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 (וּהָקִיצ) 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 וּהָקִיצ preserved in the MT, but the imperfect יְקִיצו attested in 1QIsa\(^3\). 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


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 יְקִיצוּ, 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 יְקִיצוּ, according to F. Field, or with יְקִיצוּ 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 λοιποὶ ἔξυπνισθήσονται. (Origenis Hexaplorum, 2:475)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>Vulgate</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>הָקִיצוּ</td>
<td>vivent mortui tui</td>
<td>ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ</td>
<td>Your dead will live,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָכְלָרי</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>יְקִיצוּ</td>
<td>expergiscimini</td>
<td>(Field’s alignment)</td>
<td>Awake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>רַנְּנוּ</td>
<td>et laudate (Field jubilate)</td>
<td>καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται</td>
<td>and shout for joy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שְׁכֵנִי ‹שֶׁ›פֶר</td>
<td>qui habitatis in pulvere</td>
<td>οἱ ἐν τῷ γὺ</td>
<td>you dwellers in the dust!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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5 Cf. Hengel, ‘Zur Wirkungsgeschichte’, p. 60: ‘In Dan 12,2a stammt die Formulierung “viele der Schlafenden des Staublandes werden aufwachen” (...ἀρνητὴν μισθίσας σωμάτερον...κρηστεύσας), aus Jes 26,19, “aufwachen und jubeln werden die Bewohner des Staubs” (יְקִיצוּ שְׁכֵנִי ‹שֶׁ›פֶר [st. יְקִיצוּ, so 1Q Jes A, LXX A, Θ, Σ]). 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’ = מֵתֶיךָ = οἱ νεκροὶ; ‘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: קוּם, חָיָה (both qal impf.), קִיץ (hif. impv. MT, impf. 1QIsa), and רָנַן (pi’el impv. MT, impf. 1QIsa). 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 קוּם is the untranslated verb, while Hatch and Redpath (Concordance) imply that there is no untranslated verb: ejgerqhvsontai supposedly reflects both קוּם 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’ ( אתְם בַּל־יִחְיוּ רְפָאִים בַּל־יָקוּמוּ) 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 קוּם and חָיָה match in each verse. In the LXX, however, these verbs are translated differently in the two verses: οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ζωὴν οὐ μὴ ἰδώσουν, οὐδὲ ἱατροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνασήσωσιν (26:14); ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ, καὶ ἐγείρῃσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (26:19). קוּם 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 קוּם 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, קוּם in this sense is rendered by ἀνίστημι. The translator uses this normal equivalent ἀνίστημι in Isaiah 26:14, but encounters a complication with קִיץ. Instead of the MT pointing קִיץ, ‘shades, ghosts, departed spirits’, the translator of Isaiah 26:14 (as well as the translator of Ps. 88 [LXX 87:11] has read קִיץ, ‘healers, physicians’, and has translated it accordingly by ἵατροί, as in 2 Chronicles 16:12 and Job 13:4. Yet the Greek still
makes sense if ἀνίστημι is understood transitively with ἰατροί 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 ἐρήμος as in 26:14 but for the first verb ὁρῶ, ‘to live’. This is a free and very unusual translation of ἀνίστημι, occurring only twice in the OT (Is. 26:19; 38:9), despite 282 OT occurrences of ἀνίστημι 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: ἔγειρον 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 ἐρήμος and ἔγειρον have the sense of rising from the dead (cf. τολμᾶ κοῦμ = τὸ κοράσιον ἔγειρε, Mk. 5:41). This alone is enough to suggest their translational equivalence here.

Field’s alignment of ἔγειρον with קִיץ in Isaiah 26:19 depends on the translation equivalents elsewhere in the LXX. In the aorist passive especially, ἔγειρον can denote ‘rising’ or ‘awakening’ from sleep, translating קִיץ (Gn. 41:4; 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, ἔγειρον may correspond not to קִיץ but to בָּשָׂם, ‘arise’, as in Proverbs 6:9 (future passive). There is therefore no necessary equivalence between ἔγειρον and קִיץ 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 קִיץ rather than by בָּשָׂם. But this only proves that the revisers glanced at קִיץ 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 רָנַן in Isaiah 26:19 are all future, suggesting an imperfect רָנַה, as in 1QIsa: εὐφρανθήσονται (LXX), αἰνέσουσιν (Aq.), ἀγαλλιάσονται (Sym.), ἀλαλάξουσιν (Theod.). Since רָנַה is stylistically inconceivable apart from a preceding imperfect רָנַה, the latter can probably be presupposed in the Vorlagen of all the Greek versions. The author of Daniel 12:2 was indeed reading a
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popular text.