Ancient and Early Modern Translations of Daniel 11:40-45

Frank W. Hardy, PhD Zoom Presentation, BASG, May 2, 2021



Introduction

- When reports are mentioned in the course of the presentation, this is a reference to materials available online at:
- http://www.historicism.org/BASG.html.

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Introduction

- Translations
 - Ancient
 - Early
- Levels of Analysis
 - Text
 - Chapter
 - Verse
 - Clause (question)
 - Reading (answer)

Introduction

Glosses

- Published translations of ancient languages into English have been used where available (Greek, Syriac, Latin).
- Otherwise, English glosses are my own (Armenian, Ge'ez, Old Church Slavonic, and what we here call early translations).
- Coptic came with a Latin gloss.

Introduction Outside help Armenian Hovsep Karapetyan (Rector, St Mary's Armenian Church, Washington, DC) Czech Jirí Moskala (Dean, SDA Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, MI) • Finnish Lisa Beardsley-Hardy (Director, GC/EDU, Silver Spring, MD) • Ge'ez Ted Erho (HMML, St John's University, Collegevale, MN) • German Gerhard Pfandl (GC/BRI retired, Burtonsville, MD) Barna Magyarosi (Executive Secretary, EUD, Berne, Switzerland) • Hungarian Icelandic Jón Hjörleifur Stefánsson (Icelandic doctoral student) • Polish Roman Kulicki (friend of Pastor Sam) I gratefully acknowledge the help I received from the above individuals. Any remaining problems or mistakes are solely my own doing.



Other Texts

• Spanish

- Reina Reina-Valera 1602
- Reina-Valera 1862
- Reina-Valera 1865
- Reina-Valera 1909

Other Texts

- Spanish
 - Reina
 - Reina-Valera
 - Reina-Valera
 - Reina-Valera 1865 1909

1569

1602

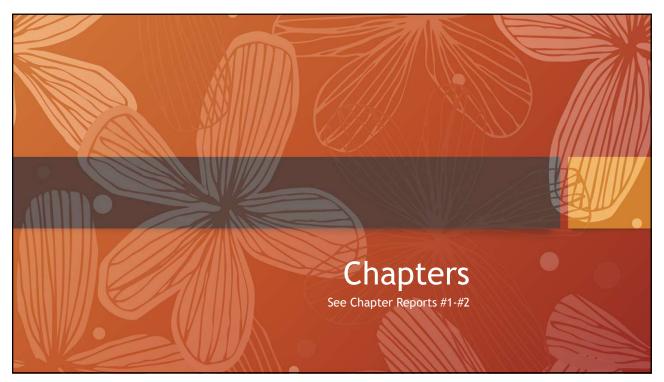
1862

• Reina-Valera

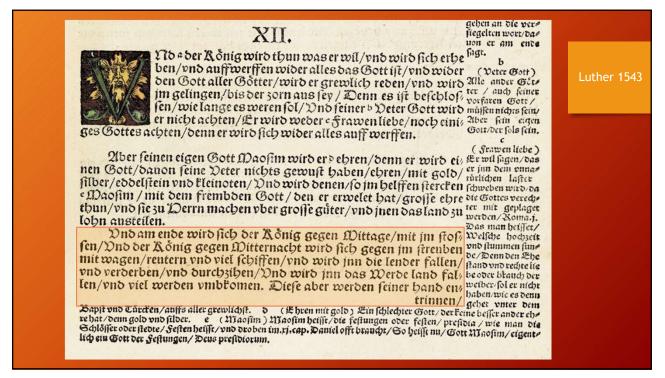
- Comparisons
 - 1569/1602 • 1602/1862
 - 1862/1865 • 1602/1909
- Differences on four lines only Every line identical

Differences on every line

Every line identical



IN CONSTRUCTION 175 a Saw 16	XII.	gehen an die vers fiegelten wort/das uon er am ende	
ben/vnd c ben Gott im geling fen/wie la er nicht ac	donig wird thun was er wil/ond u auffwerffen wider alles das Gott if aller Götter/wird er grewlich rede en/bis der zorn aus fey / Denn es unge esweren fol/Ond feiner b Det bten/Er wird weder e Frawen lieb	t/vnd wider (vere Gott) n/vnd wird 211e ander Str ift befcblof, ter / auch feiner er Gott wird mifen nichts fein ne/noch einig 21ber fein eigen	Luther 1543
Aber feinen eigen (nen Gott/danon feine filber/eddelstein vnd Ele Daosim / mit dem fri	n er wird fich wider alles auff werff Bott Maofim wird er debren/den Deter nichts gewuft haben/ebren tinoten/Ond wird denen/fo im hel emdden Gott/den er erwelet hat machen vber groffe güter/vnd inen	(Srawen liebe) n er wird ei Er wil fagen das n/mit gold/ er im dem onnas ffen ftereken faktes wurd da /groffe ehre die Gottes verech- loas land zu ter mit geplaget werden Zoma.j.	
Ond am ende wird fen/Ond der König ge mit wagen/reutern vnd vnd verderben/vnd dur	b fich der Adnig gegen Wittage/ gen Mitternacht wird fich gegen viel fchiffen/vnd wird inn die lei "chzihen/Ond wird inn das Wer nbkomen. Diefe aber werden fein	Das man beifer/ mit im ftof Weldhe bochseis im ftreuben voo fummen fune be/Denn ben 2be de land fal/ beoder bland, der her hand en, weber foler nicht besten wie a dem	
rethat/ cenn dolo ono more. e	grewlichft. d (Ebren mit gold) Ein schlec (Maosim) Maosim beist, die seltungen o fr/vnd droben im.rj.cap. Daniel offt braucht/S 20 presidiorum.	Dor Fallon / nualing	



. Cormon				
 German 1534 				
• 1545				
• 1741				
• 1784				



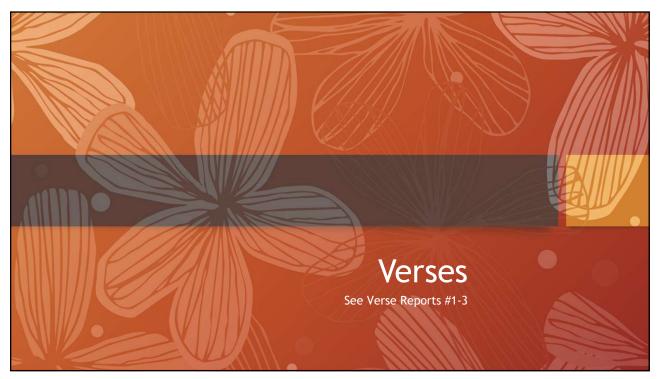
	• Danish				
• 1534	• 1550				
• 1545		• 1560			
• 1741		• 1648			
• 1784					





• German	• Danish	• Dutch	• Finnish	Icelandic	• Swedish	
• 1534	• 1550				• 1541	
• 1545					• [1703]	
• 1741		• 1648	n ann an san an T àr an 11 an t-			
• 1784		• [1548]				
		• [1562]				
		• [1637]				

Chapter	S				ľ
German • 1534 • 1545 • 1741 • 1784	• Danish • 1550 • [1607]	• 1542	• 1552	• Swedish • 1541 • [1703]	



Verses: Part 1 • No verse numbers (as late as 1584) • Danish 1550 • Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548 • English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540 • Finnish 1552 • French 1535, 1540 • German 1483, 1534, 1545 • Icelandic 1584

• Swedish 1541

Verses: Part 1

• Verse numbers (as early as 1560)

- Czech 1613
- Danish 1607
- Dutch 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648
- English 1560, 1572
- Finnish 1642, 1776
- French 1707, 1744
- German 1741, 1784
- Hungarian 1590
- Icelandic 1644, 1728
- Italian 1607

- Polish 1563, 1632
- Portuguese 1753, 1821
- Russian 1876
- Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- Swedish 1703

23

Verses: Part 1 No verse numbers (Dan 12 = 11:36 . . .) Danish 1550 Dutch 1542, 1548 Finnish 1552 German 1534, 1545 Icelandic 1584 Swedish 1541 Of those translations that follow Luther, the ones listed here do not have verse numbers. But one can see where the chapter begins, see where the passage is, and make the deduction.

Verses: Part 1

- Dan 12 = "12:1-23" (as late as 1644)
 - Dutch 1560
 - Icelandic 1644
- Dan 12 = "12:36-45, 1-13" (1648-1784)
 - Dutch 1648
 - Luther 1741, 1784

Certain translations which use verse numbers number Dan 12 as 12:1-23. Others number Dan 12 as 12:36-45, 1-13. The earliest of these dates from 1560. This is a later phenomenon, As the practice of starting Dan 12 at 11:36 was falling into disuse.





Pro HOINOIC KALENITTOICKALEICE rej'cerstetoxwyatiation KNENXWPANITICTOYOTKE CTALENATIT! OALA COLLUNE NOCKNEP THOETOTTOTTO TOTXPTCIOY KAITOTTOTTOT TOTAPTTPTOTKALTIACHONIC STIL OTANACAL TITTOYKA MBTCCE ANDIOITCCCOD THENIT WOX XOUTINTKY HAKOHTAPAZHAMONA MOANATOR WILL KAIBOPPA KALOSONO, OCT NENDYWW JexTpiokalpoudalas NEICHENANOKTEIN MOXAOTC UNTREEL THNTHAN CHHAT TEMAMOCONTES CWNKATO AHCEWCTO WPATTIC TOTKAS

¹πολλοῖς καὶ ἐν πλοίοις πολλοῖς καὶ είσε²λεύσεται είς χώραν Αἰγύπτου 41 καὶ ἐπελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χώραν μου, 42 ³καὶ ἐν χώρα Αἰγύπτου οὐκ ἔ⁴σται ἐν αὐτῇ διασῳζόμε⁵νος. 43 καὶ κρατήσει τοῦ τόπου ⁶τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τοῦ τόπου ⁷τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ πάσης τῆς ⁸ἐπιθυμίας Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ⁹Λίβυες καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἔσον¹⁰ται ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ αὐτοῦ. 44 καὶ ¹¹[η] ἀκοἡ ταράξει <u>αὐτὸν ἀ¹²πὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ βορρᾶ,</u> ¹³καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐν θυμῷ ἰ¹⁴σχυρῷ καὶ ῥομφαία ἀφα¹⁵ν[ε]ίσαι καὶ άποκτεῖν<u>αι ¹⁶πολλούς. 45 καὶ στήσει</u> <u>αὐτοῦ 17</u>τὴν [τιμην] σκηνὴν <u>τό</u>18τε ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν <u>θαλασ¹⁹σῶν</u> καὶ <u>τοῦ ὄρους</u> <u>τῆς θε</u>²⁰λήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου∙ καὶ ἥξει ²¹ὥρα τῆς συντελείας αὐ²²τοῦ, καὶ ούκ ἔσται ὁ βοηθῶν αὐτῷ.

P967 Dan 11:40-45 Köln

Papyrus 967

Dan 11:40-45 Göttingen

κατακυριεύσει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ χώραν ἀπομεριεῖ εἰς δωρεάν. ⁴⁰ καὶ καθ' ὥραν συτελείας συγκερατισθήσεται αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐποργισθήσεται αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς βορρᾶ ἐν ἅρμασι καὶ ἐν ἵπποις πολλοῖς καὶ ἐν πλοίοις πολλοῖς καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν Αἰγύπτου.

⁴² καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῃ̃ ὁ διασῳζόμενος. ⁴³ καὶ κρατήσει τοῦ τόπου τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Λίβυες καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ὅχλῳ αὐτοῦ. ⁴⁴ καὶ ἀκοὴ ταράξει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ βορρᾶ, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐν θυμῷ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ῥομφαία ἀφανίσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι πολλούς. ⁴⁵ καὶ στήσει αὐτοῦ τὴν σκηνὴν τὸτε ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν θαλασσῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου· καὶ ἥξει ὥρα τῆς συντελείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ βοηθῶν αὐτῷ.

Here is the corresponding passage in the Göttingen edition. Note that here, as in P967, LXX/OG lacks not only vs. 41, but part of 40d and all of 42a as well. Patching in a form of vs. 41 does not address these other related issues.

	< LXX/OG (Göttingen)
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν Αἰγύπτου.
41	
42	καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ διασῳζόμενος.
	Th (Göttingen)
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συντρίψει καὶ παρελεύσεται.
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συντρίψει καὶ παρελεύσεται.

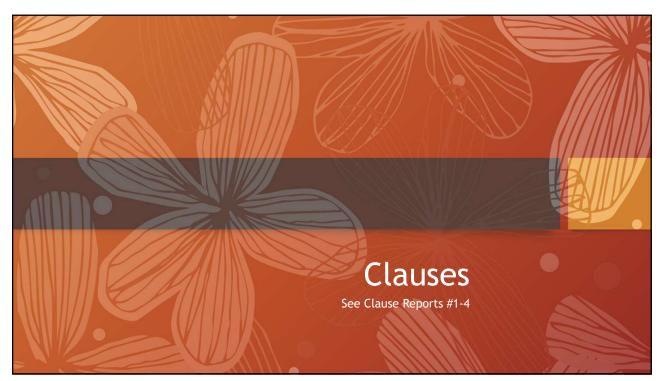
41		
42		καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ διασῳζόμενος.
reek	Th (Göttingen)	
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν κ	αὶ συντρίψει καὶ παρελεύσεται.
41	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ	ύ σαβαιν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀσθενήσουσι· καὶ οὗτοι
	διασωθήσονται ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ	, Εδωμ καὶ Μωαβ καὶ ἀρχὴ υἱῶν Αμμων.
42	καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆι	ν, καὶ γῆ <mark>Αἰγύπτου</mark> οὐκ ἔσται εἰς σωτηρίαν.

40d	And he will advance into the country	y of Egypt	t <mark>.</mark>
41			
42		And ther	e will be no one that is delivered in it.
40a 41			· · ·
Greek 40d	Th (Göttingen) And he will advance into the land	and will (crush and will pass by.
41			and many will fall weak, and these will Moab and the rule of the sons of Ammon.
42	And he will stretch out his hand agai	inst the	and the land of <mark>Egypt</mark> will not be for
	land,		saving.

	(LXX/OG (Göttingen)	
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν Αἰγύπτ	COU.
41		
42		καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ διασῳζόμενος.
25	Th (Göttingen)	
40d		συντρίψει καὶ παρελεύσεται.
41	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ σ	αβαιν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀσθενήσουσι· καὶ οὗτοι
	διασωθήσονται ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, Ε	δωμ καὶ Μωαβ καὶ ἀρχὴ υἱῶν Αμμων.
42	καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,	καὶ γῆ Αἰγύπτου οὐκ ἔσται εἰς σωτηρίαν.
	< LXX/OG (Rahlfs)	
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν Αἰγύπι	του.
41	καὶ ἐπελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χώραν μοι	J,
	καὶ εν χώρα Αἰγύπτου	οὐκ ἕσται ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ διασῳζόμενος.

Greek	(LXX/OG (Göttingen)
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν Αἰγύπτου.
41	
42	καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ διασῳζόμενος.
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συντρίψει καὶ παρελεύσεται.
Greek	Th (Göttingen)
41	και είσελεύσεται είς την γην τοῦ σαβαιν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀσθενήσουσι· καὶ οὗτοι
41	διασωθήσονται ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, Εδωμ καὶ Μωαβ καὶ ἀρχὴ υίῶν Αμμων.
42	καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ γῆ Αἰγὑπτου οὐκ ἔσται εἰς σωτηρίαν.
Greek	(LXX/OG (Rahlfs)
40d	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς χώραν <mark>Αἰγύπτου</mark> .
41	καὶ ἐπελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χώραν μου,
42	καὶ εν χώρα Αἰγύπτου οὐκ ἔσται <mark>ἐν αὐτῆ</mark> ὁ διασῳζόμενος.

Greek	(LXX/OG (Göttingen)		
40d	And he will advance into the count	ry of Egypt	•
41			
42		And there	e will be no one that is delivered in it.
Greek	Th (Göttingen)		
40d	And he will advance into the land	and will c	rush and will pass by.
41	And he will advance into the land c	of Sabain, a	nd many will fall weak, and these will
	come through safe from his hand: I	Edom and	Moab and the rule of the sons of Ammon.
42	And he will stretch out his hand ag	ainst the	and the land of Egypt will not be for
	land,		saving.
Greek	LXX/OG (Rahlfs)		
40d	And he will advance into the count	ry of Egypt	
41	and he will enter my land,		
42	and in the land of Egypt	there wil	not be in it anyone who is delivered.





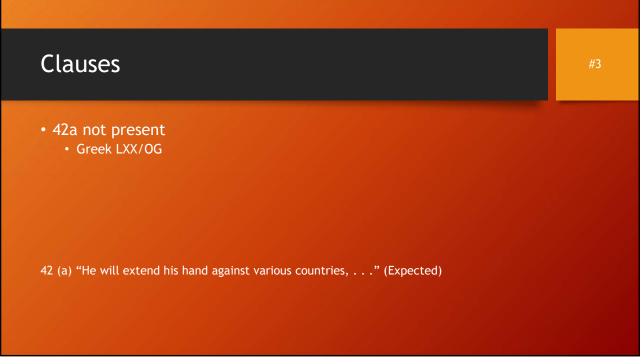


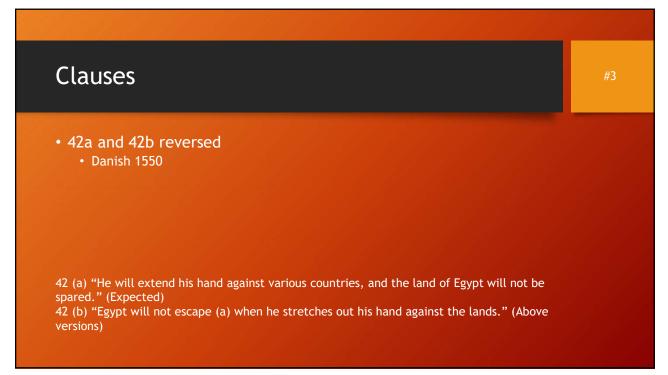












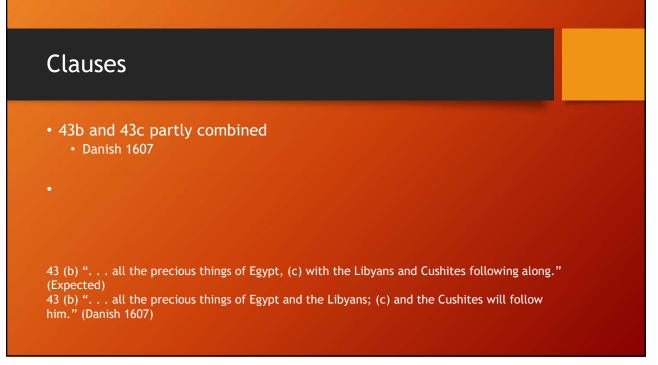
Clauses

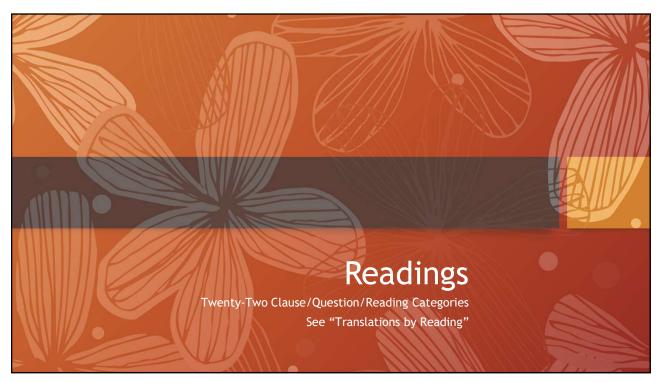
#4

43b and 43c combined as one

- Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562, 1648
- English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572
- Finnish 1552
- French 1535, 1540
- German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784
- Polish 1563
- Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- Swedish 1541, 1703

43 (b) "... all the precious things of Egypt, (c) with the Libyans and Cushites following along." 43 (bc) "... all the precious things of Egypt, the Libyans, and the Cushites." (Nothing about who does or does not follow)



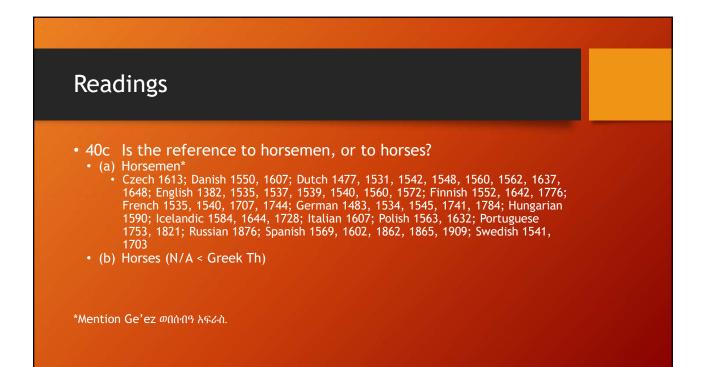












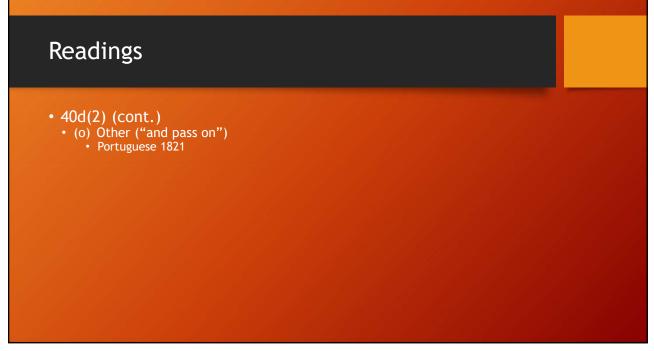
40d(1) Where does KN go (first part)?

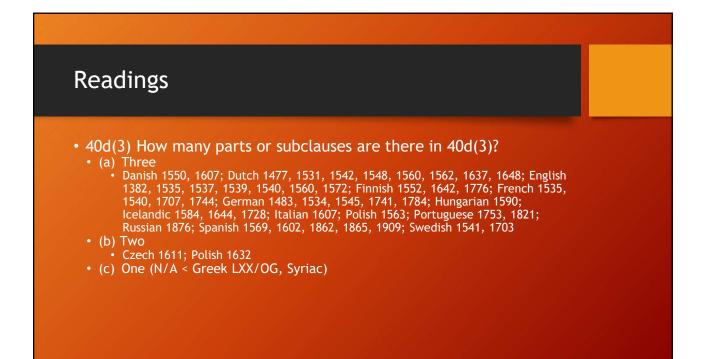
• (a) Lands

Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703

- (b) His lands
- Portuguese 1821
 The level (N/A)
- (c) The land (N/A < Greek Th, Syriac, Coptic)
- (d) The land of Egypt (N/A < Greek LXX/OG)
- (x) Not present (N/A < Armenian)







41a Where does KN go first?

- (a) Land described
 - Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Land of Sabain
 - Czech 1613; Dutch 1637
- (c) Land of Israel (N/A < Syriac, Ge'ez [0,M])



• 41c Who or what are affected?

(a) These (people)
Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1565, 1604; Swedish 1541, 1702 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703

- (b) These lands
 - Dutch 1477; English 1382

57



Icelandic 1728

- 41d (Cont.)
 - (f) All (N/A < Ge'ez [A,B,L]: "Edom, and Moab, and the tribe of Ammon")
 - (o) Other (N/A < Ge'ez [O,M]: "Moab, and Ammon, and the tribe of Edom")



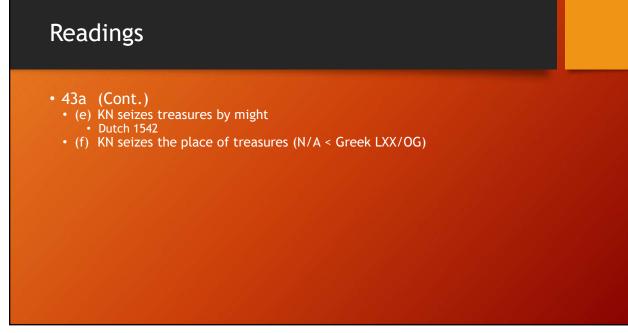
42b Who or what fails to escape?

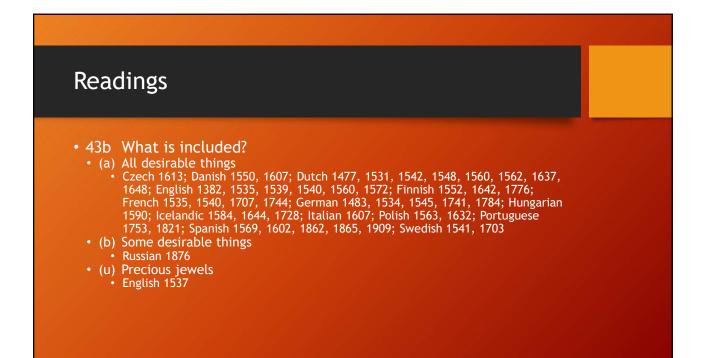
• (a) Land of Egypt

Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1582, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703

• (b) Individuals (N/A < Greek LXX/OG)





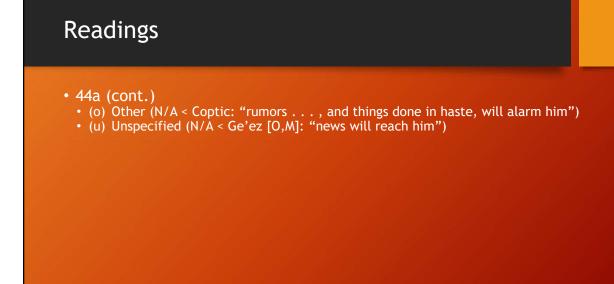






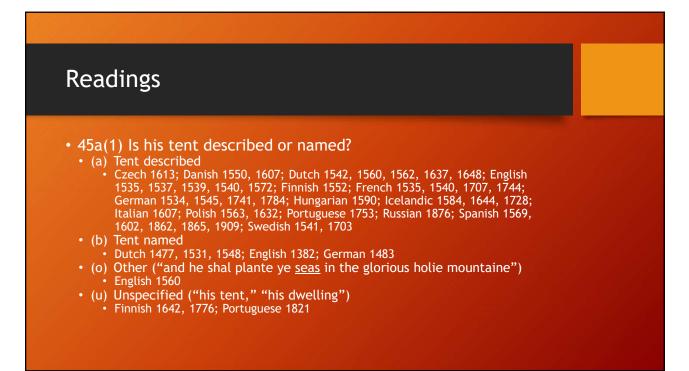








- 44b (Cont.)
 - (e) Grim resolve
 - Danish 1550
 - (u) Unspecified
 - English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540
 (x) Not present (first subclause missing)
 - Russian 1876 ("to exterminate and destroy many")





• (a) Mountain described

Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, 1821: Swedish 1541, 1703

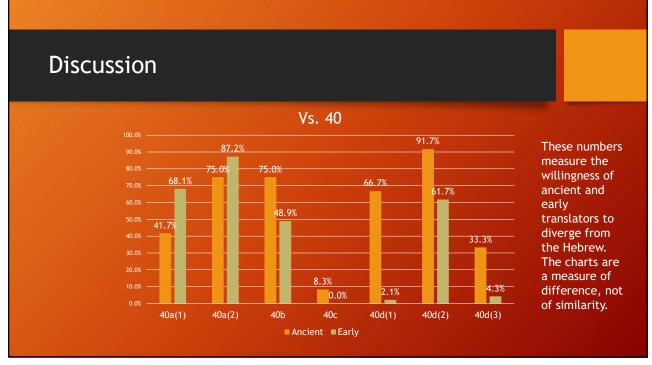
- (b) Mountain named (N/A < Armenian, Ethiopic [A,B,L], Old Church Slavonic)
- (c) Mountain = sanctuary

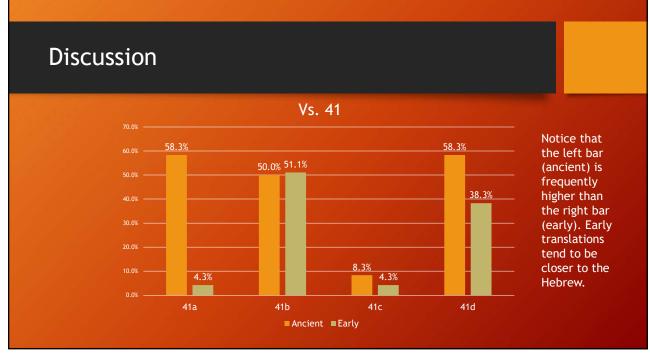
 Icelandic 1584; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
 (d) Mountain = land

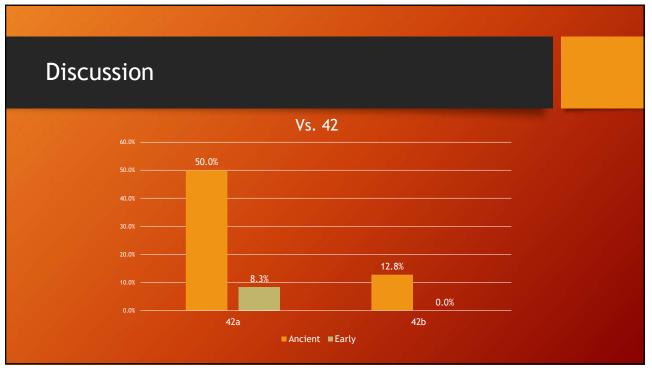
 Icelandic 1644
- (o) Other (N/A < Greek LXX/OG: "between the seas and the mountain of the will of the holy one")(u) Unspecified (N/A < Syriac, Coptic)

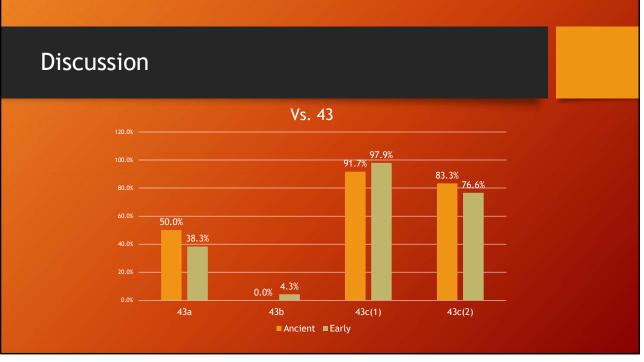


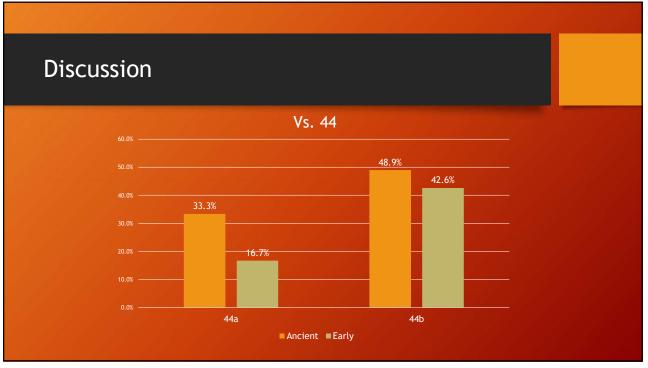


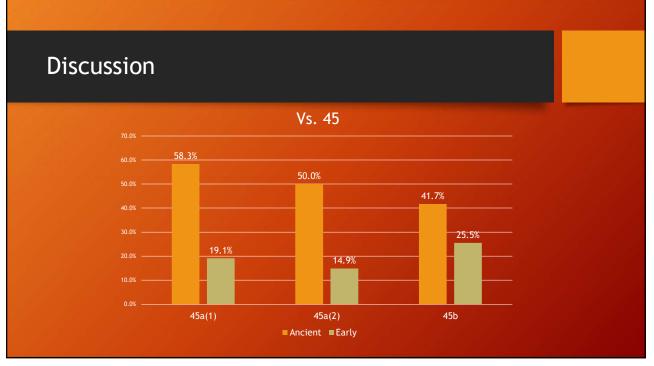


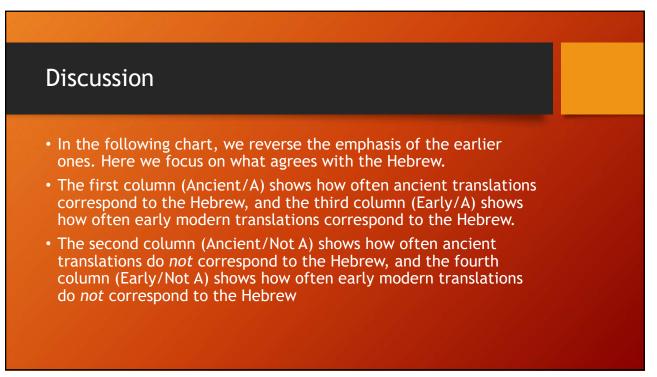




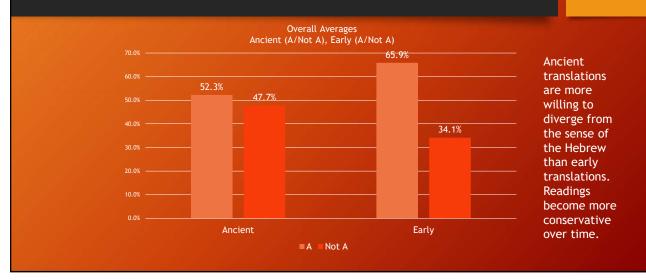


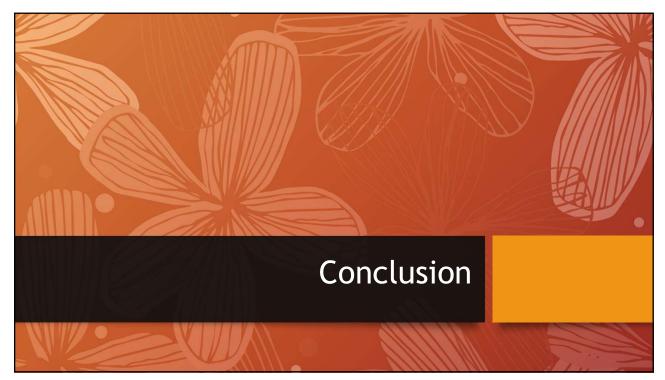






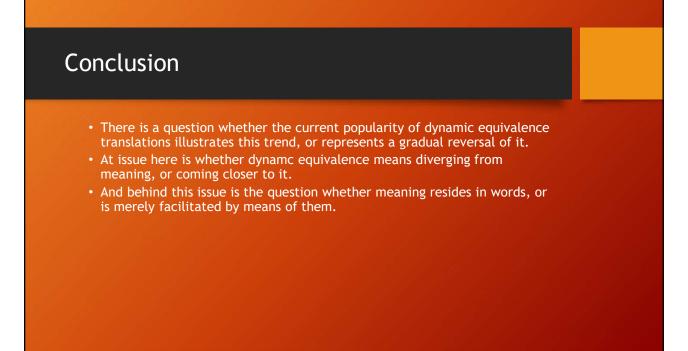
Discussion





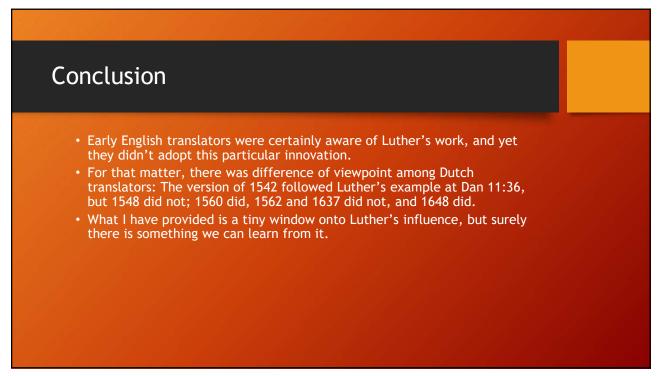
Conclusion

- Three areas for further research emerge from the present study:
- Question #1: What does it mean to translate?
 - It would be useful to expand the sample to include a range of modern translations in various languages, including dynamic equivalence translations.
 - From antiquity to early modern times there is a clear tendancy among translators to move toward a consensus in regard to conveying the sense of the Hebrew.



Conclusion

- Question #2: What was the nature and extent of Martin Luther's influence in the Reformation?
 - Another question has to do with the manner and scope of Martin Luther's influence in the Reformation.
 - The unusual chapter division Luther proposed at Dan 11/12 was adopted by a number of translators, all of them working in Northern European languages (Danish, Dutch, Finnish, German, Icelandic, Swedish), and all but one of these (Finnish), representing Germanic languages.
 - What does this say about the nature of Luther's influence, and why didn't other languages in the sample, such as English, the Romance group (French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish), Slavic (Czech, Polish, Russian), and other Uralic languages, such as Hungarian, follow his example?



Conclusion

• Area #3: What does all of this tell us about Daniel 11?

- A third area for future research is whether Luther's chapter division at Dan 11/12 captures something important about the meaning of the prophecy. Does vs. 36 represent a major turning point in the chapter?
- There is a flood of information that bears directly on this question, but I don't want to express an opinion on it here.
- Perhaps this is a topic we could discuss on some future occasion when there's time to build an appropriate answer in a measured, systematic way.