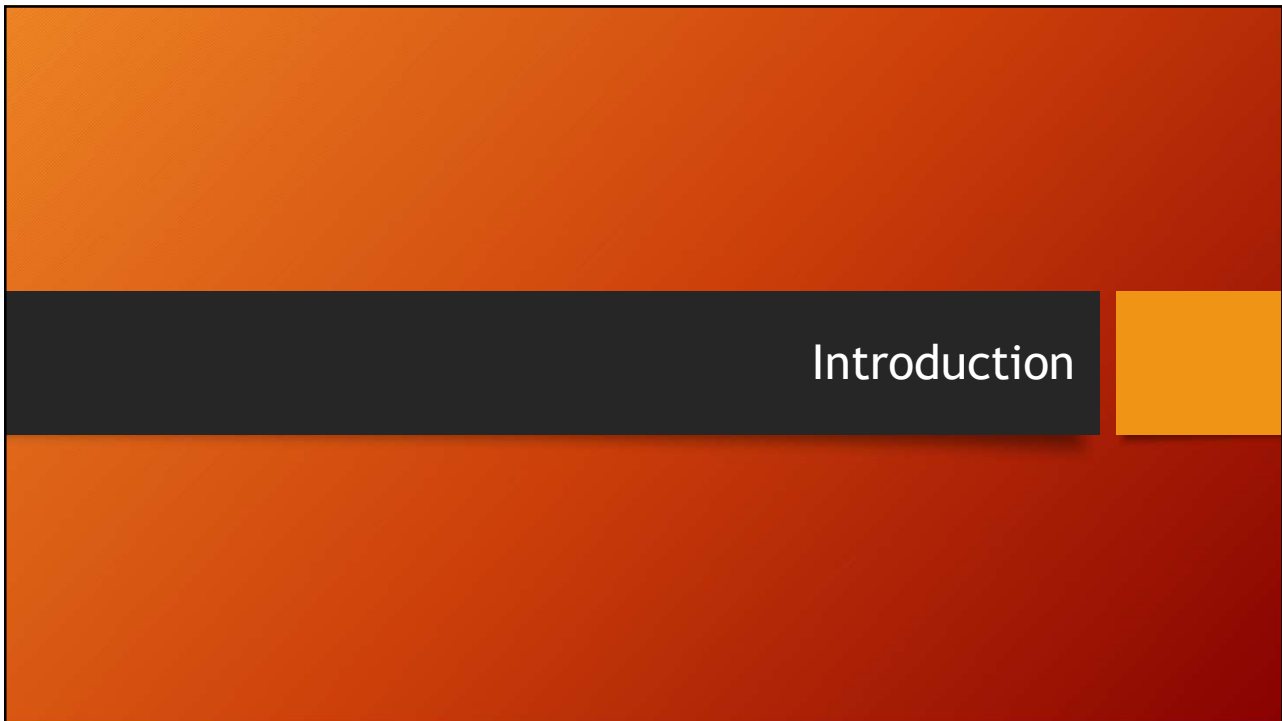


1



2

Introduction

- Our focus in this presentation will be on Dan 11:16-17, but not in a way that confines us to this passage. On the contrary, if explaining something means placing it in context, then at least part of our task will be to show how other passages affect our understanding of this one.
- In what follows I will attempt to show that vs. 16 is the point at which Greece gives way to Rome in the prophecy.

3

Dan 11:16 (Part 1)

Words 1 & 2: w^eya 'aś . . . kiršōnô (Dan 8:4)

4

Dan 11:16 (Part 1)

- We begin by considering the first four words of vs. 16 in MT. Each of these has a parallel back to Dan 8, or Dan 9, or something internal to Dan 11. All four terms are informed by textual parallels.

5

Verse 16 (Part 1): Parallel to Dan 8

- Words 1 & 4: *w^eyā 'as' . . . kirṣônô* = “and he will do as he wills”
- The first and fourth terms in the opening clause come together to form an expression that is repeated in Dan 8:4; 11:3, 16, 36.

6

Verse 16 (Part 1): Parallel to Dan 8

Reference	Hebrew	ESV	Empire
Dan 8:4	<i>w^e 'āśa kirṣônô</i>	“He did as he pleased”	II
Dan 11:3	<i>w^e 'āśa kirṣônô</i>	“and do as he wills”	III
Dan 11:16	<i>w^eya 'as' . . . kirṣônô</i>	“shall do as he wills”	(at issue)
Dan 11:36	<i>w^e 'āśâ kirṣônô</i>	“shall do as he will”	IVb

Notice that only in Dan 11:16 is the formula divided.

7

Dan 11:16 (Part 2)

Word 2: habbā' (Dan 9:26)

8

Verse 16 (Part 2): Parallel to Dan 9

- Word 2: *habbā'* = “he who comes,” or “the comer”
- Parallel: Dan 9:26
 - “And after the sixty-two weeks, an anointed one shall be cut off and shall have nothing. And the people of the prince who is to come [*nāgīd habbā'*] shall destroy the city and the sanctuary.”
- The term *habbā'* occurs only twice in Daniel. The first time it refers to “the prince who is to come” (9:26), and the second time to “the one who comes against him” (11:16).
- It is a separate question who the “comer” comes against.

9

Verse 16 (Part 2): Parallel to Dan 9

Vs. 15	Vs. 16
Then the king of the north shall come and throw up siegeworks and take a well-fortified city.	But he who comes against him shall do as he wills,
And the forces of the south shall not stand, and even his best troops,	and none shall stand before him.
for there shall be no strength to stand.	And he shall stand in the glorious land , with destruction in his hand.

After defeating the king of the South in vs. 15, who controls Judea? Answer: the king of the North. If so, who “shall stand” in the glorious land at the end of the next verse? And whoever this is, when vs. 16 comes to a close, has he done it yet?

10

Verse 16 (Part 2): Parallel to Dan 9

- By the end of vss. 5-15 South has lost Judea and is powerless, and the king of the North has gained Judea and is powerful.
- In vs. 16 someone who has not yet done so “shall stand” in Judea. This can only be a new power in the prophecy.

11

Dan 11:16 (Part 3)

Word 3: 'ēlāyw (Dan 11:23)

12

Verse 16 (Part 3): Parallel to Vs. 23

- Word 3: *'ēlāyw* = “against him”
- Parallel: Dan 11:23
- The term *'ēlāyw* occurs four times in Daniel: twice in Dan 8 (vss. 6, 7), twice in Dan 11 (vss. 16, 23). Thus, within the chapter, *'ēlāyw* occurs only here and in vs. 23.
- We return to this point below.

13

Dan 11:16 (Summary)

14

Dan 11:16 (Summary)

- Each of the first four words in vs. 16 participates in a meaningful parallel. The relationships can be summarized with square brackets as follows:
 - [*w^eya* 'as' [*habbā* ' 'ēlāyw] *kirṣônô*]
- Only here does this formula separate to make room for intervening material. The Dan 9 term is center embedded within the Dan 8 formula.

15

Dan 11:16 (Summary)

- Two ideas come together here:
- The first is that a new power is being introduced: [*w^eya* 'as' . . . *kirṣônô*].
- The second is that this new power can be explicitly identified. It does two things: (a) destroys Messiah and (b) destroys Jerusalem.

16

Dan 11:17

“The Daughter of Women”

17

Dan 11:17: “The Daughter of Women”

- Supporting what has just been said, I suggest that “the daughter of women” is a coded expression referring to the city of Jerusalem, in the context of Dan 9:26b and the events of AD 70.
- We now divide vs. 17 up into small pieces:

18

Dan 11:17

Seg	Hebrew	ESV
1	<i>w^eyāsēm pānāyw</i>	He shall set his face
2	<i>lābō` b^etōqep kol mallkûtô</i>	to come with the strength of his whole kingdom
3	<i>wīšārīm`immô</i>	and he shall bring terms of an agreement
4	<i>w^e`āsâ</i>	and perform them (lit. "and he did")
5	<i>ûbat hannāšīm</i>	the daughter of women
6	<i>yitten-lô</i>	He shall give him
7	<i>l^ehašhîtah</i>	to destroy the kingdom (lit., "to destroy her")
8	<i>w^elô` ta`amôd</i>	but it shall not stand (lit., "but she shall not stand")
9	<i>w^elô`-lô tihyeh</i>	or be to his advantage (lit., "or be his")

19

Dan 11:17

- We will look at the material in reference to the ancient versions. Those on my list include Old Greek (OG) and Theodotian (Th), the Syriac Peshiṭta, and two Geez manuscript groups.
- The question is what readings of the Hebrew would be required to account for what we find in the available ancient versions.

20

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *w'śh/y'śh*

Ancient Versions: Segment 4

21

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *w'śh/y'śh*

- Hebrew *wîšārîm 'immô w^e'ašâ* (verse segment 4) is difficult. Not only is this so because it makes awkward Hebrew, but because it does not account for any for the readings found in ancient versions.

22

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *wʿśh/yʿśh*

Source	Text	Gloss	1	2	3
Hebrew	<i>wʿāśâ</i>	“he made”	Make	Past	Active
Greek (OG)	<i>poiēsetai (pass)</i>	“will be made”	Make	Future	Passive
Greek (Th)	<i>poiēsei (act)</i>	“he will make”	Make	Future	Active
Syriac	<i>neʿbar</i>	“he will pass through”	Pass through	Future	Active
Geez 1	<i>wayʿgabr</i>	“and he will do”	Do (=make)	Future	Active
Geez 2	<i>yahēlfū</i>	“he will pass through”	Pass through	Future	Active

Segment 4: MT *wʿāśâ*

23

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *wʿśh/yʿśh*

- Li points out that the passage would make more sense if we were to read *wʿāśâ* (< *wʿśh*) alternatively as *yaʿśeh* (< *yʿśh*). Thus, “he will form alliances with him.”
- There is a vanishingly small difference visually between *waw* /*w*/ and *yodh* /*y*/ in early Hebrew manuscripts. *Waw* is slightly longer, but the two strokes are quite similar, and they are often confused:
 - Th: *poiēsei* “he will do”
 - Geez 1: *wayʿgabr* “and he will do”

24

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *w ʿśh/y ʿśh*

- We have already mentioned the Syriac, which has a unique reading (*ne ʿbar* “he will pass through”) not based on the Hebrew or on either Greek translation. Geez 2 (*yaḥēlfū* “he will pass through”) uses a different root but follows the sense of the Syriac.
- A version we have not yet accounted for is OG (*poiēsetai* “it will be done”).
- The question is why the one Greek version should be passive, when the other is active. And notice that the one which is passive is the older of the two.

25

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *w ʿśh/y ʿśh*

- At this point we must make a distinction between consonants and vowels. It is one thing to reconstruct consonantal readings, but another to decide what vowels should be used.
- If we propose a reconstruction with its vowels, we are doing two things at once. It would be prudent to reconstruct the consonants first, and then add the vowels later. So rather than the entire word *ya ʿaśeh*, let us reconstruct only the consonant letters *y ʿśh*.

26

Dan 11:17 (Part 1): *w'śh/y'śh*

- We now have two choices:
 - Th, reading unpointed Hebrew, vocalizes *y'śh* as *ya'āśeh* (Qal impf), which is Li's preferred reading. Thus, *poiēsei* "he will do." The king will make an agreement.
 - OG, reading the same unpointed Hebrew letters, vocalizes *y'śh* as *yē'āśeh* (Niphal impf). Thus, *poiēsetai* "it will be done." An agreement will be made with him. The king does not initiate the agreement.
- Both vocalizations are equally valid and both have equal levels of version support.

27

Dan 11:17 (Part 2): *ytn*

Ancient Versions: Segment 6

28

Dan 11:17 (Part 2): *ytn*

- Hebrew *yitten-lô* (verse segment 6) accounts for the meaning of both Greek translations. Both are active.
- But the above reading does not account for Syriac, Geez 1, or Geez 2. Here the meaning is passive.
- At issue is whether the “daughter of women” is given or received.

29

Dan 11:17 (Part 2): *ytn*

Source	Text	Gloss	1	2	3	4
Hebrew	<i>yitten-lô</i>	“he will give to him”	He	Will give	[Daughter]	To him
Greek (OG)	<i>dōsei autō</i>	“he will give to him”	He	Will give	[Daughter]	To him
Greek (Th)	<i>dōsei autō</i>	“he will give to him”	He	Will give	[Daughter]	To him
Syriac	<i>tety^eheb leh</i>	“will be given to him”	[Daughter]	Will be given		To him
Geez 1	<i>ṯ^etwahab lōtū</i>	“will be given to him”	[Daughter]	Will be given		To him
Geez 2	<i>ṯ^etwahab lōtū</i>	“will be given to him”	[Daughter]	Will be given		To him

Segment 6: MT *yitten-lô*

30

Dan 11:17 (Part 2): *ytn*

- The consonant letters (*ytn*) can be vocalized as either Qal active impf (*yitten* “he will give”), or Qal passive impf (*yuttan* “it will be given”).
- OG and Th convey the one sense (“he will give X to him”), while Syriac, Geez 1, and Geez 2 convey the other sense (“X will be given to him”). The preferred reading remains an open question at this point. Again, both are equally possible and both have equal support from ancient versions.

31

Dan 11:17 (Part 2): *ytn*

- Some ancient versions make two individuals grammatically visible in the narrative at this point, masking the presence of any second party. This is a matter of what the author wishes to emphasize.
- There is a subtle clue in a parallel passage, however, that the latter alternative is preferable.

32

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

33

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- We have looked at vs. 16 and vs. 17. We now move forward to vs. 23 and look back from there.
- Dan 11:23 says, “And from the time that an alliance is made [*hithabb^eerût*] with him [*'ēlāyw*] he shall act deceitfully [*ya 'aśeh mirmâ*], and he shall become strong with a small people.”
- It will not be possible to understand vs. 23 by looking only at anaphoric relationships. There are three factors we must keep in mind, not just one.

34

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- The three factors are:
 - 1. Alliance = *ûmin hiṯhabb^erût*
 - 2. Person = *'ēlāyw*
 - 3. Deceitful activity = *ya^aśeh mirmâ*
- Finding the correct antecedent for “him” and “he” will require that we deal with all three of the above elements, and not only with anaphoric relationships involving personal pronouns.

35

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Does vs. 23 refer back to vs. 22?
- Factors 1 and 2
 - Here we find both a “prince” and a “covenant.” All else equal, the “prince” could be an antecedent for “him” and the words “covenant” is close enough to “alliance” that these also could provide a match.
- Factor 3 (Missing)
 - But the third factor is missing. There are good textual reasons for thinking that the “prince of the covenant” is Christ. Discussing these goes beyond our topic. What we can say here is that nothing evil is said of the “prince.” He is portrayed as one who suffers harm, not one who inflicts it.
- Vs. 22 won't work.

36

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Does vs. 23 refer back to vs. 21?
- Factors 2 and 3
 - In vs. 21 we have a “contemptible person” (*nibzeh*), so the second two criteria fit well enough. The word “person” fits with “him”/“he,” and “contemptible” matches the idea of deceit.
- Factor 1 (Missing)
 - But the first criterion is missing. There is no “covenant” or “alliance.” In fact the angel goes out of his way to assert that the *nibzeh* gets what he wants without reaching any agreement.
- Vs. 21 won’t work.

37

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Does vs. 23 refer back to vs. 20?
- Factor 2
 - In vs. 20 we have a ruler, which is masculine and singular, so that part fits.
- Factors 1 and 3 (Missing)
 - But the first and third criteria are missing. There is no “alliance” and no deceitful activity. It is not wrong to collect taxes.
- Vs. 20 won’t work.

38

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Does vs. 23 refer back to vs. 19?
- Factor 2
 - Person
- Factors 1 and 3 (Missing)
- Vs. 19 won't work.

39

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Does vs. 23 refer back to vs. 18?
- Factor 2
 - Person
- Factors 1 and 3 (Missing)
- Vs. 18 won't work.

40

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- What about vss. 16-17?
- Factor 1 (Present)
 - The person or power active in vs. 17 is introduced in vs. 16 as “he who comes against him.” Whoever this is will qualify as a masculine single antecedent of “him” and of “he.”
- Factor 2 (Present)
 - Vs. 17 uses the term *yēšārîm*. This term is not entirely transparent, but it is commonly translated “terms of an agreement” (ESV), “a proposal of peace” (NASB), “an alliance” (NIV), “terms of peace” (RSV), or equivalent. There are many variations on this theme, but my point is that this is the theme around which those variations cluster. We have a good fit therefore for the requirements of factor 2.

41

Dan 11:23 (Three Parallels)

- Factor 3 (Present)
 - If the king makes it seem that he is giving (or receiving) something of value only “to destroy” it, he performs an act that looks benign in order to achieve a result that is not benign. That is deceptive behavior.
- Taken together, vss. 16-17 do work. They do provide a match for all three factors that we have been tracing back from vs. 23. See the summary table below:

42

Verse 23 and 16-17 (Three Parallels)

Vss. 16-17	ESV	Vs. 23	ESV
Vs. 17a	“Agreement”	Vs. 23a	“Alliance”
Vs. 16	“Against him” (<i>'ē/āyw</i>)	Vs. 23c	“With him” (<i>'ē/āyw</i>)
Vs. 17b	“Destroy” by giving	Vs. 23d	Act “deceitfully”

43

Discussion

44

Discussion

- At this point we have discussed vs. 16, vs. 17, and have worked back from vs. 23 to vss. 16-17 taking these verses together.
- We now consider three additional factors that will affect our understanding of vs. 17 and vs. 23.

45

Discussion (Part 1)

Verse 17: Vocalizing *ytn* as a passive

46

Discussion (Part 1)

- We have already talked about *ytn*, but there is a potential problem with using these letters to convey passive meaning in the present context, i.e., *yuttan* is masculine, whereas the “daughter of women” is feminine. So the proposal fails on a point of grammar. Or does it?
- Consider the attested examples of *yuttan* in MT. There are six of these in all.

47

Discussion (Part 1)

- In one case the subject of passive *yuttan* is masculine, as expected:
 - *mayim* “water” (Lev 11:38)
- In the other five cases it is feminine:
 - *naḥ^alātō* “inheritance” (Num 26:54)
 - *’et-hā’āreṣ hāzō’ t* “this land” (Num 32:5)
 - *’et-’abîšag haššunammîṯ* “Abishag the Shunamite” (1 Kgs 2:21)
 - *maššā’ šemed-p^erādîm ’adāmâ* “earth” (2 Kgs 5:17)
 - *[ḥokmâ]* “wisdom” (Job 28:15; see vs. 12)
- Just in passing, if anything anywhere in the Old Testament is feminine, surely it is Abishag.

48

Discussion (Part 1)

- Thus, it would appear that no gender distinction attaches to *yuttan* in the Old Testament. Whereas the hypothetically corresponding feminine form **tuttan* is expected five times over, it never occurs.

49

Discussion (Part 2)

Verse 17: The “daughter of women” as a reference to Jerusalem

50

Discussion (Part 2)

- In part 2 of the Discussion we take up the matter of whether the “daughter of women” is given by the king or to the king. I argue for the second alternative. The “daughter of women” is given to the king.

51

Discussion (Part 2)

- Dan 9:26 says, “And after the sixty-two weeks, an anointed one shall be cut off and shall have nothing. And the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary.”
- Notice that, in adjacent clauses, we have the destruction of both Messiah and Jerusalem. I suggest that the “daughter of women” in Dan 11:17 is a reference to “the city and the sanctuary” in Dan 9:26.
- I will share an additional reason for saying this a bit later.

52

Discussion (Part 2)

Lamentations	
Daughter of Edom	Lam 4:21
Daughter of Jerusalem	Lam 2:13, 15
Daughter of Judah	Lam 2:2, 5
Daughter of my people	Lam 2:11; 3:48; 4:3, 6, 10
Daughter of Zion	Lam 1:6; 2:1, 4, 8, 10, 18; 4:22
Virgin daughter of Judah	Lam 1:15
Virgin daughter of Zion	Lam 2:13
Widow (the city as)	Lam 1:1
Princess	Lam 1:1

x21

53

Discussion (Part 2)

Jeremiah: "Daughter"	
Daughter	Jer 31:22; 49:4
Daughter of my people	Jer 4:11; 6:26; 8:19, 21, 22; 9:1; 14:17
Daughter of Zion	Jer 4:31; 6:2, 23
Daughter of Egypt	Jer 46:11, 24
Daughter of Babylon	Jer 50:42; 51:33

x16

54

Discussion (Part 2)

Jeremiah: "Woman in Labor"	
//	Jer 6:24; 13:21; 30:6
//daughter of Zion	Jer 4:31
//inhabitant of Lebanon	Jer 22:23
//warriors of Moab	Jer 48:41
//warriors of Edom	Jer 49:22
//Damascus	Jer 49:24
//king of Babylon	Jer 50:43

X9 (46 examples in all)

55

Discussion (Part 2)

- Notice the parentage or line of descent:
 - 1. "The daughter of the king of the south" (vs. 6) = *bat melek hannegeb* (sg)
 - Masculine
 - Singular
 - 2. "The daughter of women" (vs. 17) = *bat hannāššim* (pl)
 - Feminine
 - Plural ("women")
- We can say that the reference to plural mothers is a figure of speech, but my point would be that saying "the daughter of the king of the south" is not a figure of speech. The two verses and the two women are not on the same level. They are not comparable.

56

Discussion (Part 3)

Verse 23: *hiṭhabb^{er}ūt* as an infinitive construct

57

Discussion (Part 3)

- Consider the word *hiṭhabb^{er}ūt*. This is an infinitive construct. As such, there is information it cannot supply. It would be possible that the king initiates the alliances referred to in vs. 23, but grammatically it would be preferable to argue that the alliances come to him; he does not initiate them.

58

Discussion (Part 3)

- The point of subtlety referred to earlier is that there is an element of mystery surrounding
 - the party who enters into alliances in 11:23,
 - and “the one who comes against him” in 11:16,
 - and “the prince who is to come” in 9:26,
 - and the little horn of 8:9 when it says “out of one of them came a little horn.”
- In each case there is an act of coming, and in each case there is an underspecification of information we might normally expect to receive. Daniel never explicitly identifies the fourth kingdom.

59

Discussion (Part 3)

- Here is the context for Dan 11:23, where “from the time that an alliance is made with him [*ûmin hiṯhabb^erût ’ēlāyw*] he shall act deceitfully,”
- It doesn’t say when “he shall make an alliance”; it says the time when an alliance would be made with him. The grammar seems to indicate that “he” is not the one who initiates the alliance.
- It would be consistent with this, in vs. 17, to say that an agreement will be made with him (*yuttan*), rather than “he shall bring terms of an agreement and perform them” (ESV), or even Li’s otherwise elegant suggestion, “he shall make an agreement with him.”

60

Discussion (Summary)

61

Discussion (Summary)

- My argument has been that a passive vocalization of *yʿśh* and *ytn* is possible, not that doing so is necessary.
- That the “daughter of women” is coded language for “the city and the sanctuary” (9:26b), and that it is not given by the king, but to the king.
- That the word *hiṯabb^erût*, being an infinitive construct, has the effect of masking certain information, and that it is the angel’s intent and purpose to do this.

62

Conclusion

63

Conclusion

- A consistent veil of mystery surrounds the emergence of the fourth empire in Daniel. A passive reading
 - Where *y'sh* = *yē'āśeh* and *ytn* = *yuttan*
- would convey this more effectively than an active reading
 - Where *y'sh* = *ya'āśeh* and *ytn* = *yitten*.

64

Conclusion

- Segments 3 and 4 of vs. 17 should be interpreted to mean: “and agreements shall be made with him” (*wišārîm ’immô yē ’āšeh* = Th, in vs. 17, which perfectly matches the wording of vs. 23, “and from the time that an alliance is made with him” (*ûmin hiṭhabb^{er}rût ’ēlāyw*)).
 - Passive in both cases.
- Similarly, segment 6 of vs. 17 should be interpreted to mean: “and the daughter of women shall be given to him.”
 - Passive here also.

65

Conclusion

- Using coded language to refer to Jerusalem in Dan 11 does no violence to what would otherwise be an unbroken series of literal interpretations. On the contrary, it avoids doing violence to the atmosphere of mystery that the angel carefully builds into his descriptions of the initial entry of the fourth empire in chaps. 8, 9, and 11.

66

Conclusion

- Notice the fact that *nāgîd habbā* (“the prince who comes”) and *w^ehā ’îr w^ehaqqōdeš yašhîl* (“they will destroy the city and sanctuary”) occur in the same clause of the same verse (9:26).
- There is a close relationship between “the prince who comes” in 9:26b and “the one who comes” in 11:16. (9:26b/11:16)
- And there is a close relationship between the destruction he causes in 9:26b and the destruction he causes in 11:17. (9:26b/11:17)

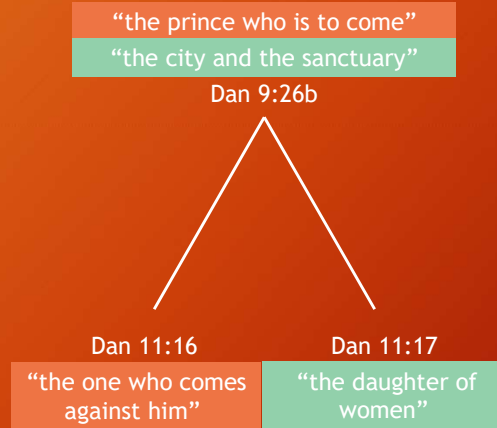
67

Conclusion

- These facts point to the entry of a new power at vs. 16. This is the point in the narrative where secular Rome makes its first appearance in the prophecy.
 - Dan 8:4 > Terms 1 & 4
 - Dan 9:26b > Term 2
 - Dan 11:23 > Term 3
- The reference to “the daughter of women” in vs. 17 is not an argument against this.
 - Dan 9:26b > From the same clause as term 2

68

Conclusion



69

Conclusion

- A web of relationships links “the one who comes against him” with earlier references to the fourth empire. In vs. 16 the angel is not saying again what he has already said in vs. 15. On the contrary, in vs. 16 he is introducing a new power. Rome.

70