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

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1


2

## 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.

3

## 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.

5

## 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)
Gerhard Pfandl (GC/BRI retired, Burtonsville, MD)
Barna Magyarosi (Executive Secretary, EUD, Berne, Switzerland)
Jón Hjörleifur Stefánsson (Icelandic doctoral student)

- Hungarian
- Icelandic

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.


7

## Other Texts

- Spanish
- Reina

1569

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


## Other Texts

- Spanish
- Reina

1569

- Reina-Valera

1602

- Reina-Valera
- Reina-Valera

1865

- Reina-Valera

1909

- Comparisons
- 1569/1602
- 1602/1862
- 1862/1865
- 1602/1909

Differences on every line Differences on four lines only
Every line identical
Every line identical

9


## XII.

gebert an Die ver fiegelter mort/oas uon ex all chic


Vib: ber Åơnig wiro thun was er wil/vnowirs fich erbe fing ben/wns auffwerffen widerallesons Gottifi/vnowioer (Deter Gott) ben Gott aller Gotter/wirb er grewlich reden/vns wirs 2lle anver Git jmgelingen,/bis oer jornans fey/ Denn es ifit befch!of ter / auc) fanes fen/wielangees weren fol/Dno feiner b Deter Gott wirt viffern Gott/
 ges Sottesachten/oenn er wiro fich wider silles auff werffen. Gotroce fols fitin. c
2ber feinen eigen Gott 20 \&ofin wirb er nen Gott/Danon feine Deter nichts gemuft baben/ebren/mit golo/er jun sem vanas
 e fDaitim /mit dem frembden Gott / Den er erwelet bat/Grolfe ebre ote Gotres vered)
 lobn ansteiten. Das manbeiter/
Dnosm ende wirb fich der žơnig gegen sDittage/mit ju fof, waifde bochecis

 vno verberben/vno surchjiben/Dno wird inn bas werbe land fal/, beoocr btaudb ocr ten/vnd viel werben vmbtomen. Diefe aber werben feiner band en=wefberforer nidt
trinnen/ gehe: vnter oenn


 Lideiu Gott Der feftungen/ Dcus prefioiorum.

11

## XII.

gebet an vie per fiegeltin wort/oas won ex ams chice
 ben/pnd suffiwerffen wiber alles $\mathfrak{\Omega}$ (G)ottift pnowiber b Oen ben Gott alfer Gotter/wirb er grewhich reden/ vno wiro 2 He anocr Girs im gelingen/bis oer jorn ans fey / Denn es ift befchlof, wer and franes Cen/wielange es weren fol/Dno feiner b Deter Gott wiro miden Gotr
 ges Bottes acbten/benn er wiro fich wiber silles auffwerffen.

 in ertherin in


 lobn ansteilen. weroin/ROMma...



 len/vio viel weroen vmbtomen. Diefe aber weroen feiner band ent/ weiberyforer nidht






## Chapters

- German
- 1534
- 1545
- 1741
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters

- German • Danish
- 1534
- 1550
- 1545
- 1741
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters

- German • Danish • Dutch
- 1534
- 1550
- 1542
- 1545
- 1560
- 1741
- 1648
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters

- German • Danish • Dutch •Finnish
- 1534
- 1550
- 1542
- 1552
- 1545
- 1560
- 1741
- 1648
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters

- German • Danish • Dutch • Finnish • Icelandic
- 1534
- 1550
- 1542
- 1552
- 1584
- 1545
- 1560
- 1644
- 1741
- 1648
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters

- German • Danish • Dutch • Finnish • Icelandic • Swedish
- 1534
- 1550
- 1542
- 1552
- 1584
- 1541
- 1545
- 1560
- 1644
- 1741
- 1648
- 1784

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.

## Chapters



These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.
Translations in square brackets understand that Dan $12=12: 1$-13 .

## Chapters

- German
- Danish • Dutch
- Finnish

Icelandic

- Swedish
- 1534
- 1550
- 1542
- 1552
- 1584
- 1541
- 1545
- [1607]
- [1548]
- [1642]
- 1644
- [1703]
- 1741
- 1560
- [1776]
- [1728]
- 1784
- [1562]
- [1637]
- 1648

These translations follow Luther's suggestion that Dan $12=11: 36-12: 13$.
Translations in square brackets understand that Dan $12=12: 1-13$.


21

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


## 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.



27


## Papyrus 967

ढ̈pav $\sigma u \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ \sigma u ү к \varepsilon \rho a \tau เ \sigma \theta \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha l ~ a u ̉ t \tilde{~ o ̀ ~ \beta a \sigma ı \lambda \varepsilon v ̀ \varsigma ~ A i \gamma u ́ r t т o u, ~ k a i ̀ ~}$
тŋ̃ऽ $\sigma u v \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ a u ̉ t o v ̃, ~ k a i ~ o u ̉ k ~ ह ै \sigma \tau \alpha เ ~ o ́ ~ ß o \eta \theta \tilde{v v ~ a u ̉ t ต ̣ . ~}$

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 40 d and all of 42 a as well. Patching in a form of vs. 41 does not address these other related issues.

29

## Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen)

| 40d |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 |  |  |
| 42 |  | kai oủk ह̋ |

## Greek Th (Göttingen)

| 40d |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 |  <br>  |  |
| 42 |  |  |

Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen)

| 40d |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 |  |  |
| 42 |  |  |

Greek Th (Göttingen)





## Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen)

| 40 d | And he will advance into the country of Egypt. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| 41 |  |  |  |
| 42 |  | And there will be no one that is delivered in it. |  |

Greek Th (Göttingen)
40d $\quad$ And he will advance into the land and will crush and will pass by.
41 And he will advance into the land of Sabain, and many will fall weak, and these will come through safe from his hand: Edom and Moab and the rule of the sons of Ammon.

42 And he will stretch out his hand against the land,
and the land of Egypt will not be for saving.

| Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40d |  |  |  |
| 41 |  |  |  |
| 42 |  |  |  |
| Greek Th (Göttingen) |  |  |  |
| 40d |  |  |  |
| 41 |  <br>  |  |  |
| 42 |  |  |  |
| Greek LXX/OG (Rahlfs) |  |  |  |
| 40d |  |  |  |
| 41 |  |  |  |
| 42 | каi عv Хढ́pa Ai¢úmtou |  |  |

Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen)

| 40d |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 |  |  |
| 42 |  | हैठт |

Greek Th (Göttingen)




Greek LXX/OG (Rahlfs)

| 40d |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 |  |  |  |
| 42 |  |  |  |


| Greek LXX/OG (Göttingen) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40d | And he will advance into the country of Egypt. |  |
| 41 |  |  |
| 42 | And there will be no one that is delivered in it. |  |
| Greek Th (Göttingen) |  |  |
| 40d | And he will advance into the land and will crush and will pass by. $^{\text {a }}$ |  |
| 41 | And he will advance into the land of Sabain, and many will fall weak, and these will come through safe from his hand: Edom and Moab and the rule of the sons of Ammon. |  |
| 42 | And he will stretch out his hand against the <br> land, and the land of Egypt will not be for <br> saving. |  |
| Greek LXX/OG (Rahlfs) |  |  |
| 40d | And he will advance into the country of Egypt. |  |
| 41 | and he will enter my land, |  |
| 42 | and in the land of Egypt $\quad$ there will | there will not be in it anyone who is delivered. |

35


## Clauses

- LXX/OG lacks the last part of 40d.
- Armenian lacks 40d entirely.

40d(i) "And he will advance into the country of Egypt."

37

## Clauses

- 40d as 41a
- French 1744

40d "He will enter the lands, engulf them like a torrent and pass on." (Expected numbering)
41a "He will enter the lands, engulf them like a torrent and pass on." (As numbered in French 1744)

## Clauses

- 41cd as 42ab
- Finnish 1642

41 (c) "But these will escape from his hand: (d) Edom, Moab, and the most distinguished of the children of Ammon." (Expected numbering)
42 (a) "But these will escape from his hand: (d) Edom, Moab, and the most distinguished of the children of Ammon." (As numbered in Finnish 1642)

39

## Clauses

- 41c and 41d reversed
- Danish 1550
- English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540
- Finnish 1552
- German 1483

41 (a) "But these will escape him: (b) Edom, Moab, and the first of the Ammonites." (Expected)
41 (b) "Only Edom, Moab, and the first of the Ammonites (b) will escape him." (Above versions)


## Clauses

- 42a and 42b reversed
- Danish 1550

42 (a) "He will extend his hand against various countries, and the land of Egypt will not be spared." (Expected)
42 (b) "Egypt will not escape (a) when he stretches out his hand against the lands." (Above versions)

## Clauses

- 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)

## Clauses

- 43b and 43c partly combined
- Danish 1607
- 

43 (b) ". . . all the precious things of Egypt, (c) with the Libyans and Cushites following along." (Expected)
43 (b) ". . . all the precious things of Egypt and the Libyans; (c) and the Cushites will follow him." (Danish 1607)


45

## Readings

- 40a(1) When do the events occur?
- (a) Time of the end (end time, last days)
- Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1637; English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540; Finnish 1776; French 1744; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1728; Italian 1607; Portuguese 1753; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) End of the time (this time, these days)
- Czech 1613; Polish 1632; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (C) The appointed time (predetermined = deixis)
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548; English 1382; French 1707; German 1483; Portuguese 1821
- (d) The end of time
- English 1560, 1572; French 1535, 1540; Polish 1563
- (u) Unspecified ("at the end")
- Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562, 1648; Finnish 1552, 1642; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644


## Readings

- 40a(2) Does the passage mention horns?
- (a) Reference to horns
- Portuguese 1753; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (b) Reference to manner
- Danish 1550; Dutch 1542, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1728; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (u) Unspecified
- Czech 1613; Danish 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548, 1560; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540; Finnish 1776; German 1483; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1821; Russian 1876


## Readings

- 40b Does the passage mention a storm?
- (a) Like a storm
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548, 1637, 1648; English 1382, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483; Hungarian 1590; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (b) With great numbers
- Swedish 1541, 1703
- (c) With great speed
- Finnish 1642, 1776; Icelandic 1728
- (d) With great anger
- Danish 1607


## Readings

- 40b (cont.)
- (e) Like the other king
- English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540
- (0) Other ("shall rise against the tempest")
- Spanish 1569
- (u) Unspecified
- Czech 1613; Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Portuguese 1753

49

## Readings

- 40c Is the reference to horsemen, or to horses?
- (a) Horsemen*
- 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, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Horses (N/A < Greek Th)



## Readings

- 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
- (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)

51

## Readings

- 40d(2) What does KN do (second part)?
- (a) KN floods or inundates
- Czech 1613; Danish 1607; Dutch 1637; English 1560, 1572; French 1707, 1744; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1632; Portuguese 1753; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (b) KN destroys
- Danish 1550; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Polish 1563; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (c) KN scatters/repels
- French 1540


## Readings

- 40d(2) (cont.)
- (o) Other ("and pass on")
- Portuguese 1821

53

## Readings

- 40d(3) How many parts or subclauses are there in 40d(3)?
- (a) Three
- 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; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Two
- Czech 1611; Polish 1632
- (c) One (N/A < Greek LXX/OG, Syriac)


## Readings

- 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 [O,M])


## Readings

- 41b Do many fall, or become weak?
- (a) People fall
- Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1382; Finnish 1552, 1776; French 1535, 1540; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) People weak (N/A < Greek Th)
- (c) Lands fall
- Czech 1613; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1637; English 1560, 1572; French 1707, 1744; Italian 1607; Polish 1632; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (d) Lands weak
- English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540
- (e) Cities fall
- Polish 1563
- (o) Other ("and kill many")
- Finnish 1642


## Readings

- 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, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) These lands
- Dutch 1477; English 1382

57

## Readings

- 41d Which Ammonites escape?
- (a) First in status
- Czech 1613; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1744; German 1483, 1534, 1545; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Polish 1563; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) First in sequence (some)
- Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1548, 1637; French 1535, 1540; German 1741, 1784; Polish 1632; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (c) Last in sequence (remnant)
- Italian 1706; Russian 1876
- (d) Most in number
- French 1707
- (e) Most in power
- Icelandic 1728


## Readings

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


## Readings

- 42a How many lands are referred to?
- (a) Lands
- Czech 1613; 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; Spanish 1569, 1862, 1865; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Other lands
- Portuguese 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1602, 1909
- (c) The land
- Danish 1550, 1607 (also Greek Th, Coptic, Armenian)


## Readings

- 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)


## Readings

## - 43a Treasure

- (a) KN seizes treasures
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548; English 1382, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (b) KN seizes secret (hidden) treasures
- Dutch 1637
- (c) KN seizes treasures secretly (N/A < Coptic)
- (d) KN seizes treasures in passing
- Dutch 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540; Finnish 1552; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Swedish 1541, 1703


## Readings

- 43a (Cont.)
- (e) KN seizes treasures by might
- Dutch 1542
-(f) KN seizes the place of treasures ( $\mathrm{N} / \mathrm{A}<\mathrm{Greek}$ LXX/OG)

63

## Readings

- 43b What is included?
- (a) All desirable things
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1382, 1535, 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; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Some desirable things
- Russian 1876
- (u) Precious jewels
- English 1537


## Readings

- 43c(1) What people groups are mentioned?
- (a) Libyans and Cushites
- French 1707
- (b) Libyans and Ethiopians
- Dutch 1477; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1744; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Portuguese 1753, 1821; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (c) Libyans and Moors (Blacks)
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1560; German 1483, 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Polish 1563, 1632
- (d) Nubians and Ethiopians (N/A < Ge'ez [A,B,L; O,M])


## Readings

- $43 \mathrm{c}(2)$ Is the focus on them, or on him (KN)?
- (a) They follow KN (passively)
- Czech 1613; Danish 1607; Finnish 1642, 1776; French 1707, 1744; Hungarian 1590; Icelandic 1728; Polish 1632; Portuguese 1753; Russian 1876
- (b) They join KN (actively)
- Dutch 1637; Italian 1607
- (c) They resist KN (N/A < Greek Th, Coptic, Armenian)
- (d) He passes through

Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548; English 1560; French 1535, 1540; German 1483; Polish 1563; Portuguese 1821; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1904

- (e) He passes by
- English 1382, 1572


## Readings

- 43c(2) (cont.)
- (o) Other ("[that Egypt,] Libya, and Ethiopia consider valuable")
- Finnish 1552
- (u) Unspecified
- Danish 1550; Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562, 1648; English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644; Swedish 1541, 1703

67

## Readings

- 44a How does KN respond first?
- (a) Reports alarm KN
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560, 1637; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1560, 1572; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1483; Hungarian 1590; Italian 1607; Portuguese 1821; Russian 1876; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) Reports make KN terrified/afraid
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1562, 1648; Finnish 1642, 1776; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Icelandic 1584, 1644, 1728; Polish 1563, 1632; Portuguese 1753; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909
- (c) Reports make KN resentful (N/A < Old Church Slavonic)
- (d) Reports bother KN
- Finnish 1552
- (e) Reports reach KN quickly (N/A < Armenian)


## Readings

- 44a (cont.)
- (o) Other (N/A < Coptic: "rumors . . . , and things done in haste, will alarm him")
- (u) Unspecified (N/A < Ge'ez [O,M]: "news will reach him")


## Readings

- 44b How does KN respond next?
- (a) With anger
- Czech 1613; Danish 1607; Dutch 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1560, 1572; Finnish 1776; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Italian 1607; Polish 1632; Portuguese 1753; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909' Swedish 1541
- (b) With numbers
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1542, 1548, 1560; English 1382; German 1483; Icelandic 1728; Portuguese 1821; Swedish 1703
- (c) With cruelty
- Finnish 1552, 1642; Icelandic 1584, 1644
- (d) With urgency
- Polish 1563


## Readings

- 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")


## Readings

- 45a(1) Is his tent described or named?
- (a) Tent described
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1535, 1537, 1539, 1540, 1572; Finnish 1552; French 1535, 1540, 1707, 1744; German 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) Tent named
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548; English 1382; German 1483
- (o) Other ("and he shal plante ye seas in the glorious holie mountaine")
- English 1560
- (u) Unspecified ("his tent," "his dwelling")
- Finnish 1642, 1776; Portuguese 1821


## Readings

- $45 a(2)$ Is the mountain described or named?
- (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)


## Readings

- 45b Who or what reaches its end?
- (a) End of the king (death)
- Czech 1613; Danish 1550, 1607; Dutch 1542, 1560, 1562, 1637, 1648; English 1540, 1560, 1572; Finnish 1552, 1642, 1776; French 1707, 1741; German 1534, 1545, 1741, 1784; Hungarian 1590; Iceland 1584, 1644, 1728; Italian 1607; Polish 1632; Porruguese 1753; Russian 1876; Spanish 1569, 1602, 1862, 1865, 1909; Swedish 1541, 1703
- (b) End of the mountain (summit)
- Dutch 1477, 1531, 1548; English 1382, 1535, 1537, 1539; German 1483; Polish 1563; Portuguese 1821
- (c) End of these things
- French 1535, 1540
- (o) Other (N/A < Syriac: "and he shall guard the holy place" [preface to 40b])


75


## Discussion



Notice that the left bar (ancient) is frequently higher than the right bar (early). Early translations tend to be closer to the Hebrew.

77

## Discussion

Vs. 42



79

## Discussion



## Discussion



81

## Discussion

- In the following chart, we reverse the emphasis of the earlier ones. Here we focus on what agrees with the Hebrew.
- The first column (Ancient/A) shows how often ancient translations correspond to the Hebrew, and the third column (Early/A) shows how often early modern translations correspond to the Hebrew.
- The second column (Ancient/Not A) shows how often ancient translations do not correspond to the Hebrew, and the fourth column (Early/Not A) shows how often early modern translations do not correspond to the Hebrew


## Discussion

Overall Averages
Ancient (A/Not A), Early (A/Not A)


Ancient translations are more willing to diverge from the sense of the Hebrew than early translations. Readings become more conservative over time.


## 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.

85

## Conclusion

- There is a question whether the current popularity of dynamic equivalence translations illustrates this trend, or represents a gradual reversal of it.
- At issue here is whether dynamc equivalence means diverging from meaning, or coming closer to it.
- And behind this issue is the question whether meaning resides in words, or is merely facilitated by means of them.


## 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

- Early English translators were certainly aware of Luther's work, and yet they didn't adopt this particular innovation.
- For that matter, there was difference of viewpoint among Dutch translators: The version of 1542 followed Luther's example at Dan 11:36, but 1548 did not; 1560 did, 1562 and 1637 did not, and 1648 did.
- What I have provided is a tiny window onto Luther's influence, but surely there is something we can learn from it.


## 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.

