Towards a Text-Analytical Commentary of Daniel 9:24

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Abstract

This paper investigates Daniel 9:24 in various ancient versions. The methodology that is used is not the conventional Eclectic Text Method but a reversal back to the Standard-Text Method due to the strong link that 4QDan7 provides with the modern Hebrew textual form with an error margin of less than 1%. It was found that the Ancient Versions, such as Old Latin, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Origen, Jerome in the Vulgate, Coptic, Syriac all tried to discover the Standard-Text that we are privileged to hold in our hands today, but that Library robberies, cultural antagonism, persecutions, book-burning practices, made it difficult to get access to good originals and seemingly the degenerative copies at Qumran provided the only avenue for the versions. Many of the variants originated due to slips of the hands, eye, ear, tongue and memory. It was not their intention to create a new text or to deviate from the text freely. They simply had no choice. The Standard-Text Textual Analysis Method brings these processes in the degenerative character of the versions, which they share with the degenerative character of the scribal practices of Qumran, to the forefront. Whereas the Eclectic Text Method leads to nihilism since it makes the reader the creator of his/her own text by self-reconstruction, the Standard-Text Textual Analysis Method places the text to be analyzed next to an objective ruler (the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition) and forces the reader to compare differences but also encourages the researcher to discover and see how the variant originated. This was done with various Versions including Latin, Greek, Coptic for Daniel 9:24. One cannot miss the clarity of understanding the origin of the variants. As compared to the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition, they stand in a degenerative position as far as form is concerned. As far as interpretation is concerned it was found that scholars understood Daniel's prophetic times in the correct way using the year-day principle but that the heathen interpreter Porphyry wanted to read events and times back to Antiochus Epiphanes much to the frustration of Jerome. It was found that the Arabic Jewish commentator in the 10th century also suggested the year-day principle for Daniel 9:24 or 490 years for the days. Keeping these rules in mind opens up startling discoveries for the modern interpreter of Daniel who only up to this time has read Daniel through the glasses of the heathen interpreter Porphyry.

1. Introduction

An Analytical Commentary has still to be produced. Many Scholars of fame have worked on the book of Daniel8 but...
but their purpose was either to just list the variants in the Ancient sources or otherwise they operated with text-critical biases that led to emendations of the Word of God and it is the purpose of this commentary to operate with the hermeneutics of affirmation rather than suspicion, thus removing the term text-critical and replace it with text-analytical. A further difference in this approach is to decide to use the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition as the very Word of God (without the vowels) and to operate with the view that any deviation from it by other versions are secondary, later reworkings, miscopying, misreadings, mishearing, mispronunciations, of a serious kind.

variants. He did not live under the illusion that he had created the original Ethiopic text (bookreview of M. Chaîne in ROC 26 [1927-1928], pages 4-5). Despite advanced text-critical editions of the so-called Septuagint, Syriac Peshitta and Latin Vulgate and the publications of the Qumran Daniel corpus, we still face the problem that scholars had a tendency to just list the variants instead of discussing them. Enumerating the variants or stringing the connections in some form of weighing method hoping that the voice of majority may give consensus in the reconstruction, is not the only method. How these variant readings originated, is a more tedious work and calls for further research in future with fresh modus operandi.

It is easy to see the emendation scholars at work. In the lower register of both the BHK and BHS editions of the consonantal text of the Masoretic Text, are listings of variants from the versions and Qumran and then follow the suggestions for emendations. These suggestions are not the Word of God and neither are they bringing us closer to the Word of God. It is modern attempts to adjust the Word of God according to Grammatical Puritanism or other purely humanistic considerations. The source of the problem of emendation is the principle lectio facilior potior est which was applied by Otto Thenius (Walters 1988: 385) and L. Cappellus (see Van der Kooij 1982: 178). Julius Wellhausen used this principle to make eclectic decisions between the Hebrew on one side and the Greek on the other in order to render a more consistent grammar in the syntax or form of the text. The problem with this method is that the driving force for the reconstruction is not extrapolated from the data but is superimposed from the outside onto the data. Wellhausen accepted the Septuagint for the original, a fallacy to start with. He did not take into consideration the different possible methods of copying in order to explain variants in the doublets. He did not know of the degeneration of texts in the Hellenistic period. He worked with a textus perceptus and not a textus receptus. Wellhausen used the texts only to provide color to his own construct. In his emendations he was not an exegete but an artist or reconstructionist. H. S. Nyberg resisted those who wanted to emend the Masoretic Text too easily and who claim that it is a corrupt “verderbt” text (Nyberg 1934: 242).

1Ludwig Feuerbach is the father of the “Hermeneutics of Suspcion” and it is a term that takes on many disguises and Wolfardt Pannenberg in Basic Questions in Theology vol. 1 (1970), page 39 states that they have one thing in common: anthropocentrism. Rationalists like Voltaire, Bardt, and Enlightenment scholars like De Wette, Wellhausen and Modernists like Rudolph Bultmann, Martin Hegel can be listed. This article will operate with the hermeneutics of affirmation. Pannenberg rejected anthropocentrism, Higher Criticism as a method and upheld the Transcendental in analysis. He is not the ideal but in the right direction. For Feuerbach classified as an atheist, see J. J. F. Durand, Die Lewende God: Wegwijzers in die Dogmatiek (Pretoria: N. G. Kerkboekhandel, 1976), pages 102-118. If one compares Baruch Spinoza with his hermeneutics of suspicion with Isaac Newton with his hermeneutics of affirmation: Spinoza studied the biblical text and could not understand it, Newton studied it since he was 12 until 83 and could not stop studying it. Spinoza found the biblical text antagonizing his own thinking, but Newton found it a source of inspiration for his science and life. Spinoza hunted for irregularities he could find in the biblical text, but Newton harmonized the seemingly inconsistencies in biblical text in remarkable ways. For Spinoza's view see his letter to Blyenbergh at Voorburg 28 January 1665 or Letter (34) 21.

2The reasons why scholars attack the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition are listed by J. A. Thompson, S. Talmon and I. Seeligmann in IDBS as: incorrect word-division; transposition of letters; transposition of words; confusion of similar letters; confusion of words which sound alike; omission for various reasons (homoeoteleuton, homoiarchion or haplography); addition through ditthography; assimilation of parallel passages; confusion of readings; combination of readings; substitution; harmonization; removal of objectionable expressions. Scholars who do not think that the original authors of the Bible's works exist can be listed: E. Würtwein (1957); M. Noth (1966); R. W. Klein (1974); D. E. Payne (1974); J. A. Thompson, F. E. Deist (1978); E. Tov (1978). They do not think that the original author's text existed and secondly, they do not think it is possible to reconstruct the original text and thirdly, they do not think the aim of textual criticism should be to arrive at the original text. "Two men sat behind bars - the one saw mud, the other one stars" (Ian Hartley). What these Masoretic Text critics overlooked is that these variants listed are normal human slips of the tongue, hand, eye, ear, and memory. These errors are a marginal issue. Most manuscripts, slips aside, have the reading of the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition as strong backdrop. Despite a high percentage of degenerative texts at Qumran, for example, the largest percentage of them represents the consonantal form of the Masoretic Text.

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6They cannot be considered primary copies in the light of Origen's letter to Africanus in 220 CE in which he said that they must "flatter the Jews to give us copies which shall be pure and free from forgery." PG 11: 40-41. In 191 CE the library of the Bibliotheca Pacis in Rome burnt down and in 212 CE Emperor Caracalla wanted to burn some authors' books. Book-burning, censurios, library building operations, book thefts and robberies caused good copies of books to be hidden and thus they were not easily available (Forbes 1936: 114-125).

7Daniel 11:40 presents two forms of the text for Theodotion's private Greek translation in 190 CE. There is the seventh century CE reading of Codex Ambrosianus which one may term Theodotion 1 and also a second reading from Codices 2 and others as the work of Antiochus near Antiochus. This form is cited (Field 1875: 932). The commentator is cited by Field to say that these codices and Theodoret's reading is presenting an altered interpretation qua altera videtur interpretatio = in which an altered interpretation is seen. This is not the case of an altered interpretation but a case of a different Hebrew form. The altered Hebrew form is in the same space where there is an omission of the last two words in 230 CE with Origen's form of the Septuagint. In the 400 CE edition of the Greek both words were omitted and this edition is flooded with problems. In both Theodotion forms (1 and 2) the last word is kept unaltered. The word for earth is altered to the singular form. There must have been a difficult reading for Theodotion and this difficulty was continued in the Codex Vaticanus of 400 CE and in Jerome's copy that he used in 396 CE and of course in both forms used for Theodotion 1 and Theodotion 2 of which on is in Codex Ambrosianus of 616 CE and the other in Theodoret's citation of 403 CE. The omission of the last two words as in Origen of 230 CE's Greek, the Codex Vaticanus of 400 CE is also in the Syriac Peshitta from the seventh century CE. The Coptic scribes did not follow the omission. Theodotion 1 follows the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition the closest of the two forms, a text also
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followed by Jerome's Vulgate and also by the Coptic. Theodotion 2 finds echoes in Origen, Codex Vaticanus of 400 CE and the Syriac. What could have happened in the past, is that one must understand the process of ancient copying involved in many steps. A person was dictating while another one was copying what he heard on a wax tablet. This wax tablet was then copied to a papyrus and then from the papyrus it was transferred by dictation to a scribe who wrote it on a vellum and finally ladies were asked to copy it for the codices in a beautiful handwriting. Sometimes a notebook of the editor originated in which errors were picked up and corrected in the margin as well as some marginal notes or interpretations that were added representing the understanding of the editor during his lifetime. If later translators get hold of this notebook instead of the final copy of the Hebrew manuscript and if they do not know how to understand the memo points added by the editor they may even that all is written in one line in order not to leave out anything. The Codex Vaticanus scribe in 400 CE was probably one of those victims. That is why the supralinear interpretation of king of the south now became Egypt. If for example Theodotion supervised the papyrus from wax, the private vellum made (from papyrus to vellum) and the final copy of Theodotion (dictated to ladies from the vellum to be written in codices), one sits with three different text forms for Theodotion. That is why one can have a Theodotion 1 reading form and a Theodotion 2 reading form even under supervision of the same person.


2 In Daniel 9:14 Church Father Jerome in 396 CE was either tired or could not read clearly or was too old to read the letters properly and he left out in his reading the esth that is at the end of the verse and mistranslated it for the Hebrew and Aramaic word for come zayin. That is why one reads the word venit in the Latin Vulgate that is not in the Hebrew.

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4Daniel 7:13 provides the acoustnic misperception or problems in pronunciation by the reader for in the Coptic of the verse Or. 1314 the word was read as a Rune; instead of a Rune; as it is in Tattam's edition of 1836.

5 For a case of a slip of the hand one may turn to Daniel 11:45 in which the Hebrew manuscript of Aquila had letter very illegible due to a slip of the hand. Aquila read in 130 CE כנ = the mountain Sabei. Is it possible that a reader of the same manuscript of Aquila (which letters were illegible and causing a mixture of two words in one. The tsade /a/ was probably heard as a zoyn /t/ and the beth /z/ was misheard by the scribe listening to a dictation of the Semitic text, as a qoph /t/. Plosives like /f/ and /a/ can easily be confused in slips of the ear. Compare the modern example one cup of weak coffee acoustically misperceived as one Cocoa Wheat Puff (Bond 1999: 56). In essence the rhythm of the syllables is the same as the source word and its misperceived target word.

6Word resulted in a slip of the ear and was acoustically misperceived with an extra consonant infixed between the rolled dental /t/ and the dental fricatives /s/ and /z/. See the case in modern linguistics of your nation that became urination (Bond 1999: 76). In this case an extra syllable is added with the addition of the /t/ and the word boundary is lost. See also hereditary acoustically misperceived as her habitus (Bond 1999: 86 at 5.2.2.). In this case after the /t/ there is an addition of /h/. Word boundary played a role in the articulation here since the fast articulation of the rolled dental and the lengthening of it opened the situation for the origin of an extra syllable of a larvalgy to be perceived.

7A case of the slip of the tongue can be seen in Daniel 11:41 where the Syriac misread the second word as Israel because of the similarity of letters. One can understand the origin of the variant better by looking at Field 1875: 932. It is possible that the Syriac Copy of the Peshitta read first-aleph but it was then corrected supralinearly as aleph. Possibly in successive copies the
supralinear word was added into the text and became confused with the next word resulting in a form of Israel. If this word shifted later and entered after supralinear to the text we have the same form as we have in the Syro-hexapla of Codex Ambrosianus for Origen, namely, and many in the countries of the original language. There is nothing in the Greek or Syriac that gives us a hint as to why the word many would have been confused for earth. However in the Hebrew text that was the basis for translation there was probably a misreading so that the land was read instead of in the land. In the notebook of the editor to this Hebrew he may have put the correct reading supralinearly. In successive copies the supralinear correction shifted by someone who did not realize it was a correction and that it is not the final copy but only an intermediate manual to the editor. Due to bad handwriting and methods of slip of the tongue, dictation problems and memorization problems in copying, it moved after many. Origen had this reading in 240 CE for his edition of the Septuagint. The correction in the Hebrew would have looked like this: ־שָׁם הָיָה, but resulted in שָׁם הָיָה many. This last example is a correct reading of the word with its error entered in the same line but what was supralinear moved first and what was intext moved second. Slips of the tongue are in the area of articulatory linguistics and N. Poullisse (1999) listed the kinds of slips that one may find in modern languages: lexical slips: malapropisms (substitution of a word by a phonologically related one); phonological slips; morphological slips; syntactical slips; substitution; exchange; shift; blend; deletion; addition; haplology. Four extra phenomena are mentioned, namely, accommodation; reparation; ambiguous cases and double slips (Poullisse 1999: 103-114).  

In the Old Latin of Daniel 9:27 rendering of Church Father Tertullian (see Sabbathier 1743: 877) of the text in 189 CE the Old Latin text contained an acoustic misperception when the semitic text was copied to the Latin translator and the word kanaph כַּפַּח was mistakenly heard as qadoshכַּפַּח referring to sacred so the translator of the Vetus Latina translated et exsecratione vationis "and the curse] of laying waste." The words are not in the original. The root canaph כַּפַּח does not refer to temple or sanctuary but to wing, shoulder or lap. Aquila interpreted it as leader apgov in 130 CE and so did Symmachus in 150 CE but the Old Latin translators interpreted it as sanctuary in 189 CE and Theodotion interpreted it as temple in 190 CE which was also followed by Origen in 240 CE. Jerome 396 and Codex Alexandrinus 410 CE also had temple. Wycliff followed the rendering of temple in his Middle English translation of 1374 with "and abomination of desolacion schal be in the temple," thus reading the Vulgate of Jerome but Luther changed it in 1540 to a literal rendering of wings in his German translation "und bei dem Fluglein werden stehen Gesuel der Verwustung." This was also the case with the 1719 Portuguese of João Ferreira de Almeida, namely that temple was not used "e sobre a casa das abominações viram o assolador." Someone in the Middle Ages, before Luther wrote in the margin of a Greek manuscript τοις πετριπτερυγουσιν παρερρησιμοιυν until a wing from destruction (see Field 1875: 927 at note 38). Calvin kept closer to the Hebrew rendering here with his et super extensionem abominationem obstupescent and thus extensionem is the accusative singular and thus means it was the word kanaph כַּפַּח. Both the Vetus Latina and Theodotion were using a defective Semitic original Vorlage. The text was written continuously and the reader or the one dictating divided the letters wrongly. The reader read the shin כ of the next word סטמע connected to the pe ה of kanaph כַּפַּח thus סטמע and he missed the letter nun נ of kanaph כַּפַּח as a daleth ד ו the letter pe פ as a waw ו. In this way the scribe writing misheard the word as כַּפַּח and he ended with the reading of qadoshכַּפַּח leading to the acoustic misperception of the word as holy, temple or sanctuary. A corrector wrote in supralinear position a kaph כַּפַּח above the qoph כ to signal to future readers that the qoph should be a kaph. This resulted in the misreading of that kaph כ as a bet ב and translated as the proposition in. That is why the translator to the Vetus Latina rendered a bet ב and translated in from a mistaken כ. What thus happened is that when the text was dictated to the first copyist the qoph כ and kaph כ were interchanged but a corrector placed a kaph כ in supralinear position. It is possible that in the notebook the al כ was also left out but then added in supralinear position in the notebook to the Vetus Latina scribe thus כ that is why the Vetus Latina scribe left out the al כ in his translation of 189 CE. He may have had thought that he should only select one of the two prepositions, neither, both, which were in supralinear position. Jerome may have used the same Vetus Latina notebook but interpreted the two prepositions bet ב and al כ as two legitimate entries and change the first preposition al כ as a verb meaning shall come by adding an extra he ה to al כ. The error originated in the time of the Vetus Latina (189) but was carried further by Theodotion (190), Origen (240) and Jerome (389). Papyrus 967 dating to 200 CE has some very interesting errors and slips in Daniel 9:27: omission due to homoioteleuton εἰπεν καὶ δὲ ἐξετάσαντοι, omission [ ] addition ἐκκυρίωσαν, interchange of word or addition and the addition of the word. The Papyrus used the word "end εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα" in supralinear position. Z. Bond (1999) listed the cases of slips of the ear in modern acoustical linguistics: additions, omissions, substitution, loss of consonants, syllable loss, affecting more than one syllable, addition or loss of voweless words (Bond 1999: 39-56). There are word-boundary problems of the shape of words (Bond 1999: 71-79). As far as lexicon is concerned there is the creation of non-words, substitution of words, and contracted forms of words (Bond 1999: 99-115). In syntax there are sometimes radical restructuring, order errors, words-boundary errors and constituent-boundary errors (Bond 1999: 117-124).  

In Daniel 9:19 in Greek Papyrus 967 dating to 200 CE the word for Israel is substituted with Jerusalem. The spelling of Zion is S יון and there is a long elaboration of a midrashic kind to describe the character of the Lord. This variant is not in Theodotion's 190 private Greek translation and also not in the Vetus Latina of 189. Is it possible that an abbreviation was wrongly interpreted? The word for Jerusalem in the Coptic Text British Library 1314 at Daniel 9:16 Ἰς Ἰς and for the Coptic of Israel in Daniel 9:19 is פִּיך. Does this mean that the Greek abbreviations were ΙΑΗΜ and ΙΣΑ? There is no connection in the phonology or orthography for this misunderstanding. As impossible it is to understand the misunderstanding of letters in the Greek, a viable option is found in the Semitic form of the text. There is a similarity between יִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרְאֵל. In the earliest texts the letters were written continuously so that a misdivision of the mem at the end of the word for Jerusalem would result in an even closer resemblance: יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרְאֵל יִשְׂרְאֵל. Misunderstanding in the Greek of Codex Alexandrinus and in the Coptic as well as in Papyrus 967 came from a misdivision in the letters and a slip of the eye by interchanging the /l/ letters ( shin שין and waw ו which in the original were difficult to distinguish) with the /d/ in position. Israel (ם) and Jerusalem (ס) is an interchange of these letters. The elaboration of the verse with midrashic information may mean that an Aramaic Targum may have been the origin of the Greek in Daniel.  

The original texts were not available to the translators and they were using copies that were made under most stressing of situations. The Romans were taking the manuscripts and books they could find as booty to their own projects of library building in Rome. Some emperors placed a ban on certain books or genre of books and they burned or destroyed it. This led to the idea that copies were made from acoustical situations. It appears that the readers went into the library in Rome, read the text, memorized it and then walked out and dictated it to scribes who copied it on wax. On all levels there were errors. In the case of the semitic text that served as Vorlage to the translator during the days of Origen in 240 CE, it seems that a number of letters were missing and certain letters misread in Daniel 306
2. A New Approach Attempted

I have undertaken to not only list the variants but also explain their origin. It is a tedious task that allows me to move from verse to verse after spending a minimum of one hour or more on one verse. This project started in Tochigi Prefecture in Japan and took five years to reach the current stature. It is not completed and editing is seriously called for. The modus operandi of modern textual criticism disqualifies anyone to edit this work. The answer is basic and simple: eclecticism is nullified;\(^{17}\) the books of the Hebrew Bible did not undergo development and growth other than the original author or authors revisions directly under his supervision or directly by the original author’s hands.\(^{18}\) The consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition did not originate only in the exile or post-exilic period.\(^{19}\)

3. Past Approaches

The views of Emmanuel Tov et al on textual criticism, represent one option that scholars could have taken and did since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.\(^{20}\)

12:11. Instead of מזר, the scribe thought that he heard מזר. This led to the misreading in the Greek of αφ' = from. Supralinear additions also entered the text later. A kaph was read as a beth and the correction was made supralinearly but due to slips of the memory the supralinear additions floated to a different order in the sentence as one can see in the Vulgate of Jerome in 389 CE between the original words abomination and desolation for Jerome’s attempt as abomination desolation.

\(^{1}\) I tend to think that major constituent boundary problems, phrases out of order and lexical substitutions should be investigated in the area of slips of the memory in cognitive linguistics. It might be that the reader read the manuscript in a library and memorized it, walked out and dictated it to a writer who wrote it on a wax tablet. From the wax tablet it was transferred to a papyrus by someone who could decipher the writing of the one who had written on the wax. These papyrius writings were then properly transferred to the final copy by female scribes who wrote very carefully. That dictation involved seems to be supported by the spelling of the personal names. Even the women who finally wrote the papyrus did so by dictation letter by letter, syllable by syllable, word by word or phrase by phrase. Names are misspelled sometimes in the same chapter.

\(^{18}\) The doublets in the Bible are not the product of plagiarism by other authors (later) but are products by the author himself, from his notebook, from his memory, recasting the same narration to a different audience, as a sermon or whatever purpose. Isaiah, for example, was a very learned man and a scribe in the royal palaces from his earlier years. He was surrounded by scribes as colleagues and students and his book is evidence of his knowledge of more than one language. He of course, did not write history for history but focused on the religious perspective of history. Doublets are found in Isaiah as well. Scholars who are using a grammatical puritanical approach to textual studies ignore very important aspects of the ancient world: on a linguistic level, bilingualism; multi-lingualism; loanwords; neologisms and on a scribal level, the age of the author of the text and lastly, the mechanics of writing, namely, whether the author himself wrote or he dictated to a scribe. The first compositional action occurred during the lifetime of the author involved to whom the book refers and the second activity (transmission) may occur centuries and millennia later.

\(^{19}\) The impact of Rationalism and Higher Critical axioms in the biblical literature analysis for the past 200 years, makes it difficult to find examples of scholars who hold that the texts of the Bible are in the form as they were written by the original authors. The fact that nothing was added or omitted from 4QDan, strengthening an absolute consistency between 1008 CE and 170 BCE, lends support for the postulation that the book of Daniel composed by Daniel between 605-520 BCE looked no different. It further permits one to assume that if the text was stable during this long period until 175 BCE, that other books of the Bible, for example, Genesis, written by Moses, could be the very form Moses had it in more than a millennium earlier. The quality of Daniel at Qumran is a remarkable example for accuracy over such a long period, more than what can be said of any other book at Qumran or about the later versions.

\(^{20}\) The observation by Tov that “the desire to transmit the texts with precision increased in the course of the years” (Tov 1992: 27) is unverified and pure speculation. 4QDan\(^{*}\) is contrary to Tov’s view. The precision between Qumran Daniel and B19 is sometimes 99%. The idea that there was a plurality of texts existing side by side in the Second Temple Period and that later the differences became less (Tov 1992: 29) is only his ratio dicidenti. Why was there no decreasing or increasing variation between 4QDan\(^{*}\) and B19 with more than a millennium separating the two? One should not jump to the conclusion that because five different groups of texts are identified at Qumran that Judaism of the Second Temple Period was careless overall about the form of the text or that there was no concept of a single form of the text in those days. The fluidity-of-text-theory is rejected because of 4QDan. The Samaritan Pentateuch classification of Tov can be reduced considerably: he lists 4QpaleoExod\(^{\text{med}}\) and 4QNum to texts that reflect the characteristic features of the later Samaritan Pentateuch, with exception of the ideological readings (Tov 1992: 115). In 4QpaleoExod only two letters (the followed by ayin) survived in line one of column XXI of the upper fragment. This is supposedly a link to the book of Exodus. The editor took two letters as the connection to Exodus 20:19a. The remainder of the three fragments is from Deuteronomy 5:24fl. Two letters are not enough to establish a connection beyond any reasonable doubt. The left of the margin of the lower fragment in column XXI is too small when compared to the left margin clearly surviving in Column I. The surviving letter in the first line of the Deuteronomy passage is too far over the edge to qualify as part of Exodus. The editors could not solve all the problems in the lines of the reconstruction, even using the Samaritan Pentateuch of Von Gall’s edition. There is too much space between the second relative particle (line 28) and the first relative particle (line 27) at the bottom of the third fragment on Column XXI (compare Plate XVII). It rather appears that it was misreadings of a bad handwriting (slips of the hand) in Paleo-Hebrew that simulated the form of the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition, Exodus 7:18b (contrary to Tov 1992: 98) is not so much a harmonizing addition as a recasting of the order of phrases following 7:18. In Exodus 7:29b Tov suggested that there is a harmonizing addition based upon 7:26-29 (Tov 1992: 98) but it appears rather that lines 2-3 are from 7:28 and line 4 ends with 7:29. The beginning of 8:1 is in line 4 and this continues into line 5. There is no expansion visible in the extant fragment. Space does not permit to mention all the problems of the conclusions of the editors at Exodus 8:19b; 9:5b; 9:19b; 10:2b; 11:3b; 20:21b; 27:19b where it rather seems that line 1 (their line 7) is from Exodus 27:18 and line 2 (their line 8) is from Exodus 27:19. Line 3 (their line 9) is from Exodus 27:9; 30:10. The problem is this: what are we to make of a text from Qumran that corresponds (like 4Q158) sometimes to the Greek (Exodus 20:17 fragments 7-8 line 2), sometimes to the Syriac (Genesis 32:30 in fragments 1-2 line 6), and sometimes to the Samaritan Pentateuch and sometimes unique
F. M. Cross has led his students on this course of which Tov and others are the products. However, as Izak Eybers illustrated in the sixties in an article with opposing conclusions to Cross on the fragments of Samuel from cave four, another alternative was also possible. It finally became the inspiration for a serious investigation of Qumran scholarship and the result of dissertations of work in this area resulted in this approach to the book of Daniel as advocated and applied here.

4. Potholes in the Way of Textual Criticism

Let us list the potholes in the way of textual criticism in order to minimize that of our own in textual analysis:

1. The results of Julius Wellhausen et al with axioms of higher-critical method (HCM = source, tradition, literary, genre, redactional, canonical or relecturing) cannot be accepted for a proper understanding of the Word of God.22 2.

like Deuteronomy 18:18 in fragment 6 line 6? Are we to say that the scribe was eclectic in his procedure, taking sometimes from one and at other times from another Vorlage? No such Vorlage survived at Qumran. The theory of multiple Vorlages is based on postulation not evidence (contra Tov 1992, 191 "this period was characterized by textual plurality.")

The research of J. G. Janzen on Jeremiah (1965 and 1967) for example, and observations on 4Qer also needs serious reviews. It seems as if the Vorlage to 4Qer6 was torn and stitched at an angle of 45 degrees across the column. This may be a theory for the omission and misspellings of names that appear twice in the text. These may have been illegible to the copyist. The phenomenon of condensation of texts could be for functional purposes or because the method of copying was by memory. There is also the phenomenon of abbreviation that was witnessed in the scholarship at the library of Alexandria or later for the Old Testament as witnessed by Justin the Martyr (ca. 150 CE) and Origen in a letter to Africanus (ca. 230 CE). M. Fraser (1972) indicated that the Iliad texts that existed before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (167 BCE) are longer than those Iliad texts after his time (Fraser II 1972: 691 note 278). The phenomenon of epitomizing of texts in the ancient world was discussed by Francis Wiltry (1974: 111-112) and these works coincide with the origin of Qumran manuscripts and the Septuagint. Nothing is mentioned by E. Tov (1992) about these important phenomena in the quality of scribal scholarship of the Second Temple Period.

There are a number of problems with F. M. Crosses presentation of 4QSam in 1953, and the article of Izak Eybers in 1960 helped to see more: typographical error in Column 2 line 4 (also seen by Eybers); Cross left open spaces in his transcription e.g. last half of line 16 that is open and the first half of line 17 which is strange; Cross used the so-called Septuagint to reconstruct the text whereas a better option is to use the Masoretic Text; Cross and Eybers both admitted that there is a scribal error in Column 2 line 7 (Cross 1953: 22; Eybers 1960: 6). Not mentioned by Cross is the fact that the scribe is inconsistent in his own procedures by not converting the independent first person pronoun to a short form. The expansions in the text are considered by Eybers as "targumistic" (Eybers 1960: 5). Whereas Eybers calls it a targumistic gloss, Cross and Tov see it as a textual form. Cross argued it was an older type Hebrew text and Tov agreed with this (Tov 1992: 273). A difficult explanation for both Cross and Eybers was the triple entry of a phrase (Cross 1953: 23 and Eybers 1960:9). In our view it seems as if the scribe was confused by the last word in 1 Samuel 1:23 and a misreading of the ayin of the first word in 1 Samuel 1:24 for a shin resulting in a double reading in this section. Misreading of letters by the scribe of 4QSam is one of his problems. The origin of the confusion points to a misreading of Paleo-Hebrew script. The best option is not to view it as equal then to the consonantal textual form of the Masoretic Text nor the Greek text presumed to be the Septuagint, but that it is a para-biblical text fulfilling a function that can explain the quality of copying. There was no Paleo-Hebrew Vorlage that compares to the Greek versions. An obvious error, double reading, targumistic addition, change in order of the verses and a triple reading all point to period of degenerative scholarship. A. van der Kooij (1982: 187 footnote 46) outlined the criticism that Eybers levelled against F. M. Cross; that Cross rejects the MT too quickly "kritiek op Cross: hij verwerpt de MT te snel".

The dominant methods of the Higher Critical Method (HCM) over two centuries are source (literary) criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, and redaction criticism. "These methods focus on genetic relationships and historical growth of the biblical tradition as viewed by its practitioners. Accordingly, they are described as being 'diachronic' in nature." This method separates the divine from the human and treats the human as any human production in isolation from the divine" (Hasel 1985: 115). It will be seen that in the 1994 Pontifical Biblical Commission, pope Ratzinger encouraged this approach and scorned the biblicist fundamentalists that they are too "naive". In 1970 a new method originated which Hasel identifies with the synchological method (Hasel 1985: 116). It was structuralism. While diachronic investigations focused on the historical-evolutionary sequence with a linear horizontal interest, the synchronic (achronic) approach emphasized the internal relationships of that system, that the various elements within a text has mutual and simultaneous interdependence (ibid). The synchronic investigation does not want to be limited to a specific time span (ibid). Hasel indicated that this approach since 1970 may be also called an aesthetic literary criticism. We now know that this method is called the relecturing method and this trend spans 1970-2008 and is still ongoing. Sook-Young Kim indicated in the appendix of her book on the role of the relecturing method that its proponents are B. S. Childs [1970], J. Vereylen [1977] and a host of other scholars (also Randall Heskett 2001) who argue that there is no final way to understand their meanings in this paradigm. Holistic relecturing scholars were inspired by Childs: Chris Franke (1991); Marvin Sweeney (1988); Christopher Setiz (1996); Ronald Clements (1981); Paul Wegner (1992); Gerald T. Sheppard (1985); Eugene Lovering (1996); Rolf Rendtorff (1984); Patricia Tull Willey (1996); and H. G. M. Williamson (1994) (See Sook-Young Kim, The Warrior Messiah in Scripture and Intertestamental Writings[Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010], Appendix A). Pope Ratzinger further said in 2007 that "Canonical exegesis" -reading the individual texts of the Bible in the context of the whole - is an essential dimension of exegesis. It does not contradict historical-critical [HCM] interpretation, but carries it forward in an organic way toward becoming theology in proper sense" (Ratzinger, Jesus of Nazareth 2007: xix). The trend in interpretation that is called the Canonical Relecturing Method(CRM) is wholeheartedly devoted to the hermeneutics of suspicion. It is imperative for proper textual analysis to operate with a hermeneutics of affirmation and accept the data of the text to speak for itself and do not manipulate the textual data to fit their own reconstruction or models from the outside as the hermeneutics of suspicion on HCM and CRM is doing. The Hermeneutics of Suspicion has worn out their readers in the laymen benches. Many laymen are tired of the confusion about the Word of God that is promoted in affiliation with the conventional HCM and CRM methods. Various reactions can be seen in the Hermeneutics of Suspicion churchesa. Bible is a closed book. b. Bible is just for 308
The axioms of Emmanuel Tov that the Hebrew Text originated in its present form in the Second Temple Period; that the text was fluid before and during that time; that there was a multiplicity of textual forms existing side by side during and after that period, cannot be accepted. 3. Eclecticism has no part in our methodology since this scholar is operating with a one text method. 4. Instead of the instability of the text, Qumran actually demonstrated that there was one-standard text existing and that all other textual forms, deviating from this one standard form [in our assessment and axiom the current consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition] are secondary. Although the book of Tov is a standard text in conventional textual criticism, it is in need of a revision with the above axioms in mind.

5. Hermeneutical Shift Needed

The shift from a hermeneutics of suspiccion to that of a hermeneutics of affirmation is cardinal to analyze the Word of God since the eclectic scholar’s fabrication of a word that can be considered by contemporaries as his/her version of the word of God, is not biblically sustained and in fact leads to nihilism. There are not a variety of Words of God that are even opposing and contradicting to each other at times. What scholars so far have overlooked is the role played by book-burning practices, library thefts, persecution, that led to the

professors. c. Bible is for those days not for me today. d. Bible is too difficult to understand. e. Unless there is a cleric to interpret the Bible, I will not read it. f. The HCM and CRM are sometimes substituted for subjective methods by the laymen but that is not wrong. g. Substitution of methods of interpretation can sometimes take on superstitious and charismatic searches for prophetic texts fitting an occasion method. God does speak sometimes to some people this way in an emergency but the normal way is by reading quietly with reflection and attention.

The multiplicity of deviations, variants and slips of manuscripts within each version lends support to the idea that they cannot be primary but must have been secondary. D. N. Freedman indicated that the work of Cross on Samuel "from Cave 4 with their non-Masoretic Hebrew text provided a major breakthrough in this discipline" (Freedman 1981: 3-7). Later, M. Goshen-Gottstein overstated "all scholars are united in . . . the belief that the Hebrew text was not at all unified . . . [and] that we ought to differentiate between different Hebrew textual traditions" (Goshen-Gottstein 1992: 204-213). The student of Cross, J. Janzen gave impetus through his analysis of the theory that two different Hebrew texts co-existed at Qumran. This is not the place for a re-evaluation of the Qumran corpus of Jeremiah, but a re-evaluation is in dire need and offers promising alternatives. Gottstein complaint in the 1992 paper that evolutionary thinking has produced in the past two models: textual broadening and diversification versus narrowing and unification (Goshen-Gottstein 1992: 205-206). E. Tov argues for textual plurality and variety in the Second Temple period (Tov 1992: 117). His data is convenient but his axioms need revision. Hermann Stipp also supports the multiplicity of texts for the Second Temple period (Stipp 1990:16-37).

This means that the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition is accepted as the very Word of God and the only reliable source for evaluation of any other version or translation.

Theorists differ about the issue. Paul de Lagarde worked with the Urtext theory. Paul Kahle, Sperber, Greenberg, Ginsburg, Nyberg worked with the Vulgar text theory. Albright and Cross worked with the Locale-text theory. Tov and Barrera worked with the Literary development of Urtext theory. My theory is the one text per book theory, canonized when the author finished it, accurately transmitted and due to troubled times copied during degenerative scholarship at Qumran. Multiple theorists worked with a three localities theory, a three recensions theory, a multiple texts theory, a multiple localities theory, multiple schools theory, multiple scribes theory, multiple methods theory, multiple genres theory, primary one text theory and a degeneration of texts theory, which is evidenced for the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Philo Juddaeus was active in the middle of this period of degeneration and of Eupolemus it is said that he is the one who “could not follow our writings quite accurately” as Josephus mentioned in Contra Apionem I, 218 about Eupolemus. This is evidence of the phenomenon of degeneration.

Eclectics the method where the editors “pick and choose” the readings in order to reconstruct an assumed or postulated “original.” The product of the method of eclecticism is emendation. Fraser explained that it was especially the method of the Library of Alexandria and since it was transmitted to Rome, and by Cicero handed down to posterity, it is of lasting importance, even though its achievement in itself is of little note. One feature of the philosophy of this period (first century BCE) deserves preliminary notice: the tendency of the schools to blend (Fraser I 1972: 486-487 and II 1972: 703 note 62 and 70). Aristophanes wrote a book On Words suspected of not being used by the early Writers (204-189 BCE) (Fraser I 1972:460). Epiphanius locked him up to die (Fraser 1972: 458). Aristarchus later improved the text of Homer when it seemed logical to him (Fraser I 1972: 464). This librarian, operating post the origin of the Septuagint and concurrent with the Qumran corpus ad hoc reworked or recasted the text. There was a drop in intellectual activity at the Library of Alexandria after Antiochus Epiphanes, post-164 BCE.

Frequently the work of exeges is purely critical - dealing with the original formation of the text - and makes little effort to penetrate its inner meaning. Bowing before the exigencies of ‘science,’ exeges are no longer disposed to interpret Scripture in the light of faith, and hence they end up calling in question essential truths of faith, such as the divinity of Christ, the Virgin conception, the salvific and redeeming value of Christ's death, the reality of the Resurrection, and the institution of the Church by Christ.” Brian Harrison, "Catholic Bishops of the 1980s: Attitudes to Scripture and Theology," Roman Theological Forum 20 (November 1988).

When revelation took place to a prophet, the detail and data could only have come in one way, not in opposing and conflicting ways. Tacitus reported book-burning actions in Rome in reaction to the books of Cordus: “the fathers ordered his books to be burned . . . but some copies survived, hidden at the time, but afterwards published” (Tacitus Annals 35 in Cramer 1945: 196). Cassius Dio reported the censorship of the books of Crementus Cordus in the days of Tiberius (before 37 CE) and wrote that “his daughter Marcia as well as others had hidden some copies” (see Cassius Dio LVII 24.4 in Cramer 1945: 195). Parsons indicated that “under his reign [Eumenes II of Pergamon], for the second time the Hellenic world was ransacked for manuscripts . . . . Where the originals were now more difficult to find and sometimes unprocurable, copies were made for the

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degeneration of scholarship in the copying process of manuscripts and books. The role of memorizing as tool to copying, slips of the eye, ear, hand, memory; and tongue are majorly neglected aspects of text-critical scholars. That is why there is a need for textual analysis of the books of the Bible instead of textual criticism. The manuscripts need to be analyzed rather than critically assessed.

6. Approach and Purpose for Daniel 9:24

The approach here is to recognize that the translators were doing their best to be true to what they perceived as their Vorlagen. Therefore, the investigation in this research attempted to reconstruct the Vorlage for each translation (Qumran Greek or Late Roman Greek or Byzantine Greek) or each relevant manuscript in order to see whether a Semitic base was the origin of some or all of the variants.

This approach is quite different from that of studying the translation techniques, since the focus is not on the translator behind the translation but rather on the copyist of the Vorlage to the translation.

As far as translation techniques are concerned, this researcher is somewhat skeptical of the success of such an investigation since one is dealing with doubtful layers, meaning firstly that copyists made errors: (1) wrong or different divisions of letters, words or paragraphs; (2) substituting letters or transposing them; (3) relying on memory instead of the text on his desk; (4) not always knowing what to do with supra-linear corrections or entries; (5) misconstrued illegible sections on his manuscript. Secondly, readers to the translators made errors in similar ways even if the copyists were perfect in their copying. Thirdly, translators made errors: (1) by mishearing; (2) confusing letters and sounds; (3) relying on memory; (4) transposing letters and words.

In this researcher’s approach variants in the versions are not due to a free translation of the consonantal text of the Masoretic text but rather to an error that entered the process of transmission through a copyist or by the process of reading by a reader or the process of translation from a translator who misread or misheard. One can identify these as five slips: slip of the tongue, slip of the hand, slip of the memory, slip of the eye and slip of the ear. It is thus imperative to reconstruct the possible Vorlage to each manuscript and to understand the origin of a variant in that way by comparison with other reconstructions. Variants sometimes coincide in the same zone in the versions lending support to the idea that an illegible reading in a Semitic text commonly used by all of the scribes of the versions led to these variants. This was the approach particularly in this research.

bibliotheca of the famous Mysion city” (Parsons 1952: 24-25).

Johnson and Harris mentioned that “in 303 the Emperor Diocletian made a concerted effort to destroy all Christian libraries, and many perished, but the one at Caesarea survived” (Johnson and Harris 1976: 66).

Fraser discussed the degeneration of Homer scholarship in the time of Aristarchus (175-145 BCE), which is contemporary with Qumran, at the library of Alexandria. Aristarchus tried to improve the text of Homer when it seemed illogical to him (Fraser I 1972: 464). “Application of this and other principles of criticism might lead either to emendation (μεταθεσις) or to preference for one reading over another, or, when longer passages were involved, to censure or even suppression of the entire passage” (Fraser I 1972: 464-465). This is happening with Homer’s texts in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, after the origin of the original Septuagint and is also the time of the origin of Qumran texts.

Dictation as method of copying is seen in the Codex Sinaiticus by Skeat (Skeat 1956: 183); and further supporters of dictation as method are listed by him like J. F. Eckhardt in 1777, F. A. Ebert in 1820, W. A. Schmidt in 1847, T. Birt in 1882 and 1907, G. H. Putnam in 1894, A. Volten in 1937 for the Middle Egyptian kingdom of Egypt, J. Černý in 1952 about errors in Egyptian texts due to dictation (see Skeat 1956: 183). There can be different modes of dictation: a second party dictates; self-dictation upheld by J. Balogh in 1927 and F. Hall in 1913 (Skeat 1956: 186); interplay of dictation and direct consultation theorists like F. Zucker in 1930 (Skeat 1956: 189-190). This means that copying was done first by dictation and then collation was done by direct consultation. Strabo xiii.1. 54 complains about writers in Alexandria and Rome and said γραφευσι φαυλοι του αριστοκρατουμενου λαου, careless writers who touch the surface (= threw their texts on the market) and do not put one against the other (= without collation) (Skeat 1956: 181). Skeat supplies evidence that Codex Sinaiticus was copied by dictation (Skeat 1956: 191-192 and on 193 Skeat cancels subconscious dictation for the origin of errors such on a large scale).

One is reminded of J. Wevers’ comment in the introduction to the Göttingen edition (Göt) of the LXX of Genesis that he does not live under the illusion that he has constructed the original LXX “Der Herausgeber unterliegt nicht der Illusion, dass er durchgängig den ursprünglichen Septuaginta text wiederhergestellt habe.” The original text of the Greek Septuagint does not exist (Frankel 1841: 4; Kahle 1915: 439 where Kahle also said “Die älteste Form dieser Übersetzung rekonstruieren zu wollen, ist eine Útopie....”) Thus, Septuagint or LXX is an elusive task, so how does the scholar with a computer try to establish a translation technique of a text that is not fixed but elusive and to take the irony one step further, comparing it to an original Hebrew as the Arabist Wellhausen did and then claim dogmatically for centuries as navigator to HCM and CRM that the Hebrew was only concocted, reworked and added later and should be emended?

To have no Vorlage as pilot guideline, is to end up nowhere. That is why the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition is the first and primary step to be treated by the scholar-reader as the very Word of God and from that form the degeneration and deviances
7. Daniel 9:24 Textually Analyzed: Daniel as Futuristic Chronographer or Pseudepigraphic Historian

One of the challenges of our time is to get behind the time periods mentioned by Daniel. These include metals in succession; animals in succession; 2300 evenings and mornings (Daniel 8:14); time, times and half a time (Daniel 7:25; Cf. Revelation 12:14); seventy sevens (Daniel 9:24); 1290 days (Daniel 12:11) and 1335 days (Daniel 12:12). Modern consensus feels comfortable with the view of the heathen historian Porphyry who lived during Jerome's time and who insisted that Daniel was an attached name to a book that originated after Antiochus Epiphanes and thus back-reading into the history of Antiochus was involved here. It is the celebrated view of John Collins and many other modern scholars in Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and non-religious persuasions.

The age of Rationalism after Orthodoxy of the 17th century opened up this trend, and although pushed aside for a long time until 1843/4 when William Miller suggested Christ would come according to Daniel 8:14 with the 2300 years prediction and He did not, Christianity then swung fully into the hands of Porphyry by bringing Epiphanes into play.
The commentary of Jerome resisted Porphyry and demonstrated case by case that his calculations do not match the Word of God. The principle of the year for a day should be mentioned here. It was the interpretation principle that when Daniel in prophecy is talking about a day, a year of 360 days is meant. There was a book by John Napier in 1593 on the year-day principle but actually this principle was much earlier operative even in pre-Christian times. There are rules involved in applying the year-day principle.

What is amazing is to see how this year-day principle was used before Napier also in Jewish circles. During the time of Saadya Gaon in ca. 990 CE, Yephet ibn Ali wrote a commentary on Daniel and he also used the year-day in 1543 at Wittenberg. Martin Luther's Exegesis of Daniel, called Auslegung des Propheten Daniels appeared in three parts at Wittenberg, 1530-1546. The Reformers worked with a chronographical scheme for Daniel as one can see in the numerous citations in Katherine R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford University Press, 1979) and on page 13 she cited Luther in 1535 saying about Daniel: "Though I was not at first historically well informed I attacked the papacy on the basis of the Holy Scripture. Now I rejoice heartily to see that others have attacked it from another source, that is from history. I feel I have triumphed in my point of view as I now clearly history agrees with Scripture what I have learned and taught from Paul and Daniel namely that the Pope is Antichrist, that history proclaims pointing to and indicating the very man himself" (Basle, 1535) A5. It is not only Luther, but also Tyndale, Wycliff, Knox, Bale, and Calvin in his "Sermons sur les huit derniers chapitres du livre de Daniel," Calvini Opera 4. xli-xlii, Corpus Reformatorum cols. 442-443 where he stated about the Little Horn of Daniel 8:10-12 "Voila donc quant à ce point de la petite come, combien qu'aucuns le prennent pour Mahomet, ou bien pour l'Anttechrist mais c'est le changement qu'est avenue en l'empire romain" translated as "As for this subject of the little horn, however, many may take it for Muhammed, or even for the Antchrist, nevertheless it is the change which occurred in the Roman Empire" (Firth page 36). In the period of the counter-Reformation Luis de Alcazar (1554-1613) used a preteristic hermeneutical model of Daniel to interpret it to the past and nothing should be stretched beyond 70 CE. Hugo Grotius in Holland in 1644 and Hammond of England in 1653 took over this preteristic model from the counter-Reformation scholars for the book of Daniel. During the Aufklärung the preteristic model of the counter-Reformation replaced the Reformation model in Protestantism: J. C. Eichorn (1791) took the same position as Alcazar; G. H. A. Ewald (1803-1875); F. Delitzsch (1813-1890); and the Arabist Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) all favoring the back-reading model for the book of Daniel (just like the heathan scholar Porphyry suggested). Moses Stuart of Andover (1780-1852) brought preteristic interpretations of Daniel in 1842 to the USA. D. Samuel Davidson used this preteristic model of Alcazar with Antiochus as the key player in 1844. Scholars who remained with the future chronographical approach for Daniel were Joseph Mede (1586-1698); John Tillingston (1604-1665); Thomas Beverley (1670-1701); Isaac Newton (1642-1727); Manuel de Lucunza (1731-1801); Adam Clarke (1762-832); Edward Irving (1792-1834); James Begg (1800-1868); and Francois Gauvins (1790-1863). Rationalism as method for the book of Daniel led to skepticism and a shifting of Daniel as meaning not the coming of the Messianic kingdom but rather a coming of a knowledge of the Lord (Louis F. Hartmann and Alexander A. de Lella AB The Book of Daniel (Golden City, New York: 1978), page 149. It is in the light of the historicist model that the depressed William Miller, who said Christ would come in 1843/4 based on Daniel 8:14 as 2300 years (year-day principle applied), and He did not, wrote to the Hebrew Grammar professor George Bush of New York University asking him whether he had made a mistake with his methodology. Interesting is the letter that came back from George Bush to Miller: "Nay, I am even ready to go so far as to say that I do not conceive your errors on the subject of chronology to be at all of a serious nature, or in fact to be very wide of the truth. In taking a day as the prophetical term for a year, I believe you are sustained by the soundest exegesis, as well as fortified by the high names of Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Kirby, Scott, Keith, and a host of others who have long since come to substantially your conclusions on this head. They all agree that the leading periods mentioned by Daniel and John do actually expire about this age of the world, and it would be a strange lo.

Clarke (1762-1815) reading EZRA for business contracts. Examples of these 360 day a year texts are: R. Labat, "Un Almanach Babylonien (V R 432-433) which many duplicates existed on these texts as well. The best complete example is Rene Labat, "Un Calendrier Cassite," Sumer 8 (1952), 17-36 plus two plates. It was made for the Cassite king Karigalzu (see L. Matoush 1961, 21). One example: In the seventh month Tisrit on the 3rd day the king should not eat fish.

42It appears that the three Wise men from the East who studied scriptures and expected the birth of Jesus on time, may have used Daniel 9:24 to calculate the date of His birth using the year-day principle. What they did is to say that seventy sevens refer to 490 days and with the year-day principle it means 490 years. Using Ezra 7 for the 7th year of Artaxerxes or 457 BCE as starting point, they could correctly calculate with Daniel 9 Jesus' baptism in 27 CE and His death in 31 CE. With the system established they could follow the Ancient Near Eastern rule that a person becomes a public figure at the age of 30 and if His ministry was to start in 27 CE, then this public figure should be born in 4 BCE, the year they came to look for Him. If this is true, the Wise Men from the gospel applied Daniel as a futuristic chronographer and not a pseudonym historian back-reading the events of Antiochus Epiphanes.

43One year in Babylonian times was calculated in the farmer's calendar with a lunar-orientation consisting of 354 days for the year. The year calendar that the fortune-teller of Nebuchadnezzar used was one well-known even in the late-Kassite period. It consisted of a year of 360 days with each month exactly 30 days. It was their "divine year" in which the gods revealed to the king what he should or should not do every day, eat and should not eat to avoid calamities. Since they were daily, the texts are called Hemerologies, hemera (Greek ημερα) for day. Periods (of prophecy) in the book of Daniel are calculated with this system in mind. It was also known as the economical calendar for business contracts. Examples of these 360 day a year texts are: R. Labat, "Un Almanach Babylonien (V R 48-49)," RA 38/1 (1948): 13-40 dating from the time of Sargon (722-705); L. Matoush, "L'Almanach de Bakr-Awa," Sumer 17 (1961), 17-66, which is IM 63388; F. X. Kugler, Eine râtselvolle astronomische Keilinschrift," ZA 17 (1903), 238; Ch. Virolleaud, "Fragment du calendrier babylonien," ZA 18 (1904), 228-231. Many duplicates existed on these texts as well. The best complete example is Rene Labat, "Un Calendrier Cassite," Sumer 8 (1952), 17-36 plus two plates. It was made for the Cassite king Nazimaranatsh (1430-1380 BCE) which is the same time as the Cassite king Kurigalzu (see L. Matoush 1961, 21). One example: In the seventh month Tisrit on the 3rd day the king should not eat fish.
principle stating that the 490 days of Daniel 9:24 refers to 490 years. The principle was also used by the scholar Hengstenberg (1831) in his commentary of Daniel claiming that the 2300 evenings and mornings of Daniel 8:14 is actually days and thus with the principle applied, years. He started the beginning of the calculation in 423 BCE.\textsuperscript{44}

Hengstenberg said "We may look for the cleansing of the sanctuary a.d. 1877" and Thomas Myers considered this interpretation as "so adverse to the interpretation of these Lectures, that we must be content with this passing allusion to it" (Thomas Myers, Commentaries on Daniel (Calvin) dissertation 33). The year-day principle was probably also operative in Assyrian and Babylonian calculations.\textsuperscript{45}

7.1. Yaphet ibn Ali and 490 Years

In his commentary on Daniel, this Karaite Jew wrote about the seventy sevens of Daniel 9:24

7.1.1. Arabic Commentary of Yaphet ibn Ali interpreting the 70 weeks

The Arabic Commentary of Yaphet reads here "These seventy weeks are weeks of sabbatical years, making 490 years; below they are divided into periods."\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44} Ezra 7 was given three dates in the past: 1) 457 BCE (defended by John Wright, The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem [London: Tyndale Press, 2nd edition, 1958]; 2) 398 BCE as the seventh year of Artaxerxes II by H. H. Rowley, "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," Ignace Goldscheider Memorial Vol., Part 1 [1948], 117-149; reprinted in The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays [London: Lutterworth Press, 1952], 131-159; N. H. Smith, "The Date of Ezra's Arrival in Jerusalem," ZAW 63 [1951], 53-66; H. Cazelles, "La mission d'Esdras," VT IV [1954], 113-140; 3) 428 BCE by William Albright, W. Rudolph, V. Pavlovsky, "Die Chronologie der Tätigkeit Esdras," Biblica 38 [1957], 275-305; 428-456, see John Bright, A History of Israel [London: SCM Press, 1970a], 375-386. The issue was Ezra 7:7 whether it is the seventh year or the thirty-seventy year (by emendation). This gives us understanding where Hengstenberg got his starting point from, ending at 1877 for the cleansing of the sanctuary. Thomas Myers explained that the terminus a quo "is said to be the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, whose date is given in Ptolemy's Canon An. Nabonnassar 325, which according to the method of verifying the date here used, is b.c. 424 "which, added to the year when astropocy was no longer restrained, a.d. 66, makes 70 weeks or 490 years" which was the view of George Duke, The Times of Daniel: Chronological and Prophetic, Examined with relation to the point of contact between sacred and profane Chronology; James Darlington, 1845 (reproduced by Nabu Press, 2011). (See Thomas Myers for a more comprehensive bibliography http://www.ccel.org). Isaac Newton worked with this system also in 1733. B. Blayney worked on Daniel 9:20-27 in 1775. There is the work of G. S. Faber in 1811; J. A. Stonard in 1826; that of P. Allwood in 1833 all dealing with the issues involved in Daniel 9:24-27, as Myers pointed out.

\textsuperscript{45} Assyrian and Babylonian metrics are well known to scholars and a number of articles have appeared on these issues. There is the article by Van der Waerden, "Babylonian Astronomy III: The Earliest Astronomical Computations," JNES 10 (1951), 29-34. There is Neugebauer, "Studies in Ancient Astronomy VIII, The Water Clock in Babylonian Astronomy," Isis 37 (1947), 37-43. There is Reiner and Pingree, "A Neo-Babylonian Report on Seasonal Hours," AFO 25 (1947-77), 50-55. S. Smith, "Babylonian Time Reckoning," Iraq 31 (1969), 74-81. Leo Oppenheim also wrote on the night watch in terms of the manâ in "A Babylonian Diviner's Manual," JNES 33 (1974), 200: 64 and 205 note 38. The article important here for our calculations is that of F. Rochberg-Halton, "Stellar Distances in Early Babylonian Astronomy: A New Perspective on the Hilprecht Text (HS 229)," JNES 42 no. 3 (1983), 209-217. Assyrian and Babylonian Metrics of Time Rochberg-Halton indicated in his article that the water-clock was in Mesopotamia since Old Babylonian times. That would coincide with the life and death of Joseph of the Bible. He cites Neugebaur 1947, 57-43. They used the sundial or solar hour but also the water-clock or measurements in weight of water for two hours which equal 1 manâ. Assyrian and Babylonian Celestial Time and Terrestrial Time Assyrians and Babylonians distinguished between celestial time and terrestrial time. The term bēru ina šaâmen means "celestial bēru." The standard unit used to measure distance is UŠ which means "degree." It is termed in one text as terrestrial UŠ or ina qaqarti. The other measurement is manâ (a certain weight of water that equals two hours). In one text TCL 6 21 27, a ratio is given that 1800 celestial bēru = 1 terrestrial UŠ (Rochberg-Halton 1983, 211 footnote 11). Sixterrestrial UŠ are equal to one manâ. We know that one manâ is equal to two hours since B. Meissner in his book Babylonian und Assyrisch Vol. 2 (Heidelberg: 1925), 394-395 indicated that the night for the Assyrians and Babylonians were divided into three watches. Each watch had two manâs and that equals two hours for each manâ. Since the manâ is two hours or 120 minutes long, the 6 terrestrial UŠ have to be divided into 120 minutes leading us to 20 minutes for each terrestrial UŠ. Celestial year and terrestrial day If 1 terrestrial UŠ equals 1800 celestial bēru and if 1 terrestrial UŠ equals 20 minutes, then how many celestial bēru will there be in one day? 20 minutes x 3 x 24 = 1 day. Thus, 1800 celestial bēru x 3 x 24 = 129600 celestial bēru. One terrestrial day equals 129600 celestial bēru. The year in Assyrian and Babylonian reckoning had either 354 lunar days or 360 days in an economic or civil year (see the Kassite 360 day a year Hemerological Text as clear evidence of this dating to 1154 BCE). A number of later duplicates were made of this text or similar hemerological texts during the neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian Empire. All of them have 360 days in one year, 30 days in each of the 12 months. How many years of 360 days will there be in 129600 celestial bēru? 129600 divided by 360 terrestrial days equals 360 terrestrial days or a celestial year. In conclusion: One celestial year of 360 days = one terrestrial day. This is the Assyrian and Babylonian year-day principle. The divine year or heavenly year is equal to the terrestrial day.

\textsuperscript{46} Dr. S. Margoliouth's translation of the Arabic, 1889: 49. This means that Yephet supported in 990 the year-day principle for exegesis of the prophetic book of Daniel. In his commentary, Yephet says "The scholars who preceded Joseph ibn Bakhtawi explained the 2300, 1290, and 1335 as years; the Rabbannites, too, spoke of the end, and fancied that from the third year of Cyrus to the end would be 1335..."
7.1.2. Yephet ibn Ali's Commentary on Daniel 9:24 Translation in broader context

He tells him what is going to happen during the four kingdoms. Of these seventy weeks, seven passed in the kingdom of the Chaldees (47 years); 57 years of Persians reigned, 206 the Greeks, 206 the Romans; these are the special periods of the seventy weeks. These include the reigns of all four beasts; only the angel does not describe in length what happened to any of them save the history of the Second Temple during the time of Rome. These seventy weeks are weeks of sabbatical years, making 490 years; below they are divided into periods.

The interpretation of Daniel's seventy sevens as years and a total of 490 years was supported by many scholars and interpreters through the ages, as we have already seen.

7.2. The Syriac Text of the Complutensian Polyglot

The Complutensian Polyglot represents a Syriac text which interprets the prediction as culminating in the coming of Christ, thus applying also a year-day principle:

7.2.1. Latin Complutensian Polyglot Syriac Text

The earlier manuscripts of the Syriac of Daniel 9:24 dating to the 10th century, also read ad Christum or "and until Christ" as ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμολογίας (A. Gelston, Peshitta of Daniel 1980).

7.3. The Masoretic Text and Saadya Gaon

According to the Masoretic text the reading is ובשנים and that is also the reading of the Hebrew Text of the Babylonian-Yemenite Tradition presented by Shelomo Morag. The Hebrew Text that is printed together with Saadya Gaon's Arabic Interlinear, however, read a different nuance as compared to the Masoretic Text and the Babylonian-Yemenite Tradition and also Saadya Gaon's Arabic text:

7.3.1. Hebrew Text

The term is passed some years since, so their opinion has been disproved, and that of their followers; similarly El-Fayyûmi explained it years, and has been proved false; he had however some marvelous inventions with reference to the time and times" (idem, 1889: 86 at Daniel 12:13). He further indicated that Benjamin Nahawendi also believed that the days should be interpreted as years. It appears that Yephet was in favor of denying that 2300, 1290 and 1335 of Daniel could be years but insisted in the citation supra that the seventy weeks are years based on the year day principle. Inconsistencies? Margoliouth pointed out some copist interpolations (Preface, page v. note 8).

Johannes Oecolampadius in 1530 said about the expression of the seventy weeks, "They are not weeks of days, or jubilees, or of ages" but of years (Thomas Myers, Commentaries on Daniel). Oecolampadius wrote his book Commentariorum in Danielem in 1530, 1543 and 1562 at Basil and it also appeared in Geneve in 1553, 1567 and 1578. Andrew Willet published his Hexapla In Danielem at Cambridge in 1610 and he had the same idea and listed other earlier scholars Osiander, Junius (Protestant) and Montanus (Roman Catholic). Isaac Newton in his Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel (1733) part 1, chapter 10 also worked with the year-day principle. Stuart in 1831 mentioned that it refers to seventy years times seven years, thus 490 years (Thomas Myers, Calvin Commentary). The early Patriotic Fathers also calculated with the 490 years, thus the year-day principle: Tertullian (180 CE) by beginning in the first year of Darius, counts 490 years to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE (Thomas Myers, Calvin Commentary). Eusebius (320 CE) begins the 69 weeks in the 6th year of Darius Ilystaspes and ends them in the 1st year of Herod, about the death of Hyrcanus. He begins the 70th week at Christ's baptism (Thomas Myers. Calvin Commentary).
7.3.2. Hebrew Text of the Babylonian-Yemenite Tradition

This extra *matres lectiones waw* may mean that the Messiah is meant in which case we may have a year-day interpretation scribe copying here in 1598. Gaon's Arabic text read it without the *lamed* preposition but not with the extra *matres lectiones waw*, namely ומשח.

7.3.3. Hebrew Text (1598) next to the Arabic text of Saadia Gaon

In the case of Yaphet's Arabic translation of the text of the Hebrew, his rendering of the Hebrew gave the preposition *lamed* as in the original Hebrew but Saadya Gaon did not supply that. This means that Yaphet (990) read it as ומשח but Saadya (950) read it as ומשח. Notice that the Hebrew text that was placed interlinearly with Saadya’s Arabic translation read ומשח.

7.4. Yaphet ibn Ali’s Arabic Text and Daniel 9:24

In the case of Yaphet’s Arabic translation of the text of the Hebrew, his rendering of the Hebrew gave the preposition *lamed* as in the original Hebrew but Saadya Gaon did not supply that. This means that Yaphet (990) read it as ומשח but Saadya (950) read it as השח. Notice that the Hebrew text that was placed interlinearly with Saadya’s Arabic translation read ומשח.

7.4.1. Hebrew Text of Yephet ibn Ali

7.4.2. Hebrew Text of the Babylonian-Yemenite Tradition

7.4.3. Hebrew Text

7.4.4. Hebrew Text next to Arabic text of Saadya Gaon

48 For the Arabic text of Saadya Gaon on Daniel 9:2, I am using the edition of H. Spiegel (1906) from Berlin. It is in Hebrew characters but I have typed it with Arabic fonts. A Hebrew text is placed interlinearly in 1598 and differs with the rendering of Saadya Gaon in the Arabic especially with “and anointing” rendering of Gaon here in Daniel 9:24.

49 The Arabic Text of Yephet bin Ali is provided by D. S. Margoliouth in 1889. One can reconstruct the Hebrew text of Yephet since he transliterated the Hebrew text and the whole text was then transliterated later in Hebrew and Margoliouth transliterated it back into Arabic again but left the Hebrew biblical text untouched. Yephet's Hebrew text compares very well with that of the Babylonian Yemenite Tradition of Daniel but he omitted some words.
7.5. Bringing the Septuagint in for Clarity

There are the simplistic suggestions by modern linguists that on the basis of Qumran (and impetus to the view was incepted, among others, especially by F. M. Cross with his views on 4QSam’i n 1953) that the Septuagint provides an alternative Vorlage existing side by side with the Masoretic like consonantal text in pre-Christian times. The original Septuagint does not exist and none of the editors of the Göttingen edition ever claimed that they have succeeded in reconstructing the original Septuagint.50 My research indicated that remnants of the original Greek Septuagint can be found in the Books of Numbers and Leviticus from Qumran Cave four but that it aligns more to the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition than to the post-Christian survived editions.51

The contrast between the byzantine survived Greek manuscripts (claimed by many to be the Septuagint) is in fact, in this researcher’s finding, a possible tampering with the text at the library of Alexandria during and after the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, as research indicated that Homer’s Classical Greek texts were emended, enlarged, shortened, reworked and mutilated during the same time.52 Other factors also played a cardinal role in the poor condition of the copies, like the five slips: slip of the eye, slip of the hand, slip of the memory, slip of the tongue. Added to this, are the persecution times that brought with it imperial library building projects and organized theft of library books, banning of certain books (prophetic books), book burning at various times leading to the attempts by concerned groups to hide their good copies and keep it from the public domain. It was not easy in Christian times to get hold of a good copy for translation or copying. The Xerox Process of manuscript copying suffered by degenerative scholarship due to these factors.

It would be good to put two Greek texts side by side and consider the origin of problems. The first example is from Alfred Rahlfs edition dating to 1935:

7.5.1. Greek Text according to Rahlfs’ Edition

7.5.2. Greek Text Origen according to Syro-hexapla

7.5.3. Greek Text according to Theodotion

50Paul Kahle stated that "Die älteste Form dieser Übersetzung rekonstruieren zu wollen, ist eine Utopie. . . ." (Kahle 1915: 399-439, especially page 439).The same words were used by J. Wevers in the Göttingen edition about his reconstruction of the Greek of Genesis: "Der Herausgeber unterliegt nich der Illusion, dass er durchgängig den ursprünglichen Septuaginta text wiederhergestellt habe" (Wevers Introduction of the edition for Genesis). Rahlfs did not believe that his version edition of the Septuagint represented the original (Olofsson 1990: 79 footnote 49). Max Margolis indicated that "the road to the original Septuagint leads past many stations" (Margolis 1916: 140). The corrupt Septuagint text view can be traced back as early as Justin the Martyr, Origen, Jerome, Z. Frankel (1841) and in modern times P. De Boer (1938). Origen for example was complaining in a letter to Africanus (PG 11:36-37 and 40-41) that the text of some Greek copies of Daniel is longer, sometimes 200 verses longer. His solution was that the church should reject their copies and "put away the sacred books among them" and "flatter the Jews, and persuade them to give [us] copies that are un tampered with, free from forgery" ut nos puris, et qui nihil habent figmenti, importante (PG 11:40-41). Z. Frankel is very surprised about the high regard that Augustine had for the Septuagint (Frankel 1841: 258). Augustine's high view of the Septuagint can be found in On Christian Doctrine ii. 15, "And to correct the Latin we must use the Greek versions, among which the authority of the Septuagint is pre-eminent as far as the Old Testament is concerned".


52M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria 1970.
7.5.4. Greek Text of Papyrus 967 Acoustic Perceptions

If one compares the post-Christian later version of the so-called Septuagint in Origen's Hexapla with the earlier Papyrus 967, also presented here, one can see the origin of the variant in Origen's Hexapla as a clear example of acoustic misperception when he heard the dictation of the text not as σου but as Σειων. In Origen's Hexapla it appears as Σιων. Papyrus 967's scribe actually corrected himself because both the correct and the error appear in the same line. One must understand the process of the copying in those days. Someone scribbled on papyrus to make a notebook Vorlage to the reader of the reproduction team. That notebook served then the reader to the copyists afterwards and they have to make a choice whether it is the suprilinear correction σου or in-text Σιων.

Obviously Origen opted for the in-text error and his Septuagint Copy from teams related to this Papyrus 967 provides the key for his variant recorded for the Septuagint. The Scribe of Papyrus 967 in 200 CE also had some midrashic additions and word-order problems, the last which is typical of slips of the memory. Note that the Masoretic Text reading of σου is there in the wrong order but that "your holy" has dropped out here. It is not a substitution of "holy" for "Zion" in the Septuagint, which some may consider as proof of interpretation license us.

As far as the state of the text was concerned during the Patristic period, the Fathers were continuously concerned about the quality of the texts and many retranslations and re-editions originated because of this concern.

7.5.5. Theodotion (190 CE)

Daniel 9:24 επι τον λαόν σου και επι την πόλιν την αγιαν σου

7.5.6. Papyrus 967 (200 CE)

Daniel 9:24 επι τον λαόν σου καὶ επὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγιὰν σου

7.5.7. Hebrew of Consonantal Text of the Masoretic Tradition

Daniel 9:24 לֵעֵצֻתֵיכְלֶיתָרְקֶשֶׁת

As far as the state of the text was concerned during the Patristic period, the Fathers were continuously concerned about the quality of the texts and many retranslations and re-editions originated because of this concern.

7.6. Latin Translations and Daniel 9:24

The Old Latin text is represented and reconstructed from readings of the Church Fathers, and Tertullian.

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54For the Vetus Latina of Daniel or the Old Latin (which is a translation that was made in about 189 CE in Africa), I used a number of sources. The extracts from the Codex Wurzburgensis was used which dates between 450-550 CE. It is a palimpsest which is in the library of the university of Würzburg. D. Fridericus Münter presentation of the work of Stephani Tetens (1819) Fragmenta Versionis Antiquae litinae Anticheromuniae prophetarum Jeremiae, Ezechiels, Danielis, et Hosea et codice rescripto Bibliothecae Universitatis Wurzburgensis. The microfilm does not contain the whole text of Daniel but is helpful for comparison with that of Pierre Sabbathier, also from the library of the University of Würzburg. P. Sabbathier, Bibliorum sacrarum latinae a Versiones antique seu vetus Italica et caeterae quaequecumque in codicibus mss. et antiquorum libris repertor et poterunt: Quae cum vulgata latinae versiones antique seu vetus Italica et caeterae, quaequecumque, observationes ac notae indique novus ad Vulgatione et regione editiones in medienique locupletissimus, opera et studio D. Petri Sabbathier, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e Congregatione Sancti Mauri, Bd. I-III. Rheins 1743-1749. It contains what was collected of the Vetus Latina from citation of the Church Fathers. The Church Fathers have not always presented the form consistent which each other as one can see in Daniel 12:2. Augustine said about the origin of the Vetus Latina: "those who translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be enumerated, but the Latin translators by no means. For, in the early days of the faith when any one received a Greek manuscript into his hands and seemed to have ever so little facility in language, he dared to translate it." Augustine, De doctrina Christiana ii, 11 as cited in E. Nestle's article "Bible Versions" in The New Schaff
represents this verse as follows:

7.6.1. Old Latin Text of Sabaterium (Tertullian)

septuaginta hebdomadæ breviatae sunt super plebum tuam et super cicitatem sanctam quodusque
inveteretur delictum et signentur peccata et exorentur injustitiae et inducatur iustitia ungatur sanctus sanctorum

(Old Latin Tertullian Adversus Jud. chapter 8. page 140.a b.
reconPIERRE SABBATHIER 1743: 876 Daniel 9:24)

7.6.2. Latin Vulgate Text (Jerome)

septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam ut
consummetur prævaricatio et finem accipiat peccatum et deleatur iniquitas et adducatur iustitia sempiterna et impléatur visio et prophétia et ungatur sanctus sanctorum

(Vulgate S 450 reconWEBER Daniel 9:24)

The Old Latin text seemingly dropped out the tuum after sanctam but it was restored by Jerome in his Vulgate in 389 CE of which codex S dating to 450 CE is the best representation of Jerome. The origin of the error in the Old Latin in 180 CE seemed to have happened by their different division of the Hebrew continuous text of their Vorlage.

7.6.3. Hebrew Text of the Consonantal Text of the Masoretic Tradition

sevenseventyninehebdomadawhentwiceaboveplebeetausandsetheousinveteratedetseventeentopecsawedeteleatherinequitsandbringinjusticewasappliedonholyholy

(Masoretic Text Leningradensis BFolio 445verso BHS Daniel 9:24)

7.6.4. Hebrew Text of the Old Latin Reconstructed

sevensevenhebdomadawhentwiceaboveplebeetausandsetheousinveteratedetseventeentopecsawedeteleatherinequitsandbringinjusticewasappliedonholyholy

(Slightly Modified Masoretic Text Leningradensis BFolio 445verso BHS Old Latin modified Daniel 9:24)

There seems to have been a division of the final kaph separated from the word "holy" so that the consonant was attached to the preposition lamed of the infinitive that follows and it was interpreted as a duplication. It could have originated from a slip of the hand which means a bad handwriting in 180 CE that served the Old Latin reader to the translator as notebook for translation. A new word originated meaning "all or everyone" and the expected tuum dropped out of the Old Latin and made way for a form quodusquemeaning "everyone" or "in that all the way". The result looks like this:

7.6.5. Hebrew Reconstructed Text of the Old Latin (180 CE)

Daniel 9:24 קְדֶשֶׁר בַּלַّא

7.6.6. Hebrew of Consonantal Text of Masoretic Tradition

Daniel 9:24 קְדֶשֶׁרלָּא

7.7. Coptic of Daniel 9:24

The translation of the Coptic in Henry Tattam of 1836 and the Manuscript of 1374 both used the Bohairic Infinitive for Cause "to anoint" in Ms. Or. 1314 as ἐπιζηθήκον and in Henry Tattam of 1836 as eπιζηθηκον render the Hebrew of the Consonantal text which is קדשה. It is said that the Coptic follows the "Septuagint" but notice that the Coptic is correctly using the word "holy" after town or city ]baki equab, but the translation is uniquely "upon my holy town/city" with the addition of the first personal pronoun [I] at the beginning of the noun for city meaning that the Hebrew may have read וְיֹשֵׁב. This could have happened by a slip of the hand bad

handwriting) of the original copy of the Vorlage to the Coptic reader for the translating scribes.55

7.7.1. Coptic Text

nebdomac ausatou ebol ejen peklaoc nem eden ]bakikeyu*epjinyrefjwk ebol nje vnobi nem pjinercvragizin nhannobi nem efw] ebol nnianomia nem epjin,w ebol nhan[injonc nem epjinini noudiay/k/ neneh nem epjinercvragizin nouhoracic nem ouprov/t/c nem epjinyw+hcmpeyouab nte n/eyouab (Coptic

7.7.2. Coptic Text British Library Or. 1314

nebdomac ausatou ebol ejen peklaoc nem eden ]bakikeyu*epjinyrefjwk ebol nje vnobi nem pjinercvragizin nhannobi nem efw] ebol nnianomia nem epjin,w ebol nhan[injonc nem epjininin* noudiay/k/ neneh nem epjinercvragizin nouhoracic nem ouprov/t/c nem epjinyw+hcmpeyouab nte n/eyouab (Coptic

7.7.3. Origin of the Variant in the Coptic

The origin of this addition in the Coptic is simple to see. The Hebrew Vorlage had a problem in that the letters were not clear, a case of the slip of the hand or bad handwriting. The aleph and the taw were similar. The problem originated this way:

7.7.4. Hebrew Reconstructed Text of the Coptic (1374 or 1836)

Daniel 9:24

7.7.5. Hebrew of Consonantal Text of Masoretic Tradition

Daniel 9:24

55Great help was obtained from Hany N. Takla, "The Coptic Biblical Book of Daniel," St. Shenouda Coptic Newsletter 1996: 5-9 who then in personal communication offered much help. Takla listed all the sources of the Coptic of Daniel that he could find: Bohairic Codices JR419 (Daniel); JR420 (Daniel); P58 (Minor Prophets and Daniel); P96 (Minor Prophets, Daniel); PL. Bibl. 11 (Isiah, Jeremiah, Daniel); PL. Bibl. 13 (Daniel Lamentation); SA. Bibl. 72 (Minor Prophets, Daniel); SA.Bibl. 73 (Minor Prophets, Daniel); SA.Bibl. 93 (Daniel, Minor Prophets); VB 123 (Daniel, Minor Prophets). The earliest book in his list is R. Tuki, Khidmat al-Asrar al-Mukaddasah. Rome: 1763. Other books on the Coptic text of Daniel are: F. Münter, Specimen versionem Danielis Copticarum, nonum eius caput Memphitice et Sahidice exhibens. Romae: 1786. E. Quatremere, Daniel et les douze petit Prophetes Manuscrits Coptes de la Bibliotheque Imperiale no. 2. Saint-Germain no. 21. Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothques Publies par l'Institut de France. VII. Paris: 1810. The one available to me is H. Tattam, Prophetas Majores in Dialecto Linguae Aegyptiacae Memphitica seu Coptica Edidit cum Versione Latina. T. H. Ezechiel et Daniel. Oxford: 1852. For Coptic Text of Daniel publications by other scholars like: J. Bardelli (1849); A. Ciasca (1889); G. Maspero (1892); W. Crum (1893); I. Cyrille (1899); J. Leopold (1904); W. Till (1936, 1937, 1952); L. Amundsen (1945); H. Quecke (1970); S. Pernigotti (1985); B. H. Pise (1987, 1998). It is better to consult the works of Hany N. Takla in the Coptic Newsletter cited above.
What appears to have happened here is that the error was correct supralinearly but that the reader or copyist of the notebook copied both the error and supralinear correction in-text. It is evidence of copy-practices that are of a degenerative kind and in originating in very difficult times due to factors we already touched upon earlier, book-burning, imperial library building projects, library thefts, book-banning decrees and persecution.

7.8. Ethiopic Text

The form of ṣḥwš in the Ethiopic translation is similar to that of the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition, namely in Ethiopic as ṣḥwš. If it was the same as the Syriac reading כרתמשיח which is שרת in Hebrew, then the Ethiopic would have been כרת.⁵⁶

8. Daniel 9:24 Poetically Analyzed

The poetic analysis of Daniel 9:24-26 was already done by scholars like William Shea.⁵⁷ Below we used his analysis of the poetic casting by Daniel but we add our analysis of the content of the Poetic units at the end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Text Transliterated</th>
<th>Stress accents</th>
<th>Poetic Rythm</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>šb’y m s’ ym nḥṭk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bicolon</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>topical sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘l-’mk w ‘l’y ţdšk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>lkl’ hpš’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tricolon</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>deals with negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wlrhtm ḫ’t wt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tricolon</td>
<td>B2</td>
<td>deals with negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wlrkpr ‘wn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B3</td>
<td>deals with negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c</td>
<td>wlrby ṣdq ‘lmym</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tricolon</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>provides positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wlrhtm ḫzwnn wnby’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tricolon</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>provides positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wlrnš ṣḏ qsḏym</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tricolon</td>
<td>C3</td>
<td>provides positive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of ṣḥṭk calls for attention since the etymology was not treated properly yet by scholars.⁵⁸ The niphal passive of the Hebrew root ṣḥṭk is found here and its meaning is based on the Mishnaic meaning of "cut off". However, this root was well known and used in Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian as ṣḥk in the meaning of "cut off" the head of a sheep or a rooster or other animals. The Mishnaic meaning of "cut off" would thus have a strong backing for a long time and reliable meaning for the times of Daniel and this verse in particular. What it means is that this shorter time period is "cut off" from the longer 2300 period in Daniel 8:14, meaning that the terminus ad quem of both are the same.

9. Daniel 9:24 and Daniel as Chronographer or Post-event Historian?

The so-called Septuagint in Daniel 9:27 is using the future tense ἐπι το ιερον βδελυγμα των ερημωσεων εσται and this is a strange tense presentation for a translation that is supposed to have originated after the book of Daniel was written in a post-Antiochus setting? It is supposed to be in the past tense. The Book of Maccabees author in 1 Maccabees 1:54 used the past tense expression ὕκοδομήσει βδελυγμα ερημωσως ἐπι το θυσιαστηριον.⁵⁹

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⁵⁶ See Löfgren 1927, 141 where the issue in Daniel 9:26 was recognized by Robert Hanhart, "Die Uebersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta als interpretation (Daniel 11.29 und die Agyptentzige des Antiochus Epiphanes)," in M. D. Batheley ed.,Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 38 (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1981), 135-157 especially 136-137 "So wird die in beiden Griechischen Ubersetzungen gleichlautende prophetische Aussage Daniels über die Niederlage der Aegypter beim zweiten Heerzug des Antiochs Epiphanes nach Aegypten, και ποιουσεν θρηματισει πολλοι (11.26b) in 1 Makkabieerbuch als geschichtliche Aussage lediglich in die Vergangenheit umformuliert και επες δη πρηματις πολλοι (line 18)." This tendency of the author of 1 Maccabees to use the past tense

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⁵⁷See Löfgren 1927, 141 where the issue in Daniel 9:26 was discussed with comparison to other texts like the Hebrew reading as follows:

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⁵⁸See Löfgren 1927, 141 where the issue in Daniel 9:26 was discussed with comparison to other texts like the Hebrew reading as follows:

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⁵⁹Jacques Doukhan discussed the rabbinic literature, Akkadian, Ugaritic and Arabic connections of the word and mostly, the meaning was to "cut-off." See J. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study," AUSS 17 (1979), 6 footnote 11.
It is amazing to notice that Jesus in his citation of the same passage of Daniel 9:27 in the Gospel of Mark at 13:14 ὅταν δὲ τῷ το βδέλυγμα τῆς ερημώσεως στηκότα used the future tense and in this process canceled Antiochus Epiphanes (past tense) out in line with the Septuagint form (future tense) and with the original Hebrew of Daniel (future tense). What this implies is that the hermeneutics of Daniel 9:24-27 events should not be connected to Antiochus Epiphanes but events that would be later than Jesus.

10. Conclusion

Finding the correct text of Daniel 9:24 implies making a measuring decision first, how to determine a ruler from which all texts will be measured. Using 4QDan and realizing that the text of the consonantal text of the Hebrew tradition is preserved almost 99% the same fix the scientific observation that the consonantal text of the Masoretic Tradition in the Hebrew is very reliable and stable. All other texts should thus conform or be evaluated with this form of the text. As all versions display problems of slips of various kinds in the copying and preservation of the text, they are tainted texts attempting to be originally very literal and truthful to the Hebrew but difficult times brought with it many variants due to the dependency on degenerative texts.

The form of Daniel 9:24 has been understood through the ages with forward reading by most interpreters but there was also back-reading to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes by the heathen interpreter Porphyry. Misunderstanding the year-day principle in Daniel's prophetic times, Porphyry was opposed by Jerome and others. The Arabic Jew of the Middle Ages, Yephet ibn Ali in the 10th century supported the year-day principle in Daniel 9:24. He did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah but agreed that there are 490 years involved here in Daniel 9:24. Understanding this principle opened-up startling discoveries to scholars through the centuries. The date of the start of the Messiah's work was predicted absolutely to the year (27 CE) and makes one understand why the Three Wise Men were able to calculate the birth of Christ in 4 BCE so accurately.

(Keywords)
textual criticism, textual analysis, degenerative scribal practices, slips, Daniel 9:24, year-day principle.

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for future tenses in the Hebrew original in Daniel 11:26-29 is applicable by extension also to Daniel 9:24-27 as we indicated here.


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다니엘 9:24을 본문분석에 입각하여 주해함

<Abstract>
다니엘 9:24을 본문분석에 입각하여 주해함

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본 연구에서 다니엘 9:24의 다양한 고대역본들을 검토하였다. 4QDan와 현대 헬라어로 본문이 1% 이상의 차이를 보이므로, 본문의 선택과 해석은 고대의 시각, 청각, 기억의 기술에 의존한 것이다. 이는 외국어의 차이를 보이며, 원문의 형태를 관련했고, 해석의 면에서 학자들이 연관법칙을 사용하여 다니엘의 예언적 시간을 올바로 이해하고 있음이 알려졌다. 그러나, 포르피리에 페르리사가 안티오쿠스에피파네스에게 적용되었으며, 제롬을 실망시켰다. 10세기 유대인 아랍 주석가 예펫 이븐 알리 역시 다니엘 9:24을 연관법칙을 적용하여 490년을 제안하였다.

마소렛 전승의 본문을 비교해 보면, 해석의 이해여건에서 하학자들이 이의 필요성을 인식하고, 해석의 이해법을 교육해 주는 것에 도움이 된다.