A Translation of Daniel 11:2b-12:3 Tarsee Li Oakwood University

I want to thank the Daniel 11 Committee for asking me to prepare a color-coded translation of Daniel 11:2b-12:3 with the primary aim of making the identity of the participants clear to English readers. The determination of the identity of subjects and objects is based on the work of Lénart J. de Regt.¹ The identity of other anaphoric references is determined by context in light of the application of his rules. I would like to also thank Roy Gane, Oliver Glanz, Frank Hardy, and Michael Younker for suggestions concerning selected passages. Unless otherwise noted, the provisional translation and any errors are mine. The color coding employed below applies to 11:5-45 (11:2-4 and 12:1-3 are assumed to be less ambiguous).

King of the north

King of the north or successor/descendant with another name Anaphoric reference to the king of the north or successor King of the south King of the south or successor/descendant with another name Anaphoric reference to the king of the south or successor Prince of the covenant The people of God The wise [Other colors used for other participants] Ambiguous references are left uncolored

¹ "Anaphoric Accessibility in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: Global and Local Participant Tracking across Clause Boundaries," pages 63-78 in *Ancient Texts and Modern Readers: Studies in Ancient Hebrew Linguistics and Bible Translation.* edited by Gideon R. Kotzé, Christian S. Locatell, and John A. Messarra, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

The Hebrew text presented here is that of the MT without textual corrections or emendations.² However, in a few instances,

corrections/emendations supported by textual variants have been adopted in the translation. Textual variants that are relevant to sentence divisions and the identity of participants are discussed in the Appendix. It should be mentioned that since the Hebrew of Daniel is late biblical Hebrew, it includes expressions and other linguistic characteristics that are different from pre-exilic classical Hebrew. However, a discussion of these unusual expressions and various difficult passages deserves a separate study.

The translation presented here is provisional in nature. No translation is perfect, since neither human beings nor human languages are perfect. Since the primary purpose of the translation relates to the identity of the participants, other matters related to syntax and discourse are not directly addressed. De Regt does cover other discourse issues, including non-chronological arrangement in a narrative, in his monograph,³ but those are not the aim of this translation. A full discussion of such matters would require separate studies, and perhaps even separate translations for each issue.

Daniel 11:2b-12:	2:3	#	de Regt rule	
Lool הִנֵּה־עוֹד שֶׁלשָׁה מְלָכִים עֹמְדֵים לְפָרַס	ok, three more kings will arise to Persia.	1		
א ןהֶרְבִיעִי יַעֲשֶׁיר עְשֶׁר־נְּדוֹל מִכֵּׁל A fo	ourth one will gain greater riches than all.	2		
Whe וּכְהֶזְקָתוֹ בְּשָׁשְׁרוֹ יָעֵיר הַבָּל אָת מַלְכָוּת יֵוָן: arou	en he becomes strong with his riches, he will use everyone against the king of Greece.	3 ^	Rule 2: subj	fourth king
ן אָמָד מָלֶך גִּבֵּוֹר 3 Am	nighty king will arise.	4		
וּמָשַׁל' מִמְשָׁל רַיב He v	will rule over a great dominion.	5 ^	Rule 2: subj	mighty king
: וְעָשֶׁה כִּרְצוֹנִוֹ	will do according to his will.	6 ^	Rule 2: subj	mighty king
א וּכְעָמְדוֹ תִּשֶֶׁבֵר מַלְכוּתוֹ Whe	en he has risen, his kingdom will be broken.	7		
וֹתֶחֶא לְאַרְבָּע רוּחַוֹת הַשֶּׁמָיִם It wi	vill be divided to the four winds of heaven,	8 ^	Rule 2: subj	(his kingdom)

² Instances of Ketiv/Qere follow the traditional convention of the MT, that is, the text consists of the consonants of the Ketiv with the vowels of the Qere.

³ Linguistic Coherence in Biblical Hebrew Texts: Arrangement of Information, Participant Reference Devices, Verb Forms, and Their Contribution to Textual Segmentation and Coherence (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2019).

וְלַא לְאַחֲרִיתוֹ	and it will not belong to his posterity,	9 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְלָא כְמָשְׁלוֹ אֲשֶׁר מָשֶׁׁל	nor be like his dominion that he ruled.	10 ^	C-C Reg.	
בָּי תִנְּתֵשׁ מַלְכוּתוֹ	For his kingdom will be uprooted,	11		
וְלַאֲחֵרִים מִלְבַר־אֶלֶה:	and it will belong to others besides these.	12 ^	C-C Reg.	
5 וְיָחָזַ ק מֶ לֶד־הַגָּגָב	The king of the south will be strong.	13		
וּמָן־שָׂרֶיו וְיֶחֶזַק עָּלָיוֹ	And one of <u>his</u> princes will be strong against <u>him</u> [textual variant]	14 ^	Rule 2: obj	king of south
וּמָשָׁל מִמְשָׁל רָב מֶמְשַׁלְתִּוֹ:	and will rule a greater dominion than <u>his</u> dominion.	15 ^	C-C Reg.	(subj: prince)
6 וּלְאָץ שֶׁנִים יִתְחַבֶּׁרוּ	At the end of some years they will form an alliance.	16 ^	n/a	
וּבַת מֶלֶך־הַנָּגָב תָּבוֹא אָל־מָלֶך הַאָּפוֹן לַאֲשָׁוֹת מֵישָׁרֵים	The daughter of the king of the south will come to the king of the north to make an agreement.	17		
וְלֹא־תַעְצֿר כַּוֹחַ הַזְרוֹעַ	But she will not retain the strength of arm.	18 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְלָא יַעֲמֹד' וּזְרֹעׂו	And his arm [seed?] will not stand. [textual variant]	19		
וְתִנְּתֵׁן הֶיא וּמְבִיאֶׁיהָ וְהַיֵּלְדָה וּמַחֲזָאָה בָּעִתֵּים:	And <u>she</u> will be given up, along with the one who brought <u>her</u> and the one who fathered <u>her</u> and <u>her</u> supporter in those times.	20 ^	Rule 2: subj	
ז וְעָמָד מִגַּצֶר שֶׁרָשֶׁיהָ כַּגַּוֹ 7	A sprout of <u>her</u> roots will arise in <u>his</u> place.	21		
וֹיָבַא אֶל־הַחַיִל	<u>He</u> will come to the army,	22 ^	Rule 2: subj	sprout
וְיָבאֹ בְּמָעוֹז מֵלֶך הַצָּפֿוֹן	and enter the fortress of the king of the north,	23 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְאָשָׂה בָהֶם	and take action against them,	24 ^	C-C Reg.	
וֹבֶּשָ <i>ּ</i> זִיק:	and conquer.	25 ^	C-C Reg.	
8 וְגַם אֱלֹהֵיהֶֿם אִם־נְסְכֵיהֶם אִם־כְּלֵי חֶמְדָתָם כֶּסֶף וְזָהֶב בַּשְׁבָי יָבָא מִצְרָיִם	Also, their gods with their cast images with their precious utensils, silver and gold <u>he</u> will bring into captivity to Egypt.	26 ^	Rule 2: subj	sprout
וְהוּאֹ שֶׁנִים יַעֲמֹר מִמֶּלֶך הַצָּפְוֹן:	As for him, for some years <u>he</u> will stay away from the king of the north.	27 ^	Rule 2: subj	sprout
9 וּבָא בְּמַלְכוּת מָלֶך הַגֶּגָב	Then <u>he</u> will come into the kingdom of the king of the south.	28 ^	Rule 1: subj	king of north
וְשֶׁב אֶל־אַדְמָתִוֹ:	But <u>he</u> will return to <u>his</u> own land.	29 ^	C-C Reg.	

10 וּבָנָן יִתְנֶרוּ	His sons will be stirred up	30		
וְאָסְפּוֹ הֵמוֹן חֶיָלִים רַבִּׁים	and gather a multitude of great forces.	31 ^	C-C Reg.	
וּבָא בִוֹא	He will certainly come	32 ^	Rule 2: subj	king of north
ڹۑ۠ڡۣ ڗ	and overflow	33 ^	C-C Reg.	
וּעָּבֶר	and cross over.	34 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְיָשָׁב	And again	35 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וִיִתְנָּרֶו עַד־מֶעָ <i>ו</i> ָה:	<u>he</u> will fight as far as <u>his</u> fortress.	36 ^	C-C Reg.	
11 וְיִתְמַרְמַר מָּלֶך הַגֶּגֶב	The king of the south will be furious.	37		
ٳڋۼؙؚؚٞ؇	<u>He</u> will go out	38 ^	Rule 2: subj	king of south
וְנִלְחַם עִמָּוֹ עִם־מָָלֶך הַצָּפֵּוֹן	and wage war with <u>him</u> , with <mark>the king of the north</mark> .	39 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְהֶאֶמִיד' הָמַוֹן לֶב	He will raise up a great multitude.	40 ^	Rule 2: subj	king of south
וְנִתֵּן הֶהָמָוֹן בְּיָרְוֹ:	The multitude will be placed in his hand.	41		
12 וְנִשֶׂא הֶהָמָוֹן	The multitude will be lofty,	42		
יְרָום לְבָבִוֹ	and <u>his</u> heart will be lifted up.	43		
וְהַפֶּיל רִבֹּאוֹת	<u>He</u> will bring down myriads,	44 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְלָא יָעְוֹז:	but <u>he</u> will not prevail.	45 ^	C-C Reg.	
13 וְשָׁב` מָלֶך הַצָּפֿוֹן	Then the king of the north will return	46		
וְהֶאֶמֵיר הָמֹוֹן רָב מִן־הָרִאשׁוֹן	and raise up a multitude greater than the first.	47 ^	C-C Reg.	king of north
ּוּלְלֵץ הֶאִתֵּים שֶׁנִים יָבוֹא בוֹא בְּחַיִל נֶרְוֹל וּבִרְכָוּשׁ רֶב:	<u>He</u> will certainly come at the end of some years with a great army and much equipment.	48 ^	C-C Reg.	
14 וּבָעִתֵּים הָהֵׁם רַבִּים יְעַמְדָוּ עַל־מָלֶךְ הַנָּגָב	In those times many will stand up against the king of the south.	49		
וּרְנֵיו פָּרִיצֵי עַמְדָׁ יְנַשְׂאֶוּ לְהַעֲמֵיר חָזָוֹן	The violent ones of your people will rise up to confirm the vision.	50		
ָוָנְרְשֶׁלוּ :	But <u>they</u> will stumble.	51 ^	Rule 2: subj	violent ones
15 וְיָבאֹ מֶלֶך הַצָּפוון	The king of the north will come	52		
וְיִשְׁפֹּדְ' סְוֹלְַלֶֶה	and lay siege mounds	53 ^	C-C Reg.	
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וְלָכָד אַיר מִבְצָרָוֹת	and capture a fortified city.	54 ^	C-C Reg.	
וּזְרֹעָוֹת הַנֶּגֶב לָא יַאֲמָׁדוּ וְעַם מִבְחָרָיו	The arms of the south will not stand, nor <u>his</u> choice troops.	55		
וְאֵין כִּחַ לַשְמָׁר:	There will be no strength to stand.	56		
16 וְיַעַשׂ הַבֶּא אֵלָיוֹ כִּרְצוֹנוֹ	The one who comes to <u>him</u> will do according to <u>his</u> will,	57		
וְאֵין עוֹמָד לְפָנָיו	without anyone standing before <u>him</u> .	58 ^	Rule 2: obj	the one who comes (king of north)
וְיַשְׁמָׁד בְּאֶרֶץ־הַצְּבֶי	He will stand in the beautiful land,	59 ^	Rule 1: subj	"him" (king of north)
וְכָלֶה בְיָדִוֹ:	with complete destruction in <u>his</u> hand.	60		
17 וְיָשֵׁׁםו ּפָנִיו לָבֿוֹא בְּתְּקָף כָּל-מַלְכוּתָו	<u>He</u> will set <u>his</u> face to come with the strength of <u>his</u> entire kingdom.	61 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וּישָׁרִים אַמָּוֹ וְעָשֵָׂה	He will form alliances with him, [textual variant]	62 ^	Rule 2: subj	the one who sets his face (king of north)
וּבָת הַנָּשִׁים יִתֶּן־לֵוֹ לְהַשְׁחִיתֶׁה	and give him the daughter of women to destroy it.	63 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְלָא תַעֲמָׁד	But <u>she</u> will not stand	64 ^	Rule 1: subj	"daughter"
וְלֹא־לְוֹ תִהְיֶה:	nor be for <u>him</u> .	65 ^	C-C Reg.	
18 וְיָשֵׁבו פְּנָיו לְאִיֶים	He will set his face to the coastlands [Ketiv: He will turn back his face]	66 ^	Rule 1: subj	"him" (king of north)
וֹלְכַר רַבָּים	and capture many.	67 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְהִשְׁבִּית קַצְין חֶרְפָּתוֹ לוֹ	But <mark>a commander</mark> will put a stop to <u>his</u> taunt.	68		
בּלְתֵּי חֶרְפָּתוֹ יָשֵׁיב לְוֹ:	Rather, he will turn back his taunt on him.	69 ^	C-C Reg.	
19 וְיָשֵׁב פָּנְיו לְמָעוּזֵי אַרְצָוֹ	<u>He</u> will then turn <u>his</u> face back to the fortresses of <u>his</u> own land. ⁴	70 ^	Rule 1: subj	"him" (king of north)
ڶڐڂۿڔ	But <u>he</u> will stumble	71 ^	Rule 2: subj	the one who turns his face (king of north)
ڶۯٙڟڔ	and fall	72 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְלָא יִמְּצֵא:	and not be found.	73 ^	C-C Reg.	

⁴ Oliver Glanz prefers to understand the referent here and in the rest of v. 19 as the "commander" of v. 18. Page **5** of **21**

20 וְאָמֵד עַל־כַּנָּוֹ מַעֲבִיר נוֹגֵשׁ דֶוֶדר מַלְכַוּת	In <u>his</u> place will arise one who sends out an exactor for the splendor of the kingdom.	74			
: וּרְיָמֵים אֲחָדִים יִשֶּׁבֵּׁר וְלָא בְאַפֵּיִם וְלָא בְמִלְחָמֶה	But in a few days <u>he</u> will be broken, but not in anger or in battle.	75	^	Rule 2: subj	the one who sends out an exactor (king of north)
21 וְעָמָד עַל⁻כַּנּוֹ נִרְזֶה	In <u>his</u> place will arise a contemptible person.	76			
וְלֹא־נְתְנִוּ עָלָיו הַוֹד מַלְכָוּת	They did not confer royal dignity on him.	77	^	Rule 2: obj	contemptible person (king of north)
וּבָא בְשַׁלְוֶה	<u>He</u> will come in quietly,	78	^	Rule 1: subj	(imig of norm)
וְהֶחֶזֵיק מַלְכָוּת בַּחֲלַקְלַקּוֹת:	and will seize the kingdom by smoothness.	79	^	C-C Reg.	
22 וּזְרֹעָוֹת הַשֶּׁטֶף יִשְׁמְפִוּ מִלְפָנָיו	The sweeping arms will be swept away before him,	80	^	Rule 2: obj	
וְיִשְׁבֵרוּ וְגָם נְגִיד בְּרִית:	and will be broken, also the prince of the covenant.	81	^	C-C Reg.	
23 וּמִן־הֶתְחַבְּרָוּת אֵלָיו יַאֲשֶׂה מִרְאָָה	After the making of an alliance with him <u>he</u> will practice deception.	82	^	Rule 2: subj	contemptible person
וְעָּלֶה	<u>He</u> will go up	83	^	Rule 2: subj	
וְעָצָם בִּמְעַט־גְּוֹי : וְעָצָם בִּמְעַט־גְּוֹי	and become mighty with a small people.	84	^	C-C Reg.	
24 בְּשַׁלְוֶׁה וּבְמִשְׁמַנֵּי מְדִינָה יָבוֹא	<u>He</u> will come quietly and into the rich areas of the province.	85	^	Rule 2: subj	
וְעָשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר לא־עָשָׂוּ אֲבֹתָיוֹ וַאֲבָוֹת אֲבֹתָיו	<u>He</u> will do that which neither <u>his</u> fathers nor <u>his</u> forefathers have done.	86	^	Rule 2: subj	
בּזַּה וְשָׁלֶל וּרְכָוּשׁ לָהֵם יִבְזֵוֹר	<u>He</u> will distribute to them plunder and spoil and wealth.	87	^	Rule 2: subj	
וְעַל מִבְצָרֶים יְחַאֵׁב מַחְשְׁבֹתֻיו וְעַד־אֵת:	Against the fortifications <u>he</u> will devise his plans, but only for a time.	88	^	Rule 2: subj	
25 וְיָעֵר ْפֹחוֹ וּלְבָבׁוֹ עַל־מָּלֶך הַנָּגָב בְּחַיִל נְּדוֹל	<u>He</u> will arouse his strength and his heart against the king of the south with a large army.	89	^	Rule 2: subj	
וּמָלֵדְ הַנֶּגֶב יִתְנֶּרֶה לַמִּלְחָמֶׁה בְּחַיִל־נְּרָוֹל וְשָׁצוּם עַר־ מְאֵׁד	The king of the south will be stirred up for the battle with a great and very strong army.	90			
וְלָא יַשְׁמֹד	But <u>he</u> will not stand.	91	^	Rule 2: subj.	king of south
ּבִּי־יַחְשְׁבָוּ עָלֻיו מַחֲשָׁבְוֹת:	For plans will be devised against <u>him</u> .	92	^	Rule 2: obj	

26 ואכלי פת־בָּגָו ישָׁבָרוּהוּ	And <mark>those who eat <u>his</u> provisions</mark> will break <u>him</u> .	93 ^	Rule 1: obj	
	His army will be swept away, [textual variant]	94		
	and many will fall slain.	95		
27 וּשְׁנֵיהֶם הַמְּלָכִים לְבָבָם לְמֵרְע	As for the two kings, their hearts will be set on evil.	96		
וְעַל־שֶׁלְחֶן אֶחָר כָּזָב יְדַבֵּרוּ	At the same table they will speak lies.	97 ^	Rule 2: subj	the two kings
וְלָא תִצְלָח	But it will not succeed.	98		
ּכִי־עָוֹד <u>ק</u> ץ לַמּוֹעֵד:	For the end is still for an appointed time.	99		
28 וְיָשֶׂב אַרְצוֹ בִּרְכַוּשׁ גְּדוֹל	<u>He</u> will return to <u>his</u> land with great riches,	100 ^	Rule 2: subj	contemptible person
וּלְבָבָו עַל־בְּרֵית לֵדָשׁ	with his heart set against the holy covenant.	101		(king of north)
וְעָשֶׂה	He will take action.	102 ^	Rule 2: subj	
: וְשֶׁב לְאַרְצִוֹ	Then <u>he</u> will return to <u>his</u> own land.	103 ^	Rule 2: subj	
29 לַמּוֹעֵד יָשׁוּב	At the appointed time <u>he</u> will again	104 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וּבָא ב <u>נֶג</u> ָב	come into the south.	105 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְלְאֹ־תִהֶיֶה כָרִאשׁׁגֶה וְכָאַחֲרֹגֶה:	But it will not be as at first or the last.	106		
30 וּבָאוּ בֿוֹ צִיֶים כִּתִּים	<mark>Ships of Kittim</mark> will come against <u>him</u> .	107 ^	Rule 2: obj	
ڔڹؚؚڝؚۼؚؚؗ ٦	He will be disheartened	108 ^	Rule 1: subj	"him" (king of north)
71 :	and turn back.	109 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְזָעִם עַל־בְּרִית־קוֹדָשׁ	He will be indignant against the holy covenant	110 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְעָשָׂה	and take action.	111 ^	C-C Reg.	
	<u>He</u> will again	112 ^	Rule 2: subj	
:וְיָבֵּן עַל־עֹזְבֵי בְּרֵית לְדָשׁ	pay attention to those who forsake the holy covenant.	113 ^	C-C Reg.	
31 וּזְרֹאָים מִאָּנַוּ יַעֲמָׁרוּ	Arms will arise from him	114		
וְחִלְּאוּ הַמִּקְדֶשׁ הַמָּעוּז	and will profane the sanctuary fortress.	115 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְהֵסֵירוּ הַתָּמִיד	They will remove the <i>tamid</i>	116 ^	Rule 2: subj	arms

וְנָתְגִי הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם:	and set up the desolating abomination.	117 ^	C-C Reg.	
32 וּמַרְשִׁיאַי בְרִית יַחֲגִיף בַּחֲלַאָּוֹת	<u>He</u> will corrupt those who act wickedly towards the covenant with smooth words.	118 ^	Rule 2: subj	"he" (king of north)
וְעָם יֹדְעֵי אֶלֹהֶיו יַחֲזֵקוּ	But the people who know their God will be strong	119		
יִשְׁוּ	and take action.	120 ^	C-C Reg.	
33 וּמַשְׂבֵּילֵי עָׂם יָבָינוּ לְרַבִּים	The wise among the people will give understanding to the many.	121		
וְנִכְשְׁאוּ בְּחֶֻרֶב וּבְלֶהְבֶֶה בִּשְׁבֵי וּבְבוֻּה יָמִים:	<u>They</u> will stumble by sword, flame, captivity, and plunder for some days.	122 ^	Rule 1: subj	the many
34 וּבְהַבָּשְׁלֶם יֵעָזְרָוּ עֵזֶר מְעָמ	When <u>they</u> stumble, <u>they</u> will be helped with a little help.	123 ^	Rule 2: subj	(same)
וְגִלְוֶי עֲלֵיהֶם רַבָּים בַּחֲלַקְלַקּוֹת:	And <mark>many</mark> will join <u>them</u> in hypocrisy.	124 ^	Rule 2: obj	(same)
35 וּמִן־הַמַּשְׂבִּילִים יִבֶּשְׁלוּ לִצְרָוֹף בָּהֶם וּלְבָרֵר וְלַלְבֵּן עַר־עֵת לֵץ		125		
בִי־עוֹד לַמּוֹאָד:	For it is still for an appointed time.	126		
אָנָשָּׁה כִרְצוֹנוֹ הַמֶּׁלֶך 36	The king will do according to his will.	127		
וְיִתְרוֹמָָם	<u>He</u> will exalt himself,	128 ^	Rule 2: subj	"the king"
	and will magnify himself against every god,	129 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְעַלֹ אַל אַלִים יְדַבֶּר נִפְלָאָוֹת	and will speak amazing things against the God of gods.	130 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְהִצְלִיחַ עַר־בֶּלֶה זַעַם	He will succeed until the indignation is finished.	131 ^	Rule 2: subj	("he"the king)
בִּי נָחֶרָצָה נָעֶשֶׂתָה:	For what is determined will be done.	132		
37 וְעַל־אֶלדֵי אֲבֹתָיוֹ לָא יָבִין	He will not acknowledge the gods of his ancestors.	133 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְעַל־חֶמְדֵּת נְשֵׁים וְעַל־כָּל־אֶָלָוֹהַ לֵא יָבֵין	<u>He</u> will not acknowledge the one desired by women, or any god.	134 ^	C-C Reg.	
בּׁי תַּל-כָּל יִתְנַדֶּל:	For <u>he</u> will magnify himself above all.	135 ^	Rule 2: subj	
38 וְלֶאֶלֹהֵ מֶעָוּׁים עַל־כַּנָּוֹ וְכַבֵּר	In its place he will honor the god of fortresses.	136 ^	Rule 2: subj	

וְלֶאֱלוֹהַ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יְדָעֲהוּ אֲבֹתָיו יְכַבֵּר בְּזָתֶב וּבְכֶסֶף וּבְאֶבֶן יְקָרֶה וּבַחֵמֶרוֹת:	A god whom <u>his</u> ancestors did not know <u>he</u> will honor with gold and silver and precious stones and desirable things.	137 ^	C-C Reg.	
39 וְעָשֶׁה לְמִבְצְרֵי מֶעֻזִּים עִם־אֱלָוֹהַ וֵכָּר אֲשֶׁר הַכָּיר	<u>He</u> will take action against the strongholds of fortresses with a foreign god, whom <u>he</u> recognizes.	138 ^	Rule 2: subj	
יַרְבָּה כָבִוֹר	He will increase honor.	139 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְהַמְשִׁילָם בֶּרַבִּׁים	He will make them rule over the many,	140 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וַאָּדָאָה יְחַלֵּק בִּמְחִיר:	and apportion the land for a price.	141 ^	C-C Reg.	
40 וּבְאַת לֵץ יִתְנַגַּח עִמּוֹ מָלֶך הַגֶּגָב	At the time of the end the king of the south will join in combat with <u>him</u> .	142		
וְיִשְׂתָּעֵׁר עָּלְיו מָלֵך הַצָּפוֹן בְּרָכָב וּבְפָָרָשִׁׁים וּבָאָנִיּוֹת רַבָּוֹת	But the king of the north will storm against him with chariots, horsemen, and many ships.	143 ^	Rule 2: obj	king of south
וּבָא בַאָרָצוֹת	He will enter countries,	144 ^	C-C Reg.	(king of north)
ٳۑٞڟۣڶ	and overflow,	145 ^	C-C Reg.	
וְעָּבֶר:	and cross over.	146 ^	C-C Reg.	
41 וּבָאֹ בְּאֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי	He will enter the beautiful land.	147 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְרַבָּוֹת יִבָּשֵׁלוּ	Many (lands) will fall,	148		
וְאֵׁלֶה יִמְּלְשֵׁוּ מִיָּדוֹ אֱרַוֹם וּמוֹאָָב וְרֵאשֶׁית בְּגֵי עַמְוֹן:	but these will escape <u>his</u> hand, Edom, Moab, and the leaders of the Ammonites.	149		
42 וְיִשְׁלַח יָדָוֹ בַּא ְרָצ ִוֹת	He will stretch his hand into (other) lands,	150 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְאֶֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא תִהְיֶה לִפְּלֵימֶה:	and the land of Egypt will not escape.	151		
43 וּמָשֵׁׁל בְּמִכְמַנֵּי הַזָּהָב וְהַבֶּׁסֶף וּבְכָל חֲמֶרַוֹת מִצְרָיִם	<u>He</u> will rule over the hidden treasures of gold and silver and over the precious things of Egypt,	152 ^	Rule 2: subj	
וְלֶבִים וְכָשֶׁים בְּמִצְעָדֶיו:	with the Libyans and Ethiopians in his footsteps.	153		
44 וּשְׁמֶעַוֹת יְבַהֲלֶׁהוּ מִמִזְרֶח וּמִצְּפֵוֹן	But reports from the east and the north will frighten <u>him</u> .	154 ^	Rule 2: obj	
וְיָצָאֹ בְּחֵמָא גְרֹלֶה לְהַשְׁמִיר וְּלְהַחֲרָים רַבִּים:	<u>He</u> will go out with great fury to destroy and to exterminate many.	155 ^	Rule 1: subj	"him" (king of north)

45 וְיִפַּעֹ אָהֶלֵי אַפַּרְנוֹ בִּין יַמָּים לְהַר־צְבִי־לֵֶדֶשׁ	<u>He</u> will plant <u>his</u> royal tents between the seas and the beautiful holy mountain.	156 ^	Rule 2: subj
וּבָא עַד־קַצׂו	But <u>he</u> will come to <u>his</u> end,	157 ^	Rule 2: subj
וְאָין עוֹזֶר לְוֹ:	with no one to help <u>him</u> .	158 ^	Rule 2: obj
112 וּבָעֵת הַהִיא [°] יַשְׁמֹר מֵיכָאֵׁל הַשַּׂר הַנְּרוֹל הָעֹמֵר עַל־ בְּגַי עַמֶּדְ	.1 0 1 11 1	159	
וְהָיְתָה' אֵת צָרָה אֲשֶׁר לְאֹ־נִהְיְתָה' מְהְיַוֹת בּּוֹי עַד הָאֵת הַתִּיא	There will be a time of trouble which has not been since a nation came to be until that time.	160	
וּבָעֶת הַהִיאֹ יִמְלֵט עַמְדְּ כְּל־הַנִּמְצָא כְּתוּב בַּמֵּפֶר:	At that time your people, all who are found written in the book, will be delivered.	161	
2 וְרַבִּּים מִיְשֵׁנֵי אַדְמַת־עָפָר יָקֵיצוּ אֵלֶה לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָם וְאֵלֶה לַחֲרָפִוֹת לְדִרְאָוֹן עוֹלֶם: ס	Many of those who sleep in the dust of the ground will wake up, some to eternal life and some to shame and eternal contempt.	162	
3 וְהַׁמַּשְׂפָלִים יַזְהֶרוּ פְזַהַר הָרָקֵיעַ וּמַצְּדִּימֵי הֶרַבִּים כַּכּוֹכָבֶים לְעוֹלֶם וָעֶר: פ	The wise will shine like the glow of the firmament, the ones who turn the many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever.	163	

Appendix: Notes on Selected Textual Variants

It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt a reconstruction of the best text of the Daniel 11:2b-12:3. However, a discussion of textual variants is unavoidable, since some of them affect the analysis of the anaphoric references. The following consists of some notes on textual variants that are relevant to the application of de Regt's rules on anaphoric references.

11:5

There is a textual variant in 11:5 that affects the location of a clause boundary, and the presence or absence of an anaphoric reference.

МТ	OG	Theod
5 וְיֶחֶזֵק מֶלֶד־הַגָּגָב וּמִן־שָׂרָיו	καὶ ἐνισχύσει βασιλεὺς	καὶ ἐνισχύσει ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ
	Αἰγύπτου	νότου
וְיֶחֶזָק עָלִיוֹ	καὶ εἶς ἐκ τῶν δυναστῶν	καὶ εἶς τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν
T T <-v:v:	κατισχύσει αὐτὸν	ένισχύσει έπ' αὐτὸν

In the above example, the Masoretic cantillation suggests that the expression "מָן־שָׁרֵ" "and one of his princes" belongs to the first clause, but the Greek translations, both the Old Greek and Theodotion (hereafter, OG and Theod), take it as part of the second clause. The Latin Vulgate agrees with the Greek sentence division, but the Syriac Peshitta follows the MT. If the MT is followed, both the subject and the object of the second clause are anaphoric, but if the Greek is followed, the clause has an explicit subject. Following the Greek versions results in a more natural sentence break, though it requires emending the verb in the second clause from שָׁחָר to שְׁרָשָׁר אָרָשָׁרָ (dittography resulting from homoioarchon). Hence, in this passage the sentence division of the Greek translations has been adopted. On the other hand, it should be

mentioned in defense of the MT sentence division that there are no other instances in the biblical Hebrew corpus of sentences beginning with רָמָן־ + noun phrase acting as subject. This does not preclude רְמָן־שָׁרָיו from being the subject at the beginning of a clause, but it must be recognized that this is rare.⁵

11:6

The OG departs considerably form the MT in 11:6, including, most curiously, the absence of any mention or reference to the daughter of the king of the south. However, most of the differences in OG are not supported by other witnesses. The most interesting variant in this verse comes from Theod.

МТ	OG	Theod
וְלָא יַעֲמִר וּזְרֹעוֹ	καὶ ὁ βραχίων αὐτοῦ ναρχήσει καὶ τῶν συμπορευομένων μετ' αὐτοῦ,	καὶ οὐ στήσεται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ,
וְתַנְּגֵן הֶיא וּמְבִיאֶׁיהָ וְהַיָּלְדָה וּמַחַזָּאָה בָּעִתֵּים:		καὶ παραδοθήσεται αὐτὴ καὶ οἱ φέροντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἡ νεᾶνις καὶ ὁ κατισχύων αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς.
	καὶ μενεῖ εἰς ὥρας.	

In the first clause above according to the MT has an anaphoric subject along with an additional specified subject אין "and his arm." There is, however, a variant in a couple Hebrew manuscripts where the word occurs without the conjunction, יְרֹעוֹ "his arm," in which case the clause has a simple specified subject. This appears to be followed by both OG and Theod. The latter translates the word as τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ "his seed," which suggests a different vowelling of

⁵ Either way, most interpreters understand the phrase as referring to Seleucus I Nicator, one of Alexander's generals who for a time served under Ptolemy I Soter in Egypt.

the Hebrew as אָרָעוֹן. The vowelling of the MT is followed by the OG και ὁ βραχίων αὐτοῦ ναρχήσει "and his arm will grow numb," but the sentence division is slightly different. In conclusion, there is evidence that the MT of this verse contains several possible scribal errors, most of which cannot be easily resolved, and which are beyond the scope of this discussion. However, the absence of the conjunction "and" in front of the consonants זרעו has support in both Hebrew and Greek manuscripts and has been adopted in this study. Also, the variant in Theod may support the reading "his seed" rather than "his arm," though not conclusively. The remaining variants in the OG have no support and have not been adopted.

11:10

There is a textual variant in 11:10 related to the switch from plural to singular in the MT.

MT	OG	Theod
10 וּבָנָן יִתְנָּרוּ	¹⁰ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ	¹⁰ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ
TTL · : T	έρεθισθήσεται	
וְאָסְפּוֹ הֵמוֹן חֵיָלֵים רַבִּים	καὶ συνάξει συναγωγὴν ὄχλου	συνάξουσιν ὄχλον δυνάμεων
·· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	πολλοῦ	πολλῶν,
וּבָא בִוֹא	καὶ εἰσελεύσεται κατ' αὐτὴν	καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἐρχόμενος

As can be seen above, the MT switches from the plural in the first two clauses in v. 10 to the singular in the following clauses. There is a Ketiv/Qere variant in the first word of the verse. The Ketiv singular "and his son" is supported by the OG και ὁ υἰὸς αὐτοῦ, followed by singular verbs. On the other hand, the Qere plural "and his sons" is supported by Theod και οἱ υἰοὶ αὐτοῦ, which, however, omits the translation of the Hebrew verb "הַבָּרָרָ The Syriac also has a plural, but, unlike the MT or Theod, it continues with the plural throughout the verse. Most commentaries follow the Qere and understand the sons to be the two sons of Seleucus II, i.e.,

Seleucus III and Antiochus III, in which case the puzzling switch from a plural subject to a singular subject is explained by the fact that Seleucus III died soon after coming to the throne and was followed by Antiochus III. It would be more natural for the verse to begin with the singular, in which case and the entire verse refers to the same ruler (that is, the short reign of Seleucus III is passed over in the account, which moves straight to Antiochus III). Further, the fact that the MT text is problematic is also reflected in another Ketiv/Qere later in the verse, where the Ketiv is plural ייתגרי and the Qere is singular is supporting the OG. As it stands in the MT, de Regt's rule two suggests that the referent is the king of the north (v. 8), who comes into the south and returns to his own land in v. 9. However, since "his sons" are mentioned in v. 10, one must conclude that the anaphoric "he" expressed in the 3ms verb ⁽¹⁾/₍₂₎ in v. 10 refers not to the same person as "the king of the north" of v. 8, but to a successor, who is, therefore, also a "king of the north."

11:11-12

МТ	OG	Theod
ڶؚڹۛڲؚ۫؇		καὶ ἐξελεύσεται
וְנִלְחֵם עִּמָּוֹ עִם־מָּלֶך הַצְּּפְוֹן	καὶ πολεμήσει μετὰ βασιλέως βορρᾶ,	καὶ πολεμήσει μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ βορρᾶ·
וְהֶאֶמִיד הָמַוֹן לָב		καὶ στήσει ὄχλον πολύν,
ېډ <u>ښ</u> ا ټ <u>ټ</u> ېبا د ڼد:	καὶ παραδοθήσεται ἡ συναγωγὴ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ·	καὶ παραδοθήσεται ὁ ὄχλος ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.
12 וְנִשָּׂא הֶהָמָוֹן	¹² καὶ λήμψεται τὴν συναγωγήν	¹² καὶ λήμψεται τὸν ὄχλον

There is a cluster of textual variants in 11:11-12.

In v. 11 two of the clauses that are present in the MT and Theod are absent in the OG.

Additionally, the MT in v. 11 has a prepositional phrase עמו "with him" that is absent in both

Greek translations. In v. 12 the MT إلين has a passive meaning "and is/will be lofty" or "and it will be carried away," whereas both the OG and Theod translate the clause actively, كشهر المعندية (+ accusative] "he will take away [+ direct object]." The Syriac Peshitta supports the Greek versions both in the absence of the prepositional phrase "with him" in v. 11 and in the active verb in output of the prepositional phrase "with him" in v. 11 and in the active verb in multitudinem "and he will destroy the army" in v. 12. So does the Latin Vulgate, *et capiet multitudinem* "and he will take the multitude." The difference between the MT and the ancient translations that have an active verb corresponds to two different ways to vowel the Hebrew consonants, إلين (Niphal, "and it/he will be lofty/carried away") or إلين (Qal, "and he will carry away"). The combined witness of the ancient versions may tip the scale in favor of the active meaning of the clause in v. 12. However, the fact that this variant is part of a cluster of textual variants makes it difficult to determine the best reading.

The textual variants in 11:11-12 have a complicated effect on the application of de Regt's rules concerning anaphoric references. For example, the MT of the first clause in v. 12 has a specified subject and no object, whereas the Greek and Syriac versions have an anaphoric subject and a specified object. In the OG, the king of the south is globally active in a series of clauses in vv. 11-12, whereas in Theod the king of the north is the anaphoric subject of one clause in the middle of the passage, followed by other subjects in subsequent clauses. Thus, it is best to provisionally leave the passage as is in the MT but to acknowledge that the text may be corrupt.

11:16

The textual variant in 11:16 does not change the sentence divisions or the identity of the participants, but it cannot be passed over without a comment.

MT OG Theod

וְכַלֵה בְיַדוֹ:	καὶ ἐπιτελεσθήσονται πάντα ἐν	καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
	ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ.	αύτοῦ.

In the above example, the MT is best understood as a nominal sentence with the noun וָכָלָה "complete destruction" or "complete end" as the subject. The form וְכָלֶה can also be analyzed as a Qal 3ms verb "it will come to an end," but there is no masculine singular referent for the anaphor. However, both ancient Greek versions translate the clause with passive verbs. The OG adds a word $\dot{\epsilon}\pi$ it $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \sigma \theta \eta \sigma$ ovta i $\pi \dot{\alpha} v \tau \alpha$ "all will be brought to an end," which translates a combination of \exists "all" and the verb $\exists d = \forall$ to come to an end," suggesting that the translator of the OG may have conflated different understandings of the MT text. On the other hand, Theod translates the Hebrew word simply as συντελεσθήσεται "it will be finished." Likewise, the Latin Vulgate also has a passive et consumetur in manu eius "it will be destroyed in his hand." The syriac Peshitta has a feminine passive ملاعلام كمتدمر "and it [the beautiful land] will be delivered into his hand." However, other than OG, the translations assume that the referent is the beautiful land, which is feminine in Hebrew as well as in each of the respective languages. Alternatively, some prefer to emend the Hebrew text to רְכָלָה "and all of it [will be in his hand]," which is reflected in several modern translations. However, this emendation lacks textual support. Therefore, although there is textual evidence to suggest that the MT may need to be corrected, the evidence does not yield a clear alternative, and the MT reading is coherent.

11:17

There is a textual variant in 11:17 that affects the sentence divisions.

MT OG Theod

וִישֶׁרֵים עִמֵּוֹ וְעָשֵֶׂה	καὶ συνθήκας μετ' αὐτοῦ	καὶ εὐθεῖα πάντα μετ' αὐτοῦ
	ποιήσεται·	ποιήσει

The MT literally reads "... and equitable things with him. And he will do." That is, the first two words belong to the previous sentence and the verb begins a new sentence. However, both the OG and Theod translate these words as a single sentence, as also the Syriac Peshitta.⁶ The Hebrew Theod translate as καὶ συνθήκας "and agreements/treaties" (OG) and καὶ εὐθεῖα πάντα "and all right things" (Theod). Some have suggested that the Hebrew word can be emended to agreement" (as in v. 6),⁷ though the word can also be understood as the plural of "מִישָׁר" agreement" (as in v. 6),⁷ though the word can also be understood as the plural of "שָׁרָ" and he will do" to "שָׁרָ" "he will do," which is plausible, since confusing the letters <code>`</code> and ` was not a rare scribal mistake. There is at least one Hebrew manuscript with "שָׁרָ". Thus, the sentence division of the Greek translations is followed in this study.

11:18

In 11:18 the words לוֹ בְּלְתִי are somewhat enigmatic, but, if they reflect any type of textual corruption, the Greek translations, in spite of their differences, do not help to resolve the puzzle.

МТ	OG	Theod
וְהִשְׁבִּית קָצֵין תֶרְפָּתוֹ לוֹ		καὶ καταπαύσει ἄρχοντας
T : V I < IT · : · :		όνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν,
בּלְתֵי חֶרְפָּתוֹ יָשֵׁיב לְוֹ:	καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ὀργὴν	πλὴν ὀνειδισμὸς αὐτοῦ
	όνειδισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐν ὅρκῷ κατὰ	έπιστρέψει αὐτῷ.
	τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ.	

⁶ Though the wording مد حص محد العالية "and all his people will pass over" suggests the possibility that the Syriac translator was having trouble understanding the MT.

⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 365.

Both the MT and Theod have two sentences, whereas the OG combines them into one sentence with different wording. Theodotion's translation of the first sentence, "he will make rulers cease their insult" reads \neg "commander" as a plural object of the verb, perhaps viewing the ending \neg as an Aramaic masculine plural ending. Thus, the variant in Theod appears to be primarily a different understanding of the Hebrew syntax rather than a reflection of a different Hebrew original.

11:26

In 11:26 there is a textual variant that does not affect the sentence divisions but is significant for sense of the passage.

МТ	OG	Theod	Syriac
וְחֵילָוֹ יִשְׁמֵוּף	καὶ παρελεύσεται καὶ κατασυρεῖ	καὶ δύναμις κατακλύσει	טמידע הקביני

In the above passage, the MT has an active verb אין "it will overflow." The active meaning is supported by both Greek versions. The OG translates the clause with two verbs, both with an active meaning, παρελεύσεται "he will pass by" and κατασυρεῖ "he will drag away." The form of the first verb is future middle, but it is a deponent verb (παρέρχομαι). Theod is closer to the MT, and employs κατακλύσει "it will flood." However, the Syriac Peshitta translates it as a passive it will be scattered." Likewise, the Latin Vulgate also translates it as a passive, *exercitusque eius opprimetur* "his army will be crushed" (future passive of *opprimere* "to press, force"). The passive meaning can be explained by a change in the vowelling of the MT from the Qal קשׁמֹך (and several manuscripts have the shorter form, קשׁמֹך) to the Niphal אָשׁמָר מוּ

Since the original manuscripts were unvowelled, the present study adopts the passive meaning because it fits the context better. The Syriac and Latin passive translations suggest that the unvowelled Hebrew text was understood in a passive sense in at least some communities in antiquity.

11:32

There is a textual variant in 11:32 that affects the identity of the subject of the clause.

MT	OG	Theod
32 וּמַרְשִׁיאֵי בְרִית יַחֲנָיף	³² καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις διαθήκης	³² καὶ οἱ ἀνομοῦντες διαθήκην
בַּחֲלַמְוֹת	μιανοῦσιν ἐν κληροδοσία,	ἐπάξουσιν ἐν ὀλισθρήμασι,

In the above example, the MT clause contains an anaphoric subject, "he," expressed by the 3ms morphological form of the verb יחבר לא ייד מייד שוויד. The Greek translations diverge from the MT and from each other. The OG has "And with sins against the covenant they will defile by means of a distribution," whereas Theod has "And the lawless ones will institute a covenant by means of slipperiness." The OG has an anaphoric subject, whereas Theod has a specified subject oi מיסµסטֿעדבς "the lawlessness ones." Nevertheless, in spite of their differences, both Greek translations (OG and Theod) have plural verb forms, µıανοῦσιν "they will defile" (OG) and ἐπάξουσιν "they will make happen" (Theod). The Vulgate also has a plural verb, *et impii in testamentum simulabunt fraudulenter* "and the impious against the covenant will behave deceitfully." On the other hand, the Syriac Peshitta follows the MT closely, חבר שבים "as for those who trespass against the covenant, he will make them guilty." The verb will make guilty is singular. If the MT verb is emended to a plural, the subject would naturally be קירש ייבים "instead of an two two works act wickedly towards the covenant" instead of an

anaphoric 3ms subject. Alternatively, since the previous sentence has a plural subject, it is also possible to conclude that the subject of the sentence is coreferential with the subject of the previous sentence. The evidence for a plural verb is strong. However, since the various witnesses disagree on the rest of the sentence, the present study provisionally follows the MT.

11:36

Another relevant instance of a textual variant occurs in 11:36.

МТ	Theod
וְעָשָּׁה כִרְצוֹנוֹ הַמָּּלֶך	καὶ ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ
וְיִתְרוֹמֻם	καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς

11:38-39

A cluster of variants involving clause boundaries occurs in the OG translation of 11:38-39.

МТ	OG	Theod
ਸ ⊤ਂ ⊒∿਼ਸ: Sv ⊤ਂ ⊤ੱ∨:∀ :	καὶ θεόν, ὃν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ	καὶ θεόν, ὃν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ
יְכַבֵּר בְּזָהֶב וּבְכֶסֶף וּבְאֶבֶן	πατέρες αὐτοῦ, τιμήσει ἐν χρυσίφ καὶ λίθφ πολυτελεῖ.	πατέρες αὐτοῦ, δοξάσει ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθῳ
יְקָרֶה וּבַחֲמֶרְוֹת:		τιμίω και έν έπιθυμήμασι.

39 וְעָשְׁה לְמִבְצְרֵי מֶעֻוּים עִם־ אֶלְוֹהַ נֵכָּר אֲשֶׁר הַכָּיר	καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμήμασι ³⁹ ποιήσει [πόλεων]	³⁹ καὶ ποιήσει τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι τῶν καταφυγῶν μετὰ θεοῦ ἀλλοτρίου
	καὶ εἰς ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἥξει·	
יַרְבָּה כְבָוֹד	μετὰ θεοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, οὖ ἑὰν ἑπιγνῷ, πληθυνεῖ δόξαν	καὶ πληθυνεῖ δόξαν

In the above example, the Hebrew הָבָחָמָרוֹת "and with desirable things" at the end of 11:38 is translated by the OG as the beginning of the first clause in v. 39, και ἐν ἐπιθυμήμασι³⁹ ποιήσει [πόλεων]"And with desirable things [of the cities] he will act." The translator of the OG also ends the sentence with the verb at the beginning of v. 39. This is followed by the translation of the next two Hebrew words לְלַמְרָצְרֵך מֶעָזִר "to the stronghold of the fortresses" as a separate clause και εἰς ὀượpωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἥξει, where the OG inserts the verb ἥξει "he will come." Then the Hebrew words up to the atnach, the verse's major disjunctive cantillation mark, are translated as the next sentence. Fortunately, aside from the additional clause in the OG, the variants do not affect the identification of the anaphoric references. As for the additional clause in the OG due to the addition of the verb ἥξει, this addition is not reflected in Theod or the Syriac, which follow the clause divisions of the MT. Thus, this study provisionally follows the MT.