THE INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF DANIEL 12:2 AND ISAIAH 26:19:
EVIDENCE FROM QUMRAN AND THE GREEK VERSIONS

Daniel P. Bailey

The language of ‘awakening’ from the sleep of death in Daniel 12:2 is apparently borrowed directly from Isaiah 26:19: ‘Awake (וּהָקִיצ) and shout for joy, you dwellers in the dust!’ (MT). But while this echo has been recognised by scholars both ancient (Jerome) and modern, there remains a question about the underlying text. As M. Hengel has rightly noted, the verbal parallel is closer if we assume that the text of Isaiah 26:19 read by the author of Daniel contained not the hif‘il imperative לָקִיצ תְּפוּר preserved in the MT, but the imperfect ייקצו attested in 1QIsa. The verb forms in Daniel and Isaiah are then identical:

Daniel 12:2

וְרַבִּים מִיְּשֵׁנֵי אַדְמַת־עָפָר יָקִיצוּ

Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake...

Isaiah 26:10

1QIsa:

יקצו וירננו שוכני עפר

The dwellers in the dust will awake and shout for joy.

MT:

רוּ וְרַנְּנוּ שֹׁכְנֵי עָעָהָקִיצ

Awake and shout for joy, you dwellers in the dust!

While it is tempting to ask whether the texts of Daniel and Isaiah could have influenced one other in Qumran, my question here concerns another part of the textual tradition—the currency of the textual tradition—the currency of the

Qumran text of Isaiah 26:19 among the Vorlagen of the Greek versions. Hengel believes that the Septuagint translator together with his later revisers used a Vorlage that included the imperfect כירכוע, as in 1QIsa. This is suggested by the future tenses of the verbs ἐγερθήσονται in the LXX and ἔξυπνισθήσονται in the minor versions. These Greek verbs line up with the MT’s כירכוע, according to F. Field, or with כירכוע according to Hengel.

However, there may well be an error in Field’s Greek-Hebrew alignment. Hengel’s claim would then need modification. Field’s summary of the evidence in Isaiah 26:19 runs:

Expergiscimini. OV. καὶ ἐγερθήσονται. Οἱ λοιποί ἔξυπνισθήσονται. (Origenis Hexaplorum, 2:475)

I suggest by contrast that the Septuagint’s verb ejgerqhvsontai should be aligned opposite the preceding verb יְקוּמוּ, as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>Vulgate</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יְקוּמוּ</td>
<td>vivent mortui tui</td>
<td>ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί</td>
<td>Your dead will live,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>קִיץ</td>
<td>interfecti mei resurgent</td>
<td>καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις</td>
<td>their (lit. my) corpses will rise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נֵכֶר</td>
<td>expergiscimini</td>
<td>(Field’s alignment)</td>
<td>Awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וְרַנְּנוּ</td>
<td>et laudate (Field jubilate)</td>
<td>καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται</td>
<td>and shout for joy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שָׁכֶרֶר</td>
<td>qui habitatis in pulvere</td>
<td>οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ</td>
<td>you dwellers in the dust!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If this alignment is correct, then כירכוע is without a Greek equivalent, complicating Hengel’s attempt to use the Greek versions to prove the popularity of the Qumran reading כירכוע.

---

5 Cf. Hengel, ‘Zur Wirkungsgeschichte’, p. 60: ‘In Dan 12,2a stammt die Formulierung “viele der Schlafenden des Staublandes werden aufwachen” (.... לְרַבִּים מִיְּשֵׁנֵי אַדְמַת־עָפָר יָקִיצוּ,) aus Jes 26,19, “aufwachen und jubeln werden die Bewohner des Staubs” (יָקִיצוּ שֹׁכְנֵי עָפָר (st. כירכוע, so 1Q Jes A, LXX A, Θ, Z)). Here ‘LXX A’ is a misprint; read ‘LXX, A[quila]’.
My proposed alignment is suggested first by the structure of the Hebrew and Greek versions. Both have only three grammatical subjects in Isaiah 26:19a: ‘your dead’ = מֵתֶיך = οἱ νεκροί; ‘my corpses’ = נְבֵלָתִי = οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις; and the ‘dwellers of the dust’ = שֹׁכְנֵי עָפָר = οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ. Naturally these subjects are attached to verbs. There are four verbs in the Hebrew: קָוָמ, חָיָה (both qal impf.), קִיץ (hif. impv. MT, impf. 1QIsaα), and רָנַן (pi’el impv. MT, impf. 1QIsaα). The third of the three Hebrew subjects therefore has to take two verbs. In the Greek, however, the number of subjects and verbs matches, leaving one of the Hebrew verbs untranslated. Field implies that קוּמ is the untranslated verb, while Hatch and Redpath (Concordance) imply that there is no untranslated verb: ejgerqhvsontai supposedly reflects both קוּמ and קִיץ. But stylistically it would be more natural for the first two Greek verbs to correspond to first two Hebrew verbs. The LXX translator apparently took up the first subject and its verb, the second subject and its verb, and then the third subject and its nearest verb, which is clearly רָנַן = εὐφραίνω. This leaves קִיץ untranslated.

This alignment is also suggested by the Septuagint translator’s treatment of Isaiah 26:14. ‘The dead will not live; the departed spirits will not rise’ (מַתָּחַת בָּל־יִחְיוּ רְפָאִים בַּל־יָקוּמוּ, 26:14) is the negative counterpart of ‘Your dead will live, their corpses will rise’ (26:19)—at least in the Hebrew, where the first two verbs חָיָה and קוּמ match in each verse. In the LXX, however, these verbs are translated differently in the two verses: οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ζωὴν οὐ μὴ ἰδὼσιν, οὐδὲ ἱστροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσονται (26:14); ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ, καὶ ἐγείρονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (26:19). קוּמ is translated by ἀνίστημι in 26:14 but by ἐγείρω in 26:19—that is, if one accepts my alignment over Field’s. The sense of the Hebrew verb helps determine the alignment.

The verb קוּמ has the sense ‘to rise from the dead’ in Isaiah 26:14, 19 and at least three other OT passages: 2 Kings 13:21; Job 14:12; Psalm 88:11; usually the sense is negative, of the dead not being destined to rise (Is. 16:19 and 2 Ki. 13:21 are the exceptions). In all but Isaiah 26:19, קוּמ in this sense is rendered by ἀνίστημι. The translator uses this normal equivalent ἀνίστημι in Isaiah 26:14, but encounters a complication with ἀνίστημι. Instead of the MT pointing רְפָאִים, ‘shades, ghosts, departed spirits’, the translator of Isaiah 26:14 (as well as the translator of Ps. 88 [LXX 87:11] has read ἱστροί, ‘healers, physicians’, and has translated it accordingly by ἱστροὶ, as in 2 Chronicles 16:12 and Job 13:4. Yet the Greek still
makes sense if ἀνίστημι is understood transitively with ἰατροὶ as subject: ‘physicians will not raise [sc. them]’ (Is. 26:14).

A different translation procedure is used in Isaiah 26:19. Here, the translator uses ἀνίστημι intransitively (cf. 2 Ki. 13:21; Jb. 14:12), not for the second verb קום as in 26:14 but for the first verb חָיָה, ‘to live’. This is a free and very unusual translation of חָיָה, occurring only twice in the OT (Is. 26:19; 38:9), despite 282 OT occurrences of חָיָה and 423 occurrences of ἀνίστημι. But this use of ἀνίστημι for the first verb in Isaiah 26:19 forces a new translation for the second verb: נְבֵלָתִי יְקוּמוּן becomes καὶ ἐγείρησονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. The ‘corpses’—or ‘those in the graves’ in the Greek (cf. Jn. 5:28)—will ‘rise’. The equivalence of ἔγειρο (usually aorist passive) and מַחַר in the weakened sense of ‘rising’ or setting out to take action is common enough in the LXX (1 Ch. 10:12; 22:19; 2 Ch. 21:9; 22:10), but Isaiah 26:19 is the only place in the OT where both מַחַר and ἔγειρο have the sense of rising from the dead (cf. τολμᾶ κοῆς = τὸ κοράσιον ἔγειρε, Mk. 5:41). This alone is enough to suggest their translational equivalence here.

Field’s alignment of ἔγειρο with קִיץ in Isaiah 26:19 depends on the translation equivalents elsewhere in the LXX. In the aorist passive especially, ἔγειρο can denote ‘rising’ or ‘awakening’ from sleep, translating מַחַר (Gn. 41:4, 7; Je. 28:39). The required sense of awakening from the sleep of death occurs in 2 Kings 4:31, where the Shunammite’s dead son at first ‘did not awaken’ (οὐκ ἠγέρθη = לֹא הֵקִיץ). But even when it clearly has this sense of ‘rising’ from sleep, ἔγειρο may correspond not to מַחַר but to מַחַר, ‘arise’, as in Proverbs 6:9 (future passive). There is therefore no necessary equivalence between ἔγειρο and מַחַר in Isaiah 26:19. Field is probably right to suggest that the reading of the minor versions, ἐξυπνισθήσονται, ‘they shall awake from sleep’ (cf. Job 14:12), was inspired by מַחַר rather than by מַחַר. But this only proves that the revisers glanced at מַחַר once the three-verb structure of the LXX was already fixed; it does not determine the original LXX alignment.

Nevertheless, Hengel’s thesis about the popularity of the Qumran text type is still tenable. The renderings of the fourth verb מַחַר in Isaiah 26:19 are all future, suggesting an imperfect רָנַן, as in 1Q1saa: εὕφρανθησόνται (LXX), αἰνέσουσιν (Aq.), ἀγαλλιάσονται (Sym.), ἀλαλάξουσιν (Theod.). Since רָנַן is stylistically inconceivable apart from a preceding imperfect קים, the latter can probably be presupposed in the Vorlagen of all the Greek versions. The author of Daniel 12:2 was indeed reading a
BAILEY: Daniel 12:2 and Isaiah 26:19

popular text.
Daniel 12:1-3, Studies on Old Testament texts from Series B, Ralph W. Klein, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago. "The Day of the Lord," "The General Resurrection," Larry Broding's Word-Sunday.Com: A Lectionary Resource for Catholics. "How do these words of Daniel comfort you? How does God's presence and protection give you hope?" Bailey, Daniel P., "The Intertextual Relationship of Daniel 12:2 and Isaiah 26:19: Evidence from Qumran and the Greek Versions," Tyndale Bulletin, 2000. EBSCO ATLASerials, Religion Collection EBSCO ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials. Block, Daniel I., "Preaching Old Testament Apocalyptic to a New Testament Church," Calvin Theological Journal, 2006. The Theodotion version of Daniel was known to the New Testament writers, so it could not have been written by a putative second century person known by that name. 2 Daniel is unusual in that ii 4a-vii 28 are written in Aramaic in our known witnesses to the Hebrew Bible. Even where there are no pluses or minuses in these chapters the Greek versions share little relationship with regard to style, grammar, and, more importantly, vocabulary. distinction between the Vorlage for the OG and the MT. S. Pace Jeansonne, The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12 (GBQMS 19; Washington, DC, 1988), p. 131. Though he has not given evidence to support his view, Ulrich has suggested that the OG translation for chapters i-xii "is of one piece". 12:11-12 as composed just before the rededication of the Temple on 25. four empires of Daniel 2 and 7 are Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece, even though the author clearly states that the Medes and Persians. Afterwards, the court will abolish his. dominion (7:26), and the sovereignty, power, and greatness of the. kingdoms under the whole heaven will be handed over to the saints, the. people of the Most High (7:27).