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

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The language of 'awakening' from the sleep of death in Daniel 12:2 is apparently borrowed directly from Isaiah 26:19: 'Awake (קָנָה) and shout for joy, you dwellers in the dust!' (MT). But while this echo has been recognised by scholars both ancient (Jerome)1 and modern,2 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 קָנָה preserved in the MT, but the imperfect קָנָה attested in 1QIsa3. The verb forms in Daniel and Isaiah are then identical:

Daniel 12:2

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

Isaiah 26:10

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

MT: 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.

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 נק', as in 1QIsa. This is suggested by the future tenses of the verbs ἐγερθήσονται in the LXX and εξουσιοδοθήσονται in the minor versions. These Greek verbs line up with the MT’s נק', according to F. Field, or with נק' 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:

Han, Expergiscimini. Ο', καὶ ἐγερθήσονται. Οἱ λοιποὶ εξουσιοδοθήσονται. (Origenis Hexaplorum, 2:475)

I suggest by contrast that the Septuagint’s verb ἐγερθήσονται should be aligned opposite the preceding verb נק', as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>Vulgate</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>נק'</td>
<td>vivent mortui tui</td>
<td>ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ</td>
<td>Your dead will live,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נק'</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>נק'</td>
<td>expergiscimini</td>
<td>(Field’s alignment)</td>
<td>Awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נק'</td>
<td>et laudate (Field jubilate)</td>
<td>καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται</td>
<td>and shout for joy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נק'</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 נק' is without a Greek equivalent, complicating Hengel’s attempt to use the Greek versions to prove the popularity of the Qumran reading נק'.

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’ = לָדְתָה = ὀνίς νεκροὶ; ‘my corpses’ = רָפָא = ὁ ὄνομα τῶν νεκρών; and the ‘dwellers of the dust’ = רַפָא = ὁ ὄνομα τῶν νεκρών. Naturally these subjects are attached to verbs. There are four verbs in the Hebrew: יָנָד, כָּפָי (both qal imp f.), כָּפָי (hif. impv. MT, impf. Qisaa), and כָּפָי (pi’el impv. MT, impf. Qisaa). 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 כָּפָי is the untranslated verb, while Hatch and Redpath (Concordance) imply that there is no untranslated verb: ἐγερθῆσονται supposedly reflects both כָּפָי and כָּפָי. 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 כָּפָי = ὑφραίνω. This leaves כָּפָי 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’ (יוֹתֵן כָּפָי כָּפָי כָּפָי כָּפָי, 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 יָנָד and כָּפָי match in each verse. In the LXX, however, these verbs are translated differently in the two verses: οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ὁμιλοῦν ὑπὸ μὴ ἔδωκαν, οὐδὲ ἱατροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσονται (26:14); ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (26:19). כָּפָי is translated by ἀνάστημι 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 כָּפָי 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, כָּפָי in this sense is rendered by ἀνάστημι. The translator uses this normal equivalent ἀνάστημι in Isaiah 26:14, but encounters a complication with כָּפָי. Instead of the MT pointing כָּפָי, ‘shades, ghosts, departed spirits’, the translator of Isaiah 26:14 (as well as the translator of Ps. 88 [LXX 87:11] has read כָּפָי, ‘healers, physicians’, and has translated it accordingly by ἱατροῖ, 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 ἄρπ as in 26:14 but for the first verb ἄν, ‘to live’. This is a free and very unusual translation of ἄν, occurring only twice in the OT (Is. 26:19; 38:9), despite 282 OT occurrences of ἄν 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: ἀπέριπτον ἐμμετρεῖται ὁ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. The ‘corpses’—or ‘those in the graves’ in the Greek (cf. Jn. 5:28)—will ‘rise’. The equivalence of ἐγείρω (usually aorist passive) and ἄρπ 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 ἄρπ and ἐγείρω have the sense of rising from the dead (cf. ταλίθα κομμ = το korázion ἐγείρε, Mk. 5:41). This alone is enough to suggest their translational equivalence here.

Field’s alignment of ἐγείρω with ἄρπ in Isaiah 26:19 depends on the translation equivalents elsewhere in the LXX. In the aorist passive especially, ἐγείρω can denote ‘rising’ or ‘awakening’ from sleep, translating ἄρπ (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 ἐγέρθη = καὶ ἐμμετρεῖται ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις). But even when it clearly has this sense of ‘rising’ from sleep, ἐγείρω may correspond not to ἄρπ but to ἄρπ, ‘arise’, as in Proverbs 6:9 (future passive). There is therefore no necessary equivalence between ἐγείρω and ἄρπ in Isaiah 26:19. Field is probably right to suggest that the reading of the minor versions, ἐξαπνοοῦσανταί, ‘they shall awake from sleep’ (cf. Job 14:12), was inspired by ἄρπ rather than by ἄρπ. But this only proves that the revisers glanced at ἄρπ 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 ἄρπ in Isaiah 26:19 are all future, suggesting an imperfect ἄρριπ, as in 1Q1sa: εὐφανερῶσσονται (LXX), αἰνοσουσιν (Aq.), ἀγαλλίασονται (Sym.), ἀλαλάξουσιν (Theod.). Since ἄρριπ is stylistically inconceivable apart from a preceding imperfect ἄρπ, the latter can probably be presupposed in the Vorlagen of all the Greek versions. The author of Daniel 12:2 was indeed reading a popular text.