] Here = officials in general; cf. the list 3, and for the sogans 24, for the אַבָּרָה (34-—ף). Generally rendered 'to establish a royal decree,' with ignoring of the emph. דָּבָּר תִּשְׁמֶש were to be expected. But with the accents דָּבָּר תִּשְׁמֶש is to be construed as nom. to the inf., so JHMich., Mein., Mar., al., RVmg JV (per con. s. Bev., Dr.). For similar position of subj. of inf. in Heb. s. GK §115, k. Cf. the Heb. Piel Ruth 4:7, Est. 9:29.—תָּצְלָל = 'decree'; in Syr. Ps. 2:7 = תָּצְלָל. י' = 'confirm, put in force, an interdict'; hardly with most comm., e.g., Bev., 'make a strong interdict' (JV 'strong decree'), Dr., 'make a stringent interdict.' The vb. is י' to תָּצְלָל, as appears from התָּצְלָל אַשְׁרָה וּ. אַשְׁרָה has the Aram. mng. of the rt., 'interdict,' found also in Heb., Nu. 30:5-14, where י' = a vow of abstention; cf. post-Bib. אַשְׁרָה.—רָאָי EVV 'den,' properly 'pit, cistern,' = Arab. jubb, Heb. רוב, used of the often bottle-shaped cisterns found in Palestine.—לָלֶה For this pl. s. Kau., §61, 6, Anm., Nöld., SG §§79, 146. As Bev. notes, the first י' is EArum., for which cf. Nöld., §49, B; so תָּצְלָל י'.

9 (8). וְרָבָּנֶים] The Pael is to be expected, after v.8 (Mar.).—וְרָבָּנֶים For the act. inf. with pass. implication cf. APO pap. 54, l. 14, י' לָא וּן מְשַׁנִּים (and so vv.13-19) represents the later view of the proportions of Media and Persia. 'Parthians and Medes,' En. 56:6, follows Θ's order.—וְרָבָּנֶים Cf. Heb. 10:19, 8: Θ om.; the other VSS, followed by Bert., regard the phrase as epexegetical ('so that') to וְרָבָּנֶים י'וּ, but the gender of the vb. makes the clause dependent on י'וּ.

11–19 (10–18). The condemnation of Daniel. 11 (10). And when Dan. knew that the document was signed, he went into his house—now he had windows opening in his roof-chamber toward
Jerusalem—and three times a day he was kneeling upon his knees and praying and confessing before his God, even as he was wont to do before this. The passage is valuable as a picture of the ritual of piety of early Judaism; we note the several items of a special place of devotion, of the direction of prayer toward Jerusalem, of the attitude of kneeling, and of the three times of prayer. For the roof-chamber (EVV, ‘upper chamber’) cf. Moore on Ju. 380: “an apartment raised above the flat roof of a house at one corner, or upon a tower-like annex to the building, with latticed windows giving free circulation to the air,” and so used as a place of retirement and spiritual occupation, cf. 1 Ki. 1219, 2 Ki. 12, 410f. The Gr. equivalent ἐπερήγον is found in Acts 113, 937, 39, 208, appearing also in these refl. as a place of prayer. The ‘roof-chamber’ also appears as a rabbi’s apartment in the Talmud, Ketuboth, 50b. He had windows opening out: Ehr. is prob. right in holding the Aram. ‘opened,’ מהת, means windows cut in the wall; cf. the identical phrase in the pap. text cited in the Notes and the use of מהת in the Talmud. The window was open at Dan.’s prayers, and this facility of observation and the fronting toward Jerusalem gave the conspirators their opportunity of denunciation. A Rabb. dictum, Berakoth, 34b, cited by Ehr., holds that ‘a man is not to pray except in a house with windows,’ giving the present v. as proof-text. Toward Jerusalem: This practice is assumed in the (Deuteronomical) prayer of Solomon, 1 Ki. 835ff.; cf. Ps. 59, 282 for the temple as the kiblah; also 1 Esd. 448, cf. Tob. 311 ἐδειξαν θυσίαν πρὸς τῇ θυρίδᾳ. The custom is alluded to in the Mishna, Berak., iv, 5. 6. Mohammed borrowed the custom from the Jews, and first made Jerusalem the kiblah, later Mecca; the Christians did not follow this example (against Behr.), although the custom came to prevail of orientating toward the East, s. Bingham, Antiquities, 8, c. 3, §2. Three times a day: Cf. Ps. 5517, ‘At evening and morning and noon-day will I complain’ (but Ps. 119144 ‘Seven times a day do I praise thee’). Comparing inf. 911 (q.v.), where Dan. prays at the time of ‘the evening oblation,’ the midday prayer in Dan.’s devotions was doubtless that which was later known as the Minhah, ‘oblation’ (cf. Lev. 612ff. for the morning and the evening oblation), the evening oblation, offered in the mid-afternoon, having become the chief daily sacrifice and so fixing the most obligatory time of private prayer. For
the early importance of that sacrifice cf. 2 Ki. 16, Ezr. 9, Ps. 141; for the N.T. age Acts 3, 10; and for the Rabbinic order of the three daily Prayers Berak., iv, 1. On the subject of the stated prayers s. Hamburger, RE 2, ‘Abendgebet,’ ‘Minchagebet,’ ‘Morgengebet’; Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, 368 ff.; Schürer, GJV §24, n. 40 and §27, Anhang; Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 202 ff. This custom of the three daily times of prayer went over into the Church: Didache 8, Τρις της ημέρας οὕτω προσεύχησθε (i.e., with use of the Lord’s Prayer); s. Harnack, TU ii, parts 1–2, p. 27. Of the five obligatory prayers in Islam the third, the most important, ṣalāt al-āsr, is at the time of the Minḥah. He was kneeling: The attitudes of prayer in the Bible are various (s. Hamburger, RE 1, 408; DB 3, 7 f.); in early Judaism kneeling came to be common, cf. Ezr. 9, and the numerous ref. in the N.T. Later Judaism appears to have abandoned it; in the Church it was the rule with definite exceptions at certain seasons and occasions, s. Bingham, l.c., c. 8. Before his God: This circumlocution was common in courtly language, cf. ‘speak before the king,’ v.13, etc.; for this usage in Judaism s. Dalman, Worte Jesu, 171.

12-14 (11-13). Then those men came in concert [s. at v. 7] and found Dan. engaged in his customary and well-known devotions. They bring their denunciation to the king, first assuring themselves of his acknowledgment of the irrevocability of his edict. The theme is an early dramatic instance of the outwitting of an innocent ruler by his own laws; Dr. compares the case of Herod, Mt. 14. This legal point clinched, Dan. is denounced. 15 (14). Then the king . . . was sore vexed [not, ‘at himself,’ with AV], and on Dan. he set his mind to deliver him; and he was striving till sunset to rescue him. ‘Striving’ is the picture of the animal caught in the toils; he consulted the lawyers, he tried to browbeat the conspirators. 16 (15). The latter resorted again to the king in the evening and impudently demanded their prey. 17 (16). The king had to yield. But his admiration for Dan. made him express the assurance that the latter’s God would deliver him—in striking contrast to Neb.’s impiety, 315. 18 (17). The execution of the sentence was made sure by closing the mouth of the pit with a stone and sealing it with the seals of the king and his lords. The object of the sealing is well expressed by a plus in 6: that Dan. might not be taken away by them or
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raised up by the king. As protection against the king, his chancellor was doubtless charged with his signet; cf. Aḥišar as the king's Great Seal (in the first of the Aḥišar papp., l. 3). As observed in the Note at v. 8, the pit seems to have been conceived as a deep cisternlike cavity, the mouth of which above could be closed with a stone, and so sealed. The writer may never have seen a lions' den. Those who urge the historicity of the story, e.g., dEnv., insist that the mouth, or entrance, may have been on a lower level, as in the case of bear-pits in our zoological gardens. Why, then, a stone and not the regular gate, and why was Dan. hauled up, v. 24? For the royal sealing cf. 1 Ki. 21:8, Est. 3:12, 8:8. For Persia Her., iii, 128, refers to Darius' seal, a copy of which is known, s. Rawlinson, SGM 'Fifth Monarchy,' c. 3, n. 456. 19 (18). This second act ends with the king retiring to his palace, where he passed the night fasting and sleepless and without his usual diversions. We may accept the latter non-committal translation (JV) of an obscure word. See the Note for the many essays at interpretation: 'foods,' 'musical instruments' or 'musicians,' 'dancing women,' 'concubines.'

11 (10). מַעוֹן [Cf. APA J l. 6, מיתר iq; the sing. in JAram. is מַיָּה = Syr.—סַּיֵּה] = Heb. מַיָּה, with secondary doubling of מ, hence not Kittil form with Kau., §59, f, Mar.; s. on דֵּשָּׁה 32—(11). With Str., Bär, Löhr, = Θ (Θ, vs. Mich., Gin., Kit. etc.; the former rdg. is substantiated by the VSS.—סַּיֵּה) Bär, 'Caph raphatum teste Masora'; in the dual is expected, cf. Heb.; yet סְיֵהִים Ju. 7:26. מַיָּה] Θ Cf. מַיָּה וּמַעְבַּד (Job), 2. The vb. also Ezr. 6:10, APO pap. i, II. 15. 26. For 'confessing' s. at 9:—מיִּקֵּשׁרְקָחֵשׁי הָרָּפָּחָה] = מַיָּה Ezr. 5:11 = מַיָּה דָּרְשָּׁה, APO pap. i, I. 17.—12 (11). מַיָּה] But מַיָּה מְרָבָּת APO Ezr. 7:13.—13 (12). מַיָּה] VSS om. מַיָּה, exc. Orp Θ, all construing מ as voc., to which Θ adds 'live forever!' מַיָּה is certainly otiose.—הָרָּפָּחָה] Θ ἵππαξ; this explains the difficult ἵππαξ ἀναθεμάτων εἰς τὸ ἐννέα αἰώναν, Acts 13:48.—בּוּא[See at 2.—hev] Θ άνι τὸ βῆμα, error for orig. παρα [so V 128], with suppression of the required relative.—14 (13). מַיָּן Τ [One of the exiles]: cf. 5:13.—בּוּא [סְיֵהִים 3:12—(14). מַיָּה [Θ om.—בּוּא] = 'saying his prayers'; it is not necessary, with Cha., to supply 'to his God' after Θ. —15 (14). מַיָּה מְרָבָּת] The vb. is impersonal, with resumption of the absolute מיתר iq in מַיָּה; cf. the Heb. מַיָּה מְרָבָּת. For the frequent impersonal vbs. in Syr. s. Nold., SG §254. Correctly Θ Η, but Θ ἵππαξ ἀναθεμάτων εἰς τὸ αὖτε. —[12] A word of Aram. and Arab. usage; also APO pap. 54,
611-19 (10-18)

I. 3.-'~¥~

So best Str.; Mich., Gin., Kit. 'ןַּמְנָּן;' Bär erroneously, with אָפָּנָּה, 'טָנָּה' on witness of Mass. to 'בּּוּלָּו' Lev. 114. Against Kau.'s doubt as to the form, §61, 3, b, s. Nöld., GGA 1884, 1020, adding the Syr. construct pl. ma'áli. For the pl. cf. Syr. madnáhi šemšād and Heb. נָאֹמָּה (§51.}-נָנַיִּים] The vb. in APO pap. 11, l. 4, of legal action. Cf. the noun יָדָּאַה Ezr. 4.8, 19. אָגָּה] In the papp. without the assimilation of 3. -V. b is omitted by B 106 148 228 230 231; the lacuna is due to haplography of the double אָגָּהאָגָּה for the two vbs. of אָגָּה; n.b. 2 mss Ken. have וּזְזָעֵי for יַזְזָעֵי (16) (15). אַּס[. 'A law,' with RVV JV, or rather 'law,' not 'the law' with AV; Orב בּּוּלָּו, al. כּּוּלָּו.

-ם[.] See at 217. -דָּנַנָּא רָמַךְ: s. Nestle, Septuagintastudien, i, 11, who shows that וּזְזָעֵי is used for masc. acc., e.g., 113, Ex. 12.4. The awkward rendering וּזְזָעֵי etter 17, 210.76] I.e., 'in the round of custom'; the noun is used in Targ. = וּזְזָעֵי, and also as adv. Kau., §60, 6, erroneously forms the adv. as 'Abplattung' of וּזְזָעֵי. -וּזְזָעֵי exchanges v. b and v. b, on logical grounds (cf. v. 23). But וּזְזָעֵי 'he commanded to bring,' etc.; cf. 218, 19 and s. Mar., Gr. §130, c.-18 (17). יָדָּאַה] S. on וּזְזָעֵי 3.10, 30 הַזְּזָעֵי] Cf. רָמַךְ וּזְזָעֵי 217, 217. רָמַךְ For this pass. (cf. וּזְזָעֵי 3.9, 4) יָדָּאַה is to be expected with Kau., Str., Mar., al. Torrey, Notes II, 233, thinks of a combination of יָדָּאַה and יָדָּאַה .-ה[.] So בּּוּלָּו Bär, Str., = ג; Mich., Gin., Kit. הַזְּזָעֵי = בּּוּלָּו]. Primarily 'will, desire,' then 'thing,' as commonly in Syr., also in Palm.; cf. יָדָּאַה, APO pap. 11, l. 6. The VSS tr. correctly; Calv., al., 'purpose,' = AV, corrected by RVV JV 'no thing.'

19 (18). יָדָּאַה] The vb. in Akk. and Aram. For relation to noun יָדָּאַה s. Lexx. and Haupt, SBOT Kings, p. 210. יָדָּאַה] The fem. as adv., the same form in Syr.; Kau. om. the word in the pertinent §67. יָדָּאַה] Gin. notes יָדָּאַה as Or. rdg., and so בּּוּלָּו. בּּוּלָּו ignores; בּּוּלָּו is בּּוּלָּו. Sa., Ra. understood it as of 'table' (i.e., 'boards,' s. Talm. Lexx.); AEz. of 'musical instruments and songs'; similarly PsSa., 'musicians.' Levi b. Gerson, cited by Gallè, plays on the rt. יָדָּאַה, "they drive away sorrow," or "perhaps they are raconteurs." Similarly Calv., 'instruments of music' = AV RVV, and deDieu etymologizing with 'pulsationes.' (But deDieu prefers combination with Arab. dahān, 'incense.') The Heb. VS in Ken. tr. by יָדָּאַה and Jachiades etymologizes as from יָדָּאַה 'pleasure'; hence GV 'less nichts zu Lust vor sich bringen,' and JV 'diversions.' The idea that the word implied women appears in PsSa.; cf. יָדָּאַה 'reveller,' cited by Jastrow, Dict. This line of explanation is followed by Bert., interpreting from Arab. dahā 'subiecit feminam.' Hence RVVmg, 'dancing girls,' and Mein., Behr., 'concubines.' In agreement with this idea Mar. (Gr.), Pr., Cha. regard the word as corruption of יָדָּע, q.v. Haupt, there cited, regards the theme here, dahā, as primary, יָדָּאַה as secondary development. That the vb. יָדָּאַה is used
only of persons, as assumed by Mein., is denied by its use in Targ., e.g., Gen. 6:19. That the king had concubines brought to him would make of his evenings an absurd variety-hall entertainment. The scepticism of Bev., Dr., that the mng. is ‘unknown’ remains unimpeached, and JV’s ‘diversions’ is good because it is non-committal. — [He did not have brought in.] — [He did not have brought in.] So Bär = מָעַב; Gin., Str., Kit. מָעַב. The former is the Syr. pronunciation. Kau. explains (§12, d; §56, 2, b) as a case of dagh. f. dirimens, on which Nold. remarks (GGA 1884, 1018): “kein geheimnissvoller ‘D.f.d.;’ die vereinzelte Bildung schliesst sich ganz den med. gem. an,” i.e., as though from יֵשׁ, not יֵשׁ; cf. MG §94.

For the phrase יִלְיָה = dative cases v. 13, 2. — Part of a plus in ג has been taken over into text of Θ: x. εκλείσεν β θεος τα στόματα των λεοντων, καὶ εἰ παρηνώχισεν τῷ Δαν.; Or Lu. om.

20-25 (19-24). The deliverance of Dan. Then the king arose very early in the morning, so EVV; more exactly the adv. expresses ‘the dawn,’ and ‘in the morning’ the time when the sun was visible. When near the den he called to Dan. with a voice full-of-anxiety (AV ‘lamentable, JV ‘pained’), inquiring if his God had been able to save him. Dan. gives the joyful answer that God had sent his angel and closed the lions’ mouths. The king in his joy commanded that Dan. should be lifted up, and then no manner of hurt was found in him because he trusted in his God. (RVV JV, better than ‘believed’ of AV; the OLat. preserved in Cypr. has confidebat, vs. ℋ crediderat). The theme is that of Heb. 11, which refers to this story at v. 32. The king thereupon commanded that his accusers with their families should be cast into the den. These became the prey of the ravenous beasts before their bodies reached the bottom; the story depicts them falling into the open mouths of the lions. Exception has been taken (e.g., by Jahn) to this wholesale destruction of some 130 victims, which it is alleged the text of ג simplifies by making the victims only the two co-presidents. But as is shown in the appended Note on ג this is a secondary simplification. The tragic dénouement is indeed absurd, but the narrator doubtless ignored the large number at the beginning of the chap.

26-29 (25-28). The king publishes an edict requiring of his subjects in all (not ‘every’ AV) the dominion of my realm to render religious respect to Dan.’s God. The address and the contents of the edict are closely imitated after Neb.’s address,
321-32 (41-3). Especially the end of the story reveals the nature of the theme as borrowed from c. 3. With Bert., Mar., JV the contents of the edict, vv. 27 (26) \( t \), are in poetical form. The appellation of Dan.'s God as the Living and ever-enduring God repeats on the one hand a typical phrase of the Heb. Bible, 'the Living God,' also used by the king in v. 21. The other attribute, an Aram. word, is an epithet of God in the Targ., e.g., Eze. 124, and in the Rabb. literature the same combination is frequent. 'The Enduring One' is a constant epithet of Deity in the Samaritan literature (s. Montgomery, Samaritans, 215), and was a term which acc. to tradition Simon Magus arrogated to himself, = ἐστως. The ref. to Cyrus in the final v. loosely connects with 21; cf. 10.

20 (19). ἡμιζων [πανδοκα] For the Large and Small Letters s. Gin., Int., 893. They do not appear in \( \text{בָּבֶּל } \), where the word is divided, אֶת מַפְּלַשׁ, acc. to Gin. the Or. rdg. For the katalual formation s. Barth,Nb., §147, Duval, GS §243, Nöld., SG §124, GK §84, n. The word appears in the Targ., = Syr. safrā, sefrā (also JAram. אֶת מַפְּלַשׁ). The rt. appears in Amb. safara, 'to lighten' (of the dawn). The manipulation of the letters indicates the two possible rdgs.: the reduplicated form and simple אֶת מַפְּלַשׁ; so Torrey, Notes, II, 233. The parallel אֶת מַפְּלַשׁ is the time when the sun had risen, cf. ἡμείς ὑπὸ Pr. 418, and marks the exact specification of 'noon, which means more generally 'at dawn.' For an apparent parallelism in Mt. 281, s. G. F. Moore, JAOS 26, 323-329. Kamp. is fully right in rejecting the treatment of one or the other term as a gloss, of 'noon by Kau., in his Schriften d. A.T., of 'noon by Behr., Mar., Löhrr, Ehr. Θ read both terms. Θ tr. one of them ημιζων 'hurriedly.'—ἡμιζων] N.b. the impf. with ἐν, exactly as the Heb. construction with יא; s. Mar., Gr. §101, d; but vv. 22-24 with pf.—hythρακτονια] = 'in haste,' so 25, etc.—

21 (20). τέσσαρεν] used of point of time; mss Ken., de R. יב—יָיִשָךְ] = 'pained, painful,' cf. Heb. rt.; Bev. cf. Arab. yaumun 'asibun, Koran xi, 79. θ lachrymable, but Θ θ 'loud.'—23 (22). Θ θύμα τῶν ἱστηκὼν is cited Heb. 1128, vs. Θ. For the angel Segri = Ἠμερα in Hermas s. Int., §13, n. 3.—ἠβότον] = Targ. tr. of Ἠμερα (so correctly Θ Ἠμερα), i.e., legal 'innocence.' For the phrase cf. Ps. 514, Job 254,—ἀνασκόπησεν] So edd. correctly as fem., exc. Bär κ.—24 (23). ἤκοίνωσεν] Cf. at v.19.—ἀνασκόπησεν] Rt. πλῆκτος, s. Kau., §44, b.—25 (24). ἤκοίνωσεν] For the vbs. as active cf. v.17; it is not necessary with Mar. to read them as passives; יא was taken by Θ θ as pass.—ץי ק ו] For abs. use cf. 7.7.—ץי ק ו] Θ θ θ prefer the logical order, 'wives, sons'; cf. a similar reversal of order at 28. —ץי ק ו] = 'bottom,' based

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF G.

The variations of G in this chapter are surveyed by Bludau, §20, who comes to the conclusion that we have here rather 'a working-over than a translation.' With this judgment the present writer agrees, over against the criticism by Jahn, who offers a running and derisive depreciation of the text of H. Cha., despite his preference for G, ignores it in this chap.

G's text is marked with doublets, e.g., v. (5), vv. (6-4), v. (10), and vv. (19-23), with the double statement of the presence of the officials with the king at the den (and with reminiscence of 3:27). There are several short additions: description of Dan.'s honor, v. (5); the lively word of cheer put in the king's mouth, 'Keep up courage till to-morrow,' v. (16); the statement that 'then the God of Daniel took forethought (πρόνεια, which occurs only in Wis. and the books of Macc., also frequently in Josephus) of him and stopped the mouths of the lions and they did not trouble Dan.,' v. (18), which replaces Dan.'s assertion in H, v. (22), that 'God sent his angel,' etc. In v. (27) the king is made to say that he will serve Dan.'s God all his days, because hand-made idols cannot save, etc. In v. (28) the statement of Darius' death is awkwardly inserted before v. b = H, v. (28). For other variations we may note the conspirators' 'adjuration' of the king 'by the laws of the Medes and Persians,' v. (11); the sarcastic touch with which the enemies dare to speak of Dan. as the king's 'friend,' v. (13) (but s. infr.); the placing of the king's word of cheer to Dan. before the latter's being cast to the lions, vv. (16, 17); the query, 'Art thou alive?' v. (20), and Dan.'s response, 'I am still alive,' v. (21).

Apart from some lively touches, which are characteristic of G's genius, for the later handlers of the story were themselves good story-tellers, none of these points can be given preference over H, while the presence of doublets and repetitions is primary proof of the secondary character of G as we have it. Only one point can be made for the reliability of G as the simpler and therefore elder narrative, namely that vv. (3-4, 20, with their διο δικασθε, διο μανίσκηλον, διο διακροτων), make only the two co-presidents conspirators, and only these with their families the victims of execution instead of the wholesale slaughter described in H, which latter we must grant is an ab-
CHAPTER 6, NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION OF $G$ 281

surdity (but s. Comm. on vv. 20 n.). The writer has discussed this criticism in a Note in *JAOS* 41, 316, to which the reader is referred, as also to the reply to it made by Prof. N. Schmidt in his art. 'Dan. and Androcles,' *ib.*, 46, 1-7. The result obtained in that Note is that the Sem. copy before $G$ made all the officials conspirators as definitely as $H$. The present text of $G$, with its gloss v. 4 of δύο νεανίσκοι, is evidently reminiscent of 'the three youths' of 1 Esd. 3, and had in mind the rivalry of the two youths with Zerubbabel; so also Nestle, *Marg.*, 28. (Acc. to Lagarde, *Mitth.* 4, 318, *cf.* *GGA* 1891, 519, the story of the Three Pages once stood after Dan. 6.)

There may be noted the following Semitisms: v. 4 βουλήν κ. γνώμην, *cf.* 214; v. 15 θαυμάσειν πρὸς σωτόν; v. 15 the conspirators' term for Dan. as τὸν φίλον σου might stand, but more probably it represents ובו, which appears in $G$ 3 as φίλος; v. 16 ἐκεῖνος πρωί = 4.
II. THE VISIONS.

CHAPTER 7. THE VISION OF THE BEASTS AND THE MAN.

With c. 7 begin the Visions, a book of independent origin from the Histories; see in general Int., §21. The view of some recent scholars that the original language of c. 7 was Hebrew is there adopted, Sect. b. And for theories of interpolations in c. 7 and for its origin as disparate from the following cc. see Sect. c. With regard to the literary form, the chap. is treated as on the whole prose with poetical rhapsodies, at vv. 9, 10, 13, 14, 23-27; so Mar., Löhr, Cha., while JV expresses poetical form in the first two passages.

Analysis. 1. The circumstances of the Vision. 2-27. The Vision in two parts, 2-14, the phenomenon, and, 15-27, its interpretation by a celestial attendant. 28. The sequel, the effect on the seer.

The seer sees the four winds of heaven agitating the Great Sea, from which issue four diverse monstrous beasts: the first like a lion, the second like a bear, the third like a leopard, while the fourth is so horrible that it defies any zoological category. The latter engages his attention; in addition to its ten horns he beholds another of small size coming up, before which three of its predecessors are eradicated; the horn exhibits the spiritual traits of a human being. There follows the vision of a Session of the Divine Court, in sequel of which the fourth beast is destroyed. Then there appears coming with the clouds of heaven one 'like a son of man,' to whom universal dominion is given. The seer appeals for interpretation of the dream to one of the divine bystanders; he interprets it as typifying so many kingdoms, with special explication of the fourth beast and its horns, which are kings, the little horn being the blasphemous opponent of the Highest. But the divine Session typifies that beast's destruction, and the grant of universal dominion to the Saints of the Highest.
The vision is a reminiscent replica of that of the Image in c. 2. With the four metals there correspond the four beasts here, while the divisive character of the lower part of the Image, which is of iron mixed with tile-work, is paralleled here by the conflict between the horns in the fourth beast. In both the kingdoms of this world are superseded by one of mysterious or celestial origin, there a Stone cut without hands, here a heavenly Man, each representing the divine kingdom that is to be. In both there is the same sequence of acts, representing the progressive degeneration of the kingdoms of this world: from gold to iron, the basest of metals, from the eagle-winged lion, typifying the kings of beasts and birds, down through the meaner bear and leopard to a nameless monster, whose business is destruction. There is explicit reminiscence of the malignant character of the fourth kingdom, cf. vv. 7–19 with 240.

In simplicity and grandeur of theme this vision falls behind that of c. 2. But in this vision the author allows himself more room for fantasy, as in the details of the first three beasts, which have accordingly offered large room for inventive ingenuity on part of exegetes. On the other hand, the introductory scene of the four winds agitating the Great Sea and eructating the four beasts tastes of ancient mythological poetry, from which the theme takes its start; and the scene of the Divine Session with the coming of the Son of Man is appropriately sublime, one which has no equal among the other apocalypses for simplicity and reserve.

Commentators all agree in giving identical interpretation of cc. 2 and 7. The present writer agrees with the great majority of modern commentators in understanding by the four successive metals or beasts the several empires of Babylonia, Media, Persia, Greece, for the discussion of which s. Int. §19, c. There is more diversity of opinion concerning the interpretation of the Son of Man, whether he is to be regarded, like the Stone, as directly Messianic or as symbolical of the people of the saints; the latter view is held here. On this subject see the Note at end of the chap.

1. In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel saw a dream and visions of his head upon his bed. Then he wrote the dream. [Beginning of the composition.] [He said doublet.] 2a. Daniel answered and said. The usual translation of the last
words of v. 1 is: ‘he told the sum of the matters,’ in the sense of ‘essence,’ ‘recapitulation,’ as though an abstract were given; so \textit{G H} Jewish comm. and most. But the phrase is manifestly a title, ‘beginning of the story, or book,’ and so Aq. (at least Or\textit{L} Lu.) understood it, followed by Theodt., Pagnini, Vatablus, and in modern times by Nestle, \textit{Marg.}, 40, Kön., \textit{Hwb.} So Torrey, \textit{Notes}, I, 28r, remarking the similar use of ‘head’ ש\textit{יד} in PalSyr. for chapter headings; he regards it as gloss, with the implication: “Here begin the ‘personal memoirs’ of Dan.,” etc. As a gloss it may be appositive to v. 28, ‘Here the end of the matter.’ Nestle (cf. Kern, Mein.), comparing ‘at the beginning’ 92, regards it as the original title of the series of cc. and so appositive to 124, in which case what precedes would be secondary. We may best suppose early duplicate essays at all time, this phrase having in view the whole series of cc. ‘Then he wrote the dream’ is a summary statement of the subsequent literary composition. For the writing of the vision cf. the angelic order, 124, and also Is. 816, 308, Hab. 22, Rev. 119, 215, 2 Esd. 1437 ps.

1. \textit{סחננה כלכלה לא ידוע} in 81 מ Bölge, without difference. In the epigraphic texts the king’s name is used absolutely without the prep., e.g., Sachau’s pap. 1, Clay, \textit{Aramaic Indorsements}. For \textit{ප} the unique error \textit{סחננה}, corrected by later hands (the same error in \textit{נ} 10).---\textit{סחננה} This incorrect spelling here and 81, vs. c. 5 \textit{סחננה}, except at v. 39, where the spelling was accommodated to the present for liaison’s sake. The difference of spelling is a proof of diverse origin of the two parts of the book.---\textit{סחננה וו} with reminiscence of 39.---

\begin{align*}
\text{סחננה וו} & = \text{‘had a dream vision,’ cf. 455.---‘Visions of his head upon his bed’} \text{Cf. 224, 42.10. As the v. is reminiscent of the earlier book, it is not necessary with Torrey to supply \textit{סחננה וו,} or with Lohr to omit ‘and visions of his head.’---\textit{סחננה וו} \text{G el} \text{א} \text{סחננה וו \textit{לגו}} \text{‘for a summary’}, \text{Θ ignored, Or} \text{א} \text{סחננה וו \textit{לגו}} \text{ε\textit{πε}} \text{, so Lu., but om. ε\textit{πε}. For the phrase cf. Ps. 119180 (cf. 137).} \text{H} \text{has an interesting doublet translation: \textit{breui sermone comprehendi} summatimque perstrin- gens ait. The same phrase occurs in the Syriac Menander, s. Land, \textit{Anecd. syr.}, vol. 1, f. 163v = ‘the first business’ of a man. As for the doublet \textit{סחננה וו,} and, v. 29, \textit{סחננה וו} (this elided by Blud., Mar., Lohr, Cha.), \textit{G} om. both, \text{Θ the former; but \text{Θ has a trace of the second phrase in \textit{סחננה וו, i.e., rdg. \textit{סחננה וו as \textit{סחננה וו}. Lu. read the full text. There is more textual authority therefore for the retention of this phrase than of ‘he said,’ and the former is to be preferred for its genuine Aramaic flavor.}}}
\end{align*}
The vision of the four beasts arising out of the sea. 2b. I was seeing in my vision by night, and behold,

The four winds of heaven: were stirring up the Great Sea.

For the introductory phrase cf. 47:10; it is repeated eight times in this chap. Cf. the repeated ‘I saw’ in the vision of doom, Jer. 423ff. The Grr. tr. the vb. with theopelv; however, in Aram. the one vb. does for both physical and spiritual vision; in Rev. öpaw is used. The four winds are the cardinal winds, ‘the south wind, the north wind, the east wind and the west wind’ of the Bab. Seven Tablets of Creation, iv, 43; cf. Eze. 37, etc. They are not the patron angels of the four kingdoms, with Jer., nor angels in general, with early Prot. comm. and Keil; nor is there any particular mythologizing strain, with Gunkel, Schöpfung, 329, or W. R. Smith, suggesting a connection with Phoenician cosmogony, s. Bev., p. 120, n. 1. Far more apt for the picture of storm at sea are the Classical refl. adduced by Grot., al.; e.g., Verg., Aen., i, 86 ff., naming Eurus, Notus, Africus; Ovid (cited by dEnv.), Tristia, i, eleg. 2, describing Eurus, Zephyr, Boreas, Notus, and remarking pertinently, “Nescit cui domino pareat unda maris.” The winds are the product of the sea, and so ‘hurricanes and mighty tempests’ are the spawn of the evil domain of Chaos, Bab. Seven Tablets, iii, 30 ff. The ‘Great Sea’ is not the Mediterranean, with Grot., Hitz., al. (also Nestle, Marg., 39, as possible), although the term is so used in Jos. 1, etc., but is the הובג יתא ‘Great Abyss’ of Am. 7, Is. 51, and our phrase is properly cited, Rev. 17, as ‘ Abyss.’ It is used symbolically of ‘the agitated world of nations’ (Dr.), so Hipp., Jer., Theodt. The ocean is an appropriate symbol, (1) because it is a common type of the turbulent world and peoples; cf. Is. 17, Jer. 46ff., Rev. 17 (‘the waters . . . are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues’); and (2) following so far Gunkel’s lead, because the chaotic ocean is the figure of the domain of all that is opposed to God; hence the beasts are regarded as automatically arising out of their appropriate abode, even as the monsters of the Bab. epic. A breath of this repugnance to the abyss of waters appears in the N.T. seer’s vision that ‘there was no more sea,’ Rev. 21. The contrast is given in the heavenly scene, vv.9ff. That by the sea is meant the earth is directly declared, v.17, and in v.4 the figure passes into the
thing signified, 'from the earth.' Were stirring up: So several recent comm., unconsciously following Calv.'s original suggestion; AV 'strove upon' and RV JV 'brake forth upon' represent the other interpretations.

2b. נָהָלָה (nâhâlāh) Θ ignores; OrP Lu. = Μ; Θ regarded היה = הָיוּשָׁכֶן as pl., which as היה is to be preferred, cf. 'visions of the night' v.7. For נָהָלָה see s. on תָּרֹע הָרָע 44. So through this chap. except v.8, where יִשָּׁר as elsewhere, e.g., 251, q.v.—רִשְׁנָה Θ ἐκτέσσεται [eis], Θ προσβαλλον [eis], 'attacked'; Π πυγμαβ [in mare magno], Ra. 'fought with' (or, 'in midst of,' var. rdg.), AV 'strove (upon)'; the notion of fighting is from the Rabb. use of נאה לך נאם, and cf. the Heb. Hif. of a military operation, Ju. 2013. Others, e.g., AEz. (cft. Job 4020), Junius and Tremellius, Polanus, 'burst, rushed, broke forth upon' (so Dr., RV JV). Best with Calv. commouebant, Vatablus, agitabant, followed by Kran., Levy, Bev., al.; so the Hif. Eze. 322, and similarly in Jaram., Syr. This interpretation appears to have been followed in 2 Esd. 13, ecce de mari ventus exsurgebat, ut conturbaret omnes fluctus eius. This is to be preferred as the far more natural and picturesque term, while 5 of the following noun is best explained as sign of acc., for which otherwise י was would be expected.

3. And four great beasts were coming up out of the sea, diverse one from another. The symbolizing of the heathen powers with rapacious beasts or with mythological monsters, which become then often rationalized into formal types, is common in the O.T.; e.g., Eze. 292f., Is. 271, Ps. 6821, 7413f., 8014, PsSol. 229, while an elaborate use of this symbolism appears in the vision of Enoch, En. 85–90. They were ascending—n.b. the vivid ppls. denoting the 'moving picture'—out of the sea, the spawning-place of such monsters; cf. the reminiscences in Rev. 131, 2 Esd. 111 (the Eagle Vision; in c. 13 the sea is the origin of the Man). They were diverse, not in strength but in worth, so Theodt., vLeng., as similarly in the series of metals, c. 2. Each is successively meaner than its predecessor, although the last, non-descript beast is, like the iron of the Image, the most destructive.

4. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings. I was seeing till the wings thereof were plucked off, and it was lifted up from the earth [= ground], and was stood upon a pair of feet like a man, and a man's heart was given it. The winged lion is Babylon, according to almost all who interpret these figures histori-
cally. The artistic background was first proposed by Herder, who suggested that the wall sculptures of Persepolis were drawn upon. Stuart (1850) remarks that “on all the ancient monuments of the East are found formae monstrae, the symbols of dominion and of conquerors.” His contemporary Hitzig first adduced the winged lion from Nimrud, with which we can now compare the tile winged lions from Babylon. The combination of the features of the lion and the eagle typifies the lordliest of animal creatures. But it is unnecessary, e.g., with Jer. and the host of earlier comm., to draw out the parallelism in virtues and vices of this and the succeeding beasts. Reference may be made to Pole and especially to Bochart, Hierozoicon, under the appropriate titles, for those who desire to pursue such fantastic details. The succeeding moments in the developing picture are, however, problems. Two quite opposite interpretations have been followed, which also are sometimes combined. Acc. to one view it is all a drama of destruction. But the very evident dependence of ‘the heart of a man’ upon the ‘beast’s heart,’ 413 (16), which was later made human again, v. st. (54), compels the exegete to take this as his point d’appui. The prime reference then, really a reminiscent aside, is to the humanization which occurred in Neb.’s case. This is the view of Hipp., Jephet, Stuart, Keil, Zöck., Pusey, al., and most recent comm. Its being raised from the earth (ground) and stood on feet like a man, i.e., in a human posture, would be equivalent. The plucking of its wings, which gives the cue to the other interpretation, might then refer to the removal of the superbia of Babel, so Jer., who cites Is. 1413 F. and Ob. 4, ‘Though thou make thy nest as high as the eagle,’ etc. Grot. aptly cites a Classical parallel to this figurative plucking of the wings, from Cicero, Ep. ad Attic., iv, 2, “qui mihi pennas inciderant nolunt easdem renasci.” The humanization involves the elimination of heaven-vaulting ambition. Possibly the thought is not more than of the return from the monstrous form to the natural beast. The other interpretation is that of humiliation or destruction, which Jer. prefers, although he refers to the other view. Ra. plays on the rt. mng of as debilis; Calv. and early Prot. comm. tr. הים יבש ‘removed’ from the earth, ablata, sublata e terra, so Behr. and Pr. But why should the destruction of the first of the three beasts alone be commemorated here? The Jewish saga took pains to canonize Neb. as a Pagan
saint! Perhaps we have after all to agree with Cha.: "It must be confessed that the above [the first] explanation is rather forced, but this is owing to the combination of two really incongruous sets of ideas," i.e., with the interpolation of the theme of Neb. The four pass. vbs. in this v., followed by other cases below (of the Pei peculiar to early Aram.) belong to the later euphemistic language; in c. 4 act. pls. are so used. See on this pass. construction Dalman, Worte Jesu, 183, with exx. from N.T. and Rabb. literature, and Volz, Jüd. Esch., 6, whose judgment, "hier handelt niemand mehr, sondern es geht wie durch eine Maschine," is, however, arbitrary. The euphemistic phraseology was borrowed from the common diction; s. Note at 215.

5. And behold, another beast, a second [i.e., number two], resembling a bear; and it was raised up on one side, and it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth, and so it was said [they said] to it, Arise, devour much flesh. The first vb., incorrectly pointed by AV as active, is corrected to a pass., s. Note; incorrectly AV RV 'raised up itself.' The bear is chosen as ranking next to the lion in size and fierceness. The two are often grouped together as the most dangerous of animals, s. Hos. 13:8, Am. 5:19, Pr. 28:15, while in 1 Sam. 17:34 et. the 'lion' of the original form has the doublet 'or bear,' representing a later age when the lion had largely disappeared. For its carnivorous character cf. Is. 11:7, a fact scientifically recorded by Aristotle, Hist. nat., viii, 5, σαρκοφαγόν, τὸν πταμφαγον (Grot.). The destructive power of the Medes had left its tradition; cf. Is. 13:17, Nahum, Jer. 51:11-28, etc. The theme is expanded in the final clauses of the v. Comm. have come increasingly to recognize that the last two clauses typify the voracity of the beast; so Junius, 'frendens in omnes partes,' vLeng., Stu., Bev., Mar., Cha.; with Stu. the three ribs "constitute a large mouthful," cf. the two legs which may be rescued out of a lion's mouth, Am. 4:12. This gives the explanation of the much-racked 'raised up on one side.' VLeng. first adduced from the Bab. emblems the figure of a demi-couchant bull, the two legs on the near side being raised as though the animal were rising, and Professor Olmstead notes that the same device appears in Persian art. This representation appears frequently in well-known Bab. seals. The animal then is pausing to devour a mouthful before springing again on its prey, to which feat an oracular voice encourages it. The writer refers to
the coming overthrow of Belshazzar's kingdom. Thus a single-eyed interpretation of the whole v. is obtained. For attempted detail of the comparison between the bear and its kingdom it may suffice to cite the Tanna R. Joseph that this v. refers to the Persians, "because they eat and drink like bears and are as fat as bears and long-haired like bears, and restless as bears," *Kidd. 72a, Ab. Zara 2b, Meg. 11a*. The phrase 'raised up on one side' has provoked most diverse interpretations. Theodt. understands it as of loss of power, Jeph., "as soon as it was raised up it was overthrown." Jer. gives a current Jewish interpretation: "sic Hebraei interpretantur, nihil eos aduersum Israel crudele gessisse," *i.e.*, aside from Israel; Ra., as on one side awaiting the destruction of Babel; others as on one side, or apart, in the scene, *e.g.*, JDMich. The var. in AV RV 'it raised up one dominion,' is due to the Mass. pointing of the vb. as active and a mistaken understanding of the noun. Very naturally for the three ribs historical interpretations have been offered, but their variety fails in conviction. Acc. to Hipp., Jer., they represent Media, Persia, Babel; Bert., Media, Lydia, Babel; etc., etc. Jer. tr. remarkably tres ordines, and gives an extensive discussion; he notes one interpretation that the three represent the successors of Cyrus, a view similar to the one preferred by Ra., that they are the first three Pers. kings. Jeph. holds that they are three-quarters of the world, similarly Piscator, cft. 84, and so Kliefoth: it did not attain 'oecumenicity.'

6. After this I was seeing and behold, another like a leopard, which had upon its back four bird's wings, and four heads had the beast; and dominion was given to it: the Persian empire. The Arab. equivalent for leopard is used also of the panther and the tiger. The agility and intelligence of the animal (*cf. Hos. 13", Jer. 56*) are stressed by those comm. who see in it the figure of Greece and the rapid conquests of Alexander: Hipp., 'clever, inventful, cruel'; Theodt., διὰ τὸ ταξινόμησιν κ. ἀρμονίαν; Jer., its swiftness; Jeph., "it haunts the gates of cities." However, the velocity of Cyrus' conquests is part of the Bible tradition, Is. 413, 'not touching the road with his feet.' Whether the wings were on the back (AV RVV) or the sides (JV) depends upon the understanding of the orig. word. The latter position of wings on an animal is illustrated from the winged lion in tiles from Babylon. The four wings and four heads are variously inter-
preted acc. to the identification of the empire. The four wings may represent extraordinary velocity (Geier, 'twice as great as Babylon's'), but, better, they and the four heads typify the four quarters of the world, 'ecumenicity' with Klief. We might compare the four-headed beasts in Eze. 1, indicating the extension of the divine energy in every quarter. Cyrus in his Cylinder Inscription speaks of himself as monarch of the Four Quarters. Mein.'s objection that acc. to 8 the Persian ram pushed west and north and south, i.e. only three-quarters, does not hold, for the east was Persia's original domain. Otherwise vLeng. (following Junius), who interprets from the four kings of Persia implied in 112, so, of recent comm., Bev., Pr., Mar., Cha. But, with Zöck., Mein., horns not heads are type of kings, cf. v.24. The traditional interpretation of this beast as Greece, since Hipp.'s day, identified the four heads with the four kingdoms of the Diadochi. For the statement that 'dominion was given to it' cf. 239; 'a third kingdom of brass, which shall rule over the whole earth'; aptly Mar., "Hatte das medische Reich hauptsächlich nur zerstört, so war das persische da zum Regieren."

7. After this I was seeing in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it was devouring and crushing, and stamping the residue with its feet; and it was acting diversely from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. The writer introduces this fourth beast, which is the objective of his parable, with special circumstance. Its identity with the iron of the Image in c. 2 appears explicitly in the verbal reminiscences of 'strong as iron' and 'crushing and breaking in pieces,' cf. 240; only here the point of destructiveness is particularly pressed. It is a nameless and peculiarly nondescript beast ("vocabulum tacuit," Jer.). And Professor Olmstead suggests that the monstrous širuššu beast would have given a prototype from Bab. art. Similarly the monster out of the sea, Rev. 1314, is based on this apparition with the added features of leopard, bear, and lion. With the theory here accepted that this terrible beast is type of the Hellenistic age, such a judgment of that brilliant era appears at first sight absurd to modern thought. But this fearful figure meant to the Maccabæan Jew the Seleucide Hellenism which he knew, just as it might be equally applied, although with no better reason, by later interpretation, to the
Roman empire or its barbarous continuation, to ‘Edom’ (Rome) or Ishmael (the Saracens) by the Jewish comm., to the Turks at the doors of Vienna by early Prot. exegetes, or to the days before Antichrist, with Millenarians. In v. the ‘diverse’ of EVV has been translated ‘acting diversely,’ in justice to the ppl. of the original. In v. an additional feature appears, the plus ‘and claws of brass’ after ‘teeth of iron’; the plus appears in a few Gr. mss here and is approved by some (e.g., Ew., Mar.), but the repetitions permit themselves much variation in details; so in cc. 2. 4.

8. I was contemplating the horns, and behold, there was coming up another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were uprooted [i.e., displaced]; and behold, eyes like human eyes in this horn, and a mouth speaking big things. The seer’s attention is fascinated by the horns of the beast, among which he observes another, small horn growing up (with correction of M’s aorist into a ppl., s. Note) and displacing three of its predecessors. The horn is endowed with eyes like a man and with a mouth. It is universally accepted that these two human traits, the most expressive of the individual person, interpret the little horn as an individual. The attribute of eyes expresses primarily the human personality, so Jer., “ne eum putemus iuxta quorumdam opinionem, uel diabolum esse uel daemonem, sed unum de hominibus,” and so vLeng. insists. If with most commentators, who find in the trait perspicacity (Grot.), cleverness, etc., we attempt to discover a moral implication, the best comparison would be with the proud eyes of Is. 11, 15, Ps. 1015. The mouth speaking big things’ is the king in r1 where ‘speaks awful things’; for the phrase cf. Ps. 124, Ob.13, and the behavior of Sennacherib described in Is. 3723. The phrase has its exegesis in Rev. 135, στόμα λαλούν μεγάλα κ. βλασφημίας; cf. the Homeric μέγα εἰπεῖν, Od., xvi, 243 (Behr.). The historical parallel for Antiochus Epiph. is given in 1 Mac. 24, ἐλάλησεν ὑπερηφανίαν μεγάλην, cf. the description of that tyrant in 3 Mac. 64, ἐπαρθένα ἄνωμος θράσει κ. γλώσσῃ μεγαλορήμου, a bombastic paraphrase.

There remains the consideration of the ‘horns’ in vv.7-8. The horn is type of aggressive strength in the O.T., e.g., 1 Ki. 2211, Am. 613. For the horns as symbol of the Seleucide kings s. Babelon, Les rois de Syrie (Paris National Library, Cat. des
monnaies grecques), pp. xviii seq. In Arab. ḫarn is used both for 'prince' and 'generation.' In this chap. the horns are directly interpreted as kings, and so also in c. 8 are either kings or dynasties. In 8 the 'little horn' appears again. In Zech. 2 the four horns are prob. empires. For the former prevailing view that this fourth kingdom is Rome and for the consequent interpretation of the horns, s. Int., §19, c. The earliest interpretation of the ten horns is found in the Sibylline Oracles, 3, 381-400, which Hilgenfeld, Schürer, al., ascribe to a date not later than 140 B.C. The passage describes Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors. Lines 388-400 read as follows (from Lanchester's tr. in Charles, Apoc., 2, 385 f.; the Greek original is given in Dr., p. 98, n. 4):

388 "One day there shall come unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land
A man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders,

390 Savage, a stranger to justice, fiery; for he hath exalted himself
Even against the thunder, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall
have an evil yoke,

And the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood,
And even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed.
By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy

395 By them shall his own family be destroyed.
Yet after leaving one horn, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.
He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race,
And he † he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a
like fate of war †:

400 And then shall a parasite have dominion."

The 'ten horns' is a manifest citation of Dan. The 'stranger' is without doubt Antiochus. The three horns of Dan. are somewhat illogically represented by the three violent deaths enumerated. Acc. to the interpretation of Hilgenfeld, Apokalyptik, 69 f., Schürer, GJV 3, 575 f., followed by Dr., p. 98, n. 4, Lanchester, l.c., Cha., pp. 68 f., the 'one horn,' l. 396, is Antiochus' son Antiochus V, who was murdered; the 'side shoot,' l. 397, is Alexander Balas, who got rid of Demetrius I; he himself, l. 399, was destroyed by Demetrius' sons; and the 'parasite horn,' l. 400, is Trypho. There was no question then regarding the application of our prophecy within a few decades of its publication.

The interpretation of the little horn as Antiochus is implicitly
that of 1 Mac. (toward end of 2d cent.) and 3 Mac., ll.cc. It was also that adopted by Porphyry, Polych. and Aph. Syr. We have then to look for ten kings who preceded him, three of which he displaced. Almost all who accept the fourth beast as Greece agree on this, differing only as to the enumeration of the ten and the three.¹ Ant. Epiph. had seven predecessors in his dynasty: Seleucus I Nicator, Antiochus I Soter, Antiochus II Theos, Seleucus II Callinicus, Seleucus III Ceraunus, Antiochus III Magnus, Seleucus IV Philopator. The task is then to discover three subsequent kings whom Ant. ‘displaced.’ Some, Bert., al., make these to be (1) Heliodorus Philopator’s prime minister, who assassinated his master and aspired to the throne, but was frustrated by Ant.’s prompt action in returning home from his foreign sojourn and seizing the throne for himself; (2) Demetrius (later king as Soter) son of Philopator, who was hostage in Rome and whose right Ant. usurped; and (3) Ptolemy VII Philometor of Egypt, who made a claim on the Syrian throne. But this brings in a king of another dynasty. Hitz., al., obviate this difficulty by including Alexander in the series, in which case the three whom Ant. ‘displaced’ are his brother (by natural cause), his rival Heliodorus, whom he got rid of, and the rightful heir Demetrius, whom he displaced during his own life. Another solution, confining itself to the Seleucide dynasty, accepts an historical tradition of another son of Philopator, whom Ant. caused to be put out of the way. So von Gutschmidt, Kleine Schriften, 2, 186 ff., followed by Bev., Niese, Gesch., 3, 93 (with reff.). In any case it is hardly necessary in a literature which knew only of four kings of Persia to insist on the exact identification of the long Syrian dynasty. Reference may be made, e.g., to Delitzsch, _RE_² ‘Daniel,’ the excursus to this chap. in Bev., Dr., Cha. For the counter-argument, against identification with the Greeks and the Seleucides, s. Pusey, Lect. iii, end, Wright, c. 5. Note may also be made here of the Rabb. interpretation of the little horn as Odenathus, the famous prince of Palmyra, ¹ Bleek, _Jbb. f. deutsche Theologie_, 1860, pp. 60 ff., argued that the ten represents the assumed ten provinces divided among as many generals of Alexander; but s. per contra Pusey, pp. 155 ff., Dr., p. 102. Comparison can then be made with the ten toes of the Image in c. 2, which interpretation is denied above, in discussion of 231-46 (Dr. still wrongly compares the ten toes). Similarly Behr., who interprets the ten horns as a round number, typifying ‘die vielgespaltene Diadochenherrschaft.’ He is right in not insisting on the exactness of the number.

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3. ℅[ palp] See on מְלֵא דַּרְאָה v. 19.—םַע כְּבָד מַע v. 4. With this v. introduces historical captions, here ‘Kingdom of the Babylonians,’ v. 4 ‘K. of the Medes,’ v. 6 ‘K. of the Persians,’ v. 7 ‘K. of the Greeks,’ v. 8 ‘Antiochus’ gloss to ‘its horns,’ repeated v. 31.—רֵאשֶׁב. In the papp. both דַּרְאָה and מַע. Grr., מַע treat as fem., *lēsaw*, *lēsan* (similarly πανελλής v. 6), and Jer. makes a point of the gender in his comm. The noun is masc. in Syr., and the following pronouns can refer to the implied מַע—רֵאשֶׁב. Whether dual or pl. was intended is uncertain in view of the vexed tradition about the dual in BAram.; s. on מַע v. 8.—םַע כְּבָד Similarly 2a, = ‘until at last.’—עִמָּשֶׁב The vb. in the *Aḥiakar* papp. (*APO* pap. 57, l. 11 = *AP*, l. 169), ‘I lifted up my eyes,’ similarly the vb. = Heb. מָצֵא in BAram. and Syr.; hence Behr. should not insist on the sense ‘wegschaßen.’—עִמָּשֶׁב* M failed properly that the dual was necessary here to represent the biped.—סֵפֶר As recognized by Kau., *§ 45, 3, 5.* Nöld., *GGA* 1884, 1019, al., a survival of the ancient pass. of the *Haf.*, = Arab. IV pass. *u/kmat.—ם הַרְעָה* ṣ met' *אָבֹתֵם אֲרַלוֹ (representing both words, vs. critics!); ṣ ἐπετερόν = Ṣ; Or Ṣ Ṣ. ἐπετερόν = Ṣ. *Cf. Rev. 14* ἀραίος ἐπετερός ἀγγέλος. With Kamp. it is hypercriticism to elide one or the other word, as do Behr., Mar., Löhr, Cha.—םַע כְּבָד Or Ṣ רַּאְפֶר, an Aquilanic (?) suggestion of the she-bear.—סֵפֶר So edd. exc. Mich. 'שֵׁם = מְלֵא, also var. שֶׁם; s. de R.’s extensive statement. The spelling שֵׁם ‘side,’ as in the papp., ש is later spelling. A Jewish interpretation (s. Buxt., *Lex.*) of alleged שֵׁם tr. ‘one dominion,’ cf. Heb. יְדֻיוֹ ‘dominion’; this has motived not only AVmg but also the pointing of the following vb. But this involves the use of ש as sign of acc. with an abs. noun, which is impossible, a point ignored by some comm., even Dr. Sa. tr. ‘to one side.’—סֵפֶר It is now generally acknowledged that יְדֻיוֹ, as in v. 4, must be read, and so some mss and edd., s. Gin. *ad loc*. The pass. was read by Grr. 'יסדְאָהו, and מַע כְּבָד ‘stood.’ The sense of מַע can only be surmised.—סֵפֶר = Heb. יְדֻיוֹ, which outside of Gen. 2:21 f. has mng. ‘side,’ etc.; hence, like Lat. *costa*, *cf. Eng. ‘coasts,’ arose a common interpretation ‘provinces,’ etc. Bert.’s etymology of ‘fangs’ depends upon an Arab. lexicographical interpretation of *dāl*, properly ‘robust’ as ‘endowed with fine teeth,’ s. Freytag, s.v.;—ם הַרְעָה For the form s. ref. in GB, also *Kön., Lgb.*, 2, 461, Brock., *VG* 1, 333.—רַּאְפֶר So edd., also מְלֵא, exc. Bär, Ṣ. all Ṣ כְּבָד v. 7; the variety in spelling is deliberate. See at 29.—ם הַרְעָה* ἐπετερόν ἀραίος, Ἐ (B Ṣ Q Or Ṣ. *Lub.*) ἐπετερόν ἥξιον (al. 8. e.); but the position of ἔπετερον proves ἥξιον secondary, *cf. vvn. 5, 8.—ם הַרְעָה* Ἐ ἄράνοφ.
The corruptly מַעְרָשִׁים. Many scholars, Θεόπεραν αὐτός = ὁ Bev., Behr., Mar., Cha., Kon., Hub. prefer mg. ‘sides,’ cf. Syr. καὶ rt. καὶ, as Θ tr. here. But Jaram. has καὶ ‘back,’ rt. καὶ (as Behr., who identifies the two roots), and the common prep. καὶ (also καὶ) ‘upon,’ and does not possess the Syr. word.—אְשָׁנָה 2 G 7.4, i.e.,ewish; cf. v. 7. אִלְיָהוּ עַשָּׁק (v. 7. אִלְיָהוּ עַשָּׁק) Θ om.—אֵין יָדָה] For the nominal form cf. וֹאֵלכָּס 51. For the fem. ending -א of the regular Syr. fem. ending -ָּד to nouns in -ן, s. Nöld., SG §71, 1; cf. fem. ריא. A var. י inval occurs, s. Gin. RV ‘powerful’ follows a late, erroneous etymology from Arab. مَجَانَة ‘be strong,’ e.g., Rosen.—יהו] Adv., s. at 32.—אָלַפ] Duq of the two jaws, as also in Heb.—שָׁוָה] Θ om., OrP. C Lu. suppl. μεγάλοι. To this 34 h1.34 plus χαὶ of δύναμις αὐτοῦ παλαιοῖ, from v. 19.—אֱכָנ] S. Kau., §46, 3, b; Mich., Kit. הנב. —ארז] G חַּּלָּאָה, and so vv. 11, 19, apparently a paraphrase, s. Blud., p. 41.—אֱכָנ] Pa. ppl.; it is distinguished from מָשָׁר v. 8 as rather verbal, and so G correctly יָפָרָאשׁ חֹּרָמָאָו; Θ adds exeg. plus [אָפָרָאשׁ] יָפָרָאשׁ, to mark out the peculiar difference of this beast. Also OrP יָפָרָאשׁ notes the verbal force.—ב. אָנָא] S. on וֹאֵלכָּס v. 5, אָנָא אָנָא = ‘gaze at for self, contemplate,’ cf. Behr., Dr.; הבש here in its orig. sense, as also in Targ., Sam., e.g., Targ. Gen. 3.4. Cf. a similar phrase, Acts 11.6. G has the unexplained rendering of the vb., ν. βούλασι παλαια.—יַחֲדָשׁ יָשָׁר] G a doublet, διὰ λο ( = יָשָׁר) אָסָּרַא, so v. 20. —אֱכָנ] = Heb. יָפָרָאשׁ; prob. diminutive form, הקט, s. Brock., VG 1, §137; this the only instance in Baram., but several cases in Syr., s. Nöld., SG §112.—אֱכָנ] So K demands with anomalous —, but v. 20 normal יָפָרָאשׁ. Torrey again explains, Notes, II, 233, by his theory of alternative vocalization, the var. = ppl. יָפָרָאשׁ. But I am inclined to think that the fem. ppl. form יָפָרָאשׁ was original; s. Note on הבש v. 5. The careful OrP understood a ppl. with יָפָרָאשׁ and תָּמוּרָה Kt., יָפָרָאשׁKr., also MSS see עניין. See on וֹאֵלכָּס v. 20.—אֱכָנ] Kt., יָפָרָאשׁKr.] See on שֶׁמֶנ v. 5. G יָפָרָאשׁ, explained by Scharfenberg, cited in Häv., and Nestle, Marg., 40, as a corruption of יָפָרָאשׁ, Nestle comparing the interchange of the two Gr. vbs. in Jer. 23.8, etc.—כֶּלֶּה יָרָהוּ] With Ehr., ‘um ihm Platz zu machen,’ cf. 2 Sa. 7.15.—אֱכָנ] The dual יָפָרָאשׁ is to be expected for a man’s eyes, cf. רְשֵׁי יָרָהוּ v. 1, so יָשָׁר יָפָרָאשׁ v. 7. Kau.’s suggestion that the pl. is reasonable because the number of eyes is a reserved question, §51, 1, hardly stands; however, K may have understood a monstrous number of eyes like the beasts in Eze. 1; but they are qualified as ‘human eyes,’ and cf. v. 4. In general the dual early became obsolete in Aram. and so exceptional in the tradition of Baram. (e.g., יָפָרָאשׁ v. 4); it was lost in Syr. and appears in the Targ. only in literal renderings from Heb., s. Dalman, Gr. §38, a.—אֱכָנ] Var. †Mich., Gin. mg.—At end of v. O, followed by Lu. and a few MSS, plus

9. I was seeing

Till thrones were placed : and an Ancient sat ;
His raiment like white snow : and the hair of His head
like pure wool ;
His throne flames of fire : and its wheels burning fire ;

10. A river of fire flowing : and coming forth from His pres­
ence ;
Thousand thousands serving Him : and myriad myriads
standing before Him.

The court sat : and the books were opened.

The first and last lines are dimeters, the others trimeters.

In contrast with the chaos of Great Ocean, its hurricanes and
portentous monsters, appears the august vision of God come
to judgment. The scenery belongs to the treasury of the O.T., cf.
1 Ki. 22:19 ff., Pss. 51. 82, Joel 4, etc. But it possesses its own origi­
nal characteristic, which has become the classical model for all
subsequent apocalyptic scenes of like order. Bousset remarks
congenially: “In vollkommener Reinheit ist dieses erhabene Bild
Nicht immer tritt es in der jüdischen Apokalypse in dieser
Kräftigkeit und Klarheit heraus” (Rel. d. Jud., 295). To this
section in Bousset and to Volz, Jüd. Esch., 188 ff., reference may
be made for the Apocalyptic parallels, amongst which those in
Rev. are particularly dependent upon our passage. It is not so
said until v. 13—for titles are not necessary to these dramatic
pictures—but the scene is in heaven, the calm abode of God
(‘a sea of glass,’ Rev.) in contrast to the chaos. ‘Thrones were
placed’: i.e., sedilia, which constitute, as appears later, the
judicial bench. (See Note for the erroneous ‘cast down’ of AV.)
The pl. is not to be stressed, for only One took his seat. Cf.
have busied themselves to discover who the assessors were. An
ancient interpretation is that in the Parables of Enoch (En. 37–
71), which makes the Elect One, the Son of Man, the assessor
of Deity, e.g., 45:3. This doubtless had its influence on the N.T.
thought of the judgeship of the Christ, and so Akiba understands
two thrones, one for God and one for David (Hag. 14a, Sanh. 38b). Or the assessors are the elders of Israel acc. to Tanhuma (Way., 36b, ed. Buber), with which may be compared the promise of Jesus to his apostles that they should sit, along with him on his throne of glory, on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, Mt. 19:28. Acc. to Rev. 20:4 the saints shall sit upon the 'thrones' and judgment be given them. Or they are angels, so Jer., who cft. the 24 thrones in Rev. and the 'thrones, dominions,' etc., of Col. 1:16 (this personification in Test. Levi 38, 2 En. 20); so Calv., and Grot., who likens them to the satraps of the Pers. court. DEnv. thinks of the Faces, the Persons of the Trinity. The angels would be the most likely interpretation, cf. 4:4, 'the decree of the Vigilants and the word of the holy ones.' Yet better Maldonatus: "Thronos dicit in plur. quia maior auctoritas sanctiorque majestas repraesentatur." At the most the assessors would be the recorders who opened the books and inscribed the decisions. Such is the interpretation of the earliest citation of the passage, En. 90:20 (Cha.'s tr.): 'And I saw till a throne was erected in the Pleasant Land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon and all [Cha. corrects the text to 'the other,' i.e., Michael] took the sealed books and opened the books before the Lord of the sheep.' For the Jewish reff. s. Schöttgen, Horae, 1104, Weber, Jüd. Theologie, 164, Dalman, Worte Jesu, 201, Volz, p. 260, Bousset, p. 295.

The Deity is represented as an old personage, and similarly the picturing of Zeus in Hellenic art. The usual tr., 'an ancient of days' (erroneously AV 'the Ancient of days') is striking because of its unique sound. Comm. generally take it at once to be a euphemistic term for God, indicating his eternal existence (Stu. as a superlative, 'the most ancient'), and cft. such titles as 'enthroned of old,' Ps. 55:20; or contrast is made to 'new gods,' e.g., Ju. 5:8, and esp. to the new gods of Hellenism (so Mein.). But Dr. appears to be alone in remarking that the orig. term merely means an 'old man'; only the process of the vision reveals who is referred to. The phrase means exactly 'advanced in days,' = Lat. aetate prouectus (Cicero, De senect., iii, 10), English 'advanced in years.' It is identical with the Heb. phrase 'come-on in years,' Gen. 24:1 (EVV erroneously 'stricken in years'); and our phrase appears fairly often in Syr. literature, s. Note. Dalman, Worte Jesu, 104, overworks the
phrase in comparing it with 'like a son of man,' v. 13, as 'eine ebensowenig prosaische Schreibart.' Cha. desires to amend into 'one like an ancient being' (יִרְאֹן), following similar expressions, but there is no reason to think that the prep. of comparison could easily have dropped or been edited out. The apparition of the Person is in shining white, his hoary hair betokening his venerableness, while the white vesture indicates unsullied majesty, always the dress of notables, and so of the denizens of heaven, e.g., of angels, Mt. 28:3 (an unobserved citation of Θē here), of the saints in heaven, Rev. 3:5, etc., and frequently in Jewish literature (s. v. Leng.'s full note); we may compare the ermine of a modern justiciary. The seer's glance drops down to the more bearable features of the circumstances of the vision, vv. 9f. (cf. Is. 6). The proper element of Deity is fire with its effluence of light, cf. Ex. 3:3, Dt. 4:24, 33:1, 1 Tim. 6:18, Heb. 12:29, etc.; there is no compelling reason, with Bert., Meyer, al., to seek for Parsee influence; s. also Int., §20. Cf. inter al. En. 14£ for an expansion of the present scene. The flaming throne and its wheels coursing like a river of fire are to be compared with the vision of the Merkabah in Eze. 1. The curule chairs of ancient monarchs and of Roman consuls have been compared with these wheeled thrones (so Grot.), but the figure belongs to a common stock of tradition coming down from Eze. The river of fire which drew forth from the divine presence denotes the irresistibility of the divine energy. Comparing Ps. 50:5, 'a fire devouring before him,' = 97b, this fiery stream also executes the divine herem, and there is a point to the feature in the subsequent destruction of the beast 'in fire,' v. 11. Then the seer observes the myriads (cf. Dt. 33:1, Ps. 68:18) of the ministering ones, standing in position as do courtiers before their monarch (s. at 14); it is the court of heaven, where, as always in the Bible (e.g., 1 Ki. 22:19), God is never alone.

1 Meyer, Ursprung, 68, 109, etc., insists on the background to this picture of the Parsee notion of a river of molten metal at the end of the world. The chief passage in question is in the Bundahīs, xxx, 19. 20 (West, SBE vol. 5): "The fire and halo melt the metal of Shatvairo . . . it remains on this earth like a river. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and become pure; when one is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continuously in warm milk: when wicked then . . . as though . . . in melted metal." And acc. to v. 31 the serpent (=?—the word is uncertain) is burned in the molten metal. The writer does not think that this parallelism, drawn from an actually late document, is very convincing for Parsee influence upon Dan. The Parsee fire, it should be observed, is for purgation, not for destruction; in the end all souls will be purged by fire.
The seer's eye at last returns from these stupendous circumstances to the opening of the assize: The court sat, for which the original has literally 'the judgment sat'; the abstract passes into the concrete, as is the case with κριτήριον (so ἕδε here), Π iudicium sedit (= Cicero, Verr., ii, 18), καταχωρεῖ = ἄρχοντες Rom. 13:16, etc. And books were opened: Current court procedure naturally colors the picture; Medus cft. the process of the Sanhedrin, Grot. the Pers. conclaves; the Pers. monarchs, through their spy system, made note of every petty detail of their provinces (Rawlinson, SGM 'Fifth Mon.,' c. 3, notes 334 ff.). But the idea of divine books is as old as human writing. It is found in the ancient Egyptian religion, in the Babylonian with the 'tables' of sins and of good works (KAT 402), and equally in the O.T., Is. 65:5, Jer. 17:1, Mal. 3:16 (דְּמָשִׁים), Ps. 56:5; in the N.T., Lu. 10:20, Rev. 20:12 (citing this v.), etc. For this constant theme in Apocalyptic and Rabb. literature s. Volz, Jüd. Esch., 266, Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 295 ff., Cha. on En. 47:3; n.b. Pirke Aboth, ii, 1, 'Know what is above thee—a seeing eye and a hearing ear, and all thy deeds written in a book.' Bev. cft. a passage in the Pagan Arab. poet Zuhair: "Hide not from God what ye devise . . . ; it is reserved, laid up in writing, and kept in store against the day of reckoning" (ed. Ahlwardt, xvi, 26 f.). The Fathers moralize: Theodt., βιβλίου τ. μνήμας καλεῖ; Jer., "conscientiae et opera singulorum . . . reuelantur." Mar. observes that not only the past records but also the decisions were entered into these books, cf. 4:14.

9. 'דוע תחתון תחון' [Introducing the dénouement, cf. 2:14—127:1] For the internal -d- s. on እ/exah 68. The pl. = 'the bench,' cf. י魯ו המדה 'interpreter of the court' in the Cyprian inscr. CIS i, 44 = Lidz., NE p. 420, Cooke, NSI no. 15.—[ה]ן] Grr. תחתון = ב. The identical phrase also Targ. Jer. 1:15, ינוק נסר יפר = Heb. ינוק נסר יש, etc.; also אבד 'lay a tax,' Ezr. 7:24. Cf. Akk. ūmu šubtu, 'found a dwelling,' similarly the freq. Syr. yərmittā, 'foundation,' i.e., 'creation' of the world = Hellenistic ναυπτολή, Polyb., Bibl. Gr., etc. This rt. mng. appears in the name יברעה, s. Cornill at Jer. 1:1. Cf. Heb. יברעה, both 'throw,' and 'lay foundation,' Job 38:4; this development appears in 'cast up a cairn,' Gen. 31:11; GB cft. בִּלְמַסְנָא קָסָרָנו, fundamenta iacere. Sachau's proposed rdg. in APO pap. 56, l. 8, לאך יברעה cannot stand, s. Cowley ad loc. The tr. of AV 'were cast down' goes back to the Jewish comm. (also Polanus, Geier, etc.), who interpreted it by
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were removed,' Ra., AEz.; or were cast away,' so Jeph., the thrones being understood as those of the beasts. Häv. cft. the Koranic name of God, du l-ārš, xvii, 44, lxxxv, 15. —[יְהֹוָה יַעַשׁ] In general s. Comm.; = יְהָוֶה יִשָּׂע Gen. 24.1. For the syntax cf. GK §128, 3, Nöld., SG §205, A. The correspondent παντακλωμένοι ἡμερῶν αἰωνῶν appears in Sus.45, while the identical phrase occurs in Syr.; e.g., Wis. 219, Ecclus. 258 (translating 'old man'); also the pl. freq. in Aphraates, e.g., Dem., xxii, 8, while Torrey adduces a case from John of Ephesus; Sa. tr. by saīh, 'old man.' The adj. did not primarily mean 'old,' requiring a specifying addition; but it appears with that meaning in r Ch. 422 and also in Jaram, Syr. I note Arab. musinna s-samā‘i, the ancient of days, in the Aghānt, Lammens, Ṭūyād al-Aghānt, 1, 105, l. 7. The term is cited at times in the Talm., s. Lexx. It becomes 'the head of days,' in Enoch, e.g., 464. While Ra. identifies the Ancient with God, Jeph. finds in him an angel, and AEz. Michael. Hipp. has an ingenious comment: τὸν παντακλωμένον ταῦτα ἡμέρας, οὐκ αὐτὸν ὡς χρόνον ἢ ἡμερῶν παντακλωμένον.—ניַעַשׁ רָעַשׁ ... רָעַשׁ לְהֶבְכָּל] מ con­strues the adj. with the prec. noun in each case, but Θ ἐνδυμα ... ὡστὶ χρῶν λευκῶν, ὥστε ... ὡστὶ ἐρῶν καθαρῶν = MAV RV, and so most comm.; this is inconsequent and so Mar., 'weiss wie Schnee,' 'rein wie Wolle.' But there is no reason to abandon מ's construction, which is followed by Bev., Behr., JV. см om. 'white,' which appears to have been glossed into the second clause ἐρῶν λευκῶν καθαρῶν. En. 464 and Rev. 114, to which Cha. appeals for revision of the text, are inexact and incomplete citations.—[ןכ] Kau., §47, 9, as pass. ppl., but Barth., Nb., §10, c, as katil.—[יַעְשָׂר] See at 322.—[יַעְשָׂר] רְוִי לְרְוִי] רְוִי לְרְוִי masc. as at 327. Orig. см om. the clause. The Hex. insertion of it was accompanied by a revision of the following clause, v.10, plus ποτάμις ποτάμις ποτάμις, which then became a partial doublet to orig. см, χ. ἐξεσχε­ρέτο ... ποταμὸς ποταμὸς. —10. רְוִי לְרְווּוֹ] Mythologized by later fancy into the river Dinūr, the fiery stream from which issued the ephemeral angels, Ḥagiga 14a; s. Weber, Jüd. Theologie, 166.—[ך] Arab. = 'sweat,' Syr., JARAM. 'flow,' in Pesh. = Heb. גָּזִּי (Syr. also with other mngs., e.g., 'draw,' trans. and intrans.). The latter picturesque sense may be retained here.—[נִקְעֵר קַר] vLeng. 'from it,' the throne, and so En. 149, cf. Rev. 44, 224; but the prep. = 'from in front of,' 'from his presence' (not 'out of him')! = Heb. קַר. Cf. the latter in N.T. exclusively of liturgical service; cf. Test. Levi 35, ol γέγεντο ... ol λειτουργοῦντες χ. ἐξανάθημαν πρὸς χόρον, and s. Cha.'s note there. 1 Clem. 34, Justin, Tryph., 31, Iren., Haer., ii, 6, 2, have Θ'S rdg. These and later Fathers (s. Lightfoot on Clem.), following Rev. 511, transpose the two
clauses ‘thousand thousands’ and ‘myriad myriads.’—[Masc. with fem. subj., פְּסֵצָה צְבָאֹן, s. Kau., §98, r, b. N.b. the hāl clauses with vb. at end.—בָּנַי יַעֲשָׂל = ‘the court sat,’ cf. v.22; Bev. cft. use of נָשָׁל for a deliberative body. Grot. cft. the Jewish יַרְשָׂר בְּי. נָשָׁל, ‘judge.’ Kran.’s ‘zum Gericht setzte er sich’ is unnecessary, if not impossible in Aram. syntax.]

11. 12. The execution of the divine sentence. 11. I was seeing from the time of the utterance of the big words which the horn was speaking, I was seeing even till the beast was slain, and its body destroyed, and it [the beast] was given to the burning of fire. See Note for revision of the usual tr. of opening of the v., acc. to which the repeated ‘I was seeing’ gives much debated trouble. The words ‘from the time of,’ lit. ‘then from’ (EVV ‘at that time because of’) are here treated as the starting-point of the seer’s observation of the horn’s big words, continued even into the scene of judgment, to the point of (‘till’) its destruction. The tr. is at least less awkward than the current one, for which many comm. help themselves out by the elision of ‘I was seeing’ וַיַּרְשַׁל or וַיַּרְשַׁל. Dramatic indeed is the immediate passage of the great scene into the execution of the sentence; it recalls the katastrophe of the Lord’s parable: ‘the rich man also died and was buried. And in hell,’ etc., Lu. 16:22 f. This observation disposes of Gunkel’s categorical criticism (Schöpfung, 324, n. 1) that v.9 is ‘mutilated.’ It is held by vLeng., anticipated by PsSa. and followed by Stu., Keil, dEnv., Cha., that the fire is the eternal torment of hell. Comparison is made with the kindred idea in Is. 66:24, and with the hell of fire in Rev. 15:9, 20:10-14. Cha. adduces the ref. in Enoch to the place of fire where the fallen angels were cast, 10:6, 18:11, 21:7 ff., 90:24 ff., all but the last of which passages he holds to be older than our text. Even if this point be true, it does not condition the interpretation here; it would be absurd to think of that beast, abstraction of an empire, being cast into hell-fire, while the one reference to future punishment in our book, 11:2, has no allusion to hell. So in general Dr. It is sufficient, with Mar., to compare Is. 30:23, and to identify ‘the fire,’ if needs be, with the fiery stream from the divine presence; so Zöck. 12. And the rest of the beasts—their dominion was taken away, and prolongation in life was given them till a time and tide. The natural implication of ‘the rest of the beasts’ is that of the other three, surviving after the destruction of the fourth beast.
See the arguments of Stu. and Dr. in support of this view. The destruction of the other beasts had not been narrated; they continue in some condition of survival after the destruction of the fourth beast, which culminated in the little horn; cf. the figure of the image in c. 2: “The entire image remains intact until the stone falls upon the feet . . . , when the whole of it breaks up together” (Dr.). The v. is then anticipative of v.13. The expected superiority of Israel did not at once imply the destruction of all other political forms in the world; it was a supremacy more like that expected by Ezekiel, with the possibility of the final rise and onslaught of Gog and Magog (so Ra. here), or later of the Antichrist. Calv. held that the vb. = a plupf., the prophet reverting to an omitted detail. Mein. insists properly on the contrast between the fates of the fourth and the other three beasts, the former so terrible, and similarly Mar., who points out that the vision is meant as prophetic, both holding that they had ceased before the fourth beast. But these scholars do not explain the item of ‘the prolongation’ of their life. Behr., who holds that the ten horns are not the successive Seleucid kings but the various parts of the Hellenistic empire, thinks that the figure has changed, the horns have become beasts. But to the composer the little horn is the climax of the fourth beast, its final expression, and horn with beast is destroyed. In the tr. ‘till a time and tide’ the latter old English word, = ‘time,’ has been used to express the identity of the two terms; GV ‘Zeit und Stunde,’ Behr., ‘Zeit und Frist’; cf. Acts 1:1 and v. sup. 2:21. The idea is that of a fixed fate; cf. the writer’s note on הָלַע in Ecc. = fate, JBL 1924, 243.

11. הָלַע הָיְתָה . . . הָלַע הָיְתָה] The repetition of the vb. and the unique use of וְיָשָׁנָה after its vb. acc. to usual translations (but ss. accents of בָּעָל) has induced critical operations. G Θ om. הָיְתָה הָיְתָה 2 and so Bert., Rosen., Blud., Cha. delete it. Behr. deletes הָיְתָה הָיְתָה 2, against which view s. Kamp., Mar. But read: ‘I was beholding then from (the time of) the sound . . . I was beholding until,’ etc., i.e., taking וְיָשָׁנָה and הב as correlative. In this interpretation I have been anticipated by Piscator, Klief. All other comm. understand הב as ‘because of.’ Note that הב יָשָׁנָה = Heb. וְיָשָׁנָה, which is used as prep. and with a vb. as = ‘since.’ The sentence is awkward, but is no anacoluthon, as with some. —שָׁנָה] So Bär, Str., Gin.; מַחָּאָב Mich., Kit.; s. on מַחָּאָב v. 1—מַחָּאָב For the form s. on מַחָּאָב 2, מַחָּאָב 4; cf. Heb. מַחָּאָב. Θ attempts here a
logical sequence: ‘and it perished and its body was given.’ In ἀπολής = ἀπολέσθη 'was bastinadoed to death' (also 3 Mac. 32)—a touch of malice?—Ἀπ. Abs., = ἀπολέσθη· in papp.

13. 14. The vision of the humanlike one and the dominion given to him.

13. I was seeing in the night visions,
   And behold with the clouds of heaven: one like a man was coming,
   And to the Ancient he came: and before him he was presented.
14. And to him was given dominion and glory and sovereignty:
   With all peoples, nations and tongues serving him;
   His dominion an everlasting dominion not to pass away:
   And his sovereignty not to be destroyed.

So for the metre Mar.; v.14 consists of long stichoi with a short final hemistich.

Again a fresh introduction for this final moment of consummation of the scene; cf. v.7. The seer beholds, wafted in the upper atmosphere with a nimbus of cloud, a human figure coming (AV ignores the climax of the syntax of the original); he comes to (lit. ‘arrives at’) the Ancient, he is presented before him, as is the custom in royal courts, and to him is then given universal and everlasting dominion.

There is no reason with some to prefer the tr. of ἐπὶ the clouds; ἐπί is vouched for by ‘pre-Theodotionic’ rdgs. of the N.T. and Fathers; s. Note. Behr. cf. Il., v, 867, where Ares is pictured as ascending to heaven ὄμοιος νεφέςσεσιν. There is a reminiscence of this passage in 1 Th. 417, ‘with them we shall be snatched up in the clouds to the meeting with the Lord in the air’ (in contrast to the usual Messianic interpretation of our v. in the N.T.). The clouds are in contrast to the chaos of waters—the Kingdom of Heaven opposed to the kingdoms of this world. It is a question how far we may press the nuances contained in the clouds; as with Dr., ‘superhuman state and majesty,’ or possibly swiftness of motion. Position upon the clouds, which the writer avoids, would rather be the attribute of Deity, e.g., Is. 101, Ps. 1043, and his enthronement upon the cherubs. The contrast of the human being lies with both the Ancient and the beasts: God, man, beast, cf. Ps. 8. The pass.
'he was presented' (JV 'he was brought near') is the proper rendering of the Aram. idiom of the act. pl.; cf. v.5 and Note at 218. The idea is that of a royal audience; cf. the identical קִבְרָנֵהוּ, 'I presented thee before Sennacherib,' APO pap. 50, l. 2 (= AP Ahikar, l. 50), cf. l. 6; also אֲשֶׁר הָלְבָנָהוּ, EVV 'presented them,' Gen. 47.2. There follows in v.14 the description of the viceregal investiture of the humanlike being. For the attribution of dominion and glory and sovereignty, cf. the similar terms used of Neb.'s imperial power, 433, 618. The v. depends with its expression of an eternal and incorruptible kingdom upon 244, q.v. for discussion of פְּלִילָה 'sovereignty,' EVV 'a kingdom.' For the standing phrase 'all peoples,' etc., cf. 34, etc. For the vb. 'serve,' used of both human and divine service, s. at 327 Note; inf. v.27 the people of the saints are the object of this service. Comm., who insist that the vb. implies a divine object, e.g., Keil, are in the wrong, as Zöck. acknowledges. For the interpretation of the 'Son-of-man,' s. Note at end of the chap.

13. רִבּוּ פְּעֵמָה † by of accompaniment (cf. † by of time, v.2). So Θ μετά τῶν νερείδων = Mk. 1422 (cf. Harris, Testimonies, 2, 76, for suggestion of a basic Targum here), Rev. 17 (the balance of the v. a non-Septuagintal citation), 2 Esd. 13, and so Just. M., Tryph., 31 = A Q eπί π. v. = Mt. 2429, 2644, Rev. 1414.16 = Just. M., Apol., 51 επάνω = Didache 16, and so F. Other citations have ἐπὶ, Mk. 1325 (D εἰς), Lu. 227. The early Lat. texts vary, with cum (so Lucif., prob. OLat.), in, super, all being found in Tert., s. Burkitt, Old Latin, 22. The accumulation of rdgs. by no means justifies Nestle (Marg., 40) and Dalman (Worte Jesu, 198) in their arbitrary preference for the rdg. of Θ. περί ὑμῶν 2 retains its original nominal character as 'the like of'; s. BDB, GB (otherwise Kön., Lgb., ii, 1, 279). For Heb. cf. the use in Eze. 127, etc.; for Arab. ka = milh, s. Wright, Gr. 2, §63. Cf. וַיֶּרֶד 1018. הֶנְסָר לַיַּה הַיָּבָד נַחֲלָה] for use of מִדְנָה with ppl. s. Kau., §76, 2, f. After מִדְנָה the vb. is otiose, and recalls the similar use in Syr. G ἐρχέται, Θ ἐρχόμενος, OrC Lu. + ἢ, OrP + αὐτός ἢ, i.e., an Aquilanic interpretation as of מִדְנָה. Just. M., Tryph., 31, ἐρχόμενος ν. ἢλθαν = F (Cypr., Lucif., Aug.) ueniens venit, combination of G and Θ?—אָבֵן וַיִּשְׁלֹשׁ הַיָּבָד נַחֲלָה] G ὡς ταλαίπωρος ἤμερον, ancient error for ἤς π. ἢ, but pre-Christian, as citation of it in Rev. 14 shows; s. the writer's article in Expositor, Sept., 1921, 214. Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 303, cites this as a Septuagintal notion of a pre-existent Messiah, but it is accidental.—אָבֵן מִצְלָּחֲתֵי זֶה יִשְׁרָיֶל] G of παρεστηκότες παρῆκαν αὐτῷ, the method of which mistranslation is patent. In Θ texts B
130 (Γ?) προσήκομαι αὐτῷ, al. προσηκόμημι, which is supported by Lucif., oblatus est ei, the vb. being apparently interpreted sacrificially as in Ezr. 6:10-17, APO pap. 1, l. 25 (AP no. 30). Orp Orč (106 A al.) Lu. ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσήκομαι. A variant appears in A 26 ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσήκομαι, which is supported by Just. M., Tryph., 31, προσήκομαι αὐτῶν = Tert., Adv. Marc., iii, 7 adduxerunt eum (s. Burkitt, Old Latin, 22. 27 ff.). With Burkitt this rdg. appears to be a revision of the faulty Θ, not a variant of Θ. The same rdg. appears in GSms, which Swete reverts into ἡγηκόμο, but rather = προσήκομαι. Which was the original one of the Θ rdgs. it is difficult to decide; either is a possible tr., and either may be a corruption of the other.—14. ἐξουσία μοι πάσα ἡ ἐξουσία, κτλ., a citation ignored by N.T. edd.—ΠΝΙΣ1 OrP, Lu. Q om. conj.—ἡ ἐξουσία ἡ ἐξουσία, the similar phrase in 2 Esd. 3:6. 90_232 c δουλεύοντας, al. εὐλαβεούσαν = δολεούσαν.

15–27. Daniel’s anxiety and the interpretation of the vision. 15. As for me Daniel, my spirit was anxious on account of this, while the visions of my head were troubling me. The emphasis on the first person is not due to the pseudonymous habit, with vLeng.; it marks the break in the vision when the seer comes to himself. The vb. rendered ‘was anxious’ (cf. a similar phrase, 21) has been variously interpreted, e.g., ‘was horrified,’ Θ Bert.; ‘was grieved,’ Aph. Syr. (for the woes threatened to Israel), contristatus, deDieu, or contritus fuit, Calv., and so AV RVV; ‘was pained,’ Dr., JV. The vb. however has the sense of being ‘short’ in spirit, and means constraint, impatience, anxiety, and the like. This oppression is the motive which makes the seer bold to accost one of ‘the assistants.’ Cf. the similar phrase in 2 Esd. 3:6, excessit cor meum. On the other hand, Rev. 5:6, sometimes adduced as a parallel, implies grief. The tr. ‘on account of this,’ in place of the traditional ‘in the midst of my body’ (EVV), is obtained by a slight change and shifting of the Aram. letters, is supported by Θ and accepted by many moderns; s. Note. For the final clause cf. 42, etc. 16. I approached one of the Attendants to ask him the surety concerning all this; and he said to me that he would make me know the interpretation of the things. The usual rendering, ‘one of them that stood by,’
ignores the force of the ppl. of the Aram.: 'the standing ones,' i.e., those who were in attendance on the heavenly monarch; the term is taken from court life, s. Note at 14. Cf. Hipp., iv, 8, "the angels who stand before the Glory." The interpreter angel appears in Eze. 40-48, Zech. 1-7, the later cc. of this book, 1 En., Test. XII Patr., Jubilees, 2 Baruch, 2 Esd. (Cha.); in the earlier prophecy God himself spoke, and yet there was from early times the mediation of 'the Angel.' The second part of the v. gives a revision of the usual rendering, which is awkward; s. Note.

15. הָשְׁהֵם[ S. Kau., p. 81, §2; mil'el accent is to be expected, cf. חַיָה. The dagh. in מ represents -י, cf. נָאָל > נָאָל. The vb. = etymologically Heb. דֱּגוּן (cf. Pesh. Mt. 24:20), used of mental impatience, anxiety, and so here Ken.'s Heb. ms, יַדַּעְתֶּךָ.—יִדָּעֲךָ For the abs. pron. cf. Exx. 7:21; so in the papp. הָשְׁהֵם אָל אֵלָי APA B, l. 8, and l. 9, הנואו אֶל; cf. הנואו אָל in the pap. in PSBA 1907, 260 ff. = AP no. 81, l. 14; for the same use in Heb. s. GK §135, 2, e.g., inf. 81. —יִדָּּעְתֶּכָּ So Mich., Gin., Str., Kit.; Bär, s. his note. The traditional and still dominating explanation connects הנואו with הנואו 'sheath,' r Ch. 21:27, also in the Targums, a word of Sanskrit origin (cf. also Tisdall, JQR 2, 367); so the Jewish and early Prot. comm., Buxt., Kau., p. 94, top, Nöld., GCA 1884, 1022, Mein., Bev., Behr., Kamp., Pr., Dr., Kön., Hwb. Sa. tr. 'in my body.' This interpretation requires a radical change of punctuation (orig. = nidhana), while the final vowel is variously treated as a suffix (s. Kau., Kamp.). Two Rabb. passages, e.g., Sank. 108a, 'lest their soul should return to its sheath' יָניָה (s. Rabb. Lexx.), as is often admitted, may merely depend upon the interpretation of the present passage. A parallel is found by some in Job 27:8, and Polanus has compared Pliny, Hist. nat., vii, 53, "donec cremato eo remeanti animae uelut uaginam ademerint." Preterable is the explanation apparently first advanced by Capellus, followed by Bert. and, of recent comm., dEnv., Jahn, Mar., Ehr., Cha., BDB, GB, that the phrase is a corruption of הָשְׁהֵם יִדָּעֲךָ = 'on account of' in JAram., e.g., Targ. Yer. Gen. 12:18. I note Syr. ידָע used similarly, Wright, Apoc. Acts, 215, l. 19. Torrey, Notes, I, 282, prefers rdg. ידָע (= JAram. ידָע, s. Dalman, Gr. 221, 226 f., 239), with origin from Pers. ֶגֶּה, 'color,' of which ֶגֶּה as here would be a variant. ֶגֶּה apparently agrees with this modern interpretation in ֶגֶּה תָּנָּתִי ( = מ in his), along with a doublet ֶגֶּה תָּנָּתִי ֶגֶּה ֶגֶּהוֹ by which noun ֶגֶּה tr. לָי 7:21, so supporting Torrey's derivation. This understanding of ֶגֶּה is better than that of Bert. ב, who cft. ידָע = A יִדָּע יִדָּע, Nestle, Marg., 41, follows the same line and would read.
here "in my bed," prob. finding the second term and interpreting from one term, 'bed.'—16. זוֹמָן The usual Kr. שָׁמֵעַ is omitted by מָאנָל See at 214—215. Impf. of purpose; s. on 814. V. Leng. has rightly seen that the impf. is one of purpose, and represents the idiom in German by 'er sagte es mir zu und so wollte er mir kund thun.' Cf. 1 Ki. 117 idol, 7. 'bid [Solomon] that he give me.' The idiom appears exactly in Arabic. I note in 'Usâma ibn Munâkid (ed. Derenbourg), p. 10, l. 19, kul't laku fa-ta'dina il 'an 'udâiwana, 'I said to him that (and) he should permit me,' etc.; somewhat similar cases in Wright, Gram., 2, pp. 31 f. The usual tr. 'told' for מֵאָב makes the vb. entirely parallel to וֹדֵע, is superfluous then, while מָמַר in that sense should have the obj. expressed, e.g., 44. Θ felt the awkwardness and rendered אתִּנְא אתִּנְא הדְּלַי = מ, and מ in paraphrase, and so Bert.

17. 18. The interpreter gives a summary explanation of the vision. 17. These great beasts, which [to be explicit] are four [in number]: four kings shall arise from the earth. The Grr. tr. 'kingdoms' by way of interpretation; but the individual king can stand for his empire, cf. 820 and Neb. as the head of gold in c.2. The nuance 'from the earth' harks back to 'from the sea,' v.3. Both מ and Θ introduce at the end of the v. a statement of the destruction of these kingdoms; but that is implied dramatically in the continuation, 18. And the Saints of the Most High shall take over [cf. 61 (52)] the sovereignty and shall possess it forever. The word 'saint,' Aram. שֵׁהָר, Heb. שִׁיְרָה, used of members of the Church of Israel, is found only in this chap., 824; Ps. 162, 3410; for the thought cf. Ex. 196, 'Ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests, a whole nation' (cf. inf. 127). Its equivalent δυνάος became the standing name for members of the Christian Church. (See Dr. on the other far more frequent word hasid, also translated 'saint' in the EVV.) The word translated 'Most High' occurs only in this combination, also vv.22, 25, 27. It is a unique, Hebraizing word (עַל לוֹד) corresponding to the Aram. שִׁיְרָה, e.g., v.24 ('against the Most High'), and s. Comm. at 324. The term was probably a current one among the Chasidim. It is cited in Schechter's Zad. Fr., 20, l. 8. As argued in Note at end of the chap., the saints of the Most High are the group typified by the Human, v.13.
17. So edd., exc. Bär, Kr. Kt. the only instance of this form; it is used as copula. Θ = Θ. [text.] 36A and om. Bär. Jahn, Cha. indorse C, but the argument is weakened by observing that C syntactically rearranges the broken construction of the Aram., 'these beasts... four kings shall rise' (cf. v. 25).—36A [έπευθε κατεκλήσει] 36A by pregnant construction of τε, ἀπολογονται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, which has induced the plus in 36A texts at δοθησοντας, which fails, however, in Lucif. 36A, Cha. prefer C vs. Θ; Ehr. supposes a lacuna.—F. cod. Am. gives correct construction of v. vs. text. rec.—18. Pl. of the abstract ('majesty'); s. on τθλιναι 21 and Comm. on 45b. The similar pl. ἰσχυρά Hos. 121, etc., protects this understanding, against Hitz., Bev., Behr., Mar., who argue for the phenomenon of pluralization of both nouns where the first is the proper pl., exx. in GK §124, q. The case of ἰσθιν in Ps. 295, etc., is no proof, for δύναμι = δύναμιν. It is remarkable that the Aram. word וַיֶּבֶר otherwise used in the book also occurs v. 25, alongside of וַיֶּבֶר. But in this prob. current term of the day the Saints preferred the Hebraic to the Aram. word. Or the Heb. word may have slipped in from the Heb. orig. of the chap. The word belonged to the common Heb. stock, e.g., Phcen. 'לָכַע; but nouns in מִן occur in Aram., s. Kau., §61, 3, Powell, Supp. Heb. §§44. 45.—וַיֶּבֶר Also v. 22 = 'take in fief-possession,' s. on מִן מֵאֶם 227.—וַיֶּבֶר רַע לַעֲלֹוהָו וַעֲלֹוהָו C Θ om. the first member (supplied in Q V Lu.), and prob. with right Mar., Löhrr (but against Kamp.'s judgment) om. it on the ground that the parallelism is improved. A similar plus appears in the Song in c. 3, v. (100). The combination מָלַסְמוּ תְּאוּבָה is unique; it possesses superlative significance, s. on מָלַסְמוּ תְּאוּבָה 257.

19-22. The seer desires more particular information about the fourth beast. 19. Then I desired to ascertain about the fourth beast, which was diverse from them all, exceeding terrible, its teeth of iron and its claws of brass, devouring, crushing, and stamping the residue with its feet; 20. and about the ten horns which were on its head, and another which came up, and there fell before it three, and that horn, it had eyes and a mouth speaking big things, and its appearance was greater [i.e., it looked bigger] than its fellows. 21. I was beholding, and that horn was making war with the Saints and prevailed over them, 22. until that the Ancient came,
The passage follows the description in vv.7-8, with some additional features, which have led many critics to desire to incorporate them in the first instance. On the other hand, Sellin and Hölsher would treat these expansions as secondary; s. Int., §21, c. 19. 20 constitute a long period composed of relative clauses (cf. 237, 38). The syntax of v.20 is improved by following a suggestion by Torrey (s. Note) so as to read: 'before which three horns fell, which had eyes.' 19. The feature of the 'nails of bronze' is new; the monster is like the Bab. širuṣšu beast. 21 introduces the fresh item that 'that horn' 'made war with the saints and prevailed over them' (cf. Rev. 117, 137). Some critics have desired to postulate a lacuna between vv.8 and 9 once containing this element, but then the mystery of the vision would have been revealed too early and undramatically. On the other hand, the seer himself is here anticipating the interpretation, and it is probable that this passage is a later addition; s. further Comm. on v.25. The seer’s contemporary interest is revealed by his inquisitiveness concerning the last beast and the judgment, which hitherto have been hid in figures. 22. Read with most comm., RVmg JV ‘judgment was given for the saints,’ i.e., decision was rendered for them; s. Note. The sentence ‘judgment was given,’ ידיעת ידוע, many critics (Ew., Bev., Mar., Kamp., Dr. (?), Lörh, Cha.) desire to amend: ‘the court sat (דיעת ידוע = v.19) and power was given’ (לשמונת ידוע), the present lacuna having been caused by haplography. But the text of ידוע is adequate.

19. ידיעת] Kau., p. 70, cf. ידיעת 41, and finds here ‘Abschwächung des § zu §; but Nold. in his review, p. 1019, explains the vowel from the internal i of the root.—דיעת] So the edd. = Pael inf.; but vulgar texts and ms. ידיעת, which is preferred by vLeng., Hitz., Mein., who cf. v.14. There is no reason to tamper with the good idiom here = ‘make sure, ascertain,’ or with Behr. to suppose implicit change of subject for the inf., cf. 213, Ex. 32.9.—דיעה] So edd., exc. Bär ידיעה; the former is act. plpl., and so ידיעה v.8, ידיעה 52; the other pass. plpl., or adjectival, and following the Targumic pointing. The latter is more appropriate here and v.8, while ידיעה 52 is properly verbal.—20. ידוע] a doublet τοῦ ἐνάς τοῦ ἄλλου as at v.8.—יקב ידוע] θ rd. as plpl., ἀναβάντως καὶ ἐκτίνακοντος, i.e., as ידוע (s. at v.1) and ידוע, i.e.,
the Kr. rdg., a sure proof that ἡμὴν was in his text; s. on νεκρόν 5.

Also v. 21, 23 = iṣṭud.

Also v. 24. The four beasts. 23. Thus he said: 

A fourth kingdom shall be upon earth:
which shall be different from all the kingdoms,
And it shall devour all the earth:
and shall trample it and crush it.

24. And the ten horns—
Out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise:
and another shall arise after them,
And he shall be different from the first ones:
and three kings shall he lay low.

25. And he shall speak words over against the Highest:
and shall wear out the Saints of the Most High;
And he shall think to change seasons and law:
And they (the saints) shall be given into his hand:
For a time and times and half a time.
26. But the court shall sit:

and his dominion shall be taken away:

for utter destruction and annihilation.

27. And the sovereignty and the dominion and the greatness of

the kingdoms under the whole heaven:

shall be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High;

Their sovereignty an everlasting sovereignty:

with all dominions serving and obeying them.

The angel speaks in a poetical rhapsody, with free use of
metrical forms; cf. Mar., Cha.

23. 'All the earth': as was said of the Pers. empire, 239. The
three vbs. of the beast's activity are picture words: 'devour'
(lit. 'eat') = 'destroy,' as Is. 911, Jer. 1025; 'trample,' of the
trading of oxen, and so figuratively as here, Is. 4115, Mi. 413; cf.
the accumulation of similar terms in 240. 25. 'Speak words
(over) against the Highest': cf. English 'speak against'; speak­
ing words had in itself an evil connotation, cf. Hos. 104. 'Wear
out': another picture word, that had come to be equivalent with
'to humble,' 1 Ch. 178. 'The Highest' and 'the Most High'
represent two different words in the original, s. Comm. at v.18.
'Think' is a good idiomatic tr. of an Aram. word (cf. the Pesh.)
with connotation of 'expect.' 'Seasons and law': the 'seasons'
(JV; 'times' AV RVV). are the calendar feasts of the Church;
the word אַלְמָנִים = Heb. עלמים, Gen. 114, Lev. 232-4, etc. It was
blasphemy against Deity to attempt to change these everlasting
ordinances; the book of Jubilees is a commentary on this article
of faith. Morgenstern, 'The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel,'
Hebrew Union College Annual, 1924, p. 75, suggests that the
passage refers to an attempt by Antiochus at revision of the
calendar. The word 'law' has occurred above in its primary,
governmental sense, e.g., 219, 69; then of religious law, 'the law
of his God,' 66, and so here practically = 'religion.' In Ezr. 712,
etc., it denotes the Thorah. The historical interpretation of this
indictment is found in 1 Mac. 41 #: 'The king [Ant. Epiph.]
wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people and
that each should forsake his own laws. And all the nations
agreed according to the word of the king; and many of Israel
consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and pro­
faned the sabbath. And the king sent letters by the hand of
messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they
should follow laws strange to the land, and should forbid whole burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink offerings in the sanctuary, and should profane the sabbaths and feasts... that they might forget the Law and change all the ordinances.” There follows the history of the execution of this Nihilistic edict. With the interpretation of the figure here as the type of Anti­christ (e.g., in Rev.), this historical ref. came to be entirely ignored, exc. by a few, Aph. Syr., Apollinaris, Polych., and ‘times and law’ were interpreted of the world’s institutes, the two terms referring to divine and human statutes (e.g., Calv., Häv., Keil). Grot. restored the historical interpretation by ref. to Mac. Among curiosities of interpretation may be noted Jeph.’s suggestion of Mohammed’s change of the Kiblah, and Geier’s of his change of the calendar.

This rather abstract ref. to the terms of Ant.’s persecution raises the question whether the passage in v.21, ‘and the same horn made war with the saints and prevailed over them’ is original. It is remarkable that this extreme statement should not be repeated in the interpretation, and equally difficult to see how the seer himself could see the thing figured. Either the writer has forgotten himself, or the passage is a later intrusion. Of the comm. Ehr. alone has recognized the inconcinnity of the passage. The omission of the passage would give an earlier date for the composition of the passage than that of the war with the Maccabees.

25 (cont.). ‘For a time and times and half a time’ = Heb. at אתי, ‘for a time, times and a half.’ These are ‘the times of the Gentiles,’ Lu. 21:24. The word for ‘time’ is another than that for seasons just above (but AV RVV ‘times’ in both places). The extent of time is expressed, in apoc­alyptic fashion, indefinitely, and the problem is whether a definite term is meant or an indefinite era is symbolically expressed. Essaying an exact interpretation, ‘time’ may be interpreted as ‘year’ after the usual interpretation at 4:13 (q.v.). The traditional and by far the most common understanding of ‘times’ is as of a dual; the word is pointed as a pl., but the Aram. later having lost the dual, the tendency of מ is to ignore it in BAram. (s. Note on ‘eyes,’ v.8). Accordingly א + 2 + ½ = 3½ years. This term is identical with the half-year week of 9:27 = 3½ years, and is roughly approximated by the 2,300 evenings and
mornings of $8_{14} = 1,150$, although this figure falls considerably short of the required number of days, since $3\frac{1}{2}$ solar years = $1,278$ days, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ years at $360$ days = $1,260$. (The $1,290$ and $1,335$ days at $12\frac{31}{32}$ are later additions.) On these data s. ad loc. and Int., §21, d. This interpretation of our passage was fixed in the 1st cent. A.D., for in connection with the citation of it in Rev. $12_{14}$ the apocalyptist interprets it as meaning $42$ months, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{5}$, and $1,260$ days, $1\frac{1}{2}$. So also the contemporary Josephus with his period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years for the devastation of the temple by Antiochus in B.J. pref. 7; i, 1, 7, which term is a reminiscence of Dan., for in AJ xii, 7, 5, he follows 1 Mac. in making the term exactly three years (v. inf.). The Christian comm. naturally follow suit, e.g., Hipp., Theodt., and Jer. with his grammatical comment, doubtless gained from his Jewish teachers: “tempora, iuxta hebraici sermonis proprietatem, qui et ipsi dualem numerum habent, duos annos praefigurant.” Sa. also has the dual (so noted by Ra. here, and AEz. at $12\frac{3}{7}$). The Fathers, following the Biblical interpretation, refer the era to the dominion of Antichrist, with a few notable exceptions. Aph. Syr., Polych., Apollinaris see in it the time of the devastation of the temple. This historical interpretation was taken up again by Grot., Junius, Polanus, and is followed, of later scholars, by Bert., Rosen., vLeng., Maurer, Hitz., Stu., dEnv. (with typological reference to Antichrist), Bev., Pr., Dr., Mar., Cha., Curtis (in DB), Kamp. (in EB), Kön., Mess. Weiss., 310, et al.

The most natural terminus ad quem is Judas’ rededication of the temple in the month Chislev Era Sel. 148 = December 165 B.C., 1 Mac. 4$^{22}$ ff. The initial attack of Ant. upon Jerusalem was in Era Sel. 143 = 170 B.C., but the prohibition of the cult and devastation of the temple did not begin until ‘full two years’ later, i.e., Era Sel. 145 = 168 B.C., s. 1 Mac. $1^{20}$, 29. Acc. to $4^{24}$ the rededication occurred on the anniversary of the profanation of the temple, so the term of the devastation for 1 Mac. is three exact years. For the dates s. Schürer, GJV 1, 200, n. 39; 208, n. 7. (But acc. to 2 Mac. 10$^{3}$ the devastation lasted but two years; this is an item in the disputed question as to the relative value of 1 and 2 Mac.) With Bert., al., the extra $\frac{1}{2}$ year may include the months preceding the actual profanation of the temple. If the datum is post eventum, there is no reason to dispute what was in the writer’s mind as to the facts. But
if it is prophetic, the question arises why the scrupulous 'half a time,' why not two or three years, or the like? This is a prime argument of those who oppose the historical interpretation. It may however be suggested that 3½ years is a current phrase for half a sabbatic lustrum, as we might say 'half a decade,' 'half a century,' etc. The sabbatic years were rigorously observed in agriculture by the Chasids, as we know from 1 Mac., while the term of seven years was current in law, e.g., Ex. 21². With this solution we find the writer using a cryptically expressed but fairly exact definition of time. If the passage is prophetic of the termination of the Antiochian persecution, we must admit it to be a remarkably approximate prediction of a future event. A similar instance of such a short-term prediction, which history shows was fulfilled, is that by Isaiah, Is. 84, who prophesied that while his as yet unborn child was still an infant, i.e., within two or three years, Damascus would be vanquished, a prediction that came about within three years, 735-732. For similar exact prophecies of the same prophet cf. 16¹⁴, 21¹⁶, 29¹⁷; in the case of Jeremiah, the fate of the prophet Hananiah, c. 28. Particularly Dr., pp. lxv seq., and Cha. stress this predictive element.

But the contrary opinion insists that 'time and times and half a time' is indefinite or symbolic. And so some exegetes who would hold to a contemporary, not distant application, but regard the term as altogether vague. For criticism of the 'historical' interpretation, s. esp. Keil, Zöck., Mein., and Behr., denying the definiteness of the 3½ years. The actual pl. and the indefinite בֵּית understood as 'portion' (although in the papp. ב means constantly 'half') are insisted upon. So Jeph. in as many words; Tirinus paraphrases: "seu longo, seu breui, tempore"; and Behr.: "das gewöhnliche Zeitmaass (ein Jahr), dazu dasselbe mehrfach genommen, dazu dasselbe theilweise genommen." However, the 'half' still militates against the theory of a round number. The early Jewish and general Patristic interpretation was followed by the early Prot. comm. (with a few exceptions noted above), referring the period to the reign of the Antichrist. The most popular interpretation is that which is thus presented by Calv.: "tempus: pro tempore aliquo, cuius finis est in consilio Dei; in tempora: in prorogationem temporum; usque ad sectionem, uel divisionem; ut significet ali-
quem modum fore et finem his malis, adeoque priori mum tristitiam mitiget." The latter point is illustrated from the shortening of those days for the sake of the elect in Mt. 24.22. Vatablus holds that 7 is the perfect number, the halving of it gives the inferior number of Antichrist. Similarly Kran., Klief., Keil, who adduce the 3½ years of the famine in Elijah's day, acc. to Lu. 4:25, Ja. 5:17. (But this Judaistic notion of the time, not in the Elijah story, where only the third-year famine is noted, is perhaps set by our passage; s. the N.T. comm.) This figure is eagerly taken up by the maintainers of the mythological interpretation of the chap. (v. sup. on vv. 13 f.); 3½ is regarded as an apocalyptic symbol like other multiples of 7, e.g., Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 284, and his comm. on Rev. 13.5.

26. 27 repeat variantly vv. 11-14. The word 'kingdoms [under the whole heaven]' appears in AV as 'kingdom,' whether through ignoring of the peculiar construct idiom here, or through insistence on the kingdom of Christ; GV abbreviates, prob. for the same reason: 'das Reich, Gewalt und Macht unter dem Himmel.' For 'under the whole heaven' cf. 9 and Note there. In 27b the pronouns of the Aram. in the phrases translated above 'their kingdom' and 'obeying them' (with JV) are sing., 'its,' 'it,' doubtless referring to 'the people,' to whom in v.b 'the sovereignty' is given. From the context the ref. to 'the Most High' as the nearest antecedent is fallacious; but it is accepted by Θ and AV RVV ('whose' with Η or 'and his,' 'him') and by a few comm., e.g., Keil. Calv. sees in it the submission to the Christian Church. The Biblical interpretation is of the reign of the Saints, s. Note.

23. [בשנ] Θ correctly διοίκησι, and so Θ at vv. 3-7; but here Θ exegetically οπετοίμασι = Θ διοίκησι = Η maius erit; similarly Θ Η v. 24.—העקרות הנושאים] Cf. 24. Θ here is in contracted or corrupt form, and was pieced out from Θ in Hex. For Θ ἀνακτατώσει, cf. Note at end of 24. כב יב] B om. Θ ἔτερος by haplog. of κατατύχεται[ταιετ[ες[ος[—נש[] Θ an exegetical plus, [dioses] הוהו, carried over into Θ texts (exc. 230) = Iren., Lucif. malis.—נש[] ינ] Θ πάντας τοὺς ἐξορθεὶν, 230 plus αὐτοῖς (i.e., as in v. 29), indicating a var. tr. = Iren., Lucif., Aug.—25. [זמר] Cf. ימר 65; with this mng. cf. ימר 103, and by in the parallel passage 117; i.e., uersus > aduersus (vLeng.); or more exactly with Behr., 'gegenuber'; with Calv., "sedebit quasi ad latus Dei, hoc est, ex opposito: manifestus hostis erit"; and so Häv., "in dem Ausdrucke liegt . . . das sich Gott gleich stellen"; cf. Keil. This is Sym.'s
interpretation (in Jer.), sermones quasi Deus loquitur (corr. loquitur), cf. 2 Thes. 2'. Tirinus, Köp., Hüb., recognizing a difficulty, tr. 'concerning.' May the word be identified with Arab. ḥadd, bīqaddē, 'against,' which would have coalesced in Aram. with ḥadd?—[32] For origin of the rt. s. Haupt, AJSL 22, 259. Heb. לוב = 'be worn out,' of clothes, then 'perish'; the Piel used actively 'use up'; for the mng. here cf. 1 Ch. 17& 2 Sa. 710: for the former vb. Curtis suggests that it was supplanting the older ייב. In Targ. Is. 315 לוב = Heb. טו. Both גלעטדורפפי = נ and επαλθουσε = Ε (Lucif.) inueterabit, give literal renderings; Lu. ταπεινωσε. Several mss (33 36 87 90 91 228 h 220 = A) επαλθουσε evidently error (preferred by Bert.) for επαλθουσε, cf. 112. Θ followed this early error with אפל ולי, rd. as אפל, becoming the Syr. verbal form אפל, which was then understood as a noun. But Aph. Syr. understands אפל as a vb., 'will restrain.' For Perles' suggestion of אפל s. at 329.—[35] For the disputed rt. s. Lexx. Cowley reads the vb. ולי 'I thought,' in APO pap. 10, l. 7 = AP, no. 37.—ולי For the anarthrous noun cf. N.T. φημοι.—[36] The 'saints' are the subject, not 'the times,' with some early Prot. comm., and so evidently גלעטדרפי, which tr. with a sing. vb.—[37] For מים s. at 416; the Heb. tr. 12 uses רס. The phrase is cited Rev. 114. If a dual was intended originally, it was ignored by מים, s. on מים v.8.—ולי = 'half,' as in the papp., e.g., APA pap. C, l. 11. For the conj. with מים B 22 89 130 132 149 have מים; elsewhere מים = מים; here it appears to represent a glossated numeral, poss. מים = מים or מים (or a symbol for מים).—[38] The same form in JAram., Syr.; Bär's suggestion, accepted by Behr., that it is an abbreviated יתפ, is absurd. Θ read it as perf. = מים.10.—[39] גלעטדרפי ignore pron. suff. (Θ Lu. hab.), cf. Ken. 153 שוטהו.—[40]ผสมירתו הלוחכתי Active with pass. implication; cf. ה الخامסה 62, Jos. 25, etc., and cases in Syr. cited by Duval, GS §332, b. 14—[41] ימי = ימי, but with opposite implication = 'utterly' = Heb. ימי.—[42] ימי] See at 419, here = 'greatness,' as in Targ.—[43] ימי] Unique case of const. before prep. phrase, a usage common in Syr., s. Nädl., SG §206.—[44] ימי stresses this dominion of the saints; and so Wis. 38 (cited in Note, v.14), Rev. 14& הלאשונין אין הותי ראשא ולשנור ת. האנש י. ת. יתנ, cf. 208. Θ strangely ignores, or avoids this attribution, assigning the dominion to the Highest.

28. At this point the end of the word: so the literal tr. Cf. Jer. 516, 'So far the words of Jeremiah,'
and Ecc. 12:15, 'The end of the word,' שלֵך תָּבְרֵך, a technical term mng. 'book's end' (s. Barton ad loc.) The usual tr. 'matter' for מִלְחָמָה is too indefinite here, although proper just below. It includes the subject-matter of the vision, which however is essentially a 'word' of God, cf. 10:1, 'a word was revealed unto Dan.' For the corresponding phrase at the opening of the story, 'beginning of words,' s. at v.1. I Daniel—much were my thoughts troubling me: The seer is recalled to himself, as in v.15; the phrase, describing his affection of mind, appears above 5:6. And my color changed [for the phrase s. at 5:6, 9, 10], and the matter [a potential word] I kept in my heart. The literary composition of the vision was later, as indeed was the case with the oracles of the great Prophets; a book was finally compiled and concluded, 12:4. The phrase is cited again in Apocrypha and N.T. after similar visions, s. Note.

NOTE ON 'SON OF MAN.'

The term translated above 'like a man' or a 'humanlike one' (v.13), generally rendered verbatim 'one like unto a son of man,' is the most notable crux in this book, the more crucial because with it is involved the Christology of the N.T. However, it is fortunate that the comm. at the present passage have been noticeably free from theological bias, the Messianic and non-Messianic interpretations being found almost indifferently with conservatives and radicals. The present writer will confine himself to the briefest possible discussion of the term in its context.

In the first place, the philology of the term is a matter of dispute. Was it current and commonplace, or is it cryptic, involving a mystery? The many theories fall, on the whole, into three classes, although withal they develop their special nuances. The three classes are as follows: (1) The personal, Messianic interpretation, the eldest and, in past Jewish and Christian exegesis, the prevailing opinion; (2) the symbolical interpretation, the 'son of man' being type of the people of the saints, itself an ancient view; (3) the mythological theory, of recent origin, which finds in the 'Son of Man' a mythical and traditional figure of hoar antiquity—so joining hands in part with the Messianic interpretation.
To begin with, the prep. ‘like’ belongs to the agenda of the controversy. Does the prep. indicate essence, identity (\textit{a veritatis}), or similarity? A vague pursuit of the prep. through the language brings us nowhere. But in this chap. the same prep. is used in exactly parallel circumstances, ‘like a lion,’ ‘like a leopard,’ vv.4, 6, while the same notion is expressed in v.1 by a ppl. דב ‘resembling,’ with no difference in mng, but for the sake of stylistic alternation.\footnote{1 Konig, \textit{Die messianischen Weissagungen}, 289, insists on the distinction: the monsters were only like certain beasts, but the figure here is ‘menschenartig.’} Analogy requires that the prep. here is equally symbolic; it is exactly identical with ‘like the appearance of a man,’ 8 11 = 10 18 (with different words for ‘man,’ \textit{uir} and \textit{homo}), ‘one like the likeness of sons of men,’ 10 16. It is not correct to speak of the prep. as affecting a mystery; it belongs to the expression of visionary phenomena, in which the seer, whether spontaneously or through the use of conventional language, knows that he is seeing only ‘the like of’ something (so the Sem. use of the prep., s. Note); similarly Volz, \textit{Jiid. Esch.}, 11: ‘der kbar ‘enasch ist ein visionaler Mensch, kein Mensch, wie ihn das gewohnliche Auge sieht, darum \textit{uir}, aber es ist doch gerade ein Mensch, wie das Wasser, der Löwe doch Wasser und Löwe sind.’

There is a subtle distinction in v.9, where ‘the like of’ an ancient is not said (demanded by Cha.); the reason is that Deity is a person, whereas the beasts and presumably the man are not real living entities but types.

As for the term ‘son of man,’ \textit{barn̄ā}s, in Syr. this, often in shortened form \textit{barnā}s, is the current word for a human being (\textit{homo}). But Dalman\footnote{2 Worte Jesu, \textit{Sx}, 1, p. 191; his discussion is elaborated and amended by Fiebig, \textit{Der Menschensohn}, 1901, Schmidt, ‘Son of Man,’ \textit{EB} coll. 4705-4740, introd. \textit{§S}, Dr., p. 103, and his article ‘Son of Man,’ \textit{DB}.} argues that the term is not found in the PalAram. of early date; the pl. \textit{אשר שתיים} appears as a transliteration of the Heb. \textit{בני יהוה} ‘sons of man’; in the later Targums the pl. is more frequently found, also occasionally the sing. Fiebig adds a case in a Rabb. tradition of the 2d cent. A.D., s. Schmidt, col. 4708. Dalman holds that the later usage is due to the influence of the Oriental dialect. He accounts for the term here on his theory of a Heb. original of the chap., the background then being the common Heb. \textit{ארכיון}. Dalman’s contention is borne out by the subsequently discovered Elephantine papyri, where \textit{israil} with also its pl., never appears. There the word \textit{ירן} \textit{uir} predominates by far (some 40 cases vs. \textit{שאנס} 8 times, the latter only in the \textit{Aḥiḳar} papp.); it is used of the male, as inclusive of the woman (in legal language), or in the distributive sense—in a word exactly like the Heb. \textit{שאנס} (which word itself also occurs twice). In Dan. the proportion is reversed, \textit{שאנס} occurs twice as many times as \textit{ירון}. But this is due to the different subject-matter of the two lots of literature. It may be noted that \textit{ירון} and \textit{שאנס} are used in the \textit{Aḥiḳar} papp. somewhat synonymously—either may be used in an axiom; but if the word is given an attributive adj., then \textit{ירון}, not \textit{שאנס}, is used. That is, \textit{ירון} meant the individual, \textit{שאנס} the species. Still, it may
be asked, with Schmidt, whether the argument *ex silentio* is to be too much depended upon. The term שור.meant primarily a male and was not always suitable. The abstract נון predominates in Dan., but its occurrence in 4:22 is repeated in 5:1 by נון יר, the one other occurrence of the latter being in 2:8. The idiom of 'son of' a species was common in Heb., and also in Akk. (s. Del., *Hwb.*, p. 390), while we have at least one occurrence of it in the equally unique term יהושע son of 'a god's son,' 3:25. This case corroborates the idiom for early Aram. The writer might have used here יכו, cf. 8:14, of the angel; he might have used, like the papp., יון; but the expression of both category and individual was best expressed by יון יר. It is not a beast, nor a divinity, 'a-son-of-God,' but a man who is raised to the empire of the world. Accordingly mystery is not to be discovered in the term; it is questionable whether Dr.'s suggestion that it is 'a choice semi-poetical expression' is to be accepted. The writer may have had in mind Ps. 8:6, 'What is man (wise) that thou mindest him, or a son of man (צであれば) that thou reckonest him?' Curtis, *DB* 1, 556a, aptly cft. Ps. 80, where 'man || son of man,' v.18 = Israel, is contrasted with the wild boar, v.14 = the heathen. Unfortunately English gives no satisfactory equivalent, such as German 'Menschensohn.' Exactly, 'son of man' is 'a human.'

However much a student, for one reason or another, may be inclined to find here a Messianic prophecy of a heaven-born Saviour coming to the rescue and rule of his people, nevertheless the strict exegesis of the chap. does not bear this out. The 'accurate' interpretation given later on tells us in so many words what is symbolized by the vision. Acc. to v.18 it is 'the saints of the Most High' who 'shall receive the kingdom'; and in v.27 'sovereignty and dominion . . . are given to the people of the saints of the Most High'; i.e., both statements are intentional replicas of v.14. All comm. find the parallel in the Stone in which culminates the great historical drama of c. 2. Early Jewish and Christian exegesis which found in the Stone the Messiah was logical in interpreting c. 2 and c. 7 in parallelism; but it is illogical to understand the Stone of the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man here as the Messiah merely because a personal figure is used.

The writer thus agrees with the majority of recent comm. on Dan., with Mein., Bev., Pr., Dr., Mar., Cha. For the English reader reference may be made to Dr.'s admirable excursus, pp. 102–110, and to his article, 'Son

of Man,' DB. This view also possesses antiquity. Aphrem Syrus notes that the immediate interpretation of the Son of Man is the Jews, as later he interprets the saints of the Most High, v. 22, as the Maccabees; but even so, he adds, the fulfilment of the prophecy is found in our Lord. This exegesis appears in the historical rubrics in this chap. in DB. Also Theodt. observes that this was the opinion of certain orthodox scholars. So AEz., against the current Jewish Messianic interpretation, held that the Man represents Israel. The notion came up in the early Prot. scholarship, s. Calvin's protestations (in Pole), and Grot.'s notion is of interest, that 'the son of man, = homo priuatus, indicates the Roman empire (so also he interpreted the Stone in c. 2). Sa. translates, 'a youth,' ἡ αγέλη. For other views s. Schmidt, col. 4715, §15.

It must be admitted that the earliest interpretation of 'the Son of Man' is Messianic. The term is frequent in the Parables of Enoch, En. 37–71, where it occurs 14 times. The dependence upon Dan. 7 is patent from the first reference, En. 461 ff.: 'And I saw One who had a head of days, and his head was white like wool, and with him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning the Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days. And he answered and said unto me, This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,' etc. Without doubt this was the primitive Judaistic understanding of the statement of the Lord at his trial, Mk. 14:32: 'I am the Son of the Blessed; and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven.' The Son-of-Man theme also appears in a vision in 2 Esd., c. 13; the main body of the book belongs to the end of the first cent. A.D., but c. 13 may be earlier than A.D. 70. In this vision elements of Dan. have been freely drawn upon to compose an original creation. Vv. 11 read: 'I dreamed a dream by night, and I beheld, and lo! there arose a violent wind from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of a man. And I beheld, and lo! this Man flew with the clouds of heaven.

. . . After this I beheld, and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for himself a great mountain, and flew upon it. But I sought to see the region or place from whence the mountain had been cut out, and I could not.' N.b. the combination with the Stone of c. 2. There follows the account of

4 See Dr., p. 107, n. 1. Dr. presents the more important passages at length, pp. 106 f. For criticism of some of the cases s. Schmidt, col. 4711. The tr. below is from Charles.

5 S. Box, The Ezra-Apocalypse, introd. to the chap. Box's tr. is followed in the citation.
CHAPTER 7, NOTE ON ‘SON OF MAN’

the assault upon the Man by the peoples and their destruction by the breath of his lips. Such a personification of the Son of Man into the Messiah even at an early date—the Parables of Enoch were written within a century after Dan.—is not at all surprising or improbable, as Bousset claims, Rel. d. Jud., 305 f. As noted above, how natural it was for the Servant of Yhwh to be personified; cf. the naive inquiry of the eunuch, Acts 8:9. Similarly the abstract expression of the τοῦ αὐτοῦ ‘the growth’ (EVV ‘branch’) for the Davidic dynasty, Jer. 33:18, was promptly Messianized, Jer. 23:5, Zech. 3:8, 6:12, the latter prophet writing within the same century as Jer.

The Messianic interpretation was apparently held by Akiba, first third of 2d cent., who held that the thrones of v.10 were appointed for God and David (Sanh. 38b, cited above ad loc.). Joshua b. Levi, c. 250, taught that, if Israel deserved it, the Messiah would come with the clouds of heaven, after Dan. 7, or, if otherwise, riding upon an ass, after Zech. 9 (Sanh. 98a). This interpretation was followed by all the Jewish comm., with the exception of AEz., as noted above, including the Karaite Jepheth, e.g., Rashi, ‘This is King Messiah.’ 6 Finally in the consideration of the Messianic interpretation may be noticed Porphyry’s counter-notation that the Son of Man is Judas Maccabee, to whom Jer. triumphantly responds: “docere debet quomodo cum nubibus coeli ueniat,” etc.

Of the recent comm. d’Env., Knab., Behr. hold to the Messianic interpretation; so also Kamp., ‘Daniel,’ EB 1003, Volz, Jüd. Esch., 10 f. The strength of the Messianic interpretation arises from the striking impression of the figure of the Son of Man, but those who hold it must admit that that crowning figure disappears at once in its subsequent identification with the kingdom of the saints.

The third class of interpretation, the mythological, is of very recent date. Its precursor is to be found in Schmidt’s hypothesis that the Son of Man is the angel Michael; s. his article JBL 1900, pp. 22–28, and cf. EB 4711 a. His basic argument is that in the subsequent chapters angels are described as ‘like the appearance of a man’; he enters the field of Bab. mythology by taking Marduk as the prototype of Michael. See Volz, p. 10, for criticism of this view: Michael is a well-known figure, the Son of Man here a future, non-existent one. And if the beasts are not real, is it logical to demand reality in the Son of Man? Völter in ZTNW 1902, 173 ff., would identify the figure with a certain Amesha Spenta, a Persian genius incorporating the Kingdom of God—a view criticised by Schmidt, col. 4710. Bertholet, in Stade, Biblische Theologie, pp. 221 ff., agrees with Schmidt’s opinion, and would incorporate that of Völter: “die Umdeutung wäre dann durch die Gestalt Michaels vermittelt.”

6 For the Talmudic and Targumic citations s. Dalman, Worte Jesu, §xi, 2, p. 201; for the Jewish comm. Schöttgen, Horae hebraicae, 2, 263; CBMich., ad loc.; Kön., p. 290, n. 1; and in general Dr., II cc. From v.11 was derived the Messianic name קב, ‘cloud-man.’
But the most representative and wide-spread theory in this class is that which was propounded at length by Gunkel in 1895, followed notably by Zimmern, Bousset, Gressmann, A. Jeremias. In his *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 323-335, Gunkel expounds at length the vision in Dan. 7 (cf. Porter’s résumé of the theory, *DB* 4, 261). He seductively adduces the primitive chaos myth with its winds and monsters, finds antique traits in the setting of the divine judgment, and assembles the numerous parallels from Bible and Apocrypha to prove that we have to deal with a common body of primitive mythology. With regard to the Son-of-Man theme he proceeds, p. 331, to the following induction: “Auch der im Zusammenhange des Dan. so räthselhafte Menschensohn, der auf den Wolken des Himmlischen kommt, wird zur Tradition gehören; denn es ist schwer zu sagen wie der Verfasser von sich aus auf dies Bild grade für Israel hätte verfallen können; zumal Israel ja in dem Gesichte schon unter dem Namen ‘die Heiligen’ erwähnt war. Im Mythus würde ‘der Menschensohn’ der Titel des Gottes-Uberwinders sein.” For proofs of this position Gunkel refers to ‘below,’ apparently to pp. 367 ff., where he draws from the elaborations in Rev. and the Adam Kadmon speculations.

This theory was pursued by Zimmern far more exhaustively, as far as the Bab. sources were concerned, in his treatment of Marduk and the ‘Christological’ myths of that god, in *KAT* 370-396, esp. 391 ff. From the identity of the four beasts with the four world-ages, Zimmern concludes: “So ist wahrscheinlich, dass . . . auch der ‘(himmlische) Mensch’ ursprünglich von einem bestimmten Sternbild am Himmel seinen Ausgang genommen hat. ‘(Himmlicher) Mensch’ wird also ursprünglich so viel bedeuten wie ein bestimmtes Sternbild, das einen Menschen, bezw. einen Gott in Menschengestalt darstellt, im Unterschiede von anderen Sternbildern, die tierische und sonstige Gestalten aufweisen.” Farther on, he suggests identifying the Man with one of the constellations in the neighborhood of Marduk’s Bull, possibly the Charioteer or Orion. These mythological possibilities, on the basis of later literature, are further pursued by Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 295, 301 ff. After a criticism of the current symbolical interpretation and the concurrent argument that in Enoch the Son of Man was promptly elevated to Messianic status, he concludes, p. 307: “Somit drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass in der Gestalt des präexistenten Menschensohnes zwei Gestalten miteinander verschmolzen sind: der judische ‘Messias’ und eine präexistente himmlische Wesenheit, deren Ursprung und Herkunft noch dunkel ist. . . . Damit ist das Gebiet angesteckt, auf dem wir zu suchen haben.” The same writer continues this theme, drawing especially

7 For a recent criticism of this theory v. König, pp. 295 f.
8 For criticism of Gunkel s. Giesebrrecht’s review in *GGA* 1895, 596 ff., and Wellhausen’s critique in his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 6 (1899), 215-249. Gunkel responded to Wellhausen in *ZWT* 42 (1899), 581-611.
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from Gnostic sources, in his Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, 1907, chap. 4, 'Der Urmensch,' noting the bearing upon Judaistic literature, pp. 196 ff. Gressmann follows in the same tracks in his Ursprung der jüdisch-israelitischen Eschatologie, 1905, §33, 'Der "Mensch" im Daniel.' Gressmann does so much credit to the more commonplace interpretation as to admit that "die Originalität des Arbeiters besteht allein darin, dass er den Menschen umgedeutet hat auf Israel." But after this aside he continues: "alles Übrige ist, wie die Vision lehrt, zur Rekonstruktion des alten Mythus zu benutzen." Similarly A. Jeremias, in his Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients (1906), has surrendered himself completely to the spell of Babylon; s. his Index s.v. 'Menschensohn,' and especially p. 595, note on Dan. 7. He holds, against Zimmern, that if an astral prototype is present, Nebo, not Marduk, is to be thought of. He identifies the term 'son of man' with the epithet zēr amēlūti used of the mythological hero Adapa (= Adam) = Marduk, s. pp. 9, 82, 168.

More space has been given to statement of this theory of interpretation because its development is subsequent to the comm. on Dan. The writer subscribes to the acute critique of the Pan-Babylonist school in Prof. Kemper Fullerton's admirable Presidential Address, 'Viewpoints in the Discussion of Isaiah,' JBL 1922, pp. 1-101, esp. pp. 71 ff. The fault he finds with that school's treatment of Isaiah is not relieved by any demonstrations it can give in the field of Dan., although here the Bab. influence might well be expected to be of far more patent and potent character. That Bab. mythology, current in letters, art and speech, should have influenced apocalyptic literature goes without saying. But it is not convincing to argue back from later literature like Rev., or even Enoch, to what must have been the mental background of Dan. The first principle of interpretation, unless the composition is a crazy patchwork—and that may be said of some later apocalyptic productions, in contrast to the poetic simplicity of this chap.—is to allow the document to speak for itself as the product of the writer's mind, and to subordinate extraneous influences, unless they are required to make his thought intelligible. Not one of those ingenious scholars, working tirelessly over the same field, for which Bab. literature affords an enormous treasure, has been able to identify the Son-of-Man figure.

If we admit that the term 'son of man' is not in itself mysterious, and if we avoid confounding it with the later interpretations, there is nothing strange in its use as the type of Israel. It belongs to the Semitic genius to personify the people, as in the 'T'-Psalms. The Servant of YHWH is another instance, which easily became personalized and Messianized. (Gressmann is at least logical in insisting that the Servant of YHWH is also a mythological motive, op. cit., §29.) The present writer submits that the symbolical interpretation of the Son of Man is wholly adequate to the chap. It is terse, but we have not to speculate on sous-entendus. We must allow it its own originality and do justice to the simply but finely limned features of the drama.
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without thinking that every detail is a painful borrowing on the part of a second-hand littérature.

CHAPTER 8. THE VISION OF THE RAM AND THE BUCK.

1. 2. In the third year of Belshazzar Dan. finds himself in vision as at Susa in Elam by the Ulai. 3–14. He beholds a two-horned ram butting toward three points of the compass; it is attacked and destroyed by a one-horned buck appearing from the west. In the place of its conspicuous horn arise four other horns, and out of these a little horn which exalts itself even against God, desecrates his sanctuary, and interrupts the daily double sacrifice for 2,300 due celebrations. 15–26. The angel Gabriel interprets the vision to the seer: the two-horned ram is the Medo-Persian empire; the buck is Greece, and its horn the first king, its four successors the four subsequent kingdoms, and the little horn a king who is particularly described in his character and doings. 27. As aftermath of the vision the seer falls sick, but returns to the royal business, still without comprehension of the vision. With this chap. the bk. reverts to Hebrew.

With the explicit interpretation of the two beasts as denoting Medo-Persia and Greece (vv. 20–21) and with the obvious allusion to Alexander, it would seem that there can be no question of the historical explanation of the vision. This interpretation is as old as the Jewish Alexander Saga, s. Jos., AJ xi, 8. Commentators like Hippolytus and Jerome, who saw in the little horn of c. 7 the Antichrist, and who, like Jer., contradicted Porphyry’s identification of the little horn there with Antiochus, admit without question the identity of the little horn here with that tyrant. This chap. is patently a doublet of c. 7, and the latter more cryptic chap. must, most reasonably, be interpreted from c. 8. It seems like an amazing obstinacy of opinion when scholars like Hengstenberg, Pusey, Wright, Wilson, refuse to take Yawan-Greece in other than its historical sense and persist in making it include the Roman empire even to the end of the world.

* The writer has avoided pursuing the theme in the N.T. field. The articles by Dr. and Schmidt in DB and EB present the literature of the discussion; s. also a brief survey in Preuschen, Hwb. d. N.T., 1910, col. 1106, and for a recent treatment of the problem in the N.T., König, pp. 300 f.
As a double to c. 7 this vision is notably weaker in poetic force than its predecessor. In c. 7 the cryptic character of Apocalyptic is well preserved; in this chap. the writer shows far more zeal for the concrete, as in vv. 10–11, where he abandons the proper elements of vision. If one may allow more than an artificial origin for the scene of c. 7 and find in it the elements of a real psychological state, then this chap. explains itself as not a mere doublet but as a reasoned commentary upon the other; cf. Int., §22, b. It may be noted that as in c. 7 Ṣ has the historic rubrics identifying the several symbols with the things signified, Darius, Alexander, his death, Antiochus.

1. 2. Introduction to the vision. 1. In the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king a vision appeared to me, me Daniel, after that which appeared to me at the first. 2. And I saw in the vision:—Now it was in my seeing that I was in the burg Shushan, which is in the province of Elam, [and I saw in the vision] and I was by the stream Ulai.

The datum of ‘the third year’ of Belsh. appears to be gratuitous, unless there was a tradition of a three years’ reign of that monarch; s. Int., §19, e. For defence of the dating s. Wright, Daniel, 126, Wilson, Studies, 114 ff. For the insistence on the seer’s ego cf. 715–28. V. 2 reads very repetitiously and without entire support from the Gr.r., while its interpretation has been embarrassed from antiquity by the problem whether Dan.’s presence in Elam was in corpore or in spiritu. The eldest interpretation, that Dan. was actually in Elam, appears in Jos., AJ x, 11, 7, who also records in the beginning of the chap. that Dan. built for himself a fine building at Ecbatana in Media, which was still surviving in perfect condition, that in it they were burying the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia up to the present day, and that a Jewish priest was its custodian. This then would be the first definite instance in Judaism of the canonization of a locality connected with one of the Biblical saints (a process of popular religion of extensive vogue, cf. Mt. 2329). For the Tombs of Dan. s. further Int., §4, c. But that Dan. was in Elam only in visione was early recognized, e.g., by Ṣ, ‘I saw in my dream that I was in the city S., which is in the province E., and I saw in my dream that I was standing,’ and so Aph. Syr., at least for the last clause, ‘and I appeared to myself to stand in a dream’; so also Theodt., and 𧢞, uidi autem in visione
esse me super portam Ulai (although Jer. does not recognize this point in his comm.). This view was revived by some of the early Prot. comm., e.g., Piscator, Polanus, Calv., and it is followed by most recent comm., including Stu., Keil, Knab., Wright (p. 171). This disposes of the question of historicity of the datum that Elam was then a province of Babylonia and not of Media, a criticism raised by Bert., and also of the query how could Dan. have been in Susa on the king's business (v. 27) in the last days of falling Babylon. Winckler, *Vorderasiatische Gesch.*, 1905, pp. 54, 85, is disposed to regard Elam, the district of Susa, as still belonging to Babylon, and this point is insisted upon by Wilson, c. 14. If the scene be visionary, then the seer is appropriately transported thither, to the ancient land of Medo-Persia, for the setting of the drama of the symbolical contest between that Oriental empire and Greece.

Textually our passage reads very awkwardly with its repeated 'seeing.' Θ om. the first clause, 'and I saw in the vision, and it was in my seeing,' but Θ's notorious habit of simplification of repetitions does not corroborate his text here. Both Θ and Θ om. the second 'and I saw in the vision'; the tr. above follows this double evidence in bracketing the phrase, which is unnecessary. It is easy to propose more radical changes; Jahn would elide the whole of v. b with its ref. to the Ulai, which he thinks was introduced from v. 16 (but n.b. v. 3). Classical Heb. would have expressed the visionary character of the scene much more exactly (s. Note). This spiritual transportation has its parallel in Ezekiel's removal to Jerusalem, Eze. 8, that of the seer to the desert in Rev. 17 a. For the motive of the river cf. perhaps Gen. 411, Eze. 1 (the Chebar), inf., 9, 12. For Shushan, Greek Susa (also Neh. 14 and Est.), the chief capital of the Pers. empire, s. Paton on Est. 1 (with full bibliography), also Behr., Dr., p. 125. Acc. to Meyer, *GA* 3, §15, Susa was known to the Greeks as well as to the Jews as the capital of the Pers. empire. The word translated 'burg' is appositive to 'Shushan,' following a common Aramaism, does not denote a part of the city, the idiom being the same as in the following 'Elam the province' (so literally). The word 'province' need not be taken in a technical political sense, cf. 3. The Ulai bears the same name in the Akk., is the Classical Eulaeus; it appears in the Syr. at Judith 16 for Gr. Hydaspes (= Choaspes?). Among the three
streams near Susa the Ulai can best be identified with an artificial canal which connected the rivers Choaspes and Coprates and ran close by Susa; s. Behr., Dr., Cheyne, s.v. in EB, who give full reff.

1. For the incorrect spelling s. at 509, 71. [For the abs. pron. s. note at 71. — Weiss] Ehr. would relieve the apparent redundancy here by supposing that the prep. has qualitative mng., 'derselben Art seien.'—נָשָּׂר] Nif., either ppl. pointed by careless conformation with the pf. hav. sup., or possibly the art. has relative force and is pf., s. Behr., Dr., Cheyne, s.v. in EB, who give full reff.

1. For the construction 'חיים זכר ידוע' s. Gen. 13, etc.—2. מִיָּה [אָבָלוּתָא דַּרְא] evidently part of the text; similarly inf. v.18. For the construction 'חיים זכר ידוע' s. at 1 Ki. 22; classical Heb. would prefer וּניָה, as Gen. 41. For the loose syntax of aligned rather than of articulated clauses cf. 'חיים זכר ידוע' 18. [The construction of הבירה is by Aram. idiom, universal in Syr., that of a determinative to ידוע; it does not mean the citadel as distinguished from the city, as Paton understands the phrase at Est. 1 (with this understanding he is embarrassed at 28).] Cf. אָבָלוּתָא APO pap. 1, l. 1, etc. In Ezr. 6 אָבָלוּתָא is not found, the second prep. should be omitted. The same construction, unrecognized by comm., appears in 'Casiphia the place,' Ezr. 817. There are similar unrecognized cases in the N.T., s. the writer's Origin of the Gospel acc. to St. John, Philadelphia, 1923, 15. Θ renders the word by βάσις (also elsewhere = בְּאבֵל, אָבָלוּתָא), on which s. H. Lewy, Die sem. Fremdwörter im Griechischen, 1805, 182. But now the correct form is found in βασίς 'Aμμακινοῦδος] (= 'Araḳ el-Emîr) in the Zenon papp. of age of Ptolemy II; s. Vincent, 'La Palestine dans les papyrus ptoléméiques de Gerza,' RB 1920, 161 ff., text p. 182.—As noted in Comm. the introd. clause ידוע is om. by Θ; it is supplied by Orp Lu. Θ appears to have read it but with paraphrase. The subsequent noun ידוע was om. by orig. Θ (supplied in Hex.), and by Θ, suppl. by Orp c Lu.—נָשָּׂר אָבָלוּתָא] The use of ידוע here vs. its absence in the parallel clause above is noticeable; it is rather an Aram. idiom.—נָשָּׂר אָבָלוּתָא] The nouns in const. relation, cf. ידוע ידוּל, ידוּל, rt. לִי ( = Arab. wabala, Akk. abalu) = 'conduit,' a 'lead' of water. The word = ידוּל Jer. 17, ידוּל Is. 30, 44. The stem wbal > abal (cf. ṣafas > ṣafas 16f), with loss of initial consonant in the Akk. field, and with this form the more Hebraic yóbal corresponds. Otherwise Kön., Lgb., ii, 1, p. 88, taking ידוּל as kudal form. The VSS vary much. Θ ἐπὶ τῶν Ὠδαίων, ignoring ידוּל. Sym. alone has above mng., rdg. acc. to Jer., super paludem Oulai. Others transliterated, so Aq. acc. to Jer., super Oubal Oulai, and Lu. (48 231 c) ἐπὶ τῶν Ὠδαίων, so also for ידוּל v.18 (but 48 231 and also...
3. 4. The vision of the two-horned ram, symbol of Media and Persia. 3. And I lifted up my eyes [i.e., I looked], and saw: and, behold, there stood in front of the stream a ram with two horns; and the two horns were high, and one higher than the other, and the higher coming up last. 4. I saw the ram butting [EVV pushing] to the west and the north and the south; no beasts could stand before him and there was none to deliver from him, and he was doing according to his will and was acting greatly. The ram, like the males of the other domesticated cattle, is a type of power and so of princely leadership, e.g., Eze. 34:17 (‘I will judge between sheep and sheep, between the rams and the bucks’), and the word for ram, סֹגֵג, appears to be used as actual synonym for ‘prince’; so GB, Kön., Hwb., with less certainty as to identification BDB 17b, 18a. Häv. has collected similar ref. from the Gr., Arab., and OPers., and Bev. instances Arab. kabš ‘ram’ = ‘warrior’; for a compilation of references on these animals s. Bochart, Hierozoicon, 2, cc. 43. 51. For the horns as type of strength s. Comm. at 7:8, here they represent the two constituent parts of an empire. The moments of the vision of the horns well represent the relation of Media and Persia in power and time. The other ‘beasts’ that could not stand up against them presuppose c. 7. Persia was the Far-Oriental empire to the Semitic world, hence the expansion only to three points of the compass is stated, although, against some comm., the far-eastern conquests of Persia were known, cf. Est. 1:1 ‘from India to Ethiopia’; accordingly G adds ‘to the east.’ ‘Act greatly’ is preferable to AV ‘become great,’ RVV JV ‘magnify self’; the
vb. is used in a good sense, e.g., of God, Ps. 126: 8, more often in a bad sense, so below vv. 11. 25, Jer. 48: 26. 42, Job 19, etc., with the attendant nuance of affection = 'act big'; cf. the 'mouth speaking big things,' 720.

3. נִדָּמָי For use as indef. art. s. on רָֽעָה 211; Θ om., Θ נִדָּמָי מִכְּלָמִּים. The pointing must be explained as Θ's combination of du. and pl.; cf. בַּיִשָּׁר Pr. 28: 18, and for the other exx. s. Stade, Lehrb., §339. N.b. the problem of the duals in c. 7, s. at v. 8.—ירָּשִׁים Orig. Θ om. as superfluous. For the use of the duals in c. 7, s. at v. 8. —ירָּשִׁים Classical Heb. would use פָּנֵי. —ירָּשִׁים = 'afterwards,' cf. Dt. 13: 10, etc. G attaches to v. 4.—

4. וְנָּתָה So the Pael, of an ox Dt. 33: 17, of a sheep Ezk. 34: 21. For the use of the ppl. as secondary predicate s. other cases inf., e.g., vv. 7. 12. It is rare in early Heb., but note a case in Nu. 11: 10.—For 'west, north and south' of מֶזַּה has 'east, north, west and south,' prob. understanding מֶזַּה as מֶזַּה ('the day-rise'!). Or מ (A 160 230 al.) has plus [בֵּיתוֹנ] בֶּהֹן, a gloss explaining הִצָּה מְלַאכָּה; so for בֵּיתוֹנ v. 5.—ירָּשִׁים G has בֵּיתוֹנ [בֵּיתוֹנ], by scribal error, בֵּיתוֹנ בֵּיתוֹנ > בֵּיתוֹנ בֵּיתוֹנ; G שָׁנָה correctly.—ירָּשִׁים Correct pf. with waw-consec., and so הִצָּה מְלַאכָּה. For such intrans. (operative) Hifils cf. GK §53, 1, and Arab. stem IV, Wright, Gr. 1, §45, Rem. c.

5-7. The vision of the one-horned buck and his contest with the ram. 5. And I was discerning, and behold, a buck coming from the west over the whole earth and not touching the ground [earth]; and the buck had a conspicuous horn between his eyes.

6. And he came to the two-horned ram which I had seen standing in front of the stream, and he ran at him in the fury of his power.

7. And I saw him coming close to the ram, and he was enraged against him, and he smote the ram and broke his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground and trampled him, and there was none to deliver the ram from him. The fresh moment is introduced by a further statement of the seer's continued observation. Cf. the introduction of the little horn 7, 'I was contemplating.' The vb. translated 'discern' means 'to distinguish,' 'to make out' objects, and then, as later in the book, e.g., v. 27, 'to understand,' intellegere. For the buck (or he-goat, Heb. 'goat-buck') as type of power and so a synonym for princes, cf. Is. 14: 13, הָיְהוּדִים, Zec. 10: 2 (sheep as oppressed by goats). The relation between the two animals, the ram and the
goat, is not that of worth, as in the descending series in the visions of the metals and the beasts in cc. 2 and 7, but of power. The goat naturally overcomes the ram, just as in Eze. 34:2 and Zech. 10:3 the LORD must intervene between his people, the feeble sheep, and the rough goats. The wild goat, of some species, is a fierce enough animal to be represented in the contests of Gilgamesh, s. W. H. Ward, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals*, nos. 19 ff. Häv. aptly cites a vision related by Plutarch in his *Sulla*, c. 28: there was seen a vision of two large goats fighting, attacking and receiving blows, just as is the case with men fighting—which presaged the fall of the younger Marius. The view that the goat was taken to symbolize Alexander’s empire because the goat figures in the legends of the Macedonian house and the composition of Macedonian place-names (e.g., the old residence of the dynasty *Ægæ* and the Macedonian epithet *Ægeades*) was proposed by Medus, and has been accepted by some comm., e.g., Häv., dEnv.; but this habit of finding ‘inner (secondary) conformities’ (Häv.) between the type and the object has ever been one of the fallacies of interpretation of the book. Had correspondences of this kind been chosen, rather the two-horned ram would have typified Alexander, who, acc. to Clem. Alex., *Cohort. ad gentes*, iv (ed. Potter, 1, p. 48), had himself represented with two horns to prove himself the son of the ram-headed Libyan Ammon, a trait which appears in the Seleucide coinage and which gave rise to the Arabic epithet for Alexander *Dv l-karnain*, ‘he-of-the-two-horns’ (e.g., Koran, 18. 82), the exact equivalent, by the way, of בְּלִי כֶּרֶס, the epithet for the Pers. ram in v.7. See Häv., p. 258, vLeng., p. 369, giving the elder literature, and Babelon, *l.c.* in Comm. at 7. The single horn of the goat, as v.8 certainly shows, represents the first of the Greek dynasty, the great Alexander. The unicorn animal has its prototype in the Bab.-Ass. monuments, e.g., the *siruštš*, and other representations of one-horned animals, a detail which arose from the artist depicting the animal from one side so that the two horns are merged into one. This feature also appears in the archaic inlaid bulls in the temple discovered at Tell el Obeid, in 1923-24; s. *Museum Journal* (Univ. Penna. Museum), March, 1924, cut p. 26. On the Biblical ‘unicorn’ in general s. Haupt, *SBOT Psalms* (Eng.), 172 f. For the plastic background of this contest of beasts Häv. draws attention to
the mythological representations in the ruins of Persepolis; and
the abundant material, from the art, large and small, of Baby­
lonia corroborates this happy comparison.

Several items are distinguished in the he-goat’s progress. He
comes ‘from the west.’ ‘He went over the whole earth’: comm.
have long compared the description of Alex.'s conquests in
1 Mac. i:3: ‘He went through to the ends of the earth and took
spoils of a multitude of nations; and the earth was quiet before
him,’ etc. The rapidity of his progress, ‘not touching the
ground,’ is a reminiscence of the classical description of Cyrus,
Is. 41:2, who ‘pursues and passes on in peace, Not going on the
road with his feet.’ VLeng. cites a Classical parallel from Verg.,
Aen., vii, 806 ff., e.g., ‘Ferret iter, celeres nec tingeret aequore
plantas.’ The ‘conspicuous horn’ is Alexander; for the much­
mooted adj. as rendered after the most ancient and most com­
munity s. Note. 6. 7 capitaly describe the impetuosity
of Alex.’s attack upon Persia and the helpless, utter fall of that
empire. This and the following v. (with the echoes in 10:20,
11:2, 4) give us the only memory of the great Alexander definitely
preserved by the Jews in their Scriptures.

5. The Hif. = ‘distinguish, discern.’ Cf. 4 לְשׁוֹן יָשָׁבוּ־בָּאשֶׁר
For etymology of יי s. Bev., GB; the word is Aram., occurring
Ezr. 6:17 in this combination, in Heb. 2 Ch. 29:21, Ezr. 8:11; cf. the usual
שׁוֹר יָשָׁבוּר; inf. v.11 לְשׁוֹנָה שׁוֹר. The art. in יי is inexplicable and
lacks in ג י; either it is conformed to יי v.5 (cf. a case in Ecc. 10:26,
where the Kr. corrects the art. in יי, or the whole vocable should
be omitted, and so actually Or? ignores it; this Aquilanic (?) testimony
is noteworthy.—יָשָׁבוּר The word, late in Heb., occurs also in the papp.,
e.g., APA papp. C, D.—יָשָׁבוּר יי? has become a sheer negative, so
also יָשָׁבוּר יי v.27 (q.v.), and prob. a case Pr. 29:19 יי מְעַט (q.v.), and prob. a case Pr. 29:19 יי מְעַט
= ג אָבָא בְּבַשְׁלָא (s. GB, p. 603b). Class. Heb. demands יי, which Ehr.
with good reason requires here, as lost by haplog.—יי יי? All recent
comm. tr. יי (which recurs at v.8, q.v.), and the
like, after the Hex. plus in ג and יי, יי (insulae), מְעַט (insulae), יי (insulae = AV RVV
‘notable’), Jeph., Ra., most early Prot. comm. Comparison may be
made with יי יי 2 Sa. 23:11. יי is a noun from the act. ppl. stem
with abstract suffix; cf. Heb. יי יי = Aram. יי, our word retaining
the Aram. -ד; cf. Barth, Nb., §98, Brock., VG i, §126. G. Hoffmann,
ZATW 1883, pp. 95 f., would point יי as sup. 4.8. 17 and in Syr., but
perhaps that case should be revised to the form here. The noun can
mean either the action or the object of the action. But Sa. with mu-
8-12. The vision of the great horn, continued, of the four horns, and of the little horn that grew up. 8. And the buck was acting exceeding greatly; and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and there came up [gloss, conspicuousness] four in its place to the four winds of heaven. 9. And out of one of them came forth another horn, a little one, and it waxed exceeding great, toward the south and toward the east [gloss, and toward the Desire]. The buck stands consistently for the Greek empire; its founder Alexander, the great horn, ‘was broken.’ The four kingdoms, represented by the four horns, are apparently the four kingdoms of the Diadochi, Macedonia (under Cassander), Thrace and Asia Minor (Lysimachus), ‘Asia’ or Syria (Seleucus), Egypt (Ptolemy). These suitably correspond to the four points of the compass, west, north, east, south. The passage is cited at 114. Behr.’s criticism upon this view is the query: “What one of the readers of our book knew of this; and if he did how did it concern him?” However, the traditional remains of the ancient proud monarchies must have long survived. This has been the almost constant interpretation of the four, with variations as to the names of the Diadochi, since the beginning: of Hipp., iv,
26. Jer., Theodt., Aph. Syr., Polych., with the modern exception of those who find here the Roman and post-Roman ages. For the alleged gloss in v. 8 s. Note. In v. 9 a slight amendment of the orig. text has been made, following Bev. and most subsequent comm., viz., by the shifting and change of one letter (ך to ג), making the orig. ‘a horn out of a little’ (whatever that may mean) read ‘another horn, a little one,’ which is the exact Heb. equivalent of the Aram. in 7a. If Ant. Epiph. be meant there, he must be found here. By the expansion of the horn toward the south are meant Ant.’s campaigns in Egypt, only frustrated by Rome, and by that ‘to the east’ the prospected campaigns against Parthia, beginning 166-5, which terminated in his death in Elymais 165-4. A third point of direction is given in ב, ‘to the Delight,’ which is commonly interpreted as in the several Eng. VSS, ‘the pleasant,’ or ‘glorious,’ or ‘beau­teous (land),’ on the basis of 1116·841, which passages, however, have the desiderated word ‘land.’ The Note argues for the exclusion of the phrase as a gloss, which cannot have the alleged mg. by itself, which was not so translated by the VSS and early comm., and which is absurd when aligned with two given points of the compass, in which matter the book is remarkably accurate.

10. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it made fall to the earth some of the host, yea of the stars some of them it trampled. With few exceptions, to be noted below, the universal interpretation of ‘the host of heaven’ and its synonym ‘the stars’ is that they refer tropically to God’s people: Jer., ‘the sons of Israel, who are intrenched by the help of angels’; Polych. definitely, ‘the Maccabees’; Aph. Syr., ‘the sacerdotal order’; and so variously the subsequent views, on which no improvement has been made since Pole’s digest: the Church, the saints, etc. For the trope of the stars we are referred to 123, ‘they shall shine . . . as the stars,’ cf. Mt. 1343. (On the Judaistic combination of the saints and the stars s. Volz, Jüd. Esch., 360 ff.) This interpretation of ‘the host (הָעַם) of heaven’ is obtained from the word in its commonplace sense of ‘army,’ etc., and hence of the Maccabees, etc.; or as of ‘service’ and so techni­cally ‘liturgical service’ of the priests, e.g., נֶחֶם נַעַם נ. 428, 824, etc. (s. Lexx.). But none can easily understand ‘the host of heaven’ otherwise than of ‘the heavenly host,’ which is rein-
forced by the synonymous ‘stars’ and by the phrase ‘Prince of
the host,’ v.10 = ‘God of hosts,’ etc. Evidently Ant.’s pre­
sumption against heaven and its denizens is referred to. The difficulty
of the common interpretation is felt by Jer., who tr. in his
comm. ‘uelut stellas coeli,’ and Keil, who insists that this is a
vision in which the host and the stars only figure earthly affairs.
For the customary interpretation ref. is made to En. 467, ‘These
are they who judge the stars of heaven, And raise their hands
against the Most High, And tread upon the earth and dwell
upon it,’ where the comm. (e.g., Beer, Cha.) interpret ‘the stars’
from the common understanding of the word here; but rather,
the stars and the Most High are grouped together as heavenly
ones. (Cha. attempts to rewrite the v. in En. so as to make it
agree almost verbatim with that in Dan.) Häv. notes the citation
in 2 Mac. 910, ‘And the man that a little afore supposed himself
to touch the stars of heaven (following G’s plus ‘of heaven’),
no one could endure for his stench,’ which definitely agrees with
the interpretation here followed. There is another passage in
the Bible, ignored by the comm. here, which cites and interprets
the v., viz., Rev. 124, where, of the great dragon with seven heads
and ten horns, it is told that ‘his tail sweeps the third of the
stars of heaven and casts them to the earth’ (with independent
tr., ἔβαλεν εἰς τ. γῆν). Gunkel naturally handled this passage
as a mythological trait, Schöpfung, 387 (cf. Bousset, ad loc.):
“This can only be understood as an ætiological myth. The Bab.
science found in the heaven a vacant space, the origin of which
is to be explained by this myth.” The present writer’s result is
that the allusion was to Ant.’s God-defying arrogance, for which
the seer had in mind the classical diatribe against Babel in Is.
14, esp. vv.12-15. That blasphemous monarch’s defiance of the
gods in general was part at least of the Jewish tradition, s. 11
26-39, with which cf. the general statement in 1 Mac. 14 of Ant.’s
edict against the Religion. This view, independently reached,
was more than anticipated by G. F. Moore in his article, ‘Daniel
viii. 9-14’ in JBL 15 (1896), 193-7. It is sufficient to refer to
this summary but compelling paper. He notes, inter al., the
sacrilegious attempt of Ant. upon the temple of Nanaea in Ely-
mais. As Moore observes, the stars are frequently identified
with gods, e.g., Dt. 419, Is. 2421ff., En. 801. He notes that this
interpretation has been maintained by Smend, ZATW 4, 201,
and *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 452, and with this view agrees a brief remark by Volz, *l.c.*, 361. And last but not least, it should be noted that Jephet in the 10th cent. gave the same interpretation: "Then it seemed to him as though it had risen to the host of heaven and thrown some of them down. 'The host of heaven' very likely refers to the seven planets, Saturn and *sarka* (?). Then it seemed to him as though it trampled the stars on the ground; and then as though the horn went in to the captain of the host and the mightiest of it; but it does not say that the horn did anything with the captain of the host more than that 'it magnified itself.'"

11. 12 constitute *crescendo* the most difficult short passage of the bk. The early VSS read the same quantum of text; this is true even of the expanded and disfigured text of 6 when it is shorn of its glosses. For the texts of the VSS, which give but little help, s. Note at end of the chap. 11 presents less difficulty of the two: And even up to [i.e., right up to the face of] the Prince of the host he acted greatly [cf. v. 4], and by him [or, from him] was removed [so *Kr*.; *Kt. he removed*] the Constant (sacrifice), and was rejected the place of his [i.e., the Prince's] sanctuary. 'The Prince of the host' (properly a military term, generalissimo, Gen. 21 22 and often) is the same as 'the Prince of princes' (cf. 'God of gods,' 247, *q.v.*) and can be none other than God, 'the God of Hosts,' as is accepted by almost all comm., even those who take 'the host,' v.10, in a contrary sense. Aph. Syr., Grot. are consistent with the prevailing exegesis of that v. in finding in the prince of the host the high priest Onias; for this sacerdotal use of 'prince' cf. 1 Ch. 24 6, etc. Polych. finds here 'the presiding angel of the nation,' and AEz. Michael, following the clew of the use of the word for angels in 10 13–20, cf. Jos. 5 14; in Targ. to Ps. 137 Michael is the prince of Jerusalem. The combination of the vb. with the prep. is very pregnant, 'right up to'; again with reminiscence of Is. 14, *e.g.*, v. 14. In the pron. 'he,' *vs.* the fem. ('it') otherwise depending upon the gender of 'horn,' the writer has inadvertently dropped his figure; it is sometimes overlooked by critics that even a writer's autograph may contain errors, *vs.* vGall, *Einheitlichkeit*, 51, and Moore, *l.c.*, 197, who would read the fem. We may take it that the ultimate sense of the variations 'by him . . . was removed' and 'from him (i.e., God) he removed,' is the same. 'From him' is the rendering of
RVV JV; 'by him,' i.e., the horn, of Grr., AV; the former interpretation is more commonly adopted. The conflict of voices between the Kt. and Κρ., which is as old as the VSS, is doubtless due to the contrary interpretations of the prep. 'The Constant,' הַּדִּינִי, is the technical abbreviation for the 'constant holocaust' or 'whole burnt-offering of perpetuity,' הִנְרָדִי הַּלֵּוֹן, which in the late ritual of Judaism was offered in a lamb morning and evening of every day; cf. 9:33 and Ex. 29:38-42; see Nowack, Heb. Arch. 2, 221 f., and Edersheim, The Temple, c. 8. Cf. יְלֹאַקְנַתְוָמַתָּה קְרִיָּא תֹּ פּגִּיוּד קַאִי תֹּ דֵלִיןְו, 1 Esd. 5:19. The abbreviated term appears only here and vv. 12, 13, 11:31, 12:11 in the Bible, but is common in the Talmud. These two daily sacrifices were the basis and expression of the whole cult, and that the two are meant is proved by the '2300 evenings, mornings,' v. 14, which figure is to be divided by two to obtain the number of days. The word for 'place,' yונל, not the usual יְוָנְלִי, is rare, implying a construction, a base, e.g., Ezr. 3:3 (the base of the altar), Ps. 89:15, or a dwelling, and so used esp. of God's abode, either on earth, e.g., Is. 4:5, or in heaven, 1 Ki. 8:29. The vb. here translated 'was rejected' is generally rendered 'was cast down,' as in vv. 11:7-12. But the vb. implies both 'throw down' and 'throw away,' deicere and reicere, e.g., Neh. 9:26, = 'despise,' and this nuance is properly proposed here by Ehr. As Dr. remarks, the temple does not seem to have been literally 'cast down'; however, it is described as having been 'laid waste like a wilderness' and 'trampled down,' 1 Mac. 1:39, 3:46; acc. to 4:48, the Jews '(re)built the holy place.'

12a. And a host shall be given (or, set) upon (or, against) the Constant in iniquity; so H literally. The gender agreement between subj. and vb. is most improbable, and the future tense is out of place. Attempts at translation may be exemplified from H: robur autem datum est ei contra iuge sacrificium propter peccata; so practically S = GV AV, but 'a host' for robur; RVV JV, 'and the host was given over to it together with (following the Zürich Bible, also CBMich.) the continual burnt-offering through transgression'; Dr., 'and a host (or, a warfare) was undertaken against the continual burnt-offering with transgression (i.e., wickedly)'; etc. Grot. interprets 'host' of Ant.'s garrison in the Akra. Sa. om. the prep., 'the stars (so יְבָנָי throughout)
laid low the Constant.' Ra., Calv. think of 'a determined time' (?); Häv. of a corps of Jews who had perverted to ('were given to') the innovation, and somewhat similarly vLeng., but 'were surrendered to.' For the first word of the v., מָפְלוּ 'and a host,' the Grr. depart peculiarly from מָפְלוּ in finding a vb., s. Note at end of the chap.; but no help to the sense is obtained. Emendation has naturally been attempted. VGalp, p. 51, deletes מָפְלוּ (but hardly on the authority of the Grr., as he and Lohr allege), corrects the vb. into a past, מָנָה, om. the prep. 'in [sin],' and so obtains, 'und es wurde gelegt auf das tägliche Opfer Frevel,' which Marl. follows. Moore, p. 196, following Bert., also om. מָפְלוּ, reads מָנָה, and tr., 'and it (the horn) put on the daily sacrifice the Iniquity.' He cfr. the 'desolating Iniquity,' v. 12 = 'the Abomination of Desolation,' 927, etc. But such an obscure expression as 'putting the Iniquity on the sacrifice' can only be defended by stressing the element of intentional obscurity. Bert., who preceded in this line of emendation, tr. מַעַל, 'in place of the Constant,' and cfr. Gen. 28a. But we expect such a phrase as is found in i Mac. 6', τό βδελνύμα οὐκ ἐπι τὸ θυσιαστήριον. Jahn, who regards v. 12 as a doublet to v. 11, has a similar interpretation, but retaining מָפְלוּ, in which he finds מָמָה, 'filth,' and tr., 'und Unrath (?) wird freventlich an das beständige Opfer getan.' For another essay might be proposed מָפְלוּת נְדָנָה (borrowing a noun from the Aram.; a similar opinion given by PsSa., but with ref. to the divine will): 'and his will he set against (or, upon) the Constant.' But emendations are not better than plausible.

And it cast down truth to the ground, and it wrought and prospered: so Eng. VSS. But the sequence of the Heb. tenses, better observed by מַעַל, is difficult. The subj. of the fem. vbs. would be 'the horn.' By rdg. the first vb. as a pass. and with waw consec. (מָפְלוּ for מָפְלוּ), with 2mss de R., the VSS, vGalp, Kamp., Mar., is obtained, 'and the truth was cast down to the ground.' But 'the horn' must still be understood as the subj. of the following vbs., מָפְלוּת נְדָנָה . . . μεταφέρειν; these perf. may possibly be regarded as frequentative, 'was doing,' etc. Moore, denying this probability, makes the observation that these vbs. may have been introduced here from v. 24, a likely sug-
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gestion, relieving the change of subjects. 'The truth,' תֹּהֲמָה, is not the abstract truth, as in 1 Esd. 433, but the True Religion as embodied in the Scriptures, esp. the Thorah (cf. the concrete use of משך), and so תֹּהֲמָה תֹּרָה Mal. 26; cf. the Pauline נְגֵמָה בֵּלי מְזוּמָה Rom. 220. So Ra., AEz., and most recent comm. A concrete historical ref. is found in Ant.'s destruction of the sacred books, 1 Mac. 134. The Gr. paraphrase, נְגֵמָה בֵּלי מְזוּמָה (so C at 832), is not so 'flat' as Hāv. judges, for there is meant 'the righteousness that is in the Law'; נְגֵמָה בֵּלי מְזוּמָה. For 'wrought and prospered' cf. 2 Ch. 3121, etc.; for 'do, work' used absolutely cf. 1128, 30, 32, Ps. 2222, etc., mostly of divine activity.

8. וְיִקְרָא] יֵעַמְדַּו of time at which, as often; cf. on הנָעֵמָה 44; for the phrase cf. 1131.—דְּנַלְתְּו] Θ (at least B G 130) Or הב ל om., and א follows suit; but the early presence of a word here is attested by ג יָשַׁפְּרָא, i.e., as מַנְדָּרָה and so Orס. (A plus שֶׁפֶחַה is also read by ג Θ אב.) ג's rdg. has been accepted by Grätz, Bev., Kamp., Pr., Dr., Löh, Cha. But it is to be noted that ג renders תֹּרָה, v.6, as though it were תֹּרָה, and its testimony may not be accepted too easily here. Ehr. remarks that the order should be תֹּרָה תֹּרָה, cf. 128. It is best to regard תֹּרָה as an early gloss, relating the v. to v.6. Ra. tr. by תֹּרָה י, and Behr. compares the word with נִדָּר, Eze. 16, which awkwardly gives another sense than here in V.6, while we should expect י or תֹּרָה תֹּרָה, cf. v.18. The most common interpretation attempts to relate the word with v.6; so נִדָּר יִשָּׁפֶר; the early Prot. comm., AV RVV CBMich., Rosen., vLeng., Hitz., Stu., Keil, Mein., al., with various interpretative essays. Sa. and AEz. repeat their interpretations from v.6, and so JDMich., Bert.—לָא יִשָּׁפֶר תֹּרָה י. Cf. 71, 114. Behr. notes that י is not necessarily ת, and should be translated שָׁפֶר, as in Is. 321, desiring to forestall an exact historical interpretation; but the parallelism of the four horns and the four quarters may be objected to this fine point.

9. נִדָּר] For lack of agreement in gender with antecedent s. on ונָעֵמָה 18; also ms Which. For similar lack of agreement s. GK §145, 7.—דְּנַלְתְּו] For rt. נָעֵמָה י s. GB 191a, with bibliography. Bev. suggested the correction מַנְדָּרָה י = exactly מַנְדָּרָה י, accepted by all subsequent comm. exc. Behr. and adopted here; n.b. the similarity of י and י in the papp. Graetz had earlier proposed omitting י. The troublesome word has provoked a large number of conjectures. (1) With י regarded as the prep.: Bert. tr. adjectively, 'kleinwinzig,' so Ges., Thes., 805, i.e., 'of a small character,' cft. נִדָּר נִדָּר Ru. 220, on which it may be here remarked that the form unamended (ср. יִנָּדָּר in Kittel's marg.) has its counterpart in an Arab. idiom of min, s. Wright, Gr. 2, p. 138, B–D. Zöck. obtains an adv. phrase, cft.
V Leng. proposed a nominal use, 'von Kleinheit,' cf. Is. 41:24, cf. GB\textsuperscript{10} e parvis initis; and Behr., 'von geringerer Würde.' Or, regarding \textit{p} as comparative, CBMich. \textit{cft.}, \textit{Ps.} 62:10, \textit{Jer.} 10:8, and so König, \textit{Syntax}, §352, 2, \textit{Hdb.}, s.v., desiderates \textit{minus quam vanitas}. On this V Leng. remarks that 'more than a little' can also mean 'ziemlich gross,' and so he acutely explains the \textit{σχυράν} of the Gr. Or (2) another form is found: Ew., \textit{Lehrb.}, §270, b, n. 1, suggested the pp. \textit{πρώτος}, which Behr. criticises, since it must mean 'becoming small' (or 'doing small things'). Others, as cited by CBMich., compared \textit{vag} Gen. 10:20, here \textit{v} with \textit{dag. euphonicum}, and so Barth., \textit{Nbh.}, §105, finds a unique \textit{miśtil} adj. form, with which he \textit{cft.} the (dubious) Akk.-Aram. \textit{miskēn}. And (3) the Aram. \textit{rwx}, in act. forms 'despise,' is compared, so Ra., who \textit{tr.} \textit{rwx} and \textit{cft.} Ob\textsuperscript{3}, while JDMich., \textit{Suppl.}, 2124, in agreement with Syr. Pael \textit{tr.} 'blaspheming.' EVV follow \textit{modicum} and early Prot. comm. in translating as an adj., 'little.' \textit{C} \textit{rd.} \textit{κριφάς} \textit{σχυράν} \textit{v} = \textit{O} \textit{x.} \textit{v} \textit{σχ}x. \textit{O} \textit{tr.} 'little' = \textit{I}. \textit{E}\textit{wb.}, \textit{cornu in uirtute}, i.e., understanding \textit{v} as \textit{v} and manipulating \textit{σχ} accordingly.—\textit{Also as adv., Is.} 56:12, \textit{B}Sira 8:12 = B\textit{Arama.} \textit{vōlēt} \textit{than} \textit{vōlēt}, \textit{fēmāla}, \textit{pēlēs} \textit{as though} \textit{pēlēs}; \textit{O} only the first and third, \textit{pōb} \textit{t. vōtor}, \textit{t. ūberm}, i.e., \textit{vōtor} as though \textit{pēlēs}, as \textit{v} (in Q 230 232 233 = \textit{A} \textit{dūn} for \textit{dūn} by easy and seductive error); \textit{Orp.-c} \textit{Lu.} supply the second term, \textit{avatolēf}. \textit{S} om. the third term. The eldest evidence thus supports the three terms; why \textit{O} om. the second is not evident. There is no reason with Houbigant (cited by Bert.) and Jahn to accept \textit{O}'s perversion of the text to 'the north'; it is interesting that Sa. has the same interpretation, 'to Syria (\textit{es-sām}), that is, the north.' The third term is now almost universally interpreted as \textit{vōlēt} \textit{vōlēt} 11:16, 41, so Prot. comm. generally after the Jewish comm., EVV ('pleasant, beautiful land'), also d\textit{Env.}, Knab. \textit{vs.} \textit{I}. But how can the word in itself stand for that phrase? Hardly so unless that phrase had already occurred and here were a reminiscence. And then why the explicit phrase later? Parallels offered, e.g., \textit{Eze.} 44:6 (Geier), are not forcible for this context. And how absurd is the geography: 'to the south, to the east, and to Palestine'! Note that \textit{O} is followed by \textit{Jer.}, \textit{contra fortitudinem}, the latter in his comm. identifying \textit{vōlēt} \textit{vōlēt} with 'the sons of Israel,' and so Polych. In sum, the oldest exegesis had no suspicion of the modern interpretation. If \textit{O} deliberately omitted the word, this may have been for lack of a suitable interpretation. In 18. 41. 46 \textit{O} \textit{tr.} \textit{vōlēt} consistently with \textit{sačētēn}. I am forced to conclude that \textit{vōlēt} here is not original but an early plus, prob. a gloss to the foll. \textit{vōlēt}, and that \textit{O} actually read \textit{vōlēt} here, \textit{vōtor} then being a later assimilation to the geographical term \textit{vōtor} in c. 11.
10. [With Piscator, CBMich., al., waw explicative, 'even of the stars,' cf. Zech. 9, 'upon an ass and upon a colt the foal of a she-ass' (Hitz.); s. on waw as ־וּאָנָא יִדְרִי 410.—G goes its own way in interpretation; for ־וּאָנָא יִדְרִי ־וּאָנָא יִדְרִי, and for יִדְרִי יִדְרִי אַּֽתָּא יִדְרִי υπάρχει, and for ידְרִי ידְרִי υπάρχει (poss. a doublet). G thus identified the host with the stars. The vbs. in v. 9 are put in the pass. יָקְדֶשׁ = יָקְדֶשׁ (v. 11 = מָרָה), מָרָה ־וּאָנָא יִדְרִי. Θ tr. 'he as a Kal, וּאָנָא יִדְרִי, with the following partitives for subject. For מָרָה יִדְרִי, error for מָרָה יִדְרִי, which is exhibited in Orp Lu. Q 42 230 A, corroborated by וּאָנָא יִדְרִי. The prep. can be used, but rarely, with the agent after the pass. Behr. tr. 'seinerseits,' but which 'side' he means is not obvious.—שָׁמֵר הָנָּה. The Hif. has the mg. 'to lift up,' and then 'to remove,' e.g., Is. 5714, Eze. 2131, and so constantly of the ritual 'removal' of parts of sacrifice; Behr. finds here a sarcastic allusion to ritual practice. The pass., Hof., was read here with חָסֶל by Grr.; the act., Hif., with Kt. by וּאָנָא יִדְרִי, i.e., by the 4th cent. the change had come in. Prob. the change was made so as to define the antecedent of מָרָה. The Hof. is preferable in alignment with מָרָה יִדְרִי, is not to be explained, with Keil, as a conformation to the latter. Ew., Lehrb., §115, d, Olshausen, Lehrb., §259, b, Kön., Lgb., 1, 502 f, Behr. regard the Kt. as an antique Hof. form, but most unnecessarily.—לָשׁוּם] With weak waw. Hitz., Kamp. would read the absolut inf. Hif. מָרָה יִדְרִי, but the pass. is supported by G and prob. by Θ (which misread the Heb.).

12. מַּמַּר] For the assumed fem. gender in construction with מַמַּר cf. המַמַּרعم אֵֽשֶׁר חִזְּבָה Is. 40^, where, however, as Bev. notes, the vb. can be construed as act., 'accomplished her service'; for discussion of the gender s. ref. in GB. All interpretations of מַמַּר are unsuccessful; s. Comm. If an intrusion—although some word was found here by G—it may be a gloss on יִדְרִי v. 9, or a gloss meant to be added to the list of terms in v. 9, q.v.—עשֵּב[ו] G מַמַּרְתּוּ, understood as a pl. and so the vb. pluralized in agreement with it, but originally prob. a dative = מַמַּרְתּוּ (s. Note at end of chap.); this contradicts the position of scholars who hold that G is witness to עָשֵּב as nominative.—הָֽשִׁיטוּנָהּ שלוכטנהו] Schultens, Animadv., 326, cf. the use of Arab. ja'ala with the impf., 'he was doing so-and-so,' and the similar use of עָשֵּב in 1 Ki. 822, also below in 117 (q.v.): i.e., 'he did prosperously.'


13a. And I heard one Holy one speaking, and another [Heb., one] Holy one spoke to so-and-so who was speaking. 'Holy one,' ישיב, = angel, s. on ישיב 410. For the seer's 'hearing in' on an angelic conversation as introduction to a revelation cf. Zech. 122^, 27; v. 12 of the former passage, 'the angel of the LORD spoke
and said, O LORD of hosts, how long? ’ being model to v. b here. ‘ So-and-so ’ (the Heb. word here is a hybrid) may be used where the name is not known, e.g., i Sa. 21 3 , Ru. 4 1 , or, at least in Arabic narrative, even where the name is known, but it is tedious or unnecessary to repeat it; here the title of the addressee may be implied. As has not been observed, the contents of the first angel’s ‘ speaking ’ must be the details of vv. 10 - 12 . The vision has passed from the visual to the aural, for the moments of that climax could not be seen. 13 b . For how long is the vision: the Constant, and the desolating Iniquity, the giving of both sanctuary and host to trampling? I.e., What is the term of this shocking vision? Cf. יִשְׂרָאֵל v. 19 . ‘ How long, ’ יָעַר מַעֲרֹת , is an antique expression of religion, appearing constantly in the Bab. penitentials (adi mati); for example of the repetitious use of this liturgical formula s. the hymn to Ishtar in King, Seven Tablets of Creation, i, 222 ff. = Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., 2, 66 ff.; the same exclamative use in the Bible, e.g., Ps. 6 4 , 90 13 . It became frequent in apocalyptic usage, cf. inf. 12 6 , 2 Esd. 6 19 , etc. (s. Volz, Jüd. Esch., 162). The subsequent items are epexegetical to ‘ the vision, ’ detailing its chief contents. The translation followed provisionally above is the one based on the Mass. punctuation, which has been in vogue, since the early Prot. comm.; it is followed by GV, the Eng. VSS, and almost all scholars who will not amend the text. It treats the ‘ and ’ in יִשְׂרָאֵל as correlative to the following ‘ and, ’ i.e., ‘ both . . . and, ’ a usage only occasionally found in Heb. (for the cases s. BDB, p. 253a). It is not, however, the construction known to the ancient VSS, although הַמִּקְדָּשׁ בְּרוּשַׁלָּם had our text at this point. But we might easily overcome the unusual syntax by reading יִשְׂרָאֵל for הַמִּקְדָּשׁ בְּרוּשַׁלָּם, ‘ his making sanctuary [and host a trampling]. ’ The problem in v. 12 anent הלִּכָּה ‘ host, ’ which we gave reason for deleting there, continues here, and all the attempted translations, ‘ army, ’ ‘ cult, ’ etc., are contrary to the sense of ‘ host ’ in v. 10 , q.v. The Grr. vary from הָלָכוּ and have given a starting-point for emendations, for which s. Berth., Graetz, Beiträge, 388, Bev., vGall, p. 52, Moore, i.e., (JBL 1896, 196). The first two terms inquired of are the Constant and the Iniquity. The former is doubtless improved by following the plus of the Grr., נְטָהְוּאָה (with Graetz, Bev., vGall, Moore) = מָרֵי, i.e., ‘ the Constant removed, ’ cor-
responding to the Kr., v.11 (Moore prefers נוש in after 12). In פלשש השם, ‘the desolating Iniquity,’ we would have a descriptive epithet added to ‘the Iniquity’ of v.12, understanding פלשש there as subject and omitting the prep. ב ‘in.’ The term is then equivalent, as Berth., Moore note, to פלשש השם of 927, etc., the disguised term for ‘the abomination which he built on the place of sacrifice,’ 1 Mac. 67. And Ra. finds in ‘the Iniquity’ in both vv. the idol that was set up. For פלשש השם s. at 927. But as פלשש is not an item in the preceding vv., the present writer is inclined to regard it as a gloss from 927. Further, on the alleged evidence of ג Berth., Moore delete נ, thus removing the trouble caused by this word. (S. at v.12; again, here as there ג read some word = ἐρημωθήσεται in its place.) For the difficult inf. נ ‘giving,’ vGall, followed by Mar., proposes to read the Nif. ג, i.e., ‘the Iniquity was set up.’ Moore, following Hitz., retains נ, regarding it as postpositive to its obj., with the same result as vGall; a parallel for this hard construction is adduced from Jer. 1018 ח thou hast, as though with AV = ‘when he utters his voice,’ but the natural mng. is given by IV, ‘at the sound of his giving.’ Bev. suggests a considerable amendment. The writer would propose that all the terms after ‘(desolating) Iniquity’ are a series of glosses that have accumulated from terms in vv.10. 11, 12, terms that provoked inquiry: מִיסְּסְ עֲשָׂרָה יָאוֹת נַחַט = מִסְּסְ עֲשָׂרָה יָאוֹת נַחַט v.11. 12; מֵרָם יַכְּדוּשׁ יָדָכָא v.10. Jeph. has a similar notion: ‘How long shall this person last who shall do the things mentioned in the v., which are three: giving, the sanctuary, the host?’ The primarily abstract ב ‘holiness,’ is here used of the concrete ‘sanctuary’; so often of holy things, occasionally of the holy place, e.g., Ps. 209, and ‘the holy of holies.’ For מֵרָם יַכְּדוּשׁ יָדָכָא, cf. the reminiscences in 1 Mac. 345. 51, 45, 2 Mac. 87, Lu. 212.

14. And he said unto him [ו unto me]: Unto evenings (and) mornings two thousand three hundred; and the sanctuary shall be vindicated. All the primary VSS have ‘unto him’ = נב, adopted by Berth. and recent comm., in place of נב. The problem of the v. lies in the computation of time: Are 2,300 evening-mornings = 2,300 days meant, or, counting up both
evenings and mornings, 1,150 days? The former is the view of \( \text{G \& H} \) (\( \text{S tr. H verbatim} \)), which add 'days' to the numeral. The Jewish comm. follow suit (with various calculations of the time), and such is the predominant opinion of the early Prot. comm.; AV gives 'days' for 'evenings mornings,' putting the latter in the marg.; GV similarly, adding 'vom Abend gegen Morgen zu rechnen.' So Berth., Hâv., vLeng., Stu., Keil, Behr.; the last is the latest defendant of this view among the comm. The other view, i.e., 1,150 days, appears first in Aph. Syr., Polych., Jeph.; Hipp., iv, 25, agrees with it by rdg. \( \chi \lambda \alpha i \) (so also HP 26 35) for \( \delta i o \chi \lambda \alpha i \), i.e., 1,300 days, with identification with the 3½ years. It was taken up by some of the Prot. comm., and since Zöck. appears to be now the prevailing opinion; and so RVV JV, 'unto 2,300 evenings and mornings.' The decision is to be approved for the reason that the consummate sacrilege consisted in the suspension of the Constant sacrifices, of which there were two a day, hence 2,300 of them = 1,150 days; as we might say, so many Matins and Vespers. The one philological problem lies in the asyndeton, 'evenings mornings' (\( \text{G \& H} \) have 'and'), but what is meant is patent from the fuller statement in v.26, 'the vision of the evening and the morning.' For these words as technical terms of the two Constants cf. \( \tau o \ \pi r o u \nu o n \ \kappa \alpha i \ \tau o \ \delta e i \lambda i n o n \) 1 Esd. 5:10. Behr. notes a parallel from the Hildebrandslied, 'sixty summers and winters' = 30 years. The other view cf. 'it was evening and morning, one day,' Gen. 1:5, and holds that 'evening morning' = \( \nu \nu \chi \delta \eta \mu e r o n \) (so Grot., Berth.), but for such a composition of two nouns no exx. are found in the Semitic outside of modern dialects (s. Brock., \( \text{VG} \) 1, §248). A period of 1,150 days approximates the 3½ years (1,260–1,278 days) found in our interpretation of 'the time, times and half a time' of 7:26; s. Comm. there. The calculations based on the opinion for 2,300 days, i.e., about 6½ years, begin quite too early, e.g., with Menelaus' usurpation, 171 B.C., or terminate too late, e.g., with Nicanor's defeat, 162 B.C.; s. Pole, who presents a wide range of theories, Pusey, Behr., Dr. The vb. in 'the sanctuary shall be vindicated' is an interesting but perfectly proper use of \( \partial \pi \lambda \alpha s \), as Calv. saw: "justificare Hebraeis est uerbum iuris"; i.e., it will be restored to its rights. Cf. \( \delta \varepsilon \kappa a i o \omega \eta \ \iota \ \sigma o \phi \iota a \) Mt. 11:19. \( \text{G \& H} \) interpret with 'shall be purified,' and so AV RVV 'be cleansed,' marg. 'be jus-
tified,' GV 'wieder geweiht werden'; but JV 'shall be victorious.' The historical commentary on this vindication is given in I Mac. 43ff.

13. דַּעַתָּנוּ The Mass. tradition for מַי is certain; for similar cases of apparently arbitrary מַי, explained in part as due to following guttural, s. König., Lgb., 1, p. 74, GK § 10, h. N.b. that in the Aram. dialects there was the tendency to replace the expected a stem vowel of the impf. with u; s. Nöld., MG p. 219, SG § 170. For the cohortative form with waw-consec. s. Dr., Tenses, §§ 69 ff.: "It occurs only at rare intervals except in two or three of the later writers, some ninety instances of its use being cited altogether."—רָעָשׁ...רַנְשׁ = 'one...another'; for similar cases s. BDB s.v. § 6. For the prepositive use cf. Nu. 31—(if the text is correct). It is not here the indef. article, which is always postpositive (s. at 21, although cases otherwise in the Mishnah, s. Bev., p. 30), but is in apposition with מַי, 'one, a saint' (so GK § 125, b). For רַנְשׁ ג uses in both cases הָּפָּכָא = רָעָשׁ, which is nonsense in the first case. Orig. ג om. מַי, מַי 20.—[For syntax of the ppl. s. at v. 4.—יִשְׁמַעְתָּנוּ] The Heb. expression for this indefinite pronoun is always מַי מַי מַי. Ew., Lehrb., § 106, c, Brock, VG 1, 295, regard the form as contraction of the usual double term; Behr. as erroneous scribal combination of the two; Perles, Analecten, 82, as combination of two rdgs. Probably the ultimately alone current מַי was original, and מ was inserted artificially to identify with the classical term. The text is ancient, the word being transliterated in ג ב מ. Sym. alone מַי מַי מַי (so ג ב Theodt.). Aq. gives the earliest treatment of the word as a proper, angelic name; acc. to Ber. R., 21, he translated it 'to him who is inside,' identifying with מַי מַי, meaning Adam, whose seat is in front of the ministering angels; s. Field, ad loc., Jastrow, s.v. Similarly Polych. regards it as name of an angel, and so Jeph., who finds three angels, Palmoni, Gabriel and an anonymous. N.b. the article in ג מ supported prob. by the Grr. With the derivation of מַי from נָרָשׁ (s. BDB) = נָרָשׁ 'be wonderful' (?) cf. Arab. ֶאֶלֶג, 'individual, person,' primarily a 'phenomenon.'—[There is no reason with Ew., Lehrb., § 290, e, to regard this as an irregular case of the construct, or with Pr. to read a const. On the VSS at v. 11b s. Note at end of the chap.—14. רַנְשׁ] Without depending on the evidence of ג ב מ, which prefix conj., we may note that an orig. מ may easily have fallen out before the following labial. There may be noticed Knab.'s ingenious theory that the text once read מַי מַי מַי, but minus מַי מַי, being a numeral, i.e., 2,000 + 100 + 200 = 2,300; subsequently the numeral was written out, מַי was taken for the noun, מַי attached, and so מַי finally dropped. But alphabetic figures for numerals are
not found in the ancient texts; cf. at 21, 61.—κειμ. The Nif. only here. For Θ καθαρισθῃσαι, h 252, Clem. Al. have the error ἄρθρησαι.

15-27. The interpretation of the vision. 15-18. The interlude of the summons to Gabriel to instruct Daniel. 15. And it came to pass when I Daniel saw the vision, that I sought to understand it. And behold there stood before me as the appearance of a man. 16. And I heard a human voice amidst the Ulai, which called and said: Gabriel, make you one to understand the vision. 17. And he came near where I stood. And when he came, I was panic-stricken, and fell upon my face. But he said unto me: Understand, son of man; for the vision has to do with the time of the end. 18. And as he was speaking with me I swooned with my face to the ground; and he touched me and made me stand upright. The introduction to the interpretation is similar to that in c. 7, vv. 16-18. Here the angels intervene of their own accord. For the phrase 'as the appearance of a man (חַלְבָּא, nôr),' or 'the like of a man,' cf. similar although not identical phrases, 10 16-18, and s. Note at end of chap. 7.

16. For the opening sentence cf. Eze. 28b; 'a human voice,' i.e., מָנָה homo, used in its usual generic sense. The phrase 'amidst the Ulai' is interpreted by the EVV 'between the banks of Ulai'; but the prep. גּו is sometimes used as here translated. For the scene cf. the angels by the river, 12 5ff. With Gabriel, here and 9 21, we have the first attribution of a personal name to angels; the one other angel named in the Jewish Scriptures is Michael, 10 13ff. (q.v.). And these two alone appear in the N.T., Gabriel being there the annunciator as here, Lu. 19 26. In Tob. 3 17, etc., Raphael is named. In En. the angelic nomenclature is luxuriant; the four or seven archangels there include Michael and Gabriel (q1, 20). See, inter al., for the Judaistic period Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., c. 16; for the Talmud, etc., Weber, Jüd. Theologie, §34; and for later Judaism the great compendium by M. Schwab, Dictionnaire de l'angelologie, 1897. Michael and Gabriel retain their pre-eminence in the Talmud. As the writer has observed in his Aram. Incant. Texts, 96, Gabriel is often given precedence over Michael in magical formulas, especially in non-Jewish circles, Michael being the patron of Israel. It became early the vogue to compose angelic names upon the element -el, 'God,' but these were of the type used originally
for humans, s. Note. The pronoun translated ‘yon one,’ rare in Heh., is reminiscent of Zech. 2:8.

17. ‘I was panic-stricken’: this tr. of the vb. הָאָמֲר (‘terror of God,’ Job 6:4. The title ‘son of man,’ i.e., ‘human,’ is borrowed from Eze., where it occurs about a hundred times, 2:1, etc. ‘Falling on the face,’ the common attitude of reverence, is a frequent phrase in Eze., e.g., 1:28; cf. Rev. 1:17, 2:28. The causal connection of ‘for the vision,’ etc., would be that the vision is ‘worthy of special attention’ (Bev.). But the tr. ‘that (לֹא) the vision’ is also possible. The Heh. reads literally ‘the vision (is) for time of end,’ as we might say ‘End-time.’ I.e., a fixed term is given for the consummation of the ‘age,’ which has been counted in days, vv.13–14. The expression recurs in v.19, 1:28, 40, 1:24, 9; and with a change in one word, ‘end-term,’ inf. v.19, it is reminiscent of Hab. 2:3, ‘For the vision is yet for the term (לֹאֲמָר), and it . . . (?) to the end and lies not.’ What the ‘end’ is appears from 9:28, ‘his end,’ i.e., Antiochus’. For the apocalyptic use of ‘end’ cf. Am. 8:2, Eze. 3:6, 7:2, 21:25, 29, 35:5. It is the אֱלֹהִים הָאָמֲר of the prophetic books, commonly translated ‘the latter days’; s. Comm. at 2:29. The phrase rings through all subsequent apocalyptic literature; s. Volz, p. 189 (with numerous citations), Bousset, pp. 278 ff. It appears usually in the reverse construction, finis saeculi, saeculorum, and so here the text of θ, εἰς καταψηφίζω πέρας. But the later nuance of the end of time and the ushering in of eternity (cf. Bousset, p. 280) is not to be found here, against Cha. 18. The tr. ‘I swooned,’ לֹאֲמָר, is more appropriate for an abnormal unconsciousness than that of EVV, ‘I was, or fell into, a deep sleep,’ which is correct in, e.g., Jon. 1:6, Gen. 2:21 (לֹאֲמָר). The same kind of scene, with the moment of the divine touch, is repeated in 10:1, cf. vv.16 ff.; also En. 60:3, Rev. 1:17, 2 Esd. 5:14 ff. The sentence ‘he made me stand upright,’ lit. ‘on my standing,’ follows Eze. 2:2, ‘(the) spirit made me stand up on my feet.’ The parallelism may explain the Koranic identification of Jibril with the Holy Spirit.

15. See at v.2. It is not evident why JV throws the vb. into the pluperf., ‘had seen.’—אָמַר יְהֹוָה נֵפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶפֶp
to the object, as 69, 101; of the subjective faculty, 129. But
Accordingly—16. But
of the subjective faculty, 10, 16, and thus the expression sup.
For the object 'amidst' of.
'sup.' Amidst the grass,' Is. 44; and so in expressions of time,
'at the evening,' Ex. 16, etc.
For similar human name cf. El-gabri, BE 10, 52, Ilu-gabri,
Tallqvist, Neubabylon. Namenbuch, 76. Similarly Michael, Uriel were
at first human names.—For the other few cases, and for found only in Pent., s. GK §32, f. In v. 160 Θ has a doublet: Χ. έκάλασε
. . . ἐρέων is interpolated from Θ; the second clause, Χ. ἀνέβας
ἐπὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐπὶ τῷ πρόστασμα ἐκεῖνῳ ᾧ ἐβασίζετο, is the result of a
queer but intelligible misreading of Η, i.e., ἐπὶ τῷ πρόστασμα ἐκεῖνῳ ᾧ ἐβασίζετο.
On this it is to be remarked that ἐρέων was understood as ἐβάσιζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πρόστασμα ἐκεῖνῳ
with dissimilation from ἐβάσιζεν (= πρόστασμα 32, 613); cf. Mand. ἀνθρώπος <
利润率 (s. Nöld., MG p. 54), and cf. ἐβάσιζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πρόστασμα 63. —17.
The ππλ. or inf. const. ἐπὶ, only in Dan., Ch., Neh., semantically = ἐπὶ. Below and c. 11 ἐπὶ is used for ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπος. —Both Hif. and Kal are used indifferently, = 'understand.' For ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπος B Γ (HP defective here)
ignore 13, having σῶμα alone; al. + 16 = Λέπω; B Γ represent an
early omission, which was later supplied.—Ⅲ, 18] Θ exhibits εἰς καπακινου
πέρας, but Λέπω in tempus finis correctly, i.e., εἰς καπακινον Π. (cf. 230
καπακινον = καπακινον?), and this may have been the orig.: rdg. of Θ, with
πέρας understood as indeclinable or adverbal. Ο έπὶ δέρων καπακινον, i.e.,
giving ππ in sense of 'time,' the mng. it probably has in Zad. Frag., 1, 5;
3, 9, 10. —18. The pp. ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπος 10; Or ε to θεουμπακινον
[καπατιπα].—By the use] Θ (B al.) ἐπὶ τάδας, Or ε to θεουμπακινον Π. (A Q 106 al.) Λυ. +
μου, cf. Λέπω supra pedes meos. The phrase is late, else only 101, Ch.,
Neh., = earlier τάδας or τάδας Π.

19–26. The angelic interpretation of the vision. 19. And he
said: Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the end of the
Wrath; for 'for the term of the end'! The angel repeats his pre-
vious announcement, but with greater fulness. The present
phrase is enlarged upon in 11 b6, 'till the Wrath (without the
article) be accomplished, for that which is determined shall be
done.' The phrases go back to the prophetic books: Is. 1024
'and (the) Wrath shall be accomplished,' 2620, 'until (the) Wrath
pass by.' The 'Wrath' is the temper of God at the present
epoch, due primarily to Israel's sin, which however is to vent
itself upon Israel's enemies, who have taken advantage of her
bitter discipline. As Mar. remarks, the whole history of Israel
since the Exile lies under the Wrath of God, to be terminated by the inauguration of the Kingdom. This interpretation appears in the comment of 1 Mac. on the persecutions of Antiochus, \(1^64\), 'there came great Wrath upon Israel' (with actual citation of 1 Ki. 307, a passage of quite different circumstances, but representing the antiquity of the idea). A commentary on the Wrath is given in Dan.'s confession in c. 9. For discussions of this grievous problem of Jewry s. Schultz, Alttest. Religionsgesch., §54; Wicks, The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature, c. 2; Weber, Jüd. Theologie, §58. The final clause of the v. repeats the end of v.17 with an unessential change in one word and omitting the subject 'the vision.' The latter word is expressed in most Θ MSS (not in G), and is restored here by Behr., Mar.; but unnecessarily, for the significant words are repeated exclamatively as a clew.

20. The ram which thou sawest, he of the two horns—the kings of Media and Persia; 21. and the buck, the he-goat—the king of Greece; and the great horn which is between his eyes—the first king; 22. and the broken one and there stood up four in its place—four kingdoms shall stand up out of his nation [א a nation], but not with his power. The items of the vision and their interpretations are given in staccato fashion. It is almost the only case in the book where political allusions are definitely unveiled. 21. In v.17 the two horns stand for the two states of Media and Persia, and 'kings' is used for 'kingdoms,' as in 717, q.v.; similarly here 'king' is used both of the kingdom of Greece and of King Alexander. The double phrase translated above 'the buck, the he-goat' differs from the corresponding one, vv.5·8, 'buck of the goats.' The second term here, מְשַׁיְּרֵי, is generally translated as adj., EVV 'rough,' more correctly 'shaggy.' But the word is most often used as a noun, of the he-goat, the usual word in this connection, whereas above an Aramaic word, מְשַׁיְּרֵי 'buck,' was used. Hence comm., e.g., Behr., Dr., have suggested that the classical Heb. word has been here added by way of explanation (Behr., as a gloss). The Gr. read here as above, 'buck of the goats,' but their evidence is not to be taken for the orig. rdg., for the word מְשַׁיְּרֵי is also used of the wood demon, the 'satyr' of AV, and the Gr. translators would naturally have avoided such a slur on Greece, even as the trans-
lators of the Pent. avoided λαργός for the unclean hare out of respect to the Lagidae. 22. By the addition of one character to the Heb., we obtain the necessary 'his nation,' with the Gr., Π. For the asserted diminution of the power of the Diadochi from that of Alexander cf. 114.

23. And at the end of their sovereignty [Heb. kingdom], as it were [Heb. like] the completing of sins [ע sinners], there shall stand up a king bold-faced and skilled in enigmas. 24. And his power shall wax mighty [gloss, but not by his power]; and he shall destroy terribly, and shall prosper and do; and he shall destroy mighty ones and the people of the Saints. The climax of the empire of Greece appears in Antiochus (acc. to Oriental notion the Seleucidæ were Alexander’s legitimate successors, s. Torrey’s paper on ‘Yawan,’ JAOS 25, 302); as in c. 7 all the history of the Successors is focussed in this Atheist who holds the centre of the stage for the pious Jews. The prep. introducing the following gerundive clause may be translated as above, ‘as it were,’ and so more forcibly, or it may be simply temporal, of time at which, as it is generally understood. This clause in ע refers to ‘the sinners completing (the measure),’ i.e., of their sins; and so almost all comm., e.g., JV, ‘when the sinners have completed their transgressions.’ But all the VSS understood, with a different vocalization (灵活性 for פִּילְחֵי), ‘the sins,’ which agrees with ‘finishing (so Gr.) transgression,’ 924, and this amendment is accepted by Berth., Ew., Mein. The phrase is then parallel to Gen. 1516, ‘for not yet is complete (לָשׁ) the iniquity of the Amorite,’ a theme which recurs in the Scriptures: 2 Mac. 614, πρός ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀμαρτιῶν (vv.12 ff. an interesting commentary on Israel’s discipline); 1 Th. 216, εἷς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν πάντως, with evident reminiscence of this passage, for there follows, ‘and the Wrath has come upon them utterly.’ These ref., adduced by Geier, CBMich., Bert., but ignored by recent comm., give the preference, by ‘analogy of Scripture,’ to the rdg. ‘sins.’ The ‘sins’ are the causes and the object of the ‘Wrath,’ v.19; with Antiochus their measure is brought to the full that the Theodicy may be inaugurated. The description of the ‘king’ Antiochus, is a striking miniature in words. He is ‘bold-faced,’ as close as possible a translation of the Heb., in which the same phrase is used of the harlot’s
effrontery (Pr. 7:13); it involves insolence (Bev.), defiance (Dr.), but we may hold to the concrete, physical expression dear to the Semitic genius. The word rendered ‘enigmas’ is the ‘riddles’ of 5:12; the multifariousness of word-meaning in the elder Sem. lexicon is illustrated in the use of the word (cf. the Lord’s saying, ταῦτα ἐν παροιμίαις λειλάληκα ὑμῖν Jn. 16:25). Ant. was a master in Machiavellian arts, master-diplomatist, able to deceive ‘the very elect.’ Cf. the characteristic of ‘deceit’ in v.25, which is illustrated from 1 Mac. 1:30, ‘he spoke to them words of peace in deceit.’ Ant.’s character is further depicted at 11:21ff.

The clause bracketed above, ‘but not by his (EVV plus ‘own’) power,’ repeats the last clause of v.22, and by reason of its change of reference has given trouble to the exegetes. Calv., Ew. are logical in making the words refer again to the same antecedent, Alexander; but the antecedent is too distant. Hence a variety of attempts at explanation: Theodt., Aph. Syr., Ra., AEz., Vatabelus, by divine permission; or by other human auxiliaries (Bert.), Polanus precise by naming Eumenes and Attalus or the perfidy of the Jewish renegades. Or the contrast is found between strength and deceit (cf. v.26), so vLeng. and recent comm., Mein., Bev., Behr., Kamp., Dr., Cha.; but we should expect ‘by power,’ not ‘by his power,’ as Behr. himself seems to feel. But Θ om. the clause (it may not be original in Ζ, s. Note), and so Mar., Löhr, Ehr., cf. Cha. The adv. used in ‘he shall destroy terribly’ corresponds to the Gr. δεινός, which so often is used like the ‘awfully’ of Eng. vernacular; indeed, the word may be imitated from the Gr. To the persecuted Jews Ant.’s ‘destructiveness’ (the vb. is used thrice in this and the following v.) loomed large; the Heb. vb. is commonly used in a moral sense, and its object would include social institutions as well as concrete things. The ‘mighty ones’ are Ant.’s political foes (Ζ well ‘dynasts’), who are represented through a narrowing of focus by the four ‘kings’ he displaced; these are in contrast with ‘the people of the Saints’ (the latter word without the article, and so practically a proper name), i.e., ‘the Saints of the Most High,’ 7:25. Some comm., e.g., AEz. (not Ra.), Stu., Pr., identify ‘mighty ones’ with Israel and regard ‘the people of the Saints’ as epexegetical; but the Maccabees had not yet proved their valor.

25. And after his cunning he shall cause craft to prosper in his
hand, and in his mind [Heb. heart] he shall act greatly, and unawares he shall destroy many. And against the Prince of princes shall he take stand. And without hand [i.e., natural agency] shall he be broken. As Mar. observes for vv. 23-24 the conclusion of the angelic address breaks into metrical form, but it is rather a kind of saj than a regulated metre. The syntax of the Heb. in the first sentence is somewhat harsh, although quite possible, and it has been adhered to above. But it has troubled the Grr., θ being snarled up in one of its rare absurdities. θ supplies after the first prep. י'י, 'the Saints,' obtaining the plausible tr., 'and against the Saints his purpose.' This clew has been seized upon by Graetz, p. 390, followed by Bev., Mar., Blud. (p. 67), Jahn, Löhr, Ehr., Cha. for an emendation: omitting 'and the people of the Saints,' end of v. 24 (which θ has!), and then following θ, 'and against the Saints shall be his mind [and he shall cause].' Bev. cft. 1128, 'his heart against the holy covenant.' But Behr., Kamp., Pr., Dr. rightly stickle at the correction; Behr. regards it as 'flat,' and observes against Bev.'s view that there can be no mention of the saints until v. 25, that the writer does not avoid repetitions; and Dr. makes the capital point that י'י does not mean 'mind' as those critics take it after θ διανόημα; s. Note further. 'In his hand' means 'in operation'; for this use of י'י s. BDB 390a. There is a contrast, perhaps satirical, between it and the following 'in his mind' ('heart' as seat of the mind). For 'act greatly,' 'do big things,' s. Comm. at v. 4. 'Unawares' is a tr., now generally adopted after Aram. usage, in place of RVV JV 'in (time of) security,' which amounts to the same meaning (AV 'by peace'). It is generally recognized that here we have a direct historical ref., which can be of use in dating the chap., viz., 1 Mac. 129:1; this tells how Ant.'s tax-gatherer (Apollonius) came to Jerusalem 'and spoke to them words of peace in guile, and they believed him, and he fell upon the city suddenly (ἐξεπώνυμα), and he smote it greatly and destroyed much people of Israel' (cf. below 'deceit' and 'shall destroy many'). The 'Prince of princes' is 'the Prince of the host,' v. 11, q.v., i.e., God. In 'he shall be broken without hand,' the vb. is not used concretely as in v. 8 of the great horn, but in the secondary sense of destruction, e.g., Jer. 2220, 'all thy lovers are destroyed.' In 'without hand' the noun is used in one of its many connota-
tions (cf. manus in Latin), here as the instrument of force, and so force; we may compare Zech. 4:6: ‘not by power and not by force but by my spirit, saith the Lord.’ Not a human or natural agency but the direct visitation of God will destroy the tyrant. We recall the vivid Jewish stories of his miserable death in Persia from some disease accompanied by melancholy: 1 Mac. 6, 2 Mac. 9, Jos., AJ xii, 9, 1. However, the vague statement here must not be taken as post eventum or treated too exactly as prophetic. For another similarly vague predictive allusion to Ant.’s death, but one which cannot be post eventum, s. 1145.

26. The asseveration of the truth of the vision. And the vision of ‘the evenings and mornings’ which has been told is true. And thou, close up the vision, for many days yet! ‘Evenings and mornings’ is a clew from v.14, taken as a summary title of the vision. For this solemn affirmation, “intended here as an encouragement to the persecuted Israelites, who may rest assured that their sufferings will ere long reach the appointed limit” (Dr.), cf. 101, 112 (in both which cases as here the noun ‘truth’ is used), Rev. 198, 216, 226. It is implied that the vision is to be written, cf. 71, and then the book is to be ‘closed up’ (similarly 124 ‘closed up and sealed’), because while written in the reign of Belshazzar it relates to the distant age of Antiochus; it is to remain hidden because it would not be intelligible before that epoch, while this charge would explain why none ever heard of the vision until that late day (cf. Dr., Cha.). Cf. En. 18 (visions seen not for this generation but for a remote one), 104124, 2 Esd. 14157 (distinguishing between the public Scriptures, and the ‘apocrypha’ which are to be committed to the wise). For the final apocopated clause cf. v.19. It is a citation of Eze. 1227 (there a satirical gibe of the people at the prophet’s predictions); cf. also below 1014.

19. Ehr. offers the insipid correction of ἡ λειτουργία to ἡ λειτουργία. — G has the correct exegetical plus [τῆς οργῆς] τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαὸν σου, which is adopted by Lu.—וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה וְוַיְיַהֲבָה v.17; for the equivalence cf. the synonymity of בְּזֵן and בְּשֶׁבֶט, s. at 221.—At end of the v. most Θ MSS + ἡ ὥρα = ἰζωάβ, but Q Λ Lu. MSS omit it, prob. after the earlier rdg. of Θ. G did not read it, but has a doublet, εἰς ὥραν (I. ὥραν) καὶ ὥραν (= v.17) ἱπτερέας (=?) μενεῖ (ὡσαύτως as from rt. ῥυθεῖ often = μένειν).—

20. עַל־עֻלָּי All VSS as though על, induced by the apparent difficulty of the syntax.—וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יְהוָא v. A B 26 35 106 130 233 ‘Persians and Medes’
= לִֽעְבָּר; the same in Θ texts 6°—21. רַעְשָׁן = 'hairy,' then 'he-goat,' and so the satyr-demon (why BDB, GB distinguish the two nouns is not evident). All VSS tr. as though כֵּן הָאֱלֹהִים, and the plus [נָּנְפֻיָּה] כִּ֖֣י הָעָ֑רֹת; Θ x. τοῦ συντριβέντος (gen. abs.) διὰ ἑνήχων τέκασα ὧν τρικάτω κεφαλάς; the strange position of κεφαλάς can only be explained as a gloss from כֵּ֣ן, it is not found in לִֽעְבָּר. אֹּר כ ו revised the order here, Lu. rendered more elegantly. לְכֵ֥ת בַּשִּׁי = (Θ gen. abs.) כֵּן (an exegetical gloss) in quo steterunt quattuor reges ('four' 2° lost by haplog.) sunt (? de gente eius exsurgent.—נִנִּים This pl. for a noun in abstract -lt is unique in classical Heb., to be expected נִנִּים; s. GK §95, u. But it is the regular pl. in NHeb., s. K. Albrecht, Neuhebr. Gramm. auf Grund der Mishna, §84, h. All VSS read 'kings.' It is possible that a double rdg. is implied here, to be read either וַתִּשְׁלַחְתֵּם or וַתִּשְׁלַחְתוּ All VSS exc. אֹּר read as וַתִּשְׁלַחְתִּים now generally accepted.—נִנִּים This form is explained by Mein., Bev., GK §47, k, after elder grammarians, as either Aramaizing or survival of an antique Sem. form (with y prefix to the fem. as in other Sem. groups); similar cases in Gen. 30°, 1 Sa. 6°. This view is rejected by Kön., Lgb., i, pp. 239. 417, Behr., Kamp., Mar., Lörh, who read the regular וַתִּשְׁלַחְתֵּם. The Jewish grammarians recognized these forms as 'androgynous' (s. Kön.), and Kön. thinks there was intended the double ref. to 'kingdoms' and 'kings'; as such, like וַתִּשְׁלַחְתִּים above, it would be an early Rabbinic conceit.—נִנִּים There is no reason (Kamp.) to strike these words out with Behr. as a gloss from v. 23° (the converse argument is made by some); Behr. arbitrarily holds they must mean 'through Alexander's strength.' אֹּר tr. the suffix by שִׁלַּחְתֵּם (= כֵּ֣ן) gen. abs., corrected by OrP. c Lu., שִׁלַּחְתֵּם; אֹּּר is non-committal, in virtute sua.

23. פִּיטְלְפִּיתֵם] For inconcinnity of gender agreement cf. יֵלָּדֵי v. 2°; here 'kings' rather than 'kingdoms' may have dominated.—לִֽעְבָּר in anno et in nouissimo regni eorum contains a doublet, prob. in anno = ev ε[σφα]λτοβ. פִּיטְלְפִּיתֵם All VSS read פִּיטְלְפִּיתֵם, and understood the vb. as pass., so the Grr., or intrans., אֹּּר וַתְּשִׁלַּחְתֵּם, הָמִשְׁלַחְתִּים. Cf. יְשִׁלַּחְתֵּם כֵּן אֲדוֹּתֵנִי. For the intrans. use of the Hif. here (AV 'come to the full') cf. Is. 33°, יְשִׁלַּחְתֵּם. This meets Bev.'s objection that the Kal is necessary. The plus [אֲדוֹּתֵנִי] אֲדוֹּתֵנִי of the Grr. (so JV !) is exegetical, of the kings. Cod. c has the unique doublet + δος σφραγισάντων τα παρακάτω ἐν οὐτῶν, i.e., γράμμα for γένες, dependent upon 9°.—יְשִׁלַּחְתֵּם כֵּן] Cf. Dt. 28°°, Pr. 7° of the harlot; also Ecc. 8° (text and mg. ?). Not 'of fierce countenance' with EVV, evidently following Π πραξεωτρια ταφεί, where Jer.
prob. meant 'impudent,' cf. Quintilian praeduri oris; correctly Gr. ἄνειθεν προς τὴν ὀρέτην. —[טנא] On the borrowing from Aram. rt., s. at 512. 
Ο οικογενές Προσέγγιστα = Λ ἰποτίσεων; ΖΥ 'προσέγγιστα' is unhappy.—24. Ṣήμερον Inchoative, as v.8; cf. 1128.—[B 22 26 34 89 91 130 229 230 147] = Ἱων. Δειν., ιων. ἵπτομαι ἢ πλωτός; correctly ἸΓΡ, ν. 25, 3, om. the clause. Ο has ἐν τῇ ζυγῷ αὐτοῦ = Hexapl. texts of Θ, but in ν.22 κατὰ τὴν ἵπτομαι αὐτοῦ, and it is poss. that the identical plus was introduced by Origen into Θ as well as Θ. —[ InitializeComponent] οι female. pl. used adverbially, Θ θαυμαστῶν, so Θρωβ. 37 (text?), ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ Ps. 13914, as the sing. fem. is also used; s. GK §100, d, and often in Aram. In comparison with ἵπτομαι 1126 Bev., followed by Mar., would amend ιων. ἵπτομαι into ιων. ἱπτομαι, or ἱπτομαι, shall utter [monstrous things], but with Kamp. an unnecessary amendment. —[Hebrew] There is no reason, in view of the neighboring ἵπτομαι, to understand v. as 'many' with Behr.; for this mng. we find ν.26. —[Hebrew] ἵπτομαι, v. 22, but ἱπτομαι, as the sing. fem. is also used; s. BDB 634b. Both Θ and Η take ἵπτομαι as subj. to the vb., and possibly an abs. inf., ἵπτομαι, was intended, 'the prospering of deceit.' Query: have we here a pair of clauses depending on v.24? —[Hebrew] [will destroy . . . the saints] both by his cunning and the prospering of deceit in his hand? Θ's plus is noted in the Comm. Θ has the remarkable rendering ο ζυγὸς τοῦ κλασαίμου αὐτοῦ = Ἱων. On this basis Berth. attempted a restoration of Η, ἵπτομαι by, cf. Is. 91. But Θ flatly misread; he understood ἵπτομαι as ἴπτομαι, and interpreted ἵπτομαι from ἴπτομαι 'lay crosswise,' Gen. 4814 = Arab. ἱπτομαι, 'bind,' which suggested κλασαίμος, a large collar for dogs, etc., and so Η ἵπτομαι. Θ has an unexplained misreading, 'in his power,' ἵπτομαι. —[Hebrew] Θ takes as a fresh clause, ἵπτομαι ἐν τῇ ζυγῷ αὐτοῦ; for ἵπτομαι Ἱων. has ἱπτομαι, rdg. ἵπτομαι as λόγος, and taking this as dative.—[Hebrew] Η ignored the prep., ἵπτομαι αὐτοῦ ἵπτομαι, and so Η, but with the noun as obj., cor suum magnificabit. —[טנא] = 1121, 24, where Θ ἵπτομαι; for the corresponding Aram. noun s. at 329, 424, 66. In mgng. = ἵπτομαι Job 1521, and cf. the common Syr. men šel (Targ. הַשֶּׁל ב') 'unawares.' Θ δέλω, Η in copia rerum omnium. —[Hebrew] For ἵπτομαι = ἴπτομαι cf. 1011, 1114, and s. BDB 764b. Both Θ and Η misread; Η ἵπτομαι ἑπίτελες ἄνδρων στήσεται, similarly Θ but πολλάκις for ἄνδρων, i.e., διὰ τοῦ καθάρεται. Lu. adds the correct doublet χ. ἵπτομαι ἵπτομαι ἑπίτελες στήσεται.—[טנא] ἵπτομαι δέλω

Cf. ἵπτομαι ἵπτομαι 28; ἰπτομαι also Pr. 1428, 2628, Job 7. ἵπτομαι = ἴπτομαι, poetic and mostly late; for equivalence with Akk. apsu, s. Hommel cited in Gunkel, Schöpfung, 46, κατὰ 492, n. 1. Θ ποιήσεις συμμαγεῖαν χαρᾶς
27. The effect of the vision upon Daniel. And for me Daniel, I was befallen [?], and I was sick some days; and then I arose and did the king's business. And I was perplexed at the vision and without understanding. For similar psychological effect cf. 7:28, 2 Esd. 5:14. The first vb. 'I was befallen,' i.e., with a stroke of illness, is a translation offered as a possibility; for the various theories s. Note. The reference to the royal business connects with 2:48. For the vb. 'perplexed' s. at 4:16 (19). The traditional interpretation of the final clause is 'and there was no one understanding,' so Grr., Θ, Ra., the early Prot. comm., EVV, most moderns. This is then variously explained: Ra., that none perceived Dan.'s state of mind because he restrained himself before the eunuch; Mein., that none remarked the vision and its effects; Behr. thinks of a lack of sympathetic attention, or suggests a bit of phraseology, cfr. Is. 53:1. I tr. 'there was none to interpret,' so Sa., Jeph., AEz. = RVVmg, and this causative mng. of the vb. is entirely possible. But there is no reason why Dan. should have expected attention, sympathy, or an interpreter in his Pagan circle. The tr. given above, which can be justified from the Heb., is that of Maur., Hitz., Mar., Lamb., and is corroborated by 12:5, 'I heard and could not understand.' The moment serves, as Mar. observes, as introduction to the following chap., in which the seer agonizes for further illumination.

27. The Nif. of הנה presents the same problem here as in n. to verse 21, q.v. Those who interpret from that passage tr., e.g., Dr., 'I was done with, exhausted' (= Eng. vernacular 'was done for!') EVV, 'fainted,' depend upon f langui. But it is doubtful if the same vb. could mean, the sleep was done, and the seer was done for. Ra., Kimhi boldly etymologize from תן 'ruin,' Job 6:2, followed by Berth., Hāv., cfr. Arab. hawā(y), and so cadere factus sum, and cfr. פְּתַחַיִּים אִלָּא רָאָה, so agreeing with Θ ἔξωμιθεν. The present writer came independently upon this derivation from הנה = התח in its original
mng. 'fall,' observing its (rare) use in Syr. as an active, 'befall' (e.g., Acts 749, 283, other cases in Wright, A poc. Acts), and so translate, 'I was befallen,' i.e., stricken. The difficulty is too easily overcome by Pr., Mar., Lohr, Ehr. in regarding κατεκριμένας on the alleged support of Ὁ, which sums up the two vbs. in ἐκομισθην. Θ tr. the two vbs. ἐκομισθην x. ἐμπληκόμηθην; Ὁ for the first ἐκατοκορῄς, 'trembled.' —ὅτι?] This absolute use also Gen. 404, Neh. 14; Behr. cf. Arab. 'αιων. Θ om.; Ὁ ἐμπληκόμηθη πολλάς, which was carried over into Or to Lu.—טושאר] For unapocopated form, frequent especially in 1st pers., s. GK §75, t; the retention of ὃ may be due to the expected cohortative mood in ἐκατοκορ. 3rd pers. all the VSS and EVV; Grr., Ὁ take the pps. as intransitive, 'understanding,' as causative, non erat qui interpretaretur, and so Sa., Jeph., AEz. But ἔδω here = ἐδώ as pure negative, cf. v. §. Dr., Cha. are undecided as to interpretation. Ὁweb agrees with Ὁ in non erat qui interpretaretur; Ranke suggests that ρυπερίζων was read for συνιόν. But this appears to be a contamination from Ὁ; and Ranke probably gives the actual OLat. in his citation from Auctor de 42 mans. (ap. Ambros.), non erat intelligens.

TEXTUAL NOTE ON 811 h, 12.

The table opposite gives a synoptical critical presentation of the texts of Ἐ and the Grr. Θ follows Ἐ word by word except in two sequences, in one of which he follows Ὁ. The absurd errors of the latter for words (2) (3) are corrected, but κατεκριμένας is evidently understood as κατεκριμένος, cf. gloss in Ὁ. His αὐτῷ = κατεκριμένος is unintelligible except as primitive scribal error for τοπο. He follows Ὁ ἐφημωθηκαί = κατεκριμένος, renders κατεκριμένος more correctly with ἐκεῖθεν (following Ὁ with κατ prefixed to the clause), and has sing. ἰμαρτια. As to variants B alone has ἐρείχθη = χάρι, the others ἐταρειχθή = ι to konturbatum est. Θ ἐταρειχθή represents rdg. of Ἐ as a form of ἐρεί. In 22 231 Α another variant with ἐταρειχθή; Qmg has ἔτη = gloss in Ὁ. There follows in Orp. c Lu. x. εὐγενηθή = ι et factum; this appears in gloss to Θ = Θ εὐγενηθήσαν = καταγγελον, and is evidently an early gloss from Ὁ in Θ but out of place. Prefixed to this gloss Lu. has plus παραπτωματι, a variant to ἰμαρτια = μη, again a gloss out of place.

In col. 3 is given orig. Ὁ, which like Θ follows Ἐ almost literally. The origin of its evident absurdities is patent. In cols. 1, 2 are given two sets of glosses, the place of the words in the present text of Ὁ being exhibited by a consecutive numbering of the words as they stand in the text. Col. 2 contains a consecutive series of glosses intruded solidly into Ὁ; they give valuable independent corrections of the latter's errors. Col. 1 contains some odd glosses: εἰμιωθήνη Ὁ, εἰμι Ὁ, from Θ (?); εὐγενηθήνη for εὐγενηθήσαν, prob. older than the latter, as it is supported by the gloss in Θ texts; and επὶ τ. γην || χαμα.
### Textual Note on 8:12.

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ACOMMENTARY ON DANIEL

For the VSS the following points are to be observed. OLat. (碇corroborated in part by Iren. v. 25, 3) = B, with exceptions as noted above. S and Η agree with the Kt. of ἐρωτεύεται as active, S ἐρωτεύεται, Η δοείεται, but vs. Η taking ἱλάτασιν as active. Similar correspondence appears in v. 12. S robur (sylvania) datum est ei (not in Η S) contra sacrificium propter (S 'in') peccata (also pl. in pointed text of S vs. Η). The following ἱλάτασιν is taken as Hof. by all VSS. Thus S and Η read our Η with variations from Μ.

The above study proves that criticism of the elder VSS, Ζ as well as Θ, presents after exclusion of patent glosses the same quantum of words. Jahn’s servile dependence upon Ζ is absurd; and quite without proof is Cha.’s assertion that “it is possible by means of the VSS, esp. the LXX and Theod., to recover the original for the most part.” Only one substantial variant rdg. is given by Ζ = Θ: εργομισθεται for ἱλάτασιν, which Graetz approved, supposing ἵλατο; but for which Blud. (pp. 65 ff.) more reasonably suggests ἱλάτασιν, cf. Zeph. 3. We may thus obtain an intelligible rdg., ‘and was cast down the place of the sanctuary and it was desolated’ (i.e., ἱλάτασιν). But it is questionable how far we may rely upon Ζ’s corrupt text. For other suggested revisions s. Comm. Θ’s αμαρτια = Ζ ατα αμαρτια is claimed by many as proof of orig. rdg. But the dative αμαρτια may have been original, and this is supported by the gloss εγεννηθη for εγεννηθην; when it came to be understood as a nom. pl. it entailed a pl. vb.

NOTE ON VSS AT 82th.

For ἱλάτασιν μνήμη Ζ Θ το ὁραμα (Θ η ορασις) στηρεται x. η θυσια η ἀφθεια, in which ἱλάτασιν is duplicated by η θυσια || στηρεται treated as form of ἵλατο; an ancient rdg. in Θ (interpolated from Ζ), corroborated by碇quam ὑδι uiusustabil (sic) sacrificium quod sublatum est. The plus η ἀφθεια is exegetical, representing [ὄνομα] ἱλάτασιν v. 11, and gives a correct rendering of ἱλάτασιν v. 11 (is it original here?). For ἱλάτασιν Grr. Θ αμαρτια εργομισθεται ἵλατον ἵ ποιεισια; n.b. the forced rendering of ἱλάτασιν. Η tr. καὶ quae facta est, after the tr. of ἱλάτασιν v. 12, which = Ζ; Θ ἱλατος ἵλατον ‘will be handed over.’ Θ read as though ἱλατος is ‘and destruction.’ For ἱλατος καὶ ΤΟΤ Θοὸς καὶ τῶν ΡΩΜΩΝἱλατος Εἰς κατακατηκμα, i.e., holding to the rendering of Ἰησου v. 12. But Θ corrects himself: x. το αγιον x. η ὁμοιος συναπτηκηθησαν, apparently rdg. )), as ‘η; Ζ Η = Θ.

CHAPTER 9. THE REVELATION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

Dan., having learned from the Sacred Books of Jer.’s prophecy of the doom of seventy years’ desolation for the Holy City, a term that was now naturally drawing to an end (1. 2), sets himself to pray for the forgiveness of his people’s sin and the promised deliverance (3–19). The angel Gabriel appears to him (20–
and interprets the years as year-weeks, with detail of the distant future and of the crowning epoch of the divine purpose (22–27).

1–3. Introduction. 1. In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus [i.e., Xerxes], of the seed of the Medes, who became king over the realm of the Chaldeans,—2. in the first year of his reign I Daniel observed in the Books the number of the years, as the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah the Prophet, that were to be accomplished for the desolations of Jerusalem, ‘seventy years.’ 3. And I set my face unto YHWH God to inquire with prayer and supplication in fasting and sackcloth and ashes. For the identity of this Darius, s. Int., §19, d. The father’s name in the transliteration from the Persian is the ‘Xerxes’ of the Classics, as correctly renders it, although in Est. commutes it into Artaxerxes. Jos., following his usual bold treatment of the Persian period in Biblical history, gives the name as Astyages, the well-known royal name of the Median dynasty. The name here may have been simply borrowed from the Biblical onomasticon. In the following relative clause points the vb. as a passive, ‘was made king’; in the Note is proposed a repointing which, after Aramaic idiom, gives the mng. ‘became king,’ and this is the tr. of all the VSS. Since the early Prot. comm., Calv., Piscator, Junius, etc., and so still Wright, Wilson, Boutflower, the passive has been explained from the alleged institution by Cyrus of a viceroy, Darius-Astyages-Gobryas, in Babylonia, or, with Stu., from the action of God; cf. the interpretations of Darius, ‘receiving the kingdom,’ 61 (53).

2. The repetition of the date, ‘in the first year,’ found tautologous and omitted by Θ, Bert., has its point. The seer insists upon the date because with the overthrow of the Chaldean kingdom the hope of the exiles for liberation was awakened afresh, and they naturally took recourse to their ‘Books’ to judge whether the term of exile had arrived. With the fall of Babylon the seer naturally ‘observed’ particularly (JV ‘mediated upon,’ incorrectly AV RVV ‘understood’) the definite prophecy long ago made by the favorite prophet announcing a term of 70 years of exile, Jer. 25. 12, 29. The result of the seer’s prayerful ‘seeking’ in the matter was a vision which revealed that those 70 years were not to be interpreted by natural mathematics but as year-weeks, a calculation which would bring
down the objective of the prophet's prophecy into the age of the Maccabean restoration. The ref. to the prophecies in Jer. is so clear that it is not at all necessary with Nöld., Altest. Litteratur, 224, Bev. (int. to chap.) to hold that there is here a midrashic interpretation of Lev. 26:1-5 (cf. the 'seven times' of v.28), and to find there a prophecy of year-weeks. 'The Books' are not the Thorah, with those scholars, but the Canon of the Prophets, which had already obtained authoritative value. The term is the one Biblical ref. to the Canon of the Prophets. 3. The term 'I set my face,' while poetical in quality, cf. the freq. 'set the heart,' is probably an old cultic term involving the idea of the kiblah in prayer (cf. 6:11), as is also the vb. 'seek' שָׁאַלְתָּא, once used of inquiring at the oracle, here of divining the interpretation of Scripture. This spiritual inquiry was accompanied with the ancient concomitants of fasting, vesture of sackcloth, and the sprinkling of ashes on the head (the last term is omitted by Θ). For 'prayer and supplications' cf. 6:11. From primitive times fasting was regarded as the preparative for a revelation, e.g., Ex. 34:28. It is the preliminary to the following vision, 10:2, and to the visions in 2 Esd., s. 5:13 and Box's note; cf. Syr., Apoc. Baruch, 20:6, and the Shepherd of Hermes, visions 2. 3. For the combination of sackcloth and ashes (more likely the general term 'dust,' s. Note) cf. Jon. 3:6, Est. 4:1-4, the latter passage and the present one showing that these rites of humiliation were still practised. Later ref. to the combination, e.g., Mt. 11:2 and the Talmudic saying, 'Not sackcloth and fasting but repentance and good works effect the divine mercy,' Ta'an. 16a, are rather reminiscent of ancient practice. For these practices of private piety in Judaism s. Schürer, GJV 2, 566 ff., Stade (Bertholet), Bibl. Theol. d. AT, 2, 422 ff. The divine Name יהוה occurs only in this chap. In v.2 it appears as a citation, in v.3 it anticipates the personal, intimate use of the Name in the following prayer; its occurrence would seem to indicate that the vocable was still in use in the liturgy and private prayer.

1. שָׁאַלָּא] The name occurs also Ezr. 4:5, Est. 1:1, etc. Its form in OAram., שָׁאַלָּא, שָׁאָלָא [CIS ii, no. 122, the papp.], as also correctly שָׁאָלָא, better represent the Pers. Khšayarzūd, s. GB, Gehman, JBL 1924, p. 322.—תַּחֲתָא] The Hof. is found only here, and a pass. is most unlikely. We may point it as Hif., and so 'reigned,'
after the Syr. use of the Afel. Misunderstanding of the alien idiom produced a Hof. in [6]. Similar Ps. 139 (and so here 3 MSS Ken.), is formed after analogy of yiqq vocab., e.g., yiqqi; and so ה"וּלֶל Job 33. The earlier explanation as Hitil, later upheld by Ewald, is disproved by Nöld., ZDMG 37, 525 ff. It is possible that a Piel, ה"וּלֶל, was intended, as in Syr., which (so also the Hif. in NHeb.) has the sense of 'interpret, expound.'—דָּבַר] B solus βόλας (al. בולאס), and so B solus 2 Ch. 17, 1 Esd. 13, teste Hatch-Redpath, which ignores this case. In the papp. this spelling lasted into the third Christian century; s. Thackeray, Gram., 1, 95.—יִעְצָנו] A common form of introduction to a prophetic book or oracle, e.g., Jer. 1. In (1) ה"וּלֶל standing in place of ה"וּלֶל is survival of the Tetragrammaton carried over, as it once was, into the Gr., in this case, the only survival, misunderstood and read as ΘΗΠΗ; see the writer's note in JBL 1921, 86.—יְּשַׁנְּבֵנ] Gerundive use, ad complendum; the spelling, conflate as of עָבָד and עב, as in the cited passages, Jer. 25, 29.—יִמְּשֵׁית] A frequent word in application to the devastated Holy Land, e.g., Lev. 26, Is. 44, Eze. 36, 3. Sept. use τοῦ τινος; but ἑν εἰς Ἡ ἡμέραν] τοῦ νῦν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἑτέρα] 2 ους ἡ ἡμέρα] Nu. 24, etc. = after freq. Sept. use τοῦ τινος τοῦ πρόσωπον, Lu. 9, 21. GB cft. the freq. Amarna gloss naddânu pâna ana.—יִעְצָנו] 10 MSS Ken. יהוד; also the Kr. has entered the text below at times; s. at r². Mass. edd. vary through the chapter. In the tr. the term is rendered always by Elohim.—ים כו] A common cultic term for approaching the oracle, i.e., 'make inquiry.' The following nouns are cognate accs., cf. Zeph. 2² סַרְפַּיִם וְסַרְפַּיִם, with Behr., as Bev., al. This use of the acc. is good Qld Sem. idiom, cf. Arab., SArab.—יִמְּשֵׁית] Cf. Aram. מְשֹּׁי; also vv. 17, 18, 21, Jer. 3, and freq. in later books. It refers technically to the second part of the prayer, v.v. 15 ff.—יִמְּשֵׁית] Θ ἐν νηστείας = כ, but 23 et νηστείας. —יָשַׁהו] Θ (B al. Θ) om., supplied by OrP. c Lu. יַשֶּׁה = pr. primarily 'dust' = רדס and borrowed from Akk. esperu, so Zimmerm in GB.

4-19. Daniel's Prayer. The prayer is of the liturgical type which existed since the Deuteronomic age, represented by Solomon's Prayer, 1 Ki. 8, the prayers of Jeremiah, Jer. 26. 32. 44, and the prayers in Ezr.-Neh., Ezr. 9, Neh. 1. 9. By far the largest part of this prayer consists of language found in those other compositions. Yet it is not slavishly dependent upon them; it is a liturgical gem in form and expression, and excels in literary character the more verbose types found in Ezr. and Neh. (an argument, acc. to many conservative critics, e.g., Keil, and Zündel, Kritische Untersuchungen, 191, as cited by Zöck., for the priority of our book). The saint prays as the Church
prays, and this prayer is modelled after customary liturgical forms of the Synagogue. Similar is the prayer of Azarias, 3(24-40), and of Baruch, Bar. r16-318. The latter presents an interesting problem in its relation to Dan. 9, for it appears to be a mosaic of our prayer; it has been discussed at length in Int. §13. There was a common genus of Jewish liturgical prayers, of which these canonical ones are the few surviving examples, the later Synagogue losing sight of this ancient treasury of devotion. Dr. K. Kohler has extended our view of the richness of the ancient Jewish liturgy in his demonstration that prayers in the Apostolical Constitutions have been taken over bodily from Jewish (acc. to him Essene) sources; s. his 'Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions,' etc., in the Hebrew Union College Annual, 1924.

Von Gall, Einheitlichkeit, 123-126, has developed the thesis that Dan.'s prayer is an interpolation, although the rest of his work contends for the practical integrity of the canonical book. He is followed by Mar., Cha. It is patent, as these scholars argue, that the theme of the prayer does not correspond to the context, which would seem to require a prayer for illumination, cf. 220 n., and not a liturgical confession bearing on the national catastrophe. Further, Dan.'s prayer for immediate redemption is in contrast to the recognition of the far distance of that event, 826 and end of this chap. It is pointed out that v.4a repeats v.3 and especially that v.20 is a joint with the main narrative, which is resumed in v.21; this would explain the repetition: 'while I was speaking and praying and confessing' || 'while I was speaking in prayer.' The present writer agrees with Kamp. in finding these arguments inconclusive. The second-century author may well have himself inserted such a prayer in his book for the encouragement of the faithful, even as the calculation of the times was intended for their heartening. The example of the prayers in Ezr.-Neh. would have suggested such a device to him; the inclination to such an expression of piety might have affected him as easily as some interpolator a few years later. Further, the exclusion of the prayer would cut down the length of the chap. to a quantum far below that of the other episodes of the book, and, as remarked at v.22, the prayer is dramatically introduced to fill up the time of the angel's flight. For an elaborate study of the Prayer, defending its authenticity and also
arguing for its dependence on the Chronicler, s. Bayer, Danielstudiien, Part I. In the following tr. the citations from earlier Scriptures are indicated by quotation-marks.

4a. And “I prayed to YHWH my God and made confession”; and I said: Against vGall this need not be a repetition of v.3, as it stresses the Confession which makes the first part of the prayer, vv.4b-14, this being followed by the Supplication proper (הַרְשָׁעִים v.3), vv.15-19. The vb. ‘pray’ has the primary sense of intercession. The Hithp. הָעָבָדָה as here, and its Hif. הָעָבָדָה, are both used similarly to Lat. confiteri in its religious implications: the Hif. generally in the sense of making confession of the Deity, in his names, attributes, etc., properly a creedal use, and so practically equivalent to ‘praising,’ as it is generally translated; while the Hithp. presents the antithesis of the human subject and so in Jewish piety of his sin, i.e., confession of sin. The vb. has ‘sin’ expressed as its obj. in v.20, cf. Lev. 1621, etc. The same combination ‘pray and make confession,’ appears in Ezr. 103, cf. Neh. 14, 92; in 1 Ki. 833.

4b-14. The Confession. V.4b, “Ah, YHWH, the great and awful God, keeper of the covenant and kindness for His lovers and the keepers of His commandments”: The citation is almost identical with Neh. 15 (cf. 923), based ultimately on Dt. 79, and, for the epithets ‘great, awful,’ cf. Dt. 71. The text of בָא in this prayer varies between YHWH and its אֱלֹהִים ‘Adonai,’ even as ב א bears witness to further variant use; in this tr., where ‘Adonai’ occurs, as in this v., it has been revised so as to read the Tetragrammaton. The Heb. הָעָבָדָה, wrongly translated ‘mercy’ in AV RV JV, after Grr. ἐλεος, etc., is pietas, personal relationship on its moral side, e.g., Jer. 22 ‘thy bridal devotion’; better than ‘mercy’ is Coverdale’s coinage, ‘lovingkindness,’ used capriciously in AV and adopted here by SV; s. Hastings, ‘Lovingk.,’ DB. 5. “We have sinned and dealt perversely and done wickedly” and rebelled and “turned aside from Thy commandments” and Thy decisions; the first three vbs. = 1 Ki. 847; ‘turn aside,’ etc., = Dt. 1720. The commandments are legislation, decisions the judicial verdicts given from time to time.

6. “Neither have we hearkened to Thy servants the prophets, who spoke in Thy name” “to our kings, our princes and our fathers,
and to all the people of the land.” As Dr. remarks, a reminiscence of Jer. 26, cf. 725, 254, 2919, 3515, 444, all containing ‘thy servants the prophets’ followed by ‘ye (they) hearkened not.’ The same listing of civic strata in Jer. 4421, but with ‘fathers’ first, cf. 4417; in Neh. 922, 34 ‘priests’ is added after ‘princes’; cf. Jer. 118 ‘the kings of Judah, its princes, its priests and the people of the land.’ By the fathers are probably meant the heads of the הָעַבְדֵי אֵלֹהִים ‘family houses,’ practically elders, so, e.g., Lamb., Ehr., rather than spiritual fathers with Behr., who thinks that the item replaces the priests of the other lists; however, the omission of the latter class has some significance. The ‘people of the land’ = Landesvolk, commoners, cf. Eze. 727.

7. “Thine, YHWH, is the right,” and “ours is the shame of face, as it is this day,” “to the men of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem” and all Israel, “those near and those far off” “in all the lands whither Thou hast driven them” “for the treachery with which they have betrayed Thee.” The word generally translated here and elsewhere as ‘righteousness,’ רֵוָתָן means primarily legal righteousness; God has been vindicated as right (secondarily as righteous) by the people’s experience. Cf. v.14 ‘our God is right.’ ‘Shame of face as it is this day’ = Ezr. 97; ‘shame of face,’ also v.8, is a physical expression for confusion before others, a shame which involves the reproach of others, cf. יִלַּעֲשִׁים v.16; for the phrase cf. Jer. 719, Ps. 4416, etc. ‘The men (Heb. a sing. collective, Mannschaft) of Judah and the citizens (lit. ‘dwellers’) of Jerusalem’ = Is. 53 (with terms reversed), Jer. 44, etc., 2 Ki. 232. ‘Those near,’ etc., depends on 1 Ki. 826; the phrase also Jer. 2526, Is. 5719. ‘For the treachery,’ etc. = Lev. 2640, Eze. 1720, etc., 1 Ch. 1018. The common rt. of the noun and vb. denotes treachery, unfaithfulness, so JV, not the colorless ‘trespass’ of AV. 8. YHWH, “ours is the shame of face, to our kings, our princes and our fathers,” in that we have sinned against Thee. “Haec repetitio... pondus orationi addit” (Maldonatus).

9. To YHWH our God belong compassion and forgivenesses, for we have rebelled against Him, 10. neither “have we hearkened to the voice of YHWH our God” “to walk in His laws which He set before us” through “His servants the prophets.” ‘Compassion’ is more fitting psychologically than ‘mercy’ for רָחִים; AV unnecessarily insists on the Heb. pl.
and tr. 'mercies,' and equally unnecessary is JV 'compassions.' 'Forgivenesses,' i.e., acts of forgiveness, = Neh. 9:17, 'thou art a God of forgivenesses' (plus a long series of equivalent attributes). The thought of v. 9a is motived by v. b, 'for we have rebelled against him'; i.e., we are thrown simply on his mercy. The logic is reminiscent of Dt. 5:30f. 'Hearken to the voice of YHWH' = Ex. 15:26, 19:5, Dt. 4:30, etc., Jer. 3:13, etc. 'To walk in his laws which he set before us' = Jer. 26:4, 44:10; the first clause also = Jer. 3:28, 44:28, the second = Dt. 4:8, 11:32, Jer. 9:12. The antique pl. tòrdòt, 'laws,' properly oracle decisions, in place of which 'the Torah' came to be used, is taken from Jer. 32:23, appearing also Ps. 105:45; 6 He quite naturally understand the word as a sing. The sing. occurs in the next v. 11. Yea [Heb. and], all Israel have transgressed Thy law and "have turned aside" "so as not to hearken to Thy voice," and "there has been poured out upon us" "the curse and oath that is written in the Law of Moses the servant of God"; for we have sinned against Him. 'Not to hearken to thy voice' = Jer. 18:10, 42:13. 'Poured out upon us,' cf. 'my anger and fury hath been poured out,' Jer. 7:20, 4:18, 44:6, 2 Ch. 12:7, 34:25. The vb. ònò already has the suggestion of molten metal; cf. ἐγραμμένον τὰς φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ Rev. 16:11. It recurs inf. v. 27. 'Curse and oath,' the same zeugmatic expression in Neh. 10:30 (29) = 'oath of curse' Nu. 5:21. 'The curse written in the Law of Moses' = Dt. 26:20, and refers to the great imprecatory formulas of Lev. 26:14ff., Dt. 28:16ff. 'The Torah of Moses' = Jos. 8:31, 1 Ki. 2:8, but found mostly in late books, s. BDB, p. 436, and in N.T., Lu. 22+ 6 cases. 'Moses the servant of God' = Dt. 34:5, Jos. 1, etc., Neh. 10:30 (29); cf. his title 'man of God,' Dt. 33:1, Ps. 90:1. 12. And "He has confirmed His words [Kr. word]" which He spoke against us and against our judges "that He would bring upon us a great evil," so that there has not been done "under the whole heaven," as has been done with Jerusalem. 'Confirmed his words' = Neh. 9:8, with pl. 'words' as here; cf. Dt. 9:5, etc. 'Judges' is used in the general sense of magistrates, summing up the official classes of vv. 6–8; Ps. 210 'judges' || 'kings.' Bar. 21 understands here the historical Judges. 'Bring upon us a great evil' = Jer. 35:17, 36:1, etc. 'Under the whole heaven' = Dt. 2:30, 4:19, Job 28:24, etc., and sup. 7:27. 13. "As it is written in the Law of Moses" "all this evil" has come upon us, and we have not mollified YHWH our God by turning from our iniquities and
considering Thy truth. This is the first appearance of the term 'as it is written,' καθὼς γέγραπται, etc., common for citations in N.T., Talm., etc. 'Mollify,' the Heb. literally 'soften the face of,' an antique phrase used with God or man as obj., and continuing into late religious usage, Zech. 7:2, Mal. 1:9, Ps. 119:8, 2 Ch. 33:12 (s. Lexx.). Cf. 'cause thy face to shine,' v. 17. AV 'make prayer to' follows the suit of the VSS, e.g., rogauimus faciem Domini; RVV JV 'entreat the favor of.' The gerunds at the end tr. insfs. with ִּ for 'to,' and accordingly VSS, EVV, comm. in general, render 'that we might turn,' etc. This evangelical treatment might be paralleled by 1 Ki. 8:27 f., 'The LORD be with us . . . to incline our hearts unto him'; but the sense required in this prayer is that God should be propitiated by right action and thinking; and accordingly the insfs. are here translated as acc. to a common use of the insf.; s. Dr., Tenses, §205. In the final clause the VSS take the vb. in the sense of 'to understand, consider,' e.g., cogitare, AV 'understand,' RVV JV 'have discernment in,' and this is the mng. of יְלַשֵׁל elsewhere in Dan. (14, 9:25, 11:33, 35, 12:3, 10—in 9:23 causative). The object of this consideration is universally translated 'thy truth,' cf. 8:12, where the same word is used of the objective truth, i.e., religion. But the primary ethical sense 'faithfulness' is preferable here. God's promises are absolutely reliable for blessing or bane; the Jews have learned the truth of this in the latter sphere, they can prove it also in the other. 14. And "YHWH has been vigilant over the evil" and brought it upon us; for "YHWH our God is right in all the works which He has done," and "we have not hearkened to His voice." The first vb. is generally translated 'has watched' in the old English sense of 'be wakeful.' The phrase is cited from Jer. 1:12, 31:28, 44:27, 'I am vigilant against them for evil and not for good.' For 'YHWH is right (יְשַׁלֵּל') cf. immediately Ezr. 9:15, Neh. 9:8, 33 ('thou art right in all that has come upon us'), also Jer. 1:2 (where JV 'right,' al. 'righteous'), Lam. 1:18, and v. sup. at v.7.

15–19. The Supplication. 15. YHWH our God, "who hast brought Thy people forth with a strong hand," and "hast made Thee a name, as it is this day": "We have sinned, have been wicked." The first statement, referring to the Exodus, = Dt. 6:21, etc., Jer. 32:21; the second = Jer. 32:20, Neh. 9:10. For 'to make a name' = 'gain renown,' cf. Gen. 11:4, etc. "We have
sinned,' etc., s. at v. 5; if the distinction of stems is to be observed, here Kal, there Hif., the final vb. here = 'be wicked.'

16. YHWH, "according to all Thy acts of vindication," oh, "may Thy anger and fury turn away from Thy city Jerusalem, Thy holy mount"; because for "our sins and the iniquities of our fathers" Jerusalem and Thy people "are become a reproach to all those about us." The pl. ἐλευθερία, 'acts-of-vindication,' is tr. by all VSS and EVV (even JV) by the sing. 'righteousness.' But the pl. is correct and is a classical reminiscence, being used in the rather antique sense of vindication of a cause; so in the Ode of Deborah, Ju. 5 11, 1 Sa. 12 7, Mi. 6 5, Ps. 103 6. How far the word developed in another direction appears in Θ's tr. ἀλειμοσύνη and s. Comm. on the word at 4 24 (27). Cf. Ropes, "'Righteousness' and "the Righteousness of God,'" etc., JBL 1903, 211-227. Cf. the other shades of the mng. of the word in vv. 7-18. 'May thy anger turn,' etc. = Nu. 25 4, Is. 12 1, Jer. 23 20, 30 24. 'Thy city' = v. 19, 'my city' Is. 45 13. 'Thy holy mount' = Ps. 15 1, etc., cf. 'thy holy city' v. 24. 'Our sins and the iniquities of our fathers' = Neh. 9 3, cf. the II Commandment, Jer. 11 10, etc. 'A reproach,' etc. = Ps. 44 14 (13), etc. 17. And now "hearken, our God, to Thy servant's prayer and supplications," and "cause Thy face to shine upon" "Thy desolate sanctuary," "for Thine own [with Θ] sake," YHWH. 'Hearken,' etc. = 1 Ki. 8 28, Neh. 1 5-11. For 'thy servant's prayer' cf. the case of Abraham, Gen. 18, Moses, Ex. 32, etc., and Ja. 5 16, 'the prayer of a righteous man avails much.' This and the similar prayers in the O.T. and Apocrypha are testimony to the sense of the power of prayer in Judaism; it continued with the Pharisees, s. Herford, Pharisaism, c. 6, 'Ph. as a Spiritual Religion,' a very sympathetic study. 'Make thy face shine,' etc. (for the physical expression cf. 'soften the face,' v. 18), as in the Priestly Benediction, Nu. 6 25, Ps. 80 4, 8 20, a similar prayer, etc. 'The desolate sanctuary' = Lam. 5 18, 1 Mac. 4 38. For 'desolate' cf. 8 13, 9 27, 11 13, 12 11, 'the abomination of desolation,' etc. At the end of the v. Θ reads 'for the sake of the Lord,' which is most awkward; Θ 'for thy sake, Lord' = v. 19, Bar. 2 4; this is preferable as the orig. text, and so vLeng. (citing Houbigant), Pr., Kamp., Ehr., Lamb. For this phrase cf. Is. 48 11, Jer. 14 4, etc. This correction is simpler than Θ's rdg. 'for thy servants' sake,' = Is. 63 17, accepted by Bev., Mar. But the error in Θ, if it be one, is ancient. The
appeal ‘for the Lord’s sake’ is the only possible argument of the sinful people; it is identical with Ezekiel’s appeal to the divine ‘holiness,’ practically God’s honor. 18. “Incline, my God, Thine ear and hear, open Thine eyes and see” our desolations and “the city upon which Thy name is called”; for “we present not our supplications before Thee” for our own righteousness but for “Thy great compassion.” ‘Incline . . . and see’ = 1 Ki. 19:16 (Is. 37:17), Hezekiah’s prayer. ‘Upon which thy name is called’ = v. 19, i.e., as proprietary; cf. 2 Sa. 12:28, ‘lest I take the city and my name be called upon it,’ i.e., ‘I have conquered it.’ The expression is often used, esp. in Deut. writers, of Israel, Jerusalem, the temple, as Dt. 28:10, Jer. 7:10, 14:9, 25:9, 1 Ki. 8:43, Is. 63:19. ‘Present supplications,’ lit. ‘cause to fall s.,’ as v. 20, Jer. 38:26 (before a human potentate), 42:9 (before God); cf. the use of intrans. ἐκπλήκτω, with ‘prayer’ as subj., Jer. 37:20, etc. Bar. 219 literally καταβάλλομεν τὸν ἐλεόν, and Προστρενίμους. The expression arises from the humble prostration of the petitioner. ‘Thy great compassion’ (s. at v. 9) = Neh. 9:19. 31, cf. 2 Sa. 24:14, Ps. 119:58. 19. “YHWH, hear; YHWH, forgive; YHWH, attend and do; defer not for Thy sake, my God, because Thy name is called upon Thy city and Thy people.” The Kyrie eleison of the O.T., suggested, as Dr. remarks, by Solomon’s prayer, 1 Ki. 8:30b. 34. 38. 39. ‘Do,’ i.e., ‘act,’ cf. Jer. 14:7, ‘do for thy name’s sake.’ ‘Defer not,’ i.e., ‘procrastinate not’ = Ps. 40:17. ἀθέτευτος, followed by RVV JV, puts a stop after this impv., but the balance of the rhetoric and sense rather requires construction as above, and so the punctuation of the VSS, AV. For the final clause s. at vv.17. 18.

4. נַלֵגָם] So edd., exc. Bär נלֵגָם, s. his note. The Hithp. has mng. of ‘interceding for self,’ if it is to be combined with the Piel, ‘to intervene as judge,’ and so BDB, Kön., Hwb. GB finds two distinct rts. with primary mng. ‘pray’ for the Hithp.—נִלְגָּם = אֹהֶנָּה, also in Mishna; cf. נִלְגָּם Jer. 4:1. Θ omn., Θ θοῦ (= Arab. ἀνατερετικὸς, ὑπερδοτικός = Ισραήλ ὁσσος). Neh. 1:4, εἰσερχομένου in the same combination.—5. יִנָּה] Kal late, also Est. 1:16.—עָנָהוּ] Kr. om. 1. The series of vbs. is cited from 1 Ki. 8:47, where שָנָה. Hif. of שָנָה in this operative sense is late, so 12:9, Job 34:12, Neh. 9:31, etc.; inf. v.15 the Kal. In the revisions of Θ (also in Θ) there is shuffling of the vbs.—ןָהוּ] For this comparatively late use of the inf. abs., continuing finites, s. GK §113, z; repeated v.14. AV RVV erroneously render by gerunds.—נָהוּ] Pl. defective, so Ps. 119:8 cf. וָנָהוּ v.10, and s. GK §91, n.—6. נַלֵגָם]
Bär prefers מַכֵּף, and so v.⁴—⁵. Without makkef, exceptionally, so Jos. 7:², Is. 36:¹⁵.⁷. מַכֵּף + [nobis autem = x. מַלְוָא] et paetibus nostris, a gloss intended for v.⁶, where the phrase is omitted.—[⁵]² Occ. rdg. (Gin.), Or. rdg. מַלְוָא = Ear. ⁹:—⁸. Lôhr carelessly notes that Θ om.; but Θ expresses it by καὶ σοι punctuated as in the next v. B 87 (not Θ ⁵⁵) have following plus [ἐν σοι καὶ] ἔστω θάνατος ἡ δικαι-σον, repeated negligently from beginning of the v. This gloss was accepted by OrC (A 106 A), which, finishing v.⁷ with ἡδύτροφας, starts v.⁸ with καὶ, κύριε (+ ἡμῶν) ἡ δικαιοσον.—⁹. Gin.] So Bär, Gin.; Mich., Kit. יפות; s. Bär's note. Here and vv.¹⁵, ¹⁶, ¹⁷ bis. ¹⁸. So Bar's note. Here and vv.¹⁵, ¹⁶, ¹⁷ bis. ¹⁸ (also ³⁷, Sus.⁴) ἐστιν has been understood as sign of nom. with the pass. ἐπιλεύσει, so Kran., Bev.; or after later usage as emphasizing a nom., in which case ἐπιλεύσει is subj. to ἐπιλεύσει, on which use s. GK §u7, i-m, so CBMich., Mein., Lamb.; Behr., Mar. find an acc. to ἐπιλεύσει v.¹², in which case ἐπιλεύσει must be a ppl., to be pointed μετα, while the absence of the article would be irregular. It appears, however, to be a case of staccato construction; the phrase ‘all this evil’ is introduced as a quasi-citation from Moses and then continued as nom. to the foll. vb. —[⁵]⁸. So ἐπιλεύσει, as ἐπιλεύσει at ¹⁸:—¹⁴. The הבטחֵה יֵעַ] Θ (B 35 87 130 132 149 220) om., this corroborated by Aug., Ep. cxi, uigilavit Dominus Deus ad omnen sanctum suum (!); suppl. OrP. C Lu. ἐξὶ τῆν κακίαν (also + ἡμῶν); Bar. ², ἐξὶ τοῖς κακοῖς. Yet the subsequent pron. in ἐπιλεύσαντες ἐπιλεύσαντες, would indicate that ἐξὸς τῆς κακίας = Θ once stood in ἐπιλεύσει. —¹⁵. Gin.] ἐπιλεύσαντες καὶ, s. at v.⁸.—[⁶]⁸. But ἐπιλεύσει v.⁸. Θ ἔπιλευσέν, error (?) for ἔπιλευσέν = Θ; several mss add ἔπιλευσέν, cf. v.⁹. ἐπιλεύσει connects with foll. v.—¹⁶. ἔπιλευσέν] Θ read ἔπιλευσέν, but Θ ¹, and so mss Ken., de R., Θ Θ; similarly Bar. ², attaching to foll. v.
The sing., יהוה, is read by some mss and all VSS, exc. Bär. For the spelling cf. יהוה in v.6.—Θ, ignoring 2, ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁγίοις σαρ., so OrP.c, but om. xax.—17. For G read ἐσθασαμ αὐτοῦ with διὰ, vs. G ἔν τῷ μου.—Μo in (Gin.).—Θ ἄγιον, Γ 230 ἀπεστράφθη = Aq. (?).—Θ = ἀπεβίων τῆς ἁμαρτίας θεοῦ, Θ = ἐπέμενεθεν, Θ = ἐπέμενεν, ἀπεβίων τῆς ἁμαρτίας θεοῦ, Θ = ἐπέμενεν, Θ = ἔλεγεν τε καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀντίον τοις ἱερεύσεσθαι; s. Comm.—18. For (i read ἐσθασαμ αὐτοῦ with ἐσθασαμ), Θ = ἐσθασαμ, but om. (Θ read ἐσθασαμ, ἐσθασαμ.—B al. om., OrP.c Lu. suppl.; but ἐσθασαμ read ἐσθασαμ, which may have early dropped out after ἐσθασαμ.—19. For the VSS G connects ἐσθασαμ = ἐπέμενεν with prec. v. and om. ἐσθασαμ; Θ (B al.) om. ἐσθασαμ but ἐσθασαμ hab. The punctuation in mss has variously affected ἐσθασαμ in relation to the accompanying impv. Ο has domine but twice. The division of the v. in Ο is at ἐσθασαμ.—Θ = ἐσθασαμ. For the triple ἐσθασαμ in this v. Θ MSS Ken. have ἐσθασαμ.

20-27. The angelic revelation. 20-23. The coming of Gabriel. 20. And while I was speaking, and was praying and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel and presenting my supplication before YHWH my God for the holy mount of my God, —21. while I was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, borne in swift flight, was drawing nigh to me at the time of the Evening Oblation. 22. And he came [so G Θ; Ω he made to understand], and talked with me and said: Daniel, now am I come forth to skill thee in understanding. 23. At the beginning of thy supplications a word went forth, and I am come to declare it, for thou art most dear. And so heed the word and give heed to the vision. The repetition of v.21 in v.22 can be due to the need of resuming the line of discourse after the long parenthesis in v.21. Acc. to v.23 the angel 'came forth at the beginning' of the prayer, and as it takes time even for an angel to 'fly fast,' v.21, to earth, the prayer was dramatically introduced to fill up the interim. 21. It was during this prayer that Gabriel, called 'the man' to identify him with the being in 816ff., was seen rapidly 'approaching' the prophet in swift flight. The vb. has been generally translated, since ἐσθασαμ, by 'touched me,' so Ο and EVV exc. JV. But the former mng. of the participial vb. is alone possible, and it is supported by G Θ; the vb. itself is used in both senses. The phrase 'borne in swift flight,' literally 'caused to fly swiftly,' is the best rendering of
an obscure phrase in ג; so the VSS, early Jewish comm. The variant tr. which introduces the idea of weariness (e.g., AV and RVVmg.) as affecting the angel is absurd; s. Note for the various attempts at interpretation. Whether or not the angel’s flight involves wings may be an open question; angel wings are first referred to in En. 61; both Mesopotamian and Egyptian reliefs present winged genii, and cf. the two women with wings of a stork in Zech. 5. A flying angel now appears on a relief from Ur, 2500 B.C., s. Museum Journal (Univ. Penn.), March, 1925. ‘At (not the literalistic ‘about’ of EVV) the Evening Oblation’: for this the chief time of prayer, about 3–4 p.m., in Judaism and the Muslim Orient, s. Comm. at 6 11 < 10 >. 22. The first vb. in ג, ה, means ‘he made to understand,’ which is suspicious for lack of an obj., and this is accordingly supplied by the trr. But ג ה with a change in one letter read ‘and he came,’ which alone is sensible. The change from this to the other text, appearing in ג ה, prob. came in with the understanding of the angel’s ‘touching’ Dan. in v. 21 (so ג ה), which of course rendered further ‘coming’ unnecessary. ‘Now’—i.e., in response to the emergency, cf. Jos. 5 14 (Ehr.)—‘have I come forth,’ correctly AEz., ‘from the array of the angels or from the heavenly palace.’ ‘To skill thee in understanding’: the two words of the Heb., בניי התה, are used accumulatively, not with precision; the paraphrase in AV ‘to give thee skill and understanding’ depends upon ה (= ג). There may be reminiscence of Jer. 23 20 = 30 24 ‘at the end of the days ye shall understand it.’ 23. ‘A word went forth’; the same phrase of a human command, Est. 7 8 (cf. ‘the decree went forth,’ sup. 21), of the divine word, Is. 55 11; cf. Is. 9 7 (8). The ‘word’ is the oracle of revelation in response to Dan.’s study of the Scriptures, v. 2; till then it was a mystery even to Gabriel, cf. Mt. 24 36, ‘of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven.’ ‘Dear’: AV ‘greatly beloved,’ RVVmg. ‘very precious’; a similar noun of the same rt. is used in lovers’ language, Song 5 16. ‘Heed the word and give heed to the vision’: so with Mar.; the two vbs. differ as stems of the one rt., ק and ח; the second vb. has the more exact mng. of ‘understand’ as elsewhere. JV’s tr. of the first clause, ‘look into the word,’ is not comprehensible. Mar. interprets here to the point: the two sides of revelation are represented, the word of God and the human vision; he would paraphrase ‘vision’ with ‘revelation.’ The word ‘vision’ here, הָרוֹא, like
the more usual הָדוֹן, refers to auditory as well as to ocular vision.

20. יִשְׁמַעְתָּ֣ בָּאָ֑שֶׁר VSS as pl.—שָׁמַעְתָּ The frequent term in 1 Ki. 8:12; cf. ישמע sup.—רֹאֵ֣הֶל 2:5 Θ om., Ὁ Orp. ὁ Lu. hab.—21. For parallelism of the two participial sentences in vv. 20-21 cf. GK §116, u.—הָדוֹן Also mss דון (s. Bär, Gin.).—שָׁמַעְתָּ G ἵδον ὁ ἀνήρ, Ὁ ἵδον ἀνήρ = ἦν εἰς πρίγκιπας, i.e., ἵνα as Aram. ג וְנַחֲלָה יִשְׁמַעְתָּ G ἀπάλην ἀξίωματος, i.e., paraphrase of § = ὁ ἐξελέγχω, Ὁ πεπαλαμμένος = Tert. ἐξελέγχω, Orp ὁ ἐκάστος, Ὁ ἐκάστος ὁ ἐκάστος (representing § by abs. inf. construction) plus 'and he flew and came from heaven.' The ancient and the most general interpretation, followed by Sa., Ra., Jeph., EVV, is that the two words are identical in rt. and mg., i.e., 'fly.' The vb. is then Hof. ppl. of ἂν, cf. the Hif. Pr. 23:5 Kr. (the pass. construction is common in Aram. diction), and ἂν, as Pe'el form, must then be deduced from a supposed kindred rt. ἂν. G is witness to the early existence of both words. AEz. first explains ἂν as from ἂν ἐπιθυμεῖν 'be weary' —"he was weary from his long flight." This view was accepted by Montanus, et al., and appears in mg. of AV RVV. JDMich. understands ἀν as from ἂν and ἂν, as = Arab. wagha'af 'hasten,' i.e., 'wearied by haste'; but then better Häv., vLeng., Stu. with the derivation of both words from the Arab. rt. We may at the most admit the possibility of an ancient dittograph.—אֱלִישָׁאי For Ῥ G προσέγγισις = ס בִּי, but Ὁ προσέγγισις = ἦν ἔστησα. The former mg. is now generally accepted, after vLeng., cf. Geier, despite the use of vb. as 'touch' in 10:16; but cf. ὡς πρός 87, and Mi. ὡς. Also mss ὡς. ὡς of time 'at which,' so here G Ὁ I, not 'about which,' with Ὁ δεικνύειν ὡς. Acc. to Kön., Hwb. s.v., the nuance is 'as soon as,' e.g., ἤ Sa. ὡς. Luke, in translating his Aram. original at Acts 9:2, has rendered incorrectly as Ὁ here, δεικνύειν τοῖς ἀκούσταιν.—22. ἲδών = Ὁ ὑποκείμενον μιᾷ ἑκατέριαν; G προσέξεις ὁ, i.e., νῦν; or ὡς; the emendation is accepted, after Berth., by recent comm. exc. Mein., Kamp.—23. ἀναραυκά For the pl. as abstract and unlimited and so superlative, cf. Song 5:16 פִּנִּים, and for other exx. s. GK §141, c. At 10:11, 10 appears ἢ λεγόμεν, and so here Θ ἐπιθυμεῖν = ἦν ἐπιθυμεῖν; Sym. ἀνήρ ἐπιθυμεῖταις. Bev. suggests that ἀνήρ in the present passage represents the mistaken rdg. ἀνθρώπων, cf. Mishnaic והם יושב יושב 'men of piety,' Soṭah ix.—הָדוֹן דְּבָרָה כַּנּוֹן G om., but it is represented by the corrupt καὶ διενοθησάμεν τὸ πρῶτα γένος of Ὁ.

24-27. The seventy hebdomads (year-weeks). 24. Revelation of the time that must elapse before the consummation of the several elements involved in the restoration.
24. Seventy weeks are decreed: against thy people and thy holy city,
For finishing transgression and completing sin
and absolving iniquity:
And bringing in everlasting rightness
and sealing vision and prophet and anointing the Most Holy.

The Kr. is followed in two cases, i.e., 'completing' (ךָלֶל) for 'sealing' (ךָלֶל) and the sing. 'sin' (ךָאֵם) for the pl. (ךָאֵם); also the article with 'transgression' (ךָפָשָה) is elided. The display of the gerundial clauses above (so Häv.) represents the progress of thought: first the reiterated theme of the filling up of the measure of sin, cf. 8:23 'the completing of sins,' and Comm. there; and then the consummation of the divine purpose; Israel is to be everlastingly 'right' with the Lord, past prophecy, particularly that of Jeremiah (v.2), is to be ratified, and the holy place is to be reconsecrated with the entailed resumption of the whole cult. Cha. attempts, without resulting benefit, a rearrangement of the gerundial clauses, ordering them in this sequence: 1, 4, 2, 3, 6, 5.

For the general discussion of these vv. s. Note at end of the chap. Here, with most recent scholars, it is held that with the Seventy Weeks a definite, not intentionally indefinite, datum of time is meant, for how else would the divine 'word' satisfy Dan.'s inquiry, v.2? The word usually translated 'week' is primarily 'hebdomad,' a seven of things, esp. of units of time. Inf. 10 we have 'a seven of days,' i.e., a week, while on the other hand the unit may not be expressed where it is evident, e.g., Gen. 29:27, 'fulfil this seven,' i.e., the honeymoon week. The term is not used absolutely of years elsewhere in the Bible, although the seven-year periods culminating in a 'sabbath,' Lev. 25:2633ff., would easily suggest such a use; cf. the similar usage of hebdomas in Varro et al. (Pole, Bert.). It occurs with this meaning throughout Jubilees, in the Mishna, Sanh., 5, 1, etc. Hence the term is 490 years. The mng. of the following vb., 'are decreed' (JV), i.e., judicially (AV 'determined'), is hapax leg. in the O.T., but is found in the Talm., and of its mng. there is no doubt. We may note Θ's tr. συνεπώθησαν, which went over into τις as breuatae sunt, and was rendered
standard by מAbbreviatae, 'are shortened.' Against thy people and against thy holy city: 'Against' in the sense of legal debit, cf. Arab. ‘ala(y). On the pronouns Jer., after Eus., Dem. ev., viii, 2, remarks that they are parallel to Dt. 327, 'Go down, for thy people has sinned,' i.e., indicating the divine abhorrence; rather, it is a tribute to Dan.'s affection, with Grot., 'tibi adeo amatum,' similarly Calv. 'For finishing transgression': The parallelism requires this mng. of the vb. נפל, but the metaplastic spelling of the rt. נפל induced the early Prot. comm. to follow the form literally, i.e., 'to restrain,' and so mg. of AV RVV, following GV 'wird verwehrt,' after Calv., Grot. For the phrase cf. 823, as corrected, 'the completing of the sins.' The three nouns expressing 'sin' in this and the following clauses are used quite synonymously. 'Completing sin': As noted above, the tr. follows the Kr., which is supported by Aq. סן, and is given in the text of EVV. The parallelism demands the Kr., while Kt. may have been induced by the occurrence of 'to seal' in the second following clause. The vb. of the Kr. is that in the passage cited above, 823. The Kt. 'to seal' is supported by ב, and followed by GV, appearing in mg. of AV RVV. Some early Prot. comm., also vLeng., followed the Kt., attempting various interpretations, 'to shut up' and so remove, or following an Arab. use of the rt., 'to complete'; s. Note. But, as Bev. remarks, the identical phrase 'sealed up is my sin,' Job 1417, cf. Dt. 3234, signifies 'to reserve it for punishment,' and indeed the use of the same vb. in quite different mngs. in the one v., v. inf., would be intolerable. 'And absolving iniquity': As Bev. notes, the term 'absolve,' הָעָשָׁה, as also מַעֲנָה, 'righteousness,' in the next clause, are legal terms. See Dr.'s note on the use of kipper. 'When, as here, the reference is to sin, or iniquity, the mng. differs, acc. as the subj. is the priest or God; in the former case the mng. is to cover or screen the sinner by means (usually) of a propitiatory sacrifice, and it is then generally rendered make atonement or reconciliation for . . .; in the latter case it means to treat as covered, to pardon or cancel,' which last word Dr. prefers here. And so in this absolute sense סע JV ('for-give'); in the other sense 'make propitiation for,' ב GV AV RVV. The tr. 'absolve' adopted here may represent both the religious and the legal implication of the vb. 'Bringing in everlasting rightness': With this begin the three positive elements
in the restoration of Israel. This ‘righteousness,’ ἡ σωτηρία, or ‘rightness,’ to express the legal implication (s. at v. 7), is, as Stu. remarks, the Pauline δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, which is of God’s giving. Cf. ‘everlasting salvation,’ Is. 45\(^{17}\), ‘righteousness’ and ‘salvation’ being synonyms in the Second Isaiah. This righteousness on its religious side is holiness, cf. Eze. in general, Is. 4\(^{34}\), etc. ‘Sealing vision and prophet’: In the sense of ‘putting seal to,’ i.e., ratifying, exactly as ἄφησαν τὸ ἔργον is used in Jn. 3\(^{33}\), 6\(^{27}\), and so frequently in Syr. Cf. 1 Ki. 21\(^{8}\), Jer. 32\(^{19}\). So Clem. Alex., Strom., i, 21, AEz. and most comm. Another interpretation of the vb. is ‘to conclude,’ so Jeph., PsSa., on the ground that “no prophet has arisen since the second temple.” The VSS, also Aq., exc. Θ, appear to have read κλείσαι for κλείσω, cf. the variation between the two vbs. just above, translating ‘to finish,’ or else they gave this interpretation to κλείσω. ‘Vision and prophet’ is taken by Grot., Bert. as hendiadys, = ‘prophetic vision,’ but the prophet as well as the vision through him calls for justification, n.b. the sealing of the Messiah in the Johannine passages cited, cf. Is. 8\(^{18}\), Jer. passim. GV and EVV, exc. JV, have ‘prophecy’ for ‘prophet,’ following Π, an exegetical makeshift, defined by some comm. as enallage of the concrete for the absolute (s. Pole); the same variation appears sporadically in other VSS and some Gr. mss. ‘Anointing the Most Holy’: Literally, ‘holy of holies,’ i.e., ‘the holiest.’ The term is used always of sacrosanct things or places: of the tent of meeting, the temple, its ἁπάντημον or ἁπάντημον, of the territory belonging to the temple, the altars, holy vessels, incense, sacrificial flesh, etc.; s. BDB s.v., the convenient summary in GB and Dr.’s excellent note. Only once is it possibly used of a person, 1 Ch. 23\(^{13}\), ‘And Aaron was separated to sanctify him as most holy,’ which latter clause, however, may mean ‘that he should consecrate the most holy.’ This well-nigh universal use of ‘the holiest’ compels us to interpret the term as of either the temple or especially the altar of burnt offerings; s. the narrative of the rededication by Judas, 1 Mac. 4. For the anointing as the act of consecration (cf. G. B. Gray, ‘Anointing,’ EB) cf. such passages as Ex. 29\(^{26}\), 30\(^{26}\), 40\(^{9}\), where the prescription of anointing always precedes an allusion to a holy of holies. It was natural for the Church to understand the indeterminate ἁγιόν ἁγιόν of Θ (in Gr. O.T. most often ἁγια ἁγιών) as
masc. and to refer it to Christ; so Hipp. iv, 32, ἀγιος ἐδαιγήσθης, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ νόος τοῦ θεοῦ, and in Tert. ungatur sanctus sanctorum = θεός; and so definitely in בֵּית הַמָּשִּׁיחַ (בֵּית הַמָּשִּׁיחַ) 'the Messiah the holy of holies.' This Messianic interpretation was in general adopted by the Prot. comm., so Luther (GV 'der Allerheiligste'), Calv., etc. The same interpretation was also at home in the Jewish exegesis. Aq. possibly favors it with his ἡγιασμένον ἡγιασμένων. AEz. identifies 'holy of holies' with Messiah. Schöttgen, Horae hebr., 2, 264, cites Nachmanides: "The holy of holies is nought else than Messiah, the sanctified one, of the sons of David." With this cf. Ber. R., xiv, 18, "What is the Eternal Righteousness? It is King Messiah" (cited by dEnv., 2, 909). Of the comm. who still refer it directly to Christ there may be named Pusey, p. 182 ff., dEnv., pp. 915 ff., Wright, Dan. and his Prophecies, 199 ff. (these with stress upon the N.T. Messianic title, 'the holy one'), Christ being, acc. to Wright, the sacrificial 'holy of holies.' This mediating position is found in some early Prot. comm., referring it to the earthly temple which was to be consummated in Jesus, or to the heavenly temple he was to consecrate, Heb. 8, etc., or to the Church; s. Pole. Stu., Keil, and Zöck. ring various changes on this exegesis. Note that the simple term שֵׁם, 'holiness,' at v. 26, refers without question to the sanctuary.

24. דִּבְרֶי. For the form cf. הנשה, and s. Haupt, OLZ 16, 531; outside of Dan. the pl. is always ודשת, the differentiation in pl. being intentional. For the form cf. GK, §115, h; or possibly the subj. is to be treated as acc. to the pass., e.g., בִּקְרֵיбоֹוק Ex. 13 (Mein.), cf. GK §121, 1. The rt., in O.T., = 'cut off' and so 'determine'; frequent in both mgs. in Talm., and hence play on n.pr. גָּזֹם Est. 4 in Meg. 15a, "all the affairs were decided on his opinion" (Jastr., Dict.). Bert. cf. רָכִּים רָכִּים רָכִּים רָכִּים. correctly interprets with עָפָר תָּנָה; Θ more literally סְוָכִית תָּנָה, which was understood by Ε (Tert., DePascha) as abreviatæ sunt and so II abbreviatae sunt. It does not appear, against Bert., dEnv., that Jer. interpreted this vb. from the short reckoning as of lunar years, a theory which he presents from a long citation from Jul. Africanus. Ε misread and tr. בֵּית הַמָּשִּׁיחַ 'will rest,' which Aph. Syr. exeges by 'thy people will rest.' Also וְשָׁנָה. For exx. of שָׁנָה treated as וְשָׁנָה s. GK §75, rr. Löhr would rd. וְשָׁנָה, but that is inf.
abs. Kamp. restores מֵתָנ. All VSS, includ. Aq., understand rt. מֵתָנ. Lu. has a prefixed doublet representing a different text, יֵזַעַמַּוּהַ at פָּרָמַמְמוֹת, i.e., rdg. מַפִּיל (cf. מַפִּיל 72a), an early rdg., as it appears in Tert., Adv. Jud. viii, quaodasque inverteratur delictum, cf. Hilary (cited by HP) obliteranda quae acceptit mala.—טבש[1] כ תָּנֵן וּמֵרָתִין,Θ om. art. But otherwise the nouns are anarthrous, and the art. here may have been introduced from מַפִּיל 82a.—בֵּירֵ י 1° Kt., מַפִּיל ] Kt. as Kt. in many ms's, also Kt. = Kr. in ms's. G שֵּׁבָשֵׁי 'make rare,' which may speak for the Kr. (unless we suppose error for אֹסַאֵי, s. authorities cited by Field); Θ τοῦ σφαγίας = Kt.; Aq. τοῦ τελέσσας = Kr., and so Θ P. As Bert. notes Arab. halama has the mng. 'to complete.'—ניקס Kt., לֲנָעֵה Kr.] Pl. with Kt. Θ P, sing. with Kt. Aq. P, also 42 G5. The parallel nouns here are sing.—יָנָה מִלְכָּה] G אֵלָיָה וּאֵלָיָה, Θ τοῦ εξιλάσσεσα: εἶλαίας, to which in all exx. of Θ, exc. 229 h0, is prefixed G's rdg. (also in G5). G gloss καὶ διανοήθηκαν το δραμα; το δρ. is correction of τα δραμάκα inf.; διαν. may be variant tr. of מִלְכָּה read as יָנָה. Bev. criticises Θ's punctuation, but the clause is to be connected with what precedes.—לָאָה[1] G לֶדוֹתֵי, i.e., as < יָהְנָה; G5 obelizes this clause.—לָאָה ] = Θ τοῦ σφαγίας; but G שֵׁבָשֵׁי, Aq. τοῦ τεלָשִיא = Θ P, i.e., as though מַכָּה (cf. sup.).—לָאָה G5 as sing., but G0 τα δραμάκα, corrected by gloss, το δραμα, v. sup.—לָאָה G5 προφήτην = Θ Aq.; G5 προφήτας = Θ. But 230, Eus., Dem. ev., viii, 2, Athan. (cited by HP) προφητέαν = G5 G5 pour A = P prophetia, by a natural assimilation to the parallel 'vision.' The asterik evidence excludes the word from orig. G.—לָאָה[1] G וּפְרָתֵאָה, i.e., מַפִּיל, cf. Hos. 7 רְפָעֵי error for רְפָעֵי. PsSa. understands Aram. rt. = 'measure,' and cfr. Zech. 28.

25-27. The detailed periods of the Seventy Weeks. The presentation of this most vexed passage aims at interpreting the text of H as it stands. For history of the exegesis and for critical analysis of the complicated texts of the Gr. VSS ref. is made to Notes at end of the chap. The writer agrees heartily with Kamp. in his criticism of the critics who light-heartedly 'emend' the text. He approves that scholar's dictum at v. 24: "The more the difficulties in understanding an important passage of the Book of Daniel accumulate, the less we are permitted to make an attempt at overcoming them by mere alteration of the text. In such cases the text has been transmitted with especial care." This last remark is fully supported by critical study of the VSS.

Several recent comm. regard these vv. as metrical; s. esp. Marti for his analysis, which depends however upon radical re-
constructions of the text. But the attempt to pursue and re-
construct a metrical form merely complicates the study of the
passage. The passage is essentially prosaic and the best that
can be done is to cast it into lines and so obtain the appearance
of vers libre.

25a. And thou art to know and understand. This bidding pref-
aces the following revelation. The two vbs. are practically
synonymous; for the accumulation cf. v.22, 14. There follows an
analysis of the 70 Weeks into three periods: the first a period
of seven weeks. From the issue of the word to build again Jeru-
salem unto an Anointed-Prince seven weeks. For 'the issue of
the word' cf. 'word went forth,' v.23 (also a similar phrase, 215), but
the 'word' here refers to 'the word of YHWH to Jeremiah,' v.2.

We have here a notable early instance of a double interpreta-
tion of a prophecy: the one which regards Jer.'s prophecy of
restoration as fulfilled in the Return in the Persian period and
which calculates this period at 7 X 7 years (the 'first' sense of
the prophecy); the other which interprets the explicit Jeremianic
interpretation of 70 years symbolically (the 'second, or mysti-
cal, sense') as 70 year-weeks. The felicity promised by the
prophet at the consummation of the 70 years had notoriously
failed of consummation; it was necessary to find a secondary,
ultimate meaning—a process of interpretative theory which has
been abundantly illustrated ever since in the interpretation of
this passage. The Heb. vb. אֲשֶׁר is here taken as an auxiliary
and translated 'again'; or with EVV, etc., it may be rendered
'to restore [and to build].' 'Unto an Anointed-Prince,' יִשְׂרָא
לִלְתָּא: The history of interpretation is marked by the VSS.

6 expresses only the second term דַּעַת = κύριος (s. Note at
end of chap. for suggestion that 6 once read χριστός κύριος);
Δ ἐστὶς χριστός τοῦ γενομένου; 6 'unto King Messiah'; Had Christum
ducem; GV 'auf den Christum, den Fürsten'; AV 'unto the Mes-
siah, the Prince'; RVV 'unto the anointed one, the prince'; JV
'unto one anointed, a prince.' The nouns, as JV indicates, are
anarthrous. 'Messiah' is epithet of king, of priest (cf. 2 Mac.
r10), of prophet; and in a spiritual sense of patriarch (Ps. 10519),
and even of Cyrus, who is 'My Anointed,' Is. 451; s. Lexx. and
BDD, Kön., Mess. Weissagungen, 5 ff. Unless we interpret such
a case as 'my Anointed' in Ps. 2 as directly Messianic, it is
never an O.T. name of the Messiah. The second term ‘prince,’ qualifying the first, is used of various officers of rank: as a chief among officials, e.g., 11:22 of the high priest, q.v.; of nobles or princes, e.g., Job 29:10, 31:37; then of royalty, appearing as early title for the king in Israel, e.g., 1 Sa. 9:16, and also of foreign kings. Hence both terms are ambiguous, and their combination does not assist identification, for which three candidates have been proposed: Cyrus, the ‘Anointed’ of Is. 45:1; Zerubbabel, the acclaimed Messiah of the Restoration; and his contemporary the high priest Joshua b. Josedek. If mašîh in v.26 is a later high priest (Onias III), it is reasonable to attribute the title here to one of the priestly line, hence to Joshua, to the exclusion of the secular princes. The interest of the writer lies, not in the legitimate royal line, still less in an accidental figure like Cyrus, but in the maintenance of the cult. The rites were suspended in 586, at the destruction of the temple, and were resumed 538 upon the Return, i.e., circa 49 years. For another interpretation which disregards the Mass. punctuation and reads ‘seven and sixty-two weeks,’ perpetuated in Σ and some modern VSS, s. Note.

25a. ἐνάς ἡλθ’ ἀνασσιλεύτων, by mostly late usage; s. cases listed in Kön., Lgb., i, 1, p. 292.—ἐνάς ἡλθ’ ἀνασσιλεύτων, supports the above interpretation of the vb. as auxiliary, and so ἂν ἦν. For the mng. ‘restore,’ adopted, e.g., by vGall, Mar., Lamb., cf. Jer. 20:10. Bev. sugg. ἀνασσιλεύτων, ‘to populate,’ cf. Eze. 36:32. ἄνθρωπος ἀνασσιλεύτων support the pointing of ἂν ἦν] ἀνασσιλεύτων S. Lexx. for etymology and use. Graetz, pp. 306 ff., identifies as the Gr. equivalent of this term προστάτευς, used of the high priest in Ecclus. 45:24, τ. ἀγίων (not in the Heb.), and προστάτας, used of the high-priestly dignity, Jos., AJ xii, 4, 2. More apt is the identification with the third term in the title of Simon Macc. as ‘high priest and general and ἱγέλατος Ιουδαίων,’ 1 Mac. 13:42; cf. the title of the high priest Ananus, slain by the Idumæans in the last days of Jerusalem, ἀρχαγγέλους κ. ἱγέλατος, B.J. iv, 5, 2 (with allusion to Dan. 9:25-26). For the combination τ. ἰδοὺ ἐστιν cf. τ. ἰδοὺ Jer. 20:1; the second term refers to the actual functioning of the divinely qualified ‘anointed.’—The above interpretation follows the Mass. punctuation, which places athenh with ‘seven.’ But the VSS, ἂν (at v.25a) Θ ἂν, construe ‘7’ and ‘62’ as one numeral, followed by GV AV SV, some comm., e.g., Häv., Boutflower, p. 190; and then the VSS emphasize this combination by inserting ‘and’ before the next sentence. But why then the helpless 7 + 62? It is interesting that the early Christian
exegetes retained the true syntax of the passage despite the Gr. VSS. Note that ἦ θετν made a sad mess by confusing the identical appearing ἡμέρας 'weeks' and ἡμέρας 'seventy.'

25b. The second period of 62 weeks. And for sixty-two weeks it shall be built again, street and moat, but in distress of the times. A succinctly phrased sentence, i.e., Jerusalem shall be rebuilt and remain so for 62 weeks but in distressful conditions. For this period of year-weeks = 434 years as covering the age between the Return and the epoch of the Maccabees, s. Note at end of the chap. By 'street' (ב GLint), properly 'broadway, plaza,' are meant the broad spaces, generally just inside the city gates, the centre of city life, and by synecdoche standing for the city. The word tr. 'moat' (so Ra., followed by RVV JV), vs. 'wall' of GV AV and other attempts by the VSS, has now been identified with that sense in the mixed Heb.-Aram. Zakar Inscr. of the 8th cent. B.C.; the word is also known from the Talm. As 'street' stands for the interior of the city, so moat for the line of circumvallation, and the two items present a graphic picture of the complete restoration. The great cutting in the natural rock along the northern wall of Jerusalem is a marked feature of the city's defences. For the final clause, literally, 'and in the distress of the times' (EVV 'even,' JV 'but'), we have the illustration in the story of Ezr.-Neh.

25b. For the adverbial construction cf. 1 Ki. 18:45. Ra. identified with Talm. (garden) trench, water channel,' and tr. 'moat,' and was followed by some early Prot. comm., and so AVmg. The word is now known also from the ZKR Inscr., i, ll. 9 f.: 'they made a wall higher than Hazrak and dug a trench (Ůר = harṣ or harṣ) deeper than its trench.' The word is corroborated by Akk. harṣu, 'city moat.' The VSS did not know the word. Ḡ rendered the two terms by πλάτους καλὸς κώχος, the latter prob. a guess to obtain the two dimensions; some have suggested the rdg. of ὤς for ὀ. Ḡ has 'walls,' τεῖχος, muri, if not by guesswork, poss. with ἔνδομα 'partition,' Eze. 13:9, in mind; Graetz proposed this emendation here. OrC has παντείκονος = CS. Ḡ has ἁρῆ (Arab. sāḥ, 'street') = Heb. יִשָּׂר, which constantly pairs with בֵית (Jer. 3:1, Pr. 7:2, etc.), and so Bev. would read here, followed by Behr., Mar., Lohr, Cha., Lamb. The obscure oracle cited by Jos., B.J. vi, 5, 4, that the city should be taken when the temple was built foursquare (παντείκονος) may depend upon the 'breadth and length' of Ḡ; cf. the 'foursquare city in
length and breadth' of Rev. 21:16.—For the explicative 1 = 'und zwar,' s. DBB, p. 252b. It is a shallow objection against validity of 'that it occurs only here, = נקֵץ(Is. 8:2), etc. Mar. holds that if נקֵץ is to be kept the two nouns should be reversed, cf. הֲבָלָתָּה נַעֲרֹת 12:1. G has x. וַיֹּצַל וְיִתְנָלָא וְיֵשַׁר = וַיְנַהֲלֵה יִמְלֶכָּה, with which cf. 11:14, 12:18. The comm. who adopt the emendation from G (Graetz, Bev., vGall, Mar., Cha.) must delete 'and' at beginning of the next v., although it is vouched for by all VSS. S supports G, but פְּרָב in angustia temporum = נקֵץ. For נקֵץ as of predestined time cf. 'the time of the nations,' Eze. 30:3; Jerusalem's 'time,' 22:3, etc. For פְּרָב cf. בִּלְיָחַת הָאֱנוֹשִׁים אֹתָם הָאֱנוֹשִׁים 1 Cor. 7:28. ס x. וְיֵשַׁר יְהוָה יָנוּנֶדֶד עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל רְאֵשׁ on some misreading (טַעַרְבָּרִים?); Blud., p. 110, suggests נְשָׁר = פְּרָב.

26. 27. The third and last period of one week. 26a. And after the sixty-two weeks shall be cut off an Anointed and [literally] there is naught for him. The vb. 'cut off' (בָּטַר) is used of destruction of persons, e.g., Gen. 9:11, and technically of the death penalty, Lev. 7:29, etc. The subject מַעֲשִׂי ‘anointed’ is again anarthrous and used titularly. The interpretation here followed interprets it of the martyr high priest Onias III, who was foully assassinated by his Jewish rival at Antioch, 2 Mac. 4:25-28. The next clause, literally translated above, יִהְיֶה מַעֲשִׂי, may mean 'and have naught,' or 'without anything, any one.' It is an unexplained crux, and many attempts have been made in forcing the Heb. or pressing its natural sense without any sure results. The Heb. is made to produce 'and he is no more,' or 'and not for himself,' i.e., vicariously; or what he has not is found with or without restoring a word to the text in sin, justice, helpers, successors, and what-not. The writer has been inclined to adopt the sense of Θ's paraphrase κ. κρίμα οὐκ ἔστω ἐν αὐτῷ (which need not represent a different text), meaning 'there is nothing against him,' i.e., judicially, with י to be sure against the expected יִהְיֶה. The most illuminating note on the phrase has been made by Nestle, who finds in it a Biblical allusion. In ZATW 4, 247 he proposes a reminiscence of Eze. 21:32 מַעֲשִׂי לָא מַעֲשִׂי מַעֲשִׂי, which itself is a play upon יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה Gen. 49:10. It may be noted that Aq. alone renders מַעֲשִׂי מַעֲשִׂי there by κρίμα, Θ failing at the passage. It still hangs in the air what is meant by the cryptic reference; if יִהְיֶה was interpreted Messianically, then the allusion implies that the present maṣṭih was found not to be Messiah;
with which cf. the interpretation assigned by Jer. to the Jews that the phrase means that Jesus was not the Messiah. The prevailing interpretation of this passage as of the death of Jesus Christ is actually late and secondary in Christian exegesis, first making its appearance in the Christian translations, the Syriac and the Vulgate, where הושם is translated 'King Messiah,' 'Christus.'

26a. הושם] Θ tr. most intensely of all the VSS, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται: 'shall be exterminated'; Θ = occidetur, more mildly under Christian interpretation. —נֶפֶשׁ = Θ χρίσμα, as though נפשׁ, and this tr. was continued by the Gr. comm. If we were to accept נפשׁ as the original rdg., then the ritual character of the function is positively meant, not the Messianic. The earliest allusion to the passage finds in χρίσμα a personal content; Jos., B.J. iv, 5, 2, identifies this event with the death of the last high priest Ananus, when the Jews τὸν ἄρχηρεξαν τ. ἡγεμόνα (cf. v.20) τῆς θείας ουσίας αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς τόλμης τις τόλμης εἶναι ἀκαταφυγένεν. Similarly Eus., Dem. ev., viii, 2, identifies it with Herod's murder of the high priest Hyrcanus (= ἡγούμενος χριστός ν.20), οὗ μόνος... ὁ ἑρμανός χριστός ἦν καὶ τῶν πάλαι ἀρχηρεξαν ὄστατος ἐκκόνησεν, ἀλλὰ ἦ... διαδοχῆ, αὐτὸ τι τὸ κατὰ νόμους χρίσμα οὐκέτι κατὰ χριστὸν γινόμενον. But the Fathers depending upon Θ generally adhered to χρίσμα and referred it to the cessation of the Jewish rites after the advent of Christ. So Tert., Adv. Jud., viii: "debellatis Iudaeis postea cessauerunt illic libamina et sacrificia, quae exinde illic celebrari non putuerunt; nam et unctio illic externata est post passionem Christi"; acc. to Theodoret, ad loc., the 'chrism' is the 'grace which flowered upon the high priests,' while the following χρίσμα οὖν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ means that the so-called high priests were functioning illegally and assumed their office against the law. Acc. to Polych. the 'chrism' means 'the anointed high priest,' who would cease with the destruction of Jerusalem. Some comm. pay no attention to the passage, e.g., Hipp., Chrys.—יָשָׁמ] Aq.'s tr. καὶ οὖν ἐστιν αὐτῷ is the closest, and Sa. tr. literally; cf. Sym., x. οὖν ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ. Θ x. οὐκ ἐστιν = יָשָׁם. Θ x. χρίσμα οὖν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ; this has suggested the omission of יָשָׁם after the similar יָשָׁם, so Dathe, Thenius. Θ's interpretation is followed by many, Ra. (וּפָּנָה), Hitz., GV JV 'and be no more'; but the two are not equivalent, and if that interpretation be taken, יָשָׁם should be read, as by Ehr. A favorite tr. of Prot. comm., e.g., AV, Geier, Häv., is 'and not for himself,' i.e., vicariously; but יָשָׁם is hardly = וּפָּנָה. The face value of the words, 'and shall have nothing,' given by AVmg RVV, is interpreted of possessions (Calv., Hofmann, Heng.), or adherents (Auberlen, Wright, p. 224), or 'he has none' as helper or witness.
And the city and the sanctuary shall destroy [= be destroyed by] the folk of a prince that is to come, but his end in an overwhelming, and even to the end war determined with desolations. The word translated 'destroy,' מְשֹׁקָה, is generally taken in the physical sense, so סֵע, הָיְתָה, but there was little destruction effected by the Greeks in the Holy City; it may then be understood in its moral sense, 'corrupt,' and so Eus., Dem. ev., viii, 2. By 'the folk' is to be understood either Ant.'s army (so גֶּר Ju. 5, 2 Sa. 10 13, etc.) or the Hellenistic group; cf. 1 Mac. 13 4, 'and he [Ant.] put there [in Jerusalem] a sinful folk (ἔθνος).'

'A prince to come,' following א, must be a hostile prince, and has been identified by Jewish, Patristic (s. Knab., p. 258), Cath. and Prot. comm. with one of the Roman conquerors, by the Jews with Vespasian or Hadrian, by others with Pompey, Herod, Agrippa. A few Fathers found in this person the returning Christ, e.g., Tert., Isidore, Basil (s. Fraidl, Exegese d. Siebzig Wochen, pp. 38, 91, 93); some comm. find the Anti-christ, e.g., Klief. Acc. to the modern interpretation he must be Ant. Epiph., so Bert, etc. He is distinguished from the local 'Anointed-Prince' of v. 25 by the epithet 'to come,' either as some new one or in the sense of invader, as the vb. often implies, e.g., 11, 11 13, etc. 'His end in an overwhelming' refers then to the final catastrophe of Ant.'s life, the rt. מְשֹׁק, of an overwhelming flood, being frequently used of the divine wrath, e.g., Nah. 19, cf. Is. 10 22. But against this line of interpretation it is objected by Graetz, Bev., vGall, Mar., Cha., Lamb., that מְשֹׁק, 'prince,' must refer to the same category as that of
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'prince' in v.25, which category reappears in 11.22 as 'prince of the covenant.' This interpretation adopts the rdg., יִֽלָּֽשָׁ֖י 'with,' with some VSS, and as a subj. is then lacking, it changes the act. יִֽלָּֽשָׁ֖י, with the resultant, 'and the city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed along with the Prince,' i.e., the Anointed one of v.25. Then, after ג, the following words הָעָֽבְדָּֽו 'the one to come, and his end,' are corrected to read הָעָֽבְדָּֽו 'and will come his end [in overwhelming],' with recurrence to the fate of the Anointed already depicted. The initial objection made by these interpreters to the text of ג that 'prince' cannot be applied to other than the category of the Anointed-Prince is not conclusive; nor is it felt by the Jewish comm.; the distinction is made by the epithet, 'the one to come.' Further, it is somewhat de trop to pick up again the thread of the fate of the Anointed, who has disappeared from the stage in v.a; if he were continued as subj. in v.b we should expect 'with him' or 'with the Prince,' a point that Bev., an advocate of the change, admits. Also the expression 'overwhelming' appears little appropriate to the fate of the Anointed, whereas it corresponds to the 'pouring out of a determination' against the sacrilege in v.27. It is true that 11.22, which includes both 'overwhelming' and 'prince of the covenant,' supports the emendation theory here; but that passage may be but a literary reminiscence of this. The chief objection to ג is that it anticipates the ruin of Ant. which is described in v.27. It is possible that the ref. of 'his, its end' is to 'the city and the sanctuary' (with attraction of the masc. pron. to the latter antecedent); and so Geier has proposed.

The last clause of the v., while sufficiently clear in its general sense, is troubled by ambiguity of syntax. The VSS, exc. Aq., Sym., and ג construe: 'and to the end of war determined are desolations,' or the like, so AV JV. But Aq., Sym. treat 'war' as the subj.: πολεμὸς τέτμηται ἐρημώσεων, which appears preferable, so RVV and as above. The war is 'determined for [Heb. has construct state] desolations'; this is better than devising a new sentence with RVV, 'desolations are determined.' 'Determine' means 'predestinate,' as also in the Midrashim, and cf. 11.36. Mar. may be right in regarding these last two words as a gloss from v.27 and may claim support from their absence in ג.
26b. Ε = Aq.; Θ σύν = ἡ. Σ has a conflate text (s. Note at end of the chap.) and bears witness to both interpretations, and Η is similarly conflate: *ciuitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus (= Ε) cum (= ἡ) duce venturo. Also 1 MS de R. reads ἐκκοντάοντας i.e., ἡμπ; καὶ is pref. by Orp·c, also Clem. Alex., Strom., i, 21, Eus., l.c., ἔς Tert., prob. orig. Θ.—τροπής ἡμελητή [Const. st. with ὑś as gen. of specification. For ῥτ. ἡμελητ] of divine predetermination cf. the use of the semantically similar rt. ῥμ, e.g., 414. For ὑś s. at v.27. The plus ταξις [ἀρχαίμοι] appearing in Θ MSS, exc. Orp·Lu. (but Lu. has it bis in v.27), also absent in ἔς Clem. Alex., Eus., is from Θ ἅρ at end of v.27 [ἐπουδέχος] ταξις, error for σταξις = πανη. Cod. B. solus αρχαίμοι, al. -μοις (also variously -μοι, -μον, -μον), which latter is supported by the oblique case appearing in ἔς.

27. The final week and the end. And he shall make strong a covenant for the many for one week. And for half of the week he shall cause to cease sacrifice and oblation, and upon the wing [i.e., of the temple] shall be an Abomination-Appalling, even until end and determination shall pour upon the Appaller. 27a. If, the subject is that of v.26b, i.e., Ant., the first sentence is intelligible. There is no intrinsic objection to the tr. of the vb. 'make strong' = 'confirm,' 'maintain,' vouched for by almost all the VSS. As with the dispute over 'prince,' v.26, the crux lies in the word 'covenant' ἡμελητ. It has been urged by many, from Graetz on, that Ε is elsewhere used in Dan. of the Covenant Religion (1122. 28. 30. 32), and must be so interpreted here. But the secular sense of Ε continued until late; cf. Job 523, 'a covenant with stones'; Mal. 214, Pr. 217 of the marriage contract; BSir. 4119 of a sworn contract. 'The many' are then the majority of the Jews = ὁι πολλοί; for these renegades cf. 1130. 32, 1210, 1 Mac. 110p, etc. The historical background of the sentence so interpreted is clear: the clever diplomacy whereby Ant. made his bargain with the worldly majority, at least of the aristocracy, in Jerusalem. It may be noted that the Jewish comm., Ra., AEz., Jeph., do not hesitate to interpret the covenant as of the treaty between the Jews and the Romans. Those who insist that Ε is the Religion as also those who do not find Ant. in v.26, are compelled to manipulate the mng. of the vb., e.g., 'he will abolish the covenant' or to venture upon its emendation, pass. vbs. being speculated in. At least seven emendations have been pro-
posed; s. Note. The ‘half-week’ when the tyrant shall cause the cult to cease = 3½ years, corresponds so closely with the 3 years during which the temple suffered sacrilege under Ant., 168–165 B.C. (cf. 1 Mac. 1:44 ff. with 4:52 ff.), that, whether we regard the present statement as prophetic or post eventum, the identification fits in satisfactorily with the theory of allusion to the Macc. age. The first half of the week then refers to Ant.’s earlier treatment of the Jews, on the chronology of which we are ill informed. In 1 Mac. 1:9 ff. the datum of the accession of Ant. is followed by the statement about renegades of the Jews who received special license from the king, c. 170 B.C. By ‘sacrifice and oblation’ is meant the totality of the cult, bloody and unbloody sacrifice, cf. 1 Sa. 2:9, Ps. 40:7. In v. 21 ‘oblation’ נְחָנָה has a later, more specific denotation.

27b. The next clause contains an obscure word which is further complicated by an unintelligible syntax in א. The text of א is thus expressed by RVV: ‘and upon the wing of abominations shall come one that maketh desolate’ = ויהי ‘and upon the wing of detestable things shall be that which causeth appallment.’ This syntax of ‘wing’ is found in none of the VSS exc. Sym. (also Aq.?) and ס, the former translating ה pige (const. state) [על] תִּשְׁאָרְךָ מַעֲקַדֵּדַיְם תַּפְרֻגַּיו אֵת הַפְּנִים מַעֲקַדֵּדַיְם. For the word the other VSS make apparent substitutions. ס and the ε text found in B al. have the very plausible tr. επί τὸ ἱερόν, which is repeated periphrastically by א, in templo. It is easy enough with vGall, et al., to tr. this back into Heb., יָשִּׁר הָעָלָה, but the simplicity of such reversion offers no assurance as to its correctness. It may be partly corroborated by the allusion in the Gospel, Mt. 24:16, the Ab. of Des. standing ἐν τῇ πύλῃ ἀγίῳ, which however is doubtless a paraphrase, similar to Jer.’s, who doubtless had our Heb. text. The parallel in Mk. 13:14, δια τοὺς οὐ δεῦ, appears to stand for some cryptic sense of נְחָנָה. The rdg. suggested by Kuenen, Historisch-critisch Onderzoek, 2, 472, cited and accepted by Bev., נְחָנָה ‘upon its place’ = ‘instead thereof’ (c. 11:20, 21, 38), is the most plausible of the emendations
proposed; the pers. pron. then refers to the double antecedent ‘sacrifice and oblation.’ But there is an interpretation of ἔννερ which had occurred to the present writer before he discovered that it had already been proposed and maintained with very respectable support, although it has disappeared in comm. subsequent to dEnv. A clew to δ' = θυμον περιμον is found in τον περιμον τον ἱερον Mt. 45 = Lu. 49. For views concerning this ‘wing’ in the Story of the Temptation s. ‘Pinnacle’ in DB; acc. to that review scholars have differed much as to which part of the roof of the temple the ‘pinnacle’ was. J. Lightfoot, on Mt. 45 (ed. Pitman, 1823, 2, 83), suggested the δυναμο or porch of the Herodian temple, the Royal Portico on the S side, the E end of which overlooked the giddy abyss which Jos. so grandiloquently describes, AJ xv, 11, 5. Others have suggested other parts of the roof, some its topmost point. That article and most, if not all comm., overlook the use of the same term in Hegesippus’ story of James the Brother of the Lord, whom his opponents made to mount upon τον περιμον τον ἱερον that he might expound his doctrine to the people (Eus., H. e., ii, 23, 11). Accordingly the place must have been an accessible elevation, like the top of a portico, thus corroborating Lightfoot’s explanation. The term means structurally a wing of a building, and this meets the objection of those who argue at our place that ‘wing’ never means the top, can refer only to extension (e.g., Bleek, Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie, 1860, pp. 93 ff., cited by Zöck.). We may suppose a heathen image or emblem—an acroterion, to use the architectural term—set up by Ant. upon the pediment or gable of the porch of the temple; the abomination felt by the Jews toward the most trifling of emblems appears in Jos.’s statement that not even the Roman standards might be brought into the holy city, AJ xvii, 3, 1. This identification by no means depends upon descriptions of Herod’s temple, which would be anachronous, for the temple always had its ‘ulam. Indeed, there is reference to this porch, πυλων, in the Epistle prefixed to 2 Mac. 18. The first, so far as I can discover, who made this combination, is à Lapide, who cft. Mt. 42; he has been followed by Bert., vLeng. (tr. ‘Gräuelzinner’), Heng. (Christologie, 3, 103 f.), Ges. (Thes., Lex., thinking of an image of Zeus placed on the roof), Maur., Pusey, Zöck., dEnv. (who suggests that IEPO1 of θ is corruption of ΠIEPON). The N.T. lexica
ignore this O.T. case of πτερύνιον. For current explanations of Ἴν reference may be made to Pole and early Prot. comm.; equally fanciful is Behr.'s attempt. If the above objective interpretation cannot be accepted, the writer can only suggest that is an original or secondary crypticism similar to the following 'Ab. of Des.,' and that then what it stood for was recognized by θ, etc. With the correction of Ἴν's syntax the group of words becomes a predicate statement, 'upon the wing is'; it is not necessary with Mar., after Ruben, to prefix Ἰνταν (? ) 'and shall be set,' cft. 812, 1131, 1211.

'Appalling-Abomination,' for which the classical term, inherited from the VSS, is 'the Abomination of Desolation,' is doubtless a satirical word-play in the Heb. The orig. here is שְׁפַרְעֶזְיָו, but comparison with 1131, 1211, where variant forms are given, indicates that we should read here שְׁפַרְעֶזְיָו שֵׁם. Nestle, ZATW 1884, p. 248, has given the one adequate explanation of this cryptic term, accepted by Bev., Dr., Mar., Cheyne, but still ignored by some subsequent comm. It is a contemptuous surrogate for the name of the highest Pagan deity, in the Phoenician בַּאל שֵׁם, pronounced acc. to the transliterations of Philo of Byblos and others Baal šamem, the Lord of Heaven, appearing in the Aram. as בַּאל שֵׁם (s. Lidz., NE 239, Eph., 2, 122, Baethgen, Beiträge, 23 ff., Montgomery, JBL 28, 66 ff., etc.). Philo of Byblos (Eus., Praep. evang., i, 10, 7) says: "this god they named Lord of Heaven, calling him בּּלִּשְׁמָה, which is with the Phoenicians Lord of Heaven, and with the Greeks Zeus." 'Ba'al' was replaced by שְׁפַרְעֶזְיָו 'abomination,' a common term of detestation for a Pagan symbol, e.g., 1 Ki. 118, etc.; this term replacing 'Ba'al' here as שְׁפַרְעֶזְיָו 'shame' often does elsewhere, in proper names, e.g., Mephibosheth, and in such passages as Jer. 118, where the doublet בָּשֵׁם is in the present text, vs. שֵׁם, which has the simple 'Baal.' The second word šōmēm by the 'imāle or broadening of a became šōmem, which is also a ppl. mg. 'appalling, desolating,' etc. The exact equivalent appears in 813, הָעַשְׁנֶה שֵׁם 'the Appalling Sin.' The phrase then refers to the installation by Ant. of rites to the Olympian Heavenly Zeus in the temple sanctuary, acc. to 1 Mac. 154, 59. And Nestle notes that ש at 2 Mac. 62 actually renders Ζεὺς 'Ολύμπιος by
Mac. tells only of the heathen altar that was erected; but it is indifferent whether only an altar or also an image were reared, for either was symbol and bore the name of the deity.

'And until end and determination shall pour upon the Appaller': An ambiguous way of stating the fate expected to befall the arch-enemy. For the vb. cf. v. 11, where it is used of the operation of the divine wrath, like the outpouring of liquid fire. The initial words constitute a hendiadys, 'a determined end,' and are cited from Is. 10:25, 28. The construction of נו as conj. 'until' is preferred by the minority of scholars, e.g., Bert., Dr., Mar., Cha., with GV AV JV; others, including all the VSS and evidently א, with RVV, take נו as a prep. governing the foll. nouns, or else only the noun 'the end,' with 'determination' construed as subj. of the vb.; but the last construction destroys the unity of the period.

27. On the Gr. VSS for this v. s. Notes at end of chap., esp. for the duplicate in texts of Θ; I argue there that the variant given in the margin of Swete's apparatus is a primitive variant in the text of Θ.—רבד-ו]

Absence of actual testimony to a trans. Hif. of נקז (Ps. 12:6 Hif. = 'show strength') does not deny the mng. 'make great,' which is the tr. of all VSS exc. Θ: Αq., Sym. δουλαμωσει, Η confirmabit, Θ νε'ασσεν. Θ offers var. trs.; in v. א δουλαμωσει with 'covenant' as subject; in v. י the orig. text of the passage prob. read similarly, 'in the prevailing κατισχυσαι of the covenant against many one week.' Proposed emendations are: Graetz, ἑκατόνταρχον 'shall abolish' or 'cause to transgress'; Kraetzschmar, Die Bundesvorstellung, 233 ft., κεις, or better, as Kamp. suggests, ἑκατόνταρχον 'make difficult'; Behr. ἑκατόνταρχον 'cause to abandon'; Ehr. ἑκατόνταρχον. Of those who desiderate ἑκατόνταρχον as subj. Bev. proposes ἕκαστος 'be broken,' Mar. ἕκαστος 'pass away.'—רבד-ו[ Θ's exegesis made 'v subj. of the vb., ἢδομαξ, and so Αq., Sym. Η (so clearly ἡ θεδμος μας; the vulgar text hebdomada una may be nom. or abl.). This construction has been maintained by some moderns, e.g., Heng., Häv., vLeng., Hitz., and naturally the Cath. comm. dEnv., Knab., on the basis of a poetical conceit that the time in which a thing happens can be regarded as the active agent.—רבד-ו[ Θ ἑκατόνταρχει, Αq., Sym. παύσεται, Η defictat =רבד-ו, which is preferred by vGall, Mar., Cha., al. But Θ has ἕκαστον and so also the ancient Θ μας, κατισχύσεται. Θ has conj. before the vb., thereby combining 'week' and 'half-week,' and so Aph. Syr. with ref. to the time of Christ's activity.—רבד-ו[ The rdg. attributed to Αq., Sym., in Θ, to Sym. alone in Sym., ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρχόμενος τῶν βδελυγ-
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...can be explained from Sym.'s tr. of Is. 19:18, by ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος; Aq. tr. otherwise there, and we may infer that the ascription to Sym. alone is correct. Sym. analyzed ὁ πάπας as from rt. δήλον. Heb. cod. Ken. 313 has for ὁ πάπας the unique rdg. ὁ πάπας. It has been lauded as an original rdg. by Ken., Dissertatio generalis, 95; JDMich., De hebdomade Danielis, 207, and Bibliotheca orientalis, 20, 82; de R. ad loc. But it appears to be one of the cases where the orig. has been emended after a version. There may be noted finally the Arab. mng. of the rt., 'protect, cover,' with nouns = 'protected, covered place,' a sense agreeable to the proposed mng. 'portico'; cf. the popular use of Solomon's Porch in the N.T.—David. The participle ἀρχὴν has for ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀρχὴν, and sup. ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν. The participle ἀρχὴν = ἀρχὴν; for rejection of ἀρχὴν in such ppls. s. GK §52, a. This ἀρχὴν may have been desiderated and then have been supplied in duplicate, so causing the pl. ἀρχὴν. The pl. appears in the Grr. only in Sym. acc. to G54. But ἀρχὴν text in B, Lu., 1 Mac. 14, and N.T. have the sing., ἀρχὴν. Sym. offers a verbal rendering to ἀρχὴν, ἀρχὴν, ἀρχὴν. The OLat. texts vary: Tert. has the sing., Chron. pasch., and Iren. the pl., while ἀρχὴν has a conflate text, et supplicatio (?) desolationum interitus et ad sacrificium abominationis, on which depends Aug.'s citation, Ep. 79, of Hesychius of Salona, desolationis interitus; s. further Burkitt, Rules of Tyconius, p. ixix. AEz., PsSa. take ἀρχὴν as pple., 'desolator;' Ra. as 'desolated,' of the dumb idol, and so Stu. and others. Of modern views we may note that of Bev., who finds a pass. pple. of ἄρχω = 'set up,' and Winckler's notion, KAT 303, that the phrase = τῆς ἐπιταγης. For use as conj. s. Lexx.; the one objection, that exceptionally the vb. does not immediately follow, with Mar., is not a decisive reason. Bev. would read τῇ, translating 'afterward,' but hardly with improvement.—Some Supported by Sym., Aq. (?), ἀρχήν, ἀρχήν, appearing in ἀρχήν texts erroneously as ἀρχήν (and so glossed into texts in v. 28, e.g., B, v. sup.); ἀρχήν ἀρχήν = τῆς, understood as a pass.; δς 'until the end it [the Abomination] will rest, ἐπιταγης upon the Desolation'; similarly, perhaps, perseverabit Desolatio.

NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

There has been assumed above the interpretation of the Seventy Weeks, which would bring down that era to the Macc. epoch. Justification of that position will now be given, to be followed with a sketch of the exegesis of the vexed passage.

However the 70 Weeks are to be interpreted, whether historically, apocalyptically or mystically, certain principles must be followed, if the writer meant anything sensible. The total of the 70 should be obtained in the
addition. The denomination must remain the same: 'week' cannot be a variable quantity, as now a septennium and now some other quantity of time. We should expect from the circumstances of the chap. a definite terminus ad quem, because the immediate encouragement of the seer and his readers is demanded. The round number 70 is no contradiction to this demand. The round number of 480 years from the Exodus to Solomon's construction of the temple (1 Ki. 6) was also meant as a precise number. And that the present number is to be taken literally appears from its division, not into symbolical aliquot parts, e.g., $7 \times 10$, but into an irregular series, $7 + 62 + 1$, a half-year within the last year also being specified. Otherwise the aliquot division of the 70 Shepherds of Enoch 85-90 into $12 + 23 + 23 + 12$. And finally we must not expect an exact historical chronology according to the approved data of modern historical investigation; Jewish historiography was affected by a remarkable oblivion as to chronology and sequence of events.

The term. a quo is given explicitly, 'from the issue of the word,' i.e., the Jeremianic word, cf. v.2, 'the word of YHWH for completing the ruins of Jerusalem.' The prophecy is that of Jeremiah, specifically the one given in Jer. 25. Entirely out of order, therefore, although enjoying great favor with the interpreters, is the exegesis which would find this terminus either with the chronologically fictitious 'Darius the Mede,' as though the computation was to be taken from the date of the present chap. (cf. v.1); or with year 1 of Cyrus; or with the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. These arbitrary projections of the term. a quo are due to the discovery by the early Christian chronographers that otherwise the desired terminus ad quem, the epoch of Jesus Christ, could not be obtained.¹ When we fall back on a Jeremianic date, we find various dates proposed: 586, the destruction of Jerusalem; 597, its first capture by Nebuchadnezzar; and 604 (also given as 606), year 1 of Neb. This latter date has been urged by Behr., now supported by König, Die Mess. Weissagungen, 311, against the majority of the comm. The date is urged on the ground that 604 ("606") is the date of the prophecy of the 70 weeks of exile, Jer. 25.¹ ¹. This date less 1 Week, i.e., 49 years, = c. 558, the date of Cyrus' accession; Cyrus would then be the 'Anointed-Prince.' Behr. thus obtains a fairly exact period of 49 years. Cyrus is hailed in the Bible as the Lord's Messiah, but there is no Biblical datum as to the beginning of his reign, and indeed no room for his historical 30 years' reign is found with the Biblical assumption of a preceding Darius the Mede.²

¹ E.g., Clem. Alex. finds the first week, 49 years, from the 2d year of Cyrus to the 2d year of Darius Hystaspis; Hipp. from year 1 of Darius the Mede to year 2 of Darius Hyst. Africanus introduced the dating from the year 20 of Artaxerxes, in which case the seven weeks are ignored as a distinct quantum of time, as indeed is the case with the translation of Θ. This became the favorite dating of the Medieval theologians, e.g., Bede, Nicolas of Lyra.

² Behr. has been attracted to the date 604 (606) because by again starting the next datum of 62 Weeks = 434 years from the same date he obtains the epoch of Ant.
But if Jeremiah were exactly followed, there should have been a period of 70, not 49, years, these 70 years being described as years of service to the king of Babylon. The desolation, as our writer well knew, was less than the 70 years, and, if we may grant him a correct chronology here, he was working between the two striking epochs of Jerusalem's ruin, 586, and the Return, c. 538, or *circa* 49 years. In this case it must be admitted that the dating is not exactly 'from the issue of the word,' *i.e.*, the word of Jer. 25:2 in year 1 of Neb.; but also the desolations of Jerusalem did not begin in that year, not until 586, which certainly must be the epochal year, not the cursorily mentioned datum of Neb.'s first year in the introduction to the prophecy of Jer. It is from the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 that the Bible itself dates the 70 years, s. 2 Ch. 36:20. If the 7 Weeks terminate at the Return, then of the three candidates proposed for interpretation of the 'Anointed-Prince,' as argued at v. 25a, the high priest Joshua is to be decisively preferred.  

The Christian interpretation of the chronology in v. 25 was sadly misled by the original error of Θ in construing the '7 Weeks' with the following '62 Weeks,' as though 69 Weeks were the first figure intended. Jerome unfortunately followed Θ in perpetuating this error in the Western Church, and its traces are still found in the Eng. VSS (s. Notes). This tr. of Θ and Π was agreeable to the Jewish and Christian interpretations which found the fulfilment of the prophecy in events of the 1st cent. A.D., and so needed a larger figure than the 62 Weeks = 434 years to fill up the interim. But taking 538 B.C. as the starting-point for calculating these 434 years we obtain 105 B.C., an impossible date for anything of prophetic value.  

This does not suit at all the early Jewish and Christian identification of the term *ad quem* with some epoch in the 1st Christian cent.; nor does the attempt

Epiph., and so claims to justify the Jewish chronology, which is discredited by most scholars. But he is absolutely unjustified by starting afresh at that date for the 62-Weeks period.

3 The identification with Joshua goes back to the very original treatment of the passage by Hipp., iv, 31, who says: "What *χριστός* does he mean but Jesus son of Josedek, who then returned with the people and in the 70th year upon the rebuilding of the temple offered sacrifices according to the law? For all kings and priests are called *χριστός*," etc. This view was adopted again by Calvin, and taken up in recent years by Graetz, Bev., vGall, Mar., Cha. Rashi understands Cyrus as the Messiah followed by some early Prot. comm., the view still preferred by Mein., Behr., Dr., Schürer (GJV 3, 266), Cornill, König, et al. Julius Hilarianus, of the end of the 4th cent. (v. inf.), identified the Messiah with Zerubbabel. AEz. found him in Nehemiah. Eusebius, who used Hipp., regarded the 'Anointed-Prince' as the whole list of high priests from the Exile till Christ's advent, *Dem. ec.*, viii, 2, cf. Fraidl, pp. 58 ff.

4 Eusebius, *l.c.*, in one of his calculations, boldly accepts the consequence of dating 69 Weeks from year 1 of Cyrus to the death of the Hasmonæan prince Alexander Janneüs, 76 B.C., and understands the prediction of this *terminus* event as of the prelude of the anarchy which ushered in the Roman dominion.
fare any better with the shoving down of the *term. a quo* as far as possible, into Artaxerxes' reign, etc.

To be sure, a similar objection may be made against our identification of the final Week of the Seventy with the period of Ant.'s tyranny, for the 62 Weeks would then take us down some 65 years too far. We can meet this objection only by surmising a chronological miscalculation on part of the writer. For the first 49 years he had exact Scriptural information; he was profoundly conscious of the epochal character of his own age; there was the necessity of extending Jer.'s 70 years into a much larger figure in order to bring it up to date (the natural process of all interpretation of prophecy), and the 70 years became 70 Year-Weeks = 490 years, too high a figure indeed, but he was not embarrassed, in the absence of a known chronology, in squeezing these 434 years between the Return and the Antiochian persecution. Schürer, *GJV* 3, p. 266, has capitally illustrated this chronological fault from the Jewish Hellenistic historians; he cites from so learned a man as Josephus various reckonings of Cyrus' reign, which are too high by 40-50 years, and notes especially the datum given by the historian Demetrius (in Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, i, 21, 141—before 200 B.C.) of 573 years between the Return and the accession of Ptolemy IV in 222 B.C., i.e., 70 years too much.⁵ Cornill, *Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, pp. 15 ff. (cf. Dr., p. 147), has offered the ingenious suggestion of finding twelve high priests (their names drawn from the Bible and Josephus) from the Destruction to Onias III; rating these generations at 40 years we obtain 480 years, which plus the last week of our reckoning = 487 or almost the 490 years required. But s. Guthe, *Gesch, Israels*, 276, Mar., p. 73, for criticism of this hypothesis; and indeed it is not necessary to demonstrate any exact basis for the figure. Below, in treating the early Jewish exegesis, is given the ancient chronology preserved in the *Seder Olam*; according to that scheme the Persian period, from the Return to Alexander, is boiled down to 34 years!

The last Week is introduced by the 'cutting off of an Anointed,' the destruction or depravation of city and temple, accompanied by an unholy 'league with the majority'; for the (last) Half-Week there is to be cessation of the Jewish cult and its replacement by Pagan abominations. This Half-Week equals in round figures the '2,300 mornings and evenings' of 8⁴ = 1,150 days. The whole argument points to the Antiochian persecution and it can be claimed that no period in Jewish history so neatly fits the cryptic allusions of our passage. We may satisfactorily identify the 'Anointed' with the high priest Onias III, who was foully murdered when guest at the court of Antioch (2 Mac. 4:7-38), which acc. to Schürer, i, 195 f.,

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⁵ See, however, Behr., p. 65, for criticism of this alleged datum from Demetrius, on basis of uncertainty of Clem.'s text, and with defence of the Jewish chronology; cf. Dr., p. 147, n. 3.
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happened about 171 B.C. The Week would then terminate prospectively at about the time when the temple was recovered and purified by the Jews, 165 B.C., and the Half-Week would represent the three years of the profanation of the temple, 168–165. The Abomination of Desolation is the heathen altar, with its accompaniments, which Ant. reared in the temple (1 Mac. 15). We may respect the spiritualizing exegesis which can find fulfilments of the striking figure of the Abomination of Desolation in many a subsequent act of sacrilege, the attempted profanation by Caius, the destruction of city and temple by Rome, the erection on the temple site of Hadrian’s Pagan shrine, but this natural process of thought should not interfere with our recognizing the primary and most obvious interpretation of the passage as one with a contemporary bearing which was intelligible to its age despite its cryptic phraseology.

For the history of the elder (pre-Reformation) interpretation of the 70 Weeks we can mark out several distinct progressive phases: (1) The interpretation as of a prophecy of the Maccabean distress, the ‘contemporary’ interpretation; (2) the apocalyptic interpretation, as in the Gospels, Paul; (3) the application to the destruction of Jerusalem—so by Josephus, and since him the regnant Jewish interpretation; (4) the ultimate ‘Christian’ exegesis which found in the passage more or less explicit, chronologically verifiable predictions of the advent of Christ. This last exegesis is again variously crossed with the other earlier strains of interpretation. And (5) there is the rationalizing interpretation, instituted by Porphyry and now largely accepted. The writer will content himself with sketching the development of these successive phases; for the detailed history he must refer to the many monographs.

In the application of this last Week to the history of Jesus Christ there has always been embarrassment. In the elder interpretation of the Gospels the Saviour’s ministry lasted but one year; the subsequent extension of it to three years entailed comparison with the Half-Week of Daniel = 3½ years. The middle of the Week was then naturally placed at the termination of the Lord’s ministry on earth, but the problem arose what to do with the balance. Without any adequate explanation such authorities as Eusebius, Polychronius, Theodoret, postulate a 3½-year period after Christ left the earth. A favorite modern interpretation is to identify the termination of the second Half-Week with the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles in the episode of the centurion Cornelius. Similarly the early Jewish interpretation in the time of Jerome found a correspondence for the Half-Week in the three or four years of 66–70 A.D., and for the second Half-Week the three years or so of the Hadrianic war.

I refer primarily to three works which taken together would fairly well sum­marize the whole history: Fraidl, Die Exegese der Siebzig Wochen Daniels in der Allen und Mittleren Zeit (through the Middle Ages), 1883—an admirable piece of scholarship, covering equally the Patristic, Oriental, and Western, and Jewish comm.; the invaluable Synopsis of Pole for the early Prot. comm.; and Zöckler’s Appendix to his comm. on the chap. (Eng. tr., pp. 205–213). To these may be added for their useful summaries: Bert.’s ‘Erklärrende Uebersicht’ to the chap., pp. 541–626; vLeng., pp. 469–482; Häv., pp. 392–399. For older monographs Zöck. notes those by Calo-
(1) The 'contemporary' interpretation. The earliest immediate interpretation of this passage is in 1 Mac. 1:5: 'On the 15th Chislev [read, 25th], year 145 [Sel. Era = 168 B.C.] they built Abomination of Desolation upon the altar (ζηλαγμον έργομασω εźni τδ θεοστηριν).’ 1 Mac. was written in Hebrew at the end of the 2d cent., only two generations removed from the age of Ant. Epiph.; the passage is of prime importance in showing how, as far back as we can go, the earliest tradition interpreted the 70 Weeks.

The second of the Dream Visions of Enoch, i.e., cc. 85–90, presents, 89ff., a series of 70 Shepherds covering the period from the destruction of Jerusalem until the Messianic Kingdom; these Shepherds are evidently distributed as follows: the Captivity 12, the Persian age 23, the Alexandrian-Ptolemaic age (c. 200) 23, the Syrian age 12 (the arbitrary character of this numerical series is obvious). We have here then an evident replica of our 70 Weeks, with the same term. ad quem, i.e., the Macc. age. The Visions are generally regarded as among the earliest portions of Enoch, Cha. dating this Vision before the death of Judas Macc.

Again, the translation of θεοστηριν may be taken, with Fraidl, pp. 4 ff., as probably definitely precising the end of the period as coinciding with Ant.'s reign. In v.26 θεοστηριν om. 'weeks' i.e., and then reads '7 and 70 (i.e., 7077; read as 70777) and [a plus] 62'; this is repeated in the variant interpolated in θεοστηριν v.27, 'after 7 and 70 and 62 years,' years being specified, i.e., 139 years. Ant. Epiph. came to the throne 137 Sel. Era (1 Mac. 1:10), and the translator may, whether intentionally or accidentally, have hit upon a combination which actually expressed quite accurately Ant.'s date in terms of the current era. Further, the variant in v.27, 'and the desolation (θεοστηριν) will be removed in the enforcing of the Covenant for many weeks,' doubtless refers to Judas' triumph.

To these pre-Christian references should be added Test. Levi 16–17, if we may regard it, with Charles, as Judaistic and reject obviously Christian material. Acc. to this passage a period of 70 weeks is prophesied when the priesthood and sacrifices shall be polluted and profaned, terminating at the end of the seventh (sic) week with the advent of 'a new priest,' which can then be interpreted of the Hasmonean dynasty. The Christian interpo-

tions might, on the other hand, be the earliest direct application of the 70 Weeks to the advent of Jesus Christ. Also in Schechter’s Zadokite Fragment, text, p. 1, ll. 5, 6, there is reference to a period of 390 years from Nebuchadnezzar to ‘the end of the wrath,’ which figure Schechter would amend to 490. But this would merely a classical allusion. In general, then, the eldest interpretations of the 70 Weeks identify their climax with the Antiochian persecution.

This original historical interpretation of the 70 Weeks passed into oblivion, not to be taken up again until modern times, except for the drastic criticism of Porphyry of the Christian interpretation and for the highly ingenious interpretation offered by a Christian writer of the end of the 4th Cent., Julius Hilarianus, who in his De mundi duratione libellus (PL 13, 110 ff.) finds, with remarkable originality, the term. ad quem of the 70 Weeks in the year 148 Era Sel., and refers the Half-Week of the Abomination to Ant. Epiph.’s sacrilege—“Abominatio desolationis facta est super altare statua Iouis quem Olympium uocant illic collocata.” Following the example of Hipp. he punctuates after the first 7 Weeks (against the syntax of Θ, whose text he follows in the OLat.), discovering Zerubbabel in the ‘Christus dux,’ for he says, “omnis rex populi Dei in duina lege Christus appellatus est.”

(2) The apocalyptic interpretation of the prophecy appears in the sole direct citation of it in the N.T., Mt. 24:15, ‘When ye see the Abomination of Desolation (τὸ βασιλείου τῆς ἐρημώσεως), that spoken of through Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (ἐν τῷ ναῷ Ἰωαννεῖ), let him that readeth understand!’ = Mk. 13:14 with the variant, ‘standing where it ought not.’ Without deciding as to the authenticity of this word, or as to its objective, whether it anticipates Antichrist or the destruction of the state by the Romans, we find in it a patently apocalyptic use of the Danielic prophecy, which could be made to fit the prospect of any great calamity which should strike at the heart of the Jewish religion. The dating down of the long spun-out 70 Weeks into the first century must have been in vogue and have contributed to the inspiration of the various fanatical and transcendental movements of the Judaism of that age. Similarly Paul in his early apocalyptic epistle, 2 Th. 2:1, has the Danielic utterances against Ant. Epiph. in mind, this passage as well as the more specific description in c. 11, when he speaks of the Son of Destruction ‘sitting in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God’ (= epiphanes!).

(3) The first direct application of our passage to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is made by Josephus in his usual cryptic fashion. Fraeld, pp. 18–23, discusses the possible ref. We may note especially AJ x, 11, 7, where, after having summarized Dan. 8, the vision of the Ram and the Buck, Jos. proceeds: “and these things, it happened, our nation suffered under Ant. Epiph., and many years in advance he [Dan.] wrote up what was to take place. And in the same manner also he wrote about the empire of the Romans and that it [impersonal?] would be desolated (ἐρημώσεται).
CJ. also the passage cited above (Note to v.26) from B.J. iv, 5, 2, in which he refers to the murder of the high priest Ananus in the last days of Jerusalem as the real beginning of the end, for then they beheld "the high priest and governor (ἀρχιερεύς καὶ ἡγεμόνας) of their salvation slain in the midst of the city," with evident allusion to our passage. This interpretation became the dominant Jewish exegesis almost without exception; and it passed over into the Christian exegesis, which along with the advent of Christ equally saw the downfall of the Holy City predicted in the prophecy of the 70 Weeks.

The chronology involved in this termination of the 70 Weeks is implied in the ancient Jewish historical work Seder Olam (2d cent.; ed. J. Mayer, Amsterdam, 1699) c. 30 = Aboda Zara, 8b-9a. The 490 years appear to be divided as follows: the Exile 70 + Persia (after the Return) 34 + the Greeks 180 + the Hasmonaens 103 + the Herods 103 = 490. S. Fraidl, p. 122, and particularly by way of elucidation of the chronology, G. F. Moore's note in Jackson and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, i, 97, n. 2, and also König, p. 313.

At the end of his interpretation of the passage Jer. gives a summary view of Jewish interpretations, at least professes to do so: "Hebraei quid de hoc loco sentiant breui sermone perstringam, fidem dictorum his a quibus dicta sunt derelinquam." The Jews who were his authority found the fulfilment in the destruction of the city by the Romans, including in the last Week both the 3½ years of the war of Vespasian and Titus and the 3½ years of Hadrian's war; 'the prince to come' was interpreted: 'cum duce venturo Uespasiano.' And it appears, if we may trust Jer., that the Jews admitted a reference to Jesus Christ in the death of the Anointed One, but cleverly interpreted the 3½ by 'but the kingdom of the Jews will not be his' ("non erit illius imperium quod putabant se retenturos"). That the destruction of Jerusalem was the objective of the 70 Weeks is also the opinion of the Clementine Recognitions in an interpretation of the Abomination of Desolation (PG i, 1242).

The subsequent Jewish interpretation (s. Fraidl, pp. 124-134) followed the traditional opinion of the term. ad quem as the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus (or Hadrian). So Rashi, Abn Ezra, PsSaadia, Abarbanel. The Messiah of v.26 is Agrippa, acc. to both Ra. and AEz., the latter citing Joseph b. Gorion, vi, c. 30 (s. Schürer, 1, 159), who gives the tradition of Agrippa's martyr-death. AEz. goes his own way in making the first Week terminate in Artaxerxes' 20th year (Neh. 11) and regarding Nehemiah as the Anointed-Prince, whereas the others generally identify this person with Cyrus. In this calculation AEz. was probably influenced by Christian exegesis which had more or less since Julianus Afr. adopted the dating from Artaxerxes. However, it may be noticed that an apocalyptic, Messianic interpretation exhibited itself at times. Acc. to Sanh., 97a, the Weeks were divided into seven parts at the end of which was to come the Messiah; and
Schöttgen, *Horae hebr.*, 2, 264, gives some instances of similar interpretation among Jewish commentators, e.g., Moses Nachmanides, "The Holy of holies is naught else than the Messiah, the sanctified one of the sons of David." Another rabbi cited by Schöttgen, Moses Haddarshan, is reported to have said: "The eternal righteousness, that is King Messiah," which interestingly enough agrees with Jer.'s statement that the Jews of his day made the same equation.

(4) The specifically 'Christian' interpretation, which found the terminus of the Weeks in the advent of Jesus Christ, only slowly made its way; it is not found at all in the New Testament, it is not made use of at all in Justin Martyr's Apologies, and outside of a passing allusion in Ep. Barnabas, 16 ('and when the hebdomad is completed, the temple of God will be built gloriously in the name of the Lord'—a spiritualizing interpretation), we have to come to the Fathers at the end of the 2d cent. to obtain this exegesis. This development, when it came in, was encouraged by the false translation in Θ, 'unto Christ the chief 7 weeks and 62 weeks,' which made the calculation up to Christ's advent somewhat more plausible.

Of the Fathers Irenaeus (v, 25, 4) inherits the apocalyptic interpretation of the New Testament; Dan. 9:27, with its 3½ years, is a prophecy of the Antichrist; he relates with it Paul's prospect of the Antichrist in 2 Th. 2:4, and the Antichrist is to take up his abode in Jerusalem. So far then there is no chronological calculation of the advent of Christ from the 70 Weeks.

Essays at such a calculation set in with the subsequent Fathers: Clem. Alex. (Strom., i, 21, *PG* viii, 853), Tert. (*Adv. Judaeos*, 8), Hipp., Julianus Africanus (Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae*, 2, 297 ff.), Origen (esp. his comm. on Mt. 24, *PG* xiii, 1656 ff.), Eus. (*Dem. ev.*, viii, 2). Of these it may be noticed that Hipp., to a great extent Irenaeus' scholar, includes in his chronological argument also Irenaeus' theme of the era of Antichrist (comm. iv, 30-35; *De Antichristo*, cc. 47, 64, etc.). Also Tert. and Origen, while pursuing chronological interpretations bearing upon the Advent, continue to find prophesied the destruction of the Jewish state. But several of these Fathers were chronologers of highest standing, e.g., Hippolytus and Africanus, and it is not strange that they betook themselves to the task of computing the Weeks so as to find their exact terminus in the advent of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, these masters ushered in a development ominous, although one to be expected, for all subsequent exegesis. From the beginning the masters disagreed, as they have done ever since. For example, the term. a quo was found by Clem. Alex. in year 2 of Cyrus; by Hipp. in year 1 of Darius the Mede; in Africanus in year 20 of Artaxerxes; by Eusebius acc. to one reckoning in year 6 of Darius Hystaspis (s. Fraidl's Tables, pp. 156 ff.). The climax of the Weeks is generally found in Christ's death, in which there was the cancellation of the Jewish ritual, but with a balance of 3½ years left over which is treated most vaguely; it is often regarded as representing the period down to the destruction of Jerusalem, or, after ancient precedent, it
is understood as of the era of Antichrist, or with Polychronius of the teaching of the Apostles.

This specifically ‘Christian’ exegesis became definitely crystallized in the last great Versions executed for the Christian Church, the Syriac and the Vulgate. The Syriac gave a definite Christian coloring to v. 24 in paraphrasing the final words, ‘to anoint the holy of holies’ into ‘to Messiah the Holy of Holies’; in v. 25 it turns ‘unto an Anointed-Prince’ into ‘to the coming of Messiah-King.’ And in v. 26 we have the clear-cut tr. ‘the Messiah will be killed’ over against the vaguer ‘will be destroyed’ of §i and the cryptic ‘chrism will be exterminated’ of $\Theta$. Jerome has similarly put the Christian stamp upon his great translation. ‘Unto Anointed-Prince’ becomes ‘ad Christum ducem,’ and the Syriac is followed in ‘occidetur Christus.’ Jer. also unfortunately follows the tr. of $\Theta$ in definitely combining the figures ‘7 weeks and 62 weeks’ in v. 25 as one numeral, as over against §si ($\Theta$ can be read here as agreeing with §i). It is to be observed, however, that the early Christian exegesis, that of the Greek Fathers and of the early Latins, working with $\chi\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ of $\Theta$ in v. 26, made this crucial passage refer to the abolition of the Jewish cult, not to Christ’s death; s. Note ad loc.

While the tendency induced by the Christian chronographers to find the exact terminus of the 70 Weeks in the Advent became universal among Christian exegetes, we have to note the immense variety as to details among the Fathers, a variety which has been in part noticed above. Some of the Fathers honestly enough present more than one calculation of the times, so Africanus three different theories, Eusebius possibly four (Fraidl, pp. 45 ff., 58 ff.). Variant opinions as to the term. a quo have been noticed above. And there was widest contradiction in other details. Thus the ‘Anointed-Prince’ of v. 25, generally identified with Jesus Christ, is acc. to Eus., the Jewish priestly line down to Alexander, or Hyrcanus, Herod’s victim. Tert., following the text of $\Theta$, boldly interprets the ‘extermination of anointing’ as of the destruction of the Jewish ritual, and so Commodianus (ll. 266 f., CSEL xv). With Tertullian the ‘prince to come’ is Jesus Christ, and so the usual exegesis, but with Origen Herod or Agrippa, with Eusebius Herod. Against the apocalyptic view of v. 27, interpreting it of the Antichrist, Africanus finds reference to the New ‘Covenant’ in Jesus Christ and the latter’s removal of the Jewish cult. This anti-Jewish theme of interpretation is very prominent, and as in Irenæus, Eusebius, Theodoret, the contrast is made between the Jewish cult and the new liturgy of the Eucharist. By the 4th cent. all possible varieties of interpretation had been reached and it remained for subsequent exegetes to make their arbitrary choice, with actually no room for any novelties.

(5) The rationalizing, critical interpretation. The Prot. Reformers and their immediate successors added nothing to the kaleidoscopic results of the Patristic and Mediæval comm.⁸ An entirely fresh direction to scholarship

⁸ See Pole’s Synopsis; and Zöck., p. 208, for a concise survey.
was introduced by the Deists and Rationalists of the 17th and 18th centuries, with the premise that the objective of the 70 Weeks is the Macc. age and that the ‘prophecy’ is accordingly a vaticinium ex eventu. But the first credit for this critical position must be given to the Pagan Porphyry, of whom Jer. in the Preface to his Comm. says: “Contra prophetam Danielem duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso, cuius inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum, sed a quodam qui temporibus Antiochi qui appellatus est Epiphanes fuerit in Iudaea, et non tam Danielemuentura dixisse quam illum narrasse praeterita. Denique quidquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit ueram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nesciernit, esse mentitum.” In Patristic exegesis a striking exception is found in Julius Hilarianus, s. above at the end of (1). In modern scholarship that trend was first adopted by two Englishmen, John Marsham, *Canon chronicus*, Frankfurt, 1697, pp. 610 ff., and A. Collins, *Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, London, 1726, and also the Catholic scholars Hardouin and Calmet; s. Bert., pp. 596 ff., Pusey, pp. 197 ff., Knab., p. 270. These were followed, *inter al.*, by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasmus*, 1794, 3, 253), Eichhorn (*Allgem. Bibliothek*, 3, 761 ff.), Bert., Bleek, Rosen., Rösch, vLeng., Maurer, Hitz., Ew., Wieseler, van Lennep. This viewpoint came to be practically admitted by some conservative theologians, who “regard the events of the era of the Antiochian persecution and the Macc. revolt as types and prefigurations of the founding of Christianity” (Zöck.), with a general assumption of the final Week as of indefinite length, from the Advent to the end of the world; so Hofmann (*Die 70 Jahre Jeremias u. d. 70 Jahr­wochen des Daniel*, 1836), Delitzsch (*RE’*), Kranichfeld, Keil. But equally ‘conservative’ scholars, as Stu., Zöck., adopted the radical theory in a very straightforward way. With them are to be associated almost all recent comm., and in general the writers of the several O.T. Introductions and Theologies, and the *Encyclopedia* articles on Dan.

For the directly Messianic interpretation in the past century we have to note Häv., Heng., Auberlen, George Duke of Manchester (*The Times of Dan.*, 1845), Pusey, Kliefoth, and the Cath. comm., dEnv., Knab. For the most recent works we note Wright (*Dan. and His Prophecies*, c. 7), Wilson (*passim* in his several monographs), Boutflower (*In and Around the Bk. of Dan.*, cc. 16–19, ‘The Evangelic Prophecy’). We must pass over the exuberant Millennialist interpretations, which have come into great vogue again in England and America. For a critical display of these developments s. S. J. Case, *The Millennial Hope*, 1918.

To sum up: The history of the exegesis of the 70 Weeks is the Dismal Swamp of O.T. criticism. The difficulties that beset any ‘rationalistic’ treatment of the figures are great enough, for the critics on this side of the

*See Bert. in his int. to c. 9, Zöck., pp. 200 ff., Knab., pp. 262–275 (a digest of the Messianic, Eschatological and Non-Messianic interpretations).*
fence do not agree among themselves; but the trackless wilderness of assumptions and theories in the efforts to obtain an exact chronology fitting into the history of Salvation, after these 2,000 years of infinitely varied interpretations, would seem to preclude any use of the 70 Weeks for the determination of a definite prophetic chronology. As we have seen, the early Jewish and Christian exegesis came to interpret that datum eschatologically and found it fulfilled in the fall of Jerusalem; only slowly did the theme of a prophecy of the Advent of Christ impress itself upon the Church, along with the survival, however, of the other earlier themes. The early Church rested no claims upon the alleged prophecy, but rather remarkably ignored it in a theological atmosphere surcharged with Messianism. The great Catholic chronographers naturally attacked the subject with scientific zeal, but their efforts as well as those of all subsequent chronologers (including the great Scaliger and Sir Isaac Newton) have failed.

NOTE ON THE GREEK TEXTS OF VV. 24-27.

For special studies on these texts s. Blud., pp. 104 ff., Behr., pp. xxxiv seq. Vv. 24-26 can be easily equated with 3 and a summary treatment of them is sufficient. The following passage, vv. 26b-27, requires detailed analysis.

24. τὴν πολιν Σιων: Σ. = σου (?).

tac a'diav = 3t., τὴν α'diav 35 = 3t.

προφητήτης, 35 προφητικας, 35s προφητειαν.

ευφράνης = πολυν read as πολυν, 35s του χριστι.

25a. x. ευφράνης: var. το ευφραναν v. 24?

eυφράνης = πολυν πολυν πολυν πολυν.

35s + x. του πολιν οσιοθεοπανι = gloss in 35 v. 24.

25b. τὸ πολιν κυριω = ῥυμν πολυμυθομυθομυθομυthon : ρυ as ῥυ, κυριω = ῥυμν, and poss. χριστιον [κυριω] = πολυμ was once read. An identical loss may have occurred at 11b2.

In the following comparison for vv. 26b-27 I have followed the order of 3 and the equivalents in 3 are enlisted in the same order, with a numeral prefixed which indicates the place of the word or phrase in 3, and the doublets are arranged in parallelism. The Gr. begins at v. 26 of Swete's text.
The balance of the v. follows the order of Σ; the necessary citations of its rdgs. are given in the Notes.

The cause of this complication of text is evident. Two blocks of a parallel tr., nos. 15-21, 22-27, have been intruded, doubtless from the margin of a MS, solidly into v. 27. The second block is a doublet to nos. 10-14; the first fills up a lacuna which had befallen the primitive text; the gap was prob. due to haplography induced by the numerals for the Weeks in vv. 25-28. The following detailed notes are added. No. 4 βασιλεία εθνών is a Greekizing understanding of the nominal phrase. No. 10 καιροῦ is Aramaizing, cf. νῦν; ? revises, pref. εως. No. 11: is the tr. a makeshift, or witness to another text? Nos. 26, 27 επὶ πόλλας εὔδομας: the orig. text was doubtless επὶ πόλλος (cf. no. 14) εὔδομασ α', which became εὔδομας, so attracting the gender of πόλλος.

(2) THE TEXTS OF Θ.

A doublet of parallel translations appears in v. 27 in the great majority of mss, in all but B 42 130 229 230 231 232 and the text in Eus., Dem. ev., viii, 2. The parallelism, which can be followed in Swete’s apparatus, may be thus exhibited:
**CHAPTER 9, NOTE ON GREEK TEXTS OF VV. 24-27**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B = Θ.</th>
<th>Λ (Q etc.) = Θ\textsuperscript{var}.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(B = \Theta.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x). δυναμωσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς</td>
<td>(\Lambda (Q \text{ etc.}) = \Theta \text{var.})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εβδομάδας μια</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x). εν τῷ ἡμείᾳ τῆς εβδομάδος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αρθησαται μοι θοῦσα (\cdot ) σπουδῆ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x). επὶ τὸ ἱερὸν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>βδέλυγμα τῶν ερημωσιῶν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x). εως τῆς συντελείας καὶ τοῦ συντελεία</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δοθησαται επὶ τὴν ερημώσιν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—In the rdg. of \(\Theta \text{var.} \text{l. 2. 3 εως} = \text{γ} \text{ for θ} \text{ by; συνεσθ} \text{ was not read or ignored; and συνεσθ} \text{ understood as} \text{ συνεσθ} \text{ τρ. Lu. has επὶ πτερυγίων.}—\text{The Constanz fragment published by Dold for vv. 24-27 agrees with B. But for the passage cited above there is entered a doublet for \text{‘abomination of desolations’: ‘tolletur sacrificium meum et supplicatio (error for libatio) desolationium interitus et ad sacrificium abominatio et usque,’ etc.} \text{The doublet in A, etc., has been clumsily entered into the text with the repetition of \(x\). δυναμωσει . . . εβδομαδος. A simpler form of the combination appears in Clem. Alex., Strom., i, 21 (ed. Potter, p. 393). He follows B, through ερημώσιν, and then proceeds directly to the var. without the joint. In the double occurrence of \text{‘the half of the week,’ with which the parallels begin, Clem. has against \(\Theta \text{ texts, exc. V + 8mss, the literal tr. \text{ τῆς} \text{ ἡμείᾳ τῆς εβδομάδος. Another variety of insertion is found in \(\Theta \text{ \textsuperscript{5}, which enters the var. at the beginning of v. 27, omitting \(x\). δυναμωσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς, thus: \text{‘A week, and the middle of the week,’ etc.} \text{These various methods of insertion argue to parallel blocks of translation appearing on the same page, that of the var. being probably on the margin. What is the origin of the var.? The simplest explanation is that it is the Origenian revision. But I was balked in this opinion by the fact that the doublet has \text{αφανισμος \text{ twice in place of} ερημώσις = B and also \(\Theta, since \text{αφανισμος \text{‘evanishment’ and its vb. =} \text{ καταβγαλείσαι are peculiarly Theodotonic, cf. g18, 36, 1131, while the common term of \(\Theta \text{ appears only in 83, 121} \text{ (only in the former passage for rt, καταβγαλείσαι). With the use of \text{αφανισμος in the var. in v. 27 the section fits in with its occurrence in v. 24. Further for the var. tr. of \text{η} \text{ by \text{πτερυγίων I was struck to find that Tert. in Adv. Jud., viii, vs. the usage of all \(\text{K} \text{ texts, which he also cites in the same chap. (et in sancto essentrio vactionis), twice uses the true tr. destruere pinaculum usque ad interitum. But further both Clem. Alex. and the old Coptic know the doublet. These facts make a demonstration of the pre-Origenian existence of the}}


doublet, a proof reinforced by the fact that Eus.'s own careful citation of the passage follows B, avoiding the doublet. We are forced to think of an ancient variant in the \( \Theta \) tradition giving a more exact tr. of \( \gamma 25 \). Whether it is older than the rdg. of the Textus Receptus of B it is impossible to decide. The use in its context of \( \delta \pi \omega \nu \zeta \epsilon \tau \nu \) argues for the Theodotionic character of the variant, but the more exact tr. for a secondary origin. It is to be observed that the excellent master codex B simplified the doublet by rejecting one of the pairs.

CHAPTERS 10-12. THE FINAL REVELATION.

These chapters constitute one 'Vision,' the breaks introduced by our chapter divisions being fairly modern (s. Comm. at end of cc. 10. 11). The long narrative falls into three dramatic parts: C. 10–c. 11, 2a. Prologue: An angel’s appearance to Dan. and the introductory colloquy; C. 11, 2b–c. 12, 4. The Revelation; C. 12, 5–13. Epilogue: another dramatic scene and the angel’s concluding words to Dan. The length and ponderous detail of the Revelation have properly motivated the long introduction in c. 10.

PROLOGUE 10–11\( ^{2a} \).

In the first year of Cyrus Dan. prepares himself by religious exercises for the boon of a revelation (1–3). Beside the Great River, after a three weeks' fast, he is vouchsafed the vision of a brilliant and awful personage, which completely unmans him (4–8). The being’s voice casts him into a swoon, from which he is aroused by a celestial hand, and the being announces that he has come, as he was desired, with explanation of his delay (9–14). Still speechless, Dan. is restored by another celestial touch, he apologizes for his failure to respond; a third touch, to enable Dan. for the revelation, is followed by the being’s announcement of the duties in which he is engaged, but of his purpose first to make the revelation (15–c. 11, 2a). The scene is dramatically constructed and with psychological verisimilitude.

1–3. The introduction. 1. In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a word was revealed unto Daniel, who was called Belteshazzar. And the word was true, but a great task; and he understood the word and there came to him understanding in the vision. For
the introductory 3d person in v. cf. 7. The date at first appears to contradict the statement of 1:21 that 'Dan. remained until the first year of Cyrus'; but s. Comm. at 1:21. \( \text{G} \) has here 'first year,' which may be a harmonizing change to agree with 1:21 (acc. to Cha. made after the addition of the latter v., as by his theory), or rather a primitive error, s. Note. We cannot control the datum of the third year any more than the third year of Belshazzar’s reign, 8:1; it implies that Dan. did not return to Palestine with the first Return, Ezr. 1, while acc. to v. 4 he was still in Mesopotamia. The designation of Cyrus as 'king of Persia' was not contemporary usage; the Pers. king was entitled 'the king,' 'the great king,' 'king of kings,' or after his conquest of the Babylonian empire 'king of Babel,' 'king of the lands'; s. Dr., Int., 345 f. Cyrus was 'the Persian king' only later acc. to Hellenistic use. The repetition of the cognomen 'Belteshazzar,' while superfluous, was according to the usage of the day; cf. the frequent repetitions of cognomens in the Gospels. For the terms 'word' and 'vision,' cf. 9:23, upon which passage the language here depends. The 'word' is the divine utterance, the 'vision' the revelation; the word is impotent until divine grace unfolds the mystery. And so a progress is prob. implied in the last two sentences of the v., lit. 'and he understood the word and understanding [was] his in the vision,' with the repetition of the rt. \( \text{r} \); cf. in 9:23 the parallelism of \( \text{m} \) Kal and Hif. with similar nuance of progress. The word here translated 'task' has been a notable crux in consequence of its ambiguity. The VSS tr. on the basis of \( \text{m} \) = 'army, force' by \( \text{důvamus}, \text{fortitudo}, \text{etc.} \) Jewish comm. developed an interpretation as of 'appointed time,' so Ra. here (\( \text{m} \)), on the basis of Job 7, etc., where Kimhi (s. Dr.) similarly tr.; and so most early Prot. comm., e.g., Calv., AV, 'the time (appointed) was long,' like Job 7. But GV with originality 'eine grosse Streit,' and so, e.g., Geier, of the militant future of the Church, CBMich., with ref. to the wars human and divine foretold in the foll. prophecy; so Bert., al., Dr. = RVV JV 'a great warfare.' VLeg. offered 'the trouble is great,' rightly substantiating this tr. from Job, and so, e.g., Stu., Zöck., Mein., Behr., Pr., Cha. But most pertinent is Häv.'s tr., making the word refer to the 'Anstrengung' of the prophet as depicted in v. 2 and implied in the long and exhausting revelation following. And so Bev. suggests that possibly it means an
'obligation' or 'charge' laid upon Dan. The prophet was commanded for a great service in behalf of the divine revelation.

1. שוייש[ shimmerin, error for ś̄̄v̄m̄, as τρέπω, as τρέπω) in B at 7. G's rdg. is preferred by vGall, p. 55.—רִשָּׁמֵשׁ So correctly Mich., as above 1, q.v.; Bär, Gin., Kit. רִשָּׁמֵשׁ.—וכוֹרָי[ω] Θ εὐαγγέληθα; 230 om. = T was cui nomen Bal.; Or's order Bal. εὐεξ. indicates latter as secondary.—דָּבָר Cf. similar use 824—רִשָּׁמֵשׁ G doublet, τὸ ὄραμα x. τὸ πρόσταγμα, the former gloss from Aq. = τὸ χήμα.—יכוֹרָי Θ x. רִשָּׁמֵשׁ (]= 1ms Ken.), by abbreviation; G x. τὸ πληθος; (Blud., p. 79, cfr. Mal. 413 θλ. = יִשָּׁב read as וֹשֵׂעַ) τῷ ἀγαθῷ διανοηθέντε ν τὸ πρόσταγμα; Aq., x. στρατεύει μεγάλη συνήθε ν τὸ χήμα; Θ x. רִשָּׁמֵשׁ (helping out sense with a prep.); Θ et fortitudo magna intellexilque sermonem. Thus G Aq. Θ disagree with וֹשֵׂעַ in rdg. וֹשֵׂעַ. In connection with the tr. proposed above of וֹשֵׂעַ as 'task' it would be plausible to emend to וֹשֵׂעַ (inf.) or וֹשֵׂעַ, i.e., 'a great task to understand.' וֹשֵׂעַ as usually interpreted as of a pred. statement gives trouble; Hitz., Mar. take it for an abbreviated Hif., but s. on וֹשֵׂעַ 9; Kön., Lgb., 1, p. 504, as a variant form of the Kal; Bev., Behr. as an abs. inf., although the comparison with וֹשֵׂעַ 11 is fallacious, as there the inf. follows a series of finites.—דָּבָר Lamb. practically agrees with the interpretation suggested in the prev. Note. He understands וֹשֵׂעַ = Aram. וֹשֵׂ עַ 'thing,' and paraphrases, 'it was a great, i.e., hard thing for Dan. to understand the vision.' Sa. has a similar etymology for וֹשֵׂעַ, marâd, i.e., a 'great meaning' in the revelation. It may be noted that וֹשֵׂעַ is used of sacred tasks, as those of the Levites. Jer. offers two interpretations, that 'strength,' fortitudo, is either God's or the prophet's, who had to understand.—in וֹשֵׂעַ (they name the task of φα­ματί) error of the 1st pers. maintained by Θ and I understood.' Θ paraphrases, intelligentia est enim opus in visione.

2. 3. The seer takes up his story. 2. In those days I Daniel was mourning for three whole weeks; pleasant food I did not eat, nor did flesh and wine come into my mouth, nor did I anoint myself at all, until the fulfilling of three full weeks. Aph. Syr. calls attention to the identity of this 'mourning' with fasting and cites Mt. 9:14, where παστεύειν = πανθείν; cf. the Biblical and Jewish terms for fasting, דַּעַתְיָה, דַּעַתְיָה 'affliction,' on which s. at v.12. The 'pleasant food (bread)' is the opposite of 'the bread of affliction,' Dt. 16:3 (יוֹשֵׂעַ). For the omission of anointing in times of 'affliction' s. DB 1, 100, EB 1, 173. There is a reminiscence of this v. in Test. Reuben, 1, 10. With this
act of fasting cf. the similar story in 9². But that is an act of contrition by the saint for himself and his people; while here, as Hitz. observes, there is a psychical preparation for receiving a revelation. Cf. the seven days’ preparation of the seer in 2 Esd. for his second vision, 5¹³.²⁰, also 6³⁵, etc.; Apoc. Baruch ５⁷ (s. Cha. ad loc.), 9², etc.

2. [ছায়াপথ] = calendar weeks, cf. Gen. 41, Dt. 21¹³, 2 Sa. 13²³, and s. GK §131, d.–3. [ছায়াপথ] For ✡ s. 9². MS c has ἄρτον ἔποιη, i.e., for ἄρτον, and so = Tert., Adv. Psychicos, ἑανεμ σουαυεμ; whence this correspondence?

4-8. The angelic vision. 4. And on the twenty-fourth day of the First Month, as I was beside the Great River [which is Tigris], 5. then I lifted up my eyes and saw, and behold, a man clad in linen, with his loins girt with gold and fine-gold, 6. and with his body like beryl, and his face like the appearance of lightning, and his arms and feet like the glance of burnished bronze, and the sound of his words like the sound of a multitude. 7. And I Daniel alone saw the vision, and the men who were with me saw not the vision; but a great trembling fell upon them and they fled hiding themselves. 8. And I was left alone, and I saw this great vision; and there remained no comeliness in me, for my comeliness was turned in me into disfigurement, and I retained no strength.

4. It is not apparent what significance there is in the dating of Dan.’s long fast of three weeks terminating on the 24th day of the First Month. The period includes the Passover festival and its Maṣṣoṭh accompaniment. The first month is Nisan, and here the elder, numerical designation is used as against the later use of the Bab. names; s. Morgenstern, ‘The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel,’ in Hebrew Union College Annual, 1924, p. 19 et passim. For the seer’s haunting the riverside cf. 8², and inf. 12². As by ‘the Great River’ is always meant elsewhere the Euphrates, Gen. 2¹⁴, Josh. ₁, it is advisable, with Behr., Mar., Cha., Ehr., to regard the following clause, Ἠλέκιον ἀναρ = ‘i.e., Hiddelkell,’ as an early gloss (cf. a similar gloss in Ju. ₅, ‘this is Sinai’). Otherwise we must attribute a solecism or gross error to the writer. ♦ silently corrects to ‘Euphrates,’ and HP 34, a MS with many peculiar rdgs., to Χωβαρ, i.e., the Chebar of Eze. 5. ‘Then I looked and saw,’ cf. 8². The word בד ‘linen’ is
so translated by \( \text{G} \beta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega\alpha \), as also 12\(^6\) \( 7 \), 1 Ch. 15\(^{27} \), but \( \Theta \) transliterates, and other VSS variously tr. The word represents some distinguished kind of clothing (so Aq. \( \text{S} \text{H} \text{A} \)). It was the dress of the priests, e.g., Lev. 6\(^{10} \), and of the angelic man in Eze. 9\(^2\). 3\(^{11} \), 10\(^2\). 6\(^{7} \), distinguishing him from his comrades. Cf. the angels clad in pure, shining ‘linen’ (\( \lambda\iota\nu\omega\nu \), not \( \lambda\theta\theta\omega\nu \) with many mss) in Rev. 15\(^6\). T. C. Foote, *The Ephod*, 1902, 47, explains '\( \text{Z} \) as of the antique, ritual loin-cloth. In Eze. 9 it is translated by \( \pi\sigma\delta\nu\rho\gamma\varsigma \), a long garment reaching to the feet, which is repeated Rev. 1\(^{13} \) in reminiscence of this passage; and this is the prob. mng. of the word here. For the tr. ‘gold and fine-gold,’ representing two rare words for ‘gold’ on basis of an emended text, the EVV have, after \( \Phi \), ‘fine gold of Upahz,’ \( \text{אופֶּהַחַי אָוֵס} \). Comparison is made with Jer. 10\(^5\) \( \text{הָעָבָד} \ , \text{לֹא} \ , \text{אוֹפִּיר} \), ‘gold from Upahz.’ But there is no place Upahz known. Accordingly the word has been emended by some to \( \text{אָוֵס} \) ‘Ophir,’ on basis of \( \text{S} \) Targ. at Jer. 10\(^5\); so still Mar., Kön.,IEW. But \( \text{א} \) is a term for (some kind or quality of) gold, used in parallelism with \( \text{דָּוֶה} \) (the common word), \( \text{נֶּבֶר} \ , \text{כַּבֵּד} \); in Song 5\(^{11} \) appears \( \text{מ} \text{בָּה} \text{מָר} \), prob. to be corrected to \( \text{כַּבֵּד} \text{מ} \text{מָר} \), and similarly in the present form \( \text{נֶּ} \) is a spelling for \( \text{נ} \). S. Lexx. for occurrences of the terms and discussions, Behr., and esp. Haupt, *Book of Canticles* (= *AJSL* 18, 193 ff.; 19, 1 ff.) at 5\(^{11} \), p. 63, cf. p. 40, and his paper, ‘Gold and Silver in Hebrew,’ *JAOS* 43, 116-127, pp. 123 f., for *kemet* and *paz*. 6. The passage is reminiscent of the Theophany in Eze. 1. The ‘beryl,’ also Eze. 1\(^8\), as EVV here tr., = \( \text{שְׁלֵשֶׁה} \text{מְלָאָט} \), i.e., Tarshish-stone, has been variously identified: with the chrysolith (as in renderings of \( \text{G} \) elsewhere), topaz, etc.; s. *DB* Petrie, ‘Stones, Precious,’ and *EB* Myres, ‘Stones, Precious,’ and arts. ‘Beryl,’ ‘Chrysolith,’ ‘Topaz,’ ‘Tarshish’; also for a recent study of the precious stones and stuffs of the Bible, Schoff, ‘The Ship “Tyre”’ (Macmillan, 1920), p. 121, etc. A good review of the elder literature is given by Blud., p. 93. Here Aq. and \( \text{H} \) alone give a translation, ‘chrysolith.’ The description continues the reminiscence of Eze. 1 from v.\(^{18} \): ‘their appearance was like coals of fire and burning like the appearance of lamps, . . . and out of the fire went forth lightning’; and, from v.\(^7 \), ‘(their feet) sparkled like the glance of polished brass.’ And finally our phrase, ‘the sound of his voice was like the sound of a multitude,’
reproduces Eze. 1:24: 'I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of great waters, like the sound of Shaddai, in their going a sound of a multitude (יווּמִי) like the sound of an army.' For the vision cf. that of the Risen Christ, Rev. 1:14-16. To the seer's as yet untuned senses the angel's reverberant voice seemed inarticulate. For the terror of Dan.'s companions, v.7, cf. the story of St. Paul's vision, Acts 9:7, 22; they had some sense of the mystical apparition. The word inadequately translated 'comeliness,' יִשְׂרָלָה, means the natural beauty of a living thing, its appropriate strength and grace. The rt. of the word translated 'disfigurement' appears in Is. 52:14, 'so was his appearance disfigured (AV marred) from human form.'

4. 62 147 introduce the v. with το τού ἔστι. (G) ἐν τῷ ἐκτο τῷ ἡσύχασθαι ἦταν. ἦταν ἐν εὐθείᾳ et factum est in XVI (sc. XVIII) anno, and so A; a primitive gloss, repeated from the gloss in Θ at beginning of c. 3, surviving in widely distributed mss.—[εὐθείᾳ] Θ (exc. Lu.) ΤΥγρίς + Εὐθεῖα, Oc Εὐθεῖα; the gloss attributed by annotator in Q to Sym., but it appears in ἐνεκτερεῖα et decel.—5. מַרְבָּך A pl. of extension. Θ βαζῶν(ε)ν(μ), ἡ δαίνη; Aq. ἡ ἁρπαγή (for this constant tr. s. Hatch-Redpath and Field's note) = πρακτίρα; 26 89 Arm. (HP) δόξαν, and so Θ A 'honorable.'—[ἐν] Χριστῷ Ωμάζ Ψ = Ψ; Aq. ἐν πάσαν τόπον τούτον φῶς (i.e., ἕως ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ ἄνθρωπος—evidence for the early existence of ὑ); cf. Blud., p. 69.—6. קָרָב] A το σῶμα αὐτοῦ, error for σῶμα.—[בָּשָׁר] Θ ὡσεὶ θαρσεῖς. Ψ has the remarkable paraphrase, 'his appearance was different (יווּמִי) and there was no likeness to him.' G ὡσεὶ ἀλλάζεσθαι, poss. a phonetic development from a transliteration; Blud., p. 93, notes that τ ἐν τῷ θαλάσσως in Jer. Meg., iii, 74a.—[יַרְשָׁב] This might be the νησί of Ex. 28:17, etc., the smaragdos or emerald of tradition.—[יַר] Properly 'torches,' it may well be translated by 'lamps' with Grr., Ψ, etc.; the Talm. uses it of the fire vessel.—[יֹבֵר] = Ru. 34.1. —[יָּדָה] Eze. 1:7. The mg. is unknown, the VSS in both places 'shining,' and Targ. to Eze., 'burnished.' This is supported by the interpretative citation in Rev. 1:15, οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡμοίως καλλικλιβάνω, ὡς ἐν καμίῳ πεπερασμένης.—[יַרְשָׁב] Cf. νησί Eze. 1:24 (also Jer. 11:19). N.b., Dan. supports the text of Ψ for those two words, suspected by some critics. Ψ τουμαὶ, error for τουμαί.—7. מַחְשָׁב = 'vision,' as vv. 8, 16, distinguished from מחשב 'sight' v.18. Θ preserves the distinction with ינשׁוּרָא and ינשׁוּרָא, as also logically so rendering ינשׁוּרָא v.1 by בק; otherwise in Ψ, ינשׁוּרָא.—יַרְשָׁב] The prep. is supported by the VSS,
but b of purpose is expected, cf. 1 Ki. 22.5. $v \in \sigma πουβ\eta$, understanding rt. לִנס as at 4:19 (16); $v \in \sigma πουβ\eta = \mathfrak{S}$. Ac. χρυφη $= \mathfrak{H}$ in absconditum.

S. וַיַּאֲרֵא $v$ וַיַּאֲרֵא πַּעָשְׁם, for בְּוַי (?) $v$ בְּוַי; $v$ יִבְּר ‘my inwards’; $H$ species.—בַּעֲשָׁם] After common Bibl. language psychological experiences come from without upon the subject; cf. 5:9, 7:8, and the expression above ‘fear fell upon them’; also s. at 21.—תִּשְׁפַּק An act. Hif. pp!.

passing from the idea of the agent or agency to the result effected. Barth, Nbg., §173, could have included this word, and prob. 7:9 11:27 and יִשָּׁפַק, along with his solitary Heb. example נְפָרָס. —בַּעֲשָׁם A late idiom found else only v.16, 11:6 and in Ch. In the ‘Weitschweifigkeit’ of the diction there is hardly reason, with Behr., Mar., Cha., to regard it as interpolated from v.18.

9–14. Daniel’s stupor, and the angel’s introductory address. 9. And I heard the sound of his words, and when I heard the sound of his words then I fell in a swoon on my face, with my face to the ground. 10. And behold a hand touching me; and it shook me up upon my knees and the palms of my hands. 11. And he said unto me: Daniel, dear man, give heed to the words I am going to speak to thee, and stand upright, for now I have been sent to thee. And upon his speaking to me this word I stood up trembling. 12. And he said to me: Fear not, Daniel, for from the first day that thou didst set thyself to understand and to afflict thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and so I have come because of thy words; 13. but the Prince of the kingdom of Persia was standing against me for twenty-one days, and lo, Michael, one of the Chief Princes, came to help me, and I have left him [I] I was left there with the kings of Persia. 14. And I have come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people at the end of days; for there is a further vision for the days.

9–11 are directly dependent upon 8:16–18, 9:21–23. With v.9 the seer’s attention becomes possessed with ‘the sound of his (the angel’s) words,’ cf. v.9; and as the voice seemed to become articulate, he swooned, cf. 8:18. The clause ‘then I fell’ is taken by Bev., Kamp., as circumstantial, ‘now I had fallen’; but a new moment, not a circumstance is presented, that of the loss of consciousness, requiring divine recuperation; for the syntax of the clause, s. Dr., Tenses, §128. 10 admirably depicts the return to consciousness; 2 Esd. 5:44: recalls the passage. The Hand ‘shook him up’ (GB ‘aufrütteln’) to semi-prostrate position; cf. GV ‘rührte mich und half mir.’ In the process of the scene this
tr. is preferable to that adopted by Behr., Dr., Mar., Cha., RVV JV, 'set me tottering.' The Grr. do not support Cha.'s proposed elision of 'upon my knees,' etc. The affectionate address in v. 11 is from 923; for the expression 'stand upright' s. 818, and for 'now (i.e., at last) I have been sent' cf. 922. The Heb. vb. 'send' involves the notion of a message. 12. Dan.'s quest had been known in heaven from the very beginning of his fastings and prayers, and so the angel has come. For similar responses to pious exercises cf. the vision to Zacharias, Lu. 111 ff., and to Cornelius, Acts 103 ff. 'To understand and to afflict thyself' is practically a hendiadys, with Bert., the self-mortification being a preparation for a desired revelation; this despite the ultra-Protestant objections of Häv., who argues that it was Daniel's words that were heard. The vb. translated 'afflict thyself,' יָזָהֵד, is a technical one, cf. Ezr. 821, parallel to the phrase 'afflict the soul (self)' in the regulations for the Day of Atonement, Lev. 1629, etc., cf. Ps. 3513. In Ezr. 96 מִלְנָהִים is a general term for self-mortifying exercises, and it became later the technical term for fasting. Luth. bravely tr. 'kasteien,' which AV copied with 'chasten,' more weakly RVV JV 'humble.' 'Self-mortification' would be the corresponding term in Christian language. Of course prayer was included in these exercises, and so the angel came 'because of thy words.' 13. For the 'Princes' who are here introduced (cf. 813 'the Prince of the Host'), s. discussion after 111. The v. explains the delay of the speaker in coming to Dan.; he had been prevented on the way by the Prince of Persia, who desired to impede the divine oracle before it had been irrevocably published. 'There was war in heaven,' the present divine speaker requiring the assistance of Michael, one of the Chief Princes, to assist him in what were else a protracted and indecisive duel; cf. Rev. 127, where Michael with his angels has become the protagonist against the Dragon. There is a problem in regard to the vb. of the last sentence in the v. If we would follow נָאַת I was left,' the various interpretations of the vb. are unexemplified from the use of the rt. מִן or its more classical equivalent מָנָה. Such interpretations are many and diverse: מִן remansī, 'I remained behind' = AV RVV 'remained'; or 'was left alone,' which Bev. helps out by making the clause circumstantial, 'I having been left alone';
or ‘was delayed’ with ἄρα, for which we should expect the common rt. דרי, which ἄρα adopts; or various nuances of being ‘left over,’ i.e., surviving (generally after a calamity!), as being left alone on the field, so Aq. περιεωσεύθην, GV ‘behiet den Sieg’ (original for Luther’s age) = Geier, the rather banal ‘was left over’ of Dr., JV, and ‘was not needed’ of RVVmg = Ehr. ‘wurde überflüssig.’ The one recourse is to be had in the rdg. of ἓθ ‘I left him (i.e., Michael) alone,’ rdg. Ἦραθεν with most emendators, e.g., Bert., Mein., Behr., Gin., Kamp., Mar., Lühr, Cha. (Lamb. halting between this and Bev.’s syntax); or better, following the order of the Gr. αὐτὸν κατέλ(ε)μπον correcting ἥραθεν ἰσχύος, with Graetz, for there is no reason to emphasize the ego of the speaker. Further, ἵθελεν reads ‘near the kings of Persia,’ but ἓθ Aq. Ἰἴ the sing. ‘king’; the evidence of Aq. (if correctly reported in ἵθελεν) might favor this change, but the following chap. has too many similar variations on this score (e.g., ‘king’ vs. ‘kingdom’), while the ‘three, four kings’ of 112 corroborates ἵθελεν here. The king is the ‘Inbegriff’ of his empire. But it is not necessary, with Bert., Mein., Behr., Dr., Mar., Lühr, Cha., to follow ἓθ + [μετα] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ || ἀρχοντός, with their intrusion of ‘the Prince [of the kings of Persia]’; we should expect simply ‘the Prince of Persia,’ as in v.20 (Bev.); ἵθελεν here a conflation, ‘the Prince of Persia.’ 14. ‘And I have come,’ i.e., resuming the end of v.12, after the parenthesis of v.13; ‘to make thee understand,’ cf. 816, 922, also 923; ‘what shall befall thy people at the end of days,’ cited from Jacob’s Blessing, Gen. 49. The final sentence, ‘for there is still (a) vision for (pertaining to) the days,’ i.e., the times to come, follows Bev.’s tr. of ἔριξεν as ‘again,’ i.e., this is a further vision; in this he was anticipated by ἕθ ‘again’ (ὅριν), and by Ra., ‘to tell thee what has not been told thee, and it is yet to come for the many days which are given for the set time,’ and cf. Calv. and JV. The usual tr. is with AV RVV, ‘for yet the vision (the vision is yet) for many days,’ with which cf. the end of 817, ‘for the vision is for a time of end’; but the parallel does not do justice to ἔριξεν, unless the sentence is taken pregnantly: ‘the time covered by the vision is yet (indefinitely) to continue for (sc. many) days,’ which requires the loss of the article with the latter word, and this Kamp. accordingly deletes on the basis of ἓθ.
9. Ζ has the first clause (which it pref. with a gratuitous καὶ ἀλήθεια), om. the second, ‘and when I heard the sound of his words,’ so also 4 MSS Ken., 3 de R., Φ. Θ om. the first καὶ ἀλήθεια, replacing with αὕτω, which OrP ignores (= Π audientes); OrC supplies the lacuna.—[insula] The VSS variously tr. (and otherwise at 818 ἐνδοτικά); best Sym. ξ. κεκαθομένος ‘stupefied,’ s. Field.—[insula] Ε ἐξε τρέφστοιν ἐπὶ τ. γένει = Φ; Θ x. τó προσ. ἐπὶ τ. γένει, to which OrP Lu. add ἐπὶ προσ. μου; Κ = Φ.

—10. νοείσκει] Ζ θυγατέραν με = ὣν ἐρείτε με, Η ἐρείτε με, but ὣν ἐρείτε με—most originally; Aq. ἐλπίζαμεν με = Φ. ὅπως ἰδίας ἔργας [έργας] Ζ ἐπὶ τῶν γονέων ἐπὶ τά ἢχη τῶν παιδίων μου; Θ ἐπὶ τά γονεῖά μου; Aq., Sym. (as superscribed in Q) OrP OrC + x. τάραξαν χειρών μου (appearing also in Ζἐκα); Lu. (48.231) x. ἐπὶ τά ἢχη τ. χειρών μου, Qmega assigning this rdg. to Θ; Η Σ = Φ.—11. ἡμέραι [έργας] Cf. Ez. 10.8 for the same vb. and construction; for this pred. use of the ppl. cf. Dr., Tenses, §135, Obs. at end, Kön., Syn., §412, a-f.—12. ἔπει δὲ παντί ἦν ἐν τούτῳ] A late idiom, found only in Ch., Ecc. (Dr.); but cf. בַּל שָׁמָּל, νυκτός. Ζ with another idiom in mind το τρέφστοι = ἐν 147.—[insula] B al. σωματεία, OrP (V), OrC (Q 106 al.), Lu. σωματεία. 3 MSS Ken. ἐνεργέω, so Ζ, which Geier, Bert., Behr. prefer, = ‘on thy account,’ but unnecessarily.—13. γυμνόν] Ζ βασιλέας.—[insula] ἓν χρὸνον] = ἵνα ὅτι in adverse sense, s. at 8; similar use of ζῆν at 87. Λ here stobat et for estū καὶ <ιστήκει.—B מְעַסֶּה, cf. מְעַסֶּהי 1.—כְּנָשָׁר] Θ texts, also Λ, om., by haplog.? Ζ OrP c Lu. hab.—B 26 233 Ελέησα, error for Ελίσσα, so Λ relinguui.—[insula] Ζ τ. βασιλέας, so Aq. Σ Η (s. Comm. further); Θ βασιλέας = γυμνόν, so 2 MSS Ken.; Φ om.—14. ἡμέραι] Λ has expanded, ut apertirem tibi intellectum ut scient.—[insula] The vocalization may depend on the parallel רֵעֶה Gen. 49.1. Θ texts ἐκβάλλεται, —ει δι, but 130 συνάγεται.—[insula] Ζ ἐραί, error for ἐσπακεῖς [εἰς την].—[insula] 3 MSS Ken. ἑσθήλ; Φ to the end of the days.

15-c. 11. 2a. Dan. struck dumb is restored by a divine touch; the angel’s colloquy with him. 15. And upon his speaking to me after these words I set my face toward the ground and was dumb. 16. And behold, like the similitude of a son [Α' sons] of man touching my lips. And I opened my mouth and spake and said unto him who stood before me: My lord, by the vision my pangs are turned upon me, and I retain no strength. 17. And how can my lord’s servant here talk with that my lord, when for me now no strength can remain in me, with no spirit left in me? 18. Then there touched me again like the appearance of a man and strengthened me. 19. And he said: Dear man, fear not! Peace to thee! Be strong and stout! And upon his speaking with me I was
strengthened, and I said: Let my lord speak, for thou hast strengthened me.

15. Despite Dan.'s return to consciousness, the angel's words struck him dumb, cf. 8:17. 16. But his consternation is dissipated, as in that earlier vision, v.18, by another touch (cf. v.19) as of a human-like being; cf. 'like the appearance of a man,' v.18, and 'the like of a son of man,' 7:13. 'Similitude,' הָדוֹעַ, is frequent in the visions of Eze. (1:5 etc., 3:2, 10:1 etc.), presenting apparitional forms which are not actually substantial; Bert. cf. Raphael's words in Tob. 12:19, 'In those days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, and ye saw a vision.' In the present instance, as with the hand of v.10, the subject of the vision is fearful even of identifying the one who touched him; it simply was, as it were, a human-like touch. With similar indirection he speaks of his visitant as 'the one standing before me.' The divine touch restored Dan.'s speech, even as it gave voice to the prophets, Is. 6:7, Jer. 1:9. The phrase 'my pangs turned upon me' (with the figure of a flood), the language of childbirth, is repeated from the story of Ichabod's birth, 1 Sa. 4:9; this figure of extreme desperation, frequent in the O.T., appears also in Is. 21:6 in the presence of another 'hard vision,' v.2. The last clause of the v. is repeated from v.8. 17. The Eng. of the opening sentence attempts to tr. an idiomatic use of a particle repeated correlatively, like Germ. da, Fr. ça, for contrast; erroneously AV RVV 'this my lord . . . this my lord,' rather with JV 'this servant . . . this my lord.' The tr. of the particle בְּנֵיהוֹ as argumentative, 'accordingly,' 'now,' follows an ingenious suggestion by Ehr., adducing the frequent dialectic use of the term in the Talm. The usual lit. explanation as 'from now' and on, or 'straightway' with EVV, is properly criticised, e.g., by Bev.; but Ehr.'s explanation removes the difficulty. The foll. vb. is impf., and so tr. here by a potential, the next clause being circumstantial. There is reminiscence here of Ju. 21:1; similar is the loss of 'spirit' to the Queen of Sheba through amazement, 1 Ki. 10:6. 18. For this third 'touch' cf. vv.11-16. The 'strengthening' of the Heb. is always primarily psychical or spiritual, after the genius of the ancient psychology. 19. Cf. vv.11-12. 'Peace to thee!': generally the initial salutation in the O.T., e.g., in the address of letters, 3:31, 6:26, etc. = χαλκείων in
the letters in Mac., Acts 15:22, Ja. 1.

C does justice to this with its usual tr. of προσεύχεσθαι = ἐπροσευχήσατο. Cf. with the present passage the angelic salutation at the Annunciation, χαίρε, κεκατομμύρην Lu. 1:26. Here 'peace' involves both salutation and its fullest connotation. The foll. vbs., 'be strong and stout!' (with correction of θε, s. Note) are the usual form of farewell, = ἀλλ' ἀλλ' ἀλλ', Dt. 31:23 = ἔπροσευχήσατο, ἔπροσευχήσθε of Class. writers (cf. the double ἔπροσευχήσατο ἐπροσευχήσατο of Dio Cassius, lxi, 13, cited by Thayer), of letters in the Gr. Bible, 2 Mac. 1:21, Acts 15:29, MSS 23:30; cf. the scribe's farewell at end of books of the Mass. Bible, πάντας or πνεύματα πάντα. Thus the Alpha and Omega of friendly greetings are given in these phrases, for the rendering of which modern trs. are inadequate. The seer forthwith is fully emboldened to receive the revelation.

15. τότε οὖν] B (WH fails) Ο o.m., al. καὶ καταδεικνύοντες; prob. early lost in texts by haplog. with foll. τότε τῇ γῇ. 16. εἷς τὸν ἱλικιακὸν] Ken. 170 ὃς for ὃς, and so Θ Π (Θ 'of a man'); Kenn. 607 ὃς τὸν ἱλικιακὸν, and al. ὃς for ὃς. Θ χαίρεσθαι ἀνθρώπου, as though ὃς. This rdg. is preferred by vGall, Mar., Löhr, but the plp. should correspondingly be made feminine, cf. v.18, while Θ is supported by μὴ αἰσχρὰ διαθέσεις v.18. For ὃς we might read ὃς with VSS, supposing that ὃ represents an annotated ἁ or double rdg.—ἀνθρώποι] B ἡμεῖς, 230 ἡμεῖς = Σ aperuit = Θ.—ὑπόσφις Θ χαίρε, but 62 + μου = Θ Π; Ω ἀμε ἀμε. Doubtless so ἀνθρώποι Gen. 18 was pronounced in the orig. form of the story.—ὑπόσφις See at v.7.—ὑπόσφις] Cf. the Akk. abāku; the vb. = 'turn upon' adversely, in Akk. = 'destroy,' etc.—ὑπόσφις] The lex. assume a distinct root, Kôn., Hub. combining with ἁ 'door hinge.' It should be derived from ἴρα 'bind,' with the development σιρ > σίρ, cf. Syr. ἵρρ > ἴρ, 'noble,' and Heb. הָיָה, s. on הָיָה 4.---ὑπόσφις] For this clause Θ has ὃς ἃτοιχαὶ ἄτοιχαὶ ἅτοιχαὶ ἅτοιχαὶ ἅτοιχαὶ ἅτοιχαὶ, ἅτοιχαὶ τοῖς ἄτοιχοι μοῖς έκεῖ έμέ = ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄτοιχοι μοῖς, with ὃς = ἄτοιχοι, as Ex. 30:4, etc.; Sym. prob. similarly, ἔστραφοντ' (were twisted') ταῖς ἑλένης, 17:37, 18:2; Aram. for Heb. הָיָה.—ῦ η] For the enclitic use of his s. BDB, p. 261, for its correlative use ibid., 262. Θ ignore both cases, Θ renders only the second. For the recession of the accent in ἴρα, the nasog 'ahôr, s. Bär's note.—ὑπόσφις] Θ ἐπιστολάρση = ἐπιστολάρση, cf. Ps. 17:23, 23:1, and so Bev., Mar., Löhr, Cha. prefer; other emendations in Löhr. Θ o.m. See Comm.—ὑπόσφις] B 89 πνεῦμα, al. πνοή = Σ flatus; πνεῦμα is contamination from Θ, as θαυμάζω = Θ τινὰ proves.—19. μὴ τίνι] 63s Ken. and de R. πόσιν, and so Θ ζε νόσιαν x. ἔστραφον: (ἔστραφον) = Θ Π, and so Bev. would emend here (noting that in other cases of the repeated impv. the conj.
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is not used), followed by most recent critics, or with variations: Behr. כִּי תַעֲלֵה, cfr. 117. 23; Mar. כִּי תַעֲלֵה. Kamp. objects to the change. — So Bär (as on the best authority), Gin., Kit.; Mich. כִּי תַעֲלֵה, the latter above vv. 11. 10; in all cases Grr. וַיַּחֲלֵה.

20—c. 11, 2a. This passage may be arranged provisionally as follows:

20a. And he said: Knowest thou why I have come unto thee?
20b. And now I have to return to fight with the Prince of Persia; and when I go off, then behold, the Prince of Greece comes on;
21a. But I will announce to thee what is inscribed in the Book of Truth.
21b. and there is none co-operating with me but Michael your Prince,

c. 11, 1a. gloss: and I in the first year of Darius the Mede]

1b. standing [I, my standing] as a helper and as a defence for me [I, him]. 2a. And now I will announce to thee the truth.

By following the lines across and down the page in the above scheme the text of י can be read consecutively. It is at once evident that vv. 20a 21a read together, as do similarly vv. 20b 21b seq. The present order is certainly chiastic. The conservative Stu. is forced to put v. 21b in parenthesis. One might think that we possess here an actual doublet of primitive origin; both of the parallel passages terminate with the identical promise to 'announce the truth.' Or else we have to agree with Mar. (after suggestions by W. R. Smith, Behr.), followed by Löhre, Lamb., Cha., in rearranging the parts thus: vv. 11a, 20b, 21b, 11bb, 11aa, and regarding 11a as a gloss and 11aa as a further gloss that has entered as a doublet after the disarrangement. The difficulty of the passage has been recognized since Jer.; translating 11a after י he interprets it as a parenthesis of Dan.'s ego: I was praying that Michael might be strengthened, with the very sensible apology that 'it belongs to the habit of the Prophets suddenly to introduce persons without introduction," i.e., he observed the parenthetical nature of the v., differing from the Jewish and the usual exegesis of finding in it a continuation of
the angel’s address. The ‘I’ fails in G  darüber; the reference to year 1 of Darius (G followed by Θ has ‘Cyrus’—by intentional adaptation to history) is trivial, of course to be referred to Darius’ conquest of Babylon, 538, 61, while it is entirely similar to the datings found in the introductions to other chapters. The similarity of this date to the introductory dates in other chapters has caused the unfortunate separation of c. II as a distinct chap. of the book. The distinction is not noted as a separate ‘Vision’ by the Gr. codices nor by Μ and its ancient divisions (although a subtle change introduced by error in Lu. texts and Χ gave the appearance of a new chap., s. Note). Μ has a pasạq sathām here, so that Μ must have been affected by the date formula. The distinction of a fresh chapter was taken up in the Mediaeval Bibles. The above tr. further adopts the change made by Bev., al., changing יְהוּדָה ‘to him’ at end of v.1 to יְהוּדָה ‘to me,’ with G  darüber (Θ om., Μ with Μ but finding the antecedent in one of the angels). Again the syntax of この in this v. is difficult, although not impossible: ‘I . . . my standing (לְעַבִּיד) (was) for,’ etc. A representative of this gerund was read by all VSS, but variously: Γ as εἰπε, Θ as יְהוּדָה ‘he stood,’ Θ by interpretation ‘I stood.’ The difficulty is relieved by Bev.’s reading יְהוּדָה ‘standing,’ as adopted above. If we follow Μ we must accept the interpretation of most comm.: There is none helping me now but Michael, who is returning the kind offices I did for him in year 1 of Darius. But that is a very banal statement of the relations of the angelic vicegerent and Michael the prince of God’s people.

The interrogative ‘knowest thou why I have come,’ v.20, is generally taken as equivalent to ‘thou dost know,’ e.g., Bev., Dr.; but with Stu., it is “rather designed to call attention than to make inquiry.” As with the prophet’s questions in Zech. 1–6, the seer’s curiosity is required and stimulated; the colloquy in Rev. 713 is exactly similar. The ‘fighting’ with the Prince of Persia is regarded by Jer. as a legal process before God between the two adversaries, and so similarly many subsequent comm.; but interpretation must be posited on the ancient world’s notion that human history is but a reflex of the great drama that is first enacted in heavenly places; for a Biblical mythological background cf. Is. 2421 above. The vb. in ‘when I go off’ has been
variously interpreted: as from actual Persia (early Prot. comm.); from God’s presence (Jer.); as going out to fight with Persia (after the common military use, so vLeng.); or coming forth out of the contest (Jeph., Bert., Bev., Dr., etc.); or Mar., ‘so bald ich los bin,’ with the implication that another contest with the Prince of Greece, who is to ‘come in,’ will begin. The parallel vbs. may best be taken as expressing the exit of the angel after his success over Persia and the introit of the Prince of Greece, for whose coming the angel has prepared (so Ra.); so the apposition of the two vbs., ‘go off,’ ‘come on,’ of the shifts of the guard in the palace, 2 Ki. 11:5-7 (Cha.). The adversative ‘but’ v. 21 (Heb. הָרָּאָב) is best explained with the reconstructed position of v. 21 at the end of the whole passage, as in opposition to the speaker’s urgent martial duty: however I will wait to give the revelation. ‘I will announce to thee’: cf. 8:9, 9:22. ‘What is inscribed in the Book of Truth’: the vb. is formal, of registering decrees, e.g., 5:24, signing a document, 6:9. This ‘True Book’ is God’s record of the past and the determined future, n.b., the notion of the Book’s contents as a ledger of even personal description in Ps. 139:16, and cf. Comm. on 4:14 for the Jewish idea of predestination. This Book is the same as the Heavenly Tablets of En. 81:1, etc., and cf. Charles’s note to 47:3, p. 91; Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 295 ff.
the Medes overthrew that empire. For VSS s. Comm.; there is no more reason to think that Θ read υναρεια than that our Bible tr. have changed the text when translating 'I stood.' For construction cf. the very dubious 'יינש ינ' of Job 57.  דב רע offers the best sense, but with foll. ה as ה, 'he stood . . . for me.' We may best follow  דב, on Bev.'s suggestion, rdg. ינש. Assuming a change of orig. ל to ינ, we may suppose a change of רע to רע, necessitated by the change of pronouns. Many critics regard it as a glossed var. to רע; but it is vouched for in some form by all authorities. This caus. use of Hif. of מ is supported, doubtfully, by v.6; the vb. with כ or רע (e.g., Is. 42) is used in sense of 'support.' As the two nouns are distinguished by the repeated prep., it is not necessary, as GB suggests, to regard the first as an Aram. inf.; at most it might be explained as a ppl. become an abstract noun like רע v.8.  דב takes both as infs.,  דב as nouns. ינש appears freq. in c. 11, e.g., v.7, in natural sense of 'stronghold,' here in sense of 'help, reinforcement,' and so freq., e.g., Is. 276, v.6.  דב (but harshly construing it with distant נפ) μοι = ה, so  דב;  om.

NOTE ON THE PRINCES AND ANGELS IN C. 10.

The bk. of Dan. presents a full-fledged doctrine of the Princes of the nations, i.e., their celestial patrons. On the subject s. Dr.'s excellent note at v.13, Bousset, op. cit. 373, and for later Judaism Weber, Jüd. Theologie, 170. For the term we may compare 'the Prince (i.e., general) of the army of יהוה,' Jos. 514. Foreign influence is not to be alleged primarily for the rise of this notion of national Patrons. Dt. 3218f. in the text corrected from  דב reads: 'He fixed the borders of the peoples according to the number of the Sons of God (i.e., the divinities); for the portion of יהוה is his people'; repeated by Ecclus. 177. The malicious inference is drawn by Jub. 15f. that these spiritual chiefs were appointed to lead the nations astray. The undeniable existence of the דת 'divinities' of the nations (cf. Ps. 82) was assimilated to the Jewish monotheism under the scheme of an imperial organization in the heavens. After the fashion of the Persian empire God assigned the several peoples to celestial satraps, our Princes, who, much after the fashion of the unwieldy Persian organization, quarrelled and fought with one another, requiring ultimately, tardily enough to the mind of the Saints, the intervention of the divine sovereign, or of his personal vizier, such as the angelic person of this chap. The scheme was a clumsy but inevitable kind of explanation for the mysteries of Providence in history, allowing room for the liberty of the creature in that drama, as Aph. Syr. wisely remarks at v.21. In this chap. we learn of a Prince of Israel, of Persia, and of Greece; these were later expanded to Princes of the Seventy Nations (Targ. Jer. I to Gen. 177). Of those in Dan. only one is named, Michael the
Prince of Israel. In Enoch Michael is one of the four or the seven archangels, along with Gabriel. For the vast expansion of theology about Michael, who later becomes identified with Metatron, etc., s. Lueken's monograph, Michael, Gött., 1898. Hipp., iv, 40, identifies Michael with the Angel who was to replace God in leading Israel, Ex. 33, etc. He reappears again below, 12, and in the N.T. in Jude, Rev. 12, in both cases as a contestant. The tr. of 'prince' by ἅγιος links up with the ἅγιος τῶν χρυσού, etc., of the N.T. (Jn. 12, Eph. 1, etc.); cf. the archons of the Gr. astrology.

The identity of the brilliant being described in vv. 4 ff. has been much debated. Despite the dependence upon Eze. 1 he cannot be the Deity, for he was 'sent,' v. 1. Early Christian exegesis naturally saw in him the Son of God, so Hipp., Aph. Syr. (cf. the citation of our passage in the description of the Risen Jesus in Rev. 1); and so dEnv. argues at length, pp. 1332 ff. Or he is taken to be some unnamed angel, a third with Gabriel and Michael, e.g., by Jeph., Calv., Zöck. But it is simplest to identify him with Gabriel, who, according to En. 40, is the angel 'set over all the powers,' and who is given the rôle of divine annunciator, v. sup. at 816. The identification is supported by the repetition of the affectionate salutation, cf. vv. 11, 19 with 8, and by the announcement of 'yet a vision,' v. 14, as over against the visions in cc. 8, 9 mediated by Gabriel. Why he is here clad with such surpassing glory must be left to the genius of the writer; in Kabbalistic Judaism Michael was identified with the Shekinah (Lueken, p. 42). Gressmann, Israel.-jud. Eschatologie, 345 ff., may be right in holding that this passage, like that in Eze. (cf. also the King of Tyre, Eze. 28 ff.), has its traditional mythological background; but it is not necessary to follow him in regarding the apparition here as the 'Eschatological Man'; v. sup. on the 'Son of Man,' Note to c. 7. It belongs to the psychology of vision that the 'hand' of v. 10 and the 'touch' of 'one like a man,' vv. 16, 18, are not identified as to the agents.

THE REVELATION, 11-12.

This section presents a survey of history from the age of 'the four Persian kings' down through the Hellenistic age culminating in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, concluding with the prospect of his foredoomed ruin and the subsequent transcendental triumph of the Jews. It falls into several distinct episodes:

2b. The Persian age.
3, 4. Alexander and the division of his empire.
5-20. The conflicts of the Lagidae and Seleucidae prior to Antiochus Epiphanes, with these episodes:
5. Ptolemy I Soter and Seleucus I Nicator.
CHAPTER II, PREFACE

6-9. The tragedy of Laodice and Berenice and the re­venge taken by Ptolemy III Euergetes.

10-19. Antiochus the Great.

20. Seleucus IV Philopator.


C. 12, 1-3. The final triumph of the Righteous.

4. Injunction as to the Book.

For the age prior to Epiphanes our writer offers several dra­matically chosen acts: the passing of Persia; the empire of Alexander and the rise of the two dynasties between which Pal­estine was to become a shuttlecock; the tragic scandal of Laodice, involving Palestine; the exploits of Antiochus the Great, his rise, including the conquest of Palestine, and his fall. With the latter’s sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, the writer enters upon contemporary history, and all that preceded is introduction to the figure who now enters on the stage, the God-defying and man-scorning Epiphanes.

This chapter is the first Jewish attempt at a universal history since the Table of Nations, Gen. 10; accordingly it has been subject of exploitation by profane historians as well as by Bible commentators. The writer gives the historian no new data until he reaches his own age, and even then his history is so veiled that all possible secular help is required for its interpre­tation; even of the contemporary Antichrist he sketches after all but an impressionistic view, and his ‘apocalypse’ is chiefly valuable historically for its presentation of inner currents of Judaism in that age. He is the Jewish counterpart of Polybius, who in 166 B.C. was taken as a hostage to Rome and who then doubtless, almost contemporaneously with this apocalyptic re­view, conceived the bold purpose to relate how it was that almost the whole world within some fifty-three years (220-168 B.C.) fell under the single empire of the Romans (Hist., i, 1, 5). The Romans do indeed appear in this chap. as people of ‘the Isles’ or ‘Kittim,’ but only as accessory instruments in the divine drama, which must have its ‘catastrophe’ (6 72 27) in the vindication of God against the ne plus ultra of this world, Antiochus. The seer’s view of the future was indeed foreshort­ened, he had no inkling that at a distant day emperors of that same Rome would fill for Jewish minds the rôle he created for the Antichrist.
Thanks to the coaching of Jerome by the Pagan philosopher Porphyry a correct historical tradition of exegesis has obtained in the Western Church, both Latin and Protestant; and the same tradition has been at home in the Greek and Oriental Churches. For extensive ref. to the Classical authorities the reader can consult the comm. of the beginning of the last century, esp. Bert., vLeng., Häv., and among the moderns esp. Driver. Several admirable histories of the Hellenistic age have appeared in the last third of a century, and it has been deemed sufficient to refer summarily to them in most cases. The writer makes his acknowledgment to the following: B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, 3 vols., 1893–1903, and the far briefer but most attractively written *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 4, 1894, by A. Holm (also in Eng. tr.); for the Syrian empire, Edwyn R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 vols., 1902, and A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1913; and for Egypt, J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895 (paying special and genial attention to the side-lights from Jewish documents), and Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, 4 vols., 1903 seq. (cited by title for distinction from the other work). For Antiochus IV we have the invaluable thesaurus of E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, the history being given in vol. 1, 1901 (an earlier ed. also in Eng. tr.); and to this should be added the recent work by E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, vol. 2, 1921, esp. §v.

The commentator must steer cautiously between the Scylla and Charybdis of over-insistence upon the chapter's worth as a historical document and depreciation of it. Many problems of interpretation must therefore be left sub iudice. The inherent difficulty of the diction is increased by the many substantial variations in the authorities for the text; presents five substantial differences as between Kt. and Kr., and the VSS have further served to complicate the tradition.

At the end of the chap. will be given a Note on the history of its interpretation. We may note B. Szold, 'The Eleventh Chapter of the Book of Daniel,' in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, pp. 562–572; the theme is the character of the chap. as an 'epical survey' of the history; the writer attempts an arrangement in poetical lines.

2b. The three remaining kings of Persia. Behold yet three
kings are to stand up for Persia; and the fourth shall be rich in riches greater than all; and when he is waxed strong through his riches he shall arouse the whole, the Kingdom of Greece [sic].

The writer finds himself in a small minority in identifying the four kings of Persia as Cyrus (and the three yet to come), Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius III Codomannus, the four Persian kings named in the Bible, the last one denoted as ‘the Persian,’ Neh. 12:24. For our book distinctly excludes the Median kingdom with its representative Darius (v.1) as preceding the Persian. But that position was taken by Saadia, as cited by AEz., naming Darius the Mede, Cyrus, Xerxes, Darius the Persian, a view known to Jer., who criticises it as ‘in vain.’ The oldest interpreter, Hipp., iv, 41, found but four kings, Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, Xerxes (sic). But Jer. interprets the text as of four kings after Cyrus, making ‘the fourth’ additional to the ‘three.’ And so Theodt., Jeph., AEz., Häv., Stu., Keil, Del., dEnv., Knab., al. But despite Stu.’s argument that ‘the fourth’ means ‘a fourth,’ the patent sense of the passage is supported by the actual four known to our writer. The first to try to equate the four or five kings with the actual sequence of the Persian line was Jer., who names Cyrus, Cambyses, Pseudo-Smerdis, Darius, Xerxes. Most recent comm., agreeing that four kings in toto are meant, obtain various combinations: Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, so Bev., Pr., Mar., Cha., also identifying the four heads and four wings of the Persian leopard in 7:6 as four kings; or Cyrus, Cambyses, Ps.-Smerdis, Darius (so Aph. Syr.) or, as an alternative, excluding the third and adding Xerxes, so Dr.; most comm. have preferred, after Jer., to find the great Xerxes at the culmination, and so Bert., vLeng., Mein. But this is bald interpretation from Western history; that the Jewish tradition had any memory of Xerxes’ wars with Greece it is absurd to conceive. The crux of but four kings in Persian history was recognized by Jer., who explains: “non enim curae fuit spiritui prophetali historiae ordinem sequi sed praecelara quaeque prae-stringere.” Behr. interprets the four as ‘cyclic,’ and Zöck. as ‘symbolic.’ But we must reject this rationalizing and follow the veritas biblica; Ra., true to the traditional Jewish chronology, notes at 10:36 that there were but 34 years between the rebuilding of the temple and Alexander; on this foreshortening of history s. Note at end of c. 9.
‘When he is waxed strong’ (an ominous reminiscence of two evil kings of Judah, 2 Ch. 12:1, 26; It is no foregone conclusion that this description must mean Xerxes, despite Est. and the Greek accounts of his marvellous wealth, e.g., Her., vii, 20 ff. It was the wealth of Persia in the possession of its kings that astounded the world and aroused the lust of Alexander. The next clause is obscure in the Heb., and we are not helped by the various interpretations of the VSS, which doubtless possessed our text. The prevailing opinion since Jer. that reference is made to Xerxes’ wars against Greece has seemed to corroborate the usual tr., ‘and he will stir up all (the nations included in his forces) against the kingdom of Greece.’ But there is no ‘against’ in the text, for which the Heb. has the common acc. particle מַשְׁרָה; we must tr. מְשָרָה, ‘and he will stir up all, namely (?) the kingdom of Greece.’ But the point is not that he made war against Greece (as far as Asia was concerned, Persia remained mistress, n.b., the Peace of Callias, 449 B.C.), but rather that the world was aroused against the king. It is possible to interpret מְשָרָה as of the fourth king ‘exciting the whole world’ against himself, an implication which may take too much for granted. In that case ‘the kingdom of Greece’ may well be a gloss (cf. the glosses in the Syriac Bible and s. on ‘Egypt,’ v.8), introduced to define the opponent, for through this chap. the kingdoms are referred to only by veiled allusions. ‘The whole,’ generally translated tout le monde, will then mean ‘the whole world’; s. on this phrase W. H. Cobb, ‘Note on a Hebrew Conception of the Universe,’ JBL 29, 24-28. If this interpretation, with the critical excision involved, may not stand, the only suggestion of value is that proposed by Torrey in his paper “‘Yawan” and “Hellas” as Designations of the Seleucid Empire,’ JAOS 25, 302-311. On p. 311 he proposes to insert יָעָן [ירוי], i.e., ‘the Prince of All will raise up [rdg. יָעָן] the kingdom of Yawan [in place of the kingdom of Persia]”; for the vb. in which amendment I would prefer to retain מְשָרָה ‘will rouse up,’ i.e., hostile. For the divine title he cft. פָרָת הֶמוֹאָר יֵשׁ שֵׁר שֵׁר [11] (q.e.), to which may be added the common Syriac divine title מֹאָר נָל, s. Montgomery, JBL 31, 143 (cf. Acts 10:26). Torrey also holds that this fourth king can be none other than Darius Codomannus; “the writer derived his information from popular
legend ... rather than from any authoritative text-book of Persian history." In the paper Torrey demonstrates that Yawan here and in similar reff. is not Hellas but the Greek, i.e., Seleucide empire in Asia.

2b. "as pf.—קינוחו is in comparison with נס not with סלע. Also mss תב, so Sym. סנ.קינוחו understanding בקינוחו. Θ επαναστήσεται for רועי, i.e., as רועי, for the rest Θ παντα βασιλεία Ελλήνων, Θ πάνα βασιλείας 'Ελλ., both naturally ignoring ריעה; Aq. διεξεται πάντας σών τούς βασιλείς τῶν 'Ελλ., Sym. διεξετεί τάντας πρὸς τῆς γῆς τῶν 'Ελλ. = Π aduersum for ריעה (2mss Ken. בקינוחו); Θ = Aq., but 'all the kingdoms.'

3. 4. Alexander the Great and the division of his kingdom.

3. And there shall stand up a valiant king, who shall rule with great rule and shall do after his will. 4. And upon his standing up [or correct to his growing strong] his kingdom shall be broken and be divided to the four winds of heaven—but not for his posterity, nor after his rule as he ruled, for his kingdom shall be plucked up, yea for others apart from these. 3. Alexander is well depicted as מפל נבורי 'warrior king' (Dr.); cf. the Messianic king as נבורי Is. 9. We may appropriately cite the historian Justin, xii, 16: "When he assumed rule he ordered himself to be called King of All Lands and of the World. . . . He met no enemy he did not conquer, besieged no city he did not take, attacked no people he did not subdue." This king is the 'notable horn' of the Buck in 85 ff. 21. His marvellous rise is sketched in this single v., but to the Jewish mind the tragedy of the fall of his empire, v.4, is more conspicuous. Are we to charge this difference of perspective to the provincialism of a hillside sect, or rather to a proud consciousness which looked farther than the phenomena of this world? The tragedy is well expressed by E. Bevan, 1, 29: "In the spring of 323 before Christ the whole order of things from the Adriatic away to the mountains of Central Asia and the dusty plains of the Panjab rested upon a single will, a single brain, nurtured in Hellenic thought. Then the hand of God, as if trying some fantastic experiment, plucked this man away. Who could predict for a moment what the result would be?" 'He did after his will': Grot. cites Quintus Curtius: "By the favor of this Fortune, as it seemed to the nations, he did whatsoever he pleased." 4. Cf. 85, 'And when he
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(the Buck) grew strong (חולצתה), the great horn was broken; and instead of it there came up the appearance of four horns to the four winds of heaven.' In our v. 'upon his standing up,' הָנָּהְ עֹלָה, must imply the brevity of his power (Mein.), with a possible play between the nuances of the rt., 'stand up' and 'stand' (cf. מָנוּעַ). Graetz proposed to read after 8ו, approved by most recent critics, including Kamp., Dr. It must be confessed that, if anything, we might expect contamination from c. 8, but not a stupid error over against that obvious exemplar. The word 'kingdom' might better be expressed in Eng. by 'empire,' as denoting primarily imperium and only secondarily physical extent of the dominion (s. Comm. at 248); this was particularly true of βασιλεία, βασιλεῖα in the Hellenistic age, s. Holm, p. 48, Bevan, 1, 57. As noted at 8ו, the divisions to the four winds of heaven are Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor, Asia-Syria, Egypt; but of these only the latter two are further described in this chap. 'Not for his posterity': Alexander’s stupid half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus, his posthumous son by Roxane, and an illegitimate son Herakles, who had been held as pawns by the would-be ambitious successors to Alexander, were done away with one after the other (in 317, 311, 309 respectively). 'But to others apart from these': the antecedent is generally understood to be 'his posterity'; but Jer. interprets: in addition to the four kingdoms of the Diadochi also to the lesser states, Armenia, Cappadocia, etc., and so AEz., Grot., vLeng., Bev. The latter argues that מְלָכִי, מְלָכִי means always 'in addition to,' not 'to exclusion of,' and that מְלָכִי is to be expected. But we may have a unique use of the phrase; its Eng. equivalent 'apart from' can mean addition or exclusion.

4. B al. וּכְּכַּנְּכָּהְ, but Q 34 230 הָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, cf. at v.1. Θ exeges the difficult vb. by inventing a subject, 'his kingdom.'—וּלָכְּכָּה] Dr., Tenses, §§171 ff., esp. p. 218, Obs., holds that the Juss. mood is here used 'without any recollection of its distinctive significance'; but it is better with Kön., Sym., §364, c, to take it as a case of 'consecutive thought-relation,' i.e., of result. Cf. שׂעֵר v.14. A lively sense of the use of the impf. survived in early Aram.; s. on אֲבַע בַּעַר v.16.—כְּכַּנְּכָּה] Θ. Cx. יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, i.e., rdg. יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, 'not like his sword,' as though לָכְּכַּנְּכָּה אֶלָכְּכַּנְּכָּה — הָכְּכַּנְּכָּה] Θ. Cx. יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, הָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, i.e., rdg. יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, יָכְּכַּנְּכָּה, 'and no other (i.e., רָכְּכַּנְּכָּה) apart from these'; Π paraphrases, exceptis his;
5-20. The conflicts of the Lagidae and Seleucidae prior to Antiochus Epiphanes.

5. Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt and Seleucus I Nicator of Syria. And the king of the South shall be strong; and one of his princes shall prevail over him and shall rule with a rule greater than his rule [a great rule is his rule]. The drama quickly passes to those two successors of Alexander who alone attained among the many claimants to his empire and whose dynasties alone concerned Jewish history. The one, Ptolemy, the long-sighted statesman among the Conqueror’s lieutenants, early chose Egypt, his wisdom confirmed by the maintenance of his empire for three centuries. The other, Seleucus, inherited his master’s grandiose ambition of an Asiatic empire. At Triparadeisos in 321 he obtained as key position for his dominating purpose the satrapy of Babylonia. Fleeing from it to escape the despotic Antigonus in 316 he attached himself to Ptolemy and assisted the latter in the defeat of Antigonus at Gaza in 312; and hence he is correctly described in our text, from the Egyptian point of view, as ‘one of his princes.’ In the same year he betook himself by a forced march to Babylon and recovered his position. Before his death by assassination in his homeland of Macedonia in 381 he had the satisfaction of having obtained his ambition—an empire which stretched from the Panjab to across the Hellespont. ‘His rule’ was indeed ‘a rule greater than his (Ptolemy’s) rule,’ as our writer says. He was ‘the most regal and the ruler of the greatest extent of territory after Alexander,’ so Arrian, Exped. Alex., vii, 22. ‘The South,’ properly ‘the Negeb’ (e.g., Gen. 12:9), the land south of Palestine, used as a local point of the compass, is in this chap. applied to Egypt, as always translates; cf. poss. Is. 30:6. The syntax of the middle of the v. is peculiar in the Heb., made more difficult by the pointing of 𐤀𐤀, which is followed in EVV, but was not known to the VSS. A correction made by addition of a single letter in the last word of 𐤀𐤀, anticipated by Lu. and suggested also by Ehr., gives a much better reading than the rather staccato phrase of 𐤀𐤀. The clause is a notable piece of alliteration: mašal mimšal rab’ (mim)memsalletō.
5. The VSS understand הָוָּה, exc. Sym. and Φ, 'and his princes, and he will prevail.' Mein., Kamp., Mar., al., are inclined to delete the second conj., but the *casus pendens* is good Heb. construction, s. Dr., *Tenses*, §§196 ff. The partitive use of יָה to express an individual object is exceptional, poss. so in Ex. 6:9; cf. Arab. *ba'd* 'some > one'; cf. also *nēr* v.7. For יָוָּה B al. [תַּאְרוֹן] מָלְאָךְ, OrP. c Lu. מָלְאָךְ = כֵּס הָוָּה, *i.e.*, orig. Θ. For the comp. sense of *‘v* after *πι*, cf. 1 Ch. 21:1; poss. the writer meant 'to conquer' as in 2 Ch. 8:1. For מַלְאָךְ texts (B A Q V 26 49 87 89 90) מַלְאָךְ הָוָּה = מַלְאָךְ (ם-א) his, primitive error for מַלְאָךְ הָוָּה.—דַּבֵּר מַלְאָךְ מַלְאָךְ כֵּס הָוָּה = מַלְאָךְ; Θ Φ om. מַלְאָךְ, which suppl. OrP. c מַלְאָךְ (orig. אַרְכְּ) אֲבַעֲעַס מַלְאָךְ, and Lu. מַלְאָךְ מַלְאָךְ, *i.e.*, as though מַלְאָךְ מַלְאָךְ.

6–9. The tragedy of Laodice and Berenice, wives of Antiochus II Theos, and the revenge taken by Ptolemy III Euergetes against Seleucus II Callinicus (246 B.C.). 6. And at the end of some years they shall make alliance, and the daughter of the king of the South shall come to the king of the North to effect the agreement; but she shall not retain strength [חֵי + of the arm], nor shall her seed [חֵי arm] endure, and she shall be given up along with those who brought her and her child [חֵי begetter] and him who obtained her. In the events 7. shall arise a scion of her roots in his [the king of Egypt’s] place, and he shall come to the outworks [חֵי army] and enter into the stronghold of the king of the North and shall do prevailingly with them; 8. yea, even their gods, with their images, with their precious vessels of silver and gold, shall he bring in captivity to Egypt [?]. And when he shall desist for some years from the king of the North, 9. then he [the latter] shall come into the kingdom of the king of the South, but he shall return to his country.

Of all the high-handed crimes perpetrated by the supermen and superwomen of the Hellenistic age, that charged to Laodice, sister and wife of Antiochus II Theos, grandson of Seleucus I (262–246 B.C.), was the most outrageous and the most noisome. For purposes of state Antiochus entered into a marriage alliance with Ptolemy II Philadelphus and took as wife the latter’s daughter Berenice, so dispossessing the elder wife Laodice, who retired in high dudgeon to Sardis or Ephesus. The Egyptian princess was brought in great pomp to Antioch; acc. to Jer. she was accompanied by her father as far as Pelusium, bringing a great dower of wealth, which gave her the surname of φερνο-
A son was born of the new union. Then a reconciliation was effected between the king and Laodice. He died suddenly, by common report through poison administered at Laodice's direction, as the first step in insuring her own children's right to the throne. Forthwith she sent her emissaries to Antioch, murdered the child of Berenice, and while the latter was able to maintain herself for a while she was finally betrayed and killed along with many of her Egyptian entourage. Her straits meanwhile had aroused the power of Egypt, provoking the so-called Third Syrian, or Laodicean, War. Her father appears to have died in the course of the tragedy, but his son and successor, Ptolemy III Euergetes, proceeded with army and fleet to Seleucia and Antioch, into which he successively entered in triumph, but too late to save his sister. The son of Laodice and heir of the dynasty, Seleucus II Callinicus (246–226) could make no resistance, and Ptolemy proceeded on a great campaign into Upper Asia, this vast extent of conquest being corroborated by the inscription of Adulis, copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Corp. inscr. graec. 5127, the text given by Mahaffy, p. 199), which boasts of his conquests as far as Bactria. He returned with vast booty (s. at v.8), but without clinching his success, historians differing as to the cause, whether prudence or necessity; 'he desisted from the king of the North.' 9 with its obscure reference to a counter-blow of Seleucus against Egypt is faintly corroborated by the Greek historians. The Syrian king appears to have come again into possession of his holdings in Northern Syria, and even ventured an unsuccessful attack upon Egypt (Niese, p. 152, Bouché-Leclercq, p. 104). The rival kings, having their several troubles, then determined upon a ten years' truce. Laodice appears to have fallen into Ptolemy's hands and to have met her well-deserved fate. It may be noted that Jer.'s comm. to this passage is of much historical value.

6. 'And at the end of (some) years': cf. 'at the end of days,' Gen. 43, 1 Ki. 17. From the death of Seleucus I to the event described was 35 years (281–246 B.C.). 'Shall make alliance': the same vb. in v.23, and similarly of an ill-omened alliance in 2 Ch. 20.86, 87. N.b. the absoluteness of 'king,' which means practically dynasty. 'To effect the agreement': i.e., to carry out the terms; the noun means the equitable arrangement of a bargain, etc. (s. also at v.17). 'Retain strength': the same expression at
10. 16. The text has ‘strength of the arm,’ which is translated as ‘and not will he stand and (i.e., with) his arm (i.e., force).’ So the passage may be interpreted. But in the first phrase ‘strength’ always appears absolutely, and so ‘of the arm’ is suspicious. Bev., Mar., after Θ, make ‘the arm’ subject, i.e., ‘this resource shall not retain strength’ (i.e., the marriage), and then, after Hitz., ‘and not will stand his (other) resources,’ rdg. ἥμαρτειν ἔργα γινεῖν for ἥμαρτειν ἔργων; but the resultant is tautologous. Θ justifies ἑαυτοῦ ‘his arm,’ but Θ understood it as ἱερὸς ‘his seed,’ and so Sym., Η, a most plausible rdg., referring then to the child of the marriage (so Montanus, Houbigant, Bert., dEnv., Knab., Kamp., al.). The present text may have arisen from contamination by ἔστωτε ἐμάρτσαι 10.17. ‘Shall be given (up)’: this abs. use of ζητεῖν as ‘surrender, betray’ (so Θ Θ, Θ understanding the vb. otherwise) is unique, and Is. 51.12, διδόμενον Lu. 22.19, which have been compared, are not parallel; we expect the added ἰθωμᾶς, as Eze. 31.14. Is influence of Gr. προδίδοναι to be alleged? The following three aligned subjects are much disputed as to their mngs. The sequence which tallies best with history is as follows, 1° ‘Those who brought her’ to her husband’s court, i.e., the accompanying embassy and esp. her attendant ladies, many of whom perished with her, acc. to the stories. 2° Read ἡ γυνὴ ‘her child,’ with vGall, Mar., Cha., for ἡ γυνὴ ‘her begetter,’ i.e., the desiderated item of the murder of the babe; her father died at home at the same time, and it is gratuitous to allege a gross inaccuracy; Θ Sym., Θ (Θ ignores) do not approve Η, reading ἰθωμᾶς and tr. ‘maid’ (Θ ἕ νεᾶνος) or ‘maids’ (similarly PsSa., ‘the maid whose face (person) is concealed’). 3° ‘He who obtained her’ = Θ ὁ κατευχόμενον αὐτῆς, will then be her husband; for this use of γαμάω cf. v.21; so vLeng., Mein., Zöck., JV. All these perished by Laodice’s insane jealousy. Θ Η, followed by Prot. comm., AV RVV, understand the third noun as ‘him who strengthened her,’ i.e., Ptolemy, after the causative use of the Ἡφ. The last word in the v., μνήμης ὁ σαμαίνειν ‘in the times,’ even if expanded into ‘in these (those) times’ with EVV, is hopeless. If the word is to be kept and translation attempted, it is best with Mar. to transpose it to beginning of next v., cf. ‘and in those
times,' v.20, and to understand the noun in the sense of fated events (s. GB, p. 629a). 7. 'A scion of her roots': i.e., her brother and avenger, of her own stock; 'shall stand in his place': i.e., his father's place, cf. vv.20. 21. 38. 'And shall come to the outworks and enter into the stronghold': The prep. phrase in the first sentence has been most variously interpreted; Θ 'against the army,' necessarily the opponent's, so Mar., Cha.; or 'to his (own) army,' vLeng., al.; or 'into power,' Häv., Behr. The interpretation suggested above would read ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς, for ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς, the former noun mng. 'outer works;' προτεράκυσμα, of a fortress; so Is. 264, etc. The two sentences would then be complementary in the expression of military success. The following noun 'stronghold' is generally understood of Seleucia; but as Ptolemy after seizing Seleucia proceeded to Antioch (s. Bouché-Leclercq, p. 97), the former may well be 'the outworks,' the latter 'the stronghold.' The v. concludes with, literally, 'he shall deal with them and shall prevail,' a hendiadys. 8. The detailed statement of the booty taken by the king of the South is supported by Jer., doubtless on Porphyry's authority, relating that Ptolemy brought home "40,000 talents of silver and 2,500 precious vessels and images of the gods, among them those which Cambyses had taken to Persia when he conquered Egypt"; for which benefaction the Egyptians entitled him 'Benefactor.' And this item is now corroborated by the Canopus Decree (238 b.c.), lauding as one of the merits of Ptolemy that he "restored the holy images carried out of the country by the Persians, when he made his campaign"; s. Mahaffy, pp. 230 ff., for the Gr. text, also p. 205. Acc. to Jos., C. Aρ., ii, 5, Ptolemy upon his return from his victories offered thanksgiving sacrifices to God in Jerusalem. 'Precious vessels': the same expression, Hos. 1346, etc. It is only here, until we reach vv.42. 43, that 'Egypt' instead of 'the South' occurs. Is this an accidental lapse from the writer's masked style, or have we here an early replacement? 8b, which is introduced by a prefixed, emphatic 'he' αὐτός, I have rendered as a circumstantial clause to v.9; it is by such subtle changes of order that the Sem. diction expresses relation of sentences. 'He shall desist from': lit. 'stand off from,' cf. Gen. 2934, so vLeng., RVV JV; this is preferable to the interpretation of Θ ἔσται 'he shall stand above him' with comparative use of ἐπὶ, and so ΙI paraphrasing, praevalebit adversum eum, and
Behr.; and certainly preferable to the banal 'shall continue more years than' of Calv., AV, etc. 9. For the ambiguity of the subject cf. דִּבְרֵיָּם v. 6 (with text of מִשָּׁם) and freq. below.


10-19. The exploits of Antiochus III the Great. Seleucus II was followed successively by two sons, Seleucus III Ceraunus, 227–223 B.C., and Antiochus III the Great, 223–187 B.C. Our passage opens with a reference to these ‘sons’ as ‘stirring up’
against Egypt (it is doubtful whether the elder brother was concerned in any operations), and then passes on to a singular subject, who must be the redoubtable Antiochus the Great. He was the one great successor of the first Seleucus; like all the Epigoni he aspired to the role of an Alexander, and indeed alone of them all came nigh to achieving it. He was conqueror of Asia and dictator of Egypt, but he met his downfall in Europe when he ventured conflict with the Romans. This third of a century was epochal in the world's history, symbolized by Polybius taking this period to begin his History of the rise of the Roman empire, the worthy complement of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; and where the fragments of his work survive Polybius becomes our main authority for the period. The years 219-201 saw the long course of the Second Punic War with its final triumphant consummation for the Romans; the remaining years found them planted securely in Asia with Egypt become a vassal state. Rome was now mistress of the Mediterranean.

Antiochus' reign was one of unwearied warfare. At first he was obliged to fight with treacherous aspirants to the throne, first Molon in Upper Asia, later Achæus in Asia Minor. Victorious over the former he could proceed to the achievement of the century-old ambition of his house, the conquest of Southern Syria ('Cœle-Syria'). The prospects were the rosier in that 'the contemptible' Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-203 B.C.) had come to the throne almost synchronously with him, a dilettante voluptuary, ruled by vile ministers. The Syrian operations began in 219 by the retaking of Seleucia, the port of Antioch. In the following years Antiochus proceeded to a methodical conquest of Palestine, waging an extensive campaign in Trans-Jordan (E. Bevan, p. 317; Bouché-Leclercq, p. 146). These successes are summed up in v.10a. But the Egyptian administration had wit enough to pluck itself up for defence, hiring mercenaries and even enlisting Egyptian troops (a bit of fatal politics). In 217 Antiochus marched to the Palestinian frontier at Raphia, where he was met by the Egyptian army, commanded in person by Ptolemy and his sister-wife Arsinoe. This is the *débâcle* described in vv.10b-12; the 'myriads' destroyed by the king of the South is true enough literally, the two armies massing toward 70,000 men on each side, and Antiochus' loss being put at 17,000 (E. Bevan, pp. 317 ff., Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 150 ff.). There is a
lively anecdote told of this battle in the opening vv. of 3 Mac. Antiochus lost his Cœle-Syria. But the king of Egypt was too supine to follow up his victory; he did not show himself ‘strong,’ v.15. The years 212–204 were spent by the indefatigable Antiochus in recovering his Oriental domains, and he campaigned successfully as far as the Caspian and the borders of India. About 203 B.C. Ptolemy and his queen died in mysterious circumstances, succeeded by their infant son Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The time was ripe for the revenge upon Egypt, and vv. 13-17 tell the story. The ‘many who shall stand against the king of Egypt,’ v.16, has been understood, since Jer., of Philip V of Macedon, ally of Antiochus, and native insurrections within Egypt; s. Mahaffy, cc. 7. 8, Bouché-Leclercq, Lagides, 341 ff. In 201 Antiochus invaded Cœle-Syria and took Gaza after a long siege (E. Bevan, 1, 317, Bouché-Leclercq, p. 171); this is the ‘city’ taken by ‘earthworks,’ v.15. The approaching conflict between Syria and Rome, which was entering the Oriental fray in behalf of its ally Pergamon, tempted Egypt to strike back; the Egyptian condottiere lieutenant Scopas invaded Palestine, was defeated at Banias, then finally blockaded in Sidon, which at last fell to Antiochus, 199–198 B.C. These are probably the events obscurely described in vv.15b. 16, of which there remained a lively memory with the Jews; for the note that he came to ‘stand in the Beautiful Land’ we have the parallel information from Jos., AJ xii, 3, 3, that the gates of Jerusalem were thrown open to him. The threatening interference of Rome induced Antiochus to use his best diplomacy to effect an alliance with subdued Egypt; he married his daughter Cleopatra to the youthful Ptolemy, the marriage being celebrated at Raphia (E. Bevan, 2, 38, 57, Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 177, 184). The quid pro quo offered by Antiochus was the revenues of Cœle-Syria as dower for his daughter, of which, however, he reserved half for himself for administration. 16 presents the datum of this marriage, somewhat in the guise of a means of escape for Egypt from threatened invasion; v.16 is obscure.

Had Antiochus willed to remain what he actually was, monarch of Asia and suzerain of Egypt, he would have gone down into history as really ‘the Great,’ a title prematurely given in his lifetime. But it was his fatal ambition not only to conquer Pergamon, the thorn in the Seleucid flesh, but to take position
in Greece and so to reincarnate the great Alexander. 18. 19
 tersely depict the consequences. He 'set his face to the Isles,'
 the mysterious lands of the distant Mediterranean. He met his
 Waterloo twice, first at the pass of Thermopylae, where East
 once more met West, 191 B.C. Driven back into Asia he again
 made stand, but was utterly beaten at Magnesia by Lucius
 Cornelius Scipio (hence 'Asiaticus'), 190 B.C. This is the 'com-
mander' who turned back upon him his own indignities ('his
 reproach'). Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, was
 present with the Roman army, even as Hannibal accompanied
 Antiochus' western campaign, their presence a symbol of the
 world-wide character of the struggle. Its import is well expressed
 by Plutarch (Comparison of Aristides and M. Cato), in para-
 phrase: the great victory at Thermopylae cleared Asia out of
 Greece and so opened the way for Rome into Asia. Antiochus
 had to retire 'to his own strongholds,' v.19, a beaten conqueror.
 He died 187/6 in trying to loot a temple of Bel in Elymais, ac-
cording to a story exactly similar to that of the death of his son
 Epiphanes (s. Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 223 f.). 'He was not to be
 found' is the verdict of our writer, as it is of history.

 Our writer was contemporary with at least the latter part
 of Antiochus' career, and possessed immediate information upon
 his reign which enabled him to give the succinct and correct
 résumé of these vv. Jewish historiography in general begins now
 to operate with clearer light, after a long eclipse. 3 Mac. (12-7)
 opens with a dramatic and genuine account of the battle at
 Raphia, drawn from some Greek historian. The apocryphal
 balance of the book deals with the visit of Ptolemy Philopator
 to Jerusalem. Josephus also has much to say about the high
 favors granted by Antiochus III to the Jews, AJ xii, 3, and in
 c. 4 gives the romantic story of Joseph the Tobiade, Ptolemy's
 (Philopator) tax-gatherer in Palestine, the father of the re-
doubtable freebooter Hyrcanus, the builder of that remarkable
 palace-fortress 'Arâk el-Emîr near Heshbon. One may com-
pare Mahaffy, pp. 216 ff., 267 ff., for an attempt to make the
 most of these stories. See also E. Bevan, Jerusalem under the
 High Priests, pp. 41 ff., for a study of the worldly influences
 which were bearing down upon the Jews as Palestine became
 more and more a pawn of the dynasties.

10a. Antiochus' initial successes in Syria (219–218 B.C.). And
his sons [Seleucus III and Antiochus III] shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces. And he [Antiochus] shall come on and on and flood and pass beyond. The subj. of vv.10-19 is in general a sing., Antiochus; only at the beginning of the present v. have we a pl. subj. with two attendant vbs. It would be convenient to insist on the Kt. (Kr. בְּנֵי) and tr. 'his son' with the change of the two vbs. to the sing.; so vGall, Mar., Löhrl. But the mystifying change of subj. is characteristic of the whole passage, while the VSS support the Kr. The assumption that hostilities with Egypt occurred in Seleucus' reign, although corroborated by Jer., is not proved; s. Bevan, p. 204. 'Be stirred up' is used of passion, e.g., Pr. 28:4, and becomes a technical term for preparation for war, cf. v.26, Dt. 29:24, etc.; for the psychology cf. Is. 42:15. The figure at the end of the passage is that of a flood (cf. vv.22-26, 40), and is taken literally from Is. 8:8 (symbolically 28:15 f.), cf. Jer. 47:2, in both cases a flood from the North. JV 'as he passeth through' is not adequate.

10a. וב Kr., וב MSS וע] Pl. in the VSS exc. ג, but its senseless & עכו איסני כו représente ונבו.—מ. וע[.] רסניר מ. וע[.] ג kt. ק[.] וע[.] ע[.] איסני ע[.] כו[.] וע[.] ג Después de v.25, has prob. been lost by haplog. with foll. סונסוניונ.—דוהי] ג סונסוניונ, ב 130 אומ מם by error.—לוכ אונ = v.12. Critical objections against the position of the abs. inf. are not supported, s. GK §113, r, s; the position is indifferent in Aram., and my tr. has in mind the parallel יִשְׂרֵּאֵל. For וע ג Sym. Orפ. כ שחריוסא; ג וע[.] כו = וע ג (so MSS), preferred by Mar., Ehr.—בש Grr., ג tr. as ppl.

10b-12. Antiochus' disaster at Raphia. 10b. And he shall again be stirred up, even unto his stronghold. 11. And the king of the South shall be enraged, and shall go forth and war [י + with him] with the king of the North; and he [the latter] shall raise up a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his [the former's] hand. 12. And shall be lifted [י + the multitude] and [with Kr.] exalted his heart; and he shall fell myriads, but he shall not be strong. 10b is generally translated: 'and he shall return (home) and be stirred up, even unto his stronghold' (i.e., Ptolemais, Seleucia?). But vLeng. saw correctly that the
And again shall the king of the North raise up a multitude, greater than the first; and at the end of the events [435 + years] he shall come on and on with a great force and much equipage. And in those times many shall stand up against the king of the South; and some [sons] of the lawbreakers of thy people
shall lift themselves up to confirm vision, but they shall stumble.—

15. And the king of the North shall come and cast up siege-works and take a fortified city, and the forces [履职 lit. arms] of the king of the South shall not stand, yea, even for the folk of his picked (soldiers) no strength to stand, 16. so that he who comes against him shall do according to his own will, none standing before him. And he shall stand in the Delightsome Land, and in his hand destruction [?].

13.履职 lit. 'at the end of the times, years' appears tautologous; the latter noun, representing the 16 years between Raphia and Gaza, may have been intruded from v.6 (Bev.), or 'the times' borrowed from v.14 (Mar.). For the tr. 'events' s. at v.6, and for 'come on and on' Note at v.10. The word tr. 'equipage' means 'substance, property,' i.e., the baggage of the army; possibly by assimilation to another word mng. 'horses' it may refer to the horse and baggage animals, especially to the elephants of Antiochus which he fetched from India and which played a large part in his operations, esp. at Gaza; s. Note.

14b. The historical ref. is most obscure. In 'the sons of the robbers (violent) of (among) thy people,' as EVV tr. the phrase, 'sons' cannot mean 'die stürmische Jugend' with Behr., nor need it be taken physically as 'sons' as of some family (so Bev., Schlatter, al.); but rather as members of the category. The second noun, יב, meant, first, high-handed criminals, but here the term is one of religious politics, those who 'breach' (rt. יב=ς) the Law. Cf. Ab. Zara Jer., 41a, top (cited by Jastrow, Dict., sub rad.), 'thou hast not breached their fence,' i.e., transgressed the law of the rabbis; and this is anticipated by the Zad. Frag., p. 20, l. 25, 'they breached the bound of the Law,' s. the text in Int., §2. Confirmation of this interpretation is obtained from ג, οι νεκ τῶν λαμμῶν (correct B λαμμῶν), this being elsewhere ג's current tr. of 'sons of Belial,' also = ג, ג. It is the hateful epithet applied to St. Paul in Acts 24, AV 'pestilent fellow.' And Jer. correctly comments, 'qui dereliquerunt legem Domini.' Jeph. offers as current interpretation that the phrase refers to the Christians, actually naming the four Evangelists. Schlatter, 'Die Bene parisim bei Daniel, 11, 14,' ZATW 1894, 145-151 (cf. also Dalman, Palästina-Jahrbuch, 1920, 35), has suggested identification with the notorious family of the Tobiadæ, of whom were the notorious tax-gatherer Joseph (Jos.,
AJ xii, 4) and his son the bandit chief Hyrcanus (s. Schürer, 1, 195; 2, 65 f.). But as we have seen the sense ‘violent’ must not be pressed. Jer., perhaps by a Jewish interpretation, applies the passage to the building of the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt by the refugee Onias (modern Tell el-Yehudiye), which was built ostensibly ‘in fulfilment of vision,’ i.e., the prophecy in Is. 19. This event took place much later, after 164 (s. Schürer, 3, 144 ff.), although the tr. of 6 here may have been induced by the same interpretation; but Jer.’s parallel is illustrative of the various attempts made by Zealot parties to approve their actions through appeal to prophecy, in the present case bitterly condemned by our writer. The more natural interpretation of ‘to cause to stand = confirm, establish, vision’ (another instance of many-sided meanings of the rt. הָבַשׂ, cf. Ps. 105:10) is that the party’s apology was the fulfilment of some ancient prophecy. This view is preferable to that of some, e.g., Marti, making it a clause of result, i.e., their failure was foredoomed by a prophecy, for we should expect the clause then to stand after ‘they shall stumble.’ It has not been observed that the phrase is an exact reminiscence of Eze. 13:6, against the lying prophets, who ‘hope to confirm (the) word,’ לְשׁוֹנָם מְדַבָּר.

15. The parenthesis of v.14 has caused the repetition of the subj., ‘the king of the N.,’ the subject-matter continuing the campaign which ended in the triumph at Gaza, 201 B.C., rather than, as with most comm., that at Sidon over Scopas in 198. In the phrase translated ‘folk of his picked (ones),’ EVV ‘his chosen people,’ the second noun מִבְּנֵי נַחֲרוֹן is doubtless a play upon מִבְּנֵי נַחֲרוֹן, which is used of the pick, elite, of an army (AV generally ‘young men’), and well denotes Scopas and his trained Ætolian mercenaries. 16. The rendering of v.4 as a clause of result follows strictly the Heb. vb. in the Jussive (cf. on v.4). ‘The delightsome land,’ מָנוּחָה־תַּכְלָת־נִבְיָם = v.4, cf. v.45 (rt. צָעַב ‘desire’; AV ‘pleasant,’ RVV ‘glorious,’ Dr., JV ‘beauteous’), is based upon Jer. 3:19 נוֹלַחְתָּה צָעַב־תַּכְלַת נָבוֹם and Eze. 20:6,13, where Canaan is ‘a land of delight to all the nations’; the word is similarly used of Babylon, Is. 13:19, etc. Similar epithets for Palestine are פִּסְתָּם מְעַלֶּה Zech. 7:9, פִּסְתָּּה Mal. 3:12. Cf. the description of Jerusalem, Ps. 48:3, and of Samaria, Is. 28:1. Our phrase is
cited En. 89⁴⁰, 90²⁰. The word נָבִים occurs at 8⁹, but it has been argued that the word is not original there. The VSS vary much in their interpretation of ‘and in his hand destruction’; the last noun is most obscure, as we are ignorant of the allusion.

13. In G πόλεως συναγωγή μειζονα, τολ. for τολλήν is doublet to μείζ. — OrP Q Lu. + ii mss. For δ s. at v.⁹. — Or P. See at v.¹⁰. θ εισελθόνται εξωτελιγ (so dative, es. Swete). For πολ. G doublet ετς αυτήν || ετς αυτήν = 12. — Or P. Θ οπερφει, 42 οντοσκοίνει. For the phrase here OMo and ‘with strong birds,’ which Nestle, Marg., 42, rightly corrects to κυνήγειν, and so ‘mit starker Reiterei.’

שׁוֹחַ may be regarded as identical with שׁוֹחַ, so Mar., and s. Comm.—14. ἑν ρύπει, κατά Bev. objects to the usual interpretation that such a phrase with the second noun in the pl. cannot mean ‘violent persons’; but cf. ἱπποῦ χιλίαι etc., and τινὲς κυνήγεται ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Mt. 37 (Kamp.). Bev. proposes to read ‘those who build up the breaches,’ etc., = Am. 9, for which he might have compared G ἀνοικοδομήσει τα πεττικά της φωνής σου. For πολίων, for which by error B Q= 26 130 230 = A λοιπῶν.—The first hand in Q has ταραξάσσων, marked as ‘Sym.’—Nif.²⁵] For this Hithp. form s. GK §54, c. Ehr., who would read Nif., cf. the Nif. אוונ ע. in Is. 19, and tr., ‘sie werden sich falsche Hoffnungen machen,’ denying that the vb. implies rebellion.—N.b. Π ui implicant uisionem. Graetz proposes ἰδιοτερία, i.e., ‘das Gesetz wankend zu machen.’—For ἑν ρυπει G ἑν αὐτῷ, for which JDMich., Orient. u. exeg. Bibliothek, 4. 38 f., suggests as original ἱπποῦ ‘Libyans,’ cf. inf. ⁴⁰. But Blud., p. 73, suggests διαν. = הָעָר, cf. G at Ps. 139.¹⁵. —15. בִּלְלַו בְּלֵלָה יְשַׁב] G επιστρέφει τα δόρατα αὐτῶν (?); Θ ‘will devise stratagems’ (?).—הָשִׁבָה בְּרֵעַ In v.²⁴ the pl. πεττικά, the two pls. having different denotations. O Π tr. ‘fortified cities,’ and the pl. is quite possible.—וֹ בַנְבֵן G Θ as though ἱπποῦ ὁ τερί. —Nif.²⁵] G Θ lost orig. oι by haplog. after prec. —οι; OrP. C Lu. suppl.—כְּלָה סְמִיט הַגִּבּוֹר For the pl. Kamp. well cft. הָיִם סְמִיט הַגִּבּוֹר 2 Ch. 36¹⁹, in disposing of Mar.’s objections; the sense of the latter’s rdg. יִשְׁלָמ is applied in Comm. above. G correctly as to sense מַטָּה (as 62) τῶν δυνατῶν αὐτῶν. Θ understood יִשְׁלָמ as יִשְׁלָם, ו. ἀνακτάριστον—( + καὶ B by error) oι ἀκλέκτοι αὐτῶν = Θ. —16. אֲרֵצִי הָעָר G ignores יִשְׁלָם here, but offers διανόως at v.²⁵, which Gs gives here (and Jer. notes at this v. that such is the rdg. of G). A minority of Θ texts read here σφακτέω (or similar forms), also explicitly attributed by Jer. to Θ, as in most texts at
vv.41, 46, exc. Lu. σαββέτρ. (A closer form to θ is found here in 87 89 σαβει, and at v.41 V Γ Δ σαβει.) But here B Or Ω Or (A Q 106 al.) Lu. have το σαβζ(θ)ετρ (or similar forms). το σαβζετρ = Aram. το σαβζετρ ‘well thought of.’ This must represent a current Targum and = Aq.’s εν γη την ιδέα, which θ took over, in terra inclyta. The basis of Aq.’s tr. is not evident; he so tr. at Exe. 206. Nor is the history of the intrusion of σαβζετρ into Θ texts (even B) clear. Either it sheerly replaced orig. σαβζετρ, or Θ like Г ignored νην here, and ultimately σαβζετρ and σαβζετρ were variously introduced. Sym. (acc. to Jer.) της δυνάμεως = νην. Cf. also the VSS at 89.—της VSS take as vb. = της; Г a doublet, πεταλοσθησας || πάντως. Sa. tr. by ‘sword,’ interpreting from Arab. καλλατ ‘short sword.’ Ew. tr. adverbially, as at Gen. 181, ‘it shall be wholly in his hand’; Bert., Hitz., Kamp., with a change of points, ‘it shall all be in his hand’; Stu. ‘consummation.’ AV ‘which by his hand shall be consumed,’ after the VSS, is impossible, for the antecedent is fem.

17. The marriage of Antiochus’ daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy V Epiphanes. And he shall set his face to come with the power of all his kingdom; and an agreement with him he shall make [Г and he shall make], and shall give him the Daughter of women to destroy it [or her]; but it [or she] shall not stand nor avail him. ‘Come with the power of his whole kingdom’: so Grr., Calv., EVV, Bev., Dr., etc. The sense ‘enter into the strength of his (Ptolemy’s) kingdom’ is accepted by Г Hebrew comm.; so Häv., vLeng. To the writer all Antiochus’ operations were directed primarily against Egypt, and indeed his activities at this period, while directed toward Asia Minor and Greece, nevertheless involved the far-flung colonies of Egypt. ‘Shall make’ follows the VSS vs. Г, which is represented by AV, ‘and upright ones (our ‘agreement’) with him; thus shall he do.’ The betrothal of this royal marriage took place, acc. to Jer., in 198/7, and the consummation 6 years later at Raphia. Ptolemy V was still young (s. Mahaffy, p. 265). The term ‘the daughter of women’ (where we would expect ‘daughter of man, men,’ so Г) is striking. Still, Hitz. ср. ἡ τινί καὶ ἡ τινί ‘son of she-asses’ Zech. 9. Some early Prot. comm. understood the phrase as superlative, inter mulieres praecellentissima. The term may express the essence of femininity, i.e., the Woman, par excellence. We have to recall Cleopatra’s very distinguished position in Egypt, the first by the way to bear this name in that royal family. When her
husband died in 182 B.C., she became regent of the kingdom during the minority of her children, and had a controlling influence until her death in 174 B.C. (s. Mahaffy, c. 9, esp. pp. 330–332). The elder of these, Ptolemy VI Philometor, who repaid the memory of his mother in his cognomen, and who was one of the most admirable members of his family, reigned till 146 B.C., while his equally abominable brother Ptolemy VII Physcon succeeded him, continuing till 117 B.C. Thus the memory of 'the Woman,' as we might say 'the Queen,' was destined to survive for long. The foll. clause of purpose with a fem. obj. has generally been translated 'to destroy her,' the woman, which is absurd. The marriage bargain turned out favorably for the Seleucides. The obj. is then to be taken as referring to Egypt implied, so, e.g., Jer. (ut evertat illud), Geier, Häv., vLeng., Dr., Mar. The v. is further complicated by a fem. subject appearing in the final two vbs. The usual understanding appears in AV, 'but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him'; this follows Jer., who tells how her husband and his ministers, 'sensing fraud,' took active steps against Antiochus, leading on to the war in which Rome came to be engaged. But it is preferable to take the fem. subj. as impersonal, 'it (his purpose) shall not stand,' etc., cf. Is. 7, 1424 (so, e.g., Bert., Bev., Dr., Mar.). Others, e.g., Graetz, find the fem. subj. in the word 'his kingdom.'

17. נשים נ惡ה [כ] points with — as is absent; cf. א. מ. י. 618.—[נשון] In [כ] s. tr. of the phrase, ad tenendum uniussum regnum eius, 'ה = נשים 'circle' = uniussum.—[ים נשים] Pl. of 'ים, or of 'ים (Bev.); = הנשים v. 6, which many prefer to read here; [כ] is supported by Δ eōsia τάραξι ('make all things straight'), [כ] recta.—[ימים ישים] ימש Ken. ישים = all VSS. —[ימים ישים] 2 3 understand as נשים 'men.' Graetz, Mar., Ehr. variously rewrite the phrase.—[ימים ישים] 3 25, by interpretation, or error for גְּאָלָה? —[ימים ישים] = ימש קדש ולא היחיה—[ימים ישים] ימש קדש על כל עשה, as Is. 7, and cf. וְלַיָּה [עם הָשָּׁם] inf. v. 22. As ימש fails in [כ] Mar. deletes it and so equates the two passages. For the indef. fem. subj. cf. GK §122, q, end.

18. 19. The utter defeat of Antiochus by the Romans and his miserable end. 18. And he shall turn his face to the Sea-lands, and shall capture many. But a Magistrate shall stop for him his insult, [כ] except that his insult shall he pay back to him [doublet?]. 19. And he shall turn his face back to the strongholds
of his own land. And he shall stumble and fall, and shall not be found. 18. It is preferable to read with Kt., ‘he will turn his face’ (AV) rather than with Kr. ‘set his face’ (JV); the former properly introduces a new ‘turn’ in the campaigns of the North. ‘Isles’ is an inexpressive term for שָׁנָה ‘sea-lands,’ which appears to mean the indefinite stretches of coast lands; for their magnitude cf. Is. 40:16. The word belongs to the Mediterranean geography; it is often defined: coast lands of Kittim, Jer. 2:10 (1 Mac. 1, 8 Kittim = Greece-Macedonia); of the Nations, Gen. 10:6, or, as here, absolutely, cf. Eze. 26:15. A Sem. derivation is usually accepted for the word (rt. יָנָה); but cf. Ἀλ-γαύτος, Ἀλ­γάυος, etc. ‘Will capture many’: Antiochus profiting by the misfortunes of Philip of Macedon and the weakness of Ptolemy pursued a victorious campaign through Asia Minor, picking up the Macedonian and Egyptian cities, and reached Thrace as early as 196 B.c., intent on seizing the Macedonian overlordship in Hellas. The ‘Magistrate’ is doubtless Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, the victor at Magnesia, 190 B.C. A somewhat rare word has been nicely selected to denote the Roman Consul, ὁ ἐκτελεστὴς ‘judge’ (our Arabic ‘Cadi’), parallel in meaning to ὁ ἱκανός ‘judge.’ The ‘reproach’ offered by Antiochus may denote the high-handed arrogance with which he pursued his Western campaign even to the defiance of Rome; it has been specifically illustrated by his words to a Roman legation bidding the Romans to abstain from meddling with Asia even as he was not meddling with Italy (Polyb., xviii, 34). Or it may simply mean our ‘challenge,’ for the Oriental challenge is a shower of abuse. The final sentence of the v. is difficult. It is introduced by an impossible ‘except that,’ ἀλλήλου, which cannot mean ‘but’ after the usual tr. For proposed emendations s. Note. As the content of the sentence is tautologous with the prec. one, the writer must agree with Ehr. in regarding it as a gloss phrasing the former in a more usual way, ‘requite his challenge.’ 19. Antiochus was thrown back across the Taurus (only Cilicia, always an appanage of Syria, being left to him of his Western domains), ‘to his own strongholds.’ His ‘stumbling and falling’ capitally expresses his ignominious death. For ‘he was not found,’ cf. Job 20:8, Ps. 37:6. Bert. cites Appian, Syr., 37: People came to say, King Antiochus was the Great.
18. "On his throne, he sends abroad an exactor for royal glory; but in a few days he shall be broken, yet not in rage nor in battle."

The reign of Seleucus IV Philopator, 187-175 B.C., was of necessity inglorious, whatever the character of the king, whom Appian, Syr., 60, describes as 'reigning ineffectively and weakly.' Says E. Bevan, 2, 125: "Of the internal administration of Seleucus we know only that the necessities of the time made its first object the replenishing of the empty treasuries." Appian, Syr., 45, tells how a 'certain courtier,' Heliodorus, plotted against and did away with his royal master and seized the power, ostensibly in the name of an infant child of the king (of which more anon). In 2 Mac. 3 we read the following story. An officer of the temple in Jerusalem gave information to Apollonius, governor of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, of the wealth in the temple treasury, which included not only alleged trusts for widows and orphans but also banking funds of the notorious Hyrcanus the Tobiade. Seleucus sent Heliodorus τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων (v. sup. at 248) to seize these funds, from which sacriilege he was frustrated by a divine apparition. He was revived from a lifeless state only by a sacrifice offered not for charity's sake, as it is explicitly remarked, but lest the king's anger might be incurred. This Apocryphal item about Heliodorus' position, which stood unique, is now corroborated by two inscriptions on bases of statues erected in his honor at Delos; for which see at length Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 171 ff.,
In these inscriptions he is called a foster-brother (σύντροφος) of the king, a relative (συγγένεα), and ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένον, exactly as in 2 Mac. From these few facts we learn that Heliodorus was prime minister; he then is the ‘exactor’ of our v., whom his sovereign ‘made to go abroad’ through his domains to raise the funds, or as the writer satirically puts it, ‘for royal glory.’

The participial phrase describing the king is most variously disputed. The one chosen above was proposed by some early Prot. comm. (s. Geier, Pole). The rendering ‘cause an exactor to pass through’ is supported by Zech. 9. Understanding ‘glory of royalty’ (without the article, not ‘the kingdom’) as secondary object (so RVV JV) is indefensible; the abstract character of the phrase is confirmed by the parallel ‘royal majesty,’ v. 21. The ‘exactor’ is he ‘of’ or ‘for, royal glory.’ ‘In a few days’ (cf. Gen. 21:4, 29:20) prob. refers to Seleucus’ short reign of twelve years as compared with his father’s reign of forty; those who press the reference to Heliodorus’ mission suppose a brief time between it and the king’s murder; others interpret it as ‘suddenly,’ which would rather be ‘in one day.’ ‘Shall be broken’: cf. vv. 22, 26, 25, Pr. 6:15, 29:1. ‘Not in rage’ is a favorite subject of exegesis and emendation. The interpretation adopted means that he did not die in brawl or battle; he was killed, but not ‘with his boots on,’ a disgrace to a king; cf. Saul’s death.

20. At the beginning ζ has been conflated from v. 7, βασιλιὰς is a gloss correction to subsequent βασιλέας. Θ text has been interpolated after ἀναστήσας from ζ.—ἐν δὲ γὰρ. Θ text has been interpolated after ἀναστήσας from ζ.—ἐν δὲ γὰρ. The rendering ‘cause an exactor to pass through’ is supported by Zech. 9. Understanding ‘glory of royalty’ (without the article, not ‘the kingdom’) as secondary object (so RVV JV) is indefensible; the abstract character of the phrase is confirmed by the parallel ‘royal majesty,’ v. 21. The ‘exactor’ is he ‘of’ or ‘for, royal glory.’ ‘In a few days’ (cf. Gen. 21:4, 29:20) prob. refers to Seleucus’ short reign of twelve years as compared with his father’s reign of forty; those who press the reference to Heliodorus’ mission suppose a brief time between it and the king’s murder; others interpret it as ‘suddenly,’ which would rather be ‘in one day.’ ‘Shall be broken’: cf. vv. 22, 26, 25, Pr. 6:15, 29:1. ‘Not in rage’ is a favorite subject of exegesis and emendation. The interpretation adopted means that he did not die in brawl or battle; he was killed, but not ‘with his boots on,’ a disgrace to a king; cf. Saul’s death.
21-45. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 175-165 B.C. Antiochus, the younger son of Antiochus the Great, was disporting himself like a true Hellene in Athens when word came to him of the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus (s. at v. 26). He had been a hostage at Rome since 189, but at the close of his father’s reign exchange had been made whereby his elder brother Demetrius had been taken in his place and he released. He made his way at once to Antioch; Heliodorus disappears from the scene, and the new king does away with the puppet king, the infant son of Seleucus. The Romans had their troubles in Greece with Macedon and the Leagues, and Pergamon, and desirous of keeping a balance of power in the Orient actually helped Antiochus to the throne. But the Romans could bide their turn to play, nothing loath doubtless of the faction in the Syrian house which gave them the lawful heir to play as a trump at the right time (the latter ultimately came to the throne, in 162, by murdering his brother’s son and successor). Accordingly the reign falls into two parts, divided by the Roman victory over Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, 169 B.C., when Rome came in position to lay down the law to Antiochus and force him out of Egypt (s. at v. 30). The history of the first period is taken up with the Syrian wars against Egypt, the second half, after 169, finds Antiochus confined to the rôle of an Asiatic monarch, the history of which years we know chiefly from the documents of the Jewish people, with whom he became engaged in petty warfare. In the last year of his life he pursued obscure campaigns against Armenia and the Parthians, and was killed ingloriously when attempting to loot a temple of ‘Anaitis’ in the Elymais. But these wars and the king’s end are beyond the purview of our chapter, which makes only vague allusion to the Maccabees (vv. 33 ff.), while the inevitable catastrophe of his career is left to divination of the future, vv. 40 ff.

The death, 182 B.C., of his sister Cleopatra, the wise regent of Egypt in the minority of her sons Philometor and Physcon (s. at v. 17), gave Antiochus free hand to interfere in Egypt. The first Egyptian War was actually provoked by the young Philometor’s foolish counsellors, and resulted in Antiochus’ triumphal entrance into the land (170 or 169 B.C.—for the question of the exact date cf. Schürer, pp. 169, 196, and Meyer, Ursprung, p. 150). Philometor, attempting to escape, fell into the invader’s
hands (s. at v. 26). But Alexandria held out, proclaimed the younger brother Euergetes II Physcon as king, the upshot being that after an attempt to take the city Antiochus evacuated the land. The two Ptolemies now became reconciled and were to reign conjointly. Antiochus made another attempt at conquest and the invasion ensued in 168. But near Alexandria he was met by the Roman consul Gaius Popilius Laenas and given Rome's effective orders to leave the country. There followed, in his ill condition of temper, his supreme desecration of the temple in Jerusalem, which brought on the Maccabœan uprising (vv. 30 ff.).

For Antiochus' relations with the Jews we have two Jewish histories, 1 and 2 Mac., which give narratives difficult to harmonize. Niese in his classical monograph, 'Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher,' Hermes, 35, pp. 268–307, 453–527, came forth in outspoken preference for the Second Book. In this he stands fairly alone; s. Schürer's judgment, p. 202, n. 42, and Moffatt in the Int. to his Commentary on that book in Charles, Apoc. The second book, which properly begins at 2 19 , after a preface, 2 19–32, proceeds to the story of Heliodorus' attempted sacrilege, c. 3 (s. sup. at v. 20). The sequences of subsequent events may be conveniently presented in the following comparative table, with an attempt to show the possible agreements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 MAC.</th>
<th>2 MAC.</th>
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<tr>
<td>10 Accession of Antiochus, Era Sel. 147 = 176 B.C.</td>
<td>47 Accession of Antiochus.</td>
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1 The present almost consensus of opinion is that there were but two Egyptian Wars, although as many as four have been alleged (Bouche-Leclercq, p. 255; for the earlier literature s. Niese, 3, 168, n. 2). All the authorities named in the introduction to this chap. agree in this; s. Mahaffy, p. 494; Bevan, p. 297, App. G; Schürer, p. 169; and Meyer, p. 151, most positively. The elder comm. followed Jer.'s lead in finding a distinct campaign in vv. 21–24, but doubtless only on the strength of his own deductions. This section is probably only a general introduction to the following history, as Rosen first observed, for war against the king of the South is not mentioned until v. 28; that and the war of v. 29 are the two Egyptian Wars of history. The claim of an additional war at the beginning has been supported from 2 Mac. 5, 'his second campaign'; but as Bev. suggests, pp. 297 ff., this may count in the abortive campaign as far as Joppa, mentioned in 41.
Rise of ‘transgressors of the Law,’ who introduce a gymnasium in Jerusalem and forsake the Law.

Vv.11-16 Rise of ‘transgressors of the Law,’ who introduce a gymnasium in Jerusalem and forsake the Law.

47. Onias’ brother Jason supplants him as high priest by promises of lavish donations to the king, asking the boon of introducing Greek fashions, gymnasium, etc., among the Jews.

Vv.21-22 The king visits Jerusalem, where he is magnificently entertained.

Vv.23 ff. ‘After three years’ Simon’s brother Menelaus outbids Jason with the king and is given the priesthood.

Vv.30 ff. Menelaus, coming to Antioch, effects the assassination of Onias, who was lured from sanctuary at Daphnae; the king upon his return home condemns the actual assassin to shameful death.

Vv.36-38 The outrages committed by Menelaus and his brother Lysimachus in Jerusalem.

51-10 When ‘Antiochus made his second campaign into Egypt’ (v.1), a rumor arose of his death, and the fugitive Jason makes an unsuccessful attempt to recover Jerusalem.

Vv.11-20 The king, thinking that Judaea is in revolt, sets out against Jerusalem ‘in furious mind’ (v.11), assaults it, massacres the citizens, and loots the sacred vessels and enormous sums of money in the temple.

Vv.21-27 Departing he leaves various governors to afflict the people; one Judas Macc. and a few others seek refuge in the mountains.

61-11 ‘Not long after this’ ensues the supreme desecration of the temple by the governor Geron, its dedication to Zeus Olympios, etc., and the stern repression of the Religion.
tion on the altar, heathen sacrifices are offered, and a rigorous persecu­
tion instituted of all who 'will not profane the Holy Covenant' (v.43).

C. 2 The heroic story of Matta­

6:2-9 The martyr-stories of Elea­
zar and the Mother and her Seven Sons.

C. 3 The beginnings of Judas Macc.

It is to be observed that our chap. alone of the three authori­ties cites the two campaigns against Egypt and alone refers to the part of the Romans in blocking Antiochus' purpose in the second (v.30). Each of those books relates but one campaign (as does Josephus), except for the obscure reference at 2 Mac. 5. Apart from an earlier honorary visit of the king to Jerusa­lem noted by 2 Mac. 4:21 f., only one visit of his to the city is noted in either book, the final sacrilege of 168 being ascribed to his governors. Hence our v.30, speaking of his actions in the city in the same terms as in v.28, which corresponds to his actual visit, must be understood in the general sense of his royal re­ponsibility for the final outrages.

Every historian pauses over the enigmatic character of Epiph­anes, 'the Manifest God,' whose character has been indelibly stamped by the Bible as the arch-fiend. There is no occasion here to add to the innumerable attempts at characterization. At the end of his description E. Bevan offers a useful summary of some of the various opinions advanced by historians (pp. 128-132). These opinions draw diametrically apart, according as the student holds to the Hellenic or the Biblical point of view. Antiochus is indeed 'a man of riddles' (8:23), possessing 'the fascination of enigma,' as Bevan remarks. A Grceo-Roman Levantine at home, he had the Hellenic polish and 'ideals' (he was elective chief magistrate of Athens at the time he rushed home), and for fourteen years he had lived a hostage in Rome, absorbing Rome's Realpolitik. Somewhat of a reincarnation of his ancestor Demetrius Poliorcetes, he was the first cosmopolite of the new era of the Roman dominion. If he outraged the tem­ple at Jerusalem, Classical art owes a debt to his memory for his

- The classical character sketch is that by Polybius, xxvi, 10; Phillips Barry pre­sents the ancient authorities in a study in JBL 1919, 126 ff.
temple to Zeus Olympios at Athens, the few remaining columns of which are one of the glories of that ruined city. And if he perpetrated the edict that all his subjects should be one people, one religion—un-Greek enough!—he was but anticipating the Roman imperial policy on which the Church ran foul.

The references to his character in Dan. are monotonously drastic, but true. He is a ‘little horn ... with a mouth speaking great things,’ 78; the same little horn which challenged the host of heaven, 810, cf. inf. 36 n.; ‘a king of fierce countenance,’ clever in plots with a cunning that made deceit succeed in his hand, 823 n. And these brief descriptions are capped by the running description in the following vv. of this chap., in which is revealed the writer’s fascination not so much for what he did as for his diabolical character. He was the first precipitant of the conflict between the World and the Bible Religion.


21–24. The beginnings of Antiochus Epiphanes. 21. And there shall arise in his place a contemptible person upon whom had not been conferred royal majesty; but he shall come in unawares and shall seize royalty by intrigues. 22. And forces shall be utterly [forces of the flood] flooded away before him, and shall be broken [and] even the Prince of the Covenant. 23. And by confederacy (of others) with him he shall work deceit, and he shall come up and grow strong, with a little nation. 24. And shall he come into the fattest of provinces, and he shall do what his fathers did not nor his fathers’ fathers, lavishing on them spoil and booty and property; and against fortresses shall he devise his devices—but until a Time!

21 depicts Antiochus’ character—‘a despicable man,’ not a ‘manifest god’—and his clever usurpation of the throne. In the foll. relative clause (as EVV correctly tr. the Heb. sentence aligned with ‘and’) the pl. may imply ‘men,’ or as equal a passive, ultimately of divine cause; cf. i Ch. 2928, ‘YHwh conferred upon him (Solomon) royal majesty,’ which is cited here. ‘Unawares’: as at v. 24, 825 (q.v.). ‘By intrigues’ = v. 34, cf. v. 32:
lit. 'smoothness(es),' AV 'flatteries,' JV 'blandishments'; concretely the word means 'slippery places,' Jer. 23:12, Ps. 35:6.

22. אֶלֶף has נָחַמְשִׂים 'forces of the flood,' but Egypt, even if referred to, presented no such obstacle; the tr. follows Bev., rdg. an inf. abs. נָחַמְשִׂים, intensifying the pred. vb. The word 'arms' of the Heb., generally military 'forces' in this chap., can mean 'resources' in general. In v.6 אֶלֶף has the vb. in the pl., agreeing with the first subject, leaving the final clause, 'yea, also the Prince of the Covenant,' as a 'bedeutungsschwere A pospispe' (Behr.). One must hesitate at correcting the often amazing diction of the chap., but the correction, proposed by Mar. (omission of the two waw's), is plausible. 'The Prince of the Covenant' (a title, lit. 'Covenant-Prince') has been most variously identified in the sense of 'an allied prince' (s. at 9:25, cf. Gen. 14:31, etc.); Pole registers four such princes as discovered here, the favorite identification being Ptolemy Philometor, but we should expect 'the king of the South.' But Theodt. identified the person as Onias III, who was assassinated at Antiochus' court, and this view, revived by Rosenm., is accepted by all recent comm. That high priest was removed from office c. 175 and assassinated c. 171. If these vv. give a general view of the reign, no anachronism is involved, the usual argument against the identification. This person is then the 'Anointed' of 9:26. For 'prince' as high-priestly title s. at 9:25. The word 'covenant' נָחַמְשִׂים, also vv.30, 32 (equally anarthrous), is used almost concretely, as of the Covenant Church; cf. יִנְוָנֶם Is. 42:6, 49:8, = 'a covenant institution of a people,' and s. Duhm, ad loc. With this v. Jer. finds the beginning of the description of the Antichrist, honestly parting company with his guide Porphyry.

23. The initial prep. יָבָנ, is ambiguous. The most usual interpretation follows Jer., post amicitias, = EVV 'after the league made with him'; but preferable is the causative mng. as above, with Geier, and so prob. Θ. ס Ra., AEz. understand the phrase partitively. Explicit historical ref. need not be sought, beyond the Jews' experience of the king's arts in playing off the local parties against one another, e.g., Jason against Onias, Menelaus against Jason. The figurative mng. of נָחַמְשִׂים 'go up' = 'grow up,' is most suitable in this general sketch of the king's rise to power; for the vb. cf., e.g., Gen. 40:10, and cf. the Tree sup. 4:81, where
Jer.’s interpretation of the ascent of the Nile has been a favorite one. Behr., Mar. think of the military use of the vb., as, e.g., Is. 7:1. ‘With a small nation’ is taken here as referring to the actual reduced Syrian kingdom, or the actual domain at first controlled by Antiochus; so Grot. Others understand the small band of his partisans (so Bev.), or, in connection with the military interpretation of the vb., of his few troops, so Behr., Mar., the former however acknowledging that such a use of יד is unique.

24 sums up the opposite sides of Antiochus’ mixed character; his high-handed avarice and his squandering of the ill-gotten gains on his friends (so we must understand here the ambiguous ‘on them’), and on public works of munificence which gained for him the applause of the Greek world. For his prodigality cf. 1 Mac. 3:30 (‘in expenses and buildings’), Jos., AJ xii, 7, 2 (‘being magnanimous and generous’), and for his cultivation of the gods Livy, xli, 20; cf. the same chap. for a list of his public works, and s. Dr.’s note, and the modern historians, e.g., E. Bevan, 2, 148 ff. By this excess over ‘his fathers’ appears to be meant his character as an ignoble looter and senseless spender; cf. vv.37-38 for a similar reflection on his religious innovations. In the tr. the first ‘and’ of יד has been transferred to the beginning of the v., with Bev., Cha., and so practically EVV; others, e.g., vLeng., Behr., Kamp., Ehr., attach ‘unawares’ to end of v.23, and cf. 8:26. ‘The fattest of provinces’ (so also Stu., Ew.): by translation of a good Sem. idiom, s. Note; so practically יד, uberes urbes ingredietur. The usual tr. sticks to the sing. ‘province,’ then generally made articulate, ‘the province,’ which is forthwith identified with Egypt. But the whole passage is of general import, and ref. to the particular attack upon Egypt seems premature. The point of the v. appears to be Antiochus’ ability in seizing by hook and crook the wealth of the provinces, in advance of the attack upon Egypt. For this, followed up in v.26, the item of his ‘devices against fortresses’ makes introduction. ‘But until a time’: not indefinite, for some years, with Grot. and most; but ad terminum, ‘the time fixed in the counsels of God,’ cf. vv.27-35, so Dr. after Geier.
25. Antiochus' first war against Egypt and his action against the Holy Covenant. 25. And he shall arouse his power and courage against the king of the South with a great army. And the king of the South shall stir himself up to battle with an exceedingly great army; but he shall not stand, for they shall devise devices against him, 26. and they that eat of his provision shall break him, and his army shall be flooded away and many shall fall slain. 27. And as for the two kings, their heart shall be for mischief, and at one table they shall speak lies; but it shall not succeed, for (there remains) yet an end for the appointed time. 28. And he shall return to his own land with
great property. And with his heart against the Holy Covenant he shall do; and he shall return to his own land.

25. ‘His power and courage’ (lit. ‘heart’): power in spiritual sense, cf. Mal. 3:8, Job 36:8; for this self-excitation to passion s. at v.10. For ‘with a great army’ cf. the citation at 1 Mac. 1:17; δχρ ὁρ βαρεὶ. 26. For the royal ‘provision,’ φαθαγ, s. at 1:5. These men of his table (συντραπήζουν, Mar.) are identified particularly with Eulaeus and Lenaeus, Philometor’s unwise counsellors who foolishly took the offensive against Antiochus; the end of the prec. v. suspects them of treachery. ‘Shall be flooded away’: as at vv.10-22; Ἡ has intrans. ‘shall overflow,’ AV RVV; but the pass. is required, = §§ Η, read by Bev., Dr., Mar., Cha., and so JV tr. The final clause is cited for the same event in 1 Mac. 1:18, the Gr. = Gr. here. 27. ‘The two kings,’ etc.: when Philometor fell into the conqueror’s hands he was entertained with elegance, dined and wined, but with his uncle’s intention to ‘deceive him’; s. Bouché-Leclercq, p. 254, citing Diodorus, xxx, 21. The reciprocal ‘speaking of lies’ is what was to be expected, but a treachery the grosser for Oriental ethics in that it was carried on at a hospitable table; cf. the deceit of ‘the familiar friend, who ate of my bread,’ Ps. 41:10. ‘There is yet an end for the appointed-time’: cf. v.24, ‘but until a Time!’ and the parallelism makes this phrase refer to the ultimate doom in the counsels of God (so Cha.). Most recent comm. interpret as that the subjugation of Egypt was not yet complete, cf. v.30. But the combination of the two terms points the fact that the king’s triumph was short-lived. 28. For Antiochus’ return home with great spoil cf. 1 Mac. 1:19, ‘he took the spoils of Egypt.’ His consequent actions against the Jews are expressed in two brief sentences. For ‘the Holy Covenant’ (the same term 1 Mac. 1:15, 62) s. at v.22. ‘He shall do’: a reminiscence of 8:24, also inf. v.30; not so much as ‘do his pleasure’ with EVV, but cryptically ‘do what he shall do’ (cf. the Arabic idiom).
29. 30a. The second Egyptian war and its estoppage by Rome. 29. At the appointed time he shall return and come into the South, but it shall not be at the last as at the first. 30a. For ‘ships of Kittim’ shall come at him and he shall be disheartened. At the ‘term’ Antiochus launched on his second campaign, in which he was halted by Rome and sent home a broken-spirited man. For ‘Kittim’ as general designation for the lands and peoples of the Mediterranean (primarily for Cyprus, which is visible from the Lebanon) s. Lexx. and BDD. In r Mac. 18, 8 the word is used for Macedon. Cf. Jos., AJ i, 6, 1, “from it (Cyprus) all the islands and most of the parts beyond seas are called Kittim by the Hebrews.” Here the Romans are meant, even as ‘the Isles’ is used of Greece at v. 18. But further, ‘ships of K.’ is a citation of ‘ships from the quarter of K.,’ Nu. 2424, which explains the use of both words here. The allusion is pregnant, for we read on in Balaam: ‘they shall humble Ashur (i.e., Syria), and shall humble Eber (Abar-naharaim), and he (Antiochus!) shall be unto destruction.’ The striking scene of the arrogant Greek’s personal meeting with Rome’s representative is told at length by Polybius, xxix, 27, transcribed by Livy, xlv, 12; a tr. by Mahaffy, p. 339. Popilius presented to him the written letter from the Senate peremptorily forbidding his war against Philometor. The king tried to hedge. Whereupon “Popilius did a thing which was looked upon as exceedingly overbearing and insolent. Having a vine-stick in his hand, he drew a circle around Antiochus with it, and ordered him to give his answer to the letter before he stepped out of it. [Appian, Syr. 66, cites as the Roman’s actual words, ἐνταῦθα βουλεύων, ‘decide there.’] The king was taken aback by the haughty proceeding. After a brief interval of embarrassed silence, he replied that he would do whatever the Romans demanded. . . . He withdrew his army into Syria, in high dudgeon indeed and groaning in spirit (βαρυνόμενος μὲν κ. στένων"). ‘Disheartened’ (Bev., JV ‘cowed’) is the usual Heb. mng. of וריכ; Behr., Mar., Cha. prefer, with ג, the Syr. mng. ‘threaten.’
This meaning of נָעַר is found by some in v. 24, and correcting the text, in v. 16; the phrase is probably a forced correspondence with הנָעַר v. 29. 'ר is adjectival; also mss יַעֲרָב. There is no need with JDMich., Orient. Bibliothek, 4, 39, Winckler, Alter. Forsch. 2, 422, to emend to יַעֲרָב רוּם. יַעֲרָב ח. אֵלֶּמֶת, a correct historical midrash. For the last two words Θ η ἐκπορευόμενοι (rt. νῦν) Κίτησι. Hipp. 29816 has a paraphrase which looks like an independent tr., εἰσελήφθη αὐτῶν ἐν ἐξοδίασε ( = מנווג בְּנֵי ?); cf. a similar case at v. 9. Θ tr. 's by 'camps,' i.e., as נוֹר. Η has for וּרְתֵּּוּרְיְזֵרְיְזֵרְי הז רומי, where ετ appears to be secondary, having come in from misunderstanding of Jer.'s comm.; edd. print Τιερία; equally Η at Nu. 2424, υενιεντ ιερίερι βε Ιταλία.—נָעַר] Θ ἐφιμερίζομεν αὐτῶν, after Aram. use, cf. the equation of the two in N.T. Gr. and Syr.; but Θ τάκειαυδῆσαται. Θ Η as from הנָעַר, percutiatur.

30b–35. The persecution of the Religion and the resistance. 30b. And he shall (re)turn and rage against the Holy Covenant, and he shall do; and he shall turn and have regard to those who abandon the Holy Covenant. 31. And helpers [Heb. arms] from him shall take stand, and they shall profane the Citadel-Sanctuary and remove the Constant (sacrifice) and set up the Abomination Appalling. 32. And those who act wickedly toward the Covenant shall play the hypocrite [Η he shall make profane, or, pervert] in intrigue, but the people that know their God shall be stout and do. 33. And the Learned of the people shall teach the many. And they shall fall [lit. stumble, as so inf.] by sword and by flame, by captivity and by despoilment, for (some) days. 34. And upon their falling they shall be helped with a little help; and many shall join themselves to them in intrigue. 35. And some of the wise shall fall, for refining among them and purifying and cleansing—until the time, for the term is yet to come.

The passage, despite its prosaic diction, is weighted with tragic feeling, and its sentences fall into phrases of ponderous measure. 30b. The two vbs. 'turn' are troublesome. Offhand the first appears to be parallel to the use in v. 28, 'return,' but the second cannot have this mng.; the tr. of AV RVV 'shall even return' (Dr. 'home to Antioch') as a repetition, is flat. Cf. efforts of Vleng. and Ehr. It is not necessary to require the identical sense in a repeated Sem. rt., which may be polysemantic within a breath; cf. the play in Jer. 41, 'if thou wilt turn
... then turn unto me.' Or the vb. may suggest the king's volatile turning hither and thither. For the king's 'rage' cf. Polybius' account of his indignation upon Popilius' demand, and the report in 2 Mac. 5:11 of his attack upon the city, ῥιωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ, a passion however attributed to another cause than the Romans. There is no evidence that he came to Jerusalem after the second war. 'Have regard for': the same vb. in favorable sense at v.37. 'Those who abandon the Holy Covenant' are the παράνομοι of 1 Mac. 1:11, who 'removed from the Holy Covenant,' v.8; cf. Jub. 23:16, etc. 31. The word translated 'helpers,' lit. 'arms,' is the same as 'forces' at vv.15-22, but a change in the gender form (here masc.) suggests an intentional shift of denotation to individuals (cf. Is. 9:19, Eze. 31:17, but in both cases the text is doubtful). The ref. then is to the lieutenants who executed the desecration. 'Take stand': ἀναβαίνειν, a many-sided word of our writer (cf. at vv.8-14). 'The Citadel-Sanctuary': lit. 'the c., the s.'; the latter word = ἱλαρία, a frequent designation in the Talmud (s. Torrey, Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh., 36). We have explicit ref. to the destruction of the fortifications of the city in 1 Mac. 1:31, upon which follows the account of the building of a new and lofty Akra in the City of David (i.e., the Ophel to the south of the temple), which dominated the temple and remained in possession of a Syrian garrison until 142 B.C. (s. Schürer, p. 198). For 'the Constant' s. at 8:1, and for 'the Abomination Appalling (Ab. of Desolation),' s. at 9:27. For this desecration s. 1 Mac. 13:1f., 2 Mac. 6:8. Acc. to the former it took place on Chislev 25 (in December), E. Sel. 145 = 168 B.C.

32. 'Those who act wickedly toward (in re) the Covenant,' μοιραύων χάριν: the second word is gen. of specification (cf. a case at v.20), and the Hif. intrans. as at 9:5. Junius took the ppl. as active, damnantes foedus, then Geier, condemnantes foedus, Hitz., 'die Verdammer' ('Anklager'); and Bev., 'those who bring guilt upon the Covenant,' cft. the opposite in 12:3, מְרַעְשָׁא הָרוֹבִים; and so Behr., Mar., Cha. On the other hand cf. מְרַעְשָׁא יְהוֹה.
the evil-doers of Judah,' Zad. Frag., p. 20, l. 26. The received interpretation of the sing. vb. נלע is 'he shall make profane,' i.e., 'make ḫanef,' although otherwise the Hif. = simply 'to profane.' The tr. 'make wicked men profane' is somewhat absurd, alleviated however by Bev.'s suggestion to tr. נלע 'make apostates of,' RVV 'pervert,' after a Syr. use of the rt. The renegades proceeded from technical wickedness to apostasy. But the tr. adopted above follows a clew of ה, †impii in legem simulabunt, with a pertinent comment in Jer.'s comm. This mng. of simulare Jer. must have obtained directly from Jewish usage, in the late Jewish sense of מדר 'hypocrite, flatterer' (it is the word used by Delitzsch in his Heb. tr. of the N.T. for ἐποκρίτης). Along with ה the other VSS, exc. כ, have the pl. vb., which is followed here, and so יב 'shall be corrupt' (!). If the sing. of ה be retained we can obtain an equally good sense with 'he shall flatter them with blandishments'; but the Jewish use is to be followed as against the Syriac. Those who take the king as subj. compare the promises held out for perversion, e.g., to Mattathias, i Mac. 218. 'Shall be stout and do' (cf. the hendiadys at v.?) is a faithful description of the faithful Asiadeans; cf. i Mac. 160.

33. 'The learned' = 123: AEz.: 'the Men of the Mishna'; δυνατοί, docti; cf. the use of δυνατος in the N.T., parallel with σοφος, and as technical term, Acts 137. Dereser, Hitz. prefer the act. sense of the ppl., as at 922; but the sentence then becomes tautologous. The term doubtless represents the Asiadeans, הרומים, the Pious, which party are said to have attached themselves to Judas after his early successes, i Mac. 242, although not permanently. 'The many': as at 123, q.v. The element of education was already deeply impressed in the Jewish religion. 'Stumble': a synonym for 'fall,' 'be destroyed'; cf. v.19, Jer. 618, etc.; it has not here the moral sense of κατα­κεισθαι, and the subj. is prob. indefinite (Hitz.), not particularly 'the Learned' or 'the many.' For these persecutions cf. i Mac. 160 ff., 229 ff., 2 Mac. 65 ff., and the following martyr-stories, 618 ff., 7. 'For (some) days': not 'many days' with EVV; cf. 837. 34. 'A little help': as recognized since Porphyry, the heroic defence made by Judas. The passage is the only direct ref. to that contest in the Heb. O.T., barring of course whatever passages, Pss., etc., may be critically assigned to this age. The
writer is not a Maccabæan but an Asidrean, for he looks for help to God alone; cf. the challenge of the three Confessors, 31ff. The ref. is valuable for dating these cc. Judas evidently has gained sufficient success to win over many adherents of doubtful character, who 'attached themselves' to him 'in intrigue' (i.e., 'smoothly, speciously,' the same word as at vv. 21, 22). But no signal victory has been achieved. As every revolution must learn, popular following depends upon success, and the drastic punishments inflicted by Judas upon renegade Jews forced a time-serving adhesion of many; indeed, the honest problems of religious politics produced a bitter factionalism, so that there were many traitors, true and alleged. Cf. 1 Mac. 14ff.; 35, 61ff. (a citation of our v. in v. 21), 75ff. (the adhesion of the Asidreans to the high priest Alcimus, who is condemned by the historian), 84 (Judas takes vengeance on deserters). 35 reverts to the martyrdom of the Learned, and the plan and result of it in the divine economy; their death is not a judgment upon them, as in the earlier theology, but a means of testing and purification for the mass of the people. Cf. 12, where these same mask折腾 'shall justify the many,' with reminiscence of Is. 5311. Their death will be the testing-stone of their fellows, for elimination of the faithless, for heartening of the faithful. The v. is the earliest expression of the thought that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.' Three metaphors are used for this purging process: 'to refine,' or 'test,' as of the smelting of metals; 'to sift' (cf. Am. 9), as of wheat; 'to scour,' or 'whiten,' the word used in NHeb. for cleansing and polishing vessels, instruments, etc., also of clothing (e.g., λευκαλίβεν Rev. 74). The three vbs. recur 12. Cf. Rev. 3, 'I counsel thee to buy gold purified in the fire and white clothing.' For the final clauses cf. vv. 24, 27.
varr. s. at 9\(^2\); here Θ its peculiar βαλτομα τιτανισμένον. See Note on Text of Θ at end of c. 9.—32. וְָךְ הַרְעֹעַ The Hif. in this operative sense as at τ irresponsible. See Comm. μακάονον; Θ (B al.) ἐπάξιος = Κ Α 'win over,' erroneously A 35 106 al. ἑξεκ., al. ἀπάξ. For notes on Arab. הַנָּטַף, 'pious,' s. Wellhausen, Arab. Heidentum, 207 ff., and for the Jewish sense as 'hypocrite,' etc., Grünbaum, ZDMG 23, 635; 42, 54. Θ alone here has sing., ἐστί 'shall condemn'—textual error for θυμή, cf. n/11/11. [ους] = ἕκτακτον νn.21. 31; cf. נרמץ. Θ ἐν σκλήρῳ λαῷ, error for ἐν σκληροδοσίᾳ, cf. νn.21. 34.—33. ἱστοφόρον A Aramaizing sign of acc.; also νn.26.—34. ἱστοφόρον A pαλαιοθεσσεῖται ἐν αὐτῷ, as though ἦν ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεός.—ἐπάξιος One ed. τιτανός, and so as rel. const. Θ Θ, mss and many edd. + δύνατόν (s. de R.); Θ + '1000.' Θ at end κατάπλοικαται, var. for pαλαιοθ. ?—34. ῥυπό This textual error for θυμή, cf. νn.26.—35. νῦν ἔστι [Θ = δώσαμεν. — دبي] Comm. differ as to ref.: whether to indef. 'people,' 'among them' (Dr.), or as obj. 'them' (Bev., Behr.); or with ref. to 'the learned,' 'untern ihnen' (?), so Mar. Cha. prefers the passives of Θ, but these have prob. been induced by νn.21. 34;—35. Hitz., al. correct to Piel, but LHeb. uses both stems with this mng.; cf. Kamp. Θ τού ἀποκαλυφθήναι, evident error for ἀποκαλυφθήναι, cf. νn.10 ἀκλαμβανα, as Lu. here. Θ found ἐπεί and om. ἀποκαλυφθήσεται.—נָביִי נוּῦ νוּן] Θ ἡς καρποῦ πέρας, i.e., πέρας as indeclinable; s. at ν.49.

36-39. The king's consummate arrogance toward God, the gods and men. 36. And the king shall do according to his own will; and he shall exalt and magnify himself against every god, and shall speak monstrous things against the God of gods. And he shall prosper until the Wrath is accomplished, for the determination is made. 37. And the gods of his fathers he shall not regard, nor the Darling of women, yea, no god shall he regard, for against all shall he magnify himself; 38. but the God of Fortresses shall he honor in place thereof, yea, a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver and precious stones and costly things. 39. And he shall make for defenders [ﳌ fortifications] of fortresses a-people-of [ﳌ with] a foreign god; whom he will recognize, he shall increase his honor, and he shall make them rule over the many, and the land he shall divide in fief [lit. for a price].

This obscure passage throws novel side-lights upon Antiochus' religious history. To be a god was no new claim for the Orientalized Hellenes, from Alexander down. Antiochus II was posthumously entitled 'Theos'; and compare the earlier story of the
deified Darius, c. 6. But Epiphanes took his godhead very seriously. He was the first to assume 'Theos' on his coins, and the addition of 'Manifest' (practically 'incarnate') indicated his self-identification with Deity, he was not merely a god like his forebears. The ever-increasing obsession of godhead appears from the sequence of his coins. See Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie* (Catalogue of coins in the Paris National Library, 1891), pp. xcii seq. (cited by Dr.). The portrait is finally approximated to the features of Zeus Olympios. For light on the god 'his fathers knew not,' Nestle (*Marg.*, 42) has called attention to the same work of Babelon, p. xlviii, who notes (as Nestle says, 'ohne Ahnung unserer Danielstelle') that Apollo (the historic deity of the dynasty) seated upon the Cyprian omphalos disappeared almost entirely from the Seleucide coinage after the reign of Epiphanes, being replaced by Zeus. This replacement of gods, so contrary to antique sentiment (*cf.* Jer. 211), may suffice to explain our writer's bitterness. We must bear in mind that our document was not inspired by first-hand news from Antioch but by provincial reports, and it is primarily valuable for this reflex of popular opinion. Yet we may find in it a possible allusion to the alleged edict of Antiochus in 1 Mac. 141ff., that all his kingdom should be one people, one religion, otherwise unsupported except for Jos.'s datum that he introduced the cult of Zeus Xenios on Mount Gerizim. See E. Bevan, 'A Note on Ant. Epiph.,' *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 20 (1900), 27ff., and his chap. xxiv, 'Antiochus the God Manifest.'

The epithet 'God of Fortresses,' v.38, apparently title of the new god the king came to worship, is entirely obscure. Θ Π transliterated the second noun, *Maozin*, i.e., as n.pr., and this may be implied by the disjunctive accent in Θ (but the prep. ἃ for the acc. implies a definite obj., 'the-god-of-M.’). Jeph., etymologizing יְרוֹם, thought of el-'Uzza, and so Aph. Syr., with the epithet יְרוֹם, prob. of the Syrian ‘Aziz; and so א and Sa. the same adj. Grot. suggested Mars, the war god; and so forth. The identification with Jupiter Capitolinus (a citadel god) to whom Antiochus erected a great image at Antioch (Livy, xli, 20), has been maintained by Dereser, *Hav.*, vLeng. E. Bevan suggests, p. 150, n. 1, the goddess Roma, "the goddess having, of course, as her emblem, a mural crown."

Also 'the Darling (desire) of women,' v.37, has been variously
interpreted (s. Pole, Häv.). JDMich., followed by Gesenius, Häv., al., came on the right track in the identification with Nanai-Anaitis-Astarte-Mylitta, goddess of women and their passions. And Häv. has ingeniously corrected a word in Aph. Syr. (rdg. NNI for KNI), showing that he found here the goddess Nanai. But Ew.’s identification with Tammuz-Adonis has now, since Bev., come to be generally adopted. Cf. Eze. 8:14 for a description of this passionate cult of women. The actual phrase may be illustrated from Hipp., Refut. haer., v, 9, who cites as Syrian epithet for Adonis τριπλαθης ‘thrice-desired’ (Dr.). May we think of some attempt of the king to control or suppress that lascivious cult, in line with his unification of religion? For often aesthetes, such as he was, join forces with the religious against the absurd and barbarous. We may compare the attempt to abolish the worship of Isis from Rome in the next century.

In general ‘the lack of regard for any god’ may be summarily explained from the king’s many despoliations of temples; cf. Polyb. xxxi, 4, 10, “he robbed most of the temples.” E. Bevan would find in this objective the practical reason for his assumption of divinity, that he might enjoy the profits of religion.

36. ‘The king,’ the fascination of the writer, now stands alone upon the stage. ‘According to his will’: so of the other ‘Greats,’ 8:4 and 11:3 (Alexander), 11:16 (Antiochus III). For ‘exalt himself’ cf. 5:23, of Belshazzar, ‘against the Lord of Heaven’; and for ‘magnify himself,’ Is. 10:16, a description of Assyria. For ‘the God of gods’ s. at 2:17; the One God of the Jews, but there is latent sympathy for ‘the Unknown God’ of Paganism, the Lord of Heaven. In general cf. the elegy over the king of Babylon, Is. 14 (of which city Antiochus was sovereign). ‘Monstrous things’ (Bev.): the same adj.-noun as adv. at 8:24 (also of Antiochus), where also ‘he shall prosper’; and for the divine ‘Wrath’ s. at 8:19. The final clause is repeated from 9:26–27; the Heb. pf. is that of certainty. 37. The word for ‘darling = desire’ appears at vv. 8. 38, the ‘costly’ things or vessels, i.e., the sumptuous works of art donated to the gods, and a cognate word in the address to Dan. as ‘dear man,’ 9:22, 10:11. 11. 38. ‘In his place’ (lit.): indefinite relation, prob. referring to ‘all,’ v. 37; in view of the same phrase vv. 7. 11. 21 not super basi sua (as, e.g., Ex. 30:18 of the laver), with some early Prot. comm.
(cf. AVmg), and vLeng., 'on its pedestal,' thinking of Jupiter Capitolinus.

39. Hitz.'s emendation of מִקְסָר, reading נָו 'people' for נָו 'with,' has been adopted above, in company with Mein., Bev., Behr., Mar., Lohr, Cha., Lamb., Ehr. Further clarification can be obtained by repointing the word 'fortifications' in מִקְסָר for מִקְסָר, following a gratuitous suggestion by Kamp., cft. Is. 22:10, and so = 'those who block up,' i.e., 'defenders' (Mar. offhand, 'Besatzungen'). The ref. is then to that prime scandal to Jewish feelings, the heathen garrison, 'people of a strange god' ('a sinful people,' 1 Mac. 1:34) in the new Akra (s. at v.31). This was a deliberate and effective insult to their religion; cf., e.g., 1 Mac. 14:36, the 'citadel out of which they issued and polluted all things round about the sanctuary and did great hurt to its purity.' Porphyry is the first to have made this identification: *faciet haec omnia ut muniat arcem Jerusalem.* The text of מִקְסָר may best be represented by JV, but the allusions are totally obscure. There follows a statement of the honors and possessions that accrued to the king's mercenaries and favorites; cf. 1 Mac. 3:36, of Antiochus' plans at the sending of Lysias, 'that he should make strangers (prob. orig. פָּאָה תְּוֶּרֶה) dwell in all their coasts, and should divide their land to them by lot,' cf. Am. 7:17. At the end 'in fief,' lit. 'for a price,' i.e., by καλορυφαία: the land was not so much sold as given in return for services or rental. Eroneously Π gratis = Θ elis δορέαν, Θ εν δόρων, except so far as these terms may be technical for the royal bounty. We are in general in the dark how the Sem. rendered customary Gr. legal terminology.

36. יִפְּסָח] Om. by Θ = Σ, then supplied, e.g., B after υψώθησαται (al. in other positions); entered in duplicate here by Lu.—טבה] Θ παραγιγκήσαται, the same tr. Hos. 1:21:15.—טָבְּה בְּלַיְבִי] Θ (Β 26 79 130 = Σ) om.—נָו הָנָּה N.b. Θ εξαλλά 'novel,' etc.—רְשׁוּפָה נָבִי] Θ phrase; Lu. doublet [םִנְתַּלְלִיאָא] x. שְׂפָדָה, cf. 9:2.—37. יִפְּסָח] B 62 επί παντὶ θεοῦ, error for επί πάντας θεούς = Θ in omnes deos, cf. inf. εἰπάνθεν θεόν (for πάνθεν here s. at 6:15:13); Θ also θεοῖς, but Aq. (acc. to Jer.), Θ θεών, and so Θ; cf. יִפְּסָח v.38.—טָבְּה פָּרָס מִזְרָחִי] B al. εὐθυμιά x.τ.λ., prob. haplog. for επί εὐθύ. = Q Lu. al. Π for the sentence, et erit in concupiscientiis feminarum, i.e., avoiding continuance of the negation; Jer. deliberately contrasts Θ's tr., and proceeds to paint
a highly colored picture of Ant.'s concupiscence. — 3 MSS Ken., G Lu. om. — 38. שעה לה ג' G here inexplicable; Θ transliterates, = Π Maozin; Aq. ἰδίν κραταύωματον (acc. to Field also glossed to 230, not in HP). Jer. does not further commit himself as to the mng., but ridicules Porphyry for identifying it with Modin, the home of the Maccabees. The transliteration in Θ caused the word to be generally taken as n.pr. of a god, and in general provoked interminable discussion, cf. Pole; dEnv. makes it surrogate for 'Ῥωμή = 'force' (1). — 39. שעה Θ καταφυγών (cf. at vv. 10, 21, 38) = Sym. confugiorum, as with primary mng. of יִשְׂרָאֵל. Jer. cites Θ as an εντεύθεν to μυνίαν πρασίδις cum deo alieno (?), and so renders, faciet ut muniat Maozin, etc. G for the sentence, ποιήσας πολεον ε. εἰς ἄριστον μεγάλον δέξαται, where פּוֹלֶא is gloss to פָלָח. — Ἰωάν χ. ליבר Dt. 31:22, and, for emendation to בֵּית נֵב תָוְר BSir 33 (36)א. — לביר Kt., יִשְׂרָאֵל, מְשְׁרֵש; Mich. יִשְׂרָאֵל Kt. and Kt. There is no substantial difference between Kt. and Kt. The syntax of the clauses . . . ἀντιρέοντας is variously analyzed, cf. EVV; best with Ehr. to keep the same subj. in both vbs. and with ii implied in the apodosis. B A ro6 om. רְשָׁא; al. = G o ἐκαθόρισεν, often in corrupt form, e. g., Q. Θ relates ἀντιρέοντας to הִיוּשָׁו, and adds et [multiplicauit] with Θ. G goes its own way in the v.

40-45. The last great effort of Antiochus, then his end. 40. And at the time of the end shall the king of the South butt with him; and the king of the North shall storm against him with chariots and horsemen and many ships, and he shall come into lands and shall overflow and pass on. 41. And he shall come into the Delightsome Land and myriads [many] shall fall. But there shall be delivered from his hand Edom and Moab and the remnant [chief] of the Bne-Ammon. 42. And he shall lay his hand on lands, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. 43. And he shall master the deposits of gold and silver and all the costly things of Egypt; and Libya and Ethiopia shall be at his heel. 44. But tidings shall alarm him from the East and the North, and he shall go out in great fury, to destroy and annihilate many. 45. And he shall plant the tents of his pavilion between the Sea and the Holy Mount of Delight. And he shall come at last to his end, and none to help him.

For the varieties of interpretation of this passage we may aptly quote Bev. (p. 198): "With regard to these verses there are, as we have seen [p. 162], three rival hypotheses, viz., (1) that they relate historical facts which took place after those al-
ready 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 expectation of the author." To these should be added (4) the view maintained since Jer., that the end of Antichrist is portrayed here. The second theory is based on the allegation of a fourth Egyptian war attributed by Jer. to Porphyry; as we have seen above (note to int. to vv. 21-45), this view is now wholly discountenanced by historians, however we may explain Porphyry's datum or the way in which Jer. came to make the attribution (s. Dr.'s excellent note introductory to this passage). The present writer agrees with the great majority of recent comm.—many of them of most conservative tendency, e.g., Häv., dEnv., who would find in the passage an accurate forecast of Antiochus' death—in regarding the passage as a prophecy of the king's catastrophic end. But it cannot, with those conservative theologians, be taken in any way as an exact prophecy of the actual events of his ruin. The alleged final victorious war with Egypt, including the conquest of the Cyrenaica and Ethiopia, in face of the power of Rome and the silence of secular history, is absolutely imaginary. All attempts to place the scene of the king's actual death as accurately foretold in v. 46 are based on misunderstandings, of long inheritance. The boastful threats of the fearful man after his expulsion from Egypt in 168 B.C. laid the basis of expectation of his return thither, but with little understanding of the new factor Rome, which had entered the stage of the Orient; he is to have his heartful of triumph over Egypt and many lands, but God's vindication against him is to be made by his overthrow 'between the Sea and Jerusalem,' v. 45, i.e., in the Holy Land, as he prepares to march against the Holy City. For it was on this holy stage that apocalypse ever depicted the breaking down of all Antitheistic power; so of Gog, Eze. 39; also Joel 4(3), Zech. 14, En. 56ff., 90ff., Rev. 20. However, this inaccuracy

1 The location 'between the Sea and the Holy Mount' for the final progress against the latter might best be taken for the route up from Ptolemis (not Joppa) inland; this would have passed by the commanding fortress of Megiddo ('the plain of Megiddo' acc. to 2 Ch. 35, and θ and τ that θρ. the plain v. 45 by 'plain'), and the combination of our prophecy with the many historic crucial events at Megiddo may have produced the theme of Armageddon, Rev. 16. Is there any association of ideas in the name of Campus legionis, the modern Leijun, hard by Megiddo?
of the prophetic forecast is of extreme value to the critic; our book must have been composed well before the tyrant's death. On the other hand, the essence of the prophecy was strangely justified by Antiochus' miserable death.

40. 'At the time of the end': cf. vv.27, 35, and inf. v.46, 'his end.' 'Butt with him' (reciprocal vb.): the figure as in 8; and for 'storm' cf. Jon. 111, Hab. 314. Has 'many' been dislodged from orig. 'many [lands]'? The figure of overflowing is as at v.10. 41. For 'the Delightsome Land' s. at v.16. 'Myriads' is a correction of one vowel point in מַלְשְׁנֵיהֶן, which reads 'many,' fem., sc. 'lands' (?). The exemption of the lands to the east and south of Judæa is entirely obscure, not satisfactorily cleared up by the usual appeal to the fact that those peoples were hostile to the nationalistic revival under Judas (n.b. his wars against Edom and Ammon, 1 Mac. 511), and so, ipso facto, exempt. It must be some local allusion whose significance escapes us, unless we regard it as a later insertion. Jer.'s comment, "illuc sancti ad deserta confugiunt," has in mind prob. the flight of the Jerusalem Church to Pella. For מַלְשְׁנֵיהֶן 'chief' is read here מַלְשָׁנָיו 'remnant,' with מ, and so GB Mar., Löhr, Cha., Ehr., Lamb.; the former cannot be explained by appeal to Nu. 2420, Am. 61, etc.; cf. 'the remnant of Edom,' Am. 914, etc. 42. 'Lay his hand upon': as at Ex. 2210, Est. 8. The mask is thrown off with the naming of Egypt; for its earlier occurrence s. at v.8. 43. 'Deposits' מָכָּמוֹנָי (Aram. rt.), lit. 'hidden things,' i.e., 'treasures.' As treasures were always 'hidden' in the ground (e.g., Mt. 1344), or in safe places like temples, we may render the word technically by 'deposits.' 'Libya and Ethiopia': the nouns are grammatically pls., but such pls. are designations of the peoples as a whole, cf. פֶּלַשְׁתִּים = 'Philistia.' The two lands, the Cyrenaica, a possession of the Ptolemies, and Ethiopia, represent the extremes of the traditional empire of Egypt, the whole of which shall be conquered. 'At his heel': lit. 'steps'; cf. 'at his feet,' e.g., Ju. 410, i.e., 'in his train,' as subjects. 44. 'Tidings' or 'rumors,' i.e., news, 'from the East and the North': i.e., in contrast to Egypt, the South. Antiochus' last year was actually spent in campaigning against the kingdom of Armenia and the Parthians; these were the three strategic points of the compass for his empire. 'Alarm': the same vb. in the Aram., 42(5), etc. The two infs. at the end are found
paired, but in reverse order, at 2 Ch. 20; in both passages the rt. *haram*, primarily of religious ‘ban’ and so destruction, is used in an entirely secular sense. 45. ‘The tents of his pavilion’: the last word, *appéden*, is of Pers. origin, *apadana*, and came in through the Akkad.; s. literature in GB, and add Schef telowitz, *Arisches im AT*, 1901, 79, Tisdall, *JQR* 2, 370. Acc. to Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, 741, it meant the hall of honor. The word taken along with ‘tents’ must signify here the royal pavilion, a mng. supported by Targ. to Jer. 43 10 (Dr.), where it tr. the obscure Heb. ישוב, generally recognized as ‘baldachin,’ s. Lexx., esp. Kön., *Hub.* Of the VSS Aq. and Sym. alone approximated the mng., the others transliterated and then their texts fell into error. Häv. cites Polyaeus’ description (*Strategica*, iv, 3, 24) of Alexander’s great audience pavilion in India. ‘Sea’ (so RVV): Heb. ‘seas’ (AV JV), i.e., pl. of extension, so in poetry, e.g., Ju. 5 17, Dt. 33 19. The word in all these places anarthrous, = ‘the Sea.’ ‘The Holy Mount of Delight,’ Heb., ‘mount of delight of holiness’: combination of the name for the land as above, e.g., v. 41, and the freq. ‘mount of holiness,’ e.g., Ps. 28; for such a series of constructs cf. Is. 28 1. One of the usual Heb. expressions for ‘between’ is used here, lit. ‘between the sea(s) to the mountain,’ rightly rendered by ḫ š; but Θ tr., ‘between the seas, at (eis) the mount,’ and Π, following prob. the suggestion of a Gr. rdg. ἐντ, tr., *inter maria, super montem*; this tradition was followed by GV, ‘zwischen zwei Meeren, um den . . . Berg,’ and AV, ‘between the seas in the . . . mountain.’ This current ‘between the seas’ has originated many curiosities of interpretation: the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea (Jer.); the two rivers of Mesopotamia (Porphyry); the Euxine and Persian Gulf (Calv.); the Caspian and Persian Gulf (Hāv.); etc.; dEnv. explains from the Bab. terminology of ‘the Upper and the Lower Sea,’ and understands the centre of the Oriental empire. These latter interpretations, of course, seek identification with the actual scene of Antiochus’ death at Tabae in Persia, and then generate the absurdity of a Jew calling a heathen temple ‘Holy Mount of Delight,’ as Bev. observes. ‘At last to (πῦ) his end’ = ‘bis zu seinem Ende’: cf. the catastrophic end foreseen for Antiochus at 8 23.

40. γρ γυναῖκα Θ εἰς καθρεπτέω πράττει ‘at the end of time’; but cf. v. 35.—

42] Θ εἰσέλθεται, B 49 106 130 —ουτει.—ἡσυχ] Θ συντρίψεις; Lu.
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pref. doublet ἐν τῷ καταχλόσει.—41. ἡ ἁρπαζείν

Point ἡ ἁρπαζίν = Neh. 7:10, with Sym., de Wette, al., cf. ἡ ἁρπαζίν v.12. Θ as masc., πολλοί, Θ correctly fem. πολλαί. But the passage x. πολλαί... (v.6) γαίας is a Hexaplaric insertion; the omission is due to homoiotel. of ἁρπαζείν and ἡ ἁρπαζίν. This insertion is not from Θ, and in view of Jer.’s note, “multas autem corruere, iuxta Aquilam, uel urbes, uel regiones, uel provincias intellige,” we may assume that the inset was taken from Aq.; n.b. the archaizing γαίας. Θ ‘many’ = Π μωλαῖς, also edd. multi.—42. ἡ ἁρπαζίν Θ as sing.; i.e., the subj. as Antichrist?—43. ὑπεραμένει] Rt.†; mng. ‘hidden’ is supported from later Jewish use = Θ ἐποχρυφότας. Θ Π properly interpret as thesauri, s. Comm.; there is no reason, on basis of Syr. mng. ‘lie in ambush,’ to correct to ὑπεραμένει with Kau., Aramaismen, 40, BDB. Θ τοῦ τάπου = ὑπεραμένει. Θ is closest to ὑπεραμένει] εν τῷ χύσῳ αὐτοῦ; Θ Π ὑπεραμένει, i.e., rdg. ὑπεράμην; Θ εν τῷ ὑπεραμήν ἄνωθεν, rdg. ὑπεραμήν, with the pron. pluralized after syntactical alignment of ‘Libyans and Ethiopians’ with ‘Egypt’; Π paraphrases with another interpretation, per Libyanum quoque et Ethioiam transibit.—44. ὑπεραμένει] All Θ mss exc. V have the doublet σπουδάζει || παράξειν; for σπυράζει, s. Θ 25, etc.—Θ texts, ἐξ ἀνατολῶν x. ἀπὸ βορρᾶ, but 33 49 62 87 90 91 228 om. ἀπο. —Θ + [ἐν θυμῷ ἑρμῷ] x. ἐρμάθη—σύρισθη] Θ om., Orp. c Lu. + καὶ τοῦ ἀναστάτου.—45. ὧν] ὑπο of pitching a tent, Is. 51:11, i.e., the ‘implanting’ of tent-stakes, cf. Ecc. 12:11 of driving a nail; otherwise ὧν is used.—ὃς ἥνι] θεοί Κεν. ὥνι, and so all VSS exc. Aq., Sym.—ὦσι] Θ τοῦ = ὑσι or ἱσι. Θ ἔφαξεν, without gramm. construction, given construction by Lu., ἔφαξεν = ἐν σφαξαίν; V130 ἔφ’ Ἀδανο, etc. Jer. gives as Aq.’s tr., et plantabit tabernaculum praetorii sui in Ἀπθέω (al. Ἀπεθέω), on which Field remarks that two versions of Aq. appear to have been compounded. Π follows Aq., Ἀπθέω (Ἀπάντη). Sym. has τοῦ ἀπεταστασίου αὐτοῦ. Θ ἤσσει ἄνερὴν ‘in a level country’; i.e., as ὄνει, ‘in a field,’ and so Α; on this correspondence between Θ and Α. s. Gehman, p. 338.—ἐν ὑπεραμένει] Θ as sing.—ὡς ὦ καὶ ὥρα] Π super montem inclytum et sanctum follows Aq.; Θ for σὺν ὦ ‘and will keep (ἕως) his sanctuary,’ which Aph. Syr. naturally interprets, “God will preserve his temple against Antiochus.”—ὡς ὦ] Θ ὕπα σὺν τοῖς συντελεῖται αὐτοῦ; Θ [shall come] the time [ὥρα] of his end’; ἡ ἐκ μέρους αὐτοῦ, ‘to his destiny,’ and so μέρος = ἡ ὥρα 25.

NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF C. 11.

There appears to be an utter lack of allusion to this chap. in early Jewish and Christian literature. And subsequently the Jewish comm. with their characteristic lack of historical sense make the chap. a phantasmagoria of fanciful allusions, among which appear pell-mell Rome, Ishmael, the Hasmo-
means, the Queen of Sheba, etc. Jephet alone exhibits somewhat of an historical continuity, concluding with the theme of God's overthrow of Islam.\(^1\)

The comm. of the Eastern Churches go early astray in the historical rib-work of the chap. Hipp. takes up his exegesis of it at iv, 41; in c. 42 he interprets vv.\(^3\) of Antiochus Epiphanes, and then comes the story of the Maccabees. By c. 46 he has reached the death of Alexander Balas, with citation of 1 Mac. \(11\)\(^2\). With c. 48 = our vv.\(^3\)\(^4\) enters Antichrist.

But two early commentators, unlike Hipp. and Jer. and most of their successors, pursue an entirely historical exegesis of the whole chapter, both interpreting it from the Macc. history. Aphrem (his rubrics are carried over into \(\Phi\) only as far as v.\(^5\)) finds in v.\(^4\) the marriage of Cleopatra daughter of Antiochus III. The rest of the chap. is assigned to the reign of Antiochus IV, and the conclusion is interpreted of the latter's death. Polychronius pushes the history still farther forward. At vv.\(^5\)\(^6\) he sees the victory of Alexander Balas over Demetrius I, 150 B.C., and his marriage with Philometor's daughter (yet noting here Porphyry's view that Berenice's marriage is meant). The history is continued with the wars of Trypho against the Jews, and his master Antiochus VI is identified with the tyrant of the rest of the chap.

Western scholarship has been delivered from the vagaries of apocalyptic exegesis through the mediation of Jerome. Porphyry, the heathen commentator of Dan., in his argument against the Christian interpretation of Dan. as a Messianic prophecy, had given a detailed historical interpretation of c. 11, proving step by step that it is veiled history culminating with the Macc. period, and hence logically the earlier cc. must be similarly interpreted. He has many characteristics of an ingenious modern scholar, as when he identifies \(\text{Maosin}\) with Modin the home of Maccabees, or \(\text{Ephedano}\) with a place between Euphrates and Tigris as the scene of Antiochus' actual death. Jer. honestly allowed himself to follow his reprobated opponent's excellent historical criticism, only parting company with him at v.\(^21\), when for him the Antichrist appears. But he continues what is one of the greatest services contributed by any Patristic comm. in still presenting in parallel Porphyry's adverse views, so that Western scholarship has been in general committed to a sane exegesis of the chap. Cath. theologians themselves have divided in part as between Jer. and Porphyry, some treating the whole of vv.\(^21\)\(^6\) as referring to Antichrist, others introducing this figure only at v.\(^3\), in this respect following Theodt. (s. Knab., p. 320). Chrysostom, however, found the Antichrist throughout the chap. (\textit{Adv. Jud.}, v, 7 = \textit{PG} 48, 894).

\(^1\) Jeph. possesses the same tradition for the location of the \(\text{ap peden}\), v.\(^4\), as we find in Jer. The latter remarks: "nostri . . . sic exponunt . . . ut figat tabernaculum suum in Apedno iuxta Nicopolim. . . . Deinde se erigens usque ad montem Oliueti Ierosolymarum regio ascenditur" (hence the 'seas' are the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea). And so Jeph., "it is thought that he will pitch his tents at 'Amwas four parasangs from Jerusalem."
The early Prot. comm. followed the leads offered by Jer., some finding the Antichrist at v. 21, others accepting Porphyry's historical exegesis to a later point in the chap. A subdivision appears in this class, of those who find the Antichrist introduced first at v. 36, e.g., Geier, CBMich.; much later Klief. proposed that his first appearance is at v. 40.

Later the historical, as against the apocalyptic, interpretation of this final section, vv. 40 ff., advanced more and more to the fore, both with the conservatives and the radical theologians. The latter, e.g., Bert., found a vaticinium ex eventu and generally the Fourth (or Third) Egyptian War; v. Leng. was the first to reject this hypothesis, descended from Jer.'s presentation of Porphyry, and he regarded the passage as a general summary of events, such as occurs in vv. 23 ff. Of the conservative theologians some found a true and exact prediction of Antiochus' end, including a Fourth war, so Hāv. (e.g., v. sup. at v. 45), Stu., d'Env., Knab.; but Kran., denying this war and confessing the vagueness of detail in prophecy, insisted only on the truth of the chief objective of the prediction. Withal the ancient theme of Antiochus as type of Antichrist was still woven in by some without prejudice to an historical exegesis, e.g., Knab., p. 315.

On the other hand, the more theologically minded, who recognized that their interpretations of cc. 2. 7–9 were logically involved, found still in this chap. a symbolic prophecy of the conflict of the kingdoms of the World, with only occasional and indistinct prefigurations of secular events, the whole culminating in the prospect of the Antichrist; so, e.g., Keil, and apparently Pusey, who however does not particularly treat this chap. One conservative scholar, Zöck., bravely found his way out by the unique position that exact historical data in the chap. are due to interpolations by 'a revision in the time of Ant. Epiph., by a pious apocalyptic investigator' (Int., §1, p. 4, n. 2). Zöck.'s theory has been continued by Wright in his Daniel, cc. 8–10. Wright's position is heartily indorsed by Boutflower, In and Around the Book of Daniel, 5 ff.

The current view of recent comm. is that with v. 40 begins a prediction of the future, the Maccabean author leaving the ground of past history at the point where he stands and forecasting the end of the tyrant. This is the position of Mein., Bev., Behr., Pr., Dr., Mar., Cha., Lamb. The modern consensus is therefore a continuation of the ancient historical exegesis of the chap. as introduced by Porphyry, with the exception that vv. 40 ff. are a necessarily vague prediction of events subsequent to 168 B.C., after the manner of much of O.T. prophecy and apocalyptic.

C. 12, 1–3. The final triumph of the Righteous. 1. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the Great Prince who stands by the sons of thy people. And it shall be a time of distress, such as has not been brought to pass since there was a nation until that time. But at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one
found written in the Book. 2. And many of those who sleep in the ground of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to reproach, to everlasting abhorrence.

3. And the Wise shall shine like the sheen of the sky:

And they who set the many right like the stars for ever and ever.

The end of the godless tyrant must have its positive foil in the bliss of the righteous; so the elder apocalypses concluded, e.g., Eze. 38–39, Joel 4(3). Those prospected the future redeemed Israel of earth living free of enemies and of the curses of earth (e.g., Is. 4); death was generally accepted in a common-sense spirit as inevitable, at the best a long life might be expected (c. Is. 65:20f.). But a new factor had entered now. The righteous had been martyred for the Religion of the One God, and what was their meed? The growing individualism of the age, marked in the piety of saints and the heroism of the Macc. minority, stung by the sense of lack of equity in the laws of nature, demanded the personal vindication of the martyrs and confessors of the Religion. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was the precipitate of the problem; and these vv. are "the earliest passage where the belief is unambiguously set forth" (Bev.). From the time of the Maccabæan struggle that belief entered to become one of the few chief dogmas of Judaism.

The doctrine as expressed here has its marked features and limitations. Acc. to v.1 the living who are entered in the divine Register of those whose 'citizenship is in heaven' shall be delivered from the present distress. As for those who sleep the sleep of death (v.2) some, only, will be raised up, and of them two classes: these, the righteous, to everlasting life (the first occurrence of the term in the Bible), and those, evidently the arch-sinners, to everlasting reproach, i.e., for their own shame and the moral satisfaction of the righteous. The rest, who were neither good nor bad, with whom divine justice had satisfied itself, are ignored, left in the shades. And, v.3, from the righteous a higher order is distinguished, 'the Wise,' who knew and practised the doctrine of the Religion and who by their instruction and discipline were able to 'set right' or 'make righteous' the mass of the community, 'the many'; these are to shine with brilliance like the stars. Further, whether the conditions of these blest ones is secular or celestial, we are not told. The boon of
this bliss is given to the seer himself as the climax of the bk., v.13.

For the doctrine of the resurrection in general s. above, Int., §20, and such authorities as Volz, Jüd. Esch., §§26 ff., Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 308 ff., Charles, Critical History of the Future Life, cc. 3–5, the O.T. and N.T. Theologies, etc. Volz, p. 12, without any convincing reason regards these vv. as constituting by themselves 'a little apocalypse.' V.2 is cited Pss. of Solomon 318, and Test. Levi 108 with the development that 'all men shall rise.'

1. For Michael s. c. 10; here with the title 'great prince,' i.e., later 'archangel.' 'Stand by' or 'over': as in Eng. idiom of protection, cf. Est. 8:11, 9:16. 'Time of distress' is cited from Jer. 30:7. 'Such as never was,' etc.: cf. Ex. 9:18, Joel 2:2 (נַחֲלָת as here), cited Mt. 24:21 = Mk. 13:19. 'In the Book': i.e., the register of citizens enrolled for the eternal life. It is an extension of the idea of the book God keeps of the names of Israel in this world; cf. Ps. 69:29 (בָּשָׂם) and Ex. 32:32. The present idea is anticipated by Is. 42, 'those who are written unto life' in the glorified Jerusalem. So in En. 47:8 (where s. Cha.'s note), etc., and freq. in the N.T., e.g., Phil. 4:3, Rev. 3:5; s. note on the heavenly 'books' at 7:10 and Bousset, pp. 295 ff. 2. 'Those who sleep': this tender term is continued in the N.T., Jn. 11:11, Acts 7:60, 1 Th. 5:10 (a reminiscence of our passage). 'Dust' is the element of the grave, cf. Job. 20:11, Ps. 22:29, the natural place of man's ultimate return, 'for dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return,' Gen. 3:19. The collocation of the words 'ground of dust' has troubled translators since ג; it may be noted that הַדְּשָׁה has in later Heb. the sense of הֶשֶּׁה, matter. The otherwise unused word for 'abhorrence' is cited from Is. 66:24, where there is the first glimpse of the eternal pains of the damned in a Gehenna. 3. 'The wise': as at 11:35; Baba b. 8b cites the term here as applying to the teachers of Israel. For the 'sheen' of the sky cf. its 'clarity,' Ex. 24:10. There is the incipient idea of the transcendent conditions of the blest, 'a new heaven and a new earth.' 'Who set the many right,' EVV 'that turn (the) many to righteousness': with the Hif. of בִּשָּׂם, but not in its customary legal sense of 'declaring innocent'; the present text of Is. 53:11 may be compared, 'by his knowledge shall my righteous Servant (?) make the many righteous,' of which our v. is reminiscent. Bev. aptly quotes P. Aboth, v. 26. 27, which depends upon our pas-
sage: “Whosoever makes the many righteous (Jewish חabile = Bibl. פְּלִמְשֵׁי) sin prevails not over him; and whosoever makes the many to sin, he is deprived of the power of repentance [n.b. many parallels in the N.T.]. Moses was righteous and made the many righteous, and the righteousness of the many depended upon him.” ‘The many’ (= יִתְנָה), as Taylor remarks ad loc., are practically the community, the public; cf. Rom. 5:18 oי πολλοι. Volz’s suggestion (p. 12) that the ref. is to the propitiatory value of the sufferings of martyrs is not impossible. The theme of these glorified saints shining like the stars is taken up in En. 39’, 43, 1042; Wis. 3’, Mt. 13’ (‘the righteous shall shine as the sun’), etc.

1. רכז] C סקרלוס tabel רכז: רכז וְרֹֽכֶז C הֶכֶלַה הָאָמֶרָה = רכז וְרֹֽכֶז; OrQ Q* + 8MSS om. הָאָמֶרָה. Is this a back-reading from Mt. 24 = Mk. 13? Cf. also the citation in 1 Mac. 6:27.—הנה[כ] For the same Nif. s. 21, 87.—ןול] C om. רַבְּצָה + (B 35 106) וְיֵרָֽכֶז al. (exc. 62) + וְיֵרָֽכֶז; the latter form of plus in the citation Rev. 16 is; is our plus a back-reading?—רָכֶז B + 5MSS om. the conj.—טומ C מַבָּזְרֹת, error for מַבָּזְרֹת = C.—גָּרַל] Q om.—2. וְרֹכֶז For the prolonged s. Barth, Nb., §5, c. d; cf. הָבְּרָה 711, נבש 214, q.v.—רָכֶז וְרֹֽכֶז] C וְיֵרָֽכֶז plaste וְיֵרָֽכֶז, וְיֵרָֽכֶז, i.e., with reversed construction = II in terrae pulvere = EVV. S. note by Bev. for a possible מַבָּזְרֹת, cf. Ps. 49. [—הנה[כ] C a doublet correcting an error, הֶכֶלַה וְרֹֽכֶז || הֶכֶלַה וְרֹֽכֶז.—לַאֲרוּת = Is. 66. II for וְיֵרָֽכֶז ut uideant (= הָבְּרָֽה) semper.—3. In C, B אָלָֽכֶז, al. אָלָֽכֶז, after the citation Mt. 13.—וְרֹֽכֶז C מַבָּזְרֹת, cf. Arabic. zuhara = Venus.—אָרֶזְרֶז C מַבָּזְרֹת as though הָבְּרָֽה; C misread מַבָּזְרֹת, as though מַבָּזְרֹת; Θ qui ad iustitiam erudirent multos.

4. Final injunction to seal the Book. And thou, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end, (while) many shall run to and fro that knowledge may increase. For ‘closing up the words’ cf. ‘closing up the vision,’ 8:16. For the inviolability of ‘sealing’ cf. Is. 2911. The opposite injunction is given, Rev. 2210, but there the consummation is immediate. By ‘the book’ is evidently meant the whole book. ‘The time of the end’ as at 8:7, 18–25; i.e., the climax of the Antiochian crisis. ‘Run to and fro,’ etc.: the passage is best explained as an allusion to a well-known Scripture, Am. 8:12: ‘they shall wander from sea to sea and from the north to the east; they shall run
to and fro (the same vb. as here) to seek the word of YHWH, but shall not find it'; so Ra. interprets by simply citing Am. The parallel interprets the clause 'that knowledge may increase'; it is all a vain search until the Book is published. This sense of 'wandering' has been accepted by some early Prot. comm., vLeng., al., but with the sense that 'knowledge' must be interpreted in a depreciatory sense, as vain or false opinions (Montanus). The most common interpretation is that given by Jer., who tr. the vb. by *pertransibunt*, and comments, "id est, *percurrent*; solemus enim dicere, percurri librum, pertransiui historiam." So indeed Jeph., also Geier, et al., and still a prevalent view, e.g., dEnv., Knab., Mein., Pr., Mar. (‘durchforschen’). But there is no support for this meaning of the vb., the parallel adduced, Zech. 4:10 = 2 Ch. 16:9, of YHWH’s eyes ‘going to and fro through the earth,’ having the sense fixed by the subject. Häv., after S and Calv., explains: only to those who seek is the grace given to look into God’s mysteries; but again the vb. does not mean ‘seek.’ Behr. and Bev. have suggested emendations. V. is best understood as dependent, as in the tr.

4. [םירבר] Θ λόγους; B λοίποις; a similar error at 11:4.—[אשתב] Θ δῶς διδάσκαλοι (?); G δῶς Ἐν ἀπομακρυνθέντων, suggesting to Behr. the vb. γινεσθαι, ‘abträunig werden,’ but G had our vb.—[הערכה] = Θ S P. G παλιγγενή ή γη δεικνυται, prob. a doublet, γη = γῆ, δεικνυται = ירעה. The latter is accepted by Bev. in place of ירעה, ‘many shall be the calamities,’ aptly citing 1 Mac. 10: εἰπάληθον ἡ γῆ ἐν τῇ γῇ as a prob. quotation of the orig. Heb.


The Vision was properly finished by the command to ‘seal the Book’ v.4. This epilogue is therefore a supplement, a condition which has induced Barton to regard it as a later addition to the bk.; on this criticism s. Mar. here. Two motifs give authentication to this appendix: (1) The anxious inquiry of the seer as to the time of the end, on which the Vision had given no information; (2) the personal promise to the seer of his own fortunate lot in the future (cf. a similar promise to Baruch, Jer. 45); with this personal touch the bk. quietly but dramatically ends.

5-7. The celestial colloquy as to the end. 5. And I Daniel looked, and lo, two others standing, the one at this side of the bank
of the stream, and the other at that side of the bank of the stream. 

6. And one (of them) said to the man clothed in linen, who was beside the waters of the stream: How long until the end of the marvels? 7. And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was beside the waters of the stream, as he lifted up his right hand and his left unto heaven and swore: By Him who liveth forever, it is for a time, times, and a half; and when an end is made to breaking in pieces the power of the Holy People, all these things shall have end.

5. Two angelic persons are introduced in the final solemn scene. One of them puts the question as to the end, the query in the seer's heart which he dares not to utter. It is addressed to the man in linen, the personage in 105ff., i.e., Gabriel. Similarly in 813 two persons appear on the scene, and likewise in Zech. 17ff., 25(1)ff. there is a duplication of such men. Bev. ingeniously explains the two as witnesses to the oath in v.7. 6. The subj. of 'said' is unexpressed, it must be one of the two; G et al. with a slight change of חפ ח have 'I said,' but this is generally disowned by critics. The locality is still that of the riverside, as at 104. The word 'stream' is the word which elsewhere denotes the Nile, or in the pl. its arms, except at Is. 3321 (a Mesopotamian scene) and Job 2810, where, if correct, it must mean the galleries of a mine; it poss. appears in the Talmud as 'canal.' 'Marvels': a cognate form of the rt. is used of the 'awful' actions and language of Antiochus at 824, 1138. The query 'how long' is the same as at 813, where however the answer is in terms of the 2,300 matin and vespert oblations (= 1,150 days); here, v.7, it is in the terms of 727, with the Heb. equivalent of the Aram. there; i.e., three and a half years. For 'raising the hand' at the oath cf. Gen. 1422, Dt. 3240; the two hands give fullest asseveration. The oath 'by him who liveth forever' reappears in Rev. 106, in citation after Θ. It corresponds to the usual 'as YHWH liveth.' 7. The final sentence is difficult. Bev., followed by Mar., Löhr, Cha., Ehr., proposes to follow the order of G, exchanging 'power' (lit. 'hand') with the preceding word יְדֵי (inf.), which is then read as a ppl. (יְדֵי), and so, 'the power of the smasher of the Holy People,' i.e., Antiochus. But the transposition of nouns in st. const. is a common exegetical device in the Grr. Behr. accepts the simpler change of יְדֵי to the ppl., 'him who breaks the power.' It is best to remain by the text of חֲפ ח, which is intentionally obscure diction. For 'hand'
5. 'The conclusion': EVV 'the latter end,' distinguishing 'after part' from 'end,' which has been used through the vision. It is the word in the technical phrase 'the latter
days,' e.g., $2^{28}$, $10^{14}$, also of 'posterity' $11^4$. The phrase signifies 'the closing stage' of the present trial (Dr.). For the seer's anxiety cf. 1 Pe. $10^9$. 9. The sense is that the revelation is now closed, nothing can be added to it. But, v.$10^9$, there follows a practical intimation which the angel is justified in giving. The last act in the drama is to be marked by the purification of the saints through trial and temptation, while the wicked still persist in their wickedness; cf. Rev. $22^{11}$. But the key of the solution is possessed by the 'intelligence' of the Wise (cf. $11^{35}$, $12^3$). 'Here is the patience and the faith of the saints' Rev. $13^{10}$. The three vbs. are the same as those in $11^{35}$, but in different order. Despite the Hithp. stem of the first two, all are to be treated like the third (Nif.) as passives (so AV) rather than reflexives (RVV JV).

11-12. Cf. $8^{11}$ a. Gunkel's suggestion (Schöpfung u. Chaos, 269), accepted by Mar., Löhr, Cha., Lamb., is here followed, that the two vv. are successive glosses intended to prolong the term of $1,150$ days announced at $8^{14}$; that term was not fulfilled and these glosses, which must be very early, successively extend the time to $1,290$ and $1,335$ days. For the difficulties in the way of assimilation of the three contradictory figures one need only glance at the labors of comm. at this point. Gunkel's remarks give pregnant exegesis of these supplements: "In diesen Glossen ist eine ganze Geschichte niedergelegt: Die Zeit der Erfüllung verzog; aber der Glaube wankte nicht. . . . Diese beiden Glossen sind also ein Denkmal der Enttäuschung und des unwandelbaren Glaubens der maccabäischen Zeit." 12. The term of $1,335$ days appears in Ascension of Isaiah $4^{12}$, s. Charles ad loc. 'Happy (with JV = N.T. μακάριος, not 'blessed' with AV RVV) is he that waiteth': a reminiscence of Is. $30^{18}$, and cited Ja. $1^{12}$. 'Attaineth to': i.e., experiences the consummation.

13 is a final word of assurance to the seer; cf. 2 Esd. $13^8$, $14^8$. ἄφις 'to the end' is of doubtful import. It has been interpreted 'to await the end' of life (e.g., Dr.); but this periphrasis for death is rather a modernism; or eschatologically (Behr.), which is preferable. A suggestion from W. Robertson Smith, accepted by Bev., Mar., is followed above: that ἀναστατωθεὶς has been inadvertently copied in here after ἐπεφανήσατο from the similar combination just below ἀναστατωθεὶς ἔφυγε. This happy suggestion is actually supported by the orig. text of 6 δε; s. Note. The 'rest' is that of the grave,
as Is. 57:2, and as of the saints cf. Wis. 4:7, Rev. 10:13, etc. ‘Rise,’ rt. דשים = וידקור: we may at once assume this technical mng. here, even as וידקור is used in Syr. and Arab. Briggs also insists on this mng. in Ps. 1:6. For ‘lot, assignment’ in the spiritual sense cf. Jer. 13:25 = ‘destiny’; Mi. 2:5, ‘lot in the congregation of יהוה’; Ps. 125:3, contrast of ‘the lot of the righteous’ with the wicked; Col. 1:12, ‘the lot of the saints in the light.’

Finale: “So the best end is given to the book by the announcement of the death of Daniel in the way which alone is possible in this second half where Daniel appears in the first person” (Behr.). And Stu.: “An assurance full of comfort to him, who was now very far advanced in life; and full of comfort to all who walk in his steps, and are animated by his spirit.”

8. [hebrew text] Bраб Q + omss om.—ךוכד The nuance of the impf. should be observed.—ךוכד Q $ ϑ κύφες, Orp (62) + μου (cf. 10:18) = $ Π,—ךוכד הנוהה נד] $ נינ$ (with ϑ$) αι παραβολαί αυταί, i.e., as נינ$ ש. at 5:10.—9. ננואנ $ 9 Δικαίων, $ Π Lu. + μου = $—ךוכד נע] $ om., exc. נע = שוכ construed as conj. with the vbs. in v.10; it appears as a gloss at v.7.—10. $ om. ננואנ (so also $ Q*), tr. נע by דגואודיסינ (as though rt. נע?); $ mss, exc. B Q 23 62c Lu., add דגואודיסינ. as a fourth vb. from $; $ treats the vbs. as subjunctives, following the error in $; but Orp. c as indicatives.—11] B 26 130 om.—11. ננואנ = ‘from the time that,’ as Ps. 4:8.—ךוכד] $ loosely picks up the prep. idea in ננואנ, $ דהוימץ[θ] (exegetical) דעה; $ דעה; Orp Lu. דעה; Orפ revised the phrase through ננואנ from $, but with corruption of דהוימץ[θ] to דהוימץ[θ] etc. $ follow $ דעה; $ דעה, $ dabunt abominationem in desolationem, cf. 11:9.—13. ננואנ נו For $ Behr. cf.[hebrew text] ננואנ נו, ורדר[θ] ו. Orig. $ and $ om.; Orp εἰς τέλος. It has been introduced supplementarily with a paraphrase (doubtless in $ first, then in $) after דוקאצ[θ]: εἰς τὴν εἰλην ημεραν κ. δοκιμασιν εἰς εὐπληροσιν κυστελαζ; this has induced the repetition after it of the impv. in εὐπληροσιν in $ and $ texts exc. B. (The plus was known to Rev., n.5. 611, να πληρωθοσι.) The actual simple text of orig. $ is vouched for by Jer., who cites it as, in autem uade et requiesce, which is supported by Iren. v. 34, 2, et tu ueni et sta in sorte tua in consummatione dierum. —ךוכד] $ εἰς τ. δεξαν σου = להלי (Ehr.); $ εἰς τ. κληρον σου, 6mss ε. τ. κληρόν σ. = $ הלי.
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