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Aramaic Daniel: a textual reconstruction of chapters 1-7

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Aramaic Daniel

A Textual Reconstruction of Chapters 1–7

By

Benjamin D. Suchard

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For David, כחי וראשית אוני

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Preface

The writing and publication of this book were most graciously funded by NWO (the Dutch Research Council) as part of a postdoctoral project at Leiden University (VI.Veni.191T.023). The idea, however, sprang from my ongoing research on Biblical Aramaic at KU Leuven, funded by FWO (Research Foundation—Flanders, project number 1231920N). In the course of describing the grammar of Biblical Aramaic, I frequently found myself noting that some unique linguistic form was limited to a verse or passage in Daniel that was missing from the Old Greek or otherwise textually difficult. To avoid circularity, it became necessary to investigate the textual history of Aramaic Daniel in its own right. Bénédicte Lemmelijn's chapter in Person & Rezetko's *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism* and Michael Segal's many different works on Daniel, both of which I only became familiar with in the first half of 2021, were inspirational in this regard, as was Juha Pakkala's *Ezra the Scribe*, BZAW 347 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004).

I am accordingly very grateful for Prof. Lemmelijn's willingness to provide an earlier draft of this work with helpful comments and corrections and Prof. Segal's friendly encouragement. Thank you, too, to Harald Samuel, Maarten Kossmann, Marijn van Putten, and everyone else who showed interest in this project. On the publishing side, I sincerely thank the anonymous reviewer, who read and commented on this work in record time, and my former student at Leiden and former colleague at Brill, Elisa Perotti, for her excellent work both on this book and on my first one (for which I forgot to supply a preface). The errors that remain in this work are, of course, all my own. Final thanks for their loving support are due to my parents, to Hilde, and to David, איש חמדות.

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Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ALBO	Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia
AraSt	*Aramaic Studies*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CNS	*Cristianesimo Nella Storia*
EANEC	Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
HdO	Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1. The Near and Middle East
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSJ.S	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
KStTh	Kohlhammer-Studienbücher Theologie
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
OTGu	Old Testament Guides
OTL	The Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
RBSt	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SCCB	Studies in Cultural Contexts of the Bible
SCSt	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
THB.S	Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*

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VeEc	*Verbum et Ecclesia*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VT.S	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The book of Daniel (Dan) presents us with many indications of multiple authorship and a complicated textual history. Most obviously, there are the oppositions of genre and language. Dan 1–6 contain loosely connected court tales, mostly narrated in the third person.[1] Dan 7–12 contain apocalypses, mostly narrated in the first person.[2] Largely but not entirely overlapping this distinction, Dan 2:4b–6:29 are preserved in Aramaic, while Dan 1–2:4a and 8–12 have reached us in Hebrew. These fault lines running through the text already led early modern thinkers such as Spinoza and Newton to identify various hands at work.[3]

These issues of genre, contents, and language also lend Daniel its great importance to a number of fields of study. Besides their literary merit, the court tales and apocalypses provide information on cultural contacts and ideologies of empire and resistance during the post-exilic period.[4] And linguistically, Daniel accounts for the bulk of the Biblical Aramaic corpus.[5]

When scholars want to use the valuable evidence Daniel has on offer, however, its history of composition becomes a problem.[6] From a historical and literary perspective, it makes a big difference if a certain part of a narrative or vision can be shown to derive from a later hand than the surrounding text.

1 For an in-depth investigation of this genre, see Tawny L. Holm, *Of Courtiers and Kings: The Biblical Daniel Narratives and Ancient Story-Collections*, EANEC 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013).

2 On the genre of apocalypse, see recently John J. Collins, "What Is Apocalyptic Literature?," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–16.

3 *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Hamburg: Künraht, 1670), 130–31; Isaac Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (Bartholomew-Close: Darby & Browne, 1733), 10.

4 E.g. Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011).

5 The other Aramaic passages in the Hebrew Bible occur in Jeremiah 10:11 and Ezra 4:8–6:18, 7:12–26. Of the other Aramaic phrases occurring sporadically throughout the Hebrew Bible, יגר שהדותא 'cairn of testimony' (Genesis 31:47) is usually counted as part of the Biblical Aramaic corpus, while individual words like תגמולוהי 'his favours' (Psalm 116:12) and בר 'son' (Proverbs 31:2) are not.

6 On the necessity of taking textual history into account when using biblical texts as historical sources, see Juha Pakkala, "Can We Reconstruct the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible?," *Religion Compass* 11.11–12 (2017): e12256.

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Linguists and philologists need to know whether a given instance of variation found in the text can be explained by a difference in authorship or whether the variant forms belong to one and the same linguistic system. Dating of any passage of Daniel on historical or linguistic grounds, too, depends on an informed idea of which parts of the texts are demonstrably later than others. Clearing up the textual history of the book of Daniel thus forms an important first step in many lines of research.

1 History of the Scholarship

Many scholars have already taken up the challenge of separating Daniel's compositional layers.[7] While some authors still defend its literary unity,[8] the consensus has settled on what Koch has termed the *Aufstockungshypothese* ('cumulative hypothesis').[9] This hypothesis, which originated with Sellin and Hölscher in the early twentieth century,[10] sees the individual stories in Dan 2–6 as the oldest part of the book. After these court tales were collected, Dan 1 and 7 were added, although scholars disagree over which came first. The Hebrew apocalypses of Dan 8–12 were then added later, during the Maccabean crisis of the 160s BCE; some scholars also identify certain interpolations in Dan 2 and 7 with this editorial activity.[11] Over the past decades, this model has been refined

7 See the excellent literature reviews in Klaus Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, EdF 144 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980); Philip R. Davies, *Daniel*, reprint, OTGu 4 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993); John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); Herbert Niehr, "Das Buch Daniel," in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. Erich Zenger, 3rd ed., KStTh 1,1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998), 458–67; Tawny L. Holm, "Book of Daniel," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. John Barton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.152.

8 E.g. Jan-Wim Wesselius, "The Writing of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, vol. 2, VT.S, Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 291–310; Jan-Wim Wesselius, "The Literary Nature of the Book of Daniel and the Linguistic Character of Its Aramaic," *AraSt* 3.2 (2005): 241–83.

9 Koch, *Daniel*; R. Timothy McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55.3 (2005): 304–23; Amy C. Merrill Willis, "A Reversal of Fortunes: Daniel among the Scholars," *CBR* 16.2 (2018): 107–30.

10 Ernst Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910); Gustav Hölscher, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," *TSK* 92.2 (1919): 113–38.

11 Notably H. Louis Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948); Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978); Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Translatio imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen*

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by identifying Dan 4–6 as forming an older, core collection, to which Dan 2–3 were later prefixed.[12] This distinction is based on the many differences between the Masoretic Text (MT) and Greek translation attributed to Theodotion (Th) of Dan 4–6 on the one hand and the Old Greek (OG) translation of these chapters on the other hand, which we will return to below.

While this solves the large-scale question of Daniel's compositional history, many indicators of multiple authorship and editing remain within each of the commonly recognized layers. Taking any section of Daniel at face value remains problematic. One author who has proposed further divisions of the recognized sources is Ginsberg,[13] who identifies separate authors for the base layers of Dan 8, Dan 9, and Dan 10–12, as well as interpolations by some of these authors in other chapters. In this identification he is followed by Hartman and Di Lella and in part by Newsom.[14] "[A]part from the small interpolations in ch. 2 and odd glosses", however, Ginsberg sees no reason to identify multiple literary layers in Dan 1–6.[15]

A rather different approach is taken in a number of studies on Dan 3–7 by Haag.[16] With a keen eye for internal contradictions, Haag pares these chapters down to the bare minimum and subjects the various layers to different kinds of literary analysis. A major shortcoming in his method, however, is his

---

Umfeld, WMANT 63 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991); Carol A. Newsom, *Daniel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014).

12 Koch, *Daniel*, 75; Rainer Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches*, SBS 131 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988); Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit. Teil 2: Vom Exil bis zu den Makkabäern*, GAT, 8,2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 651; Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends*, HDR 26 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 144–52; Holm, *Courtiers and Kings*; Newsom, *Daniel*, 10. Note that Dan 3:31–33 in the Masoretic Text belong to the following story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, not to the preceding story of the three men in the fiery furnace that occupies the rest of Dan 3. For convenience, "Dan 4" as used in this work can usually be taken to include these verses, and "Dan 3" can be taken to exclude them.

13 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*.

14 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*; Newsom, *Daniel*.

15 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 29.

16 Ernst Haag, *Die Errettung Daniels aus der Löwengrube: Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der biblischen Danieltradition*, SBS 110 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983); Ernst Haag, "Die drei Männer im Feuer nach Dan 3:1–30," in *Die Entstehung der jüdischen Martyrologie*, ed. J. W. van Henten, Studia post-Biblica 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 20–50; Ernst Haag, "Der Menschensohn und die Heiligen (des) Höchsten. Eine literar-, form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 137–85.

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neglect of textual criticism;[17] Haag's reconstructions are based exclusively on MT. Additionally, he often seems to privilege his own instincts about which elements of the stories are superfluous over any demonstrable problems with the text as it stands. As a result, the textual histories Haag reconstructs cannot be relied upon.

A similarly limited number of chapters, viz. Dan 4–6, are the focus of a monograph by Albertz.[18] Unlike Haag, Albertz pays close attention to OG. He assumes, however, that there is no direct textual relationship between OG and MT Dan 4–6. Hence, he wishes to "free the comparison from the methodologically unsound text-critical straightjacket".[19] This position is still held by some scholars, as we will discuss below. In my opinion, however, OG and MT Dan 4–6 share too many turns of phrase for us to deny their shared textual history. Despite Albertz's explicit rejection,[20] textual criticism of Dan 4–6 remains necessary.

Other scholars have investigated Daniel's textual development in the context of broader studies of the book. Kratz conducts a detailed literary-critical examination, but passes over the precursory step of textual criticism.[21] Collins's major commentary on Daniel does contain many references to textual variants, but does not generally state which variant is to be preferred.[22] Among other commentaries from the past decades, Hartman and Di Lella and Newsom similarly mention certain variants, but are generally concerned with commenting on MT, not with reconstructing earlier stages of the text.[23] Redditt, finally, contains many suggestions on Daniel's textual history but often does not provide any explicit arguments to defend them.[24]

Most recently, Segal has published a number of articles touching on many aspects of the interpretation and history of Daniel.[25] Unlike many other

17 Cf. Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 87; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 81.

18 Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*.

19 "will [diese neue Untersuchung] den Vergleich aus der methodisch falschen textkritischen Engführung befreien"; Albertz, 17.

20 Albertz, 42, 95, 130.

21 Kratz, *Translatio imperii*.

22 Collins, *Daniel*.

23 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*; Newsom, *Daniel*.

24 Paul L. Redditt, *Daniel*, NCBC (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

25 Those we will have occasion to refer to are Michael Segal, "The Old Greek Version and Masoretic Text of Daniel 6," in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.–27. Juli 2014*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 404–28; Michael Segal, "Daniel 5 in Aramaic and Greek and the

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authors, Segal gives the evidence from ancient versions and Qumran texts its due weight and provides clear motivations for his literary reconstructions. In my opinion, his approach is sound and mostly yields convincing conclusions. Due to the nature of these publications, however, Segal focuses on a (great) number of secondary features of the various versions, but does not generally provide complete reconstructions of earlier versions of the text. Hence, a fair number of verses and phrases remain undiscussed.

This brings us to the purpose of this work, which aims to reconstruct the most original version of Dan 1–7 that the evidence allows for (see the discussion below) and to account for the secondary additions and changes that can be identified. While Dan 8–12 are interesting for many of the same reasons as Dan 1–7, the scholarly consensus holds that they were written later. Hence, these chapters' textual history is likely less complex than that of the earlier chapters. Moreover, while it is possible that Dan 8–12 were originally written in Aramaic and translated to Hebrew,[26] this is more commonly accepted for Dan 1(–2:4a).[27] Together with Dan 2(:4b)–7, which were transmitted in Aramaic, this gives us a natural delineation of an 'Aramaic Daniel' consisting of the first seven chapters. These chapters form the scope of this work.

Textual History of Daniel 4–6," in *Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. Louis C. Jonker, Gideon R. Kotzé, and Christl M. Maier (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 251–84; Michael Segal, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6 from the Bible to Qumran," in *Hā'îsh Mōshe. Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, ed. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 265–79; Michael Segal, "Calculating the End: Inner-Danielic Chronological Developments," *VT* 68.2 (2018): 272–96; as well as some of the chapters in Michael Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel*, BZAW 455 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

26 Thus R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929); Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*; Frank Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic* (New York: Ktav, 1975), 1–38; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 14–15; contra H. Preiswerk, "Der Sprachenwechsel im Buche Daniel" (inaugural thesis, University of Bern, 1902); see also the discussion in Marius Nel, "Gebruik van twee tale in die Daniëlboek," *VeEc* 25.1 (2004): 236–52. Recently, H. J. M. van Deventer, "Testing-Testing, Do We Have a Translated Text in Daniel 1 and Daniel 7?," *JNSL* 31.2 (2005): 91–106 has aimed to show quantitively that Dan 1,7 are not translations (from Aramaic to Hebrew or vice versa). This approach fails, however, since the statistic Van Deventer uses is expected to be lower in a translated text compared to its source text, but not necessarily in a translated text compared to other, untranslated texts, as the comparison between MT and Th shows. The relatively high value of this statistic in Dan 1,7 thus does not prove that they were composed in Hebrew and Aramaic, respectively.

27 Cf. van Deventer, "Translated Text."

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2 Textual Sources

The most important witnesses to the text of the book of Daniel are the Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran and the Hebrew and Aramaic version of the Masoretic Text, together with two separate translations into Koine Greek, viz. the Old Greek and Theodotion.[28]

The oldest textual evidence for Daniel comes from Qumran, where fragments spanning Dan 1–11 have been found (Dan 12 is partially attested as a quote in 4QFlor). Transcriptions of all these manuscripts are collected in Ulrich's *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*.[29] Of these manuscripts, 4QDan[a] most frequently attests variants that I judge to be superior to MT.[30] This manuscript is dated paleographically to the middle of the first century BCE.[31] The Qumran manuscripts lack textual variants that can be characterized as sectarian,[32] nor do they contain any major literary pluses or minuses—text that is absent from another witness, or the absence of text that is attested in another witness, respectively—compared to MT. Hence, they belong to the same general literary edition as MT, to use Ulrich's term.[33]

This cannot be said for the Old Greek version, which contains major additions in Dan 3, two or three additional stories (Susanna, Bel and the Serpent), and a different literary edition of Dan 4, 5, and 6.[34] The relationship between MT and OG in Dan 4–6 is debated. Some scholars have argued for the priority

28 Now also see the detailed discussion on the textual sources in the various sections of Armin Lange, ed., "18 Daniel," in *Textual History of the Bible*, 2020, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0018000000.

29 Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls. Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VT.S 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 755–75.

30 The lack of frequent reference to the other manuscripts in the following is thus based on my judgment of each textual variant taken in isolation, not on an *a priori* judgement on the reliability of any manuscript, as cautioned against by Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Text-Critically Studying the Biblical Manuscript Evidence: An 'Empirical' Entry to the Literary Composition of the Text," in *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, ed. Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, AIL 25 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 129–64.

31 Eugene Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan[a]," *BASOR* 268 (1987): 20.

32 Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 180.

33 See e.g. Eugene Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 1 (Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins, Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2006), 77–99 for this concept; cf. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 284.

34 On the Greek versions of Daniel, now see the detailed overview by Olivier Munnich, "Daniel, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon: Old Greek and Theodotion," in *The Oxford*

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of either MT[35] or OG.[36] Others have denied the existence of a shared textual archetype for Dan 4, 5, or 6, arguing instead that the MT(-like) and OG texts were written separately, although based on similar oral traditions.[37] More likely, however, both versions of these chapters developed from a shared ancestor; both then contain secondary material.[38] Hence, OG is especially important for the reconstruction of Dan 4–6. Based on consistent differences in translation equivalents, it is likely that OG Dan 1–3,7 were translated by someone else

Handbook of the Septuagint, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 289–305.

35 E.g. Arie van der Kooij, "Compositions and Editions in Early Judaism. The Case of Daniel," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano Morales, THB.S 1 (Society for the Study of Polyglot Bible, Leiden: Brill, 2017), 429–48.

36 E.g. Wills, *Jew in the Court*; Olivier Munnich, "The Masoretic Rewriting of Daniel 4–6: The Septuagint Version as Witness," in *From Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zipi Talshir*, ed. Cana Werman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 149–72.

37 Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*; Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*, JSJ.S 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Ian Young, "The Original Problem. The Old Greek and the Masoretic Text of Daniel 5," in *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, ed. Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, AIL 25 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 271–301.

38 Thus Eugene Ulrich, "The Parallel Editions of the Old Greek and Masoretic Text of Daniel 5," in *A Teacher for All Generations. Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason, JSJ.S 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 201–17; Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 237–48; Segal, "Daniel 5." Young, "The Original Problem" argues against the approach taken by Ulrich on the basis that the overlapping phrases shared by OG and MT are not enough to constitute a coherent narrative and often are too different to count as overlapping in the first place. With Segal (and cf. Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 246n33), this is no longer a problem once we reckon with the possibility of text being changed in one or both versions, not just added. Young's objection that different wording in OG and MT points against a shared written ancestor is invalidated by attested examples of the kind of variation he identifies in texts which clearly do share a written archetype; cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 239. For example, 4QDan^{b} reads]ול]גבא די אריותא רמ[ו 'and into the den of the lions they threw' against MT Dan 6:17's ורמו לגבא די אריותא 'and threw into the den of the lions'; or cf. 4QJer^{b}'s 'hammers [and nails]' against MT Jer 10:4's 'nails and hammers', as noted by Ulrich, "Hebrew Scriptural Texts," 85. The presence of secondary material in both versions of the text is paralleled by OG and Th Bel and the Serpent; see Dalia Amara, "Bel and the Dragon: The Relationship between Theodotion and the Old Greek," in *From Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zipi Talshir*, ed. Cana Werman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 125–47. See also Andrew G. Daniel, "The Translator's Tell: Translation Technique, Verbal Syntax, and the Myth of Old Greek Daniel's Alternate Semitic *Vorlage*." *JBL* 140.4 (2021): 723–49.

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than OG Dan 4–6.[39] This suggests that the latter were originally translated at a time when they still circulated as an independent literary unit. The text of OG is attested in the pre-Hexaplaric Papyrus 967,[40] dated paleographically to the second or third century CE, and in the Hexaplaric, tenth-century Codex Chisianus, referred to as '88', as well as the close Syriac translation of the Syro-Hexapla. For the present work, I have relied on Munnich's critical edition of these sources.[41] English glosses of OG quotations are mainly based on NETS.[42]

Within the Christian church, the OG version of Daniel was supplanted early on by another translation attributed to the second-century CE scholar Theodotion. This attribution must be false, as the translation predates the common era,[43] but the appellation Theodotion, or Th, remains customary. It is debated whether Th, which includes the major additions not found in MT, is a revision of OG or a new translation of an MT-like text.[44] An intermediate solution, where Th was translated from MT but with some influence from OG, seems attractive. Th is much more widely attested than OG;[45] the most recent critical edition once again appears in Munnich's Septuaginta volume.[46]

Other translations, such as the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac Peshitta, are directly based on a precursor of MT and only rarely provide useful variants. The remaining major source for the text of Daniel is therefore MT itself. Tragically,

39 Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*, 162–63; McLay, "Old Greek Translation," 306–7; contra Munnich, "Old Greek and Theodotion," 239. Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*, 167 is contradictorily cited by Munnich in support of OG Dan being the product of just one translator, but I do not see what Munnich is referring to here.

40 One of this text's many interesting features is the different order of the material. The visions of Dan 7–8, which are set during the reign of Belshazzar, occur in between Dan 4 and Dan 5, which ends with Belshazzar's death. This chronologically sound order seems secondary to the genre-based order (court stories before apocalypses) found in the other witnesses, as argued, for instance, by Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 5n11. Some scholars consider Papyrus 967's order to be the more original one, however; see the discussion in Munnich, "Old Greek and Theodotion," 296–97.

41 Olivier Munnich, ed., *Susanna. Daniel. Bel et Draco*, ed. 2a, Septuaginta 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

42 Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., "Daniel," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, trans. R. Timothy McLay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 991–1022.

43 Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, "The Relationship of the Different Editions of Daniel: A History of Scholarship," *CBR* 13.2 (2015): 179–80.

44 R. Timothy McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, SCSt 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); McLay, "Old Greek Translation"; Heinz-Dieter Neef, "Menschliche Hybris und göttliche Macht. Dan 4 LXX und Dan 4 Th im Vergleich," *JNSL* 31.2 (2005): 59–89; Munnich, "Masoretic Rewriting," 150.

45 Cf. Munnich, *Daniel*, 2:121–214.

46 Munnich, *Daniel*.

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the portion containing Daniel of the most authoritative Masoretic manuscript, the Aleppo Codex, was destroyed in 1947. Hence, the best remaining source for MT Daniel is the Leningrad Codex. For this work, I have consulted the diplomatic edition of this text published as *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.[47]

3 Methodology

Traditionally, biblical philologists have distinguished between textual criticism (German: *Textkritik*) and literary criticism (*Literarkritik*).[48] Textual criticism, or 'lower criticism', considers the attested manuscript versions of a given text and aims to identify and correct any scribal errors and alterations.[49] Literary criticism, source criticism, or 'higher criticism', deals with questions of text composition, source analysis, and redaction history.[50] Thus, textual criticism focuses on how a text was copied; literary criticism focuses on how it was created. To a certain degree, this distinction has always been artificial. But since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it has become untenable.[51] The variation seen in the different attested versions of the Hebrew Bible is not just due to copying errors or small changes made during transmission. The type of larger changes that are normally the subject of literary criticism continued to be made after the textual traditions known to us began to diverge. Conversely, scribal errors also took place before that point. In Ulrich's words, "the two processes of textual formation and textual transmission repeatedly overlapped for extensive periods of time".[52]

Scholars such as Lemmelijn have drawn far-reaching methodological and programmatic conclusions from this fluidity of the text. Lemmelijn argues that

47 Wilhelm Rudolph, Karl Elliger, and R. Kittel, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia = Tōrā, nĕvī'īm ūḵĕtūvīm* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977).

48 Cf. Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden/Grand Rapids: Brill/Eerdmans, 1998), 370; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 289; Pakkala, "Textual History."

49 Cf. David R. Law, *The Historical-Critical Method: A Guide for the Perplexed*, T&T Clark Guides for the Perplexed (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 81; Richard D. Weis, "'Lower Criticism': Studies in the Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Old Testament as Means of Textual Criticism," in *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø, vol. 3/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

50 Cf. Law, *Historical-Critical Method*, 114–15.

51 Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Das Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik in neueren alttestamentlichen Veröffentlichungen," *BZ* 34.1 (1990): 16–37; Ulrich, "Hebrew Scriptural Texts," 96–97; Lemmelijn, "Biblical Manuscript Evidence."

52 Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 2.

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the search for a most original *Urtext* is not only doomed to fail, but perhaps not even desirable.[53] This last conclusion is not maintained in the present work. Reconstructing the most original version of the text that we can reach is valuable for the insight it gives us into the different historical processes of composition, adaptation, and transmission that shaped the attested versions. By engaging in such reconstruction, we do not intend to dismiss later strata of the text as less meaningful, less interesting, or less beautiful. But we may still identify them as historically secondary, compared to the older strata.[54]

Given the continued fluidity of the texts during the late Second Temple period, the distinction between textual criticism and literary criticism is not the main methodological distinction that must be drawn. A more relevant distinction is whether a certain reconstruction is based upon evidence from multiple manuscripts or whether it is based on one single text (actually attested or reconstructed). Borrowing two terms from historical linguistics, we may refer to the first kind of reconstruction as *comparative* and to the second as *internal*.[55] Comparative reconstruction weighs the attested textual variants and reconstructs the form that best accounts for all of them, yielding a hypothetical archetype: the scholar's best guess at what the last shared ancestor of all the manuscripts looked like. Internal reconstruction then tries to account for remaining tensions and internal contradictions within this reconstructed archetype. In both parts of the process, concepts known from both textual criticism and literary criticism have a role to play. In this way, we can identify both small-scale edits and scribal errors and more motivated, literary changes to the text, whether they were made before the shared archetype of the attested manuscripts or afterwards in one of the separate textual traditions.

53 E.g. Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Textual Criticism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 707–14.

54 Cf. Ronald Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition," *VT* 58.3 (2008): 324–51.

55 On these methods in linguistics, see e.g. Robert L. Rankin, "The Comparative Method," in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 182–212; Don Ringe, "Internal Reconstruction," in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 244–61; Michael Weiss, "The Comparative Method," in *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. Claire Bowern and Bethwyn Evans (London: Routledge, 2015), 127–45.

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Methodologically, the comparative reconstruction of the textual archetype is a two-step process.[56] The first step consists of collecting the attested textual variants, defined by Lemmelijn as any "different reading between the textual witnesses".[57] The second step consists of evaluation and selection of the variant that is most likely to be original, or of conjectural emendation—suggesting a new, unattested reading—when all variants are problematic.

In the interest of space, I have left much of the variant collection and evaluation process undescribed in what follows. Instead, the discussion will be limited to cases where I have preferred a non-MT variant to MT's reading or where the choice between a non-MT variant and the MT variant is difficult enough to warrant explicit argumentation. MT will also be followed in the case of so-called synonymous variants.[58] These are variants which are equivalent in meaning or literary function, with no indication of which is more original. This adherence to MT does not reflect an overall judgment of MT as superior to the other witnesses, just the reality of its widespread usage.

Lemmelijn does not include purely orthographic differences among the variants that need to be evaluated, unlike Tov, for instance.[59] Orthography will play an important role in our investigation, however. Compared to most of the Qumran manuscripts, MT Dan showcases rather conservative spelling practices. For example, MT nearly always spells short **u* defectively, whereas 4QDan^{b} frequently spells it plene as in כול for **kull* 'all' (always כל in MT Dan). 4QDan^{a} has a similar profile to MT, although these two witnesses often disagree in places where spelling is also inconsistent within each manuscript, e.g. the use of א vs. ה as a final *mater lectionis*. As 4QDan^{a} is fragmentary while MT is preserved in its entirety, we will use the latter as our copy-text for orthographical purposes:[60] when no variant is clearly preferable, that of MT will once again be maintained. The reader should note that we will only discuss the consonantal text. We will ignore the Masoretic vocalization and *qre* forms, which themselves form a secondary layer within the Biblical Aramaic corpus.[61]

56 Cf. Ulrich, "Hebrew Scriptural Texts," 95; Bénédicte Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called "Plagues Narrative" in Exodus 7:14–11:10*, OTS 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 13–28; Lemmelijn, "Biblical Manuscript Evidence"; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 265.

57 Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, 15; cf. Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^{m} and the Samaritan Tradition*, HSS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 39.

58 Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 257.

59 Tov, 263.

60 See Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible." Hendel, in turn, adopts the term from W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–1951): 19–36.

61 Benjamin D. Suchard, "The Origins of the Biblical Aramaic Reading Tradition," *VT* 71.1 (2021): 105–19.

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After this comparative reconstruction, we will apply what I have termed internal reconstruction to identify secondary material in the reconstructed archetype. In both stages of the investigation, we will try to explain textual variants or difficulties within the reconstructed archetype as arising from recognized types of scribal errors and editing processes.

We may distinguish the following types of scribal errors, mainly based on the list given by Weingreen:[62]

- confusion between similar letters and similar-looking words;
- assimilation or attraction, when a word is partially changed to more closely resemble another word occurring in the same context;
- metathesis, i.e. letters or words changing places;
- mistaken word division;
- haplography, "that is, the failure to repeat a letter or a group of letters in a word or words";
- dittography, "or the accidental duplication of a letter or a group of letters in a word or words";
- homoioteleuton, which is when a scribe skipped from one word to a following word ending with the same letters;
- homoiarcton, a skip from one word to a following word beginning with the same letters (not mentioned by Weingreen);[63]
- the inclusion in the text of a gloss, a word or phrase meant to clarify the meaning of an obscure word, which was originally meant to stand outside the text, e.g. in the margins.

Occasionally, we will also simply refer to 'corruption' of the text. This involves changes to the text that do not fall under any of the above categories.[64] Presumably, such corruptions could be caused either by deterioration of the source manuscript or other factors causing difficult reading or by carelessness or distraction of the scribe. As this vague concept of corruption has only little explanatory power, it should be invoked sparingly. When a text was corrupted in this way, it is more likely that a scribe erroneously recognized a common word or phrase or one that was to be expected in context than a rare or unexpected one. Hence, if one of the textual witnesses attests a less common or less expected word or phrase—the *lectio difficilior*, 'more difficult reading'—this has the greater chance of being original, all other things being equal. Note that

62 J. Weingreen, *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 35–36. Compare the more recent and extensive discission by Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 221–39.

63 But see Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 222–24.

64 Cf. the discussion of "unspecified types of error" in Weingreen, *Introduction*, 70–78.

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this is a greatly restricted use of the old text-critical maxim that *lectio difficilior potior*/*praeferenda* 'the more difficult reading is stronger/to be preferred' (and other synonymous phrases), which is not very useful when it is left undefined what 'the more difficult reading' entails; often, difficult readings are the very result of scribal errors.[65]

Another category of changes that may take place during transmission has recently been identified by Carr.[66] Carr notes that the transmission of texts during the biblical period relied in part on the scribes' memory. Where this memory was not entirely accurate, it could give rise to what he terms 'memory variants'. These are the same kind of changes that are typically found when subjects in psychological experiments are asked to reproduce a text from memory and may be contrasted with changes caused by mistaken hearing, reading, or writing. The types of memory variants that will be most relevant for our purposes involve metathesis of entire words and phrases and the replacement of words and phrases by other, synonymous ones.

From the literary-critical side of things, the editing processes we will try to identify are harder to pin down. Several categories of intentional changes to content are listed by Law and Tov.[67] One common process is harmonization, where a passage is made more similar to another passage that it already resembled to some degree or contradictions are removed. Writers could modify phrases or passages for many other reasons, however. These include amplification, where a scribe has added certain details or explanations, and omission of theologically problematic or stylistically difficult material. This kind of editorial activity can often be identified based on difficulties in the resulting text, such as contradictions, interruptions, repetitions, and variation in style and vocabulary.[68] A special kind of repetition is known as resumptive repetition or

65 Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR* 75.4 (1982): 439–40; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 275–76; Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Übersetzung als Schlüssel zum Original," in *On the trail of the Septuagint translators: Collected Essays*, by Anneli Aejmelaeus (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 158; Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, 16–17.

66 David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 13–36.

67 Law, *Historical-Critical Method*, 128–29; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 240–62.

68 Law, *Historical-Critical Method*, 124–26. Reinhard Müller, Juha Pakkala, and R. B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBSt 75 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014) examine a number of cases where editing is empirically attested and conclude that while editing does not always leave such identifiable traces, it does tend to have taken place where such traces occur. The presence of textual features such as resumptive repetition is a sufficient condition to posit editing even if it is not a necessary condition. *Pace* Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, "Introduction: The Importance

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Wiederaufnahme.[69] This is when a scribe ends his interpolation by repeating a bit of text that immediately precedes it. In this way, the interpolation more easily transitions back into the original text. As far as variation in vocabulary and other aspects of language is concerned, we must be careful not to attribute variation that was introduced during scribal transmission to a difference in authorship.[70] Hence, we will only use such linguistic evidence in conjunction with other, purely literary arguments.

We will try to identify these cases of scribal error and literary reworking one by one in the following discussion of the first seven chapters of Daniel. After we have identified the secondary additions to each chapter, the Conclusion will consider the relationships between different chapters and see what our findings can tell us about the development of the book as a whole, moving more explicitly from combined textual and literary criticism to the related endeavor of redaction criticism. Reconstructions of various stages of the text are given in the Appendix.

Finally, a note on terminology. I have tried to consistently distinguish between *authors* and *editors*. By *author*, I mean the person who first composed a certain text, passage, or phrase. By *editor*, I mean someone who took a pre-existing text, passage, or phrase, and adapted it. As we have seen above, there are strong arguments to abandon the dichotomy between the literary composition of a text and its transmission. Editors of one part of the text often operated as authors in their own right with regards to other parts of the text. Where the distinction between author and editor is irrelevant, I have used *writer* to cover both. Additionally, I have sometimes used *scribe* in contexts which focus on the technical aspects of writing and copying physical text. These terms thus do not refer to different people per se, but to their different roles: all writers were scribes, all writers were editors or authors, and many writers were both editors of some texts and authors of others.

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of Empirical Models to Assess the Efficacy of Source and Redaction Criticism," in *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, ed. Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, AIL 25 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 1–35, these textual features thus remain valid indicators of editing.

69 See Curt Kuhl, "Die "Wiederaufnahme"—ein literarkritisches Prinzip?," *ZAW* 23 (1952): 1–11.

70 Cf. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 106–8, 125–32.

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CHAPTER 2

Four Friends in Babylon (Dan 1)

Our investigation begins with Chapter 1 of Daniel. This chapter has reached us in Hebrew, not Aramaic. It sets the scene for the following court tales, narrating the exile and training of Daniel and his three friends.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

OG v. 2's καὶ ἀπήνεγκεν αὐτὰ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλίῳ αὐτοῦ 'and taking them to Babylonia, he deposited them in his idol temple' lacks the repetition found in MT's ויביאם ארץ שנער בית אלהיו ואת הכלים הביא בית אוצר אלהיו 'and he brought them to the land of Shinar, to the house of his god, and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god'. Hartman and Di Lella attribute MT's reading to dittography.[1] This does not explain the considerable difference in wording in MT's doublet. More probably, the redundant repetition was smoothed out in OG.[2]

1QDan[a] 1:9 reads זרעים for 'legumes' where MT v. 16 reads זרענים with *nun*, contrasting with זרעים without *nun* in v. 12. MT's זרענים is to be preferred, as 1QDan[a] may have harmonized both instances of the word.

4QDan[a] 2:6 reads an absolute state ח[כמ]ה 'wisdom' against MT v. 20's construct state חכמת 'wisdom of'. It is hard to see how the former would have changed into the latter through scribal error, although the use of the construct is unexpected here. OG reads ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ 'in every topic and understanding and education', taking כל דבר חכמת בינה (or כל דבר חכמה בינה) as a list with three equivalent terms. This is closer to the absolute state attested in 4QDan[a] but could also reflect the translator's interpretation. I retain MT's construct state in the textual reconstruction below but we will return to the matter in the section on internal reconstruction.

4QDan[a] 2:8 reads מלכותו 'his kingdom' in an unclear context corresponding to OG v. 20 καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀπέδειξεν ἐν πράγμασιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείᾳ 'and the king glorified them and appointed them in affairs in his whole kingdom', a phrase that is missing from MT. In MT, v. 20 ends with the first mention of מלכותו, suggesting that the phrase was left out through

1 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 127nb.

2 Cf. Newsom, *Daniel*, 36ne.

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homoioteleuton. Cross, cited by Collins,[3] suggests ויכבדם המלך ויראם בכל דבר במלכותו. I would slightly emend this suggestion to ויכבדם המלך וימנם על כל דבר במלכותו to better match the meaning of the Greek verb as reconstructed by Munnich. This leaves us with the following reconstructed archetype.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 1

בשנת שלוש למלכות יהויקים
מלך יהודה בא נבוכדנאצר
מלך בבל ירושלם ויצר עליה:
ויתן אדני בידו את יהויקים מלך
יהודה ומקצת כלי בית האלהים
ויביאם ארץ שנער בית אלהיו
ואת הכלים הביא בית אוצר
אלהיו: ויאמר המלך לאשפנז
רב סריסיו להביא מבני ישראל
ומזרע המלוכה ומן הפרתמים:
ילדים אשר אין בהם כל מאום
וטובי מראה ומשכילים בכל
חכמה וידעי דעת ומביני מדע
ואשר כח בהם לעמד בהיכל
המלך וללמדם ספר ולשון
כשדים: וימן להם המלך דבר
יום ביומו מפת בג המלך ומיין
משתיו ולגדלם שנים שלוש
ומקצתם יעמדו לפני המלך: ויהי
בהם מבני יהודה דניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה: וישם להם שר
הסריסים שמות וישם לדניאל
בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך
ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבד
נגו: וישם דניאל על לבו אשר
לא יתגאל בפתבג המלך וביין
משתיו ויבקש משר הסריסים
אשר לא יתגאל: ויתן האלהים
את דניאל לחסד ולרחמים לפני
שר הסריסים: ויאמר שר

1 [1] In year three of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem and laid siege to it. [2] And the Lord gave Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and some of the vessels of the house of God into his hand, and he brought them to the land of Shinar, to the house of his god, and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. [3] And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles [4] children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language—[5] and the king appointed a daily ration to them from the king's victuals and from his drinking wine—and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. [6] And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [7] And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. [8] And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he sought of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. [9] And God granted

3 Collins, *Daniel*, 129.

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הסריסים לדניאל ירא אני את
אדני המלך אשר מנה את
מאכלכם ואת משתיכם אשר
למה יראה את פניכם זעפים מן
הילדים אשר כגילכם וחיבתם
את ראשי למלך: ויאמר דניאל
אל המלצר אשר מנה שר
הסריסים על דניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה: נס נא את
עבדיך ימים עשרה ויתנו לנו מן
הזרעים ונאכלה ומים ונשתה:
ויראו לפניך מראינו ומראה
הילדים האכלים את פתבג
המלך וכאשר תראה עשה עם
עבדיך: וישמע להם לדבר הזה
וינסם ימים עשרה: ומקצת
ימים עשרה נראה מראיהם
טוב ובריאי בשר מן כל הילדים
האכלים את פתבג המלך: ויהי
המלצר נשא את פתבגם ויין
משתיהם ונתן להם זרעונים:
והילדים האלה ארבעתם נתן
להם האלהים מדע והשכל בכל
ספר וחכמה ודניאל הבין בכל
חזון וחלמות: ולמקצת הימים
אשר אמר המלך להביאם
ויביאם שר הסריסים לפני
נבכדנצר: וידבר אתם המלך
ולא נמצא מכלם כדניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה ויעמדו לפני
המלך: וכל דבר חכמת בינה
אשר בקש מהם המלך וימצאם
עשר ידות על כל החרטמים
האשפים אשר בכל מלכותו
ויכבדם המלך וימנם על כל
דבר במלכותו: ויהי דניאל עד
שנת אחת לכורש המלך:

Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. [10] But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, that why should he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." [11] And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: [12] "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and none of them was found like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom of understanding that the king sought of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom**, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.** [21] And Daniel remained until year one of King Cyrus.

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2 Internal Reconstruction

The reconstructed text contains a number of tensions and inconsistencies:

a) 'Nebuchadnezzar' is spelled נבוכדנאצר in v. 1 vs. נבכדנצר in v. 18.
b) God is referred to as אדני in v. 2 but as האלהים in vv. 9, 17.
c) The description of where the Temple vessels were brought in v. 2 is awkwardly repetitive and slightly contradicts itself.
d) The officer in charge of the youths' education is called a רב סריסים in v. 3 but a שר סריסים in vv. 8–11, 18.
e) V. 5aα interrupts the instructions given to Ashpenaz.
f) The food provided by the king is spelled as two words, פת בג, in v. 5, but as one word, פתבג, in vv. 8, 13, 15–16.
g) In v. 9, God grants Daniel favour before the chief of the officers, yet his request is denied in the following verse.
h) In v. 12, Daniel asks to be given זרעים; in v. 16, he and his friends continue to receive זרענים, spelled differently.

V. 5aα, which introduces the elements of the Israelite trainees' food and drink, is intrusive (e). This has led some scholars to identify the entire story about Daniel and his friends' diet as a separate source that was secondarily inserted into Dan 1, which otherwise formed a straightforward introduction to the court tales of Dan 2–6.[4] This leaves the inconsistent spelling of פת בג and פתבג (f) unexplained, however. This loanword derives from Old Persian **patibāga-*.[5] The spelling as two words reflects a folk etymology:[6] the first syllable was reanalyzed as containing the Hebrew (and Aramaic) word פַּת 'piece of bread'. This folk-etymological spelling is also attested in Dan 11:26, commonly accepted to be later than Dan 1. The same folk etymology is reflected in the Tiberian reading tradition, where the word is pronounced as *paṯ*(-)*bāḡ* instead of the expected reflex of **patibāga-*, ***piṯḇāḡ*; cf. **patigāma-* > *piṯḡām* 'decree'.[7] That Dan 1:5 contains the less original form of this word suggests that it was added to this text at a later time than the body of the food and drink story in vv. 8–16.

4 E.g. Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 133; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 36; Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 13–26.

5 Benjamin J. Noonan, *Non-Semitic Loanwords in the Hebrew Bible: A Lexicon of Language Contact*, LSAWS (University Park: Eisenbrauns, 2019), *s.v.*

6 Folk etymology is a process where an untransparent word is changed so that it appears to contain another word or morpheme that occurs in the language. This process often affects loanwords. For example, Spanish *cucaracha* underwent folk etymology in English, becoming *cockroach* (seemingly *cock* as in 'rooster' + *roach*, a kind of fish). See e.g. Hans Henrich Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics*, 3rd ed., Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 34 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), §6.1.2.4.

7 Noonan, *Non-Semitic Loanwords*, 185–87.

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We may analyze it as a harmonizing addition: in v. 10, it is said that the king has appointed the youths' food and drink, but originally this was missing from the king's instructions on what was to be done with the youths. The addition of v. 5aα in its current position remedies this.

If we leave v. 5aα out, there are no further tensions or contradictions indicating that the food and drink story was added secondarily. Of course, it could originally have circulated as an independent tale, as it forms a coherent narrative. In its current form, however, it depends on the surrounding text: Daniel and his friends are assumed to be known to the reader and the situation they find themselves is not explained any further. Moreover, the story functions well within the context of Dan 1. It provides an explanation for why Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, out of all of the Israelite youths, were granted special wisdom (v. 17). The emphasis on the youths' physical appearance matches the king's demand that they be flawless and good-looking (v. 4). Previous scholarship has noted Dan 1's anticipation of themes and elements from the rest of the court tales which shows that it was composed as an introduction to the later stories.[8] Here, too, the food and drink narrative has a role to play. The chief officer and the guard's hesitance to grant Daniel's request establishes Nebuchadnezzar as someone to be feared. The youths' willingness to risk the king's displeasure anyway in order to stay pure anticipates their later religious steadfastness in Dan 3 and 6. Additionally, the rejection of the king's wine and delicacies in favour of vegetables and water may anticipate both Belshazzar's feast in Dan 5 and Nebuchadnezzar's stint as a herbivore in Dan 4. Hence, it seems likely that vv. 8–16 belong to the oldest textual layer of Dan 1.

Many different spellings of 'Nebuchadnezzar' (or 'Nebuchadrezzar', originally Akkadian *nabû-kudurrī-uṣur* 'Nabu, protect my heir') occur in various biblical texts. נבוכדנאצר in v. 1 is the only time this name is spelled with its etymological *aleph* in Daniel. The contrast in spelling between נבוכדנאצר in v. 1 and נבכדנצר in v. 18 (a) and the phraseological contrast between ויתן אדני 'and the Lord gave' in v. 2 vs. ויתן האלהים 'and God gave' in v. 9 as well as נתן להם האלהים 'God gave them' in v. 17 (b) suggests that the opening verses of Dan 1 did not originally form part of the main text. The awkward repetition in v. 2 (c) then shows the break between the two compositional elements. Collins suggests instead that the repetition in v. 2 preserves two separate traditions about what happened to the Temple vessels,[9] but since the difference is only minor

8 E.g. Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 131–33; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 37, 43; Davies, *Daniel*, 43; Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 14.

9 Collins, *Daniel*, 134.

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and does not play a role in the later narrative, it is unclear why both traditions would have been preserved.

The spelling of 'Nebuchadnezzar' with *waw*, *nun*, and *aleph* is shared with 2 Chr 36, among other texts. Dan 1:1's dating to Jehoiakim's third year is probably taken from 2 Kgs 24:1,[10] but otherwise, the contents of Dan 1:1–2a correspond to 2 Chr 36:5–7, if we assume that the author of these verses in Daniel interpreted 2 Chr 36:7's היכלו as 'his temple' instead of the probable intended meaning, 'his palace'. The rest of 2 Chr 36 describes the fate of the last two kings of Judah and the definitive onset of the Babylonian Exile, followed by the initial return to Zion in the first year of Cyrus of Persia after a seventy-year period of desolation. 2 Chr 36:22–23, the closing verses of Chronicles, are virtually identical to Ezra 1:1–3aα, which opens the description of the postexilic reconstitution in Ezra–Nehemiah in that year. Cyrus' first year is also established as the end of the period covered by Daniel by the closing verse of Dan 1 (despite the dating to the third year of Cyrus in Dan 10:1). It thus seems likely that Dan 1:1–2a and v. 21 were added by the same person, recasting the book of Daniel as it existed at that time as the missing link between Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah, providing semi-historical details on the period of the Exile.[11] In these verses, the use of אדני as a divine name, the phrase בית האלהים for the Temple, and the word מקצת 'some of' are all more typical of Ezra–Nehemiah than of Chronicles.[12] Hence, this reframing of Daniel 1 should probably be attributed to someone involved in the redaction of Ezra–Nehemiah.

Many scholars have previously suggested that Dan 1 was originally written in Aramaic and that MT's Hebrew text reflects a translation.[13] Besides the fact that the rest of the court tales from Dan 2:4b onwards are preserved in Aramaic, this is clear from a number of Aramaisms in Dan 1, most strikingly אשר למה 'which why', a calque (literal translation of an expression) or mistranslation of Aramaic די למה 'lest'; Charles lists a number of other

10 For an alternative suggestion, see Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 26–31.

11 Cf. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 38; R. Glenn Wooden, "The Book of Daniel and Manticism: A Critical Assessment of the View That the Book of Daniel Derives from a Mantic Tradition" (PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2000), 106; Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 13n2.

12 On shared terminology between Dan 1:1–2 and Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah as a whole, see Wooden, "Daniel and Manticism," 107–8.

13 E.g. Charles, *Daniel*; Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*, 7–38; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 14–15. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 41–61, is convinced by a number of Zimmermann's arguments for translation and considers the hypothesis of an Aramaic original for all chapters proven, although the evidence he cites all comes from Dan 8,10–11.

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examples.[14] Attempting to reconstruct the Aramaic original of Dan 1 solves this and a number of other textual problems, as well as resolving the remaining literary tensions and inconsistencies.[15] The variation between שר and רב 'chief' (d) and between זרעים and זרעונים 'legumes' (h) reflect translation vs. borrowing of the Aramaic terms. The strange order of events in vv. 9–10 (g) can be understood from the incorrect translation of an Aramaic perfect with pluperfect meaning as a Hebrew consecutive imperfect.[16]

The following is a tentative reconstruction of the Aramaic Vorlage of Dan 1.[17] I have tried to follow the Hebrew as closely as possible in order to keep the reconstruction firmly grounded in the data. This has unquestionably resulted in an unidiomatic Aramaic text which differs in many ways from the historical Vorlage, which ultimately remains inaccessible to us.

Reconstructed Aramaic Text of Dan 1:2b–20

... ולמאניא היבל לבית גנזי	1 [2] ... and the vessels he brought to the treasury
אלהה: ואמר מלכא לאשפנז	of his god. [3] And the king told Ashpenaz, the
רב סריסוהי להיבלה מן בני	chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites
ישראל ומן זרע מלכותא ומן	and of the royal lineage and of the nobles
פרתמיא: טלין די לא איתי	[4] children in whom was no blemish, good-
בהון כל מאום וטבי מחזה	looking, and perceiving every wisdom,
ומשתכלין בכל חכמה וידעי	knowing knowledge and understanding lore,
דעה ומביני מדע ודי גברו בהון	and in whom was strength to stand in the

14 Charles, *Daniel*, 3. The most convincing examples concern loanwords, or in this context rather Aramaic words that were not translated: רב 'chief', the verb מני 'to command', חיב 'to owe', and גיל 'age'. On p. 13, Charles notes that ספר ולשון כשדים 'Chaldaean writing and language', a construct chain with two *nomina regentia*, is "an un-Hebraic idiom for ספר כשדים ולשונם" and cites the other occurrences of this construction in Ezek 31:16 and Prov 16:11. I am not aware of many attestations in Aramaic, but an Imperial Aramaic example has now been published: מרא וחיל תימא 'Tayma's lord and army' in an inscription from Tayma, TA 964; Peter Stein, "Die reichsaramäischen Inschriften der Kampagnen 2005–2009 aus Taymāʾ," in *Taymāʾ II. Catalogue of the Inscriptions Discovered in the Saudi-German Excavations at Taymāʾ 2004–2015*, ed. Michael C. A. Macdonald, Taymāʾ 2 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021), 41.

15 Due to the lack of obvious Aramaisms I assume that vv. 1–2a were added in Hebrew, *pace* Anthony Meyer, *Naming God in Early Judaism*, SCCB 2 (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), who suggests that these verses reflect the avoidance of the tetragrammaton in Aramaic.

16 The meaning I suspect for the underlying Aramaic of v. 9 would be more correctly rendered in Hebrew by a sentence like והאלהים נתן את דניאל 'now God had granted Daniel' etc.

17 For an alternative reconstruction, see Preiswerk, "Sprachenwechsel," 109–13.

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למקם בהיכל מלכא ולאלפה
המון ספר ולשן כשדאין: וּמְנִי
להון מלכא מלת יום ביומה מן
פת בג מלכא ומן חמר משתיה
ולרביה המון שנין תלת ומן
קצתהון יקומון קדם מלכא:
והוה בהון מבני יהודה דניאל
חנניה מישאל ועזריה: ושם
להון רב סריסיא שמהן ושם
לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה
שדרך ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה
עבד נגו: ושם דניאל על לבה
די לא יטנף בפתבג מלכא
ובחמר משתיה ובעה מן רב
סריסיא די לא יטנף: ושם
אלהא דניאל לחסד ולרחמין
קדם רב סריסיא: ואמר רב
סריסיא לדניאל דחל אנה מן
קדם מראי מלכא די מני
למאכלכון ולמשתיכון די למה
יחזה אנפיכון זעפין מן טליא די
כגילכון ותחיבון ראשי למלכא:
ואמר דניאל למלצרא די מני
רב סריסיא על דניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה: נסי עבדיך
יומין עשרה ויתנו לנא מן
זרעוניא למאכל ומיא למשתה:
ויתחזו קדמיך מחזינא ומחזיהון
די טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא
וכדי תחזה עבד עם עבדיך:
ושמע להון למלתא דא ונסי
המון יומין עשרה: ומן קצת
יומין עשרה אתחזי מחזיהון
טב וברייי בשר מן כל טליא
די אכלין פתבג מלכא: והוה
מלצרא נסב פתבגהון וחמר
משתיהון ויהב להון זרעוניא:
וטליא אלך ארבעתהון יהב
להון אלהא מדע ושכלתנו בכל
ספר וחכמה ודניאל אשתכל

king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language—[5] *~~and the king appointed a daily ration to them from the king's victuals and from his drinking wine~~*—and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. [6] And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [7] And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. [8] And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he asked of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. [9] And God had granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. [10] But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, lest he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." [11] And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: [12] "Test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days

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בכל חזו וחלמין: ולמן קצת יומיא די אמר מלכא להנעלה המון והנעל המון רב סריסיא קדם נבכדנצר: ומלל עמהון מלכא ולא אשתכח מן כלהון כדניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה וקמו קדם מלכא: וכל מלת חכמה בינה די בעה מנהון מלכא והשכח המון חד עשרה על כל חרטמיא אשפיא די בכל מלכותה ויקר המון מלכא ומני המון על כל מלה במלכותה:

when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and there was no one like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom, understanding that the king asked of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.

As was mentioned above, Hebrew אשר למה (v. 10) reflects a calque or mistranslation of Aramaic די למה 'lest' (normal Hebrew would be פן). The use of a masculine suffix in Hebrew מקצתם 'at the end of them' to refer back to feminine שנים שלוש (v. 5) results from a mistranslation of Aramaic מן קצתהון, where the third person plural suffix can be either masculine or feminine (cf. Dan 2:41 מנהון 'some of them' referring back to feminine רגליא 'the feet'). The very use of מקצת 'at the end of' is an Aramaism that is not attested outside this chapter. The variation between the Hebrew titles רב סריסים (v. 3) and שר סריסים (vv. 8–11,18) may be due to inconsistent translation of Aramaic רב סריסין. Aramaic זרעונין can mean either 'seeds' or 'legumes'; in v. 12, this was translated as Hebrew זרעים 'seeds' (not recognized as such by the reading tradition, which reads the hapax *zērōʕīm*), while the Aramaic word was imported as a nonce borrowing in v. 16, yielding זרענים.

The reconstruction of ויתן האלהים את דניאל לחסד ולרחמים לפני שר הסריסים (v. 9) as ושם אלהא דניאל לחסד ולרחמין קדם רב סריסיא resolves the Hebrew text's non-sequitur. As the Aramaic Perfect can express anteriority, a function that is rare or non-existent for the Hebrew Consecutive Imperfect,[18] the original meaning could be 'now, God *had granted* Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers'. In that case, this sentence provides background information that at once recalls the story of Joseph in prison (Gen 39:21) and heightens the impact of the chief officer's refusal of Daniel's request: even though he likes Daniel, the risk of offending Nebuchadnezzar is too great. The textual issue of MT's כל דבר חכמת בינה 'every matter of wisdom of understanding' (v. 20) is also more easily resolved in a reconstructed Aramaic Vorlage, where חכמת in

18 Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 3rd reprint of 2nd ed. with corrections, SubBi 27 (Rome: Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006), §118d.

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כל מלת חכמת בינה could have developed from כל מלת חכמה בינה 'every matter of wisdom, understanding' (with the absence of 'and' also attested elsewhere in this chapter) through attraction to the feminine construct ending in the preceding word מלת.

Finally, the repetition in v. 2 may also be due to the translation process. Without the secondary verses 1–2a, the story lacks a clear beginning. Vv. 1–2a thus probably overwrite the story's original opening lines. It seems possible that the editor replaced the opening with his own Hebrew lines, ending with a phrase that was close to where the original story continued, ומקצת כלי בית האלהים ויביאם ארץ שנער בית אלהיו ≈ ולמאניא היבל לבית גנזי אלהה (a kind of resumptive repetition or *Wiederaufnahme* without intervening material). When vv. 2b–20 were then translated into Hebrew—perhaps by the same writer, in order to have Dan 1 form a more natural bridge between 2 Chr 36 and Ezra 1 covering the preceding and following time periods—the translator did not notice the resulting redundancy of the two slightly different Hebrew accounts of where the vessels were brought.

3 Conclusion

The text of MT Dan 1 seems to be quite close to the archetype of all attested versions. This archetype, however, contains a number of tensions and contradictions, many of which are resolved by assuming a more original Aramaic version. The disruptive phrase in v. 5a should be seen as an interpolation, which also explains the different spelling of פת בג in this verse compared to פתבג in the base layer of the story. With this interpolation deleted, there is no need to see the subplot of the vegan diet as secondary.

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CHAPTER 3

Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel (Dan 2)

Chapter 2, the chapter where MT switches to Aramaic, is a mix of the book of Daniel's two genres. An apocalyptic dream interpretation is framed by a court contest tale. As we shall see, this chapter's connections to the rest of the book of Daniel as a whole have prompted a remarkable amount of editorial activity, resulting in a highly layered text.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

OG vv. 18–19 read τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὑψίστου and τὸν κύριον τὸν ὕψιστον 'the Lord Most High' instead of MT and 4QDan^a 3 i:1's אלה שמיא 'the god of heaven'. Segal argues that the Greek reading is original and reflects a Vorlage like אלהא עליא.[1] MT and 4QDan^a then reflect assimilation to the title used in vv. 37,44, where OG also has ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 'the Lord of heaven' and ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 'the god of heaven', respectively.

Against MT v. 20's אלהא '(the) god', 4QDan^a 3 i:1 reads אלהא רבא 'the great god', in agreement with OG v. 20 τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεγάλου 'the great Lord'. No motivation for the addition of רבא is clear, so MT may reflect homoioteleuton.

Against MT v. 23's גבורתא 'strength', 4QDan^a 3 i:5 reads **נהי. Based on comparison with OG φρόνησιν 'intelligence', we may restore this as נהירותא 'illumination'. MT has been assimilated to v. 20, where all three witnesses read (a translation of) גבורתא 'strength'.

Against MT v. 24's על על 'went in to', QDan^a 3 i:6 reads על 'to' just once, agreeing with OG. MT reflects dittography.

Against MT v. 25's יהוד 'Judah', 4QDan^a 3 i:8 reads יהודיא 'the Judahites', which is more similar to OG τῶν υἱῶν τῆς Ιουδαίας 'the sons of Judea' than to MT. MT's reading could be assimilated to the similar expression occurring in Dan 5:13, 6:13. Neither of these occurs in OG or has been preserved in 4QDan^a, however, so we cannot know whether יהוד is any more original there. Still, we may tentatively adopt the reading of 'the Judahites'.

1 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 37–41. Segal suggests alternative phrasings as well.

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4QDan[a] 17:12 attests an extra מ compared to MT in a context which based on OG v. 28 βασιλεῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσῃ 'O king, you shall live forever!' should be restored as מלכא לעלמין חיי 'O king, live forever!'. MT has most likely deleted this phrase as it does not occur at the beginning of the speech addressed to the king, as it does elsewhere. Alternatively, we could interpret the phrase as a secondary addition to 4QDan[a] and OG that was made to harmonize this chapter with other speeches in Daniel. But this leaves unexplained why the phrase does not occur as the speaker's opening words. 4QDan[a] and OG are probably more original here.

At the end of the sentence corresponding to MT v. 40, 4QDan[a] 5:9 reads כל ארעא 'all the earth', which MT lacks. OG πᾶσα ἡ γῆ 'all the earth' agrees with this plus. It is hard to see how this phrase would have been added to 4QDan[a] and OG. Hence, the minus in MT is probably secondary. It may reflect an atypical case of haplography, where '... מרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע כל ארעא ... pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth' was changed to '... מרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע ... pulverizes, all these it will crush and pulverize' because the repeated letter sequence ... ע כל א ... led the scribe to believe that he had already copied these words.

Also in v. 40, OG has πᾶν δένδρον 'every tree' reflecting כל א(י)לן instead of MT's כל אלין 'all these'; the latter makes better sense in context, as it refers back to the different kinds of metal, so OG probably reflects metathesis or defective spelling in the Vorlage.[2]

Hartman and Di Lella note that MT v. 40 וכפרזלא די מרעע is missing from the versions, including those that are closest to MT.[3] 4QDan[a] 5:9 attests the last word, as we have seen. Reconstructing a text with the first two words missing, כל קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא ומרעע כל אלין 'as iron crushes and pounds everything and pulverizes all these', can account for all the variants, with MT adding 'and like iron which' for clarity.

OG v. 41 lacks the mention of 'toes' (MT: ואצבעתא 'and the toes'). Collins and Newsom state that 4QDan[a] probably lacks the space to include this phrase.[4] In MT, it can be explained as a secondary harmonization with v. 42.

This leaves us with the following reconstructed archetype:

2 The possibility of defective spelling was suggested to me by Alexey Yuditsky.

3 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 141.

4 Collins, *Daniel*, 151; Newsom, *Daniel*, 63.

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Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 2

ובשנת שתים למלכות נבכדנצר
חלם נבכדנצר חלמות ותתפעם
רוחו ושנתו נהיתה עליו: ויאמר
המלך לקרא לחרטמים
ולאשפים ולמכשפים ולכשדים
להגיד למלך חלמתיו ויבאו
ויעמדו לפני המלך: ויאמר להם
המלך חלום חלמתי ותפעם
רוחי לדעת את החלום: וידברו
הכשדים למלך ארמית מלכא
לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך
ופשרא נחוא: ענה מלכא ואמר
לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא
תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין
תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון:
והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון מתנן
ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון
מן קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה
החוני: ענו תנינות ואמרין מלכא
חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי ופשרה
נהחוה: ענה מלכא ואמר מן
יציב ידע אנה די עדנא אנתון
זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די אזדא
מני מלתא: די הן חלמא לא
תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה
כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר
קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן
חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה
תהחונני: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא
ואמרין לא איתי אנש על יבשתא
די מלת מלכא יוכל להחויה
כל קבל די כל מלך רב ושליט
מלה כדנה לא שאל לכל חרטם
ואשף וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה
שאל יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די
יחונה קדם מלכא להן אלהין די
מדרהון עם בשרא לא איתוהי:

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar had dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep happened over him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the diviners and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I had a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] And the Chaldaeans spoke to the king in Aramaic: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there

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כל קבל דנה מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין ובעו דניאל וחברוהי להתקטלה:

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל: ענה ואמר לאריוך שליטא די מלכא על מה דתא מהחצפה מן קדם מלכא אדין מלתא הודע אריוך לדניאל: ודניאל על ובעה מן מלכא די זמן ינתן לה ופשרא להחויה למלכא:

אדין דניאל לביתה אזל ולחנניה מישאל ועזריה חברוהי מלתא הודע: ורחמין למבעא מן קדם אלהא עליא על רזה דנה די לא יהבדון דניאל וחברוהי עם שאר חכימי בבל: אדין לדניאל בחזוא די ליליא רזה גלי אדין דניאל ברך לאלהא עליא: ענה דניאל ואמר להוא שמה די אלהא **רבא** מברך מן עלמא ועד עלמא די חכמתא וגבורתא די לה היא: והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעדה מלכין ומהקים מלכין יהב חכמתא לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי בינה: הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא ידע מה בחשוכא ונהירא עמה שרא: לך אלה אבהתי מהודא ומשבח אנה די חכמתא ונהירותא יהבת לי וכען הודעתני די בעינא מנך די מלת מלכא הודעתנא: כל קבל דנה דניאל עַל על אריוך די מני מלכא להובדה לחכימי בבל אזל וכן אמר לה לחכימי בבל

is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed, and Daniel and his friends were going to be killed.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon. [15] He spoke to Arioch, the official of the king, saying: "Why is the law so harsh from the king?" Then Arioch let Daniel know the matter. [16] And Daniel went in and asked of the king that he would be given time and to tell the king the meaning.

[17] Then Daniel went to his house and let his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah know the matter. [18] And to ask mercy from the Highest God concerning this mystery, so that Daniel and his friends would not be destroyed together with the rest of the wise men of Babylon. [19] Then, the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night; then, Daniel blessed the Highest God. [20] Daniel spoke, saying: "Let the name of the **great** God be blessed from eternity and until eternity, to whom belong wisdom and strength! [21] And he changes the seasons and the times, makes kings pass away and sets up kings, gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who know understanding. [22] He reveals deep and hidden things, knows what is in darkness, and the light resides with him. [23] You, O god of my fathers, I thank and praise, for you have given me wisdom and illumination, and now, you have let me know what we asked of you, for you have let us know the king's matter." [24] Thereupon, Daniel ~~*went in*~~ went to Arioch, whom the king had commanded to destroy

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אל תהובד העלני קדם מלכא
ופשרא למלכא אחוא: אדין
אריוך בהתבהלה הנעל לדניאל
קדם מלכא וכן אמר לה די
השכחת גבר מן בני גלותא
די יהודיא די פשרא למלכא
יהודע: ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
די שמה בלטשאצר האיתיך
כהל להודעתני חלמא די חזית
ופשרה: ענה דניאל קדם מלכא
ואמר רזה די מלכא שאל לא
חכימין אשפין חרטמין גזרין
יכלין להחויה למלכא: ברם איתי
אלה בשמיא גלא רזין והודע
למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די להוא
באחרית יומיא **מלכא לעלמין**
חיי חלמך וחזוי ראשך על
משכבך דנה הוא:
אנתה מלכא רעיונך על
משכבך סלקו מה די להוא
אחרי דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה
די להוא: ואנה לא בחכמה די
איתי בי מן כל חייא רזא דנה
גלי לי להן על דברת די פשרא
למלכא יהודעון ורעיוני לבבך
תנדע: אנתה מלכא חזה הוית
ואלו צלם חד שגיא צלמא דכן
רב וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה
דחיל: הוא צלמא ראשה די
דהב טב חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף
מעוהי וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי
די פרזל רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל
ומנהון די חסף: חזה הוית עד די
התגזרת אבן די לא בידין ומחת
לצלמא על רגלוהי די פרזלא
וחספא והדקת המון: באדין
דקו כחדה פרזלא חספא נחשא
כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן
אדרי קיט ונשא המון רוחא וכל
אתר לא השתכח להון ואבנא

the wise men of Babylon, and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." [25] Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can let the king know the meaning." [26] The king spoke to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, saying: "Can you really let me know the dream I saw and its meaning?" [27] Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "The mystery that the king asks—wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream interpreters were not able to tell the king. [28] But there is a god in heaven, a revealer of mysteries, and he has let King Nebuchadnezzar know what will happen at the end of days. **O king, live forever!** Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this:

[29] You, O king—your thoughts on your bed had turned to what will happen after this, and the Revealer of Mysteries has let you know what will happen. [30] As for me, this mystery was not revealed to me through any wisdom that is in me over all the living, but only so that they would let the king know the meaning and you would know the thoughts of your mind. [31] You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. [32] That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron, its feet, some of them were of iron and some of them were of clay. [34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet of iron and clay and crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the

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threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [36] This was the dream, and let us tell the king its meaning. [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything and ~~*like iron that*~~ pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize **the whole earth**. [41] And that you saw the feet ~~*and the toes*~~, some of them potter's clay and some of them iron: it will be a divided kingdom, but some of the nature of iron will be in it, as you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay. [42] And the toes of the feet, some of them iron and some of them clay: some of the kingdom will be strong and some of it will be weak. [43] That you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay: they will mix human seed, but they will not stick together, look, as iron does not mix with clay. [44] And in the days of those kings, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, clay, silver, and gold. A great god

די מחת לצלמא הות לטור רב
ומלת כל ארעא: דנה חלמא
ופשרה נאמר קדם מלכא:
אנתה מלכא מלך מלכיא די
אלה שמיא מלכותא חסנא
ותקפא ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל די
דארין בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף
שמיא יהב בידך והשלטך
בכלהון אנתה הוא ראשה די
דהבא: ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי
ארעא מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי
די נחשא די תשלט בכל ארעא:
ומלכו רביעיה תהוא תקיפה
כפרזלא כל קבל די פרזלא
מהדק וחשל כלא וכפרזלא ~~די~~
מרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע **כל**
ארעא: ודי חזיתה רגליא
ואצבעתא ~~מנהון~~ חסף די פחר
ומנהון פרזל מלכו פליגה תהוה
ומן נצבתא די פרזלא להוא בה
כל קבל די חזיתה פרזלא מערב
בחסף טינא: ואצבעת רגליא
מנהון פרזל ומנהון חסף מן קצת
מלכותא תהוה תקיפה ומנה
תהוה תבירה: די חזית פרזלא
מערב בחסף טינא מתערבין
להון בזרע אנשא ולא להון
דבקין דנה עם דנה הא כדי
פרזלא לא מתערב עם חספא:
וביומיהון די מלכיא אנון יקים
אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין
לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם
אחרן לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף
כל אלין מלכותא והיא תקום
לעלמיא: כל קבל די חזית די
מטורא אתגזרת אבן די לא
בידין והדקת פרזלא נחשא
חספא כספא ודהבא אלה רב
הודע למלכא מה די להוא

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אחרי דנה ויציב חלמא ומהימן פשרה:

באדין מלכא נבוכדנצר נפל על אנפוהי ולדניאל סגד ומנחה וניחחין אמר לנסכה לה: ענה מלכא לדניאל ואמר מן קשט די אלהכון הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין וגלה רזין די יכלת למגלא רזה דנה: אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על כל מדינת בבל ורב סגנין על כל חכימי בבל: ודניאל בעא מן מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל בתרע מלכא:

has let the king know what will happen after this, and the dream is certain, and its meaning is reliable."

46 Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell to the ground and bowed down before Daniel and ordered to libate a meal offering and incense to him. 47 The king spoke to Daniel, saying: "Truly, your god is a god of gods and a lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, that you were able to reveal this mystery!" 48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia and chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon. 49 And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the works in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

2 Internal Reconstruction

The reconstructed text above contains a great number of literary tensions and inconsistencies:

a) 'Nebuchadnezzar' is spelled נבכדנצר without *waw* in v. 1, but he is referred to as מלכא נבוכדנצר 'King Nebuchadnezzar', spelled with *waw*, in vv. 28, 46. Mostly, he is simply referred to as 'the king'.

b) 'It was disturbed' is a *hitpa'el* ותתפעם in v. 1 but a *niph'al* ותפעם in v. 3.

c) In vv. 1–2, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have had multiple dreams; from v. 3 onwards, there is only mention of one dream.

d) In v. 2, the magicians, sorcerers, diviners, and Chaldaeans are summoned. In vv. 4–5,10 only the Chaldaeans are present, but based on the mention of "any magician, sorcerer, or Chaldaean" (v. 10), they may represent this whole group. In vv. 12–14,18,24,48, however, the term 'the wise men of Babylon' is used instead. V. 27 combines these phrases into "wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream interpreters".

e) Vv. 1–4a are in Hebrew, while v. 4b marks a shift to Aramaic.

f) Arioch is introduced twice in rapid succession in vv. 14–15, using different terminology. V. 24 may introduce him a third time, although it could also simply be a reminder to the reader of who Arioch is.

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g) In v. 16, Daniel enters and speaks with the king, but in vv. 24–25, Arioch has to introduce him to the king as if they had not met before.

h) Despite the opening scene's emphasis on the king's desire to hear his dream together with its meaning, vv. 16,24–25 only mention Daniel's ability to relate the meaning.

i) God is referred to as 'the Highest God' in the reconstructed version of vv. 18–19, as 'the Great God' in the reconstructed version of v. 20, and as 'the God of Heaven' in vv. 37,44.

j) V. 18 is syntactically awkward, as it starts with an infinitive that does not depend on anything.

k) Daniel's speech to the king does not start with 'O king, live forever!', which only occurs after several sentences (in the reconstruction). Elsewhere in Daniel, this is the opening phrase when addressing the king, as in v. 4b.

l) Vv. 29–30 are intrusive, as they interrupt the statement "your dream… is this:" and the narration of the dream. The opening of v. 29, אנתה מלכא, is awkward, and forms a resumptive repetition together with the same words at the start of v. 31.

m) The clay is poorly integrated into the lists of the statue's materials: it is mentioned last in the description of the statue, but appears in second position in the reverse list of v. 35 and in third position in the reverse list of v. 45. The interpretation of the mixture of iron and clay is also inconsistent: three different interpretations are given in vv. 41–43; the style of these interpretations differs from the preceding interpretations, which do not include the phrase "and that you saw" like vv. 41,43 or follow vv.41–43's dream element—interpretation structure; and three different terms are used: 'clay', 'potter's clay', and 'muddy clay'. In the reconstruction, mention of the toes is restricted to v. 42; this element is not explicitly mentioned in the narration of the dream.

n) 'came loose' is spelled התגזרת with *he* in v. 34, but אתגזרת with *aleph* in v. 45. In v. 34, it is not stated where the rock originated and in v. 35 it is said to grow into a great mountain; in v. 45, it is stated that the rock came loose *from* the mountains.

o) The use of the plural in vv. 36, 47 is unexpected, since Daniel's friends are not said to be present during his audience with the king.

p) V. 44 mentions "those kings" while the interpretation of the dream only mentions kingdoms otherwise. The demonstrative pronoun used here is אנון, contrasting with אלין used in vv. 40,44 with reference to the materials of the statue in the dream (v. 40) and the kingdoms they represent (v. 44).

q) Daniel's reward is split up over vv. 46,48. In v. 48, "and chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon" seems to have been tacked on as an afterthought.

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r) Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego only appear under those names in the last verse of the chapter. The mention of Daniel's name Belteshazzar in v. 26 is also isolated.

Refining a suggestion by Hartman and Di Lella,[5] Segal has recently argued that vv. 13b,15–24a were secondarily inserted. Vv. 13a, 14, and 24b then form a continuous narrative: "And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed (13a). Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon (14). And thus he said to him: 'Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning.' (24b)" The secondary nature of the intervening material explains the double introduction of Arioch in vv. 14–15 (f), the restriction of the divine title 'the Highest God' to this passage (i), and the absence of Daniel's friends from the rest of the narrative (which is not strictly a contradiction).

Based on the evidence of OG and 4QDan[a], we have reconstructed "O king, live forever!" in the archetype of v. 28. *Pace* Collins,[6] this is hard to explain as an assimilation to the other speeches where this phrase occurs, as it occurs at the very beginning of those speeches, not preceded by a few other sentences, as here. It is commonly recognized that vv. 29–30 form an interpolation (l), interrupting the arrouncement that Daniel will reveal the dream and the narration of the dream itself.[7] The reconstruction of "O king, live forever!" in this position, however, suggests that Daniel's speech up to this point, vv. 27aβ–28a, is also secondary (k). These verses are formulated as a reply to the king's question in v. 26, which would thus also appear to be secondary, explaining its otherwise anomalous use of the name Belteshazzar (r) and the variation between the mention of both the dream and the meaning in this verse and the meaning alone in the preceding vv. 24–25 (h). Without this verse, the story consistently only mentions Daniel's ability to tell the king the meaning of his dream, which is somewhat inconsistent with the opening scene, but ultimately what the king is after.

The interpolated opening of Daniel's speech in vv. 27aβ–28a shares the phrase גלא רזין 'a revealer of mysteries' with v. 47, which occurs in an odd position: after Daniel explains the dream's meaning, the king first orders to bring him offerings (v. 46) and only then expresses this recognition of God's power (q). These lexemes are repeated at the end of this verse in the phrase למגלא רזה דנה 'to reveal this mystery'; otherwise, רז 'mystery' and גלה 'to reveal'

5 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 139. Other scholars have made similar suggestions, identifying slightly different stretches of text as belonging to the interpolation.

6 Collins, *Daniel*, 150.

7 Newsom, *Daniel*, 74 and sources cited there.

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are exclusively used in passages we have identified as secondary. V. 47 is also strange in context because of the use of אלהכון 'your (pl.) god', while Daniel's friends were not present (0); but compare the first person plurals in the conclusion of Daniel's prayer in v. 23. All this suggests that v. 47 was added by a writer who was also responsible for (part of) vv. 13b,15–24a, 26b, and 27aβ–28a. V. 36 may also be related, as it shares the unexpected use of the plural with v. 47 and the mention of both the dream and its meaning with v. 26.

Similarly, the phrase מה די להוא (אחרי דנה) 'what will happen (after this)' is limited to v. 29, generally recognized as secondary, and v. 45, which also mentions both the dream and its interpretation. Here, it occurs in the phrase אלה רב הודע למלכא מה די להוא אחרי דנה 'a great god has let the king know what will happen after this', which is reminiscent of our reconstructed אלהא רבא 'the great god' in v. 20. It seems unlikely that the added material at the beginning of Daniel's speech in vv. 27aβ–28a was written by the same person as that occurring right before the narration of the dream in vv. 29–30, as the repetitive, back-tracking nature of these latter verses in combination with vv. 27aβ–28a are what make them stand out. We may connect vv. 29–30 with v. 45aβ–b and the hymn in vv. 20–23 on the one hand based on their shared terminology. This connection is supported by the remark in v. 30 denying Daniel's possession of any special wisdom, which resonates with the attribution of all wisdom to God in vv. 20–23. V. 47 may belong to the same hand, as it picks up on the hymn's theme of God's sovereignty over kings (although the phrase גלא רזין is shared with v. 28a),[8] as may v. 36, which shares v. 47's plural usage. Vv. 13b,15–17,19a,24a,26b and 27aβ–28a then belong to another textual layer, which would appear to be earlier than that of the hymn and related verses: the 'hymnic' layer draws on this layer's term גלא רזין, rephrasing it as גלא רזיא in v. 29. Moreover, vv. 13b,15–19a,24a form a continuous narrative if the hymn in vv. 20–23 is left out. V. 19b should also be included in the 'hymnic' layer, as it forms the direct introduction to the hymn; recognizing vv. 19b–23 as an interpolation within an interpolation also accounts for the awkward repetition of אדין 'then' in v. 19. In the same way, the syntactically unexpected infinitive (j) marks v. 18 as an interpolation which may similarly be assigned to the 'hymnic' layer, which is tentatively supported by the phrase רזה דנה 'this mystery' shared with vv. 30 and 47. This also restricts the occurrence of the reconstructed divine title אלהא עליא 'the Highest God' to the 'hymnic' layer (i), while the earlier interpolated layer only vaguely refers to אלה בשמיא 'a god in heaven' in v. 28. In order to keep these layers distinct in the reconstructed text below, the layer responsible for the introduction of Daniel's friends and the focus on God's revelation of the

8 Cf. McLay, "Old Greek Translation," 319–20.

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interpretation to Daniel, the 'night vision' layer, is given as strikethrough black text (roman), while other secondary material including that from the 'hymnic' layer is given as strikethrough lightface (Aramaic) or italics (English) text.

The inconsistent ordering of the clay in the lists of the statue's materials (m) suggests that this element, too, is secondary. It may have been added to explain why the statue broke so easily once it was struck on its feet. This addition, however, created an asymmetry between the statue's five materials and the four kingdoms they represented. Hence, the various interpretations of the iron mixed with clay given in vv. 41–43, which all show signs of secondariness. These interpretations do not show any particular connections with the interpolations we have identified above, so they cannot be linked to them with complete certainty. In the Conclusion of this work, however, we will see that v. 43 may be connected to the 'night vision' layer; hence, it is also indicated with black strikethrough text in the reconstruction below. As the interpretations reflect themes that are again taken up in the Hebrew apocalypses of Dan 8 and 10–12—the division of Alexander's empire (Dan 2:41–42, 8:8,22, 11:4), interdynastic marriages (Dan 2:43, 11:6,17)—they may have been added by the authors of those chapters (of course, the addition of the feet of iron and clay to the description of the statue may itself have been motivated by the desire to add a prediction about the Hellenistic successor states). With these verses identified as secondary, the reference to 'those kings' in v. 44 (p) stands out even more; one of the writers who added an interpretation of the iron mixed with clay may have updated this from a more original 'that kingdom', referring back to v. 40. The change to 'those kings' brings v. 44 in line with vv. 41–43's references to multiple dynasties and kingdoms.

Having identified v. 47 as belonging to the secondary 'hymnic' layer, we are still faced with the double reward in vv. 46,48 (q). Nebuchadnezzar's reaction in v. 46 has puzzled commentators, as the king appears to worship Daniel.[9] The story's resolution in v. 48, on the other hand, makes good on the promise of gifts and great honour made in v. 6. While it could also be a later harmonization, I prefer to see this as the more original ending of this story. V. 46, which remains puzzling, shows some ties with the textual layer that introduced Daniel's friends and the nighttime revelation. The phrase מלכא נבוכדנצר, with 'the king' preceding the name (a), contrary to its usual position in Biblical Aramaic, occurs both here and in v. 28.[10] Moreover, the sacrificial elements

9 Holm, *Courtiers and Kings*, 432–36 shows that presenting the successful courtier with sacrifices in this manner is a motif in Egyptian court tales, which could explain its use here.

10 Cf. Charles, *Daniel*, viii, c–ci. Charles writes that "[i]n Aramaic down to 300 BC—in fact down to the second century BC, so far as I can discover, the Aramaic order of words in

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in v. 46 may be related to this textual layer's emphasis on God as the ultimate revealer of the dream and its interpretation. Or, to anticipate our conclusion that the 'night vision' layer was written by the author of Dan 10–12, they may present Nebuchadnezzar as a foil to Antiochus IV, who discontinues the daily sacrifices in the Jerusalem Temple. In conclusion, v. 48 is probably more original than v. 46.

Among the closing verses, v. 49 has widely been identified as a redactorial addition anticipating Dan 3–4 (r). V. 48b would also appear to be secondary (q), as it anticipates Belteshazzar's position mentioned in Dan 4:6. There, he is called רב חרטמיא 'the chief of the magicians' instead of the title used here, רב סגנין על כל חכימי בבל 'chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon', pointing to different authors. Alternatively, Wooden suggests a scribal corruption or misreading of חכימיא 'the wise men' as חרטמיא 'the magicians' in Dan 4:6 or of חרטמי 'the magicians of' as חכימי 'the wise men of' in Dan 2:48.[11] As the phrasing of vv. 48b–49 taken together is awkward, v. 48b should probably be attributed to an earlier hand.

This leaves a number of inconsistencies at the beginning of the chapter: the inconsistent form of ות(ת)פעם 'and it was disturbed' (b), the reference to one or multiple dreams (c), and the switch from the magicians, Chaldaeans, et al. to the wise men of Babylon (d). These are all elements that connect Dan 2 with the story of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams in Gen 41. There, we find the expression ותפעם רוחו 'and his spirit was disturbed' (v. 8); the relation of multiple dreams (v. 5) which are referred to collectively in the singular (vv. 8,15) and stated to be one and the same (v. 25); and a reference to כל חרטמי מצרים וכל חכמיה 'all of Egypt's magicians and all its wise men' (v. 8). If the author of Dan 2 integrated these references into his text from memory, these small inconsistencies may be expected.[12] They do not, therefore, necessarily reflect different sources or authors at work. Alternatively, they may reflect various sources, none of which was completely preserved; Carr points out that many sources were demonstrably only incorporated into edited texts in fragmentary form.[13] As no reference is made in our reconstructed version

mentioning an Oriental monarch was always 'Nebuchadnezzar the King': but never 'King Nebuchadnezzar'". This dating is primarily based on Greek texts such as 1–2 Maccabees, but this matches the Maccabean dating of this textual layer we will arrive at in the conclusion of the present work. It conflicts, however, with the use of מלכא דריוש 'King Darius' in what appears to be the base layer of Dan 6(:10) and מלכא בלשאצר 'King Belshazzar' in a passage shared between OG and MT Dan 5(:9), on which see the relevant chapters below. It may be that this variation was not strictly diachronic, but that the word order rather varied between different authors.

11 Wooden, "Daniel and Manticism," 140.

12 See the discussion of memory variants in the Introduction.

13 Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 114.

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of the text to the Chaldaeans or to the king's demand that the dream itself be made known to him after v. 11, these elements may not originally have belonged to the core of the story; this would support Davies's suggestion that the king's demand to hear both the dream and its interpretation was introduced together with the four kingdoms interpretation of the dream, which is secondary in his view.[14] Alternatively, the opening scene could have been introduced as part of the 'night vision' layer, which refers back to it in v. 27 and is generally concerned with the question of the divine source of the dream interpretation. In either scenario, the dream description being secondary would explain some remaining inconsistencies between the dream and its interpretation, such as the different description of what happens to the stone (n).

Finally, there is the switch from Hebrew to Aramaic (e). On the assumption that Dan 1 was originally composed in Aramaic and later translated to Hebrew, it seems likely that the translator kept using Hebrew for the beginning of Dan 2 until encountering a natural end point in the Chaldaeans' speech. We may then also reconstruct an Aramaic original for Dan 2:1–4a, with the same caveats provided for Dan 1 in the last chapter. This may provide a more straightforward explanation for the variation in ותת(פעם 'and it was disturbed' (b), where the *t*-stem represents incomplete translation of an Aramaic word. The crux ושנתו נהיתה עליו 'and his sleep happened(?) over him' may also be more easily resolved in this way.[15] Based on the parallels in both Dan 6:19 (ושנתה נדת עלוהי 'and his sleep fled from him', Aramaic) and Est 6:1 (נדדה שנת המלך 'the king's sleep fled', Hebrew), it has often been proposed to read 'and his sleep fled from him' here.[16] The exact mechanism changing נדדה 'it fled' to נהיתה 'it happened' is unclear, however. In Aramaic, a form נדדת*, with all three radicals spelled out as in עללת 'she entered' (Dan 5:10), could more easily be misread as נהות*, which would be written with the same number of strokes. Even though נהות is strictly meaningless in Aramaic, a translator could have recognized the root הוי 'to be' and mechanically supplied the closest Hebrew form, the attested *n*-stem form נהיתה 'it happened'.[17]

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14 Philip R. Davies, "Daniel Chapter Two," *Theological Studies* 27 (1976): 392–405; Davies, *Daniel*, 46–48. See also Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 61–62, who suggests that the dream originally referred to the succession of the Neo-Babylonian Empire by the Median and Persian ones. This would parallel the prediction in Dan 5 and correspond with the exilic setting of Dan 1–6 overall.

15 The similarly difficult expression ואני דניאל נהיתי 'and I, Daniel, happened(?)' (Dan 8:24) eludes explanation, if it is intended to be from the verb היי 'to be'.

16 E.g. Newsom, *Daniel*, 62.

17 Cf. the likely case of mistranslation of די תבירת* 'that it was broken' as הנשברת 'the broken one' in Dan 8:22, where the translator must have mistakenly equated תבירת* with the Herbrew participle נשברת even though an Aramaic participle in the absolute state would not end in *taw*; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 42.

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Reconstructed Text of Dan 2

ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר
חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת
רוחה ושנתה נדדת עלוהי׃
ואמר מלכא למקרא לחרטמיא
ולאשפיא ולגזריא ולכשדיא
להחויה למלכא חלמוהי ואתו
וקמו קדם מלכא׃ ואמר להון
מלכא חלם חזית ואטפרת רוחי
למנדע חלמא׃ ענו כשדיא קדם
מלכא ואמרין ~~אדמיד~~ מלכא
לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך
ופשרא נחוא׃ ענה מלכא ואמר
לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא
תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין
תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון׃
והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון מתנן
ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון
מן קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה
החוני׃ ענו תנינות ואמרין מלכא
חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי ופשרה
נהחוה׃ ענה מלכא ואמר מן
יציב ידע אנה די עדנא אנתון
זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די אזדא
מני מלתא׃ די הן חלמא לא
תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה
כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר
קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן
חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה
תהחוננני׃ ענו כשדיא קדם
מלכא ואמרין לא איתי אנש
על יבשתא די מלת מלכא יוכל
להחויה כל קבל די כל מלך רב
ושליט מלה כדנה לא שאל לכל
חרטם ואשף וכשדי׃ ומלתא די
מלכה שאל יקירה ואחרן לא
איתי די יחונה קדם מלכא להן
אלהין די מדרהון עם בשרא לא
איתוהי׃

2 *[1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying ~~in Aramaic~~*: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and

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כל קבל דנה מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין ובעו דניאל וחברוהי להתקטלה:

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל: ענה ואמר לאריוך שליטא די מלכא על מה דתא מהחצפה מן קדם מלכא אדין מלתא הודע אריוך לדניאל: ודניאל על ובעה מן מלכא די זמן ינתן לה ופשרא להחויה למלכא:

אדין דניאל לביתה אזל ולחנניה מישאל ועזריה חברוהי מלתא הודע: ורחמין למבעא מן קדם אלהא עליא על רזה דנה די לא יהבדון דניאל וחברוהי עם שאר חכימי בבל: אדין לדניאל בחזוא די ליליא רזה גלי אדין דניאל ברך לאלהא עליא: ענה דניאל ואמר להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך מן עלמא ועד עלמא די חכמתא וגבורתא די לה היא: והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעדה מלכין ומהקים מלכין יהב חכמתא לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי בינה: הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא ידע מה בחשוכא ונהירא עמה שרא: לך אלה אבהתי מהודא ומשבח אנה די חכמתא ונהירותא יהבת לי וכען הודעתני די בעינא מנך די מלת מלכא הודעתנא: כל קבל דנה דניאל על אריוך די

there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed*, and Daniel and his friends were going to be killed*.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon. [15] He spoke to Arioch, the official of the king, saying: "Why is the law so harsh from the king?" Then Arioch let Daniel know the matter. [16] And Daniel went in and asked of the king that he would be given time and to tell the king the meaning.

[17] Then Daniel went to his house and made the matter known to his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. *[18] And to ask mercy from the Highest God concerning this mystery, so that Daniel and his friends would not be destroyed together with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.* [19] Then, the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night; *then, Daniel blessed the Highest God. [20] Daniel spoke, saying: "Let the name of the great God be blessed from eternity and until eternity, to whom belong wisdom and strength! [21] And he changes the seasons and the times, makes kings pass away and sets up kings, gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who know understanding. [22] He reveals deep and hidden things, knows what is in darkness, and the light resides with him. [23] You, O god of my fathers, I thank and praise, for you have given me wisdom and illumination, and now, you have made known to me what we asked of you, for you have made the king's matter known to us."* [24] Thereupon, Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had

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~~commanded to destroy the wise men of Babylon,~~ and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." 25 Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." 26 ~~The king spoke to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, saying: "Can you really make known to me the dream I saw and its meaning?"~~ 27 Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "~~The mystery that the king asks—wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream interpreters were not able to tell the king.~~ 28 ~~But there is a god in heaven, a revealer of mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will happen at the end of days.~~ O king, live forever! Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this:

29 ~~*You, O king—your thoughts on your bed had turned to what will happen after this, and the Revealer of Mysteries has let you know what will happen.* 30 *As for me, this mystery was not revealed to me through any wisdom that is in me over all the living, but only so that they would make known to the king the meaning and you would know the thoughts of your mind.*~~ 31 You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. 32 That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, 33 its legs were of iron, its feet, some of them were of iron and some of them were of clay. 34 You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet of iron and clay and crushed them. 35 Then at once the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and

~~מני מלכא להובדה לחכימי בבל~~
~~אוֹל~~ וכן אמר לה לחכימי בבל
אל תהובד העלני קדם מלכא
ופשרא למלכא אחוא: אדין
אריוך בהתבהלה הנעל לדניאל
קדם מלכא וכן אמר לה די
השכחת גבר מן בני גלותא די
יהודיא די פשרא למלכא יהודע:
~~ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל די~~
~~שמה בלטשאצר האיתיך כהל~~
~~להודעתני חלמא די חזית~~
~~ופשרה~~: ענה דניאל קדם מלכא
ואמר ~~רזה די מלכא שאל לא~~
~~חכימין אשפין חרטמין גזרין~~
~~יכלין להחויה למלכא: ברם איתי~~
~~אלה בשמיא גלא רזין והודע~~
~~למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די להוא~~
~~באחרית יומיא~~ מלכא לעלמין
חיי חלמך וחזוי ראשך על
משכבך דנה הוא:

~~אנתה מלכא רעיונך על~~
~~משכבך סלקו מה די להוא~~
~~אחרי דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה~~
~~די להוא: ואנה לא בחכמה די~~
~~איתי בי מן כל חייא רזא דנה~~
~~גלי לי להן על דברת די פשרא~~
~~למלכא יהודעון ורעיוני לבבך~~
~~תנדע~~: אנתה מלכא חזה הוית
ואלו צלם חד שגיא צלמא דכן
רב וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה
דחיל: הוא צלמא ראשה די
דהב טב חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף
מעוהי וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי
די פרזל רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל
ומנהון די חסף: חזה הוית עד די
התגזרת אבן די לא בידין ומחת
לצלמא על רגלוהי די פרזלא
וחספא והדקת המון: באדין
דקו כחדה פרזלא חספא נחשא
כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן

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אדרי קיט ונשא המון רוחא וכל
אתר לא השתכח להון ואבנא
די מחת לצלמא הות לטור רב
ומלת כל ארעא: ~~דנה חלמא~~
~~ופשרה נאמר קדם מלכא:~~
אנתה מלכא מלך מלכיא די אלה
שמיא מלכותא חסנא ותקפא
ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל די דארין
בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף שמיא
יהב בידך והשלטך בכלהון אנתה
הוא ראשה די דהבא: ובתרך
תקום מלכו אחרי ארעא מנך
ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די נחשא
די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא
כל קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל
כלא ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע
כל ארעא: ~~ודי חזיתה רגליא~~
~~מנהון חסף די פחר ומנהון פרזל~~
~~מלכו פליגה תהוה ומן נצבתא~~
~~די פרזלא להוא בה 〉כל קבל~~
~~די חזיתה פרזלא מערב בחסף~~
~~טינא: ואצבעת רגליא מנהון~~
~~פרזל ומנהון חסף מן קצת~~
~~מלכותא תהוה תקיפה ומנה~~
~~תהוה תבירה〈: די חזית פרזלא~~
~~מערב בחסף טינא מתערבין~~
~~להון בזרע אנשא ולא להון דבקין~~
~~דנה עם דנה הא כדי פרזלא לא~~
~~מתערב עם חספא:~~ וביומיה די
מלכותא דכן יקים אלה שמיא
מלכו די לעלמין לא תתחבל
ומלכותה לעם אחרן לא תשתבק
תדק ותסיף כל אלין מלכותא
והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל קבל די
חזית די מטורא אתגזרת אבן די
לא בידין והדקת פרזלא נחשא
חספא כספא ודהבא אלה רב
~~הודע למלכא מה די להוא אחרי~~
~~דנה ויציב חלמא ומהימן פשרה:~~

the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [36] ~~*This was the dream, and let us tell the king its meaning.*~~ [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. [41] ~~*And that you saw the feet, some of them potter's clay and some of them iron: it will be a divided kingdom, but some of the nature of iron will be in it, 〈as you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay.* [42] *And the toes of the feet, some of them iron and some of them clay: some of the kingdom will be strong and some of it will be weak.〉* [43] That you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay: they will mix human seed, but they will not stick together, look, as iron does not mix with clay.~~ [44] And in the days of that kingdom, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, clay, silver, and gold. ~~*A great god has*~~

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באדין מלכא נבוכדנצר נפל על אנפוהי ולדניאל סגד ומנחה וניחחין אמר לנסכה לה: ענה מלכא לדניאל ואמר מן קשט די אלהכון הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין וגלה רזין די יכלת למגלא רזה דנה: אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על כל מדינת בבל ורב סגנין על כל חכימי בבל: ודניאל בעא מן מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל בתרע מלכא:

let the king know what will happen after this, and the dream is certain, and its meaning is reliable."

46 Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell to the ground and bowed down before Daniel and ordered to libate a meal offering and incense to him. 47 *The king spoke to Daniel, saying: "Truly, your god is a god of gods and a lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, that you were able to reveal this mystery!"* 48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia *and chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon.* 49 *And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.*

3 Conclusion

The above reconstruction has resulted in a much slimmer narrative. As was recently emphasized by Segal,[18] the older version of this story more closely parallels the Joseph narrative in Gen 41. Nebuchadnezzar has a dream; none of his mantic experts can explain it; Daniel explains the dream's meaning and is rewarded.

Due to this chapter's combination of the court tale genre shared with the first half of the book of Daniel and the apocalyptic message shared with its second half, the story was overlaid with many later additions. We have identified a relatively old supplemental layer in the verses describing how Daniel's friends were involved and how the dream's meaning was revealed to him by God. Within this interpolation, a second layer was added, including an act of prayer and a hymn of praise. This layer is also connected to several other verses in the chapter. Segal makes a convincing case that this addition (which, in his view, is not distinct from its direct context involving Daniel's friends) forms a foil to Antiochus IV's behaviour described in Dan 7.[19]

18 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 32–54.

19 Segal, 51–54.

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Other secondary elements occur in the inclusion of feet of clay mixed with iron in the dream and the various interpretations given to this dream element. Some of these may be connected with Dan 8 and Dan 10–12. Thus, the analysis given above supports Segal's conclusion that this chapter continued to undergo editing until quite late in the history of the book of Daniel.[20]

20 Segal, 54.

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CHAPTER 4

Nebuchadnezzar and the Three Friends (Dan 3:1–30)

The story that occupies most of Dan 3 stands out in a few ways. Notably, Daniel is not mentioned here, while three other Judahites, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, are the protagonists. As we shall see, the text seems to be much less layered than the preceding and following chapters, perhaps reflecting its somewhat peripheral status within the book of Daniel as a whole, where it shows the closest links to the story of Daniel in the lions' den (Dan 6).

1 Comparative Reconstruction

The evidence from Qumran for this chapter is sadly not very plentiful. 4QDan[a], which attested some important variants for the previous two chapters, only preserves the first few verses of this chapter, and in bad condition. The other manuscripts do not attest any readings that I judge to be preferable to MT.

OG Dan 3 is characterized by two long pluses that are universally recognized as secondary: the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men. These are shared with Th. Besides these texts, the OG of this chapter shows some initial additions characterizing Nebuchadnezzar as the ruler of a world empire modeled after the book of Esther, as well as a tendency to abbreviate the text's more redundant features. There is some variation between the use of Nebuchadnezzar's title: in vv. 3 and 14, MT has 'Nebuchadnezzar' against OG's 'King Nebuchadnezzar', while the opposite is the case in v. 7. It is hard to see one or the other as clearly more original here: the variants are synonymous.

In vv. 6 and 21, OG has no counterpart to MT's יקדתא 'burning'. MT has harmonized this verse with other references to the oven.

In vv. 7–8, MT starts both verses with כל קבל דנה בה זמנא 'accordingly, at that time', which makes sense in v. 7 but less so in v. 8. OG v. 8 only has ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ 'at that time'. MT has probably assimilated the beginning of v. 8 to that of v. 7.[1]

In v. 12, OG lacks a counterpart of MT's עבידת 'the labour of'. If עבידת is secondary here, we must explain why עבידתא occurs in Dan 2:49, a verse that was most probably composed to anticipate this verse. One possibility is that OG is

1 Cf. Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 154, who call it a dittography; Collins, *Daniel*, 176.

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more original and that Dan 3:12 originally read that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego had been appointed over the province of Babylonia, not just over the labour there. As this conflicted with Daniel's appointment over the province of Babylonia in Dan 2:48, which is probably more original (see above), Dan 2:49 could have been formulated in this way to explain the contradiction by making Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego Daniel's subordinates. In that case, MT has harmonized Dan 3:12 with Dan 2:49.

The first exchange between Nebuchadnezzar and his companions in MT's v. 24b is missing from OG. It seems likely that it was added to MT to more explicitly bring out the contrast between the three men that were thrown into the oven bound in v. 23 and the king's observation of four men walking around unbound in v. 25. This exchange is additionally marked as secondary by the unique form of the formula ענין ... ואמרין '... spoke, saying' using two participles.[2] Elsewhere, the third person plural of this expression uses a Perfect for the first verb, i.e. ענו ... ואמרין, as in Dan 3:9,16.

The OG ends the story in v. 97 = MT v. 30 with the additional words κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας 'he appointed them rulers', which may reflect a Vorlage like והשלט המון 'and he granted them authority'. This looks like harmonization with the (reconstructed) endings of Dan 1 and 2 and is probably secondary.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 3:1–30

נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די
דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה
אמין שת אקימה בבקעת דורא
במדינת בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא
שלח למכנש לאחשדרפניא
סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא
גדבריא דתבריא תפתיא וכל
שלטני מדינתא למתא לחנכת
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר
מלכא: באדין מתכנשין
אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא
אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא
תפתיא וכל שלטני מדינתא
לחנכת צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר
מלכא וקאמין לקבל צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא קרא

3 [1] King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. [2] And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [3] Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [4] And the herald

2 Cf. Benjamin D. Suchard, "Historical (In)accuracy and Linguistic Archaism in Daniel 5," *Biblica*, forthcoming.

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בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא אמיא
ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון
קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס
סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל
זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם
דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר
מלכא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד
בה שעתא יתרמא לגוא אתון
נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה בה
זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא
קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס
שבכא פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא
נפלין כל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
סגדין לצלם דהבא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא: ~~כל קבל דנה~~
בה זמנא קרבו גברין כשדאין
ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא:
ענו ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכא לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא
שמת טעם די כל אנש די ישמע
קל קרנא משרקיתא קיתרס
שבכא פסנתרין וסיפניה וכל זני
זמרא יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא:
ומן די לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא
לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: איתי
גברין יהודאין די מנית יתהון
על ~~עבידת~~ מדינת בבל שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו גבריא אלך
לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם
לאלהיך לא פלחין ולצלם דהבא
די הקימת לא סגדין: באדין
נבוכדנצר ברגז וחמה אמר
להיתיה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו
באדין גבריא אלך היתיו קדם
מלכא: ענה נבכדנצר ואמר
להון הצדא שדרך מישך ועבד
נגו לאלהי לא איתיכון פלחין
ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא
סגדין: כען הן איתיכון עתידין
די בעדנא די תשמעון קל קרנא

called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: [5] at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. [6] And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of ~~*burning*~~ fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] ~~*Accordingly,*~~ at that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over ~~*the work in*~~ the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [13] Then, Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Then, those men brought [them] before the king. [14] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying to them: "Really, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, is it so that you do not serve my gods and do not bow down to the golden statue that I have erected?

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משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנתרין וסומפניה וכל זני זמרא
תפלון ותסגדון לצלמא די עבדת
והן לא תסגדון בה שעתה
תתרמון לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא
ומן הוא אלה די ישיזבנכון מן
ידי: ענו שדרך מישך ועבד נגו
ואמרין למלכא נבוכדנצר לא
חשחין אנחנה על דנה פתגם
להתבותך: הן איתי אלהנא די
אנחנא פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא
מן אתון נורא יקדתא ומן ידך
מלכא ישיזב: והן לא ידיע
להוא לך מלכא די לאלהיך לא
איתינא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די
הקימת לא נסגד: באדין
נבוכדנצר התמלי חמא וצלם
אנפוהי אשתנו על שדרך מישך
ועבד נגו ענה ואמר למזא
לאתונא חד שבעה על די חזה
למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די
בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך
מישך ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון
נורא יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך
כפתו בסרבליהון פטישיהון
וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא
אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל
דנה מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה
ואתונא אזה יתירא גבריא אלך
די הסקו לשדרך מישך ועבד
נגו קטל המון שביבא די נורא:
וגבריא אלך תלתהון שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון
נורא ~~יקדתא~~ מכפתין:

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה
וקם בהתבהלה ענה ואמר
להדברוהי ~~הלא גברין תלתא~~
~~רמינא לגוא נורא מכפתין ענין~~
~~ואמרין למלכא יציבא מלכא:~~

15 Now, if you are prepared to fall and bow down to the statue that I made at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument—but if not, at that moment you will be thrown into the oven of burning fire, and who is a god who could save you from me?" 16 Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "We do not need to answer to you for this. 17 If it is so that the god we serve can save us from the oven of burning fire, and from you, O king, he will; 18 and if not, let it be known to you, O king, that indeed, we do not serve your gods and will not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." 19 Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. 20 And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. 21 Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. 22 Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. 23 And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of ~~*burning*~~ fire.

24 Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: ~~*"Did we not throw three men into the oven bound?" They spoke, saying to the king: "Certainly, O king!"* 25 *He spoke, saying:*~~ "Look,

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עֲנַהּ וְאָמַר הָא אֲנָה חָזֵה גַּבְרִין
אַרְבְּעָה שְׁרַיִן מְהַלְכִין בְּגוֹא נוּרָא
וְחַבָּל לָא אִיתַי בְּהוֹן וְרֵוֵה דִּי
רְבִיעָיָא דָּמֵה לְבַר אֱלָהִין׃
בֵּאדַיִן קָרֵב נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר לְתַרַע
אַתּוּן נוּרָא יְקִדְתָּא עָנֵה וְאָמַר
שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וְעַבְדְּנְגּוֹ עַבְדְוֹהִי
דִּי אֱלָהָא עִלָּיָא פְּקוּ וְאִתּוּ
בֵּאדַיִן נְפָקִין שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וְעַבְדְּ
נְגּוֹ מִן גּוֹא נוּרָא׃ וּמִתְכַּנְשִׁין
אַחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא סְגָנַיָּא וּפַחְוָתָא
וְהַדְּבָרֵי מַלְכָּא חָזַיִן לְגַבְרַיָּא
אִלֵּךְ דִּי לָא שְׁלַט נוּרָא בִּגְשְׁמְהוֹן
וְשַׂעֲרָ רֵאשְׁהוֹן לָא הִתְחְרַךְ
וְסַרְבָּלֵיהוֹן לָא שְׁנוֹ וְרִיחַ נוּר לָא
עֲדָת בְּהוֹן׃ עָנֵה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר וְאָמַר
בְּרִיךְ אֱלָהְהוֹן דִּי שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ
וְעַבְדְּנְגּוֹ דִּי שְׁלַח מַלְאֲכֵה וְשֵׁיזַב
לְעַבְדְּוֹהִי דִּי הַתְרְחִצוּ עֲלוֹהִי
וּמִלַּת מַלְכָּא שְׁנִיו וְיָהֲבוּ גִשְׁמֵיהוֹן
דִּי לָא יִפְלְחוּן וְלָא יִסְגְּדוּן לְכָל
אֱלָה לְהֵן לְאֱלָהְהוֹן׃ וּמִנִּי שִׂים
טְעֵם דִּי כָל עַם אֻמָּה וְלִשָּׁן
דִּי יֵאמַר שְׁלָה עַל אֱלָהְהוֹן דִּי
שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וְעַבְדְּנְגּוֹ הַדְמִין
יִתְעֲבֵד וּבִיתֵהּ נְוָלִי יִשְׁתְּוֵה כָּל
קֳבֵל דִּי לָא אִיתַי אֱלָה אָחֳרָן דִּי
יָכֵל לְהַצָּלָה כִּדְנָה׃ בֵּאדַיִן מַלְכָּא
הַצְלַח לְשַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וְעַבְדְּנְגּוֹ
בִּמְדִינַת בָּבֶל׃

I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god! [29] And a decree is issued by me that any people, nation, and language that speaks blasphemy against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego will be made into limbs and its house will be made like a ruin, since there is no other god who can save like this." [30] Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

2 Internal Reconstruction

The literary criticism of this chapter is the topic of a separate article by Haag.[3] As discussed in the Introduction of this work, Haag goes very far in the elimination of material that does not fit his notions of what the narrative should

3 Haag, "Drei Männer."

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encompass. This results in a very minimal original story, with jarring transitions such as:

> 20 And he commanded men from his army to throw Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the furnace of burning fire. 26 Then Nebuchadnezzar approached the door of the furnace of burning fire; he began to speak: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, you servants of the highest god, come out and come here![4]

As in his other work, Haag neglects the step of textual criticism. This neglect results in unlikely reconstructions. For example, one and the same supplementer (*Ergänzer*) is held responsible for certain verses that are shared between OG and MT as well as others which are not. Given these methodological issues, it seems best only to adopt his identifications of secondary material where the text itself offers substantial evidence and not to rely overly much on his reconstructed development of the text.

Compared to the preceding chapters, this chapter contains only few inconsistencies and literary tensions:[5]

a) 'King Nebuchadnezzar' is spelled נבוכדנצר מלכא with *waw* in vv. 1–3,5, 7,9,24,31; the same spelling of 'Nebuchadnezzar' without 'king' occurs in vv. 3,13,19,26,28 and with 'king' preceding in v. 16. But in v. 14, 'Nebuchadnezzar' is spelled נבכדנצר, without *waw*.
b) V. 1 contains the phrases צלם די דהב 'a statue of gold' (periphrastic genitive) and אקימה 'he erected it' (*aph'el*), contrasting with the frequently repeated צלם דהבא 'the golden statue' (construct chain) and הקים 'he erected' (*haph'el*) in the rest of the chapter.
c) In v. 25, Nebuchadnezzar's ultimatum comes too late, as the music has already played.
d) Abed Nego is spelled עבד נגוא only in v. 29, against עבד נגו elsewhere.

One point where Haag notes observable discrepancies in the text is the difference between the *aph'el* verb אקימה 'he erected it' and the periphrastic genitive construction צלם די דהב 'a statue of gold' in v. 1 vs. the *haph'el* הקים 'he erected' and related forms and the construct chain צלם דהבא 'the golden statue' in vv. 2–3,5,7,10,12,14 (b).[6] Haag interprets this as evidence for the

4 "20 Und Männern aus seinem Heer befahl er, Shadrak, Meschak und Abednego in den Ofen des brennenden Feuers zu werfen. 26 Dann näherte sich Nebuchadnezzar der Tür an dem Ofen des brennenden Feuers; er hob an und sprach: Schadrak, Meschak und Abednego, ihr Diener des höchsten Gottes, kommt heraus und tretet hierhin!"; Haag, 29.

5 Cf. Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 86.

6 Haag, "Drei Männer," 21–22.

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secondary nature of the repetitive phrases like "the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar erected". It is unclear to me, however, how to arrive at a coherent text that leaves these phrases out without arbitrarily recombining the attested text. Interestingly, both of the forms used in v. 1 are typologically younger: the causative prefix **ha-* and the construct chain are of Proto-(West-) Semitic age,[7] while the lenited causative prefix **ʔa-* and the increased use of the genitive particle **dī* are later, inner-Aramaic developments.[8] Perhaps this indicates that it is v. 1 that is a late addition to the text, replacing the story's original opening.

The spelling of the words 'cithara', 'sambuca', 'psaltery', and 'symphonia' is highly inconsistent, but I have argued elsewhere that this shows that they are intended as Greek codeswitches: their inconsistent spelling reflects an attempt to capture the foreign sounds in the Aramaic script.[9] Another aberrant spelling occurs in v. 29, where Abed Nego is spelled עבד נגוא with final *aleph* against עבד נגו without *aleph* in vv. 12–14,16,19–20,22–23,26,28–30 (d). V. 29 establishes literary connections with a number of other chapters. The punishment proposed by Nebuchadnezzar is the same as in Dan 2:5, contrasting with the punishment of burning that otherwise features so prominently in Dan 3. The issuing of a proclamation parallels Dan 6:26–28. The use of the verb הצל 'to save' is also limited to v. 29 within Dan 3, which otherwise uses שיזב (vv. 15, twice in 17, and 28), but הצל does occur in Dan 6:15,28. Based on the clustering of these links to other narratives, it is likely that this irregular spelling betrays a later hand, who added this harmonizing proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar.[10]

Otherwise, we may note the variation (a) between נבוכדנצר and נבוכדנצר מלכא '(King) Nebuchadnezzar' (passim), נבכדנצר without *waw* (v. 14),[11] and מלכא נבוכדנצר 'King Nebuchadnezzar' with 'king' preceding (v. 16).[12] Carr warns against the reliance on names alone as a criterion for source criticism, as comparison of MT to LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch shows that names and titles were not always faithfully preserved.[13] But there are a few other

7 John Huehnergard, "Proto-Semitic," in *The Semitic Languages*, ed. John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El, 2nd ed., Routledge Language Family Series (London: Routledge, 2019), 59, 64.

8 Holger Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam*, HdO 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 24, 28–29, 34, 39.

9 Benjamin D. Suchard, "The Greek in Daniel 3: Code-Switching, Not Loanwords," *JBL* 141.1 (2022): 121–36.

10 Cf. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 94, who attributes this verse to the collector of the court tales.

11 Cf. Haag, "Drei Männer," 24.

12 Thus OG and Th; the Masoretic cantillation takes 'Nebuchadnezzar' in v. 16 as part of the direct speech, as in "saying to the king: 'Nebuchadnezzar, …'". On the order of 'King Nebuchadnezzar', see Chapter 3, Note 10.

13 Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 107.

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indications that the section where these unparalleled forms of the king's name and title occur, vv. 13–18, is secondary. The beginnings of vv. 13,19 may reflect resumptive repetition: both start with באדין נבוכדנצר 'then Nebuchadnezzar' and relate the king's anger. Meanwhile, vv. 13–18 do not contribute much to the story in terms of narrative details they add and can be excised without affecting the plot. These verses may have been added both to give Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego speaking parts and to heighten their portrayed steadfastness by giving them a chance to repent. This second chance contradicts the statement in v. 6 that punishment for not worshipping the statue will be immediate. And as noted by Haag,[14] the repeated threat seems to come too late, as the musical instruments have already played (c). The paragraph breaks at the beginning and end of this section may also indicate editorial activity.[15] Taking all this evidence together, we may tentatively identify vv. 13–18 as secondary, although not obviously so. Within this interpolation, the unique spelling נבכדנצר may suggest that vv. 14–15 form an even later addition, but perhaps we should not read too much into this.[16] All in all, we are left with a reconstructed text that is similar to the attested witnesses, excluding the major additions to the Greek texts.

Reconstructed Text of Dan 3:1–30

~~נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די~~
~~דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה~~
~~אמין שת אקימה בבקעת דורא~~
~~במדינת בבל׃~~ ונבוכדנצר מלכא
שלח למכנש לאחשדרפניא
סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא׃ באדין
מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא

3 [1] ~~*King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia.*~~ [2] And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [3] Then, the satraps, prefects

14 Haag, "Drei Männer," 25.

15 Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Division Markers as Empirical Evidence for the Editorial Growth of Biblical Books," in *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, ed. Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, AIL 25 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 165–215.

16 A similar approach is taken by Haag, "Drei Männer." Haag attributes v. 13a, באדין נבוכדנצר ברגז וחמה אמר להיתיה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו 'then Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego', to the oldest textual layer, which spells Nebuchadnezzar plene. A first rewriting added vv. 13b,19a, still with Nebuchadnezzar spelled plene. Vv. 14–18, including most of the dialogue, belong to a second layer of rewriting, where Nebuchadnezzar was spelled defectively. Plene 'Nebuchadnezzar' in v. 16 was then added by a later scribe, explaining its anomalous position relative to the noun 'king'.

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ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא
קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא
אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די
תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא
קיתרוס סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה
וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון
לצלם דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר
מלכא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד בה
שעתא יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא:
כל קבל דנה בה זמנא כדי שמעין
כל עממיא קל קרנא משרוקיתא
קיתרס שבכא פסנטרין וכל זני
זמרא נפלין כל עממיא אמיא
ולשניא סגדין לצלם דהבא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: בה זמנא
קרבו גברין כשדאין ואכלו
קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו ואמרין
לנבוכדנצר מלכא מלכא לעלמין
חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת טעם די
כל אנש די ישמע קל קרנא
משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנתרין וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא
יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא לגוא אתון
נורא יקדתא: איתי גברין יהודאין
די מנית יתהון על מדינת בבל
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו גבריא
אלך לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם
לאלהיך לא פלחין ולצלם דהבא
די הקימת לא סגדין: ~~באדין
נבוכדנצר ברגז וחמה אמר
להיתיה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו
באדין גבריא אלך היתיו קדם
מלכא: ענה נבכדנצר ואמר
להון הצדא שדרך מישך ועבד~~

and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 4 And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: 5 at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. 6 And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." 7 Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 8 At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. 9 They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! 10 You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, 11 and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. 12 There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." *~~13 Then, Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed~~*

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~~*Nego. Then, those men brought* [*them*] *before the king.* [14] *Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying to them: "Really, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, is it so that you do not serve my gods and do not bow down to the golden statue that I have erected?* [15] *Now, if you are prepared to fall and bow down to the statue that I made at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument—but if not, at that moment you will be thrown into the oven of burning fire, and who is a god who could save you from me?"* [16] *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "We do not need to answer to you for this.* [17] *If it is so that the god we serve can save us from the oven of burning fire, and from you, O king, he will;* [18] *and if not, let it be known to you, O king, that indeed, we do not serve your gods and will not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected."*~~ [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

~~נגו לאלהי לא איתיכון פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא סגדין: כען הן איתיכון עתידין די בעדנא די תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין וסומפניה וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלמא די עבדת והן לא תסגדון בה שעתה תתרמון לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא ומן הוא אלה די ישיזבנכון מן ידי: ענו שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ואמרין למלכא נבוכדנצר לא חשחין אנחנה על דנה פתגם להתבותך: הן איתי אלהנא די אנחנא פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא מן אתון נורא יקדתא ומן ידך מלכא ישיזב: והן לא ידיע להוא לך מלכא די לאלהיך לא איתינא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא נסגד:~~ באדין נבוכדנצר התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי אשתנו על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה על די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון נורא יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך כפתו בסרבליהון פטישיהון וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה ואתונא אזה יתירא גבריא אלך די הסקו לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו קטל המון שביבא די נורא: וגבריא אלך תלתהון שדרך מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון נורא מכפתין:

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אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה
וקם בהתבהלה ענה ואמר
להדברוהי הא אנה חזה גברין
ארבעה שרין מהלכין בגוא נורא
וחבל לא איתי בהון ורוה די
רביעיא דמה לבר אלהין: באדין
קרב נבוכדנצר לתרע אתון נורא
יקדתא ענה ואמר שדרך מישך
ועבד נגו עבדוהי די אלהא עליא
פקו ואתו באדין נפקין שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא:
ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין
לגבריא אלך די לא שלט נורא
בגשמהון ושער ראשהון לא
התחרך וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח
נור לא עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר
ואמר בריך אלההון די שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו די שלח מלאכה
ושיזב לעבדוהי די התרחצו
עלוהי ומלת מלכא שניו ויהבו
גשמיהון די לא יפלחון ולא יסגדון
לכל אלה להן לאלההון: ~~ומני~~
~~שים טעם די כל עם אמה ולשן~~
~~די יאמר שלה על אלההון די~~
~~שדרך מישך ועבד נגוא הדמין~~
~~יתעבד וביתה נולי ישתוה כל~~
~~קבל די לא איתי אלה אחרן די~~
~~יכל להצלה כדנה~~: באדין מלכא
הצלח לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו
במדינת בבל:

[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god! [29] ~~*And a decree is issued by me that any people, nation, and language that speaks blasphemy against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego will be made into limbs and its house will be made like a ruin, since there is no other god who can save like this.*~~" [30] Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

3 Conclusion

The story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego seems to have undergone relatively little textual development after it was first put to writing. Before the oldest stage of the text that is reconstructible based on comparative evidence, an interchange between Nebuchadnezzar and the three friends may have been

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added. Together with the possible rewriting of the opening and the addition of a decree by Nebuchadnezzar, this explains the small number of inconsistencies and literary tensions the story contains. The text as it occurs in MT has added another exchange, this time between Nebuchadnezzar and his attendants, drawing out the unexpectedness of Nebuchadnezzar's observation of four unbound men walking around the fiery furnace.

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CHAPTER 5

Nebuchadnezzar and Belteshazzar (Dan 3:31–4:34)

With Dan 4, we have reached the part of Daniel where OG greatly diverges from the other witnesses. To complicate matters even further, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, madness, and restoration appears to have been put together from various sources itself. A related tradition seems to be attested in the Qumran text 4QPrNab, the 'Prayer of Nabonidus'. Given this highly complex textual history, the conclusions on this chapter must remain tentative at best.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

As with the previous chapter, the Qumran manuscripts do not attest any readings that seem more original, which may largely be due to the poor preservation of this section of 4QDan[a]. The comparative reconstruction must thus rely primarily on comparison of MT to OG.

OG lacks the motif of all the wise men of Babylon other than Belteshazzar failing to explain the king's dream. With Segal,[1] we may identify this as a secondary harmonization in MT with the plotlines of Dan 2 and 5. Segal identifies all of vv. 3–7a and 15 as secondary. The textual and literary arguments receive linguistic confirmation from two features noted by Charles.[2] The interpolation uses the king–name order for מלכא נבוכדנצר 'King Nebuchadnezzar' in v. 15,[3] contrasting with the older name–king order attested in Imperial Aramaic, Ezra, most occurrences in Daniel, and indeed נבוכדנצר מלכא 'King Nebuchadnezzar' in Dan 4:25,28. And in v. 4, the preposition קדם 'before' is used instead of ל 'to', a usage which was originally restricted to kings and deities; the use with the wise men seen here is hypercorrect.

Besides eliminating the other sages, excluding vv. 3–7a and 15 changes the order of events. Now, the dream is narrated before the interpreter is present. This order is closer to the literary exemplar of this passage, Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream in Gen 41. The situation is complicated, however, by the similarities between MT v. 6 and OG v. 15. Both of these verses describe

1 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 102–4.

2 Charles, *Daniel*, viii–ix.

3 Cf. Chapter 3, Note 10.

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Daniel in similar terms: רב חרטמיא 'the chief of the magicians' in MT, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν κρινόντων τὰ ἐνύπνια 'the leader of those who decide dreams' in OG.[4] OG's καὶ ὑπέδειξέ μοι πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ 'and he showed me its entire interpretation' does not make sense in context, as Daniel's interpretation of the dream does not start until v. 17. This phrase may reflect a misinterpretation of a Vorlage like MT's ופשרה אמר 'and tell its interpretation', taking the imperative אמר *ʔmar 'tell' as a third-person masculine singular perfect *ʔamar 'he told'. All in all, OG's v. 15 reads as a telescoped version of MT's vv. 5–6. In my reconstruction, I therefore retain some of the material from MT vv. 3–6, but move it to the position where it occurs in OG, which is probably more original. MT's phrase די אנה ידעת די רוח אלהין קדישין בך וכל רז לא אנס לך 'of whom I have learned that there is a spirit of holy gods in you and no mystery is too difficult for you' is not only absent from OG but also anticipates MT v. 15. Hence, it is probably also secondary.

MT v. 2's וחזוי ראשי 'and the visions of my head' does not occur in OG. The latter's καὶ φόβος μοι ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου 'fear fell upon me on my bed' is a reasonable equivalent to what is left of MT's phrase without these words, והרהרין על משכבי יבהלנני 'and disturbing thoughts on my bed terrified me'. While this is the form of the text reconstructed by Munnich, McLay notes that ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου 'on my bed' is marked as an addition in Hexaplaric manuscript 88.[5] If it was originally absent from OG altogether, the entire collocation על משכבי וחזוי ראשי 'on my bed and the visions of my head' finds no support there. It may have originated as an anticipatory dittography of the similar phrase וחזוי ראשי על משכבי 'and the visions of my head on my bed' in v. 7, which was perhaps included in v. 2 as a gloss of the hapax legomenon הרהרין 'disturbing thoughts'.[6] This leaves us with a set of opening lines that can be formally classified as poetry:

4 OG also contains another title, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σοφιστῶν 'the ruler of the savants', which may be a harmonization with Dan 2, where Daniel is given the title of רב סגנין על כל חכימי בבל 'chief prefect over all the wise men of Babylon'.

5 McLay, "Old Greek Translation," 313.

6 The phrase in v. 7 is instead identified as a resumptive repetition by Olivier Munnich, "Texte Massorétique et Septante dans le Livre de Daniel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker, SCSt 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 104; McLay, "Old Greek Translation," 312. It is then connected to the secondary insertion of MT Dan 3:3–6. But it is unclear to me how this resumptive repetition would have arisen. OG attests a parallel to the phrase in v. 7, ἐκάθευδον 'I was sleeping', but not in v. 2, suggesting that the archetype of MT and OG contained וחזוי ראשי על משכבי 'and the visions of my head on my bed' in v. 7 but not the similar phrase in v. 2; in that case, it would not make sense to insert it in v. 2, where it does not do anything to ease over the insertion of vv. 3–6.

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שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי
חלם חזית וידחלנני
והרהרין יבהלנני

I was at ease in my house,
flourishing in my palace;
I saw a dream and it frightened me,
and disturbing thoughts terrified me.

The rhythmic phrasing and parallelism of these lines closely matches the poetic style of much of the dream description, which immediately follows once vv. 3–6 are recognized as secondary. As we shall see below in both this section and the next, the elements that interrupt the dream's poetic style can all be identified as interpolations on other grounds. The poetic nature of the resulting text thus supports this reconstruction.

Segal convincingly argues that MT v. 13a is a harmonization with the description of the first animal of Dan 7 and that MT v. 14b of the dream narration is harmonized with the dream interpretation.[7] Haag suggests that these sentences, neither of which is directly paralleled in OG, were written by the same scribe, who can be recognized by his spelling of 'mankind' as אנושא (vs. אנשא elsewhere).[8] The phrase ושפל אנשים יקים עליה in v. 14b may be attributed to the same scribe. In that case, אנושא 'mankind' may betray the same Hebraizing tendency seen in the Hebrew code-switch שפל אנשים 'the lowliest of men', although אנוש is also attested in Aramaic varieties where Hebrew influence is unlikely, such as Nabataean.[9]

The king's encouragement of Belteshazzar in MT v. 16 is missing from OG, but this may reflect homoiarcton, with ענה מלכא ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר 'the king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the interpretation terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying:' becoming ענה בלטשאצר ואמר 'Belteshazzar spoke, saying:'. It may also be that this sentence, which marks the switch to third-person narration in MT, was left out in OG in order to maintain the first-person narration for longer.

MT's v. 18, recalling some of the tree's characteristics, is syntactically awkward and not referred back to in the following interpretation. This verse

7 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 104–8.

8 Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 18.

9 Jean Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, vol. 1: Notions générales, écriture, grammaire (Paris: Leroux, 1930), 47.

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contains a morphologically feminine form in the third person plural verb ישכנן 'they would dwell', whereas the third person plural normally uses the masculine form even for feminine subjects in Biblical Aramaic (cf. ידרון with the same meaning in v. 9); the only other form like this is להוין 'let them (f.) be' in Dan 5:17, which we will identify as an interpolation in the next chapter. The verse is not directly paralleled in OG. Instead, OG brings up these elements of the dream later on. The two traditions thus introduce them at different points in the dream interpretation, showing their original absence from this part of the text; these are independent harmonizations with the dream description. In the same way, much of MT's vv. 20 and 22 is missing from OG and can be explained as harmonization with the dream description.

MT and OG diverge significantly in the final verses of this chapter. One element that is rather obviously secondary in MT is Nebuchadnezzar's hymn of praise stretching from ולעליא ברכת 'and I blessed the Highest' in v. 31 to מנדעי יתוב עלי 'my understanding returning to me' in v. 33; the latter phrase forms a resumptive repetition of ומנדעי עלי יתוב in v. 31 while the hymn is redundant in the face of the following climactic doxology in v. 34.[10] Within this interpolation, the second occurrence of דארי ארעא 'those who dwell on earth' has already been identified by other scholars as a later addition.[11]

A difficult point is the third-person narration in MT v. 30 vs. the first-person narration in OG vv. 30a–b. Has MT assimilated this verse to the preceding third-person narration, or has OG assimilated it to the following first-person narration? Wills sees the remains of an independent source in the closing of the OG account, which in his view is supported in its originality by its closer correspondence with 4QPrNab compared to MT.[12] I agree that the OG's formal introduction of the speaker as 'I, Nabouchodonosor, king of Babylon' is hard to explain in this context as a secondary development from MT's third person.

Another element in MT that is completely absent from OG is the mention of the king's 'attendants and nobles' in v. 33. These figures play no role in the rest of the story and may have been inserted to connect Dan 4 with the preceding and following stories, which do mention the king's הדברין 'attendants' (Dan 3) and רברבנין 'nobles' (Dan 5).

10 The secondary nature of this hymn is considered but rejected by Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*, 44–45. Albertz notes the resumptive repetition, but considers the hymn too integral to the plotline to be secondary. This mainly depends on the repeated anticipation of Nebuchadnezzar's acknowledgment of God's authority. As we have seen, however, most of these anticipatory statements are secondary themselves.

11 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 170; Newsom, *Daniel*, 127.

12 Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 90–98.

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The OG text contains many secondary elements which we have not discussed, on which see the thorough discussion by Segal.[13] This leaves us with the following reconstructed archetype.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 3:31–4:34

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא
ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא
עליא שפר קדמי להחויה:
אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי
כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות
עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר: אנה
נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית
וידחלנני והרהרין על משכבי
וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני: ומני שים
טעם להנעלה קדמי לכל חכימי
בבל די פשר חלמא יהודענני:
באדין עללין חרטמיא אשפיא
כשדיא וגזריא וחלמא אמר
אנה קדמיהון ופשרה לא
מהודעין לי: ועד אחרין על
קדמי דניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר כשם אלהי ודי רוח
אלהין קדישין בה וחלמא
קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב
חרטמיא די אנה ידעת די רוח
אלהין קדישין בך וכל רז לא
אנס לך חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: וחזוי ראשי על
משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן
בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה
אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא
לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא:
עפיה שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון

3 [31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 [1] I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts ~~*on my bed and the visions of my head*~~ terrified me. [3] ~~And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me *all the wise men of Babylon so that they could make known to me the meaning of the dream.* [4] *Then, the magicians, the sorcerors, the Chaldaeans, and the dream interpreters each came in, and I would tell them the dream, but none of them could make its meaning known to me.* [5] *And finally, there came before me* Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, *and in whom there was a spirit of holy gods,* and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, *of whom I have learned that there is a spirit of holy gods in you and no mystery is too difficult for you,* tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning! [7] And the visions of my head on my bed: I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to

13 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 109–24.

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לכלא בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות
ברא ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי
שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על
משכבי ואלו עיר וקדיש מן
שמיא נחת: קרא בחיל וכן
אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו ענפוהי
אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה תנד
חיותא מן תחתוהי וצפריא מן
ענפוהי: ברם עקר שרשוהי
בארעא שבקו ובאסור די פרזל
ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל
שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה
בעשב ארעא: ~~לבבה מן אנושא
ישנון ולבב חיוה יתיהב לה~~
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי:
בגזרת עירין פתגמא ומאמר
קדישין שאלתא ~~עד דברת די
ינדעון חייא די שליט עליא
במלכות אנושא ולמן די
יצבא יתננה ושפל אנשים
יקים עליה~~: ומני שים טעם
להנעלה קדמי לדניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר כשם אלהי וחלמא
קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב
חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: ~~דנה חלמא חזית
אנה מלכא נבוכדנצר ואנתה
בלטשאצר פשרא אמר כל
קבל די כל חכימי מלכותי לא
יכלין פשרא להודעתני ואנתה
כהל די רוח אלהין קדישין בך~~:
אדין דניאל די שמה בלטשאצר
אשתומם כשעה חדה ורעינהי
יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר
בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל
יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר
מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה

the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals. [13] ~~*They will change his mind from mankind and an animal mind will be given to him,*~~ and seven seasons will pass over him. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones~~*, so that the living will know that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind. And he gives it to whom he wants and establishes the lowliest of men over it.*~~' [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning! [15] ~~*This dream did I, King Nebuchadnezzar, see; now you, Belteshazzar, tell the meaning, since none of the wise men of my kingdom were able to make known to me the meaning, but you can, as a spirit of holy gods is in you.*~~" [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your

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ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא
וחזותה לכל ארעא: ועפיה
שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא
בה תחתוהי תדור חיות ברא
ובענפוהי ישכנן צפרי שמיא:
אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית
ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא:
ודי חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת
מן שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא
וחבלוהי ברם עקר שרשוהי
בארעא שבקו ובאסור די
פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא
ובטל שמיא יצטבע ועם חיות
ברא חלקה עד די שבעה
עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: דנה
פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא היא
די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך ועשבא כתורין
לך יטעמון ומטל שמיא לך
מצבעין ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן
די יצבא יתננה: ודי אמרו
למשבק עקר שרשוהי די
אילנא מלכותך לך קימה מן
די תנדע די שלטן שמיא: להן
מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין
הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא
מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על
היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך
הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא

enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth, [18] *and its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it; under it, the wild animals would dwell, and in its branches the birds of heaven settled*: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it, *but leave its root stump in the earth and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass, and it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be with the wild animals until seven seasons have passed over it*', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals, *and they will feed you grass like cattle and they will wash you with the dew of heaven, and seven seasons will pass over you until you know that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants*. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know that Heaven is authorized. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great,

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היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה
לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר
הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא
קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין
נבוכדנצר מלכא מלכותה עדת
מנך: ומן אנשא לך טרדין ועם
חיות ברא מדרך עשבא כתורין
לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די
יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא
ספת על נבוכדנצר: **אנה**
נבוכדנצר מלך בבל ומן אנשא
טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת
ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די
שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי
כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה
נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת
ומנדעי עלי יתוב ולעלייא ברכת
ולחי עלמא שבחת והדרת די
שלטנה שלטן עלם ומלכותה
עם דר ודר: וכל דארי ארעא
כלה חשיבין וכמצביה עבד
בחיל שמיא ⟨ודארי ארעא⟩
ולא איתי די ימחא בידה
ויאמר לה מה עבדת: בה זמנא
מנדעי יתוב עלי וליקר מלכותי
הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ולי הדברי
ורבריבני יבעון ועל מלכותי
התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי:
כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח
ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די
כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין
ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. ~~*and*~~ I, **Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,** was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, ~~*and I blessed the Highest, and praised and glorified the Ever-Living, whose authority is an eternal authority and whose reign is with every generation.* [32] *And all who dwell on the earth are reckoned like nothing, and he does as he wants with the host of heaven ⟨and with those who dwell on earth⟩, and there is none who can stay his hand and say to him: "What have you done?"* [33] *At that time, my understanding returning to me,*~~ and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, ~~*and my attendants and my nobles came looking for me,*~~ and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

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2 Internal Reconstruction

Our reconstructed archetype contains the following tensions and inconsistencies:

a) The dream's meaning is partially already revealed in the dream narration (vv. 12b,14b), making the dream less mysterious and more incoherent.
b) The dream interpreter's double name Daniel/Belteshazzar serves no function.
c) The dream interpreter plays no role in the story from v. 24 onwards.
d) The story starts and ends in the first person, but refers to the king in the third person in vv. 16–30. When the first person picks up again in our reconstructed archetype of MT v. 30, the introduction of the speaker as 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon' is overly explicit.
e) In v. 23, the plural 'they said' is used to refer what was said by a singular speaker in the dream.
f) The dream interpreter's advice in v. 24 is left hanging in the air, neither explicitly followed or rejected in the rest of the story.
g) The story seems to contain multiple conclusions before its definitive ending (v. 25, opening of v. 30a).

Dan 4 is unique in consistently referring to the protagonist as Belteshazzar (b).[14] When this name occurs elsewhere in the book of Daniel, it is always in conjunction with the name Daniel and the name Daniel occurs without Belteshazzar in those stories as well. Only in Dan 4 does Belteshazzar occur independently and consistently. This suggests that Belteshazzar was the original name of the dream interpreter of Dan 4, Daniel was the original name of the protagonist of other stories like those in Dan 2, 5, 6, and that these characters were conflated when some of these stories were combined into a single literary work.[15] The name Daniel is thus secondary to Dan 4. The explanation given for the name Belteshazzar probably marks the first occurrence of the combination of the two names in an earlier version of the book of Daniel, before Dan 1 was added and before the reference to the name Belteshazzar was included in Dan 2. It is likely also secondary here.

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14 Cf. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 86. OG does not use Βαλτασαρ 'Baltasar' in this chapter, probably to avoid confusion with the name Belshazzar in Dan 5, which is transcribed in the same way.

15 Cf. the similar case of Gideon/Jerubbaal discussed by Sara J. Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 160–66. Similarly, Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 76 suggests that the character of Daniel is secondary to the story of Susanna, which originally featured an anonymous protagonist.

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The expression מן די תנדע די שלטן שמיא 'once you come to know that Heaven is authorized' in v. 23 is difficult. The metonymic use of 'Heaven' for God, who is called 'the King of Heaven' later on in this chapter, is understandable, but the doubly defective spelling of **šallīṭīn* as שלטן instead of expected שליטין** is exceptional. Originally, this word may have been intended as **šulṭān* 'authority', which would regularly be spelled this way. די 'that' has then been added by accidental assimilation to תנדע די 'you will know that' in v. 29 (MT also has this phrase in v. 22, but I have argued above that this is secondary). As ידע can also mean 'to know' in the sense of 'to be acquainted with' (German *kennen*), מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא can be read as 'until you come to know the authority of Heaven'.

The switch in person (d) is obviously problematic. Segal sees a literary progression from the first-person dream report to the second-person dream interpretation and third-person narration of its fulfilment, citing a number of authors who similarly identify the switch in person as a literary device.[16] This does not explain, however, why the third-person narration already starts in v. 16, in between the dream report and the dream interpretation.[17] Following authors like Haag and Wills,[18] I prefer to see the switch in person as a trace of this chapter's redaction history. Taking the two concluding sentences in vv. 25,30 (g) as the endings of what were originally separate stories , we are left with coherent narratives. The lack of an explicit narration of the fulfilment of a dream or prediction matches the pattern of Dan 2 and Dan 5 (as we shall see, the description of Belshazzar's fate in Dan 5:30 is not only extremely brief, but also secondary). As other authors have noted, many elements from these hypothetical different sources have bled into one another. The element of Nebuchadnezzar living as a wild animal is markedly out of place in the dream narrative (a) and is formulaically distinct from the other elements of the dream interpretation:[19] it is simply stated without explicit reference to anything that happened in the dream. It has probably been introduced from the final, first-person source, where it forms the core of the plot. This leaves the seven-year period as one of the few distinct elements of the punishment decreed by the heavenly voice heard on the top of the palace. The reference to this period in the dream is then also a harmonization.

In the dream narrative, the Watcher's speech refers back to the parts of the tree that were introduced earlier, when it was first described. The command

16 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 101.

17 Cf. Newsom, *Daniel*, 133.

18 Haag, *Errettung Daniels*; Wills, *Jew in the Court*; see also Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 93.

19 Cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 219.

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to leave the roots in the ground breaks this pattern, as the roots were not previously mentioned. As noted, the interpretation of this element is also phraseologically distinct from the preceding interpretations (e). It is therefore attractive to follow Wills in identifying the root motif and the anticipated restoration of Nebuchadnezzar as secondary.[20]

The dream interpreter's advice to the king to atone for his sins in v. 24 (f) also seems out of place in our reconstructed archetype. Its poetic diction matches that of the rest of the preceding passage, so perhaps it formed an original part of the story that has turned into a dead end because a redactor eliminated the narration of Nebuchadnezzar's good deeds (or lack thereof) that it anticipates. The originality of this element receives stylistic support from the *inclusio* formed by שלה 'at ease' in v. 1 and שלותך 'your ease' in v. 24. V. 25's ominous כלא מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא 'all this came over King Nebuchadnezzar' is then a redactional note, truncating the original story.

A minor, textual emendation is suggested by Hartman and Di Lella in v. 7.[21] They suggest that וחזוי 'and the visions of' is a mistake for בחזוי 'in the visions of', introducing the dream narration. This makes more sense and parallels v. 13. The expression וחזוי ראשי 'and the visions of my head' is fairly common in Daniel, which could account for this scribal error.

Finally, the letter form of the whole story can easily be explained as a later development. The letter's opening has obvious links to King Darius' letter in Dan 6:26–28. As suggested by Haag,[22] if Dan 4–6 once circulated as a separate collection, turning Dan 4 into a letter provided the text with a ring composition, starting and ending with letters from world leaders acknowledging God's sovereignty. The framework of a letter, with first-person narration, accounts for the extension of the first person to the beginning of the dream account, which was not carried through into the dialogue between the king and Belteshazzar.[23] The letter's closing in Dan 4:34 mainly refers back to the scene on top of the royal palace, now the core of the combined story.

20 Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 108.

21 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 168.

22 Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 14.

23 Cf. J. Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4–5," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 42.

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Reconstructed Texts of Dan 3:31–4:34

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא
ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא
עליא שפר קדמי להחויה:
אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי
כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות
עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוה
בביתה ורענן בהיכלה: חלם
חזה וידחלנה והרהרין יבהלנה:
בחזוי ראשה על משכבה חזה
הוה ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא
ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף
ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר
ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא בה
תחתוהי תטלל חיות ברא
ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא
ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוה
בחזוי ראשה על משכבה ואלו
עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת: קרא
בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו
ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם
עקר שרשוהי בארעא שבקו
ובאסור די פרזל ונחש בדתאא
די ברא ובטל שמיא יצטבע
ועם חיותא חלקה בעשב
ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא
ומאמר קדישין שאלתא: ומן
מלכא שים טעם להנעלה
קדמוהי לדניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר כשם אלהי וחלמא
קדמוהי אמר: בלטשאצר רב
חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: אדין דניאל די

3 [31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation.

4 [1] ~~*I,*~~ Nebuchadnezzar~~,~~ was at ease in his house, flourishing in his palace. [2] He saw a dream and it frightened him, and disturbing thoughts terrified him. [7] In the visions of his head on his bed he saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] He saw in the visions of his head on his bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] ~~*But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals,*~~ [13] ~~*and seven seasons will pass over it.*~~ [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by **the king** to bring in before him [5] ~~*Daniel, whose name was*~~ Belteshazzar~~*, like the name of my god,*~~ and he told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!"

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שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם
כשעה חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה
ענה מלכא ואמר בלטשאצר
חלמא ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה
בלטשאצר ואמר מראי חלמא
לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך: אילנא
די חזית די רבה ותקף ורומה
ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל
ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת
ומטת לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף
ארעא: ודי חזה מלכא עיר
וקדיש נחת מן שמיא ואמר גדו
אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה פשרא
מלכא וגזרת עליא היא די מטת
על מראי מלכא: ולך טרדין מן
אנשא ועם חיות ברא להוה
מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק עקר
שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע ⟨די⟩
שלטן שמיא: להן מלכא מלכי
ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק
ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא
ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא על
נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר
נבוכדנצר מלכא על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה:
ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא
בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית
מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי:
עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן
שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר
מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן
אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות
ברא מדרך עשבא כתורין לך
יטעמון ושבעה עדנין יחלפון

16 Then *Daniel, whose name was* Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! 17 The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: 19 that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. 20 And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', 21 this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. 22 *And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals.* 23 *And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know ⟨that⟩ the authority of Heaven.* 24 Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." 25 *All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.*

26 *At the end of twelve months,* **King Nebuchadnezzar** was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. 27 The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." 28 The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. 29 *And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle* and seven seasons will pass

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עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די
יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא
ספת על נבוכדנצר:
אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן
אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין
אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע
עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי
כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה
נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת
ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי
הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי
התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי:

כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח
ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די
כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין
ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar.

I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me.

[34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

3 Conclusion

Like some other authors, most notably Haag and Wills, I have reconstructed three different source texts which have been combined to form the bulk of Dan 4. These originally consisted of Belteshazzar's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream predicting his demise; a heavenly voice announcing Nebuchadnezzar's loss of the kingship for seven years; and a first-person account of Nebuchadnezzar's madness followed by his restoration. Like other stories about the demise of Nebuchadnezzar and the madness or at least absence of Nabonidus,[24] these may well have circulated independently. In their reconstructed form, especially the latter two sources are quite terse. It is likely, however, that they originally contained more material which has not reached us. In the case of the first story, we have reconstructed a continuous stretch of poetry at the outset, with poetic diction predominating throughout.

24 See, for instance, Klaus Koch, "Gottes Herrschaft über das Reich des Menschen. Daniel 4 im Licht neuer Funde," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 77–119; Collins, *Daniel*, 217–19; Holm, *Courtiers and Kings*, 448–60.

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By combining these three sources into one narrative, a redactor shaped them into a story of the king's presaged downfall, repentance, and restoration. The use of the first person in the last of these sources may have suggested the recasting of the combined narrative as a letter, which shares features with the letter in Dan 6. The combination of these three different sources and a fourth textual layer at the beginning and the end gave rise to many thematic inconsistencies, leading to the great number of harmonizing additions visible in MT, OG, and their reconstructed archetype.

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CHAPTER 6

Belshazzar and Daniel (Dan 5)

After four stories featuring Nebuchadnezzar, we now move on to the story of Belshazzar, whom Daniel presents as the last king of Babylon. Here, too, OG and MT differ radically.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

The Qumran manuscripts preserve more material corresponding to Dan 5 than is the case for the preceding two chapters, but no readings which are clearly superior to MT. In v. 17, ancient versions that are generally close to MT such as Th have phrases meaning 'the gifts of your house' for נבזביתך. Comparing this form to נבזבה without *yod* in Dan 2:6 suggests that MT Dan 5:17 reflects a rather late haplography of נבזבת ביתך. Otherwise, the relevant textual evidence once again comes from OG.

The OG text starts with a short and separate account known as the Preface or OG 5:0. Unlike the main body of the OG text, it seems clear that this is largely an independent retelling of the story and not a different edition going back to the same archetype (although the Preface is literarily dependent on the full story).[1] While some of the Preface's elements can help to support a text-critical reconstruction, it is not suitable for phrase-by-phrase comparison.

1 Segal, "Daniel 5"; not so Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 121–27 (who notes the similarity between the OG Preface and the independent reconstruction of Dan 5 by Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 56); Justin L. Pannkuk, "The Preface to Old Greek Daniel 5: A Formal Approach," *VT* 67.2 (2017): 213–26. Dalia Amara, "The Third Version of the Story of Belshazzar's Banquet (Daniel 5) [Hebrew]," *Textus* 23.1 (2007): מא-יא argues that the Preface is a translation of an Aramaic text, not a Greek composition. Some of her arguments are more compelling than others: the suggestion that the Preface's δάκτυλοι ὡσεὶ ἀνθρώπου 'fingers as though of a human' reflects a Vorlage אצבען די אנש with metathesis of original יד 'hand' presupposes an ungrammatical original text, אצבען יד אנש 'fingers, a human hand' (not 'fingers of a human hand', which would be אצבעת יד אנש** with 'fingers' in the construct state). The terse list of the words written on the wall followed by their meaning is also hard to retrovert to Aramaic; in her reconstructed Vorlage, Amara employs Hebrew for the interpretation (e.g. מנא—נספר 'MN?—it has been counted'). On this question see also Munnich, "Masoretic Rewriting."

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Such a phrase-by-phrase comparison of the main body of the OG text and MT has recently been conducted in a separate article by Segal.[2] I will largely rely on his judicious conclusions in the rest of this section.

One disagreement between OG and MT that recurs a few times is the number and status of the guests present at the feast. Segal argues that OG's reading, which mentions the king's 'friends' but does not number them and excludes the concubines mentioned in MT, is more original.[3] MT then reflects expansion in vv. 1–3,23.

V. 6 differs between OG and MT. Segal argues that the OG corresponds to what we find as v. 9 in MT, which was moved to this position in OG to solve an apparent redundancy.[4] MT's שנוהי 'his years' in this verse is transparently a scribal error for שנו 'they changed' assimilated to the preceding and following words ending in *-*ōhī* (spelled defectively in רעינהי 'his thoughts').

MT's terms תלתי and תלתא in vv. 7,16,29 are generally taken to reflect titles, perhaps (originally) meaning 'third in rank'. OG instead has the king's reward including authority over one third of the kingdom. This may be seen as harmonization with Dan 6 on the one hand, where Daniel is one of three overseers placed over the satraps (and hence logically responsible for one third of the kingdom) and with Esther on the other, where Ahasuerus repeatedly offers Esther any request she makes 'up to half of the kingdom' (also cf. the same offer in Mark 6:23). Elsewhere, I have suggested that תלתי might indeed originally have meant 'one third', while תלתא more probably means 'as the third, in third place'.[5] The difference between these words may reflect the secondary status of the passage containing תלתי, as argued below.

MT vv. 10–13 appear in a different form in OG, where this passage is markedly shorter. The elements that they share also occur in a different order. Given OG's tendency to abbreviation noted by Segal,[6] the translator may have produced these verses as a rearranged summary. Daniel's appointment to chief of the magicians (etc.) in MT v. 11b looks like a harmonization with Dan 4:4, which contains the same list of mantic experts, but as we have seen, that verse is secondary; Dan 4:4 is more likely to be a harmonization with Dan 5:11b than vice versa.

Segal is unsure whether Belshazzar's opening address to Daniel in MT vv. 13b–16a, missing from OG, reflects abbreviation in OG or expansion in MT.[7]

2 Segal, "Daniel 5."
3 Segal, 257–60.
4 Segal, 267–69.
5 Suchard, "Historical (In)accuracy."
6 Segal, "Daniel 5," 260–62.
7 Segal, 256–57.

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He tentatively prefers the latter. These verses are awkward in their repetition of 'I have heard about you' (vv. 14,16) and 'and now' (v. 15, repeated in 16b). As the mention of the exiles of Judah (v. 13b) occurs in OG (although it occurs in v. 10 there), I suggest that only vv. 15–16a are expansive, explaining the repetitive phrases. This also explains why Belshazzar sticks closer to queen's words in v. 14 than in the interpolated v. 16a.

Two other more or less extended passages are missing from OG and identified by Segal as secondary in MT.[8] V. 17aβ is not only absent from OG but also contradicts Daniel's acceptance of the reward later on (Segal also sees v. 17b as part of this interpolation, but it seems to be paraphrased in OG). And the recapitulation of Dan 4 given in vv. 18–22 is clearly a harmonization with that chapter. I would identify the start of this interpolation after the words אנתה מלכא 'You, O king' (v. 18). In their current context, these words form an anacoluthon with the following sentence.

What remains of Daniel's speech is in a different order in MT compared to OG. In OG, the mysterious words are read at the outset, before Daniel gives the background of the king's sin. The recapitulation of Belshazzar's feast then separates the announcement that 'this is their interpretation:' from the interpretation itself. It is hard to see why an archetype that was closer to MT would have been changed to the text as attested in OG. If OG preserves the more original order, MT reflects reordering to avoid the awkward interruption of the interpretation and to keep the reading and interpretation together, although this has resulted in the repetitive כתבא דנה רשים ודנה כתבא די רשים 'this writing was recorded. And this is the writing that was recorded:'. Hence, we should restore the verse relating the words' reading to its place in OG, together with a doublet announcing their interpretation.

On the mysterious writing itself, most of the non-Masoretic versions and ancient references agree that it consisted of three words with three letters each: מנא, תקל, פרס.[9] This is also how they appear in the interpretation in MT. It is unlikely that the various sources independently harmonized the reading with the catchwords in the interpretation. Hence, MT's מנא מנא תקל ופרסין in v. 25 is probably corrupt. מנא מנא can reflect dittography or mistaken harmonization with the following מנא מנה 'MN?: he has counted'. And perhaps פרסין was changed to a dual because of the double play on words (פריסת 'it has been divided' and פרס 'Persia').[10]

8 Segal, 255–56.

9 Collins, *Daniel*, 240; Newsom, *Daniel*, 161.

10 Cf. Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 185 for the first and last of these suggestions; Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 246 for the first two.

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Finally, v. 30 in OG reads 'And the meaning came upon Baltasar the king, and the rule was taken away from the Chaldaeans and was given to the Medes and to the Persians'. The gist is the same as that of MT and the presence of the phrases 'Belshazzar the king' and 'the Chaldaean(s)' in both versions suggests that they are related. OG's reading is reminiscent of the statements that 'all this came over King Nebuchadnezzar' and 'the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar' in Dan 4:25,30. Compared to MT, it more explicitly reflects the larger Danielic theme of the succession of world empires, and shows some redundance with the following 'and Xerxes, who was king of the Medes, received the kingdom' (OG 5:31) corresponding to MT 6:1 'and Darius the Mede received the kingdom'. This points to reworking of OG. MT thus preserves the more original ending here, leaving us with the following reconstructed archetype.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 5

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב
לרברבנוהי אלף ולקבל אלפא
חמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר
בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני
דהבא וכספא די הנפק
נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא די
בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי שגלתה ולחנתה:
באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די
הנפקו מן היכלא די בית
אלהא די בירושלם ואשתיו
בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי שגלתה
ולחנתה: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא
פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה
שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד אנש
וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על גירא
די כתל היכלא די מלכא
ומלכא חזה פס ידה די כתבה:
אדין מלכא זיוהי שנוהי ורעינהי
יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה משתרין
וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן:
קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה
לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה
מלכא ואמר לחכימי בבל די

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his ~~*one thousand*~~ nobles and ~~*before the one thousand he*~~ was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles~~, *his concubines, and his consorts*~~ could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles~~, *his concubines, and his consorts*~~ drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can

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כל אנש די יקרה כתבה דנה
ופשרה יחונני ארגונא ילבש
והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה
ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין
עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא
כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא
להודעה למלכא: אדין מלכא
בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי
שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי
משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי
מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא
עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת
מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך
רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי
גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין
קדישין בה וביומי אבוך נהירו
ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין
השתכחת בה ומלכא נבכדנצר
אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין
כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך
מלכא: כל קבל די רוח יתירה
ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין
ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין
השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא
שם שמה בלטשאצר כען
דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:
באדין דניאל העל קדם
מלכא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אנתה הוא דניאל די מן בני
גלותא די יהוד די היתי מלכא
אבי מן יהוד: ושמעת עליך די
רוח אלהין בך ונהירו ושכלתנו
וחכמה יתירה השתכחת בך:
~~וכען העלו קדמי חכימיא~~
~~אשפיא די כתבה דנה יקרון~~
~~ופשרה להודעתני ולא כהלין~~
~~פשר מלתא להחויה: ואנה~~
~~שמעת עליך די תוכל פשרין~~
~~למפשר וקטרין למשרא~~ כען
הן תוכל כתבא למקרא ופשרה

read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. *[15] ~~Now, the wise men, the sorcerors were brought before me in order to read this writing and to make known to me its interpretation, but none of them could relate the interpretation of the matter.~~ [16] ~~And I have heard about you that you can make interpretations and untie knots.~~* Now, if you can read the writing and

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להודעתני ארגונא תלבש
והמונכא די דהבא על צוארך
ותלתא במלכותא תשלט׃

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר
קדם מלכא מתנתך לך להוין
ונבזבׅ[ת ב]יתך לאחרן הב
ברם כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה׃ דנה כתבא
די רשים מנא מנא תקל
ופרסין׃ **ודנה פשר מלתא**
אנתה מלכא אלהא עליא
מלכותא ורבותא ויקרא
והדרה יהב לנבכדנצר אבוך׃
ומן רבותא די יהב לה כל
עממיא אמיא ולשניא הוו
זאעין ודחלין מן קדמוהי די
הוה צבא הוא קטל ודי הוה
צבא הוה מחא ודי הוה צבא
הוה מרים ודי הוה צבא הוה
משפיל׃ וכדי רם לבבה ורוחה
תקפת להזדה הנחת מן כרסא
מלכותה ויקרה העדיו מנה׃
ומן בני אנשא טריד ולבבה עם
חיותא שוי ועם ערדיא מדורה
עשבא כתורין יטעמונה ומטל
שמיא גשמה יצטבע עד די
ידע די שליט אלהא עליא
במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבה
יהקים עליה׃ ואנתה ברה
בלשאצר לא השפלת לבבך
כל קבל די כל דנה ידעת׃ ועל
מרא שמיא התרוממת
ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו קדמיך
ואנתה ורברבניך שגלתך
ולחנתך חמרא שתין בהון
ולאלהי כספא ודהבא נחשא
פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא חזין
ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת

make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

17 Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "*~~Keep your gifts and give ⌜the⌝ presents of your ⌜house⌝ to another. But~~* I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. 25 This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. **And this is the interpretation of the matter:** 18 you, O king, *~~the Highest God gave the kingship and greatness and honour and glory to your father Nebuchadnezzar. 19 And because of the greatness which he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages trembled before him and feared him. He would kill whomever he wanted and keep whomever he wanted alive, and he would elevate whomever he wanted and he would humble whomever he wanted. 20 But when his mind grew haughty and his his spirit grew strong in arrogance, he was taken down from his royal throne and his honour was removed from him. 21 And he was driven away from the human beings and his mind became like the animals and his dwelling was with the wild asses. They fed him grass like cattle and his body was washed by the dew of heaven until he came to know that the Highest God is authorized over the kingship of mankind and he sets whomever he wants over it. 22 But you, his son Belshazzar, did not humble your mind, although you knew all this. 23 And you~~* exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles*~~, your concubines, and your consorts~~* were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to

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ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין
מן קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא
וכתבא דנה רשים: ~~ודנה כתבא~~
~~די רשים מנא מנא תקל~~
~~ופרסין~~: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה:
תקל תקילתה במאזניא
והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת
מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס:
באדין אמר בלשאצר והלבישו
לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא די
דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי
די להוא שליט תלתא
במלכותא: בה בליליא קטיל
בלאשצר מלכא כשדיא:

whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [25] ~~*And* this is the writing that was recorded: MN? *MN?* TQL and *PRSYN.*~~ [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

2 Internal Reconstruction

Our reconstructed text contains the following tensions and inconsistencies:

a) 'King' follows 'Belshazzar' in vv. 1,30 but precedes it in v. 9.
b) V. 2 mentions Nebuchadnezzar as having taken the vessels from the palace (or temple) in Jerusalem, while v. 3 omits Nebuchadnezzar but specifies that it is the palace of the house of God.
c) The name Belshazzar is spelled בלשאצר, corresponding to its etymology, in most of the story, but as בלאשצר in v. 30.
d) The name Nebuchadnezzar is spelled plene with *waw* in v. 2 but defectively in v. 11.
e) Especially without the 'consorts and concubines' intervening, 'they drank from them. They drank wine' in vv. 3–4 is repetitive (cf. the lack of repetition in Daniel's recapitulation, v. 23).
f) Belshazzar seems to commit two separate sins: profaning the Temple vessels and praising all the idols but not the true God. The writing on the wall takes place immediately ('at that moment', v. 5), but only after the second sin.
g) The promised rank is spelled as תלתי in v. 7 but as תלתא in 16,29.
h) The expression 'his appearance changed' uses the *pe'al* verb שנה in vv. 6,9, but the *itpa'al* verb אשתנה in v. 10.

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i) The queen opens her speech to the king with the customary 'O king, live forever!' (v. 10), but Daniel does not (v. 17).
j) V. 11b repeats the subject at the end, which is syntactically odd.
k) In the queen's speech, v. 12 partially repeats v. 11. Moreover, v. 12 continues the listing of Daniel's qualities that had already been completed in v. 11, resulting in a back-and-forth structure of listing of qualities (11a), appointment by the king (11b), further listing of qualities (12a) and naming by the king (12b). In our reconstructed archetype, Belshazzar repeats the first list of qualities (v. 14), but not the second (prompting the harmonizing addition in MT which is absent from OG).
l) The mention of the name Belteshazzar in v. 12 is isolated.
m) The end of v. 13 reads as an afterthought.
n) Daniel's recapitulation of the opening scene awkwardly follows the announcement of the interpretation in the reconstructed archetype of v. 17, which is repeated in v. 26.

Together with Dan 6:1 (corresponding to OG 5:31), v. 30 clearly forms a transition between Dan 5 and Dan 6. In the larger context, it marks the transfer of the empire from the Chaldaeans to the Medes. The etymologically incorrect spelling of Belshazzar (Akkadian: *Bēl-šarra-uṣur* 'Bel, protect the king!') as בלאשצר instead of the more usual בלשאצר (c) suggests that v. 30 was secondarily added to connect the originally independent tales.[11] V. 30 is also linguistically notable for its double use of the preposition in the expression בה בליליא 'in that night'. This construction is common in later Aramaic (e.g. Targum Ester 6:1) but contrasts with the more common construction in Biblical Aramaic, where the preposition is not repeated, as in בה שעתא 'at that moment' (not בה בשעתא**). The only other occurrence is בה בדניאל 'in this Daniel' in Dan 5:12, on which see below.

Based on OG, we have reconstructed a text where Daniel's summary of the events interrupts the reading of the words and their interpretation (n). This results in a clear example of resumptive repetition. It stands to reason that the intervening material was added. A theological motivation can be identified in the desire to explicitly blame Belshazzar for not worshipping the true God, an offense that was originally left implicit or not intended.

A number of inconsistencies cluster in the pericope centered on the queen (vv. 10–12). One of these concerns the spelling of Nebuchadnezzar (d). Given the awkward repetition of the subject in that clause (j), however, the phrase מלכא נבכדנצר אבוך 'King Nebuchadnezzar, your father' is probably a later

11 Thus also Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 34; Haag, "Menschensohn," 138.

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addition meant to connect the two kings (see below).[12] But the inconsistency in the form of the verb 'to change' (h) remains, as does the inconsistent use of the greeting formula (i) and the isolated use of the name Belteshazzar (l). This passage also features a number of linguistic archaisms that are not paralleled elsewhere in Daniel: the use of two perfects in the expression ענת ... ואמרת 'she spoke, saying', the use of the bare infinitives מפשר 'interpreting', אחוית 'relating', and משרא 'loosening', and the formally distinct Jussive יתקרי 'let him be called'.[13] As this passage is not integral to the plot, the simplest solution is to identify vv. 10–12 as secondary. Within this interpolation, v. 12a seems to be later than vv. 10–11,12b, as shown by the repetition and muddled structure that now characterizes the queen's combined speech (k).

Most of Belshazzar's remaining words in vv. 13b–14, which are dependent on v. 11 and partially reflected in OG (unlike vv. 15–16a, which are totally absent from OG), seem to be from the same hand as vv. 10–11,12b. As in the discussion of Dan 2, I will mark this early secondary layer as black, roman strikethrough text in the overview below in order to distinguish it from the later additions given as lightface (Aramaic) or italics (English) strikethrough text. The awkward addition די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד 'whom my father the king brought from Judah' (m) again stands out as an even later interpolation,[14] which quite probably reflects the same association of Belshazzar with Nebuchadnezzar responsible for the double subject in v. 11b.

With the queen's speech and Daniel's recapitulation identified as secondary, vv. 2–3 now appear isolated, containing the only references to Nebuchadnezzar and the Temple vessels. The redundancy of Belshazzar's double sin (f),[15] for which he is only punished once—immediately after the second sin—together with the repetition of 'they drank' (e) suggests that these verses, too, are secondary. Leaving these verses out (including the last two words of v. 1, which form the set-up for Belshazzar's fatal intoxication) once again results in a perfectly legible and coherent text. Given the slight inconsistency in how the vessels are described (b), v. 2aβ may have been rewritten or interpolated as an extra identification of Nebuchadnezzar as Belshazzar's father, as in vv. 11,13.

Following the same reasoning, we may be suspicious of the scene where the mantic experts are summoned and fail to read the writing. Admittedly, excising vv. 7–9 makes the story less compelling, as it is no longer established that the writing is nigh-impossible to read. It also eliminates the format of the court

12 See also the more detailed argumentation in Suchard, "Historical (In)accuracy."

13 Suchard.

14 Cf. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 86.

15 Cf. Wills, *Jew in the Court*, 122–23.

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contest. But if these verses are from another hand than the remaining core of the story, that explains two linguistic inconsistencies: the term used in the reward that is offered (g) and the phrase 'King Belshazzar' (a).[16] We are left with a coherent story which is similar in structure to the reconstructed form of the dream interpretation in Dan 4: the king receives an omen and someone is called in to explain it to him.

Reconstructed Text of Dan 5

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב
לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה׃
בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא
להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא
די הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן
היכלא די בירושלם וישתון
בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי׃ באדין
היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו
מן היכלא די בית אלהא די
בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי׃ אשתיו חמרא
ושבחו לאלהי דהבא וכספא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא׃
בה שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד
אנש וכתבן לקבל נברשתא
על גירא די כתל היכלא די
מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די
כתבה׃ אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו
ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה
משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא
נקשן׃ קרא מלכא בחיל
להעלה לאשפיא כשדיא
וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר
לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די
יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה
יחוונני ארגונא ילבש והמונכא
די דהבא על צואריה ותלתי

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles ~~*and was drinking wine.* [2] *Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them.* [3] *Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them*~~. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] ~~*The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters.* [8] *The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom."*~~

16 The noun **תלתי** seems to contain the same **-ī* suffix used to form **ארעי** 'bottom' and **עלי** 'upper chamber', both nouns indicating places. Hence, it could well mean 'third part (of the kingdom)' and already reflect the harmonizing interpretation based on Dan 6 also seen in OG's translation. On 'King Belshazzar', cf. Chapter 3, Note 10.

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9 Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. 10 On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! 11 There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and *King Nebuchadnezzar, your father,* your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, *12 since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar*. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

13 Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, *whom my father the king brought from Judah*. 14 And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. 16 Now, If you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

17 Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. 25 This

במלכותא ישלט׃ אדין עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה למלכא׃ אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי וזרבנוהי משתבשין׃ מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיוך אל ישתנו׃ איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין בה ובימי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא׃ כל קבל די רוח יתירה ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא שם שמה בלטשאצר כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה׃

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד׃ ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה השתכחת בך׃ כען הן תוכל כתבא למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט׃

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא ופשרא אהודענה׃

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~~דנה כתבא די רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא: בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא כשדיא:~~

is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: *[18] ~~you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter:~~* MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. *[30] ~~That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.~~*

3 Conclusion

Our methodology has produced a very pared-down base layer. Interestingly, it is quite different from the OG Preface, unlike the similarly brief reconstruction by Haag.[17] This supports the view that the Preface is an abbreviation of a more developed version of the text, not an early form of it.

As in other chapters, we can identify different layers in the great deal of text that appears secondary. The queen's speech and its summary by Belshazzar in vv. 10–14 start with the reassuring 'Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed!' This refers back to 'Then the king's appearance

17 Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 56.

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changed and his thoughts terrified him' in v. 6, but the 'thoughts' are not present in v. 9. This difference suggests that the additional material in vv. 10–14 was added before the verses mentioning the wise men, vv. 7–9. In this way, the queen's words directly follow the king's reaction in v. 6. V. 10 mentions the king's nobles, who are present in v. 9 but not in v. 6, but this could be a later harmonization. On the other hand, the more physical aspects of the king's reaction in v. 6 are not mentioned by the queen and could be seen as a later elaboration. The queen may have been introduced to the story to provide a backstory for Daniel, who is now established as a renowned wise man and Judahite exile. The poor integration of the phrases מלכא נבכדנצר אבוך 'King Nebuchadnezzar, your father' and די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד 'whom my father the king brought from Judah' in this layer show that it did not originally name Belshazzar's father as Nebuchadnezzar (understandably so, as Belshazzar was historically the son of Nabonidus and not related to Nebuchadnezzar). It is thus also likely that these additions were made before that of vv. 2–3, which are thoroughly connected with the historical Nebuchadnezzar. Alternatively, the mention of Nebuchadnezzar as Belshazzar's father in v. 2 could be an interpolation within an interpolation. Daniel's recapitulation in vv. 23–24, in turn, incorporates the Temple vessels of vv. 2–3 and makes explicit that Belshazzar's sin ultimately comes down to arrogant neglect of the Lord of Heaven, who is now also named as the source of the writing hand. It cannot be established with certainty whether vv. 2–3 and 23–24 originated with the same writer or whether vv. 2–3 are older. The failure of the other experts to read the writing is not mentioned in the recapitulating vv. 23–24, suggesting that the scene in vv. 7–9 was only added afterwards. Finally, the closing line in v. 30 shows a different spelling of Belshazzar than the scene with the wise men (v. 9) and the profanation of the vessels scene (v. 2). The occurrence of this spelling of Belshazzar in the apocalypses of Dan 7(:1) and 8(:1) suggest that it was added quite late. Interestingly, the similarly late construction -בה ב 'in that' is used in v. 12a as well as v. 30. V. 12a, which mentions dream interpretation and the name Belteshazzar, connects Dan 5 to Dan 4, as v. 30 connects Dan 5 to the following Dan 6. V. 12a also contains the expression רוח יתירה 'an exceptional spirit', which is otherwise only found in Dan 6:4 (spelled רוח יתירא there, possibly indicating that an adverb is meant, roughly translatable as 'he was exceptionally spirited'). Hence, both verses may well be attributed to the redactor who joined these chapters together.

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CHAPTER 7

Darius and Daniel (Dan 6)

Dan 6 is the last chapter where OG and MT frequently disagree on significant points. Compared to Dan 4 and 5, these disagreements are less radical. The story of the conspiracy against Daniel and his adventure in the lions' den follows the same outline in both versions. Interesting divergences appear in the opening and closing lines of the story, which embed it in the book's larger historical framework; MT seems more original here.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

No fragments of 4QDan[a] corresponding to Dan 6 survive. There are several fragments of 4QDan[b] corresponding to parts of this chapter, but where we find textual variants, MT seems to preserve the preferable reading every time. Most of the evidence thus once again comes from MT and OG, although Th also contains a remarkable number of preferable readings compared to MT in this chapter.

Segal discusses this chapter in two separate articles.[1] He identifies two elements of the story where the relationship between MT and OG is complex. In both cases, OG mainly reflects the older readings, but has undergone some harmonization towards MT. These harmonizations can be recognized as secondary, however, as they occur in places where the elements in question are absent from MT. The first of these elements involves the characters responsible for the plot against Daniel. In MT, the one hundred and twenty satraps are included, but OG mainly preserves the more logical and presumably more original situation, where it is only Daniel's two direct rivals.[2] The few places where OG implicates the satraps are then secondary.

The other element where Segal identifies partial rewriting of OG involves 'the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away'.[3] Based on the absence of this element from OG except in the plus found in v. 12a, Segal argues that this may be an assimilation in MT to the same motif in the book of Esther. The Alpha text of Esther also lacks this element, so there is a bit of a chicken-and-egg

1 Segal, "OG and MT of Daniel 6"; Segal, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6."
2 Segal, "OG and MT of Daniel 6," 423–28.
3 Segal, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6," 269–74.

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problem here.[4] Upon closer inspection, the law of Media and Persia functions in two distinct ways in MT. In vv. 9,13, the prohibition meant to entrap Daniel is established as a law of Media and Persia, guaranteeing its immutable status. But in v. 16, a separate law of Media and Persia is cited, which itself states that royal decrees may not be changed. Daniel's enemies remind the king of this law in an apparent 'gotcha' moment, which is strange if the laws of Media and Persia and their immutability have already been brought up twice before. I therefore suggest that this element was originally missing from MT vv. 9,13, where it has no counterpart in OG, but that it is original in v. 16. In OG, it was moved to v. 12a in rewritten form, a move reflecting the general reduction of dramatic tension in OG also seen in the narrator's explanation of the plot against Daniel in vv. 5,8. The originality of 'Media and Persia' in v. 16 also provides a welcome starting point for the reinterpretation of this story, which originally "undoubtedly referred to Darius I of Persia",[5] as featuring a Median king (see below for the secondary origin of Darius 'the Mede').

MT v. 3b, which explains the function of the three ministers in more detail, is missing from OG. There is no discernable reason for this minus other than that it is an elaboration in MT.

In v. 4, OG's (v. 3) description of Daniel shows harmonization with Dan 5. Against MT, Th and the Peshitta do not mention 'the ministers and the satraps' here but only say that Daniel was more excellent than 'them', which is easily reconciled with the original absence of the satraps from the plot.

The final clause of MT v. 5, which repeats that Daniel was not corrupt, is missing from Th as well as OG. Newsom suggests that this is a textual variant that was worked into the text of MT,[6] which is a plausible explanation.

MT v. 7 contains the standard opening 'King Darius, live forever!', absent from corresponding OG v. 6. This may have been added at the same time when the beginning of MT v. 8 was edited to include the satraps and other officials.

The stipulation in MT vv. 8,13 that the new law also forbids requests made of human beings is absent from OG and convincingly identified as secondary by Segal.[7] He notes a similar addition in the intervention of the angel in MT v. 23, who is not mentioned in OG.[8] The addition of the angel to MT is easily

4 Duly noted by Segal, 273n15.

5 Collins, *Daniel*, 264. A seminal work that should be mentioned in this regard is H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1935).

6 Newsom, *Daniel*, 188.

7 Segal, "OG and MT of Daniel 6," 418–19.

8 Segal, 419–22.

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explained as a theological correction making God less physically involved in the events, as well as an assimilation to Dan 3.

In OG v. 13, the speakers refer to Daniel as the king's friend, whereas he is identified as one of the Judahite exiles in the corresponding MT v. 14. Following Segal, MT seems to have harmonized this verse with the introduction of Daniel in Dan 2,5.[9]

Segal identifies the phrase לא שם עליך מלכא טעם 'has not paid heed to you, O king' in MT v. 14 as a harmonization with Dan 3:12.[10] It is not only missing from OG, but also from Th, and is thus probably rather late.

While MT v. 20 redundantly writes that the king got up 'at daybreak, at dawn', OG only has one expression for 'early'. As noted by Hartman and Di Lella,[11] בנגהא 'at dawn' is most probably a gloss of בשפרפרא 'at daybreak' that was accidentally incorporated in the text.

In MT v. 21, the king addresses Daniel as עבד אלהא חיא 'servant of the Living God'. This is somewhat inappropriate, as at this point he still believes that Daniel has been eaten by lions. OG v. 20 has the more appropriate question εἰ ἄρα ζῇς 'are you still alive?' instead. Intriguingly, the most likely Aramaic Vorlage for this question, עוד אנתה חי*, is visually quite similar to MT's עבד אלהא חיא. I suggest that MT has corrupted the original question under influence of the parallel statement by King Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 3:26 and the title 'Living God' in Dan 6:27. In the following verse, OG lacks MT's standard opening of 'O king, live forever!' and instead has Daniel answering the question whether he is still alive. As recently shown by Andrew Daniel, however, OG's ἔτι εἰμὶ ζῶν 'I am still alive' uses a construction that is typical of text that was composed in high-register Greek, not translated from a Semitic original.[12] MT thus probably preserves a more original version of the answer.

Segal sees the remark that כל חבל לא השתכח בה 'no harm was found on him' in MT v. 24 as an assimilation to Dan 3:25,[13] as it is missing from OG. The corresponding v. 23 in OG has been rewritten, however, in what is itself probably an assimilation to Dan 3 as well as one of the edits made to include the satraps. The phrase is more at home in Dan 6, where the root חבל occurs twice in the preceding verse, than in Dan 3:25, where the related phrase seems less integrated. Hence, I find it more likely that it occurs there due to influence from Dan 6 than vice versa.

9 Segal, 416–18.
10 Segal, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6," 268.
11 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 196.
12 Daniel, "The Translator's Tell", 735–6.
13 Segal, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6," 268.

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The contents of Darius' letter at the end of the chapter differs slightly between MT and OG. The latter makes the bigger claim that Darius himself became subject to Daniel's god, which is more likely to be secondary. At the beginning of the letter, however, MT v. 26's phrase 'may your wellbeing be abundant' is absent from OG. In MT, it can be explained as an assimilation to Dan 3:31.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 6

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר
קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די
להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון
סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון
~~די להון אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין~~
~~להון טעמא ומלכא לא להוא~~
~~נזק~~: אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח
עליהון ~~סרכיא ואחשדרפניא~~ כל
קבל די רוח יתירא בה ומלכא
עשית להקמותה על כל מלכותא:
~~אדין סרכיא ואחשדרפניא~~
גבריא אלך תריהון הוו בעין עלה
להשכחה לדניאל מצד מלכותא
וכל עלה ושחיתה לא יכלין
להשכחה כל קבל די מהימן הוא
~~וכל שלו ושחיתה לא השתכחת~~
~~עלוהי~~: אדין גבריא אלך אמרין
די לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה כל
עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: ~~אדין סרכיא~~
~~ואחשדרפניא אלן~~ **גבריא אלך**
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה
~~דריוש מלכא לעלמין חיי~~:
אתיעטנא ~~כל סרכי מלכותא~~
~~סגניא ואחשדרפניא הדבריא~~
~~ופחותא~~ לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו
מן כל אלה ~~ואנש~~ עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב
אריותא: כען מלכא תקים אסרא

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel~~, *to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed*~~. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than them ~~*the ministers and satraps*~~, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, ~~*the ministers and satraps*~~ **those men, the two of them** sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable ~~*and there was no neglect or corruption to be found about him*~~. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, ~~*these ministers and satraps*~~ **those men** rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "~~*King Darius, live forever!* [8] *All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors*~~ We have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god ~~*or human*~~ for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed ~~*like the law of Media and*~~

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Persia, which does not pass away." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god *or human* for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain *as the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away*." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "**your friend** Daniel*, who is of the exiles of Judah,* has not paid heed *to you, O king, or* to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel

ותרשם כתבא די לא להשניה
כדת מדי ופרס די לא תעדא:
כל קבל דנה מלכא דריוש רשם
כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל כדי ידע
די רשים כתבא על לביתה וכוין
פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד ירושלם
וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא ברך
על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד מן
קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל
בעא ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין
קריבו ואמרין קדם מלכא על
אסר מלכא הלא אסר רשמת
די כל אנש די יבעה מן כל אלה
ואנש עד יומין תלתין להן מנך
מלכא יתרמא לגוב אריותא ענה
מלכא ואמר יציבא מלתא כדת
מדי ופרס די לא תעדא: באדין
ענו ואמרין קדם מלכא די דניאל
רחמך די מן בני גלותא די יהוד
לא שם עליך מלכא טעם ועל
אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה
ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא
כדי מלתא שמע שגיא באש
עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא
הוא משתדר להצלותה: באדין
גבריא אלך הרגשו על מלכא
ואמרין למלכא דע מלכא די דת
למדי ופרס די כל אסר וקים די
מלכא יהקים לא להשניה: באדין
מלכא אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו
לגבא די אריותא ענה מלכא
ואמר לדניאל אלהך די אנתה
פלח לה בתדירא הוא ישיזבנך:
והיתית אבן חדה ושמת על פם
גבא וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה
ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא תשנא

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צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא
להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל
קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי:
באדין מלכא בשפרפרא יקום
בנגהא ובהתבהלה לגבא די
אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא
לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל עוד
אנתה חי אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך
מן אריותא: אדין דניאל עם
מלכא מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי:
אלהי שלח מלאכה וסגר פם
אריותא ולא חבלוני כל קבל די
קדמוהי זכו השתכחת לי ואף
קדמיך מלכא חבולה לא עבדת:
באדין מלכא שגיא טאב עלוהי
ולדניאל אמר להנסקה מן גבא
והסק דניאל מן גבא וכל חבל לא
השתכח בה די הימן באלהה:
ואמר מלכא והיתיו גבריא אלך
תריהון די אכלו קרצוהי די דניאל
ולגב אריותא רמו אנון בניהון
ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית גבא
עד די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל
גרמיהון הדקו: באדין דריוש
מלכא כתב לכל עממיא אמיא
ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: מן קדמי שים
טעם די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון
זאעין ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די
דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא וקים
לעלמין ומלכותה די לא תתחבל
ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב ומצל
ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא
ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן
יד אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח
במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש
פרסיא:

would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak ~~*at dawn*~~, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god ~~*sent his angel and he*~~ closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, **the two of them** who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: "~~*May your wellbeing be abundant!*~~ [27] A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

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2 Internal Reconstruction

Compared to the last few chapters, our reconstructed text contains only few tensions and inconsistencies:

a) 'King Darius' is מלכא דריוש in v. 10 but דריוש מלכא in v. 26.
b) The phrase וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד ירושלם in v. 11 is syntactically awkward.
c) 'Pit' is spelled גוב—with an exceptional plene spelling of a historically short vowel—in v. 13 vs. the expected defective spellings גב and גבא in vv. 8,17–18,20–21,24–25.
d) The mention of the king's nobles in v. 18 is isolated.
e) The historically short vowel **i* is spelled defectively in **mašēzib* משיזב 'saving (m.sg.)' but plene in **šēzib* שיזיב 'he saved', both in v. 28.
f) The end of the story in v. 29 identifies Cyrus as 'the Persian', but does not repeat the identification of Darius as 'the Mede' (contrast 'King Belshazzar the Chaldaean' at the end of Dan 5).

To start with some minor points, the inclusion of the signet rings of the king's nobles (רברבנוהי; d) recalls their presence in Dan 5 and can thus be explained as an assimilation to that chapter. Excising this phrase does not impact the story at all. The isolated plene spelling of 'pit' in v. 13 (c) occurs in a back-and-forth dialogue that serves to explicitly repeat some information that is already known and now becomes relevant. This is reminiscent of the interchange between Nebuchadnezzar and his nobles in Dan 2:24b (compare the affirmation יציבא 'certainly' used there to יציבא מלתא 'the matter is certain' in Dan 6:13), which we have identified as secondary based on its absence from OG (see above). While MT v. 13 has a counterpart in OG v. 12, it could reflect the same kind of addition to their shared archetype.

The awkwardness of the phrase וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד ירושלם in v. 11 (b) is clear from the various competing attempts to translate it, the main ones being 'and he opened windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem', following OG, or 'and he/it had open windows', etc., following Th. As Li's analysis shows,[14] the latter must be the original intent, as past tense 'they were opened (by him)' would be expressed by the Perfect in Biblical Aramaic, i.e. פתיחו. But the difficulty many translators have found here shows that there is something strange about this phrase. Following the absence of the mention of the Judahite exile in OG, this mention of Jerusalem is the only thing explicitly marking Daniel

14 Tarsee Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: An Explanation in the Context of Grammaticalization* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 32–33, 64.

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as a Judahite in this story. Whether he was originally implicitly understood to belong to the exiles of Judah or not, it is plausible that this phrase was added to make this identification explicit, much like the later addition 'who is of the exiles of Judah' that occurred in MT, but not in OG.

Two inconsistencies point to the chapter's redaction history. The letter in vv. 26–28 clearly shares much with the letter from Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 3:31–33. It seems likely that these letters were added at the beginning and end of Dan 4–6 when these texts were edited into a coherent work. That the letter belongs to an editor explains the difference in how 'King Darius' is expressed (a).[15] As expected, 'King' follows the name in the letter in Dan 6 just as in the letter at the end of Dan 3. Within the letter, the spelling of the verbal stem **šēzib* is inconsistent (e). If we remove the phrase containing the unexpected plene spelling, די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד אריותא 'who saved Daniel from the lions', Darius' letter more closely resembles the opening of Nebuchadnezzar's in Dan 3:31–33. The plene spelling of short vowels also occurs in v. 13, both in **gubb* גוב 'pit' and in קריבו **qaríbū* 'they approached'. Additionally, vv. 13 and 28b share the same explanatory purpose. It is likely that they were added by the same scribe.

As noted at the outset of this chapter, OG and MT differ in the opening and closing lines of this story. MT Dan 6:1 forms a continuation of MT Dan 5:30, narrating the death of Belshazzar the Chaldaean. We have identified 5:30 as a redactional addition based on two linguistic differences from the body of Dan 5. Hence, Dan 6:1 should be attributed to the same redactor, which explains why Darius is only referred to as 'the Mede' here.[16] In Dan 6:29, Cyrus—who plays no role in the story—is referred to as 'the Persian', but Darius' ethnicity is not mentioned (f). This suggests that v. 29a formed the original conclusion of the story, with v. 29b being added by the same redactor responsible for 'King Belshazzar the Chaldaean' and 'Darius the Mede'. Paraphrases of these verses were then added to OG at a later time than the original translation of Dan 4–6, much like the references to the satraps and the laws of Media and Persia. Xerxes was included in OG to further harmonize the text with Dan 9:1. This brings us to the following reconstructed text.

15 See also Chapter 3, Note 10.

16 Cf. Haag, *Errettung Daniels*, 34; Haag, "Menschensohn," 138.

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Reconstructed Text of Dan 6

~~ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא~~
~~כבר שנין שתין ותרתין:~~ שפר
קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די
להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון
סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד
מנהון : אדין דניאל דנה הוא
מתנצח עליהון כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית
להקמותה על כל מלכותא: אדין
גבריא אלך תריהון הוו בעין עלה
להשכחה לדניאל מצד מלכותא
וכל עלה ושחיתה לא יכלין
להשכחה כל קבל די מהימן
הוא: אדין גבריא אלך אמרין די
לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה כל
עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה:
אתיעטנא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה
בעו מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב
אריותא: כען מלכא תקים
אסרא ותרשם כתבא די לא
להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא
דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא:
ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים כתבא
על לביתה ~~וכוין פתיחן לה~~
~~בעליתה נגד ירושלם~~ וזמנין
תלתה ביומא הוא ברך על
ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד
מן קדמת דנה: אדין
גבריא אלך הרגשו והשכחו
לדניאל בעא ומתחנן קדם
אלהה: ~~באדין קריבו ואמרין~~
~~קדם מלכא על אסר מלכא~~

6 [1] ***~~And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old.~~*** [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than them, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, those men, the two of them sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, those men rushed to the king and thus they said to him: [8] "We have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house***~~, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem,~~*** and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] ***~~Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would~~***

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~~הלא אסר רשמת די כל אנש~~
~~די יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין~~
~~תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא~~
~~לגוב אריותא ענה מלכא~~
~~ואמר יציבא מלתא~~: באדין ענו
ואמרין קדם מלכא די דניאל
רחמך לא שם טעם על אסרא
די רשמת וזמנין תלתה ביומא
בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא כדי
מלתא שמע שגיא באש עלוהי
ועל דניאל שם בל לשיזבותה
ועד מעלי שמשא הוא משתדר
להצלותה: באדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא
דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די
כל אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים
לא להשניה: באדין מלכא
אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא
די אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר
לדניאל אלהך די אנתה פלח לה
בתדירא הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית
אבן חדה ושמת על פם גבא
וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה ~~ובעזקת~~
~~רברבנוהי~~ די לא תשנא
צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא
להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא
הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת
עלוהי: באדין מלכא בשפרפרא
יקום ובהתבהלה לגבא די
אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא
לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל עוד
אנתה חי אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי
סגר פם אריותא ולא חבלוני כל
קבל די קדמוהי זכו השתכחת
לי ואף קדמיך מלכא חבולה לא

~~*be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain."*~~ [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "your friend Daniel has not paid heed to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring~~*and with the signet rings of his nobles*~~, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was

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עבדת: באדין מלכא שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה די הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא והיתיו גבריא אלך תריהון די אכלו קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו:

באדין דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא ובארעא ~~די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד אריותא~~:

ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש ~~ובמלכות כורש פרסיא~~:

found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, the two of them who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones.

[26] *Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth:* [27] *"A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end;* [28] *who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, ~~who saved Daniel from the lions~~."*

[29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius ~~*and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian*~~.

3 Conclusion

Out of Dan 4–6, Chapter 6 seems to have had the least complicated prehistory before splitting up into the textual traditions reflected in MT and OG. Like the other stories, it started out as an independent tale. It was originally set at the court of Darius I of the Achaemenid Empire. This story was incorporated into a triptych together with a story on Nebuchadnezzar (originally probably Nabonidus, cf. the similar story in 4QPrNab)[17] and one on Belshazzar. This collection was then bookended with royal letters.

17 See also Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, "The Identity of the 'Mad King' of Daniel 4 in Light of Ancient Near Eastern Sources," *CNR* 33 (2012): 743–58.

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In the tradition leading up to OG, the text of this chapter was relatively stable. In the one leading up to MT, some elements of the story were changed, most notably the expansion of the plot against Daniel to include the satraps. At some point, the story was reframed as taking place under a fictitious Darius the Mede. These changes partially made their way into OG, but without completely obscuring the older state of affairs.

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CHAPTER 8

Daniel's Dream (Dan 7)

In Dan 7, OG once again closely resembles MT and Th. Together with the chapter's apocalyptic genre, this suggests that Dan 7 is more recent than Dan 4–6 and quite possibly younger than all of Dan 1–6. A number of textual links to Dan 8–12 can be dated to the Maccabean crisis, but as we shall see, applying this dating to the chapter as a whole is too simple. Like Dan 2, Dan 7 has undergone a number of different rewritings, with a base layer predating the Maccabean revolt.

1 Comparative Reconstruction

In vv. 1–2, MT's 'Daniel spoke, saying' is not reflected in OG, Th, or the Peshitta. The preceding 'the beginning of the words: he said:' is reflected in OG and the Vulgate, but not in Th, while 4QDan^{b} probably lacks room for it. It is unclear why these introductory formulae should have been lost, so they were probably added to the original text, one after the other.[1] 'the beginning of the words:' may have been felt as a necessary counterpart to 'up to here is the end of the matter' at the end of the dream description.

In v. 17, various ancient versions read 'kingdoms' instead of MT's 'kings'.[2] If this is the more original reading, MT reflects a scribal error, writing מלכין for מלכון. The preceding numeral ארבעה 'four', however, shows masculine agreement,[3] while 'kingdoms' is feminine.[4] Hence, if 'kingdoms' is the more original reading, we must also posit a correction of ארבע מלכין to ארבעה מלכין. The very presence of feminine-agreeing ארבע in a hypothetical *ארבע מלכון

1 *Pace* Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 31, who assigns v. 1b to the Maccabean-era redactor of the chapter and the rest of vv. 1–2 to the base layer of the text, but does not take the textual variants into account.

2 Collins, *Daniel*, 275–76.

3 As in most Semitic languages, the numerals 'three' through 'ten' in Biblical Aramaic surprisingly mark the masculine with the suffix that is normally reserved for the feminine, while the feminine of these numerals is unmarked. This phenomenon is sometimes known as chiastic concord.

4 As the third person feminine plural verb is not normally spelled differently than the third person masculine plural in Biblical Aramaic, the following verb יקומון 'they will arise' can be either masculine or feminine.

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'four kingdoms' would probably have made it more difficult to misread מלכון 'kingdoms' as מלכין 'kings' in the first place, as would the fact that 'kingdoms' is the easier reading here. In other words, MT's ארבעה מלכין 'four kings' is the *lectio difficilior* and preferable to the facilitating 'four kingdoms'.

In v. 20, MT stands alone in writing a conjunction 'and' before 'eyes', which is probably a scribal error.[5]

Against MT v. 25's עדן ועדנין 'a season and (two?) seasons', 4QDan[a] 14:5 reads עד]ן עדני[ן, without the conjunction. This is supported by the Peshitta. In yet another recent paper,[6] Segal argues that the whole phrase עד עדן *עדנין ופלג עדן is to be read as 'until the Season of Seasons and at the division of the seasons' (translation mine), against the traditional understanding of 'a year, two years, and half a year'. As the presence or absence of the conjunction *w-* often varies between different manuscripts, it is tempting to follow this more understandable reading here, which occurs as a Hebrew calque (מועד מועדים) in Dan 12:7. Dan 12:7, however, also attests וחצי 'and a half' as the counterpart of ופלג עדן. Segal aims to analyze Dan 7:25 independently from the chronological references in the later chapters,[7] but that means that the calque of עדין (ו)עדן in Dan 12:7 should also be left out of consideration. I therefore prefer MT's reading and the traditional understanding as 'a season (= a year) and two seasons and half a season'. In context, this phrase functions as the interpretation of זמנא 'the time' in v. 22.

Reconstructed Archetype of Dan 7

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך בבל
דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה
על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב
~~ראש מלין אמר: ענה דניאל~~
~~ואמר~~ חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא
וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן
לימא רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן
סלקן מן ימא שנין דא מן דא:
קדמיתא כאריה וגפין די נשר
לה חזה הוית עד די מריטו גפיה
ונטילת מן ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש
הקימת ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו
חיוה אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב

7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream. ~~*The beginning of the words: he said:*~~ [2] ~~*Daniel spoke, saying*~~: "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a

5 Collins, *Daniel*, 276.

6 Segal, "Calculating the End."

7 Segal, 291n53.

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ולשטר חד הקמת ותלת עלעין
בפמה בין שניה וכן אמרין לה
קומי אכלי בשר שגיא: באתר
דנה חזה הוית וארו אחרי כנמר
ולה גפין ארבע די עוף על גביה
וארבעה ראשין לחיותא ושלטן
יהיב לה: באתר דנה חזה הוית
בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה
דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא יתירא
ושנין די פרזל לה רברבן אכלה
ומדקה ושארא ברגליה רפסה
והיא משניה מן כל חיותא די
קדמיה וקרנין עשר לה: משתכל
הוית בקרניא ואלו קרן אחרי
זעירה סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן
קרניא קדמיתא אתעקרו מן
קדמיה ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא
בקרנא דא ופם ממלל רברבן:
חזה הוית עד די כרסון רמיו
ועתיק יומין יתב לבושה כתלג
חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא
כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי
נור דלק: נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן
קדמוהי אלף אלפים ישמשונה
ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון דינא
יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה הוית
באדין מן קל מליא רברבתא די
קרנא ממללה חזה הוית עד די
קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה
ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר
חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה
בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן:
חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם
ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוה
ועד עתיק יומיא מטה וקדמוהי
הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר
ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם די
לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל:

bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. And it had ten horns. [8] I watched the horns and saw that another, little horn came up between them, and three of the former horns were uprooted before it; and that this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth that spoke great things. [9] I saw that thrones were set down and an ancient one of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. His throne was sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. [10] A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw then, because of the sound of the great words that the horn was speaking, I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until the time and the season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. [14] And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations,

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and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

15 As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. 16 I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: 17 'These great animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. 18 And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' 19 Then I wanted to confirm about the fourth animal, which was different from all of them, very frightening—its teeth were of iron and its nails were of bronze; it ate, crushed, and trampled the rest with its feet—20 and about the ten horns that were on its head, and another that came up, and three fell before it, and that horn ~~*and it*~~ had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its look was greater than its fellows. 21 I saw that that horn started to make war on the Holy Ones and was prevailing against them, 22 until the Ancient of Days came and gave judgment to the Holy Ones of the Most High. And the time came and the Holy Ones seized the kingship. 23 Thus he said: 'The fourth animal: there will be a fourth kingdom on the earth that will be different from all kingdoms, and it will consume the whole earth and trample it and crush it. 24 And the ten horns: from that kingdom, ten kings will arise, and another one will arise after them, and he will differ from the former ones, and he will lay low three kings. 25 And he will speak words against the Highest and he will wear out the Holy Ones of the Most High, and he will think to change the times and the law, and they will

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל
בגוא נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני׃
קרבת על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא
אבעא מנה על כל דנה ואמר לי
ופשר מליא יהודענני׃ אלין
חיותא רברבתא די אנין ארבע
ארבעה מלכין יקומון מן ארעא׃
ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין
ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא ועד
עלם עלמיא׃ אדין צבית ליצבא
על חיותא רביעיתא די הות שניה
מן כלהון דחילה יתירה שניה די
פרזל וטפריה די נחש אכלה
מדקה ושארא ברגליה רפסה׃
ועל קרניא עשר די בראשה
ואחרי די סלקת ונפלו מן קדמיה
תלת וקרנא דכן ׀עינין לה ופם
ממלל רברבן וחזוה רב מן
חברתה׃ חזה הוית וקרנא דכן
עבדה קרב עם קדישין ויכלה
להון׃ עד די אתה עתיק יומיא
ודינא יהב לקדישי עליונין וזמנא
מטה ומלכותא החסנו קדישין׃
כן אמר חיותא רביעיתא מלכו
רביעיא תהוא בארעא די תשנא
מן כל מלכותא ותאכל כל ארעא
ותדושנה ותדקנה׃ וקרניא עשר
מנה מלכותה עשרה מלכין יקמון
ואחרן יקום אחריהון והוא ישנא
מן קדמיא ותלתה מלכין יהשפל׃
ומלין לצד עליא ימלל ולקדישי
עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה זמנין
ודת ויתיהבון בידה עד עדן ועדנין
ופלג עדן׃ ודינא יתב ושלטנה
יהעדון להשמדה ולהובדה עד
סופא׃ ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבותא
די מלכות תחות כל שמיא יהיבת

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לעם קדישי עליונין מלכותה
מלכות עלם וכל שלטניא לה
יפלחון וישתמעון: עד כה סופא
די מלתא אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני
יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי ומלתא
בלבי נטרת:

be surrendered to him until a season and two seasons and half a season. [26] And the court will sit and they will take away his authority for utter ruination and destruction.' [27] And the kingship and the authority and the greatness of the kingdom under all of heaven was given to the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High; its kingship is an eternal kingdom and all authorities must serve and obey it. [28] Up to here is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind."

2 Internal Reconstruction

This chapter contains a number of internal contradictions and tensions:

a) As many scholars have noted, the passages discussing the fourth animal's horns are disruptive and linguistically distinct from the rest of the chapter.
b) The visions of the Holy Ones of the Most High receiving the kingship in vv. 22 and 27 seem to redundantly combine the vision of the one like a human being receiving the kingship in v. 14 and its interpretation in v. 18.
c) The vision of the horns is split up over vv. 7–8 and 21–22. Vv. 21–22 mix up elements from the vision (the little horn, the Ancient of Days) and its interpretation (the Holy Ones) and do not receive an explicit interpretation.
d) There is variation between the terms 'the Holy Ones' (vv. 21–22), 'the Holy Ones of the Most High' (vv. 18,22,25), and 'the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High' (v. 27).
e) The phrase חזה הוית 'I saw' is always followed by either a presentative like וארו 'and look' or by the conjunction עד די 'until' elsewhere in Daniel, but not in v. 21. Strikingly, the next verse starts with עד די 'until'.
f) V. 22 is repetitive. The phrase 'and the time came' makes it unlikely that v. 22a and v. 22b form a hendiadys.
g) There are some differences between the vision of the fourth beast and its horns in vv. 7–8 and its recapitulation in vv. 19–20.
h) The statement that the four animals represent four kings in v. 17 is at odds with the interpretation of the fourth animal as a fourth kingdom in v. 23.

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i) The closing statement that Daniel 'kept the matter in mind' in v. 28 is not very functional.

A fascinating theory on a more original form of this chapter was put forward by Ginsberg.[8] With some rearrangement of the text, he argues that each of the four animals is characterized by a number representing the number of monarchs from its associated empire known to the author of Dan 7. Thus, the winged lion with three fangs in his mouth (emended and moved here from the description of the second animal) is the Neo-Babylonian Empire, with Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar; the bear raising up one side is the Median Empire, with Darius the Mede; the four-headed and four-winged leopard is the Persian Empire, with Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes; and the fourth animal's ten horns plus one represent ten Hellenistic kings followed by Antiochus IV. Compelling as this is, some of the changes to the text necessary to support Ginsberg's theory are ad hoc and hard to justify otherwise.[9] Crucially, the element of the fourth animal's ten horns may well be secondary, as we will presently discuss, making this explanation untenable.

Much has been written on the integration or lack thereof of the elements surrounding the fourth animal's horns, and especially the little horn symbolizing Antiochus IV. *Pace* Collins, Segal, and others, I find the structural argument put forward most recently by Newsom convincing, in addition to the linguistic ones.[10] Newsom notes that the ten horns are only introduced in v. 7 after the initial description of the animal's appearance has already been concluded and the narration has moved on to its behaviour. The horns seem to have been added as an afterthought here. The following v. 8 contains a cluster of linguistically isolated features (a): the verb אשתכל instead of חזה to describe Daniel's visual perception, the use of the presentative אלו vs. ארו elsewhere in this chapter, and the use of the *itpe'el* אתעקרו instead of a *pe'il* for 'they were uprooted'.[11] Hence, vv. 7bβ–8 look interpolated. Another interpolation is formed by the

8 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 5–23.

9 Cf. the cautioning remarks against such textual criticism aimed to support a literary hypothesis by Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, ix.

10 Collins, *Daniel*, 278–79; Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 132–33; Newsom, *Daniel*, 225; thus already Hölscher, "Entstehung," 121. See also the similar argumentation and conclusions by Ulrich B. Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes*, StNT 6 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972), 19–20; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 21–24.

11 Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "Die Doppelsprachigkeit des Buches Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 6. The *hitpe'el* התגזר is similarly used in Dan 2:34, but there the stone emphatically 'comes loose' without anyone acting upon it: the verb is medial, not passive. That is not the case in Dan 7:8, where the little horn is clearly responsible. Further

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reference to the horn in v. 11,[12] which is recognizable due to the resumptive repetition of 'I saw', the resulting ungrammaticality of the sentence, and the use of באדין 'then' here instead of באתר דנה 'after this' as in vv. 6–7. Noth suggests that the scene involving the Ancient of Days and the figure like a human being is also secondary, but I do not find this compelling.[13]

Several scholars starting with Sellin see vv. 20–22,24–25 as interpolations.[14] However, the entire passage of vv. 19–27 is odd in context. The initial interpretation of the vision in vv. 17–18 already included all four animals.[15] Vv. 23,26–27 do not tell us much we did not yet know:[16] the fourth animal represents a fourth, highly destructive kingdom, which will be judged and destroyed, after which the Holy Ones will receive the sovereignty. The only difference with the preceding is that the animal is interpreted as a kingdom here instead of a king (h). Hence, I prefer to see the entire basic layer of this passage as a secondarily inserted vehicle for the interpretation of the little horn in vv. 24–25.[17] Note that the passage is introduced with the sole instance of אדין 'then' in this chapter, contrasting with באתר דנה 'after this' in vv. 6–7 and באדין 'then' with prefixed *b-* in v. 11a.

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possible linguistic discrepancies between v. 8 and the surrounding text—which I do not find convincing, however—are identified by Haag, "Menschensohn," 142.

12 Hölscher, "Entstehung," 120; Newsom, *Daniel*, 231–32.

13 Martin Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," *TSK* 98–99 (1926): 143–63. Noth's arguments and their reception are discussed by Collins, *Daniel*, 280. Contra Noth's distinction between the use of poetic style in the Ancient of Days scene versus prose in the visions of the four animals, we may add that v. 11b חזה הוית עד די קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה ויהיבת ליקדת אשא 'I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it (= the animal) was given to burning by fire' is no less poetic or metrical than e.g. v. 9bβ–10aα[1] כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור דלק נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי 'his throne was sparks of fire, its wheels were flaming fire, a river of fire streamed out from before him'. Noth's linguistic argument that each part of the vision should end with one and only one clause introduced by חזה הוית עד די 'I saw that' imposes a regularity on the text that is not observably there, as this phrase is missing from the visions of the second and third animals.

14 Sellin, *Einleitung*, 233–34; followed among others by Hölscher, "Entstehung," 120; R. B. Y. Scott, "I Daniel, the Original Apocalypse," *AJSL* 47 (1931): 289–96; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 23–24; Newsom, *Daniel*, 240; similarly Joseph Coppens and Luc Dequeker, *Le Fils de l'homme et les Saints du Très-Haut en Daniel, VII, dans les Apocryphes et dans le Nouveau Testament*, ALBO 23 (Louvain/Bruges: Publications Universitaires de Louvain/Desclée de Brouwer, 1961).

15 Cf. Noth, "Komposition," 153.

16 Cf. Walter Baumgartner, "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," *TRu* 11.2 (1939): 77.

17 Cf. Davies, *Daniel*, 58–60 and others cited there. Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn*, 19–22 sees everything in vv. 17 and following as a Maccabean-era addition.

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Within the secondarily added interpretation of the fourth beast, we find a number of further tensions and contradictions. Vv. 21–22 narrate some additional events that were missing from Daniel's original vision; moreover, the Holy Ones are included as participants in the vision here, while they were part of its real-world referent previously (c).[18] Elsewhere in Daniel, the expression חזה הוית 'I saw (in a vision or dream)' is always followed by a presentative (ואלו or וארו) or by עד די 'until' (e). The description of the little horn's war on the Holy Ones in v. 21 interrupts the expected collocation חזה הוית עד די. Hence, it is probably an interpolation. Excising it leaves us with חזה הוית עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא יהב לקדישי עליונין 'I saw that the Ancient of Days came and gave judgment to the Holy Ones of the Most High'. This is very close to a recapitulation of the events Daniel witnessed in vv. 9–10. The parallel is complete if we conjecturally emend יהב 'he gave' to יתב 'he sat', yielding חזה הוית עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא יתב 'I saw that the Ancient of Days came and the court sat down', with the same expression דינא יתב 'the court sat down' as in v. 10 (and, written in the same way but with a different pronunciation and meaning, דינא יתב 'the court will sit down' in v. 26). The final words of v. 22a, לקדישי עליונין 'to the Holy Ones of the Most High', were then added after 'it sat down' was changed to 'he gave' to provide the verb with a recipient.[19]

The repetition in v. 22b (f) should be ascribed to the same hand as the events surrounding the little horn in v. 21, which explains why undetermined קדישין 'the Holy Ones' is used only in these two verses (d). The visionary events of a war of the little horn against the Holy Ones for a determined time seem to receive their interpretation in ויתיהבון בידה עד עדן ועדנין ופלג עדן 'and they will be surrendered to him until a season and two seasons and half a season' at the end of v. 25, whereas the rest of v. 25 interprets elements of the little horn that are mentioned in v. 20. The final event in the vision, narrated in v. 27, once again uses the past tense of v. 22, suggesting that it, too, was added by the interpolator responsible for the 'war on the Holy Ones' material.[20] The use of

18 Cf. Noth, "Komposition," 154.

19 Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 204 argue for haplography of יהיב ושלטנא יתב דינא 'the court sat down and the authority was given', but this does not account for the defectively spelled form יהב. Ewald's suggestion of דינא יתב ושלטנא יהב cited by Hölscher, "Entstehung," 120 does not explain why the second verb is spelled defectively in the first place. The same suggestion by Noth, "Komposition," 126 fails for the same reason.

20 Similarly Noth, "Komposition," 154, who sees all of vv. 21–22,27 as belonging to the same late layer. Contrast the recent argument that יהיבת should be interpreted as a future stative by Daniel E. Carver, "The Use of the Perfect in Daniel 7:27," *JBL* 138.2 (2019): 325–44.

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TABLE 1 Correspondences between vision and reality in different layers of Dan 7

Textual layer	Character in vision	Real-world equivalent
Four-animal base layer of Dan 7	כבר אנש 'one like a human being'	קדישי עליונין 'Holy Ones of the Most High'
Little horn base layer	Not mentioned	קדישי עליונין 'Holy Ones of the Most High'
Additions to little horn	קדישין 'Holy Ones'	עם קדישי עליונין 'people of the Holy Ones of the Most High'

the term 'the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High' points towards a distinction between the characters in the vision and their real-world equivalents (Table 1).

The recapitulation of the vision of the fourth animal in vv. 19–20 differs from its initial description in vv. 7–8 in a number of ways (g). The recapitulation adds bronze nails; it says that three horns 'fell' (נפלו) before the little horn where previously they 'were uprooted' (אתעקרו); the horn is referred to as 'that horn' (קרנא דכן) instead of 'this horn' (קרנא דא); and the little horn's 'great appearance' (חזוה רב) is also a new element. It may be that the base layer of the interpretation of the fourth animal and its horns was added by a different writer than the original interpolations introducing the horns in the first half of the chapter. In that case, the various elements of the fourth animal's appearance and behaviour would originally have been left uninterpreted, but this is also the case for the first three animals. Daniel's continued preoccupation with the vision (i) makes better sense if the text originally offered less interpretation. The expression זיוי ישתנון עלי 'my appearance changing over me' is borrowed from Dan 5, but finds an echo in Dan 10:8, where והודי נהפך עלי למשחית is a Hebrew calque of this expression.[21] As argued below, this connection with Dan 10–12 suggests that v. 28b was added by the same editor responsible for the first mentions of the little horn.

This leaves us with a very complicated reconstruction, in which the vision of the fourth animal's horns is set in lightface (Aramaic) or italics (English), its interpretation is in black, roman strikethrough text, and the additions to the interpretation are in lightface or italics text with strikethrough.

21 Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*, 24.

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Reconstructed Text of Dan 7

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך
בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי
ראשה על משכבה באדין
חלמא כתב חזה הוית בחזוי עם
ליליא וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא
מגיחן לימא רבא: וארבע חיון
רברבן סלקן מן ימא שנין דא
מן דא: קדמיתא כאריה וגפין
די נשר לה חזה הוית עד די
מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן ארעא
ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת ולבב
אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה אחרי
תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד
הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין
שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי
בשר שגיא: באתר דנה חזה
הוית וארו אחרי כנמר ולה גפין
ארבע די עוף על גביה וארבעה
ראשין לחיותא ושלטן יהיב לה:
באתר דנה חזה הוית בחזוי
ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה דחילה
ואימתני ותקיפא יתירא ושנין די
פרזל לה רברבן אכלה ומדקה
ושארא ברגליה רפסה והיא
משניה מן כל חיותא די קדמיה
וקרנין עשר לה: משתכל הוית
בקרניא ואלו קרן אחרי זעירה
סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן קרניא
קדמיתא אתעקרו מן קדמיה
ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא
דא ופם ממלל רברבן: חזה
הוית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק
יומין יתב לבושה כתלג חור
ושער ראשה כעמר נקא כרסיה
שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור
דלק: נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן
קדמוהי אלף אלפים ישמשונה
ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון דינא
יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה הוית

7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. *And it had ten horns.* [8] *I watched the horns and saw that another, little horn came up between them, and three of the former horns were uprooted before it; and that this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth that spoke great things.* [9] I saw that thrones were set down and one ancient of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. His throne was sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. [10] A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw *then, because of the sound of the great*

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words that the horn was speaking, I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until a time and a season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. [14] And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

[15] As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. [16] I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: [17] 'These great animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. [18] And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' [19] ~~Then I wanted to confirm about the fourth animal, which was different from all of them, very frightening— its teeth were of iron and its nails were of bronze; it ate, crushed, and trampled the rest with its feet—~~[20] ~~and about the ten horns that were on its head, and another that came up, and three fell before it, and that horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its look was greater than its fellows.~~ [21] ~~I saw that *that horn started to make war on the Holy Ones and was prevailing against them,* [22] *until* the Ancient of Days came and the court sat down *to the Holy Ones of the Most High. And the time*~~

באדין מן קל מליא רברבתא
די קרנא ממללה חזה הוית עד
די קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה
ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר
חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה
בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן:
חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם
ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוה
ועד עתיק יומיא מטה וקדמוהי
הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר
ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם
די לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל
בגוא נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני:
קרבת על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא
אבעא מנה על כל דנה ואמר
לי ופשר מליא יהודענני: אלין
חיותא רברבתא די אנין ארבע
ארבעה מלכין יקומון מן ארעא:
ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין
ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא ועד
עלם עלמיא: ~~אדין צבית ליצבא
על חיותא רביעיתא די הות
שניה מן כלהון דחילה יתירה
שניה די פרזל וטפריה די נחש
אכלה מדקה ושארא ברגליה
רפסה: ועל קרניא עשר די
בראשה ואחרי די סלקת ונפלו
מן קדמיה תלת וקרנא דכן
עינין לה ופם ממלל רברבן
וחזוה רב מן חברתה: חזה
הוית~~ וקרנא דכן עבדה קרב
~~עם קדישין ויכלה להון: עד די
אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא~~ יתב
~~לקדישי עליונין וזמנא מטה
ומלכותא החסנו קדישין: כן~~

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אמר חיותא רביעיתא מלכו
רביעיא תהוא בארעא די
תשנא מן כל מלכותא ותאכל
כל ארעא ותדושנה ותדקנה׃
וקרניא עשר מנה מלכותה
עשרה מלכין יקמון ואחרן
יקום אחריהון והוא ישנא מן
קדמיא ותלתה מלכין יהשפל׃
ומלין לצד עליא ימלל ולקדישי
עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה
זמנין ודת ויתיהבון בידה עד
עדן ועדנין ופלג עדן׃ ודינא
יתב ושלטנה יהעדון להשמדה
ולהובדה עד סופא׃ ומלכותה
ושלטנא ורבותא די מלכות
תחות כל שמיא יהיבת לעם
קדישי עליונין מלכותה מלכות
עלם וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון
וישתמעון׃ עד כה סופא די
מלתא אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני
יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי
ומלתא בלבי נטרת׃

came and the Holy Ones seized the kingship.
23 Thus he said: 'The fourth animal: there will be a fourth kingdom on the earth that will be different from all kingdoms, and it will consume the whole earth and trample it and crush it. 24 And the ten horns: from that kingdom, ten kings will arise, and another one will arise after them, and he will differ from the former ones, and he will lay low three kings. 25 And he will speak words against the Highest and he will wear out the Holy Ones of the Most High, and he will think to change the times and the law, *and they will be surrendered to him until a season and two seasons and half a season.* 26 And the court will sit and they will take away his authority for utter ruination and destruction.' 27 *And the kingship and the authority and the greatness of the kingdom under all of heaven was given to the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High; its kingship is an eternal kingdom and all authorities must serve and obey it.* 28 Up to here is the end of the matter. *I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind.*"

3 Conclusion

Based on the textual evidence, we have reconstructed an archetype of Dan 7 that barely differs from MT. I have subsequently followed many other authors in identifying different textual layers in this chapter. Based on multiple linguistic and structural arguments, the references to the horns in Daniel's vision can be identified as secondary. The interpretation of the fourth animal and its horns in vv. 19–26 is similarly secondary. While the differences from the initial vision of the horns are slight, they do occur and may point to a difference in authorship. Within this interpolation, we find a third added layer that describes additional events involving the little horn and the Holy Ones (most of v. 21, v. 22b, the end of v. 25, v. 27).

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TABLE 2 Elements uniquely shared between Dan 7 and Dan 8

Antiochus' arrogance (or great/fierce look)	7:20	8:23
Seleucid Empire as one of four 'kingdoms'	7:23	8:22
Antiochus as a 'king' who 'arises' from it	7:24	8:23

TABLE 3 Elements uniquely shared between Dan 7 and Dan 10–12

Antiochus' usurpation	7:8, 20, 24	11:21
Antiochus' boastful speech	7:8, 11, 20, 25	11:36

As noted by Baumgartner,[22] among others, the imagery representing Antiochus IV as a small horn that sprouts on an already horned animal's head is shared with Dan 8. In Dan 8:5, we additionally find the (Hebrew) expression ואני הייתי מבין והנה, which is transparently a calque of Aramaic ואנה הוית משתכל ואלו 'as for me, I saw that', closely resembling Dan 7:8's ואלו ... משתכל הוית. But many elements shared with Dan 8 also occur in the interpretation of the horns. Those that are not also shared with Dan 10–12 are presented in Table 2. A number of elements that are uniquely shared with Dan 10–12, however, already occur in the first interpolated vision of the horns as well as its interpretation (Table 3). While Dan 10–12 does not contain such a close parallel to Dan 7:8's ואלו ... משתכל הוית as Dan 8:5, this may be coincidental. The description of the vision in Dan 10–12 is limited and presented differently, breaking the pattern of a vision followed by its interpretation. It is likely that the Aramaic verb אשתכל was familiar to the author of Dan 10–12, as we find its Hebrew counterpart בין used several times in Dan 10:1. Hence, the initial description of the little horn in Dan 7:8 is not necessarily closer to Dan 8 than to Dan 10–12.[23]

Finally, the focus on a set period of roughly three-and-a-half years after which Antiochus' persecution is to come to an end is shared with Dan 9 as well as some interpolations in Dan 8 and Dan 12 that have been attributed to the author of Dan 9.[24] This suggests the correspondence of authorship between the different interpolations in Dan 7 and the Hebrew apocalypses as presented in Table 4. The initial description of the vision of the fourth animal's horns

22 Walter Baumgartner, *Das Buch Daniel,* Aus der Welt der Religion. Alttestamentliche Reihe 1 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1926).

23 Dan 8 could well have borrowed the horn motif from Dan 7, as pointed out by Segal, "Calculating the End," 295 and sources cited there.

24 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 29–38; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 215–16.

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TABLE 4 Correspondence between secondary textual layers in Dan 7 and authorship of Dan 8–12

Layer of Dan 7	Material in Dan 7	Corresponding material in Dan 8–12
Initial vision of horns	Dan 7:7bβ–8, 11a	Base layer of Dan 10–12
Interpretation of fourth animal and horns	Dan 7:19–21aα[1], 22aα, 23–25bα[1], 26	Base layer of Dan 8
Additional vision of little horn and Holy Ones	Dan 7:21aα[2]–b, 22b, 25bα[2]–β, 27	Base layer of Dan 9

necessarily precedes its interpretation and the secondary interpolations in this interpretation. These correspondences therefore suggest that Dan 10–12 was written before Dan 8, followed by Dan 9.[25] A small piece of supporting evidence comes from the fact that Dan 10 starts with third-person narration, like Dan 7, but unlike Dan 8 and 9; this is understandable if Dan 10 originally directly followed Dan 7 and thus adhered to its conventions in this regard. Moreover, the limited interpretation of the vision in the reconstructed form of Dan 7 is complemented by the extensive interpretation with no symbolic vision in Dan 10–12. Dan 7:28b was then added as a link between Dan 7 and Dan 10 in order to explain that Daniel was troubled by the lack of interpretation, motivating his fast in search of understanding many years later (Dan 10:2–3).[26] This connection may be supported further if we see the דבר 'matter' that was revealed to Daniel (10:1) as the Hebrew equivalent of מלתא 'the matter' in Dan 7:28. A concrete interpretation in Dan 10–12 of part of Dan 7's vision may occur in 11:2, which can be read as explaining Dan 7:2: the four winds of heaven stirring up the Great Sea correspond to four kings of Persia, with the fourth one stirring up everything against Greece. These traces of a text where Dan 10 immediately followed Dan 7:18,28 remained even after the insertion of Dan 8 and 9 and the extensive *Fortschreibung* of Dan 7 disturbed their original coherence.

25 *Pace* Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, who argues for the order Dan 8; Dan 10–12; Dan 9. This is based on his identification of Dan 8:18–9 as an interpolation by the author of Dan 10–12.

26 According to the source division proposed by Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 32–3,37, and followed by Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 221–3, Dan 8:27b shows the same kind of addition. The interpretation of Dan 8's original vision is already given in vv. 20–25. V. 27b, however, was added by the author of Dan 9, who also inserted the material related to 'the vision of the evening and the morning' in vv. 13–14,16,26a. Without an explanation in Dan 8, Daniel is rightly confused about this revelation, which sets up his investigation and the subsequent interpretation in Dan 9.

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CHAPTER 9

Conclusions on the Formation of the Book

Methodologically, we have seen good results from the combined, comparative-internal approach. In several instances, textual reconstruction based on non-MT evidence was used to restore parts of the text that then formed the basis for further, internal reconstruction. Another interesting result is that small differences in spelling and wording, which one might ordinarily ascribe to scribal variation, co-occur with other indicators of secondariness with great consistency. This supports the view that one and the same writer tended to spell names the same way and be consistent in his terminology (without implying that consistency in spelling and terminology must indicate that two passages derive from the same writer).

As is broadly recognized, Dan 1–7 combines many texts that were originally independent compositions. The editors who combined these texts often left traces of their own. I use the plural here, because we have seen several categories of redactional interpolations and frameworks. Each of these redactions resulted in a work with its own distinct focus and overall message.

Based on the great differences between MT and OG in Dan 4–6, including significant pluses in MT, it has often been suggested that these chapters circulated as a separate work for a while, forming an original core of the Danielic court narratives. This work consisted of the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness and restitution, itself a composite of various shorter texts; the story of Belshazzar's feast and the writing on the wall; and the story of Daniel in the lion's den. This collection is bookended by the letters in Dan 3:31–33 and 6:27–28. As is emphasized in this redactional material, the theme of this collection is God's eternal sovereignty, which outranks that of human kings.

This original Daniel collection predicts a change of dynasty in the central chapter of Dan 5. This may be what prompted another editor to recast the work in the mold of the four kingdoms theory of history.[1] Dan 2 was added to the beginning of the work, taking up Dan 4's subject matter of dream interpretation and Dan 5's theme of predicted regime change. The author of Dan 2 only explicitly identifies the first kingdom, which he equates with Nebuchadnezzar and hence the Neo-Babylonian Empire. But the identity of the following two

1 On this motif in other literature, now see Andrew B. Perrin and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *Four Kingdom Motifs Before and Beyond the Book of Daniel*, Themes in Biblical Narrative 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

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is made clear by his additions to the transition between Dan 5–6, contrasting Belshazzar's Chaldaean ethnicity with the Median one now ascribed to Darius, and to the end of Dan 6, where Cyrus 'the Persian' is mentioned. With the first three kingdoms now explicitly identified as the (Chaldaean) Neo-Babylonian, Median, and Persian empires, it would be obvious to the reader that the fourth one was that of Alexander. This editor was probably also responsible for Dan 5:12, which mentions Daniel's skill at interpreting dreams (as seen in Dan 2 and 4), attributes this to his abundant spirit (a phrase originating in Dan 6:4), and explains how he got the name Belteshazzar (prominently featured in Dan 4), nicely tying Dan 2,4–6 together.

The promotion of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego in Dan 2:49 was argued above to be secondary. This suggests that Dan 3 was added after Dan 2; Dan 2:49 was then added by the author of Dan 3. Dan 3:29 borrows the punishment from Dan 2:5 but varies the wording while at the same time further assimilating the story to Dan 6 by adding a royal decree. This verse is probably from a third hand, as it does not appear to be original in the chapter. Elsewhere, I have argued that the Greek words cited in Dan 3 can be dated to the early second century BCE.[2] The inclusion of Dan 3 in the growing book of Daniel may thus reflect the desire for an updated version of Dan 6 to better match the deteriorating relationship between the Judeans and their new Seleucid rulers. It may also have been at this time that Dan 6 was partially assimilated to Dan 3.

Chapter 1 provides the protagonists of Dan 2–6 with an origin story and answers questions such as how Daniel gained his powers of interpretation and why he is called Belteshazzar in Dan 4 (contradicting the answer in Dan 5:12, which I have attributed to the author of Dan 2). This addition provides what had become a varied collection of court tales with a unifying introduction. As noted by Kratz and Davies, among others, the elements in Dan 1 anticipate features of Dan 2–6 but not obviously of 7–12.[3] This supports the existence of Dan 1–6 as an independent composition.

To this collection of court tales, Dan 7 was added, taking the first-person narration of a dream already found in Dan 4 but making Daniel himself the recipient of the night vision. This called for the introduction of an *angelus interpres* to reveal its interpretation. Thematically, there are clear links between Dan 7 and Dan 2. In the version we have reconstructed above, however, it is not clear that Dan 7 discusses the same procession of world empires as Dan 2, as most commentators have assumed. As the only interpretation originally given of the four animals is that they represent four kings, it is equally possible that

2 Suchard, "Greek in Daniel 3."

3 Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 37, 43; Davies, *Daniel*, 43.

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they were intended to represent the four main Hellenistic successor states.[4] This would explain why they are all presented as coming from the Great Sea—which may still concretely refer to the Mediterranean, despite the image's connotations of *Chaoskampf*[5]—and the function of the four winds, indicating their geographic distribution (cf. Dan 8:8, 11:4). It also explains their apparent coexistence up to the fourth animal's execution (Dan 7:12). Dan 7 thus updates the picture of world history as a succession of empires given in Dan 2 with a description of several empires existing side by side, as was the political reality of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean during the third and early second centuries BCE. This update presumably included the addition of clay as the fifth material of the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dan 2. As in Dan 7, where the symbolism of the animals is left largely unexplained, the author seems to have been unconcerned about providing the readers with an explicit interpretation of this element, leaving room for later editors to provide their own.

While building on material from the court tales, Dan 7 introduced a new genre to the book, that of the apocalypse. As the book continued to include more apocalypses, Dan 7 became a hinge connecting the two genres. The same role was played to a lesser degree by Dan 2, the most apocalyptic of the court tales. Hence, it is in these chapters that we find the strongest traces of further editorial activity. As argued in the chapter on Dan 7, the addition of the ten horns and the little horn to Daniel's vision may well be attributed to the author of the apocalypse that is most concerned with Seleucid history: Dan 10–12. This apocalypse also shows affinity with the four-kingdom scheme introduced by Dan 2: it is dated to the reign of Cyrus (10:1), mentions

4 Cf. Hugo Greßmann, *Der Messias* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929), 344–455, 366–67; Scott, "I Daniel," 296; rejected by Baumgartner, "Danielforschung," 203. Baumgartner's arguments are that while Dan 8:8 notes the existence of the four dynasties that succeeded Alexander, only the Ptolemies and Seleucids were of real interest to the book's authors; that Antigonid Macedonia ceased to exist in the summer of 168 BCE; and that in Dan 2, a succession of empires is also represented as coexisting. None of these objections are compelling. In Dan 7, most attention is paid to the fourth animal, representing the Seleucids. If one of the animals represents the Antigonids, this only supports the hypothesis that Dan 7 was originally composed before 168 in a pre-Maccabean context. And in Dan 2, it is explicitly stated that the various kingdoms succeed each other (בתרך 'after you' in v. 39), which is not the case in Dan 7. More recently, van der Woude, "Doppelsprachigkeit," 6–7 has argued that a later editor of Dan 7 misunderstood the originally intended four world empires as four Hellenistic successor states.

5 Cf. John J. Collins, "Stirring Up the Great Sea. The Religio-Historical Background of Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 121–36; Collins, *Daniel*, 280–92.

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Darius the Mede (11:1),[6] and discusses the succession of the Persian Empire by the Hellenistic ones (11:2–4). Unsurprisingly, this author also left his mark in Dan 2 itself. I propose that he added the scene in which the dream and its meaning are revealed to Daniel in a night vision and related verses (marked by strikethrough black text in the reconstructed text of Dan 2).[7] Collins and Segal note that the element of the 'night vision' is shared between Dan 2:19 and Dan 7:2 (but note the different phrase: חזוא די לילי lit. 'the vision of the night' vs. חזוי עם לילי lit. '(my) vision with the night', respectively).[8] Another important element of this layer in Dan 2, however, is the emphasis on revelation as the source of insight: the matter 'was revealed' (גלי) to Daniel (v. 19) by a god who is 'a revealer of mysteries' (גלא רזין; v. 28). Outside Dan 2, the only place the root גלי (or a potential translation equivalent) is used in Daniel is in Dan 10:1. The latter verse refers to 'Daniel, who was called Belteshazzar', the only place this name is used in any of the apocalyptic chapters. This same phrase occurs in Aramaic in Dan 2:26, which we have also assigned to the 'night vision' layer. Another correspondence occurs in the phrase 'the end of days', found both in Dan 2:28 and 10:14. This layer thus shows multiple connections to Dan 10–12, both in contents and in phrasing. In the chapter on Dan 2, I suggested that the author of Dan 10–12 may also have added the interpretation of the mixed iron and clay representing the 'mixing of the seed of mankind' (Dan 2:43) based on his interest in dynastic intermarriage. Hence, we should assign this interpretation to the same 'night vision' layer. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar's mysterious offering in v. 46 might be related to the author of Dan 10–12's concern for the Temple cult; perhaps the intent is to ironically show Nebuchadnezzar reinstating sacrifices to the God of Daniel, presenting us with a foil to Antiochus.

In the same way, the author of Dan 8 can also be seen at work in Dan 7 and Dan 2. Based on some unique correspondences between the interpretation of the fourth animal and its horns in Dan 7, I have attributed this passage to the author of Dan 8. Segal has recently drawn attention to the correspondence between the description of the king represented by the little horn in Dan 7:24–25 and the hymn in Dan 2:20–23.[9] This allows us to assign the 'hymnic layer' in Dan 2 to the author of Dan 8 as well and connect it with the interpretation of the iron and clay given in v. 41a, which notes the division of Alexander's empire

6 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 34, however, sees this as a later addition.

7 Contrast Davies, *Daniel*, 46, who attributes Dan 2:13–23 to the author of Dan 1. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 61, on the other hand, assigns most of v. 28 (which I ascribe to the author of Dan 10–12) to the author of Dan 7.

8 Collins, *Daniel*, 153; Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 51.

9 Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions*, 51–54.

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into less powerful successor states, as does Dan 8:22. Dan 2:41a's ודי חזיתה 'and that you saw' uses the same construction as Dan 8:22's והנשברת, probably a mistranslation of ודי תבירת 'and that it was broken'.[10] Further links between this layer in Dan 2 and Dan 8 can be seen in the verb הודע/הודיע 'to make known' and the titles 'God of Gods and Lord of Kings' (Dan 2:47) and 'Chief of Chiefs' (Dan 8:25), although these or similar phrases also occur elsewhere and thus do not conclusively show a textual relationship.

A number of interpolations that we have identified in Dan 1,3–6 are difficult to conclusively link to other textual layers. For the sake of minimizing the number of postulated editors, we may assign these to the authors of Dan 8 and 10–12, bearing in mind that the evidence is scanty. The author of Dan 10–12, who introduced the night revelation scene to Dan 2, may also be responsible for the intrusive mention of the king's rations in Dan 1:5aα, which spells פת בג 'victuals' the same way as in Dan 11:26. This author may also have written the dialogue between Nebuchadnezzar and the three friends in Dan 3:13–18, which shares the expression מלכא נבוכדנצר 'King Nebuchadnezzar' spelled thus (v. 16) with Dan 2:28,46. And the same author may have introduced the mantic experts other than Belteshazzar to Dan 4. The motif of the court contest between mantic experts is also adduced in Dan 2:27, belonging to this layer, while the passage in Dan 4 includes the statement that "no mystery (רז) is too difficult for you" (v. 6), using a term that features prominently in this layer of Dan 2.

The author of Dan 8, who introduced the hymn and related material to Dan 2, may also be responsible for Nebuchadnezzar's edict in Dan 3:29, which shares the use of the verb הצל/הציל 'to save' with Dan 8:4,7.[11] The hymn in Dan 4:31–32 shares the mention of the host of heaven with Dan 8. Daniel's recapitulation of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Dan 5:18–22 shares Dan 8:25's focus on various kings' exaltation or humbling of their hearts (i.e. arrogance or humility). And perhaps this author also added the secondary instances of "the law of Media and Persia which does not pass away" in Dan 6, which contrast with Antiochus' intention "to change times and the law" in Dan 7:25.

The additions to the vision of the little horn in Dan 7 were ascribed above to the author of the base layer of Dan 9.[12] No connections are apparent,

10 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 42; Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*, 19–20.

11 The subject of blasphemy forms a closer connection with Dan 10–12, but if the author of the latter was responsible for Dan 3:13–18, there is a contradiction in the spelling of Abed Nego with or without final *aleph* (עבד נגוא only in v. 29).

12 A stylistic connection between this layer and Dan 8, not 9, is noted by Scott, "I Daniel," 294. Scott notes that the mixture of symbolic vision elements and real-world entities occurs

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however, between Dan 9 and Dan 1–6. Following Ginsberg, the author of Dan 9 also seems to have edited Dan 8 and 10–12.[13] Together, this suggests that Dan 7–12 once circulated as a separate collection.[14] Moreover, Dan 8(:26b) and 10–12(:4) both present themselves as secret revelations to Daniel which lay hidden for centuries before surfacing during the Maccabean crisis they foretell. They also both establish a connection to Dan 7 at the outset, whether explicitly (Dan 8:1bβ) or stylistically (Dan 10:1). These features create tension in any work that contains both apocalypses: after all, only one of them can directly follow Dan 7, and why should Daniel have received two separate secret revelations that largely cover the same period? Based on the priority of the interpolations in Dan 2,7 we have independently connected with Dan 10–12 over those related to Dan 8, all of this suggests the following scenario:

1. An Aramaic book of Dan 1–7 was in fairly broad circulation before the Maccabean crisis.
2. During the Maccabean revolt, Dan 10–12 were appended to this work, accompanied by various edits to the preceding chapters.
3. Another writer produced a rival edition, replacing Dan 10–12 with Dan 8. This writer did not recognize the material in Dan 1–7 related to Dan 8, however, and left it intact, together with his own interpolations.
4. The author of Dan 9 then created a 'mantic anthology' of collected apocalypses,[15] with his own work at the centre.

The opening and closing verses of Dan 1 shed some light on how the court tales and apocalypses came to be reunited. I have argued that these verses were intended to recast the book of Daniel once again, presenting it as a source on the period between the end of the Kingdom of Judah described in Chronicles and the post-exilic restoration described in Ezra–Nehemiah. Linguistically, the opening verses of Dan 1 show some connections to Ezra–Nehemiah in particular. Hence, we may associate them with the secondarily inserted prayer in Dan 9:4–20, which is connected to similar prayers in Ezra 9 and Nehemiah 9 on the one hand and shares the use of אדני as a divine name with Dan 1:2 on

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both in Dan 7:21–22,27 and 8:9–12. Interestingly, this part of the vision is not directly taken up in the following interpretation, Dan 8:20–25. It may be connected with vv. 13–14, which repeat the terms תמיד 'continuous offering' and פשע 'offense' and are identified as an interpolation from the hand of the author of Dan 9 by Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 32; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 230–31. Indirectly, this stylistic similarity may thus support the association between Dan 9 and the latest layer of Dan 7.

13 Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 37.

14 See also André LaCocque, *Le livre de Daniel* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1976), 20.

15 See Katrina J. A. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, CBET 6 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994).

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the other hand. The prayer reflects on the pre-exilic history of Israel and Judah. Together with the additions to Dan 1, this solidifies the book's new status as part of a larger corpus of historical works composed in the post-exilic period. This kind of historical interest may well have flourished after the Maccabean revolt resulted in a Hasmonean victory.[16] Especially given the relevance of the latest versions of Dan 7–12 to this conflict, it is understandable that the historically-minded editor combined the court tales and the apocalyptic anthology, giving us MT's full collection of Dan 1–12. Together with Dan 1–2:4a, Dan 8–12 were translated to Hebrew. The bulk of the court tales and Dan 7, on the other hand, may already have been too well known in Aramaic to translate without losing some of their perceived authenticity. While scholars have long debated whether certain parts of Daniel were composed before or during the Maccabean period, one of the book's most notable features—its Hebrew-Aramaic bilingualism—may thus well be post-Maccabean in origin.

16 2 Macc 2:14 is suggestive in this regard: "In the same way Ioudas [Makkabaios] also collected all the books that had been lost on account of the war that had come upon us, and they are in our possession" (NETS).

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APPENDIX

Reconstructed Stages of the Book of Daniel

The following pages contain various reconstructed stages of the text, starting with several independent narratives and growing into different books of Daniel. Text that has been added compared to the previous stage is printed in boldface; text that has been removed is printed in lightface (Aramaic) or italics (English) with strikethrough; and text that has been moved or otherwise edited is printed in red. Some edits and interpolations that could not be dated have not been indicated; note especially the internal harmonizations found in MT Dan 4 that are lacking from OG.

1 Nebuchadnezzar and Belteshazzar

נבוכדנצר שלה הוה בביתה ורענן
בהיכלה: חלם חזה וידחלנה
והרהרין יבהלנה: בחזוי ראשה
על משכבה חזה הוה ואלו אילן
בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה
אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא
וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה
שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא
בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות ברא
ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא
ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוה
בחזוי ראשה על משכבה ואלו
עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת: קרא
בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו
ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה
תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי וצפריא
מן ענפוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא
ומאמר קדישין שאלתא ומן
מלכא שים טעם להנעלה קדמוהי
בלטשאצר וחלמא קדמוהי אמר:
בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא חזוי
חלמי די חזית ופשרה אמר: אדין
בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה חדה
ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר

4 [1] Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in his house, flourishing in his palace. [2] He saw a dream and it frightened him, and disturbing thoughts terrified him. [7] In the visions of his head on his bed he saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] He saw in the visions of his head on his bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by the king to bring in before him [5] Belteshazzar and he told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment

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בלטשאצ חלמא ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך: …

or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." …

2 Nebuchadnezzar's Sabattical

נבוכדנצר מלכא על היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר:

4 [26] King Nebuchadnezzar was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you [29] and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar.

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3 The Madness of Nebuchadnezzar

אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי:

4 [30] I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me.

4 The Writing on the Wall

The text printed in bold was identified above as secondary to the original text but forms an early addition.

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן: **מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה רב חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא: כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:**

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. **[10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters. [12] Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."**

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באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד: ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין
בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא מנא מנה אלהא מלכותך
והשלמה: תקל תקילתה במאזניא
והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת
מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס:
באדין אמר בלשאצר והלבישו
לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא די דהבא
על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי די להוא
שליט תלתא במלכותא:

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "**You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now,** if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [26] MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom.

5 Daniel in the Lions' Den

שפר קדם דריוש והקים על
מלכותא לאחשדרפניא מאה
ועשרין די להון בכל מלכותא:
ועלא מנהון סרכין תלתא די דניאל
חד מנהון : אדין דניאל דנה הוא
מתנצח עליהון כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה
על כל מלכותא: אדין גבריא אלך
תריהון הוו בעין עלה להשכחה
לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה
ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל
קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא
אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל

6 [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than them, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, those men, the two of them sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then,

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דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי
בדת אלהה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה:
אתיעטנא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו
מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין להן מנך
מלכא יתרמא לגב אריותא: כען
מלכא תקים אסרא ותרשם כתבא
די לא להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא
דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל
כדי ידע די רשים כתבא על לביתה
וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא ברך על
ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם אלהה
כל קבל די הוא עבד מן קדמת
דנה: אדין גבריא אלך הרגשו
והשכחו לדניאל בעא ומתחנן
קדם אלהה: באדין ענו ואמרין
קדם מלכא די דניאל רחמך לא
שם טעם על אסרא די רשמת
וזמנין תלתה ביומא בעא בעותה:
אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שמע שגיא
באש עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא הוא
משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין
למלכא דע מלכא די דת למדי
ופרס די כל אסר וקים די מלכא
יהקים לא להשניה: באדין מלכא
אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא די
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה
ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה די לא תשנא צבו
בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה
ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל קדמוהי
ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין מלכא
בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה לגבא
די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא
לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה מלכא

those men rushed to the king and thus they said to him: [8] "We have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "your friend Daniel has not paid heed to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you

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ואמר לדניאל דניאל עוד אנתה חי
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
היכל לשיזבותך מן אריותא: אדין
דניאל עם מלכא מלל מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אלהי סגר פם אריותא
ולא חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה
די הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא
והיתיו גבריא אלך תריהון די אכלו
קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו
אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו
לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: ודניאל
דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש:

continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, the two of them who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius.

6 The Madness and Restitution of Nebuchadnezzar

נבוכדנצר שלה הוה בביתה ורענן
בהיכלה: חלם חזה וידחלנה
והרהרין יבהלנה: בחזוי ראשה על
משכבה חזה הוה ואלו אילן בגוא
ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה
שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי
תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון
צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוה בחזוי ראשה על משכבה
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:
קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: **ברם עקר**
שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור

4 [1] Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in his house, flourishing in his palace. [2] He saw a dream and it frightened him, and disturbing thoughts terrified him. [7] In the visions of his head on his bed he saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] He saw in the visions of his head on his bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches!

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[12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by the king to bring in before him [5] Belteshazzar and he told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then Belteshazzar was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. **[22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven.** [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." **[25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.**

[26] At the end of twelve months, he ~~*King Nebuchadnezzar*~~ was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is

די פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה בעשב ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין שאלתא: ומן מלכא שים טעם להנעלה קדמוהי לבלטשאצר וחלמא קדמוהי אמר: בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית ופשרה אמר: אדין בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: **ולך טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:** להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך: **כלא מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא:**

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר ~~נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר~~ מַלְכָּא על היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא

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דא היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה
לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר
הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל
מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר
מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: **ומן**
אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא
מדרך עשבא כתורין לך יטעמון
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד
די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות
אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה
שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר:
אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא
טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת
ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די
שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין:
ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני
לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב
וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי
ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה
הוספת לי: **כען אנה נבוכדנצר**
משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך
שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט
וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל
להשפלה:

Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] **And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle** and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] **Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.**

7 Three Court Tales

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא
ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא עליא
שפר קדמי להחויה: אתוהי כמה
רברבין ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין
מלכותה מלכות עלם ושלטנה
עם דר ודר: אנה נבוכדנצר שלה
הוית בביתי ורענן בהיכלי: חלם
חזית וידחלני והרהרין יבהלני:
בחזוי ראשי על משכבי חזה

3 [31] **King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase!** [32] **It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me.** [33] **How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation.**

4 [1] **I,** Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts terrified me. [7] In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a

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הוית ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא ורומה
שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף ורומה
ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל
ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה שגיא
ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי תטלל
חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי
שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה
הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:
קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר
שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור
די פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא
ובטל שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא
חלקה בעשב ארעא: ושבעה
עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: בגזרת עירין
פתגמא ומאמר קדישין שאלתא:
ומני ~~מלכא~~ שים טעם להנעלה
קדמי ל**דניאל די שמה** בלטשאצר
כשם אלהי וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת:
בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא חזוי חלמי
די חזית ופשרה אמר: אדין **דניאל**
די שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם
כשעה חדה ורעיניהי יבהלנה ענה
מלכא ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא
ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר
ואמר מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי
חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן
שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי:
דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא
היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק

tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by **me** ~~*the king*~~ to bring in before me [5] **Daniel, whose name was** Belteshazzar**, like the name of my god**, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then **Daniel, whose name was** Belteshazzar**,** was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the

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meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. 22 And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. 23 And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. 24 Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." 25 All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

26 At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. 27 The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." 28 The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. 29 And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." 30 At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. 31 And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, 33 and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. 34 Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן
תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא
על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על
היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך
הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא
היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה
לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר
הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל
מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר
מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן
אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא
מדרך עשבא כתורין לך יטעמון
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד
די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות
אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה
שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר:
אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא
טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת
ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די
שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין:
ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני
לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב
וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי
ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה
הוספת לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר
משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך
שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט
וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה
יכל להשפלה:

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בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב
לרברבנוהי **וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר**
אמר בטעם חמרא לחיתיה למאני
דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר
אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם
וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי:
באדין חיתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו
מן היכלא די בית אלהא די
בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא
אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו
אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל
נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא
די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די
כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו
ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה
משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן:
מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא
ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת
מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי
אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו:
איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין
קדישין בה וביומי אבוך נהירו
ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין
השתכחת בה רב חרטמין אשפין
כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא:
כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:
באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד: ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין
בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles **and was drinking wine.** [2] **Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them.** [3] **Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them.** [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters. [12] Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

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באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא **אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא**
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה
חיתיו קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך
חמרא שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא
ודהבא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא
די לא חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין
שבחת ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה
וכל ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין
מן קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא
וכתבא דנה רשים: דנה פשר
מלתא מנא מנה אלהא מלכותך
והשלמה: תקל תקילתה במאזניא
והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת
מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין
אמר בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל
ארגונא והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארה והכרזו עלוהי די להוא
שליט תלתא במלכותא:

שפר קדם דריוש והקים על
מלכותא לאחשדרפניא מאה
ועשרין די להון בכל מלכותא:
ועלא מנהון סרכין תלתא די דניאל
חד מנהון : אדין דניאל דנה הוא
מתנצח עליהון כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה
על כל מלכותא: אדין גבריא אלך
תריהון הוו בעין עלה להשכחה
לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה
ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל
קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא
אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל
דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי
בדת אלהה: אדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין
לה: אתיעטנא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו

17 Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will
read the writing to the king and I will make the
interpretation known to him. 25 This is the writ-
ing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this
is the interpretation of the matter: **18 you, O king,**
23 exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven,
and they brought the vessels of his house before
you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine
from them, and you praised the gods of silver and
gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not
see and do not hear and do not know, but the god
who has power over your breath and to whom
belong all your ways you did not glorify. 24 Then,
a hand was sent from before him and this writ-
ing was recorded. 26 This is the interpretation of
the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and
completed it. 27 TQL: you have been weighed in the
balance and found wanting. 28 PRS: your kingdom
has been divided and given to Media and Persia."
29 Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they
clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was
on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he
would be authorized as the third in the kingdom.

6 2 It seemed good to Darius to establish the one
hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who
would be in all the kingdom, 3 and three ministers
over them, one of whom was Daniel. 4 Then, this
Daniel showed himself more excellent than them,
since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king
was planning to establish him over the whole king-
dom. 5 Then, those men, the two of them sought to
find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom,
but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as
he was reliable. 6 Then, those men said that "we will
not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we
find it about him in the law of his god." 7 Then,
those men rushed to the king and thus they said to
him: 8 "We have decided to establish a covenant,
O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone
who makes a request of any god for thirty days
other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the

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מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין להן מנך
מלכא יתרמא לגב אריותא: כען
מלכא תקים אסרא ותרשם כתבא
די לא להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא
דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל
כדי ידע די רשים כתבא על לביתה
וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד
ירושלם וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא
ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא
קדם אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד
מן קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל בעא
ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין ענו
ואמרין קדם מלכא די דניאל רחמך
לא שם טעם על אסרא די רשמת
וזמנין תלתה ביומא בעא בעותה:
אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שמע שגיא
באש עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא הוא
משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין
למלכא דע מלכא די דת למדי
ופרס די כל אסר וקים די מלכא
יהקים לא להשניה: באדין מלכא
אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא
די אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר
לדניאל אלהך די אנתה פלח לה
בתדירא הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן
חדה ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה
מלכא בעזקתה די לא תשנא צבו
בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה
ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל קדמוהי
ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין מלכא
בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה לגבא
די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא
לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה מלכא
ואמר לדניאל דניאל עוד אנתה חי
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
היכל לשיזבותך מן אריותא: אדין
דניאל עם מלכא מלל מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אלהי סגר פם אריותא

lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, **which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem,** and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "your friend Daniel has not paid heed to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor

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ולא חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה
די הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא
והיתיו גבריא אלך תריהון די אכלו
קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא
רמו אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו
לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: **באדין**
דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל
שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין
מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא
אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה
די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא:
משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין
בשמיא ובארעא: ודניאל דנה
הצלח במלכות דריוש:

did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, the two of them who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] **Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth:** [27] **"A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end;** [28] **who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth."** [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius.

8 Archetype of MT & OG Dan 4–6

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די
עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי
להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין
ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה
מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר
ודר: אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית
בביתי ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית
וידחלני והרהרין יבהלני: בחזוי
ראשי על משכבי חזה הוית ואלו
אילן בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא:
רבה אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא
לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא:

3 [31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 [1] I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts terrified me. [7] In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole

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עפיה שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון
לכלא בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות
ברא ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא
ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוית
בחזוי ראשי על משכבי ואלו
עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת: קרא
בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו
ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה
תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי וצפריא
מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר שרשוהי
בארעא שבקו ובאסור די פרזל
ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל שמיא
יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה בעשב
ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא
ומאמר קדישין שאלתא: ומני
שים טעם להנעלה קדמי לדניאל
די שמה בלטשאצר כשם אלהי
וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר
רב חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: אדין דניאל די
שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה
חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא
ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא
אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר
מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי
חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן
שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי:
דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא
היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק
עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך

earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant
and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild
animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt
the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I
saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a
watcher and a holy one came down from heaven.
[11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut
down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its
foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee
from under it and the birds from its branches!
[12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in
fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And
it will be washed with the dew of heaven and
its portion will be of the earth's grass with the
animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it.
[14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision,
and the question is an utterance of holy ones.'
[3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before
me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like
the name of my god, and I told him the dream:
[6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the
visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!"
[16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was
astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts
terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar,
don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!"
Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream
be for your enemies and its meaning for your
rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great
and strong and whose height reached to heaven and
which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is
you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and
whose greatness has increased and reached towards
heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth.
[20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one
coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down
the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O
king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has
come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going
to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling

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בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר

will be with the wild animals. 23 And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. 24 Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." 25 All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

26 At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. 27 The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." 28 The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. 29 And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." 30 At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. 31 And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, 33 and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. 34 Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

5 1 King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. 2 Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar

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אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם
וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי:
באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די
הנפקו מן היכלא די בית אלהא
די בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא
פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה
נפקו אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן
לקבל נברשתא על גירא די כתל
היכלא די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס
ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי
שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה
משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן:
קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא
כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר
לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה
כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני ארגונא
ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על
עואריה ותלתי במלכותא ישלט:
אדין עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא
כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא
לחודעה למלכא: אדין מלכא
בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי
שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי משתבשין:
מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא
ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת
ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין
חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל
ישתנו: איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח
אלהין קדישין בה וביומי אבוך
נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת
אלהין השתכחת בה **ומלכא**
נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין
כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא:
כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה

had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] **The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed.** [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and **King Nebuchadnezzar, your father,** your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters. [12] Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel,

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הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד **די חיתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד**:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל
תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך
ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין אמר
בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא
והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה
והכרזו עלוהי די להוא שליט
תלתא במלכותא:

שפר קדם דריוש והקים על
מלכותא לאחשדרפניא מאה
ועשרין די להון בכל מלכותא:
ועלא מנהון סרכין תלתא די דניאל
חד מנהון: אדין דניאל דנה הוא
מתנצח עליהון כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה
על כל מלכותא: אדין גבריא אלך

who is of the exiles of Judah**, whom my father the king brought from Judah**. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom.

6 [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than them, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, those men, the two of them sought to find

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תריהון הוו בעין עלה להשכחה
לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה
ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל
קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא
אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל
דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי
בדת אלהה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה:
אתיעטנא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו
מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין להן
מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב אריותא:
כען מלכא תקים אסרא ותרשם
כתבא די לא להשניה: כל קבל
דנה מלכא דריוש רשם כתבא
ואסרא: ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים
כתבא על לביתה וכוין פתיחן לה
בעליתה נגד ירושלם וזמנין תלתה
ביומא הוא ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא
ומודא קדם אלהה כל קבל די הוא
עבד מן קדמת דנה: אדין
גבריא אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל
בעא ומתחנן קדם אלהה: **באדין**
קריבו ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר
מלכא הלא אסר רשמת די כל
אנש די יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין
תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא
לגוב אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר
יציבא מלתא: באדין ענו ואמרין
קדם מלכא די דניאל רחמך לא שם
טעם על אסרא די רשמת וזמנין
תלתה ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין
מלכא כדי מלתא שמע שגיא
באש עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא הוא
משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין
למלכא דע מלכא די דת למדי
ופרס די כל אסר וקים די מלכא
יהקים לא להשניה: באדין מלכא

a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, those men rushed to the king and thus they said to him: [8] "We have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. **[13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain."** [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "your friend Daniel has not paid heed to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And

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a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring **and with the signet rings of his nobles**, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, the two of them who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth**, who saved Daniel from the lions**." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius.

אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא די
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה
ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה **ובעזקת רברבנוהי** די
לא תשנא צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל
מלכא להיכלה ובת טות ודחון
לא הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת
עלוהי: באדין מלכא בשפרפרא
יקום ובהתבהלה לגבא די אריותא
אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא לדניאל
בקל עציב זעק ענה מלכא ואמר
לדניאל דניאל עוד אנתה חי אלהך
די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא היכל
לשיזבותך מן אריותא: אדין דניאל
עם מלכא מלל מלכא לעלמין
חיי: אלהי סגר פם אריותא ולא
חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה
די הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא
והיתיו גבריא אלך תריהון די אכלו
קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא
רמו אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו
לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין
דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל
שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין
מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא
אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה
די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא:
משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין
בשמיא ובארעא **די שיזיב לדניאל**
מן יד אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח
במלכות דריוש:

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9 Four Kingdoms Recension

ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר
חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת
רוחה ושנתה נדדת עלוהי: ואמר
מלכא למקרא לחרטמיא ולאשפיא
ולגזריא ולכשדיא להחויה למלכא
חלמוהי ואתו וקמו קדם מלכא:
ואמר להון מלכא חלם חזית
ואטפרת רוחי למנדע חלמא: ענו
כשדיא קדם מלכא ואמרין מלכא
לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך
ופשרא נחוא: ענה מלכא ואמר
לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא
תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין
תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון:
והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון מתנן
ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון מן
קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה החוני:
ענו תנינות ואמרין מלכא חלמא
יאמר לעבדוהי ופשרה נהחוה:
ענה מלכא ואמר מן יציב ידע
אנה די עדנא אנתון זבנין כל קבל
די חזיתון די אזדא מני מלתא: די
הן חלמא לא תהודענני חדה היא
דתכון ומלה כדבה ושחיתה
הזמנתון למאמר קדמי עד די
עדנא ישתנא להן חלמא אמרו לי
ואנדע די פשרה תהחונני: ענו
כשדיא קדם מלכא ואמרין לא
איתי אנש על יבשתא די מלת
מלכא יוכל להחויה כל קבל די
כל מלך רב ושליט מלה כדנה לא
שאל לכל חרטם ואשף וכשדי:
ומלתא די מלכה שאל יקירה
ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה קדם
מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון עם
בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל דנה
מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew

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לְהוֹבָדָה לְכָל חַכִּימֵי בָבֶל׃ וּדְתָא
נְפָקַת וְחַכִּימַיָּא מִתְקַטְלִין׃

בֵּאדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל הֲתִיב עֵטָא וְטַעַם
לְאַרְיוֹךְ רַב טַבָּחַיָּא דִּי מַלְכָּא דִּי
נְפַק לְקַטָלָה לְחַכִּימֵי בָבֶל וְכֵן
אֲמַר לֵהּ לְחַכִּימֵי בָבֶל אַל תְּהוֹבַד
הַעְלֵנִי קֳדָם מַלְכָּא וּפִשְׁרָא לְמַלְכָּא
אַחֲוֵא׃ אֱדַיִן אַרְיוֹךְ בְּהִתְבְּהָלָה
הַנְעַל לְדָנִיֵּאל קֳדָם מַלְכָּא וְכֵן
אֲמַר לֵהּ דִּי הַשְׁכַּחַת גֶּבֶר מִן
בְּנֵי גָלוּתָא דִּי יְהוּדָיָא דִּי פִשְׁרָא
לְמַלְכָּא יְהוֹדַע׃ עָנָה דָּנִיֵּאל קֳדָם
מַלְכָּא וַאֲמַר מַלְכָּא לְעָלְמִין חֱיִי
חֶלְמָךְ וְחָזְוֵי רֵאשָׁךְ עַל מִשְׁכְּבָךְ
דְּנָה הַוָא׃ אַנְתָּה מַלְכָּא חֲזֵה הֲוֵית
וְאָלוּ צֶלֶם חַד שַׂגִּיא צַלְמָא דְּכֵן
רַב וְזִיוֵהּ יַתִּיר קָאֵם לְקָבְלָךְ וְרֵוֵהּ
דְּחִיל׃ הוּא צַלְמָא רֵאשֵׁהּ דִּי דְהַב
טָב חֲדוֹהִי וּדְרָעוֹהִי דִּי כֶסֶף מְעוֹהִי
וְיַרְכָתֵהּ דִּי נְחָשׁ׃ שָׁקוֹהִי דִּי פַרְזֶל׃
חֲזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי הִתְגְּזָרַת אֶבֶן
דִּי לָא בִידַיִן וּמְחַת לְצַלְמָא עַל
רַגְלוֹהִי דִּי פַרְזֶלָא וְחַסְפָּא דִּקוּ
כַּחֲדָה פַרְזְלָא נְחָשָׁא כַּסְפָּא וּדְהַבָּא
וְהָווּ כְּעוֹר מִן אִדְרֵי קַיִט וּנְשָׁאַת
הַמּוֹן רוּחָא וְכָל אֲתַר לָא הִשְׁתְּכַח
לְהוֹן וְאַבְנָא דִּי מְחַת לְצַלְמָא
הַוָת לְטוּר רַב וּמָלֵת כָּל אַרְעָא׃
אַנְתָּה מַלְכָּא מַלְכַיָּא דִּי אֱלָהּ
שְׁמַיָּא מַלְכוּתָא חֲסַנָא וְתַקְפָּא
וְיִקְרָא יְהַב לָךְ׃ וּבְכֹל דִּי דָארִין
בְּנֵי אֲנָשָׁא חֵיוַת בָּרָא וְעוֹף שְׁמַיָּא
יְהַב בִּידֵךְ וְהַשְׁלְטָךְ בְּכֻלְּהֶן אַנְתָּה
הוּא רֵאשָׁהּ דִּי דְהַבָּא׃ וּבָתְרָךְ
תְּקוּם מַלְכוּ אָחֳרִי אַרְעָא מִנָּךְ
וּמַלְכוּ תְלִיתָיָא אָחֳרִי דִּי נְחָשָׁא דִּי
תִּשְׁלַט בְּכָל אַרְעָא׃ וּמַלְכוּ רְבִיעָיָה
תְּהֵוֵא תַּקִּיפָה כְּפַרְזְלָא כָּל קֳבֵל דִּי
פַרְזְלָא מְהַדַּק וְחָשֵׁל כֹּלָּא וּמָרְעָע

wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. 13 And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed.

14 Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon 24 and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." 25 Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." 27 Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! 28 Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this: 31 You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. 32 That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, 33 its legs were of iron. 34 You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet and crushed them. 35 Then at once the iron, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. 37 You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. 38 And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. 39 And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. 40 And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and

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כל אלין תדק ותרע כל ארעא:
וביומיה די מלכותא דכן יקים
אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין לא
תתחבל ומלכותה לעם אחרן לא
תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל אלין
מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל
קבל די חזית די מטורא אתגזרת
אבן די לא בידין והדקת פרזלא
נחשא כספא ודהבא:
אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן
רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה
על כל מדינת בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די
עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי
להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין
ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה
מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני
והרהרין יבהלני: בחזוי ראשי
על משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן
בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה
אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא
וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה
שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא
בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות ברא
ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא ומנה
יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוית בחזוי
ראשי על משכבי ואלו עיר וקדיש
מן שמיא נחת: קרא בחיל וכן אמר
גדו אילנא וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו
עפיה ובדרו אנבה תנד חיותא מן
תחתוהי וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם
עקר שרשוהי בארעא שבקו
ובאסור די פרזל ונחש בדתאא די
ברא ובטל שמיא יצטבע ועם
חיותא חלקה בעשב ארעא:
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: בגזרת

pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. 44 And in the days of that kingdom, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, 45 as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, silver, and gold."

48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia.

3 31 King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! 32 It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. 33 How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation.

4 1 I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. 2 I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts terrified me. 7 In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. 8 The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. 9 Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. 10 I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. 11 He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! 12 But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, 13 and

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עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין
שאלתא: ומני שים טעם להנעלה
קדמי לדניאל די שמה בלטשאצר
כשם אלהי וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת:
בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא חזוי חלמי
די חזית ופשרה אמר: אדין דניאל
די שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם
כשעה חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה
מלכא ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא
ופשרא אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר
ואמר מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי
חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן
שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי:
דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא
היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק
עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן
תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא
על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל
רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו
בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד
מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא

seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are

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נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך
טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא
כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין
יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא
יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על
נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך
בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא
כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי
יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה
וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה
נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת
ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי
הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי
התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת
לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח
ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל
מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי
מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם
רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה:
בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא
להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די
הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא
די בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: באדין היתיו מאני
דהבא די הנפקו מן היכלא די בית
אלהא די בירושלם ואשתיו בהון
מלכא ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא
ושבחו לאלהי דהבא וכספא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה
שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד אנש
וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על גירא די
כתל היכלא די מלכא ומלכא חזה
פס ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא
זיוהי שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי
חרצה משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king

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נקשן: קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוניני ארגונא ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא: **כל קבל די רוח יתירה ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא שם שמה בלטשאצר** כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד: ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, **[12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar.** Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

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באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה:
תקל תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך
ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין אמר
בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא
והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה
והכרזו עלוהי די להוא שליט
תלתא במלכותא: **בה בליליא**
קטיל בלאשצר מלכא כשדיא:

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר
קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די
להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון
סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון
: אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח
עליהון כל קבל די רוח יתירא בה
ומלכא עשית להקמותה על כל
מלכותא: אדין גבריא אלך תריהון
הוו בעין עלה להשכחה לדניאל
מצד מלכותא וכל עלה ושחיתה
לא יכלין להשכחה כל קבל די
מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא אלך
אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה

17 Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. 25 This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: 18 you, O king, 23 exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. 24 Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. 26 This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. 27 TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. 28 PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." 29 Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. **30 That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.**

6 **1 And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old.** 2 It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, 3 and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel. 4 Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than them, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. 5 Then, those men, the two of them sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. 6 Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." 7 Then, those men

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כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה:
אתיעטנא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו
מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין להן
מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב אריותא:
כען מלכא תקים אסרא ותרשם
כתבא די לא להשניה: כל קבל
דנה מלכא דריוש רשם כתבא
ואסרא: ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים
כתבא על לביתה וכוין פתיחן לה
בעליתה נגד ירושלם וזמנין תלתה
ביומא הוא ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא
ומודא קדם אלהה כל קבל די הוא
עבד מן קדמת דנה: אדין
גבריא אלך הרגשו והשכחו
לדניאל בעא ומתחנן קדם אלהה:
באדין קריבו ואמרין קדם מלכא
על אסר מלכא הלא אסר רשמת
די כל אנש די יבעה מן כל אלה
עד יומין תלתין להן מנך מלכא
יתרמא לגוב אריותא ענה מלכא
ואמר יציבא מלתא: באדין ענו
ואמרין קדם מלכא די דניאל רחמך
לא שם טעם על אסרא די רשמת
וזמנין תלתה ביומא בעא בעותה:
אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שמע שגיא
באש עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא הוא
משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין
למלכא דע מלכא די דת למדי
ופרס די כל אסר וקים די מלכא
יהקים לא להשניה: באדין מלכא
אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא די
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה
ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה ובעזקת רברבנוהי די

rushed to the king and thus they said to him: [8] "We have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "your friend Daniel has not paid heed to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any

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לא תשנא צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל
מלכא להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא
הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי:
באדין מלכא בשפרפרא יקום
ובהתבהלה לגבא די אריותא אזל:
וכמקרבה לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב
זעק ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל
עוד אנתה חי אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי סגר
פם אריותא ולא חבלוני כל קבל די
קדמוהי זכו השתכחת לי ואף
קדמיך מלכא חבולה לא עבדת:
באדין מלכא שגיא טאב עלוהי
ולדניאל אמר להנסקה מן גבא
והסק דניאל מן גבא וכל חבל לא
השתכח בה די הימן באלהה: ואמר
מלכא והיתיו גבריא אלך תריהון די
אכלו קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב
אריותא רמו אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא
מטו לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין
דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל
ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל
שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן
קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא
חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב
ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא
ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד
אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות
דריוש **ובמלכות כורש פרסיא:**

dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, are you still alive? Has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men, the two of them who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius **and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian**.

10 Out of the Lions' Den, into the Fire

Dan 3:1 was identified as possibly secondary in the discussion above. As the evidence for this is inconclusive and it is not clear when the verse would have reached its current form, it is simply included together with the rest of Dan 3 here.

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ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר
חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת
רוחה ושנתה נדדת עלוהי:
ואמר מלכא למקרא לחרטמיא
ולאשפיא ולגזריא ולכשדיא
להחויה למלכא חלמוהי ואתו וקמו
קדם מלכא: ואמר להון מלכא
חלם חזית ואטפרת רוחי למנדע
חלמא: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא
ואמרין מלכא לעלמין חיי אמר
חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא נחוא: ענה
מלכא ואמר לכשדיא מלתא מני
אזדא הן לא תהודעונני חלמא
ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון ובתיכון
נולי יתשמון: והן חלמא ופשרה
תהחון מתנן ונבזבה ויקר שגיא
תקבלון מן קדמי להן חלמא
ופשרה החוני: ענו תנינות ואמרין
מלכא חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי
ופשרה נהחוה: ענה מלכא ואמר
מן יציב ידע אנה די עדנא אנתון
זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די אזדא
מני מלתא: די הן חלמא לא
תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה
כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר
קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן
חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה
תהחונני: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא
ואמרין לא איתי אנש על יבשתא
די מלת מלכא יוכל להחויה כל
קבל די כל מלך רב ושליט מלה
כדנה לא שאל לכל חרטם ואשף
וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה שאל
יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה
קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון
עם בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל
דנה מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר
להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא
נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין:

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed.

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באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם
לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די
נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל וכן אמר
לה לחכימי בבל אל תהובד העלני
קדם מלכא ופשרא למלכא
אחוא: אדין אריוך בהתבהלה
הנעל לדניאל קדם מלכא וכן אמר
לה די השכחת גבר מן בני גלותא
די יהודיא די פשרא למלכא
יהודע: ענה דניאל קדם מלכא
ואמר מלכא לעלמין חיי חלמך
וחזוי ראשך על משכבך דנה הוא:
אנתה מלכא חזה הוית ואלו צלם
חד שגיא צלמא דכן רב וזיוה יתיר
קאם לקבלך ורוה דחיל: הוא
צלמא ראשה די דהב טב חדוהי
ודרעוהי די כסף מעוהי וירכתה די
נחש: שקוהי די פרזל: חזה הוית
עד די התגזרת אבן די לא בידין
ומחת לצלמא על רגלוהי והדקת
המון: באדין דקו כחדה פרזלא
נחשא כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן
אדרי קיט ונשא המון רוחא וכל
אתר לא השתכח להון ואבנא די
מחת לצלמא הות לטור רב ומלת
כל ארעא: אנתה מלכא מלך
מלכיא די אלה שמיא מלכותא
חסנא ותקפא ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל
די דארין בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף
שמיא יהב בידך והשלטך בכלהון
אנתה הוא ראשה די דהבא:
ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי ארעא
מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די נחשא
די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא כל
קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא
ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע כל
ארעא: וביומיה די מלכותא דכן
יקים אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon [24] and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." [25] Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." [27] Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! [28] Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this: [31] You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. [32] That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron. [34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet and crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. [44] And in the days of that kingdom, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its

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לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם אחרן
לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל אלין
מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל
קבל די חזית די מטורא אתגזרת
אבן די לא בידין והדקת פרזלא
נחשא כספא ודהבא:

אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן
רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על
כל מדינת בבל: **ודניאל בעא מן
מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת
בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו
ודניאל בתרע מלכא:**

**נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די
דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה אמין
שת אקימה בבקעת דורא במדינת
בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא שלח
למכנש לאחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין
מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא
קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא
אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון
קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס
סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני
זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא
די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא
לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה
זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל
קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל
עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם
דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא:
בה זמנא קרבו גברין כשדאין**

kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, silver, and gold."

[48] Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. **[49] And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.**

3 **[1] King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. [2] And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [3] Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [4] And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: [5] at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. [6] And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue**

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ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו
ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת
טעם די כל אנש די ישמע קל
קרנא משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנתרין וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא
יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא לגוא אתון
נורא יקדתא: איתי גברין יהודאין
די מנית יתהון על מדינת בבל
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו גבריא אלך
לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם
לאלהיך לא פלחין ולצלם דהבא
די הקימת לא סגדין: באדין
נבוכדנצר התמלי חמא ויצלם
אנפוהי אשתנו על שדרך מישך
ועבד נגו ענה ואמר למזא
לאתונא חד שבעה על די חזה
למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די
בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון נורא
יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך כפתו
בסרבליהון פטישיהון וכרבלתהון
ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא אתון נורא
יקדתא: כל קבל דנה מן די מלת
מלכא מחצפה ואתונא אזה יתירא
גבריא אלך די הסקו לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו קטל המון שביבא די
נורא: וגבריא אלך תלתהון שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון
נורא מכפתין:

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם
בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי
הא אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין
מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי
בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר
אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר
לתרע אתון נורא יקדתא ענה
ואמר שדרך מישך ועבד נגו

that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants

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עבדוהי די אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא: ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון ושער ראשהון לא התחרך וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח נור לא עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר ואמר בריך אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד נגו די שלח מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי די התרחצו עלוהי ומלת מלכא שניו ויהבו גשמיהון די לא יפלחון ולא יסגדון לכל אלה לחן לאלהחון: באדין מלכא הצלח לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו במדינת בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר: אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני והרהרין יבהלני: בחזוי ראשי על משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת: קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור די פרזל

of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god!" [30] Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

[31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 [1] I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts terrified me. [7] In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of

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ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל שמיא
יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה בעשב
ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא
ומאמר קדישין שאלתא: ומני
שים טעם להנעלה קדמי לדניאל
די שמה בלטשאצר כשם אלהי
וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר
רב חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: אדין דניאל די
שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה
חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא
ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא
אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר
מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי
חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן
שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי:
דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא
היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק
עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן
תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא
על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל
רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו

iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength

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and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his

בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד
מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא
נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך
טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא
כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין
יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא
יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על
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כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי
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וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה
נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת
ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי
הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי
התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען
אנה נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם
ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל
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מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב
לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר
אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני
דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר
אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם
וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי:
באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו
מן היכלא די בית אלהא די
בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא
אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו
אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל
נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא
די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די
כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו
ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה

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משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא
נקשן: קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה
לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה
מלכא ואמר לחכימי בבל די כל
אנש די יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה
יחוני ארגונא ילבש והמונכא די
דהבא על צוארה ותלתי במלכותא
ישלט: אדין עללין כל חכימי
מלכא ולא כהלין כתבא למקרא
ופשרא להודעה למלכא: אדין
מלכא בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל
וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי
משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי
מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא
עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא
לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך
וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר
במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין
בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו
וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת
בה ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב
חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין
הקימה אבוך מלכא: כל קבל די
רוח יתירה ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר
חלמין ואחוית אחידן ומשרא
קטרין השתכחת בה בדניאל די
מלכא שם שמה בלטשאצר כען
דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל
כתבא למקרא ופשרה להודעתני
ארגונא תלבש והמונכא די דהבא
על צוארך ותלתא במלכותא
תשלט:

loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

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באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל
תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת
למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר
והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא
די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי
די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא:
בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא
כשדיא:

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר
קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די
להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון
סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון
די להון אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין
להון טעמא ומלכא לא להוא נזק:
אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על
סרכיא ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די
רוח יתירא בה ומלכא עשית
להקמותה על כל מלכותא: אדין
סרכיא ואחשדרפניא ~~גבריא אלך~~
~~תריהון~~ הוו בעין עלה להשכחה
לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה
ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל
קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel, **to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed**. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than **the ministers and satraps**, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, **the ministers and satraps** ~~*those men, the two of them*~~ sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then,

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אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל
דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי
בדת אלהה: אדין **סרכיא**
ואחשדרפניא אלן ~~גברייא אלך~~
הרגשו על מלכא וכן אמרין לה
דריוש מלכא לעלמין חיי: אתיעטו
כל סרכי מלכותא סגניא
ואחשדרפניא הדבריא ופחותא
לקימה קים מלכא ולתקפה אסר די
כל די יבעה בעו מן כל אלה עד
יומין תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא
לגב אריותא: כען מלכא תקים
אסרא ותרשם כתבא די לא
להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא
דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא:
ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים כתבא
על לביתה וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה
נגד ירושלם וזמנין תלתה ביומא
הוא ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא
קדם אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד
מן קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל בעא
ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין קריבו
ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר מלכא
הלא אסר רשמת די כל אנש די
יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגוב
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר יציבא
מלתא: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל ~~דהמך~~ **די מן בני**
גלותא די יהוד לא שם **עליך**
מלכא טעם ועל אסרא די רשמת
וזמנין תלתה ביומא בעא בעותה:
אדין מלכא כדי מלתא שמע שגיא
באש עלוהי ועל דניאל שם בל
לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא הוא
משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין
למלכא דע מלכא די דת למדי
ופרס די כל אסר וקים די מלכא
יהקים לא להשניה: באדין מלכא

these ministers and satraps ~~*those men*~~ rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "**King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors** have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "~~*your friend*~~ Daniel**, who is of the exiles of Judah,** has not paid heed **to you, O king, or** to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet

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אמר והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא די
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה
ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא
תשנא צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא
להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל
קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין
מלכא בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה
לגבא די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה
לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל עבד
אלהא חיא אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי **שלח**
מלאכה וסגר פם אריותא ולא
חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה די
הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא והיתיו
גבריא אלך ~~תרי~~הון די אכלו
קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא
רמו אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו
לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין
דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא:
מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל שלטן
מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן קדם
אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא
וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב
ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא
ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד
אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח
במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש
פרסיא:

rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god **sent his angel and** closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

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11 The Six Court Tales

1 2 ... ולמאניא חיבל לבית גנזי
אלהה: ואמר מלכא לאשפנז רב
סריסוהי לחיבלה מן בני ישראל
ומן זרע מלכותא ומן פרתמיא:
טלין די לא איתי בהון כל מאום
וטבי מחזה ומשתכלין בכל חכמה
וידעי דעה ומביני מדע ודי גברו
בהון למקם בהיכל מלכא ולאלפה
חמון ספר ולשן כשדאין: ולרביה
חמון שנין תלת ומן קצתהון
יקומון קדם מלכא: והוה בהון
מבני יהודה דניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה: ושם להון רב סריסיא
שמהן ושם לדניאל בלטשאצר
ולחנניה שדרך ולמישאל מישך
ולעזריה עבד נגו: ושם דניאל על
לבה די לא יטנף בפתבג מלכא
ובחמר משתיה ובעה מן רב
סריסיא די לא יטנף: ושם אלהא
דניאל לחסד ולרחמין קדם רב
סריסיא: ואמר רב סריסיא לדניאל
דחל אנה מן קדם מראי מלכא די
מני למאכלכון ולמשתיכון די
למה יחזה אנפיכון זעפין מן טליא
די כגילכון ותחיבון ראשי למלכא:
ואמר דניאל למלצרא די מני רב
סריסיא על דניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה: נסי עבדיך יומין עשרה
ויתנו לנא מן זרעוניא למאכל
ומיא למשתה: ויתחזו קדמיך
מחזינא ומחזיהון די טליא די
אכלין פתבג מלכא וכדי תחזה
עבד עם עבדיך: ושמע להון
למלתא דא ונסי המון יומין עשרה:
ומן קצת יומין עשרה אתחזי
מחזיהון טב וברי בשר מן כל
טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא: והוה
מלצרא נסב פתבגהון וחמר

1 2 ... and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. 3 And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles 4 children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language 5 and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. 6 And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. 7 And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. 8 And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he asked of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. 9 And God had granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. 10 But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, lest he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." 11 And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: 12 "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, 13 and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." 14 And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. 15 And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. 16 And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking

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wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and there was no one like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom, understanding that the king asked of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false

משתיהון ויהב להון זרעוניא: וטליא אלך ארבעתהון יהב להון אלהא מדע ושכלתנו בכל ספר וחכמה ודניאל אשתכל בכל חזו וחלמין: ולמן קצת יומיא די אמר מלכא להנעלה המון והנעל המון רב סריסיא קדם נבכדנצר: ומלל עמהון מלכא ולא אשתכח מן כלהון כדניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה וקמו קדם מלכא: וכל מלת חכמה בינה די בעה מנהון מלכא והשכח המון חד עשרה על כל חרטמיא אשפיא די בכל מלכותה ויקר המון מלכא ומני המון על כל מלה במלכותה:

ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת רוחה ושנתה נדדת עלוהי: ואמר מלכא למקרא לחרטמיא ולאשפיא ולגזריא ולכשדיא להחויה למלכא חלמוהי ואתו וקמו קדם מלכא: ואמר להון מלכא חלם חזית ואטפרת רוחי למנדע חלמא: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא ואמרין מלכא לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא נחוא: ענה מלכא ואמר לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון: והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון מתנן ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון מן קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה החוני: ענו תנינות ואמרין מלכא חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי ופשרה נהחוה: ענה מלכא ואמר מן יציב ידע אנה די עדנא אנתון זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די אזדא מני מלתא: די הן חלמא לא תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה

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תהחוננני: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא
ואמרין לא איתי אנש על יבשתא
די מלת מלכא יוכל להחויה כל
קבל די כל מלך רב ושליט מלה
כדנה לא שאל לכל חרטם ואשף
וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה שאל
יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה
קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון
עם בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל
דנה מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר
להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא
נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין:

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם
לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די
נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל וכן אמר
לה לחכימי בבל אל תהובד העלני
קדם מלכא ופשרא למלכא
אחוא: אדין אריוך
בהתבהלה הנעל לדניאל קדם
מלכא וכן אמר לה די השכחת
גבר מן בני גלותא די יהודיא
די פשרא למלכא יהודע: ענה
דניאל קדם מלכא ואמר מלכא
לעלמין חיי חלמך וחזוי ראשך על
משכבך דנה הוא: אנתה מלכא
חזה הוית ואלו צלם חד שגיא
צלמא דכן רב וזיוה יתיר קאם
לקבלך ורוה דחיל: הוא צלמא
ראשה די דהב טב חדוהי ודרעוהי
די כסף מעוהי וירכתה די נחש:
שקוהי די פרזל: חזה הוית עד די
התגזרת אבן די לא בידין ומחת
לצלמא על רגלוהי והדקת המון:
באדין דקו כחדה פרזלא נחשא
כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן אדרי
קיט ונשא המון רוחא וכל אתר
לא השתכח להון ואבנא די מחת
לצלמא הות לטור רב ומלת כל
ארעא: אנתה מלכא מלך מלכיא
די אלה שמיא מלכותא חסנא

and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon [24] and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." [25] Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." [27] Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! [28] Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this: [31] You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. [32] That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron. [34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet and crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds

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ותקפא ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל די
דארין בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף
שמיא יהב בידך והשלטך בכלהון
אנתה הוא ראשה די דהבא:
ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי ארעא
מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די נחשא
די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא כל
קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא
ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע כל
ארעא: וביומיה די מלכותא דכן
יקים אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין
לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם אחרן
לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל אלין
מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל
קבל די חזית די מטורא אתגזרת
אבן די לא בידין והדקת פרזלא
נחשא כספא ודהבא:

אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן
רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על
כל מדינת בבל: ודניאל בעא מן
מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת
בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל
בתרע מלכא:

נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די
דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה אמין
שת אקימה בבקעת דורא במדינת
בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא שלח
למכנש לאחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין
מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא
קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא
אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון

of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. 39 And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. 40 And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. 44 And in the days of that kingdom, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, 45 as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, silver, and gold."

48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. 49 And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

3 1 King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. 2 And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 3 Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 4 And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: 5 at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara,

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קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס
סבבא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני
זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא
די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא
לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה
זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל
קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל
עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם
דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא:
בה זמנא קרבו גברין כשדאין
ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו
ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת
טעם די כל אנש די ישמע קל
קרנא משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנתרין וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא
יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא: ומן די לא
יפל ויסגד יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא
יקדתא: איתי גברין יהודאין די
מנית יתהון על מדינת בבל שדרך
מישך ועבד נגו גבריא אלך לא
שמו עליך מלכא טעם לאלהיך לא
פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא
סגדין: באדין נבוכדנצר
התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי אשתנו
על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה
ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה על
די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די
בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון נורא
יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך כפתו
בסרבליהון פטישיהון וכרבלתהון
ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא אתון נורא
יקדתא: כל קבל דנה מן די מלת
מלכא מחצפה ואתונא אזה יתירא
גבריא אלך די הסקו לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו קטל המון שביבא די
נורא: וגבריא אלך תלתהון שדרך

sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. [6] And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those

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מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון נורא מכפתין:

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי הא אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר לתרע אתון נורא יקדתא ענה ואמר שדרך מישך ועבד נגו עבדוהי די אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא: ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון ושער ראשהון לא התחרך וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח נור לא עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר ואמר בריך אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד נגו די שלח מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי די התרחצו עלוהי ומלת מלכא שניו ויהבו גשמיהון די לא יפלחון ולא יסגדון לכל אלה להן לאלההון: באדין מלכא הצלח לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו במדינת בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר: אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני והרהרין יבהלני: בחזוי ראשי על משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה

men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

24 Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: 25 "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" 26 Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. 27 And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. 28 Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god!" 30 Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

31 King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! 32 It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. 33 How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 1 I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. 2 I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts terrified me. 7 In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. 8 The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole

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שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי
תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון
צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:
קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר
שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור די
פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל
שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה
בעשב ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא ומאמר
קדישין שאלתא: ומני שים טעם
להנעלה קדמי לדניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר כשם אלהי וחלמא
קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב
חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית ופשרה
אמר: אדין דניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה חדה
ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר
בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל
יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי
חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך:
אילנא די חזית די רבה ותקף ורומה
ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל ארעא:
אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית ותקפת
ורבותך רבת ומטת לשמיא ושלטנך
לסוף ארעא: ודי חזה מלכא עיר
וקדיש נחת מן שמיא ואמר גדו
אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה פשרא מלכא
וגזרת עליא היא די מטת על מראי
מלכא: ולך טרדין מן אנשא ועם
חיות ברא להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו
למשבק עקר שרשוהי די אילנא
מלכותך לך קימה מן די תנדע
שלטן שמיא: להן מלכא מלכי
ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק
ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה

earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said

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לשלותך: כלא מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי:

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them.

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באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו
מן היכלא די בית אלהא די
בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא
אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו
אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל
נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא
די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די
כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו
ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה
משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן:
קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא
כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר
לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה
כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני ארגונא
ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה
ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין
עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין
כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה
למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא
מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי
משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי
מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא
עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא
לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך
אל ישתנו: איתי גבר במלכותך די
רוח אלהין קדישין בה וביומי אבוך
נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת
אלהין השתכחת בה ומלכא
נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין
כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך מלכא:
כל קבל די רוח יתירה ומנדע
ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין ואחוית
אחידן ומשרא קטרין השתכחת בה
בדניאל די מלכא שם שמה
בלטשאצר כען דניאל יתקרי
ופשרה יהחוה:

[3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

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באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל
תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת
למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר
והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא
די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי
די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא:
בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא
כשדיא:

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר קדם
דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די להון
בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון סרכין

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was

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תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון די להון
אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין להון טעמא
ומלכא לא להוא נזק: אדין דניאל
דנה הוא מתנצח על סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די רוח יתירא
בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה על כל
מלכותא: אדין סרכיא ואחשדרפניא
הוו בעין עלה להשכחה לדניאל
מצד מלכותא וכל עלה ושחיתה לא
יכלין להשכחה כל קבל די מהימן
הוא: אדין גבריא אלך אמרין די
לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה כל עלא
להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא אלן הרגשו על מלכא
וכן אמרין לה דריוש מלכא לעלמין
חיי: אתיעטו כל סרכי מלכותא
סגניא ואחשדרפניא הדבריא
ופחותא לקימה קים מלכא ולתקפה
אסר די כל די יבעה בעו מן כל אלה
עד יומין תלתין להן מנך מלכא
יתרמא לגב אריותא: כען מלכא
תקים אסרא ותרשם כתבא די לא
להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא דריוש
רשם כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל כדי
ידע די רשים כתבא על לביתה
וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד
ירושלם וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא
ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד מן
קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל בעא
ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין קריבו
ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר מלכא
הלא אסר רשמת די כל אנש די
יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגוב
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר יציבא
מלתא: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל די מן בני גלותא

Daniel, to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than the ministers and satraps, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, the ministers and satraps sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, these ministers and satraps rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, has not paid heed to you, O king, or to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was

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די יהוד לאשם עליך מלכא טעם
ועל אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה
ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא
כדי מלתא שמע שגיא באש עלוהי
ועל דניאל שם בל לשיזבותה ועד
מעלי שמשא הוא משתדר
להצלותה: באדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא
דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די כל
אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים לא
להשניה: באדין מלכא אמר והיתיו
לדניאל ורמו לגבא די אריותא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אלהך די
אנתה פלח לה בתדירא הוא
ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה ושמת
על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה
ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא תשנא צבו
בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה
ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל קדמוהי
ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין מלכא
בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה לגבא
די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה לגבא
לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה מלכא
ואמר לדניאל דניאל עבד אלהא
חיא אלהך די אנתה פלח לה
בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי שלח
מלאכה וסגר פם אריותא ולא
חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה די
הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא והיתיו
גבריא אלך די אכלו קרצוהי די
דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו אנון בניהון
ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית גבא עד

determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god sent his angel and closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of

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my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש פרסיא:

12 Pre-Maccabean Daniel

1 [2] … and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. [3] And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles [4] children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language [5] and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. [6] And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [7] And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. [8] And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he asked of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. [9] And God had granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. [10] But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I

… ולמאניא היבל לבית גנזי אלהה: ואמר מלכא לאשפנז רב סריסוהי להיבלה מן בני ישראל ומן זרע מלכותא ומן פרתמיא: טלין די לא איתי בהון כל מאום וטבי מחזה ומשתכלין בכל חכמה וידעי דעה ומביני מדע ודי גברו בהון למקם בהיכל מלכא ולאלפה המון ספר ולשן כשדאין: ולרביה המון שנין תלת ומן קצתהון יקומון קדם מלכא: והוה בהון מבני יהודה דניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה: ושם להון רב סריסיא שמהן ושם לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבד נגו: ושם דניאל על לבה די לא יטנף בפתבג מלכא ובחמר משתיה ובעה מן רב סריסיא די לא יטנף: ושם אלהא דניאל לחסד ולרחמין קדם רב סריסיא: ואמר רב סריסיא לדניאל דחל אנה מן

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קדם מראי מלכא די מני למאכלכון
ולמשתיכון די למה יחזה אנפיכון
זעפין מן טליא די כגילכון ותחיבון
ראשי למלכא: ואמר דניאל
למלצרא די מני רב סריסיא על
דניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה: נסי
עבדיך יומין עשרה ויתנו לנא מן
זרעוניא למאכל ומיא למשתה:
ויתחזו קדמיך מחזינא ומחזיהון די
טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא וכדי
תחזה עבד עם עבדיך: ושמע להון
למלתא דא ונסי המון יומין עשרה:
ומן קצת יומין עשרה אתחזי
מחזיהון טב ובריי בשר מן כל טליא
די אכלין פתבג מלכא: והוה
מלצרא נסב פתבגהון וחמר
משתיהון ויהב להון זרעוניא: וטליא
אלך ארבעתהון יהב להון אלהא
מדע ושכלתנו בכל ספר וחכמה
ודניאל אשתכל בכל חזו וחלמין:
ולמן קצת יומיא די אמר מלכא
להנעלה המון והנעל המון רב
סריסיא קדם נבכדנצר: ומלל
עמהון מלכא ולא אשתכח מן
כלהון כדניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה וקמו קדם מלכא: וכל מלת
חכמה בינה די בעה מנהון מלכא
והשכח המון חד עשרה על כל
חרטמיא אשפיא די בכל מלכותה
ויקר המון מלכא ומני המון על כל
מלה במלכותה:

ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר
חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת
רוחה ושנתה נדדת עלוהי: ואמר
מלכא למקרא לחרטמיא ולאשפיא
ולגזריא ולכשדיא להחויה למלכא
חלמוהי ואתו וקמו קדם מלכא:
ואמר להון מלכא חלם חזית
ואטפרת רוחי למנדע חלמא: ענו
כשדיא קדם מלכא ואמרין מלכא
לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך

fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, lest he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." [11] And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: [12] "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and there was no one like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom, understanding that the king asked of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live

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ופשרא נחוא: ענה מלכא ואמר
לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא
תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין
תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון:
והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון מתנן
ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון מן
קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה החוני:
ענו תנינות ואמרין מלכא חלמא
יאמר לעבדוהי ופשרה נהחוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר מן יציב ידע אנה די
עדנא אנתון זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון
די אזדא מני מלתא: די הן חלמא
לא תהודענני חדה היא דתכון
ומלה כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון
למאמר קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא
להן חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די
פשרה תהחוננני: ענו כשדיא קדם
מלכא ואמרין לא איתי אנש על
יבשתא די מלת מלכא יוכל להחויה
כל קבל די כל מלך רב ושליט מלה
כדנה לא שאל לכל חרטם ואשף
וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה שאל
יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה
קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון
עם בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל
דנה מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר
להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא
נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין:

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם
לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא
די נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל
וכן אמר לה לחכימי בבל אל
תהובד העלני קדם מלכא ופשרא
למלכא אחוא: אדין אריוך
בהתבהלה הנעל לדניאל קדם
מלכא וכן אמר לה די השכחת
גבר מן בני גלותא די יהודיא די
פשרא למלכא יהודע: ענה דניאל
קדם מלכא ואמר מלכא לעלמין חיי
חלמך וחזוי ראשך על משכבך דנה

forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon [24] and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." [25] Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." [27] Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! [28] Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this: [31] You, O king, saw a

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big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. [32] That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron, **its feet, some of them were of iron and some of them were of clay**. [34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet **of iron and clay** and crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, **the clay,** the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. [44] And in the days of that kingdom, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, **clay,** silver, and gold."

[48] Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. [49] And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

הוא: אנתה מלכא חזה הוית ואלו צלם חד שגיא צלמא דכן רב וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה דחיל: הוא צלמא ראשה די דהב טב חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף מעוהי וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי די פרזל **רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל ומנהון די חסף**: חזה הוית עד די התגזרת אבן די לא בידין ומחת לצלמא על רגלוהי **די פרזלא וחספא** והדקת המון: באדין דקו כחדה פרזלא **חספא** נחשא כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן אדרי קיט ונשא המון רוחא וכל אתר לא השתכח להון ואבנא די מחת לצלמא הות לטור רב ומלת כל ארעא: אנתה מלכא מלך מלכיא די אלה שמיא מלכותא חסנא ותקפא ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל די דארין בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף שמיא יהב בידך והשלטך בכלהון אנתה הוא ראשה די דהבא: ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי ארעא מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די נחשא די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא כל קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע כל ארעא: וביומיה די מלכותא דכן יקים אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם אחרן לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל אלין מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל קבל די חזית די מטורא אתגזרת אבן די לא בידין והדקת פרזלא נחשא **חספא** כספא ודהבא:

אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על כל מדינת בבל: ודניאל בעא מן מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל בתרע מלכא:

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נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די
דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה אמין
שת אקימה בבקעת דורא במדינת
בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא שלח
למכנש לאחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין
מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא
קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא
אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון
קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס
סבבא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני
זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא
די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא
לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה
זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל
קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל
עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם
דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא:
בה זמנא קרבו גברין כשדאין
ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו
ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת
טעם די כל אנש די ישמע קל קרנא
משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין
וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא יפל ויסגד
לצלם דהבא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד
יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא:
איתי גברין יהודאין די מנית יתהון
על מדינת בבל שדרך מישך ועבד
נגו גבריא אלך לא שמו עליך
מלכא טעם לאלהיך לא פלחין

3 [1] King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. [2] And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [3] Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [4] And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: [5] at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. [6] And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed,

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ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא
סגדין: באדין נבוכדנצר
התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי אשתנו
על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה
ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה
על די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי
חיל די בחילה אמר לכפתה
לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו למרמא
לאתון נורא יקדתא: באדין גבריא
אלך כפתו בסרבליהון פטישיהון
וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא
אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה
מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה ואתונא
אזה יתירא גבריא אלך די הסקו
לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו קטל המון
שביבא די נורא: וגבריא אלך
תלתהון שדרך מישך ועבד נגו
נפלו לגוא אתון נורא מכפתין:

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם
בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי
הא אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין
מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי
בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר
אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר לתרע
אתון נורא יקדתא ענה ואמר
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו עבדוהי די
אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא:
ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא
אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון
ושער ראשהון לא התחרך
וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח נור לא
עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר ואמר
בריך אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד
נגו די שלח מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי
די התרחצו עלוהי ומלת מלכא
שניו ויהבו גשמיהון די לא יפלחון
ולא יסגדון לכל אלה להן לאלההון:

O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god!"

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באדין מלכא הצלח לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו במדינת בבל:
נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די
עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי
להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין
ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה
מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני
והרהרין **על משכבי וחזוי ראשי**
יבהלני: בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא
ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף
ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לסוף
כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה
שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי
תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון
צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:
קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר
שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור די
פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל
שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה
בעשב ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא ומאמר
קדישין שאלתא : ומני שים טעם
להנעלה קדמי לדניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר כשם אלהי וחלמא
קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב
חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית
ופשרה אמר: אדין דניאל די שמה
בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה חדה
ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר
בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל

30 Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

31 King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! 32 It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. 33 How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 1 I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. 2 I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts **on my bed and the visions of my head** terrified me. 7 In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. 8 The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. 9 Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. 10 I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! 12 But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, 13 and seven seasons will pass over it. 14 The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' 3 And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me 5 Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: 6 "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!" 16 Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts

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יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי
חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך:
אילנא די חזית די רבה ותקף
ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל
ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית
ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת לשמיא
ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי חזה
מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן שמיא
ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה
פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא היא די
מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך טרדין
מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא להוה
מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק עקר
שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך לך
קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך
וחטיך בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן
ענין הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא
מטא על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל
רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו
בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד
מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא
נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך
טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא
כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין
יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא
יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על
נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך
בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא
כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי
יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה
וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה

terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles

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נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו מן היכלא די בית אלהא די בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן: קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני ארגונא ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת

and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king

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מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך
רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר
במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין בה
וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה
כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה
ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין
אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך
מלכא: כל קבל די רוח יתירה
ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין
ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין
השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא
שם שמה בלטשאצר כען דניאל
יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא

and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded.

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מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל
תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת
למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר
והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא
די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי
די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא:
בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא
כשדיא:

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר קדם
דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די להון
בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון סרכין
תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון די להון
אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין להון
טעמא ומלכא לא להוא נזק: אדין
דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה
על כל מלכותא: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא הוו בעין עלה
להשכחה לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל
עלה ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה
כל קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא
אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל
דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי
בדת אלהה: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא אלן הרגשו על
מלכא וכן אמרין לה דריוש מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אתיעטו כל סרכי
מלכותא סגניא ואחשדרפניא
הדבריא ופחותא לקימה קים מלכא
ולתקפה אסר די כל די יבעה בעו
מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין להן מנך
מלכא יתרמא לגב אריותא: כען
מלכא תקים אסרא ותרשם כתבא
די לא להשניה: כל קבל דנה מלכא
דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל

[26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [257] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel, to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than the ministers and satraps, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, the ministers and satraps sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, these ministers and satraps rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing

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כדי ידע די רשים כתבא על לביתה
וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד
ירושלם וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא
ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד מן
קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל בעא
ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין קריבו
ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר מלכא
הלא אסר רשמת די כל אנש די
יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגוב
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר יציבא
מלתא: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד לא שם עליך מלכא טעם ועל
אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה
ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא
כדי מלתא שמע שגיא באש עלוהי
ועל דניאל שם בל לשיזבותה ועד
מעלי שמשא הוא משתדר
להצלותה: באדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא
דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די כל
אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים לא
להשניה: באדין מלכא אמר והיתיו
לדניאל ורמו לגבא די אריותא ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל אלהך די
אנתה פלח לה בתדירא הוא
ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה ושמת
על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא
תשנא צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל
מלכא להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא
הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי:
באדין מלכא בשפרפרא יקום
ובהתבהלה לגבא די אריותא אזל:
וכמקרבה לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב
זעק ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל

Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, has not paid heed to you, O king, or to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god sent his angel

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דניאל עבד אלהא חיא אלהך די
אנתה פלח לה בתדירא היכל
לשיזבותך מן אריותא: אדין דניאל
עם מלכא מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי:
אלהי שלח מלאכה וסגר פם
אריותא ולא חבלוני כל קבל די
קדמוהי זכו השתכחת לי ואף
קדמיך מלכא חבולה לא עבדת:
באדין מלכא שגיא טאב עלוהי
ולדניאל אמר להנסקה מן גבא
והסק דניאל מן גבא וכל חבל לא
השתכח בה די הימן באלהה: ואמר
מלכא והיתיו גבריא אלך די אכלו
קרצוהי די דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו
אנון בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו
לארעית גבא עד די שלטו בהון
אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין
דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא:
מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל שלטן
מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן קדם
אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא
וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב
ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא
ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד
אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח
במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש
פרסיא:

and closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך
בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה
על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב
חזה חוית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו
ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן לימא
רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן סלקן מן
ימא שנין דא מן דא: קדמיתא
כאריה וגפין די נשר לה חזה חוית
עד די מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן
ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת

7 [1] **In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And**

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ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה
אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד
הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין
שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי
בשר שגיא: באתר דנה חזה חוית
וארו אחרי כנמר ולה גפין ארבע
די עוף על גביה וארבעה ראשין
לחיותא ושלטן יהיב לה: באתר
דנה חזה חוית בחזוי ליליא וארו
חיוה רביעיה דחילה ואימתני
ותקיפא יתירא ושנין די פרזל
לה רברבן אכלה ומדקה ושארא
ברגליה רפסה והיא משניה מן כל
חיותא די קדמיה: חזה חוית עד די
כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב
לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה
כעמר נקא כרסיה שביבין די נור
גלגלוהי נור דלק: נהר די נור נגד
ונפק מן קדמוהי אלף אלפים
ישמשונה ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון
דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה
חוית עד די קטילת חיותא והובד
גשמה ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר
חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה
בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן:
חזה חוית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם
ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוה
ועד עתיק יומיא מטה וקדמוהי
הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר
ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם
די לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל
בגוא נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני:
קרבת על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא
אבעא מנה על כל דנה ואמר לי
ופשר מליא יהודענני: אלין חיותא
רברבתא די אנין ארבע ארבעה

there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. [9] I saw that thrones were set down and one ancient of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. [10] His throne was sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until a time and a season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. [14] And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

[15] As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. [16] I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: [17] 'These great

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מלכין יקומון מן ארעא: ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא ועד עלם עלמיא: עד כה סופא די מלתא:

animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. 18 And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.'" 28 Up to here is the end of the matter.

13 Mysteries Revealed Recension

... ולמאניא היבל לבית גנזי אלהה:
ואמר מלכא לאשפנז רב סריסוהי
להיבלה מן בני ישראל ומן זרע
מלכותא ומן פרתמיא: טלין די לא
איתי בהון כל מאום וטבי מחזה
ומשתכלין בכל חכמה וידעי דעה
ומביני מדע ודי גברו בהון למקם
בהיכל מלכא ולאלפה המון ספר
ולשן כשדאין: **ומני להון מלכא**
מלת יום ביומה מן פת בג מלכא
ומן חמר משתיה ולרביה המון שנין
תלת ומן קצתהון יקומון קדם
מלכא: והוה בהון מבני יהודה
דניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה: ושם
להון רב סריסיא שמהן ושם
לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך
ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבד נגו:
ושם דניאל על לבה די לא יטנף
בפתבג מלכא ובחמר משתיה ובעה
מן רב סריסיא די לא יטנף: ושם
אלהא דניאל לחסד ולרחמין קדם
רב סריסיא: ואמר רב סריסיא
לדניאל דחל אנה מן קדם מראי
מלכא די מני למאכלכון ולמשתיכון
די למה יחזה אנפיכון זעפין מן
טליא די כגילכון ותחיבון ראשי
למלכא: ואמר דניאל למלצרא די
מני רב סריסיא על דניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה: נסי עבדיך יומין
עשרה ויתנו לנא מן זרעוניא
למאכל ומיא למשתה: ויתחזו

1 2 ... and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. 3 And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles 4 children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language—5 **and the king appointed a daily ration to them from the king's victuals and from his drinking wine**—and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. 6 And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. 7 And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. 8 And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he asked of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. 9 And God had granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. 10 But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, lest he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." 11 And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: 12 "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat

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and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and there was no one like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom, understanding that the king asked of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will

קדמיך מחזינא ומחזיהון די
טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא וכדי
תחזה עבד עם עבדיך: ושמע
להון למלתא דא ונסי המון יומין
עשרה: ומן קצת יומין עשרה
אתחזי מחזיהון טב וברייי בשר מן
כל טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא:
והוה מלצרא נסב פתבגהון וחמר
משתיהון ויהב להון זרעוניא:
וטליא אלך ארבעתהון יהב להון
אלהא מדע ושכלתנו בכל ספר
וחכמה ודניאל אשתכל בכל
חזו וחלמין: ולמן קצת יומיא די
אמר מלכא להנעלה המון והנעל
המון רב סריסיא קדם נבכדנצר:
ומלל עמהון מלכא ולא אשתכח
מן כלהון כדניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה וקמו קדם מלכא: וכל מלת
חכמה בינה די בעה מנהון מלכא
והשכח המון חד עשרה על כל
חרטמיא אשפיא די בכל מלכותה
ויקר המון מלכא ומני המון על כל
מלה במלכותה:

ובשנת תרתין למלכות
נבכדנצר חזה נבכדנצר חלמין
ואטרפת רוחה ושנתה נדדת
עלוהי: ואמר מלכא למקרא
לחרטמיא ולאשפיא ולגזריא
ולכשדיא להחויה למלכא חלמוהי
ואתו וקמו קדם מלכא: ואמר
להון מלכא חלם חזית ואטפרת
רוחי למנדע חלמא: ענו כשדיא
קדם מלכא ואמרין מלכא לעלמין
חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא
נחוא: ענה מלכא ואמר לכשדיא
מלתא מני אזדא הן לא תהודעונני
חלמא ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון
ובתיכון נולי יתשמון: והן חלמא
ופשרה תהחון מתנן ונבזבה ויקר

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שגיא תקבלון מן קדמי להן חלמא
ופשרה החוני: ענו תנינות ואמרין
מלכא חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי
ופשרה נהחוה: ענה מלכא ואמר
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ואמר לאריוך שליטא די מלכא על
מה דתא מהחצפה מן קדם מלכא
אדין מלתא הודע אריוך לדניאל:
ודניאל על ובעה מן מלכא די זמן
ינתן לה ופשרא להחויה למלכא:
אדין דניאל לביתה אזל
ולחנניה מישאל ועזריה חברוהי
מלתא הודע: אדין לדניאל בחזוא
די ליליא רזה גלי: כל קבל דנה
דניאל על אריוך די מני מלכא
להובדה לחכימי בבל אזל וכן
אמר לה לחכימי בבל אל תהובד
העלני קדם מלכא ופשרא למלכא

receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon. **[15] He spoke to Arioch, the official of the king, saying: "Why is the law so harsh from the king?" Then Arioch let Daniel know the matter. [16] And Daniel went in and asked of the king that he would be given time and to tell the king the meaning.**

[17] Then Daniel went to his house and made the matter known to his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [19] Then, the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night. [24] Thereupon, Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had commanded to destroy the wise men of Babylon, and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell

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אחוא: אדין אריוך בהתבהלה
הנעל לדניאל קדם מלכא וכן אמר
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די יהודיא די פשרא למלכא יהודע:
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בלטשאצר האיתיך כהל להודעתני
חלמא די חזית ופשרה: ענה דניאל
קדם מלכא ואמר **רזה די מלכא**
שאל לא חכימין אשפין חרטמין
גזרין יכלין להחויה למלכא: ברם
איתי אלה בשמיא גלא רזין והודע
למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די לחוא
באחרית יומיא מלכא לעלמין חיי
חלמך וחזוי ראשך על משכבך
דנה הוא: אנתה מלכא חזה הוית
ואלו צלם חד שגיא צלמא דכן רב
וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה דחיל:
הוא צלמא ראשה די דהב טב
חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף מעוהי
וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי די פרזל
רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל ומנהון די
חסף: חזה הוית עד די התגזרת אבן
די לא בידין ומחת לצלמא על
רגלוהי די פרזלא וחספא והדקת
המון: באדין דקו כחדה פרזלא
חספא נחשא כספא ודהבא והוו
כעור מן אדרי קיט ונשא המון
רוחא וכל אתר לא השתכח להון
ואבנא די מחת לצלמא הות לטור
רב ומלת כל ארעא: אנתה מלכא
מלך מלכיא די אלה שמיא מלכותא
חסנא ותקפא ויקרא יהב לך: ובכל
די דארין בני אנשא חיות ברא ועוף
שמיא יהב בידך והשלטך בכלהון
אנתה הוא ראשה די דהבא:
ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי ארעא
מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די נחשא
די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא
כל קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל
כלא ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע

the king the meaning." 25 Then, Arioch hastily
presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to
him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the
Judahites who can make the meaning known to the
king." 26 **The king spoke to Daniel, whose name was**
Belteshazzar, saying: "Can you really make known
to me the dream I saw and its meaning?" 27 Daniel
spoke to the king, saying: "**The mystery that the**
king asks—wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream
interpreters were not able to tell the king. 28 **But**
there is a god in heaven, a revealer of mysteries,
and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar
what will happen at the end of days. O king,
live forever! Your dream and the visions of your
head on your bed is this: 31 You, O king, saw a big
statue—that statue was great and its brightness
was intense—standing before you, and its look was
terrifying. 32 That statue—its head was of fine gold,
its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its
hips were of bronze, 33 its legs were of iron, its feet,
some of them were of iron and some of them were
of clay. 34 You saw that a stone came loose without
hands and hit the statue on its feet of iron and
clay and crushed them. 35 Then at once the iron,
the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were
crushed and became like chaff from the threshing
floors of summer. And the wind took them away,
and no place was found for them. And the stone
that had struck the statue became a great mountain
and filled the whole earth. 37 You, O king, are the
king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given
kingship, power and strength, and honour. 38 And
wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds
of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he
has given you authority over all of them. You are its
head of gold. 39 And after you, another kingdom will
arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom
of bronze, which will have authority over the whole
earth. 40 And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong
like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything,
and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize

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כל ארעא: **די חזית פרזלא מערב בחסף טינא מתערבין להון בזרע אנשא ולא להון דבקין דנה עם דנה הא כדי פרזלא לא מתערב עם חספא:** וביומיהון די מלכיא אנון יקים אלה שמיא מלכו די לעלמין לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם אחרן לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל אלין מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא: כל קבל די חזית די מטורא אתגזרת אבן די לא בידין והדקת פרזלא נחשא חספא כספא ודהבא:

באדין מלכא נבוכדנצר נפל על אנפוהי ולדניאל סגד ומנחה וניחחין אמר לנסכה לה: אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על כל מדינת בבל: ודניאל בעא מן מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל בתרע מלכא:

נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה אמין שת אקימה בבקעת דורא במדינת בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא שלח למכנש לאחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני זמרא

the whole earth. [43] **That you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay: they will mix human seed, but they will not stick together, look, as iron does not mix with clay.** [44] And in the days of those kings, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, clay, silver, and gold."

[46] **Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell to the ground and bowed down before Daniel and ordered to libate a meal offering and incense to him.** [48] Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. [49] And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

3 [1] King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. [2] And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [3] Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [4] And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: [5] at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down

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תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: בה זמנא קרבו גברין כשדאין ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא מלכא לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת טעם די כל אנש די ישמע קל קרנא משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: איתי גברין יהודאין די מנית יתהון על מדינת בבל שדרך מישך ועבד נגו גבריא אלך לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם לאלהיך לא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא סגדין: **באדין נבוכדנצר ברגז וחמה אמר לחיתיה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו באדין גבריא אלך היתיו קדם מלכא: ענה נבכדנצר ואמר להון חצדא שדרך מישך ועבד נגו לאלהי לא איתיכון פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא סגדין: כען הן איתיכון עתידין די בעדנא די תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין וסומפניה וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלמא די עבדת והן לא תסגדון בה שעתה תתרמון לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא ומן הוא אלה די ישיזבנכון מן ידי: ענו שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ואמרין למלכא נבוכדנצר לא חשחין אנחנה על דנה פתגם להתבותך: הן איתי**

to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. [6] And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." **[13] Then, Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Then, those men brought [them] before the king. [14] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying to them: "Really, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, is it so that you do not serve my gods and do not bow down to the golden statue that I have erected? [15] Now, if you are prepared to fall and bow down to the statue that I made at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument—but if not, at that moment you will be thrown into the oven of burning fire, and who is a god who could save you from me?" [16] Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "We do not need to answer to you for this. [17] If it is so that the god we serve can**

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אלהנא די אנחנא פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא מן אתון נורא יקדתא ומן ידך מלכא ישיזב: והן לא ידיע להוא לך מלכא די לאלהיך לא איתינא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא נסגד: באדין נבוכדנצר התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי אשתנו על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה על די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון נורא יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך כפתו בסרבליהון פטישיהון וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה ואתונא אזה יתירא גבריא אלך די הסקו לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו קטל המון שביבא די נורא: וגבריא אלך תלתהון שדרך מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון נורא מכפתין:

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי הא אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר לתרע אתון נורא יקדתא ענה ואמר שדרך מישך ועבד נגו עבדוהי די אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא: ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון ושער ראשהון לא התחרך וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח נור לא עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר ואמר בריך אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד נגו די שלח מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי די התרחצו עלוהי ומלת

save us from the oven of burning fire, and from you, O king, he will; [18] and if not, let it be known to you, O king, that indeed, we do not serve your gods and will not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their

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מלכא שניו ויהבו גשמיהון די לא
יפלחון ולא יסגדון לכל אלה להן
לאלההון: באדין מלכא הצלח
לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו במדינת
בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די
עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי
להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין
ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה
מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני
והרהרין על משכבי וחזוי ראשי
יבהלני: ומני שים טעם להנעלה
קדמי ל**כל חכימי בבל די פשר
חלמא יהודענני: באדין עללין
חרטמיא אשפיא כשדיא וגזריא
וחלמא אמר אנה קדמיהון ופשרה
לא מהודעין לי: ועד אחרין על
קדמי** דניאל די שמה בלטשאצר
כשם אלהי **ודי רוח אלהין קדישין
בה** וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת:
**בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא די אנה
ידעת די רוח אלהין קדישין בך
וכל רז לא אנס לך** חזוי חלמי די
חזית ופשרה אמר: בחזוי ראשי על
משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא
ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה
שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי
תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון
צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:
קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר

bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god!" [30] Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

[31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 [1] I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts on my bed and the visions of my head terrified me. [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me **all the wise men of Babylon so that they could make known to me the meaning of the dream. [4] Then, the magicians, the sorcerors, the Chaldaeans, and the dream interpreters each came in, and I would tell them the dream, but none of them could make its meaning known to me. [5] And finally, there came before me** Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, **and in whom there was a spirit of holy gods,** and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, **of whom I have learned that there is a spirit of holy gods in you and no mystery is too difficult for you,** tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning! [7] In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree

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and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [3] ~~And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me [5] Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning!~~ **[15] This dream did I, King Nebuchadnezzar, see; now you, Belteshazzar, tell the meaning, since none of the wise men of my kingdom were able to make known to me the meaning, but you can, as a spirit of holy gods is in you."** [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you,

שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור די
פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל
שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה
בעשב ארעא: ושבעה עדנין יחלפון
עלוהי: בגזרת עירין פתגמא ומאמר
קדישין שאלתא: ~~ומני שים טעם~~
~~להנעלה קדמי לדניאל די שמה~~
~~בלטשאצר כשם אלהי וחלמא~~
~~קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב~~
~~חרטמיא חזוי חלמי די חזית~~
~~ופשרה אמר:~~ **דנה חלמא חזית אנה**
מלכא נבוכדנצר ואנתה בלטשאצר
פשרא אמר כל קבל די כל חכימי
מלכותי לא יכלין פשרא להודעתני
ואנתה כהל די רוח אלהין קדישין
בך: אדין דניאל די שמה בלטשאצר
אשתומם כשעה חדה ורעינהי
יבהלנה ענה מלכא ואמר
בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל
יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי
חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך:
אילנא די חזית די רבה ותקף
ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לכל
ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די רבית
ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת לשמיא
ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי חזה
מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן שמיא
ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי: דנה
פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא היא די
מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך טרדין
מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא להוה
מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק עקר
שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך לך
קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן
תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא
על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

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O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב וליקר מלכותי הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, [33] and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו מן היכלא די בית אלהא די

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that

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בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא
ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו
לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא
אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו
אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל
נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא
די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די
כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו
ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה
משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן:
קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא
כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר
לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה
כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני ארגונא
ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה
ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין
עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין
כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה
למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר
שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי
ורברבנוהי משתבשין: מלכתא
לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית
משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת
מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך
רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר
במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין
בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו
וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת
בה ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב
חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין
הקימה אבוך מלכא: כל קבל די
רוח יתירה ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר
חלמין ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין
השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא
שם שמה בלטשאצר כען דניאל
יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה

was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel,

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הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא על מרא שמיא
התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו
קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא
שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא
נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא
חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת
ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל
ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן
קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא
דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא
מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל
תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת
חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת
למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר
והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא
די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי
די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא:
בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא
כשדיא:

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא
כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר קדם
דריוש והקים על מלכותא
לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די להון
בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון סרכין
תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון די להון

who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, [23] exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel, to whom these satraps would report so

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אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין להון
טעמא ומלכא לא להוא נזק: אדין
דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די רוח
יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה
על כל מלכותא: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא הוו בעין עלה
להשכחה לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל
עלה ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה
כל קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין
גבריא אלך אמרין די לא נהשכח
לדניאל דנה כל עלא להן השכחנה
עלוהי בדת אלהה: אדין
סרכיא ואחשדרפניא אלן הרגשו
על מלכא וכן אמרין לה דריוש
מלכא לעלמין חיי: אתיעטו כל
סרכי מלכותא סגניא ואחשדרפניא
הדבריא ופחותא לקימה קים
מלכא ולתקפה אסר די כל די
יבעה בעו מן כל אלה עד יומין
תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב
אריותא: כען מלכא תקים אסרא
ותרשם כתבא די לא להשניה: כל
קבל דנה מלכא דריוש רשם כתבא
ואסרא: ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים
כתבא על לביתה וכוין פתיחן לה
בעליתה נגד ירושלם וזמנין תלתה
ביומא הוא ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא
ומודא קדם אלהה כל קבל די הוא
עבד מן קדמת דנה: אדין
גבריא אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל
בעא ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין
קריבו ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר
מלכא הלא אסר רשמת די כל
אנש די יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין
תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגוב
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר יציבא
מלתא: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל די מן בני גלותא

that the king would not be disturbed. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than the ministers and satraps, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, the ministers and satraps sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, these ministers and satraps rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, has not paid heed to you, O king, or to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened

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די יהוד לא שם עליך מלכא טעם
ועל אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה
ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא
כדי מלתא שמע שגיא באש עלוהי
ועל דניאל שם בל לשיזבותה ועד
מעלי שמשא הוא משתדר
להצלותה: באדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא
דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די כל
אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים לא
להשניה: באדין מלכא אמר
והיתיו לדניאל ורמו לגבא די
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל
אלהך די אנתה פלח לה בתדירא
הוא ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה
ושמת על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא
בעזקתה ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא
תשנא צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא
להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל
קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין
מלכא בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה
לגבא די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה
לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל עבד
אלהא חיא אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי שלח
מלאכה וסגר פם אריותא ולא
חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה די
הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא והיתיו
גבריא אלך די אכלו קרצוהי די
דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו אנון
בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית

and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. 16 Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" 17 Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" 18 And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. 19 Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. 20 Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. 21 And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" 22 Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! 23 My god sent his angel and closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." 24 Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. 25 And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. 26 Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: 27 "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must

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גבא עד די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל גרמיהון הדקו: באדין דריוש מלכא כתב לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין ומלכותה די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא ובארעא די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש פרסיא:

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן לימא רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן סלקן מן ימא שנין דא מן דא: קדמיתא כאריה וגפין די נשר לה חזה הוית עד די מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי בשר שגיא: באתר דנה חזה הוית וארו אחרי כנמר ולה גפין ארבע די עוף על גביה וארבעה ראשין לחיותא ושלטן יהיב לה: באתר דנה חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא יתירא ושנין די פרזל לה רברבן אכלה ומדקה ושארא ברגליה רפסה והיא משניה מן כל חיותא די קדמיה **וקרנין עשר לה: משתכל הוית בקרניא ואלו קרן**

tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. **And it had ten horns. [8] I watched the horns and saw that another, little horn came up between them, and three of the former horns were uprooted**

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before it; and that this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth that spoke great things. [9] I saw that thrones were set down and one ancient of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. [10] His throne was sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw **then, because of the sound of the great words that the horn was speaking, I saw** that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until a time and a season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. [14] And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

[15] As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. [16] I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: [17] 'These great animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. [18] And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' [28] Up to here is the end of the matter. **I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind.**"

אחרי זעירה סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן קרניא קדמיתא אתעקרו מן קדמיה ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא דא ופם ממלל רברבן: חזה הוית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור דלק: נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי אלף אלפים ישמשונה ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה הוית **באדין מן קל מליא רברבתא די קרנא ממללה חזה הוית** עד די קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן: חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוה ועד עתיק יומיא מטה וקדמוהי הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם די לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל בגוא נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני: קרבת על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא אבעא מנה על כל דנה ואמר לי ופשר מליא יהודענני: אלין חיותא רברבתא די אנין ארבע ארבעה מלכין יקומון מן ארעא: ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא ועד עלם עלמיא: עד כה סופא די מלתא **אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי ומלתא בלבי נטרת**:

Followed by Dan 10:1–12:4 in Aramaic.

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14 Hymns and Horns Recension

1 [2] ... and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. [3] And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles [4] children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language—[5] and the king appointed a daily ration to them from the king's victuals and from his drinking wine—and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. [6] And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [6] And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. [8] And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he asked of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. [9] And God had granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. [10] But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, lest he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." [11] And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah: [12] "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten

... ולמאניא היבל לבית גנזי אלהה:
ואמר מלכא לאשפנז רב סריסוהי
להיבלה מן בני ישראל ומן זרע
מלכותא ומן פרתמיא: טלין די לא
איתי בהון כל מאום וטבי מחזה
ומשתכלין בכל חכמה וידעי דעה
ומביני מדע ודי גברו בהון למקם
בהיכל מלכא ולאלפה המון ספר ולשן
כשדאין: ומני להון מלכא מלת יום
ביומה מן פת בג מלכא ומן חמר
משתיה ולרביה המון שנין תלת ומן
קצתהון יקומון קדם מלכא: והוה בהון
מבני יהודה דניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה: ושם להון רב סריסיא שמהן
ושם לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה
שדרך ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבד
נגו: ושם דניאל על לבה די לא יטנף
בפתבג מלכא ובחמר משתיה ובעה
מן רב סריסיא די לא יטנף: ושם
אלהא דניאל לחסד ולרחמין קדם רב
סריסיא: ואמר רב סריסיא לדניאל
דחל אנה מן קדם מראי מלכא די מני
למאכלכון ולמשתיכון די למה יחזה
אנפיכון זעפין מן טליא די כגילכון
ותחיבון ראשי למלכא: ואמר דניאל
למלצרא די מני רב סריסיא על דניאל
חנניה מישאל ועזריה: נסי עבדיך
יומין עשרה ויתנו לנא מן זרעוניא
למאכל ומיא למשתה: ויתחזו קדמיך
מחזינא ומחזיהון די טליא די אכלין
פתבג מלכא וכדי תחזה עבד עם
עבדיך: ושמע להון למלתא דא ונסי
המון יומין עשרה: ומן קצת יומין
עשרה אתחזי מחזיהון טב וברייי בשר
מן כל טליא די אכלין פתבג מלכא:
והוה מלצרא נסב פתבגהון וחמר
משתיהון ויהב להון זרעוניא: וטליא
אלך ארבעתהון יהב להון אלהא

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מדע ושכלתנו בכל ספר וחכמה
ודניאל אשתכל בכל חזו וחלמין: ולמן
קצת יומיא די אמר מלכא להנעלה
המון והנעל המון רב סריסיא קדם
נבכדנצר: ומלל עמהון מלכא ולא
אשתכח מן כלהון כדניאל חנניה
מישאל ועזריה וקמו קדם מלכא: וכל
מלת חכמה בינה די בעה מנהון
מלכא והשכח המון חד עשרה על כל
חרטמיא אשפיא די בכל מלכותה
ויקר המון מלכא ומני המון על כל
מלה במלכותה:

days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and there was no one like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom, understanding that the king asked of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom.

ובשנת תרתין למלכות נבכדנצר
חזה נבכדנצר חלמין ואטרפת רוחה
ושנתה נדדת עלוהי: ואמר מלכא
למקרא לחרטמיא ולאשפיא ולגזריא
ולכשדיא להחויה למלכא חלמוהי
ואתו וקמו קדם מלכא: ואמר להון
מלכא חלם חזית ואטפרת רוחי
למנדע חלמא: ענו כשדיא קדם
מלכא ואמרין מלכא לעלמין חיי אמר
חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא נחוא: ענה
מלכא ואמר לכשדיא מלתא מני
אזדא הן לא תהודעונני חלמא
ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי
יתשמון: והן חלמא ופשרה תהחון
מתנן ונבזבה ויקר שגיא תקבלון מן
קדמי להן חלמא ופשרה החוני: ענו
תנינות ואמרין מלכא חלמא יאמר
לעבדוהי ופשרה נהחוה: ענה מלכא
ואמר מן יציב ידע אנה די עדנא
אנתון זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די
אזדא מני מלתא: די הן חלמא לא
תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar saw dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep fled from him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the dream interpreters and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I saw a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning, you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that

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כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר
קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן חלמא
אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה תהחוננני:
ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא ואמרין לא
איתי אנש על יבשתא די מלת מלכא
יוכל להחויה כל קבל די כל מלך רב
ושליט מלה כדנה לא שאל לכל
חרטם ואשף וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה
שאל יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה
קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון עם
בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל דנה
מלכא בנס וקצף שגיא ואמר להובדה
לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא נפקת
וחכימיא מתקטלין **ובעו דניאל**
וחברוהי להתקטלה:

you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed, **and Daniel and his friends were going to be killed.**

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם
לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די נפק
לקטלה לחכימי בבל: ענה ואמר
לאריוך שליטא די מלכא על מה דתא
מהחצפה מן קדם מלכא אדין מלתא
הודע אריוך לדניאל: ודניאל על ובעה
מן מלכא די זמן ינתן לה ופשרא
להחויה למלכא:

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon. [15] He spoke to Arioch, the official of the king, saying: "Why is the law so harsh from the king?" Then Arioch let Daniel know the matter. [16] And Daniel went in and asked of the king that he would be given time and to tell the king the meaning.

אדין דניאל לביתה אזל ולחנניה
מישאל ועזריה חברוהי מלתא הודע:
ורחמין למבעא מן קדם אלהא עליא
על רזה דנה די לא יהבדון דניאל
וחברוהי עם שאר חכימי בבל: אדין
לדניאל בחזוא די ליליא רזה גלי **אדין**
דניאל ברך לאלהא עליא: ענה
דניאל ואמר להוא שמה די אלהא
רבא מברך מן עלמא ועד עלמא די
חכמתא וגבורתא די לה היא: והוא
מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעדה מלכין
ומהקים מלכין יהב חכמתא לחכימין
ומנדעא לידעי בינה: הוא גלא

[17] Then Daniel went to his house and made the matter known to his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. **[18] And to ask mercy from the Highest God concerning this mystery, so that Daniel and his friends would not be destroyed together with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.** [19] Then, the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night; **then, Daniel blessed the Highest God. [20] Daniel spoke, saying: "Let the name of the great God be blessed from eternity and until eternity, to whom belong wisdom and strength! [21] And he changes the seasons and the times, makes kings pass away and sets up kings,**

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gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who know understanding. 22 He reveals deep and hidden things, knows what is in darkness, and the light resides with him. 23 You, O god of my fathers, I thank and praise, for you have given me wisdom and illumination, and now, you have made known to me what we asked of you, for you have made the king's matter known to us." 24 Thereupon, Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had commanded to destroy the wise men of Babylon, and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." 25 Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." 26 The king spoke to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, saying: "Can you really make known to me the dream I saw and its meaning?" 27 Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "The mystery that the king asks—wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream interpreters were not able to tell the king. 28 But there is a god in heaven, a revealer of mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will happen at the end of days. O king, live forever! Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this:

29 You, O king—your thoughts on your bed had turned to what will happen after this, and the Revealer of Mysteries has let you know what will happen. 30 As for me, this mystery was not revealed to me through any wisdom that is in me over all the living, but only so that they would make known to the king the meaning and you would know the thoughts of your mind. 31 You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. 32 That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and

עמיקתא ומסתרתא ידע מה בחשוכא ונהירא עמה שרא: לך אלה אבהתי מהודא ומשבח אנה די חכמתא ונהירותא יהבת לי וכען הודעתני די בעינא מנך די מלת מלכא הודעתנא:
כל קבל דנה דניאל על אריוך די מני מלכא להובדה לחכימי בבל אזל וכן אמר לה לחכימי בבל אל תהובד העלני קדם מלכא ופשרא למלכא אחוא: אדין אריוך בהתבהלה הנעל לדניאל קדם מלכא וכן אמר לה די השכחת גבר מן בני גלותא די יהודיא די פשרא למלכא יהודע: ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל די שמה בלטשאצר האיתיך כהל להודעתני חלמא די חזית ופשרה: ענה דניאל קדם מלכא ואמר רזה די מלכא שאל לא חכימין אשפין חרטמין גזרין יכלין להחויה למלכא: ברם איתי אלה בשמיא גלא רזין והודע למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די להוא באחרית יומיא מלכא לעלמין חיי חלמך וחזוי ראשך על משכבך דנה הוא:

אנתה מלכא רעיונך על משכבך סלקו מה די להוא אחרי דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה די להוא: ואנה לא בחכמה די איתי בי מן כל חייא רזא דנה גלי לי לחן על דברת די פשרא למלכא יהודעון ורעיוני לבבך תנדע:
אנתה מלכא חזה הוית ואלו צלם חד שגיא צלמא דכן רב וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה דחיל: הוא צלמא ראשה די דהב טב חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף מעוהי וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי די פרזל רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל ומנהון די

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חסף: חזה הוית עד די התגזרת אבן
די לא בידין ומחת לצלמא על רגלוהי
די פרזלא וחספא והדקת המון: באדין
דקו כחדה פרזלא חספא נחשא
כספא ודהבא והוו כעור מן אדרי קיט
ונשא המון רוחא וכל אתר לא
השתכח להון ואבנא די מחת לצלמא
הות לטור רב ומלת כל ארעא: **דנה
חלמא ופשרה נאמר קדם מלכא:**
אנתה מלכא מלך מלכיא די אלה
שמיא מלכותא חסנא ותקפא ויקרא
יהב לך: ובכל די דארין בני אנשא
חיות ברא ועוף שמיא יהב בידך
והשלטך בכלהון אנתה הוא ראשה
די דהבא: ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי
ארעא מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די
נחשא די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא כל
קבל די פרזלא מהדק וחשל כלא
ומרעע כל אלין תדק ותרע כל
ארעא: **ודי חזיתה רגליא מנהון חסף
די פחר ומנהון פרזל מלכו פליגה
תהוה ומן נצבתא די פרזלא לחוא
בה:** די חזית פרזלא מערב בחסף
טינא מתערבין להון בזרע אנשא ולא
להון דבקין דנה עם דנה הא כדי
פרזלא לא מתערב עם חספא:
וביומיהון די מלכיא אנון יקים אלה
שמיא מלכו די לעלמין לא תתחבל
ומלכותה לעם אחרן לא תשתבק
תדק ותסיף כל אלין מלכותא והיא
תקום לעלמיא: כל קבל די חזית די
מטורא אתגזרת אבן די לא בידין
והדקת פרזלא נחשא חספא כספא
ודהבא **אלה רב הודע למלכא מה די
להוא אחרי דנה וייציב חלמא ומהימן
פשרה:**

its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were
of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron, its feet, some of
them were of iron and some of them were of clay.
[34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands
and hit the statue on its feet of iron and clay and
crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, the clay,
the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed
and became like chaff from the threshing floors
of summer. And the wind took them away, and no
place was found for them. And the stone that had
struck the statue became a great mountain and
filled the whole earth. **[36] This was the dream, and
let us tell the king its meaning.** [37] You, O king, are
the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has
given kingship, power and strength, and honour.
[38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and
the birds of the sky live he has given into your
hand, and he has given you authority over all of
them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you,
another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and
another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will
have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there
will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron
crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes
all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole
earth. **[41] And that you saw the feet, some of
them potter's clay and some of them iron:
it will be a divided kingdom, but some of the
nature of iron will be in it.** [43] That you saw the
iron mixed with muddy clay: they will mix
human seed, but they will not stick together, look,
as iron does not mix with clay. [44] And in the days
of those kings, the God of Heaven will establish
a kingdom which will never pass away, and its
kingship will not depart to another people, and
it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it
will remain forever, [45] as you saw that a stone
came loose from a mountain without hands and
crushed the iron, bronze, clay, silver, and gold.
A great god has let the king know what will

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באדין מלכא נבוכדנצר נפל על אנפוהי ולדניאל סגד ומנחה וניחחין אמר לנסכה לה: **ענה מלכא לדניאל ואמר מן קשט די אלהכון הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין וגלה רזין די יכלת למגלא רזה דנה:** אדין מלכא לדניאל רבי ומתנן רברבן שגיאן יהב לה והשלטה על כל מדינת בבל: ודניאל בעא מן מלכא ומני על עבידתא די מדינת בבל לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו ודניאל בתרע מלכא:

נבוכדנצר מלכא עבד צלם די דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה אמין שת אקימה בבקעת דורא במדינת בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא שלח למכנש לאחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם דהבא די הקים

happen after this, and the dream is certain, and its meaning is reliable."

46 Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell to the ground and bowed down before Daniel and ordered to libate a meal offering and incense to him. 47 **The king spoke to Daniel, saying: "Truly, your god is a god of gods and a lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, that you were able to reveal this mystery!"** 48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. 49 And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

3 1 King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. 2 And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 3 Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 4 And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: 5 at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. 6 And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be thrown into the oven of fire." 7 Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute,

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נבוכדנצר מלכא: בה זמנא קרבו
גברין כשדאין ואכלו קרציהון די
יהודיא: ענו ואמרין לנבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכא לעלמין חיי: אנתה מלכא שמת
טעם די כל אנש די ישמע קל קרנא
משרקיתא קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין
וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא יפל ויסגד לצלם
דהבא: ומן די לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא
לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: איתי גברין
יהודאין די מנית יתהון על מדינת בבל
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו גבריא אלך
לא שמו עליך מלכא טעם לאלהיך
לא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא
סגדין: באדין נבוכדנצר ברגז
וחמה אמר להיתיה לשדרך מישך
ועבד נגו באדין גבריא אלך היתיו
קדם מלכא: ענה נבכדנצר ואמר להון
הצדא שדרך מישך ועבד נגו לאלהי
לא איתיכון פלחין ולצלם דהבא די
הקימת לא סגדין: כען הן איתיכון
עתידין די בעדנא די תשמעון קל
קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנתרין וסומפניה וכל זני זמרא
תפלון ותסגדון לצלמא די עבדת והן
לא תסגדון בה שעתה תתרמון לגוא
אתון נורא יקדתא ומן הוא אלה די
ישיזבנכון מן ידי: ענו שדרך מישך
ועבד נגו ואמרין למלכא נבוכדנצר
לא חשחין אנחנה על דנה פתגם
להתבותך: הן איתי אלהנא די אנחנא
פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא מן אתון נורא
יקדתא ומן ידך מלכא ישיזב: והן לא
ידיע להוא לך מלכא די לאלהיך לא
איתינא פלחין ולצלם דהבא די
הקימת לא נסגד: באדין
נבוכדנצר התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי
אשתנו על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה
ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה על
די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל די
בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך מישך

cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [13] Then, Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Then, those men brought [them] before the king. [14] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying to them: "Really, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, is it so that you do not serve my gods and do not bow down to the golden statue that I have erected? [15] Now, if you are prepared to fall and bow down to the statue that I made at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument—but if not, at that moment you will be thrown into the oven of burning fire, and who is a god who could save you from me?" [16] Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "We do not need to answer to you for this. [17] If it is so that the god we serve can save us from the oven of burning fire, and from you, O king, he will; [18] and if not, let it be known to you, O king, that indeed, we do not serve your gods and will not bow down to the

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ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון נורא יקדתא:
באדין גבריא אלך כפתו בסרבליהון
פטישיהון וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו
לגוא אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה
מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה ואתונא
אזה יתירא גבריא אלך די הסקו
לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו קטל המון
שביבא די נורא: וגבריא אלך תלתהון
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו נפלו לגוא אתון
נורא מכפתין:

golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.

אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם
בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי הא
אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין
מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי
בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר
אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר
לתרע אתון נורא יקדתא ענה ואמר
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו עבדוהי די
אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא:
ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא
אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון ושער
ראשהון לא התחרך וסרבליהון לא
שנו וריח נור לא עדת בהון: ענה
נבוכדנצר ואמר בריך אלההון די
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו די שלח
מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי די התרחצו
עלוהי ומלת מלכא שניו ויהבו
גשמיהון די לא יפלחון ולא יסגדון
לכל אלה להן לאלההון: **ומני שים**
טעם די כל עם אמה ולשן די יאמר

[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" [27] Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god! [29] **And a**

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שלה על אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד נגוא הדמין יתעבד וביתה נולי ישתוה כל קבל די לא איתי אלה אחרן די יכל להצלה כדנה: באדין מלכא הצלח לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו במדינת בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר: אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני והרהרין על משכבי וחזוי ראשי יבהלני: ומני שים טעם להנעלה קדמי לכל חכימי בבל די פשר חלמא יהודענני: באדין עללין חרטמיא אשפיא כשדיא וגזריא וחלמא אמר אנה קדמיהון ופשרה לא מהודעין לי: ועד אחרין על קדמי דניאל די שמה בלטשאצר כשם אלהי ודי רוח אלהין קדישין בה וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת: בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא די אנה ידעת די רוח אלהין קדישין בך וכל רז לא אנס לך חזוי חלמי די חזית ופשרה אמר: בחזוי ראשי על משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא: חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת: קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי וצפריא

decree is issued by me that any people, nation, and language that speaks blasphemy against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego will be made into limbs and its house will be made like a ruin, since there is no other god who can save like this." [30] Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

[31] King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! [32] It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. [33] How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation.

4 [1] I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. [2] I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts on my bed and the visions of my head terrified me. [3] And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me all the wise men of Babylon so that they could make known to me the meaning of the dream. [4] Then, the magicians, the sorcerors, the Chaldaeans, and the dream interpreters each came in, and I would tell them the dream, but none of them could make its meaning known to me. [5] And finally, there came before me Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and in whom there was a spirit of holy gods, and I told him the dream: [6] "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, of whom I have learned that there is a spirit of holy gods in you and no mystery is too difficult for you, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning! [7] In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. [8] The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. [9] Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals

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would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals, [13] and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones.' [15] This dream did I, King Nebuchadnezzar, see; now you, Belteshazzar, tell the meaning, since none of the wise men of my kingdom were able to make known to me the meaning, but you can, as a spirit of holy gods is in you." [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved

מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר שרשוהי
בארעא שבקו ובאסור די פרזל ונחש
בדתאא די ברא ובטל שמיא יצטבע
ועם חיותא חלקה בעשב ארעא:
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: בגזרת
עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין
שאלתא: דנה חלמא חזית אנה מלכא
נבוכדנצר ואנתה בלטשאצר פשרא
אמר כל קבל די כל חכימי מלכותי לא
יכלין פשרא להודעתני ואנתה כהל די
רוח אלהין קדישין בך: אדין דניאל
די שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה
חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא
ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא אל
יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר מראי
חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה לעריך: אילנא
די חזית די רבה ותקף ורומה ימטא
לשמיא וחזותה לכל ארעא: אנתה
הוא מלכא די רבית ותקפת ורבותך
רבת ומטת לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף
ארעא: ודי חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש
נחת מן שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא
וחבלוהי: דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת
עליא היא די מטת על מראי מלכא:
ולך טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק עקר
שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך לך קימה
מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא: להן מלכא
מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק
ועויתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה
לשלותך: כלא מטא על נבוכדנצר
מלכא:

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for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, **and I blessed the Highest, and praised and glorified the Ever-Living, whose authority is an eternal authority and whose reign is with every generation. [32] And all who dwell on the earth are reckoned like nothing, and he does as he wants with the host of heaven, and there is none who can stay his hand and say to him: "What have you done?" [33] At that time, my understanding returning to me,** and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל רבתא
די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו בתקף חסני
וליקר הדרי: עוד מלתא בפם מלכא
קל מן שמיא נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר
מלכא מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא
לך טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא
כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין
יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא
יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על
נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל
מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין
אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע עד
די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי כצפרין:
ולקצת יומיה אנה נבוכדנצר עיני
לשמיא נטלת ומנדעי עלי יתוב
ולעליא ברכת ולחי עלמא שבחת
והדרת די שלטנה שלטן עלם
ומלכותה עם דר ודר: וכל דארי
ארעא כלה חשיבין וכמעביה עבד
בחיל שמיא ולא איתי די ימחא בידה
ויאמר לה מה עבדת: בה זמנא
מנדעי יתוב עלי וליקר מלכותי הדרי
וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי התקנת
ורבו יתירה הוספת לי: כען אנה
נבוכדנצר משבח ומרומם ומהדר
למלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט
וארחתה דין ודי מהלכין בגוה יכל
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was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב
לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר
אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני
דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר
אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם וישתון
בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: באדין היתיו
מאני דהבא די הנפקו מן היכלא די
בית אלהא די בירושלם ואשתיו בהון
מלכא ורברבנוהי: שתיו חמרא וגזרו
אלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא
אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו אצבען
די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על
גירא די כתל היכלא די מלכא ומלכא
חזה פס ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא
זיוהי שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי
חרצה משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא
נקשן: קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה
לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא
ואמר לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די
יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני
ארגונא ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארה ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין
עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין
כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה
למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא
מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי
משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא
ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת
מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי אל
יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי
גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין
בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו
וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה
ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין
אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך
מלכא: כל קבל די רוח יתירה ומנדע
ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין ואחוית אחידן

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ומשרא קטרין השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא שם שמה בלטשאצר כען דניאל יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד: ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר מלתא אנתה מלכא **אלהא עליא מלכותא ורבותא ויקרא והדרה יהב לנבכדנצר אבוך: ומן רבותא די יהב לה כל עממיא אמיא ולשניא חוו זאעין ודחלין מן קדמוהי די הוה צבא הוא קטל ודי הוה צבא הוה מחא ודי הוה צבא הוה מרים ודי הוה צבא הוה משפיל: וכדי רם לבבה ורוחה תקפת לחזדה הנחת מן כרסא מלכותה ויקרה העדיו מנה: ומן בני אנשא טריד ולבבה עם חיותא שוי ועם עדדיא מדורה עשבא כתורין יטעמונה ומטל שמיא גשמה יצטבע עד די ידע די שליט אלהא עליא במלכות אנשא**

kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, **the Highest God gave the kingship and greatness and honour and glory to your father Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And because of the greatness which he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages trembled before him and feared him. He would kill whomever he wanted and keep whomever he wanted alive, and he would elevate whomever he wanted and he would humble whomever he wanted. [20] But when his mind grew haughty and his his spirit grew strong in arrogance, he was taken down from his royal throne and his honour was removed from him. [21] And he was driven away from the human**

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ולמן די יצבה יהקים עליה: ואנתה ברה בלשאצר לא השפלת לבבך כל קבל די כל דנה ידעת: ועל מרא שמיא התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא: בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא כשדיא:

beings and his mind became like the animals and his dwelling was with the wild asses. They fed him grass like cattle and his body was washed by the dew of heaven until he came to know that the Highest God is authorized over the kingship of mankind and he sets whomever he wants over it. 22 But you, his son Belshazzar, did not humble your mind, although you knew all this. 23 And you exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. 24 Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. 26 This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. 27 TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. 28 PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." 29 Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. 30 That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון די להון אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין להון טעמא ומלכא לא להוא נזק: אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על סרכיא ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די רוח יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה על כל מלכותא: אדין סרכיא

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel, to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than the ministers and satraps, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then,

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ואחשדרפניא הוו בעין עלה להשכחה
לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה
ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל קבל
די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא אלך
אמרין די לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה
כל עלא להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא אלן הרגשו על מלכא
וכן אמרין לה דריוש מלכא לעלמין
חיי: אתיעטו כל סרכי מלכותא סגניא
ואחשדרפניא הדבריא ופחותא
לקימה קים מלכא ולתקפה אסר די
כל די יבעה בעו מן כל אלה עד יומין
תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב
אריותא: כען מלכא תקים אסרא
ותרשם כתבא די לא להשניה **כדת
מדי ופרס די לא תעדא**: כל קבל דנה
מלכא דריוש רשם כתבא ואסרא:
ודניאל כדי ידע די רשים כתבא על
לביתה וכוין פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד
ירושלם וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא
ברך על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד מן קדמת
דנה: אדין גבריא אלך הרגשו
והשכחו לדניאל בעא ומתחנן קדם
אלהה: באדין קריבו ואמרין קדם
מלכא על אסר מלכא הלא אסר
רשמת די כל אנש די יבעה מן כל
אלה עד יומין תלתין להן מנך מלכא
יתרמא לגוב אריותא ענה מלכא
ואמר יציבא מלתא **כדת מדי ופרס
די לא תעדא**: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד לא שם עליך מלכא טעם ועל
אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה ביומא
בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא כדי מלתא
שמע שגיא באש עלוהי ועל דניאל
שם בל לשיזבותה ועד מעלי שמשא
הוא משתדר להצלותה: באדין גבריא

the ministers and satraps sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, these ministers and satraps rushed to the king and thus they said to him: "King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed **like the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away**." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain **as the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away**." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, has not paid heed to you, O king, or to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was

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אלך הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא
דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די כל
אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים לא
להשניה: באדין מלכא אמר והיתיו
לדניאל ורמו לגבא די אריותא ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל אלהך די אנתה
פלח לה בתדירא הוא ישיזבנך:
והיתית אבן חדה ושמת על פם גבא
וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה ובעזקת
רברבנוהי די לא תשנא צבו בדניאל:
אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה ובת טות
ודחון לא הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת
עלוהי: באדין מלכא בשפרפרא יקום
ובהתבהלה לגבא די אריותא אזל:
וכמקרבה לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב
זעק ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל
עבד אלהא חיא אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא מלל
מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי שלח
מלאכה וסגר פם אריותא ולא חבלוני
כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו השתכחת לי
ואף קדמיך מלכא חבולה לא עבדת:
באדין מלכא שגיא טאב עלוהי
ולדניאל אמר להנסקה מן גבא והסק
דניאל מן גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח
בה די הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא
והיתיו גבריא אלך די אכלו קרצוהי
די דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו אנון
בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית גבא
עד די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל
גרמיהון הדקו: באדין דריוש מלכא
כתב לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די
דארין בכל ארעא: מן קדמי שים טעם
די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון זאעין
ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די דניאל די
הוא אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין
ומלכותה די לא תתחבל ושלטנה עד
סופא: משיזב ומצל ועבד אתין
ותמהין בשמיא ובארעא די שיזיב

determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god sent his angel and closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones. [26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the

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לדניאל מן יד אריותא: ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש ובמלכות כורש פרסיא:

domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן לימא רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן סלקן מן ימא שנין דא מן דא: קדמיתא כאריה וגפין די נשר לה חזה הוית עד די מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי בשר שגיא: באתר דנה חזה הוית וארו אחרי כנמר ולה גפין ארבע די עוף על גביה וארבעה ראשין לחיותא ושלטן יהיב לה: באתר דנה חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא יתירא ושנין די פרזל לה רברבן אכלה ומדקה ושארא ברגליה רפסה והיא משניה מן כל חיותא די קדמיה וקרנין עשר לה: משתכל הוית בקרניא ואלו קרן אחרי זעירה סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן קרניא קדמיתא אתעקרו מן קדמיה ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא דא ופם ממלל רברבן: חזה הוית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור דלק: נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי אלף

7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. And it had ten horns. [8] I watched the horns and saw that another, little horn came up between them, and three of the former horns were uprooted before it; and that this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth that spoke great things. [9] I saw that thrones were set down and one ancient of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. [10] His throne was

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sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw then, because of the sound of the great words that the horn was speaking, I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until a time and a season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. [14] And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

[15] As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. [16] I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: [17] 'These great animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. [18] And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' **[19] Then I wanted to confirm about the fourth animal, which was different from all of them, very frightening—its teeth were of iron and its nails were of bronze; it ate, crushed, and trampled the rest with its feet—[20] and about the ten horns that were on its head, and another that came up, and three fell before it, and that horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its look was greater than its fellows. [21] I saw [22] that the**

אלפים ישמשונה ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה הוית באדין מן קל מליא רברבתא די קרנא ממללה חזה הוית עד די קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן: חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתה הוה ועד עתיק יומיא מטה וקדמוהי הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם די לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל בגוא נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני: קרבת על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא אבעא מנה על כל דנה ואמר לי ופשר מליא יהודענני: אלין חיותא רברבתא די אנין ארבע ארבעה מלכין יקומון מן ארעא: ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא ועד עלם עלמיא: **מן כלהון דחילה יתירה שניה די פרזל וטפריה די נחש אכלה מדקה ושארא ברגליה רפסה: ועל קרניא עשר די בראשה ואחרי די סלקת ונפלו מן קדמיה תלת וקרנא דכן עינין לה ופם ממלל רברבן וחזוה רב מן חברתה: חזה הוית עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא יתב: כן אמר חיותא רביעיתא מלכו רביעיא תהוא בארעא די תשנא מן כל מלכותא ותאכל כל ארעא**

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ותדושנה ותדקנה: וקרניא עשר מנה מלכותה עשרה מלכין יקמון ואחרן יקום אחריהון והוא ישנא מן קדמיא ותלתה מלכין יהשפל: ומלין לעד עליא ימלל ולקדישי עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה זמנין ודת: ודינא יתב ושלטנה יהעדון להשמדה ולחובדה עד סופא: עד כה סופא די מלתא אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי ומלתא בלבי נטרת: **אדין צבית ליצבא על חיותא רביעיתא די חות שניה**

Ancient of Days came and the court sat down. [23] **Thus he said: 'The fourth animal: there will be a fourth kingdom on the earth that will be different from all kingdoms, and it will consume the whole earth and trample it and crush it.** [24] **And the ten horns: from that kingdom, ten kings will arise, and another one will arise after them, and he will differ from the former ones, and he will lay low three kings.** [25] **And he will speak words against the Highest and he will wear out the Holy Ones of the Most High, and he will think to change the times and the law.** [26] **And the court will sit and they will take away his authority for utter ruination and destruction.'** [28] Up to here is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind."

Followed by Dan 8:1–12,15,17,20–24,26b–27a in Aramaic.

15 Collected Apocalypses

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן לימא רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן סלקן מן ימא שנין דא מן דא: קדמיתא כאריה וגפין די נשר לה חזה הוית עד די מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי בשר שגיא: באתר דנה חזה הוית וארו אחרי כנמר ולה גפין ארבע די עוף על גביה וארבעה ראשין לחיותא

7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back,

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ושלטן יהיב לה: באתר דנה חזה
הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה
דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא יתירא ושנין
די פרזל לה רברבן אכלה ומדקה
ושארא ברגליה רפסה והיא משניה
מן כל חיותא די קדמיה וקרנין עשר
לה: משתכל הוית בקרניא ואלו קרן
אחרי זעירה סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן
קרניא קדמיתא אתעקרו מן קדמיה
ואלו עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא דא
ופם ממלל רברבן: חזה הוית עד די
כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב לבושה
כתלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא
כרסיה שביבין די נור גלגלוהי נור
דלק: נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי
אלף אלפים ישמשונה ורבו רבון
קדמוהי יקומון דינא יתב וספרין
פתיחו: חזה הוית באדין מן קל מליא
רברבתא די קרנא ממללה חזה הוית
עד די קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה
ויהיבת ליקדת אשא: ושאר חיותא
העדיו שלטנהון וארכה בחיין יהיבת
להון עד זמן ועדן: חזה הוית בחזוי
ליליא וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש
אתה הוה ועד עתיק יומיא מטה
וקדמוהי הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן
ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם די לא
יעדה ומלכותה די לא תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל בגוא
נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני: קרבת על
חד מן קאמיא ויציבא אבעא מנה
על כל דנה ואמר לי ופשר מליא
יהודענני: אלין חיותא רברבתא די
אנין ארבע ארבעה מלכין יקומון

and the animal had four heads, and authority
was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions
a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and
exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron.
It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder
with its feet. And it was different from all the
animals that were before it. And it had ten horns.
[8] I watched the horns and saw that another, little
horn came up between them, and three of the
former horns were uprooted before it; and that
this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth
that spoke great things. [9] I saw that thrones were
set down and one ancient of days sat down. His
clothing was like white snow and the hair on
his head was like sheep's wool. [10] His throne was
sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. A river
of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands
upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads
upon myriads stood before him. The court sat
down and the books were opened. [11] I saw then,
because of the sound of the great words that the
horn was speaking, I saw that the animal was
killed and its body was destroyed and it was given
to burning by fire. [12] But the rest of the animals—
their authority had been taken away, but some
length of life had been given to them until a time
and a season. [13] I saw in the night visions that one
like a human being was coming with the clouds
of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days
and they brought him before him. [14] And to him
was given authority and glory and kingship and
all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve
him. His authority is an eternal authority, which
will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not
be damaged.

[15] As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed
in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified
me. [16] I approached one of those standing there in
order to seek certainty from him about all this, and
he said to me, and he made known to me the inter-
pretation of the words: [17] 'These great animals,

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מן ארעא: ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי
עליונין ויחסנון מלכותא עד עלמא
ועד עלם עלמיא: אדין צבית ליצבא
על חיותא רביעיתא די הות שניה
מן כלהון דחילה יתירה שניה די
פרזל וטפריה די נחש אכלה מדקה
ושארא ברגליה רפסה: ועל קרניא
עשר די בראשה ואחרי די סלקת
ונפלו מן קדמיה תלת וקרנא דכן
עינין לה ופם ממלל רברבן וחזוה
רב מן חברתה: חזה הוית **וקרנא**
דכן עבדה קרב עם קדישין ויכלה
להון: עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא
יתב **וזמנא מטה ומלכותא החסנו**
קדישין: כן אמר חיותא רביעיתא
מלכו רביעיא תהוא בארעא די
תשנא מן כל מלכותא ותאכל כל
ארעא ותדושנה ותדקנה: וקרניא
עשר מנה מלכותה עשרה מלכין
יקמון ואחרן יקום אחריהון והוא
ישנא מן קדמיא ותלתה מלכין
יהשפל: ומלין לצד עליא ימלל
ולקדישי עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה
זמנין ודת **ויתיהבון בידה עד עדן**
ועדנין ופלג עדן: ודינא יתב ושלטנה
יהעדון להשמדה ולהובדה עד סופא:
ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבותא די
מלכות תחות כל שמיא יהיבת לעם
קדישי עליונין מלכותה מלכות עלם
וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון וישתמעון:
עד כה סופא די מלתא אנה דניאל
שגיא רעיוני יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי
ומלתא בלבי נטרת:

which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. [18] And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' [19] Then I wanted to confirm about the fourth animal, which was different from all of them, very frightening—its teeth were of iron and its nails were of bronze; it ate, crushed, and trampled the rest with its feet—[20] and about the ten horns that were on its head, and another that came up, and three fell before it, and that horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its look was greater than its fellows. [21] I saw that **that horn started to make war on the Holy Ones and was prevailing against them, [22] until** the Ancient of Days came and the court sat down. **And the time came and the Holy Ones seized the kingship.** [23] Thus he said: 'The fourth animal: there will be a fourth kingdom on the earth that will be different from all kingdoms, and it will consume the whole earth and trample it and crush it. [24] And the ten horns: from that kingdom, ten kings will arise, and another one will arise after them, and he will differ from the former ones, and he will lay low three kings. [25] And he will speak words against the Highest and he will wear out the Holy Ones of the Most High, and he will think to change the times and the law**, and they will be surrendered to him until a season and two seasons and half a season.** [26] And the court will sit and they will take away his authority for utter ruination and destruction.' [27] **And the kingship and the authority and the greatness of the kingdom under all of heaven was given to the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High; its kingship is an eternal kingdom and all authorities must serve and obey it.**' [28] Up to here is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind."

Followed by Dan 8:1–9:3, 9:21–12:10, 13 in Aramaic.

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16 The Final Book: The History of Daniel

It is hard to establish a connection between the interpolations in Dan 4:13–14 and any other part of the text. Given the (possible) Hebraisms, I have assigned them to this stage of the book's development, which otherwise only adds Hebrew text.

בשנת שלוש למלכות יהויקים
מלך יהודה בא נבוכדנאצר מלך
בבל ירושלם ויצר עליה: ויתן
אדני בידו את יהויקים מלך יהודה
ומקצת כלי בית האלהים ויביאם
ארץ שנער בית אלהיו ואת הכלים
הביא בית אוצר אלהיו: ויאמר
המלך לאשפנז רב סריסיו להביא
מבני ישראל ומזרע המלוכה ומן
הפרתמים: ילדים אשר אין בהם
כל מאום וטובי מראה ומשכילים
בכל חכמה וידעי דעת ומביני מדע
ואשר כח בהם לעמד בהיכל המלך
וללמדם ספר ולשון כשדים: וימן
להם המלך דבר יום ביומו מפת
בג המלך ומיין משתיו ולגדלם
שנים שלוש ומקצתם יעמדו לפני
המלך: ויהי בהם מבני יהודה
דניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה: וישם
להם שר הסריסים שמות וישם
לדניאל בלטשאצר ולחנניה שדרך
ולמישאל מישך ולעזריה עבד
נגו: וישם דניאל על לבו אשר לא
יתגאל בפתבג המלך וביין משתיו
ויבקש משר הסריסים אשר לא
יתגאל: ויתן האלהים את דניאל
לחסד ולרחמים לפני שר הסריסים:
ויאמר שר הסריסים לדניאל ירא
אני את אדני המלך אשר מנה את
מאכלכם ואת משתיכם אשר למה
יראה את פניכם זעפים מן הילדים
אשר כגילכם וחיבתם את ראשי
למלך: ויאמר דניאל אל המלצר
אשר מנה שר הסריסים על דניאל
חנניה מישאל ועזריה: נס נא את

1 **[1] In year three of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem and laid siege to it. [2] And the Lord gave Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and some of the vessels of the house of God into his hand, and he brought them to the land of Shinar, to the house of his god,** and the vessels he brought to the treasury of his god. [3] And the king told Ashpenaz, the chief of his officers, to bring of the Israelites and of the royal lineage and of the nobles [4] children in whom was no blemish, good-looking, and perceiving every wisdom, knowing knowledge and understanding lore, and in whom was strength to stand in the king's palace, and to teach them Chaldaean writing and language—[5] and the king appointed a daily ration to them from the king's victuals and from his drinking wine—and to raise them for three years, at the end of which they would stand before the king. [6] And of the Judahites was among them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [7] And the chief of the officers gave them names: he named Daniel Belteshazzar and Hananiah Shadrach and Mishael Meshach and Azariah Abed Nego. [8] And Daniel made up his mind that he would not be polluted by the king's victuals and by his drinking wine and he sought of the chief of the officers that he would not be polluted. [9] And God granted Daniel favour and mercy before the chief of the officers. [10] But the chief of the officers said to Daniel: "I fear my master the king, who has appointed your food and your drink, that why should he see your faces downcast compared to the children who are like your age and you will make my head liable to the king." [11] And Daniel said to the guard whom the chief of the officers had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah,

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עבדיך ימים עשרה ויתנו לנו מן
הזרעים ונאכלה ומים ונשתה׃
ויראו לפניך מראינו ומראה
הילדים האכלים את פתבג המלך
וכאשר תראה עשה עם עבדיך׃
וישמע להם לדבר הזה וינסם
ימים עשרה׃ ומקצת ימים עשרה
נראה מראיהם טוב ובריאי בשר
מן כל הילדים האכלים את פתבג
המלך׃ ויהי המלצר נשא את
פתבגם ויין משתיהם ונתן להם
זרעים׃ והילדים האלה ארבעתם
נתן להם האלהים מדע והשכל
בכל ספר וחכמה ודניאל הבין
בכל חזון וחלמות׃ ולמקצת הימים
אשר אמר המלך להביאם ויביאם
שר הסריסים לפני נבכדנצר׃
וידבר אתם המלך ולא נמצא
מכלם כדניאל חנניה מישאל
ועזריה ויעמדו לפני המלך׃ וכל
דבר חכמת בינה אשר בקש מהם
המלך וימצאם עשר ידות על כל
החרטמים האשפים אשר בכל
מלכותו ויכבדם המלך וימנם על
כל דבר במלכותו׃ **ויהי דניאל עד**
שנת אחת לכורש המלך׃

ובשנת שתים למלכות
נבכדנצר חלם נבכדנצר חלמות
ותתפעם רוחו ושנתו נהיתה עליו׃
ויאמר המלך לקרא לחרטמים
ולאשפים ולמכשפים ולכשדים
להגיד למלך חלמתיו ויבאו ויעמדו
לפני המלך׃ ויאמר להם המלך
חלום חלמתי ותפעם רוחי לדעת
את החלום׃ וידברו הכשדים למלך
ארמית מלכא לעלמין חיי אמר
חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא נחוא׃ ענה
מלכא ואמר לכשדיא מלתא מני
אזדא הן לא תהודעונני חלמא
ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון ובתיכון

Mishael and Azariah: [12] "Please test your servants for ten days: let us be given some legumes to eat and water to drink, [13] and let our appearance and the appearance of the children who eat the king's victuals appear before you, and then do with your servants as you see fit." [14] And he listened to them in this matter and he tested them for ten days. [15] And after ten days, their appearance looked better and better-fed than any of the children who ate the kings' victuals. [16] And the guard would take away their victuals and their drinking wine and give them legumes. [17] And these children, the four of them, God gave them knowledge and understanding of every writing and wisdom, and Daniel understood every vision and dreams. [18] And after the days when the king had said to bring them, the chief of the officers brought them before Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And the king spoke with them, and none of them was found like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, and they stood before the king. [20] And every matter of wisdom of understanding that the king sought of them he found them ten times better than all the magicians, the sorcerers that were in all his kingdom, and the king honoured them and he appointed them over every matter in his kingdom. [21] **And Daniel remained until year one of King Cyrus.**

2 [1] And in year two of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar had dreams, and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep happened over him. [2] And the king ordered to call the magicians and the sorcerers and the diviners and the Chaldaeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and took their stand before the king. [3] And the king said to them: "I had a dream, and my spirit is troubled to know the dream." [4] And the Chaldaeans spoke to the king **in Aramaic**: "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream so that we may relate the meaning." [5] The king spoke, saying to the Chaldaeans: "The matter is determined as far as I am concerned: if you do not let me know the dream and its meaning,

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נולי יתשמון: והן חלמא ופשרה
תהחון מתנן ונבזבה ויקר שגיא
תקבלון מן קדמי להן חלמא
ופשרה החוני: ענו תנינות ואמרין
מלכא חלמא יאמר לעבדוהי
ופשרה נהחוה: ענה מלכא ואמר
מן יציב ידע אנה די עדנא אנתון
זבנין כל קבל די חזיתון די אזדא
מני מלתא: די הן חלמא לא
תהודענני חדה היא דתכון ומלה
כדבה ושחיתה הזמנתון למאמר
קדמי עד די עדנא ישתנא להן
חלמא אמרו לי ואנדע די פשרה
תהחוננני: ענו כשדיא קדם מלכא
ואמרין לא איתי אנש על יבשתא
די מלת מלכא יוכל להחויה כל
קבל די כל מלך רב ושליט מלה
כדנה לא שאל לכל חרטם ואשף
וכשדי: ומלתא די מלכה שאל
יקירה ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה
קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון
עם בשרא לא איתוהי: כל קבל
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להובדה לכל חכימי בבל: ודתא
נפקת וחכימיא מתקטלין ובעו
דניאל וחברוהי להתקטלה:

באדין דניאל התיב עטא וטעם
לאריוך רב טבחיא די מלכא די
נפק לקטלה לחכימי בבל: ענה
ואמר לאריוך שליטא די מלכא על
מה דתא מהחצפה מן קדם מלכא
אדין מלתא הודע אריוך לדניאל:
ודניאל על ובעה מן מלכא די זמן
ינתן לה ופשרא להחויה למלכא:
אדין דניאל לביתה אזל ולחנניה
מישאל ועזריה חברוהי מלתא
הודע: ורחמין למבעא מן קדם
אלהא עליא על רזה דנה די לא
יהבדון דניאל וחברוהי עם שאר

you will be made into limbs and your houses will be turned into ruins. [6] But if you relate the dream and the meaning, you will receive gifts, presents, and great honour from me. Just relate the dream and its meaning." [7] They spoke a second time, saying: "Let the king tell his servants the dream so that we may relate its meaning." [8] The king spoke, saying: "I know for certain that you are buying the season, since you have seen that the matter is determined as far as I am concerned. [9] For if you do not let me know the dream, your sentence is the same as if you planned to tell me something false and corrupt until the season changes. Just tell me the dream and I will know that you can relate its meaning to me." [10] The Chaldaeans spoke to the king, saying: "There is no man on earth who could relate the king's matter, since no great king or potentate has asked something like this of any magician or sorcerer or Chaldaean. [11] And the matter the king is asking is difficult, and there is no other who can relate it to the king, only the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh." [12] Thereupon the king grew wroth and very angry and ordered to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. [13] And the law came out and the wise men were to be killed, and Daniel and his friends were going to be killed.

[14] Then, Daniel returned advice and a report to Arioch, the chief butcher of the king who had gone out to massacre the wise men of Babylon. [15] He spoke to Arioch, the official of the king, saying: "Why is the law so harsh from the king?" Then Arioch let Daniel know the matter. [16] And Daniel went in and asked of the king that he would be given time and to tell the king the meaning.

[17] Then Daniel went to his house and made the matter known to his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [18] And to ask mercy from the Highest God concerning this mystery, so that Daniel and his friends would not be destroyed together with the

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חכימי בבל: אדין לדניאל בחזוא די
ליליא רזה גלי אדין דניאל ברך
לאלהא עליא: ענה דניאל ואמר
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מן עלמא ועד עלמא די חכמתא
וגבורתא די לה היא: והוא מהשנא
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לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי בינה: הוא
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מלכא הודעתנא: כל קבל דנה
דניאל על אריוך די מני מלכא
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חלמך וחזוי ראשך על משכבך דנה
הוא:

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משכבך סלקו מה די להוא אחרי
דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה די
להוא: ואנה לא בחכמה די איתי
בי מן כל חייא רזא דנה גלי לי להן
על דברת די פשרא למלכא לבבך

rest of the wise men of Babylon. [19] Then, the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night; then, Daniel blessed the Highest God. [20] Daniel spoke, saying: "Let the name of the great God be blessed from eternity and until eternity, to whom belong wisdom and strength! [21] And he changes the seasons and the times, makes kings pass away and sets up kings, gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who know understanding. [22] He reveals deep and hidden things, knows what is in darkness, and the light resides with him. [23] You, O god of my fathers, I thank and praise, for you have given me wisdom and illumination, and now, you have made known to me what we asked of you, for you have made the king's matter known to us." [24] Thereupon, Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had commanded to destroy the wise men of Babylon, and thus he said to him: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Present me to the king and I will tell the king the meaning." [25] Then, Arioch hastily presented Daniel to the king, and thus he said to him, that "I have found a man from the exiles of the Judahites who can make the meaning known to the king." [26] The king spoke to Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, saying: "Can you really make known to me the dream I saw and its meaning?" [27] Daniel spoke to the king, saying: "The mystery that the king asks—wise men, sorcerers, magicians, dream interpreters were not able to tell the king. [28] But there is a god in heaven, a revealer of mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will happen at the end of days. O king, live forever! Your dream and the visions of your head on your bed is this:

[29] You, O king—your thoughts on your bed had turned to what will happen after this, and the Revealer of Mysteries has let you know what will happen. [30] As for me, this mystery was not revealed to me through any wisdom that is in me over all the living, but only so that they would make known

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תנדע: אנתה מלכא חזה הוית
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רב וזיוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורוה
דחיל: הוא צלמא ראשה די דהב
טב חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף מעוהי
וירכתה די נחש: שקוהי די פרזל
רגלוהי מנהון די פרזל ומנהון די
חסף: חזה הוית עד די התגזרת
אבן די לא בידין ומחת לצלמא על
רגלוהי די פרזלא וחספא והדקת
המון: באדין דקו כחדה פרזלא
חספא נחשא כספא ודהבא והוו
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ואבנא די מחת לצלמא הות לטור
רב ומלת כל ארעא: דנה חלמא
ופשרה נאמר קדם מלכא: אנתה
מלכא מלך מלכיא די אלה שמיא
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די דהבא: ובתרך תקום מלכו אחרי
ארעא מנך ומלכו תליתיא אחרי די
נחשא די תשלט בכל ארעא: ומלכו
רביעיה תהוא תקיפה כפרזלא כל
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חסף די פחר ומנהון פרזל מלכו
פליגה תהוה ומן נצבתא די פרזלא
להוא בה: די חזית פרזלא מערב
בחסף טינא מתערבין להון בזרע
אנשא ולא להון דבקין דנה עם
דנה הא כדי פרזלא לא מתערב
עם חספא: וביומיהון די מלכיא
אנון יקים אלה שמיא מלכו די
לעלמין לא תתחבל ומלכותה לעם
אחרן לא תשתבק תדק ותסיף כל
אלין מלכותא והיא תקום לעלמיא:

to the king the meaning and you would know the thoughts of your mind. [31] You, O king, saw a big statue—that statue was great and its brightness was intense—standing before you, and its look was terrifying. [32] That statue—its head was of fine gold, its chest and its arms were of silver, its belly and its hips were of bronze, [33] its legs were of iron, its feet, some of them were of iron and some of them were of clay. [34] You saw that a stone came loose without hands and hit the statue on its feet of iron and clay and crushed them. [35] Then at once the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became like chaff from the threshing floors of summer. And the wind took them away, and no place was found for them. And the stone that had struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. [36] This was the dream, and let us tell the king its meaning. [37] You, O king, are the king of kings, whom the God of Heaven has given kingship, power and strength, and honour. [38] And wherever human beings, wild animals, and the birds of the sky live he has given into your hand, and he has given you authority over all of them. You are its head of gold. [39] And after you, another kingdom will arise, inferior to you, and another, a third kingdom of bronze, which will have authority over the whole earth. [40] And there will be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; as iron crushes and pounds everything, and pulverizes all these, it will crush and pulverize the whole earth. [41] And that you saw the feet, some of them potter's clay and some of them iron: it will be a divided kingdom, but some of the nature of iron will be in it. [43] That you saw the iron mixed with muddy clay: they will mix human seed, but they will not stick together, look, as iron does not mix with clay. [44] And in the days of those kings, the God of Heaven will establish a kingdom which will never pass away, and its kingship will not depart to another people, and it will put all these kingdoms to an end, but it will remain forever, [45] as

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כל קבל די חזית די מטורא
אתגזרת אבן די לא בידין והדקת
פרזלא נחשא חספא כספא ודהבא
אלה רב הודע למלכא מה די להוא
אחרי דנה ויציב חלמא ומהימן
פשרה:

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אנפוהי ולדניאל סגד ומנחה וניחחין
אמר לנסכה לה: ענה מלכא
לדניאל ואמר מן קשט די אלהכון
הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין וגלה
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בתרע מלכא:

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די דהב רומה אמין שתין פתיה
אמין שת אקימה בבקעת דורא
במדינת בבל: ונבוכדנצר מלכא
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סגניא ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא למתא לחנכת צלמא די
הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: באדין
מתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא אדרגזריא גדבריא
דתבריא תפתיא וכל שלטני
מדינתא לחנכת צלמא די הקים
נבוכדנצר מלכא וקאמין לקבל
צלמא די הקים נבוכדנצר: וכרוזא
קרא בחיל לכון אמרין עממיא
אמיא ולשניא: בעדנא די תשמעון
קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס
סבכא פסנתרין סומפניה וכל זני
זמרא תפלון ותסגדון לצלם דהבא
די הקים נבוכדנצר מלכא: ומן די
לא יפל ויסגד בה שעתא יתרמא

you saw that a stone came loose from a mountain without hands and crushed the iron, bronze, clay, silver, and gold. A great god has let the king know what will happen after this, and the dream is certain, and its meaning is reliable."

46 Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell to the ground and bowed down before Daniel and ordered to libate a meal offering and incense to him. 47 The king spoke to Daniel, saying: "Truly, your god is a god of gods and a lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, that you were able to reveal this mystery!" 48 Then, the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and granted him authority over the whole province of Babylonia. 49 And Daniel asked of the king and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego over the work in the province of Babylonia, and Daniel was at the king's court.

3 1 King Nebuchadnezzar made a statue of gold. Its height was sixty cubits, its width was six cubits. He erected it in the valley of Dura, in the province of Babylonia. 2 And King Nebuchadnezzar sent word for the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces to gather, to come to the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 3 Then, the satraps, prefects and governors, announcers, treasurers, judicial officers, magistrates, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered for the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected, and they stood before the statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected. 4 And the herald called out with force: "They are telling you, O peoples, nations, and languages: 5 at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument, you must fall and bow down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar has erected. 6 And whoever does not fall and bow down, at that moment he will be

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לגוא אתון נורא: כל קבל דנה בה
זמנא כדי שמעין כל עממיא קל
קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרס שבכא
פסנטרין וכל זני זמרא נפלין כל
עממיא אמיא ולשניא סגדין לצלם
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ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא: ענו
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תשמעון קל קרנא משרוקיתא
קיתרס שבכא פסנתרין וסומפניה
וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסגדון
לצלמא די עבדת והן לא תסגדון
בה שעתה תתרמון לגוא אתון
נורא יקדתא ומן הוא אלה די
ישיזבנכון מן ידי: ענו שדרך מישך
ועבד נגו ואמרין למלכא נבוכדנצר
לא חשחין אנחנה על דנה פתגם
להתבותך: הן איתי אלהנא די
אנחנא פלחין יכל לשיזבותנא מן
אתון נורא יקדתא ומן ידך מלכא

thrown into the oven of fire." [7] Accordingly, at that time when all the peoples heard the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery, and all kinds of musical instrument, all the peoples, nations, and languages fell, bowed down to the golden statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had erected. [8] At that time, certain Chaldaean men approached and accused the Judahites. [9] They spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, live forever! [10] You, O king, issued a decree that any person who would hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument must fall and bow down to the golden statue, [11] and whoever would not fall and bow down would be thrown into the oven of burning fire. [12] There are certain Judahite men whom you appointed over the province of Babylonia, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Those men have not paid you heed, O king: they do not serve your gods and they do not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [13] Then, Nebuchadnezzar ordered in rage and anger to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. Then, those men brought [them] before the king. [14] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying to them: "Really, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, is it so that you do not serve my gods and do not bow down to the golden statue that I have erected? [15] Now, if you are prepared to fall and bow down to the statue that I made at the time you hear the sound of the horn, the flute, cithara, sambuca, psaltery and symphonia, and all kinds of musical instrument—but if not, at that moment you will be thrown into the oven of burning fire, and who is a god who could save you from me?" [16] Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego spoke, saying to King Nebuchadnezzar: "We do not need to answer to you for this. [17] If it is so that the god we serve can save us from the oven of burning fire, and from you, O king, he will; [18] and if not, let it be known to you, O king, that indeed, we do not

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ישיזב: והן לא ידיע להוא לך מלכא
די לאלהיך לא איתינא פלחין
ולצלם דהבא די הקימת לא
נסגד: באדין נבוכדנצר
התמלי חמא וצלם אנפוהי אשתנו
על שדרך מישך ועבד נגו ענה
ואמר למזא לאתונא חד שבעה על
די חזה למזיה: ולגברין גברי חיל
די בחילה אמר לכפתה לשדרך
מישך ועבד נגו למרמא לאתון
נורא יקדתא: באדין גבריא אלך
כפתו בסרבליהון פטישיהון
וכרבלתהון ולבשיהון ורמיו לגוא
אתון נורא יקדתא: כל קבל דנה
מן די מלת מלכא מחצפה ואתונא
אזה יתירא גבריא אלך די הסקו
לשדרך מישך ועבד נגו קטל המון
שביבא די נורא: וגבריא אלך
תלתהון שדרך מישך ועבד נגו
נפלו לגוא אתון נורא מכפתין:
אדין נבוכדנצר מלכא תוה וקם
בהתבהלה ענה ואמר להדברוהי
הא אנה חזה גברין ארבעה שרין
מהלכין בגוא נורא וחבל לא איתי
בהון ורוה די רביעיא דמה לבר
אלהין: באדין קרב נבוכדנצר לתרע
אתון נורא יקדתא ענה ואמר
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו עבדוהי די
אלהא עליא פקו ואתו באדין נפקין
שדרך מישך ועבד נגו מן גוא נורא:
ומתכנשין אחשדרפניא סגניא
ופחותא והדברי מלכא חזין לגבריא
אלך די לא שלט נורא בגשמהון
ושער ראשהון לא התחרך
וסרבליהון לא שנו וריח נור לא
עדת בהון: ענה נבוכדנצר ואמר
בריך אלההון די שדרך מישך ועבד
נגו די שלח מלאכה ושיזב לעבדוהי
די התרחצו עלוהי ומלת מלכא שניו
ויהבו גשמיהון די לא יפלחון ולא

serve your gods and will not bow down to the golden statue that you have erected." [19] Then Nebuchadnezzar was filled with anger and the image of his face changed over Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego. He spoke, ordering to heat the oven seven times more than was usual to heat it. [20] And he ordered certain men, strong warriors who were in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, to throw [them] into the oven of burning fire. [21] Then, those men bound [them] with their trousers, leg coverings and head coverings, and their clothes, and they were thrown into the oven of burning fire. [22] Thereupon, since the word of the king was harsh and the oven was exceedingly heated, those men who had brought Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego—the blaze of the fire killed them. [23] And those men, the three of them, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, fell bound into the oven of fire.
[24] Then, King Nebuchadnezzar marveled and stood up in haste. He spoke, saying to his attendants: [25] "Look, I see four unbound men walking inside the oven, and they are unharmed, and the look of the fourth one is like a divine being!" [26] Then, Nebuchadnezzar went up to the door of the oven of burning fire. He spoke, saying: "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, O servants of the Highest God, come out!" Then, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego came out from inside the fire. [27] And the satraps, prefects and governors, and king's attendants gathered, seeing these men, that the fire had had no power over their body and the hair on their heads had not been singed and their trousers had not changed and the smell of fire had not clung to them. [28] Nebuchadnezzar spoke, saying: "Blessed be the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego, who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and transgressed the king's word and gave their bodies lest they should serve or bow down to any god but their god! [29] And a decree is issued by me that any people, nation, and language that speaks

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יסגדון לכל אלה להן לאלההון: ומני
שים טעם די כל עם אמה ולשן די
יאמר שלה על אלההון די שדרך
מישך ועבד נגוא הדמין יתעבד
וביתה נולי ישתוה כל קבל די לא
איתי אלה אחרן די יכל להצלה
כדנה: באדין מלכא הצלח לשדרך
מישך ועבד נגו במדינת בבל:

נבוכדנצר מלכא לכל עממיא
אמיא ולשניא די דארין בכל ארעא
שלמכון ישגא: אתיא ותמהיא די
עבד עמי אלהא עליא שפר קדמי
להחויה: אתוהי כמה רברבין
ותמהוהי כמה תקיפין מלכותה
מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
אנה נבוכדנצר שלה הוית בביתי
ורענן בהיכלי: חלם חזית וידחלני
והרהרין על משכבי וחזוי ראשי
יבהלני: ומני שים טעם להנעלה
קדמי לכל חכימי בבל די פשר
חלמא יהודענני: באדין עללין
חרטמיא אשפיא כשדיא וגזריא
וחלמא אמר אנה קדמיהון ופשרה
לא מהודעין לי: ועד אחרין על
קדמי דניאל די שמה בלטשאצר
כשם אלהי ודי רוח אלהין קדישין
בה וחלמא קדמוהי אמרת:
בלטשאצר רב חרטמיא די אנה
ידעת די רוח אלהין קדישין בך
וכל רז לא אנס לך חזוי חלמי די
חזית ופשרה אמר: בחזוי ראשי על
משכבי חזה הוית ואלו אילן בגוא
ארעא ורומה שגיא: רבה אילנא
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לסוף כל ארעא: עפיה שפיר ואנבה
שגיא ומזון לכלא בה תחתוהי
תטלל חיות ברא ובענפוהי ידרון
צפרי שמיא ומנה יתזין כל בשרא:
חזה הוית בחזוי ראשי על משכבי
ואלו עיר וקדיש מן שמיא נחת:

blasphemy against the god of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego will be made into limbs and its house will be made like a ruin, since there is no other god who can save like this." 30 Then, the king made Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed Nego prosper in the province of Babylonia.

31 King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: may your wellbeing increase! 32 It seems good to me to relate the signs and wonders that the Highest God has done to me. 33 How great are his signs and how strong are his wonders! His reign is an eternal reign and his authority is with every generation. 4 1 I, Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house, flourishing in my palace. 2 I saw a dream and it frightened me, and disturbing thoughts on my bed and the visions of my head terrified me. 3 And a decree was issued by me to bring in before me all the wise men of Babylon so that they could make known to me the meaning of the dream. 4 Then, the magicians, the sorcerors, the Chaldaeans, and the dream interpreters each came in, and I would tell them the dream, but none of them could make its meaning known to me. 5 And finally, there came before me Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, like the name of my god, and in whom there was a spirit of holy gods, and I told him the dream: 6 "Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, of whom I have learned that there is a spirit of holy gods in you and no mystery is too difficult for you, tell the visions of the dream that I saw and its meaning! 7 In the visions of my head on my bed I saw a tree in the middle of the earth and its height was great. 8 The tree grew big and strong, and its height reached towards heaven and its sight to the end of the whole earth. 9 Its foliage was fair and its fruit was abundant and there was food for all in it. Under it, the wild animals would shelter, and in its branches dwelt the birds

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קרא בחיל וכן אמר גדו אילנא
וקצצו ענפוהי אתרו עפיה ובדרו
אנבה תנד חיותא מן תחתוהי
וצפריא מן ענפוהי: ברם עקר
שרשוהי בארעא שבקו ובאסור די
פרזל ונחש בדתאא די ברא ובטל
שמיא יצטבע ועם חיותא חלקה
בעשב ארעא: **לבבה מן אנושא**
ישנון ולבב חיוה יתיהב לה
ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי: בגזרת
עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין
שאלתא **עד דברת די ינדעון חייא**
די שליט עליא במלכות אנושא
ולמן די יצבא יתננה ושפל אנשים
יקים עליה: דנה חלמא חזית
אנה מלכא נבוכדנצר ואנתה
בלטשאצר פשרא אמר כל קבל די
כל חכימי מלכותי לא יכלין פשרא
להודעתני ואנתה כהל די רוח
אלהין קדישין בך: אדין דניאל די
שמה בלטשאצר אשתומם כשעה
חדה ורעינהי יבהלנה ענה מלכא
ואמר בלטשאצר חלמא ופשרא
אל יבהלך ענה בלטשאצר ואמר
מראי חלמא לשנאיך ופשרה
לעריך: אילנא די חזית די רבה
ותקף ורומה ימטא לשמיא וחזותה
לכל ארעא: אנתה הוא מלכא די
רבית ותקפת ורבותך רבת ומטת
לשמיא ושלטנך לסוף ארעא: ודי
חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן
שמיא ואמר גדו אילנא וחבלוהי:
דנה פשרא מלכא וגזרת עליא
היא די מטת על מראי מלכא: ולך
טרדין מן אנשא ועם חיות ברא
להוה מדרך: ודי אמרו למשבק
עקר שרשוהי די אילנא מלכותך
לך קימה מן די תנדע שלטן שמיא:
להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך
בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין הן

of heaven, and all flesh fed from it. [10] I saw in the visions of my head on my bed that a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven. [11] He cried out with force, and thus he said: 'Cut down the tree and lop off its branches! Strip its foliage and scatter its fruit! Let the animals flee from under it and the birds from its branches! [12] But leave its root stump in the earth, and in fetters of iron and bronze in the wild grass. And it will be washed with the dew of heaven and its portion will be of the earth's grass with the animals. [13] **They will change his mind from mankind and an animal mind will be given to him,** and seven seasons will pass over it. [14] The pronouncement is by watchers' decision, and the question is an utterance of holy ones**, so that the living will know that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind. And he gives it to whom he wants and establishes the lowliest of men over it.**' [15] This dream did I, King Nebuchadnezzar, see; now you, Belteshazzar, tell the meaning, since none of the wise men of my kingdom were able to make known to me the meaning, but you can, as a spirit of holy gods is in you." [16] Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was astounded for a moment or so, and his thoughts terrified him. The king spoke, saying: "Belteshazzar, don't let the dream and the meaning terrify you!" Belteshazzar spoke, saying: "My lord, let the dream be for your enemies and its meaning for your rivals! [17] The tree that you saw, which grew great and strong and whose height reached to heaven and which could be seen throughout the earth: [19] that is you, O king, who have grown great and strong, and whose greatness has increased and reached towards heaven, and your authority to the end of the earth. [20] And that the king saw a watcher and a holy one coming down from heaven and saying 'Cut down the tree and destroy it', [21] this is the meaning, O king, and it is the decision of the Highest which has come over my lord the king. [22] And they are going

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תהוא ארכה לשלותך: כלא מטא
על נבוכדנצר מלכא:

לקצת ירחין תרי עשר על היכל
מלכותא די בבל מהלך הוה: ענה
מלכא ואמר הלא דא היא בבל
רבתא די אנה בניתה לבית מלכו
בתקף חסני וליקר הדרי: עוד
מלתא בפם מלכא קל מן שמיא
נפל לך אמרין נבוכדנצר מלכא
מלכותה עדת מנך: ומן אנשא לך
טרדין ועם חיות ברא מדרך עשבא
כתורין לך יטעמון ושבעה עדנין
יחלפון עליך עד די תנדע די שליט
עליא במלכות אנשא ולמן די יצבא
יתננה: בה שעתא מלתא ספת על
נבוכדנצר: אנה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל
מן אנשא טרידת ועשבא כתורין
אכלת ומטל שמיא גשמי יצטבע
עד די שערי כנשרין רבה וטפרי
כצפרין: ולקצת יומיה אנה
נבוכדנצר עיני לשמיא נטלת
ומנדעי עלי יתוב ולעליא ברכת
ולחי עלמא שבחת והדרת די
שלטנה שלטן עלם ומלכותה עם
דר ודר: וכל דארי ארעא כלה
חשיבין וכמצביה עבד בחיל
שמיא ולא איתי די ימחא בידה
ויאמר לה מה עבדת: בה זמנא
מנדעי יתוב עלי וליקר מלכותי
הדרי וזוי יתוב עלי ועל מלכותי
התקנת ורבו יתירה הוספת לי:
כען אנה נבוכדנצר משבח
ומרומם ומהדר למלך שמיא די כל
מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין ודי

to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. [23] And that they said to leave the tree's root stump: your kingdom will be preserved for you once you come to know the authority of Heaven. [24] Just let my advice seem good to you, O king, and redeem your sins with righteousness, your crimes by favouring the poor, if there is to be length to your ease." [25] All this came over King Nebuchadnezzar.

[26] At the end of twelve months, he was walking on the royal palace of Babylon. [27] The king spoke, saying: "Look, this is Babylon the Great, which I have built into a royal house by my mighty strength and for my glorious honour." [28] The word still in the king's mouth, a voice fell from heaven: "They are telling you, King Nebuchadnezzar: the kingship is removed from you. [29] And they are going to drive you away from mankind and your dwelling will be with the wild animals. They will feed you grass like cattle and seven seasons will pass over you until you learn that the Highest is authorized over the kingdom of mankind and gives it to whom he wants." [30] At that moment, the matter was fulfilled over Nebuchadnezzar. I, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was driven away from mankind. And I ate grass like cattle, and my body was washed by the dew of heaven, until my hair had grown like eagles and my nails like birds. [31] And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, my understanding returning to me, and I blessed the Highest, and praised and glorified the Ever-Living, whose authority is an eternal authority and whose reign is with every generation. [32] And all who dwell on the earth are reckoned like nothing, and he does as he wants with the host of heaven, and there is none who can stay his hand and say to him: "What have you done?" [33] At that time, my understanding returning to me,-and my splendor and my appearance returning to my royal glory, and I was restored over my kingdom, and much greatness was added to me. [34] Now I, Nebuchadnezzar,

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מהלכין בגוה יכל להשפלה:

בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי וחמרא שתה: בלשאצר אמר בטעם חמרא להיתיה למאני דהבא וכספא די הנפק נבוכדנצר אבוהי מן היכלא די בירושלם וישתון בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: באדין היתיו מאני דהבא די הנפקו מן היכלא די בית אלהא די בירושלם ואשתיו בהון מלכא ורברבנוהי: אשתיו חמרא ושבחו לאלהי דהבא וכספא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא: בה שעתה נפקו אצבען די יד אנש וכתבן לקבל נברשתא על גירא די כתל היכלא די מלכא ומלכא חזה פס ידה די כתבה: אדין מלכא זיוהי שנו ורעינהי יבהלונה וקטרי חרצה משתרין וארכבתה דא לדא נקשן: קרא מלכא בחיל להעלה לאשפיא כשדיא וגזריא ענה מלכא ואמר לחכימי בבל די כל אנש די יקרה כתבה דנה ופשרה יחוני ארגונא ילבש והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה ותלתי במלכותא ישלט: אדין עללין כל חכימי מלכא ולא כהלין כתבא למקרא ופשרא להודעה למלכא: אדין מלכא בלשאצר שגיא מתבהל וזיוהי שנין עלוהי ורברבנוהי משתבשין: מלכתא לקבל מלי מלכא ורברבנוהי לבית משתיא עללת ענת מלכתא ואמרת מלכא לעלמין חיי אל יבהלוך רעיונך וזיויך אל ישתנו: איתי גבר במלכותך די רוח אלהין קדישין בה וביומי אבוך נהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה כחכמת אלהין השתכחת בה ומלכא נבכדנצר אבוך רב חרטמין אשפין כשדאין גזרין הקימה אבוך

praise and exalt and glorify the King of Heaven, all of whose deeds are truth and whose ways are justice, and who can humble those who walk in arrogance.

5 [1] King Belshazzar prepared a great feast for his nobles and was drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar ordered under the influence of the wine to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the palace that was in Jerusalem so that the king and his nobles could drink from them. [3] Then they brought the golden vessels that they had taken from the palace of the house of God that was in Jerusalem and the king and his nobles drank from them. [4] They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. [5] At that moment, fingers of a human hand came out and they started writing in front of the lampstand on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the hand as it wrote. [6] Then the king's appearance changed and his thoughts terrified him and the joints in his loins were loosened and his knees were knocking together. [7] The king cried out with force to bring in the sorcerors, Chaldaeans, and dream interpreters. The king spoke, saying to the wise men of Babylon that "anyone who can read this writing and can relate its meaning to me will wear purple and a golden necklace will be on his neck and he will have authority as the third in the kingdom." [8] Then, all the king's wise men each came in, but none of them could read the writing and make the interpretation known to the king. [9] Then, King Belshazzar was greatly terrified and his appearance was changing over him and his nobles were dismayed. [10] On account of the words of the king and his nobles, the queen came in to the banquet hall. The queen spoke, saying: "O king, live forever! Don't let your thoughts terrify you, don't let your appearance be changed! [11] There is a man in your kingdom in whom is a spirit of holy gods, and in the days of your father, illumination and understanding and wisdom like wisdom of the gods was found in him,

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מלכא: כל קבל די רוח יתירה
ומנדע ושכלתנו מפשר חלמין
ואחוית אחידן ומשרא קטרין
השתכחת בה בדניאל די מלכא
שם שמה בלטשאצר כען דניאל
יתקרי ופשרה יהחוה:

באדין דניאל העל קדם מלכא
ענה מלכא ואמר לדניאל אנתה
הוא דניאל די מן בני גלותא די
יהוד די היתי מלכא אבי מן יהוד:
ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך
ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה
השתכחת בך: כען הן תוכל כתבא
למקרא ופשרה להודעתני ארגונא
תלבש והמונכא די דהבא על
צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט:

באדין ענה דניאל ואמר קדם
מלכא כתבא אקרא למלכא
ופשרא אהודענה: דנה כתבא די
רשים מנא תקל ופרס: ודנה פשר
מלתא אנתה מלכא אלהא עליא
מלכותא ורבותא ויקרא והדרה יהב
לנבכדנצר אבוך: ומן רבותא די
יהב לה כל עממיא אמיא ולשניא
הוו זאעין ודחלין מן קדמוהי די הוה
צבא הוא קטל ודי הוה צבא הוה
מחא ודי הוה צבא הוה מרים ודי
הוה צבא הוה משפיל: וכדי רם
לבבה ורוחה תקפת להזדה הנחת
מן כרסא מלכותה ויקרה העדיו
מנה: ומן בני אנשא טריד ולבבה
עם חיותא שוי ועם ערדיא מדורה
עשבא כתורין יטעמונה ומטל
שמיא גשמה יצטבע עד די ידע די
שליט אלהא עליא במלכות אנשא
ולמן די יצבה יהקים עליה: ואנתה
ברה בלשאצר לא השפלת לבבך

and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, your father the king made him chief of the magicians, sorcerors, Chaldaeans, dream interpreters, [12] since an exceptional spirit and knowledge and understanding, interpreting dreams and solving riddles and untying knots was found in this Daniel, whose name the king changed to Belteshazzar. Now, let Daniel be called and he will relate the meaning."

[13] Then Daniel was brought before the king. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "You must be Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, whom my father the king brought from Judah. [14] And I have heard about you that there is a spirit of the gods in you, and illumination and understanding and exceptional wisdom has been found in you. [16] Now, if you can read the writing and make its interpretation known to me, you will wear purple and a golden necklace on your neck and you will have authority as the third in the kingdom."

[17] Then, Daniel spoke, saying to the king: "I will read the writing to the king and I will make the interpretation known to him. [25] This is the writing that was recorded: MN? TQL and PRS. And this is the interpretation of the matter: [18] you, O king, the Highest God gave the kingship and greatness and honour and glory to your father Nebuchadnezzar. [19] And because of the greatness which he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages trembled before him and feared him. He would kill whomever he wanted and keep whomever he wanted alive, and he would elevate whomever he wanted and he would humble whomever he wanted. [20] But when his mind grew haughty and his his spirit grew strong in arrogance, he was taken down from his royal throne and his honour was removed from him. [21] And he was driven away from the human beings and his mind became like the animals and his dwelling was with the wild asses. They fed him grass like cattle and his body was washed by the dew of heaven until he came to know that the Highest God

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כל קבל די כל דנה ידעת: ועל מרא שמיא התרוממת ולמאניא די ביתה היתיו קדמיך ואנתה ורברבניך חמרא שתין בהון ולאלהי כספא ודהבא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא חזין ולא שמעין ולא ידעין שבחת ולאלהא די נשמתך בידה וכל ארחתך לה לא הדרת: באדין מן קדמוהי שליח פסא די ידא וכתבא דנה רשים: דנה פשר מלתא מנא מנה אלהא מלכותך והשלמה: תקל תקילתה במאזניא והשתכחת חסיר: פרס פריסת מלכותך ויהיבת למדי ופרס: באדין אמר בלשאצר והלבישו לדניאל ארגונא והמונכא די דהבא על צוארה והכרזו עלוהי די להוא שליט תלתא במלכותא: בה בליליא קטיל בלאשצר מלכא כשדיא:

is authorized over the kingship of mankind and he sets whomever he wants over it. [22] But you, his son Belshazzar, did not humble your mind, although you knew all this. [23] And you exalted yourself against the Lord of Heaven, and they brought the vessels of his house before you, and you and your nobles were drinking wine from them, and you praised the gods of silver and gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone, who do not see and do not hear and do not know, but the god who has power over your breath and to whom belong all your ways you did not glorify. [24] Then, a hand was sent from before him and this writing was recorded. [26] This is the interpretation of the matter: MN?: God has counted your reign and completed it. [27] TQL: you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. [28] PRS: your kingdom has been divided and given to Media and Persia." [29] Then, Belshazzar gave the command, and they clothed Daniel in purple, and a golden necklace was on his neck, and they proclaimed about him that he would be authorized as the third in the kingdom. [30] That night, King Belshazzar the Chaldaean was killed.

ודריוש מדיא קבל מלכותא כבר שנין שתין ותרתין: שפר קדם דריוש והקים על מלכותא לאחשדרפניא מאה ועשרין די להון בכל מלכותא: ועלא מנהון סרכין תלתא די דניאל חד מנהון די להון אחשדרפניא אלין יהבין להון טעמא ומלכא לא להוא נזק: אדין דניאל דנה הוא מתנצח על סרכיא ואחשדרפניא כל קבל די רוח יתירא בה ומלכא עשית להקמותה על כל מלכותא: אדין סרכיא ואחשדרפניא הוו בעין עלה להשכחה לדניאל מצד מלכותא וכל עלה ושחיתה לא יכלין להשכחה כל קבל די מהימן הוא: אדין גבריא אלך אמרין די

6 [1] And Darius the Mede received the kingship at sixty-two years old. [2] It seemed good to Darius to establish the one hundred and twenty satraps over the kingdom, who would be in all the kingdom, [3] and three ministers over them, one of whom was Daniel, to whom these satraps would report so that the king would not be disturbed. [4] Then, this Daniel showed himself more excellent than the ministers and satraps, since he was exceptionally spirited, and the king was planning to establish him over the whole kingdom. [5] Then, the ministers and satraps sought to find a pretext against Daniel vis-à-vis the kingdom, but they could not find any pretext or corruption, as he was reliable. [6] Then, those men said that "we will not find any pretext against this Daniel unless we find it about him in the law of his god." [7] Then, these ministers and satraps rushed

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לא נהשכח לדניאל דנה כל עלא
להן השכחנה עלוהי בדת
אלהה: אדין סרכיא
ואחשדרפניא אלן הרגשו על
מלכא וכן אמרין לה דריוש מלכא
לעלמין חיי: אתיעטו כל סרכי
מלכותא סגניא ואחשדרפניא
הדבריא ופחותא לקימה קים
מלכא ולתקפה אסר די כל די
יבעה בעו מן כל אלה עד יומין
תלתין להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגב
אריותא: כען מלכא תקים אסרא
ותרשם כתבא די לא להשניה
כדת מדי ופרס די לא תעדא:
כל קבל דנה מלכא דריוש רשם
כתבא ואסרא: ודניאל כדי ידע
די רשים כתבא על לביתה וכוין
פתיחן לה בעליתה נגד ירושלם
וזמנין תלתה ביומא הוא ברך
על ברכוהי ומצלא ומודא קדם
אלהה כל קבל די הוא עבד מן
קדמת דנה: אדין גבריא
אלך הרגשו והשכחו לדניאל בעא
ומתחנן קדם אלהה: באדין קריבו
ואמרין קדם מלכא על אסר מלכא
הלא אסר רשמת די כל אנש די
יבעה מן כל אלה עד יומין תלתין
להן מנך מלכא יתרמא לגוב
אריותא ענה מלכא ואמר יציבא
מלתא כדת מדי ופרס די לא
תעדא: באדין ענו ואמרין קדם
מלכא די דניאל די מן בני גלותא
די יהוד לא שם עליך מלכא טעם
ועל אסרא די רשמת וזמנין תלתה
ביומא בעא בעותה: אדין מלכא
כדי מלתא שמע שגיא באש עלוהי
ועל דניאל שם בל לשיזבותה ועד
מעלי שמשא הוא משתדר
להצלותה: באדין גבריא אלך
הרגשו על מלכא ואמרין למלכא

to the king and thus they said to him: "King Darius, live forever! [8] All the ministers of your kingdom, the prefects and the satraps, attendants, and governors have decided to establish a covenant, O king, and to impose a prohibition that anyone who makes a request of any god for thirty days other than of you, O king, will be thrown into the lions' pit. [9] Now, O king, please establish the prohibition and record a writing which is not to be changed like the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away." [10] Thereupon King Darius recorded the writing and the prohibition. [11] But Daniel, when he learned that the writing had been recorded, went in to his house, which had open windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem, and three times a day kneeled down and prayed and gave thanks to his god, as he used to do previously. [12] Then, those men rushed over and found Daniel making requests and supplications to his god. [13] Then, they approached, saying to the king about the royal prohibition: "Did you not record a prohibition that anyone who would make a request of any god for thirty days other than you, O king, would be thrown into the lions' pit?" The king spoke, saying: "The matter is certain as the law of Media and Persia, which does not pass away." [14] Then, they spoke, saying to the king that "Daniel, who is of the exiles of Judah, has not paid heed to you, O king, or to the prohibition that you recorded, and three times a day he makes his request." [15] Then the king, when he heard the matter, was greatly saddened and was determined to save Daniel, and until the setting of the sun he kept trying to rescue him. [16] Then, those men rushed to the king, saying to the king: "Remember, O king, that Media and Persia have a law that no prohibition or covenant that the king has established may be changed!" [17] Then, the king gave the command, and they brought Daniel and threw him into the pit of lions. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "The god you continue to serve—he will have to save you!" [18] And a stone was brought

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דע מלכא די דת למדי ופרס די כל
אסר וקים די מלכא יהקים לא
להשניה: באדין מלכא אמר והיתיו
לדניאל ורמו לגבא די אריותא ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל אלהך די
אנתה פלח לה בתדירא הוא
ישיזבנך: והיתית אבן חדה ושמת
על פם גבא וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה
ובעזקת רברבנוהי די לא תשנא
צבו בדניאל: אדין אזל מלכא
להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא הנעל
קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי: באדין
מלכא בשפרפרא יקום ובהתבהלה
לגבא די אריותא אזל: וכמקרבה
לגבא לדניאל בקל עציב זעק ענה
מלכא ואמר לדניאל דניאל עבד
אלהא חיא אלהך די אנתה פלח
לה בתדירא היכל לשיזבותך מן
אריותא: אדין דניאל עם מלכא
מלל מלכא לעלמין חיי: אלהי שלח
מלאכה וסגר פם אריותא ולא
חבלוני כל קבל די קדמוהי זכו
השתכחת לי ואף קדמיך מלכא
חבולה לא עבדת: באדין מלכא
שגיא טאב עלוהי ולדניאל אמר
להנסקה מן גבא והסק דניאל מן
גבא וכל חבל לא השתכח בה די
הימן באלהה: ואמר מלכא והיתיו
גבריא אלך די אכלו קרצוהי די
דניאל ולגב אריותא רמו אנון
בניהון ונשיהון ולא מטו לארעית
גבא עד די שלטו בהון אריותא וכל
גרמיהון הדקו: באדין דריוש מלכא
כתב לכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא די
דארין בכל ארעא: מן קדמי שים
טעם די בכל שלטן מלכותי להון
זאעין ודחלין מן קדם אלהה די
דניאל די הוא אלהא חיא וקים
לעלמין ומלכותה די לא תתחבל
ושלטנה עד סופא: משיזב ומצל
ועבד אתין ותמהין בשמיא ובארעא

and placed over the opening of the pit and the king sealed it with his signet ring and with the signet rings of his nobles, that the decision concerning Daniel would not change. [19] Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and did not have any dainties brought in before him, and his sleep fled from him. [20] Then, the king, rising at daybreak, went with haste to the pit of the lions. [21] And when he had come near to the pit, he cried out to Daniel with a sorrowful voice. The king spoke, saying to Daniel: "Daniel, servant of the Living God, has the god you continued to serve been able to save you from the lions?" [22] Then Daniel spoke with the king: "O king, live forever! [23] My god sent his angel and closed the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me, as I was found innocent before him, nor did I do any harm to you, O king." [24] Then, the king was overjoyed and ordered to bring Daniel up out of the pit. And Daniel was brought up from the pit and no harm was found on him, who trusted in his god. [25] And the king gave the command and they brought those men who had accused Daniel and they threw [them] into the lions' pit, them, their children, and their wives, and they did not reach the bottom of the pit before the lions overpowered them and crushed all their bones.
[26] Then, King Darius wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages that live in all the earth: [27] "A decree is issued by me that in all the domain of my kingdom, they must tremble before the god of Daniel and fear him, who is the Living God, existing forever, and whose kingship is one that is not abolished and whose authority is until the end; [28] who saves and rescues and performs signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who saved Daniel from the lions." [29] And this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

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7 [1] In year one of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, and visions of his head on his bed. Then, he wrote the dream: [2] "In my dream at night I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. [3] And four great animals came up from the sea, differing from each other. [4] The first one was like a lion and it had an eagle's wings. I saw that its wings were plucked out and it was lifted off the earth and set up on its legs like a human, and a human mind was given to it. [5] And there was another animal, a second one, resembling a bear, and it was made to stand on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth. And thus they said to it: 'Arise, eat much flesh!' [6] After this I saw another one, like a leopard, and this one had four bird's wings on its back, and the animal had four heads, and authority was given to it. [7] After this, I saw in night visions a fourth animal, frightening and terrifying and exceedingly strong. And it had great teeth of iron. It ate and crushed and it trampled the remainder with its feet. And it was different from all the animals that were before it. And it had ten horns. [8] I watched the horns and saw that another, little horn came up between them, and three of the former horns were uprooted before it; and that this horn had eyes like human eyes and a mouth that spoke great things. [9] I saw that thrones were set down and one ancient of days sat down. His clothing was like white snow and the hair on his head was like sheep's wool. [10] His throne was sparks of fire, its weels were flaming fire. A river of fire streamed out from before him. Thousands upon thousands were waiting on him and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat down and the books were opened. [11] I saw then, because of the sound of the great words that the horn was speaking, I saw that the animal was killed and its body was destroyed and it was given to burning by fire.

די שיזיב לדניאל מן יד אריותא:
ודניאל דנה הצלח במלכות דריוש
ובמלכות כורש פרסיא:

בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך
בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה
על משכבה באדין חלמא כתב
חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו
ארבע רוחי שמיא מגיחן לימא
רבא: וארבע חיון רברבן סלקן
מן ימא שנין דא מן דא: קדמיתא
כאריה וגפין די נשר לה חזה הוית
עד די מריטו גפיה ונטילת מן
ארעא ועל רגלין כאנש הקימת
ולבב אנש יהיב לה: וארו חיוה
אחרי תנינה דמיה לדב ולשטר חד
הקמת ותלת עלעין בפמה בין שניה
וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי בשר
שגיא: באתר דנה חזה הוית וארו
אחרי כנמר ולה גפין ארבע די עוף
על גביה וארבעה ראשין לחיותא
ושלטן יהיב לה: באתר דנה חזה
הוית בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה
רביעיה דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא
יתירא ושנין די פרזל לה רברבן
אכלה ומדקה ושארא ברגליה
רפסה והיא משניה מן כל חיותא
די קדמיה וקרנין עשר לה: משתכל
הוית בקרניא ואלו קרן אחרי זעירה
סלקת ביניהון ותלת מן קרניא
קדמיתא אתעקרו מן קדמיה ואלו
עינין כעיני אנשא בקרנא דא ופם
ממלל רברבן: חזה הוית עד די
כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב
לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה
כעמר נקא כרסיה שביבין די נור
גלגלוהי נור דלק: נהר די נור נגד
ונפק מן קדמוהי אלף אלפים
ישמשונה ורבו רבון קדמוהי יקומון
דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו: חזה הוית
באדין מן קל מליא רברבתא די
קרנא ממללה חזה הוית עד די

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קטילת חיותא והובד גשמה ויהיבת
ליקדת אשא: ושאר חיותא העדיו
שלטנהון וארכה בחיין יהיבת להון
עד זמן ועדן: חזה הוית בחזוי ליליא
וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש
אתה הוה ועד עתיק יומיא מטה
וקדמוהי הקרבוהי: ולה יהיב שלטן
ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא
ולשניא לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן
עלם די לא יעדה ומלכותה די לא
תתחבל:

אתכרית רוחי אנה דניאל בגוא
נדנה וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני: קרבת
על חד מן קאמיא ויציבא אבעא
מנה על כל דנה ואמר לי ופשר
מליא יהודענני: אלין חיותא
רברבתא די אנין ארבע ארבעה
מלכין יקומון מן ארעא: ויקבלון
מלכותא קדישי עליונין ויחסנון
מלכותא עד עלמא ועד עלם
עלמיא: אדין צבית ליצבא על
חיותא רביעיתא די הות שניה מן
כלהון דחילה יתירה שניה די פרזל
וטפריה די נחש אכלה מדקה
ושארא ברגליה רפסה: ועל קרניא
עשר די בראשה ואחרי די סלקת
ונפלו מן קדמיה תלת וקרנא דכן
עינין לה ופם ממלל רברבן וחזוה
רב מן חברתה: חזה הוית וקרנא
דכן עבדה קרב עם קדישין ויכלה
להון: עד די אתה עתיק יומיא
ודינא יתב וזמנא מטה ומלכותא
החסנו קדישין: כן אמר חיותא
רביעיתא מלכו רביעיא תהוא
בארעא די תשנא מן כל מלכותא
ותאכל כל ארעא ותדושנה
ותדקנה: וקרניא עשר מנה
מלכותה עשרה מלכין יקמון ואחרן
יקום אחריהון והוא ישנא מן
קדמיא ותלתה מלכין יהשפל:
ומלין לצד עליא ימלל ולקדישי

12 But the rest of the animals—their authority had been taken away, but some length of life had been given to them until a time and a season. 13 I saw in the night visions that one like a human being was coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came up to the Ancient of Days and they brought him before him. 14 And to him was given authority and glory and kingship and all peoples, nations, and languages had to serve him. His authority is an eternal authority, which will not pass, and his kingship is one that will not be damaged.

15 As for me, Daniel, my spirit was disturbed in its sheath and the visions of my head terrified me. 16 I approached one of those standing there in order to seek certainty from him about all this, and he said to me, and he made known to me the interpretation of the words: 17 'These great animals, which are four: four kings will arise from the earth. 18 And the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive the kingship and they will hold on to the kingship forever and for all eternity.' 19 Then I wanted to confirm about the fourth animal, which was different from all of them, very frightening—its teeth were of iron and its nails were of bronze; it ate, crushed, and trampled the rest with its feet—20 and about the ten horns that were on its head, and another that came up, and three fell before it, and that horn had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its look was greater than its fellows. 21 I saw that that horn started to make war on the Holy Ones and was prevailing against them, 22 until the Ancient of Days came and the court sat down. And the time came and the Holy Ones seized the kingship. 23 Thus he said: 'The fourth animal: there will be a fourth kingdom on the earth that will be different from all kingdoms, and it will consume the whole earth and trample it and crush it. 24 And the ten horns: from that kingdom, ten kings will arise, and another one will arise after them, and he will differ from the former ones, and he will lay low three kings. 25 And he will speak words against the Highest and he will

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עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה זמנין
ודת ויתיהבון בידה עד עדן ועדנין
ופלג עדן: ודינא יתב ושלטנה
יהעדון להשמדה ולהובדה עד
סופא: ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבותא
די מלכות תחות כל שמיא יהיבת
לעם קדישי עליונין מלכותה
מלכות עלם וכל שלטניא לה
יפלחון וישתמעון: עד כה סופא
די מלתא אנה דניאל שגיא רעיוני
יבהלנני וזיוי ישתנון עלי ומלתא
בלבי נטרת:

wear out the Holy Ones of the Most High, and he will think to change the times and the law, and they will be surrendered to him until a season and two seasons and half a season. [26] And the court will sit and they will take away his authority for utter ruination and destruction.' [27] And the kingship and the authority and the greatness of the kingdom under all of heaven was given to the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High; its kingship is an eternal kingdom and all authorities must serve and obey it.' [28] Up to here is the end of the matter. I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly terrified me, my appearance changing over me, and I kept the matter in mind."

Followed by Dan 8–12 in Hebrew.

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