

THE INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF  
DANIEL 12:2 AND ISAIAH 26:19:  
EVIDENCE FROM QUMRAN AND THE GREEK VERSIONS

Daniel P. Bailey

The language of ‘awakening’ from the sleep of death in Daniel 12:2 is apparently borrowed directly from Isaiah 26:19: ‘Awake (הִקְיִצּוּ) and shout for joy, you dwellers in the dust!’ (MT). But while this echo has been recognised by scholars both ancient (Jerome)<sup>1</sup> and modern,<sup>2</sup> there remains a question about the underlying text. As M. Hengel has rightly noted, the verbal parallel is closer if we assume that the text of Isaiah 26:19 read by the author of Daniel contained not the hif‘il imperative הִקְיִצּוּ preserved in the MT, but the imperfect יִקְיִצּוּ attested in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.<sup>3</sup> The verb forms in Daniel and Isaiah are then identical:

Daniel 12:2

וְרַבִּים מִיִּשְׁנֵי אֲדָמַת־עָפָר יִקְיִצּוּ...

Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth *will awake*...

Isaiah 26:10

1QIsa<sup>a</sup>: וִיקְיִצּוּ וַיִּרְנְנוּ שׁוֹכְנֵי עָפָר<sup>4</sup>

The dwellers in the dust *will awake* and shout for joy.

MT: הִקְיִצּוּ וַיִּרְנְנוּ שׁוֹכְנֵי עָפָר

*Awake* and shout for joy, you dwellers in the dust!

While it is tempting to ask whether the texts of Daniel and Isaiah could have influenced one other in Qumran, my question here concerns another part of the textual tradition—the currency of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J.F.A. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 186-87.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. J.J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> M. Hengel, ‘Zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Jes 53 in vorchristlicher Zeit’, in *Der leidende Gottesknecht: Jesaja 53 und seine Wirkungsgeschichte*, ed. B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher (FAT 14; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Text in M. Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery*, vol. 1: *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950), plate 21.

Qumran text of Isaiah 26:19 among the *Vorlagen* of the Greek versions. Hengel believes that the Septuagint translator together with his later revisers used a *Vorlage* that included the imperfect יְקִיצוּ, as in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.<sup>5</sup> This is suggested by the future tenses of the verbs ἐγερθήσονται in the LXX and ἐξυπνισθήσονται in the minor versions. These Greek verbs line up with the MT's הִקְיִצוּ; according to F. Field, or with יְקִיצוּ according to Hengel.

However, there may well be an error in Field's Greek-Hebrew alignment. Hengel's claim would then need modification. Field's summary of the evidence in Isaiah 26:19 runs:

הִקְיִצוּ.... *Expergiscimini*. OV. καὶ ἐγερθήσονται. Οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξυπνισθήσονται. (*Origenis Hexaplorum*, 2:475)

I suggest by contrast that the Septuagint's verb *ejgerqhvsontai* should be aligned opposite the preceding verb יְקוּמוּן, as below:

| MT                  | Vulgate                            | LXX                                   | MT translated                                      |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| יְחִיּוּ מֵתֵיךָ    | <i>vivent mortui tui</i>           | ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί                | Your dead will live,                               |
| נִבְלָתֵי יְקוּמוּן | <i>interfecti mei resurgent</i>    | καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις | their (lit. <i>my</i> ) corpses <b>will rise</b> . |
| הִקְיִצוּ           | <i>expergiscimini</i>              | (Field's alignment)                   | Awake  |
| וְרַנְּנוּ          | <i>et laudate (Field jubilate)</i> | καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται                    | and shout for joy,                                 |
| שְׁכֵנֵי עָפָר      | <i>qui habitatis in pulvere</i>    | οἱ ἐν τῇ γῆ                           | you dwellers in the dust!                          |

If this alignment is correct, then קִיץ is without a Greek equivalent, complicating Hengel's attempt to use the Greek versions to prove the popularity of the Qumran reading יְקִיצוּ.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hengel, 'Zur Wirkungsgeschichte', p. 60: 'In Dan 12,2a stammt die Formulierung "viele der Schlafenden des Staublandes werden aufwachen" (... יְקִיצוּ אֲדָמַת־עָפָר יְקִיצוּ...), aus Jes 26,19, "aufwachen und jubeln werden die Bewohner des Staubs" (שְׁכֵנֵי עָפָר יְקִיצוּ שְׁכֵנֵי עָפָר) [st. הִקְיִצוּ, so 1Q Jes A, LXX A, Θ, Σ]'. Here 'LXX A' is a misprint; read 'LXX, A[quila]'.

My proposed alignment is suggested first by the structure of the Hebrew and Greek versions. Both have only three grammatical subjects in Isaiah 26:19a: ‘your dead’ = מְתֵיָדָי = οἱ νεκροί; ‘my corpses’ = נְבִלָתַי = οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις; and the ‘dwellers of the dust’ = שְׂכְנֵי עָפָר = οἱ ἐν τῇ γῆ. Naturally these subjects are attached to verbs. There are four verbs in the Hebrew: קָוָה, קָוָה (both qal impf.), קִיֵּץ (hif. impv. MT, impf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), and רָנַן (pi‘el impv. MT, impf. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>). The third of the three Hebrew subjects therefore has to take two verbs. In the Greek, however, the number of subjects and verbs matches, leaving one of the Hebrew verbs untranslated. Field implies that קָוָה is the untranslated verb, while Hatch and Redpath (*Concordance*) imply that there is no untranslated verb: e<sub>j</sub>gerqhvsontai supposedly reflects both קָוָה and קִיֵּץ. But stylistically it would be more natural for the first two Greek verbs to correspond to first two Hebrew verbs. The LXX translator apparently took up the first subject and its verb, the second subject and its verb, and then the third subject and its *nearest* verb, which is clearly רָנַן = εὐφραίνω. This leaves קִיֵּץ untranslated.

This alignment is also suggested by the Septuagint translator’s treatment of Isaiah 26:14. ‘The dead will not live; the departed spirits will not rise’ (בְּלִי־יִחְיֶוּ רַפְּאִים בְּלִי־קוֹמוּ) (26:14) is the negative counterpart of ‘Your dead will live, their corpses will rise’ (26:19)—at least in the Hebrew, where the first two verbs קָוָה and קָוָה match in each verse. In the LXX, however, these verbs are translated differently in the two verses: οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ ζωήν οὐ μὴ ἴδωσιν, οὐδὲ ἰατροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσωσιν (26:14); ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐξερχθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις (26:19). קָוָה is translated by ἀνίστημι in 26:14 but by ἐγείρω in 26:19—that is, if one accepts my alignment over Field’s. The sense of the Hebrew verb helps determine the alignment.

The verb קָוָה has the sense ‘to rise from the dead’ in Isaiah 26:14, 19 and at least three other OT passages: 2 Kings 13:21; Job 14:12; Psalm 88:11; usually the sense is negative, of the dead not being destined to rise (Is. 16:19 and 2 Ki. 13:21 are the exceptions). In all but Isaiah 26:19, קָוָה in this sense is rendered by ἀνίστημι. The translator uses this normal equivalent ἀνίστημι in Isaiah 26:14, but encounters a complication with רַפְּאִים. Instead of the MT pointing רַפְּאִים, ‘shades, ghosts, departed spirits’, the translator of Isaiah 26:14 (as well as the translator of Ps. 88 [LXX 87]:11) has read רַפְּאִים, ‘healers, physicians’, and has translated it accordingly by ἰατροί, as in 2 Chronicles 16:12 and Job 13:4. Yet the Greek still

makes sense if ἀνίστημι is understood transitively with ἰατροί as subject: ‘physicians will not raise [sc. them]’ (Is. 26:14).

A different translation procedure is used in Isaiah 26:19. Here, the translator uses ἀνίστημι *intransitively* (cf. 2 Ki. 13:21; Jb. 14:12), not for the second verb קָם as in 26:14 but for the first verb הָיָה, ‘to live’. This is a free and very unusual translation of הָיָה, occurring only twice in the OT (Is. 26:19; 38:9), despite 282 OT occurrences of הָיָה and 423 occurrences of ἀνίστημι. But this use of ἀνίστημι for the first verb in Isaiah 26:19 forces a new translation for the second verb: יִקְרָמוּן יְבֹלְתֵי יִקְרָמוּן becomes καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. The ‘corpses’—or ‘those in the graves’ in the Greek (cf. Jn. 5:28)—will ‘rise’. The equivalence of ἐγείρω (usually aorist passive) and קָם in the weakened sense of ‘rising’ or setting out to take action is common enough in the LXX (1 Ch. 10:12; 22:19; 2 Ch. 21:9; 22:10), but Isaiah 26:19 is the only place in the OT where both קָם and ἐγείρω have the sense of rising *from the dead* (cf. ταλιθα κουμ = τὸ κοράσιον ἔγειρε, Mk. 5:41). This alone is enough to suggest their translational equivalence here.

Field’s alignment of ἐγείρω with קָם in Isaiah 26:19 depends on the translation equivalents elsewhere in the LXX. In the aorist passive especially, ἐγείρω can denote ‘rising’ or ‘awakening’ from sleep, translating קָם (Gn. 41:4, 7; Je. 28:39). The required sense of awakening from the sleep *of death* occurs in 2 Kings 4:31, where the Shunammite’s dead son at first ‘did not awaken’ (οὐκ ἠγέρθη = לֹא קָם). But even when it clearly has this sense of ‘rising’ from sleep, ἐγείρω may correspond not to קָם but to קָם, ‘arise’, as in Proverbs 6:9 (future passive). There is therefore no necessary equivalence between ἐγείρω and קָם in Isaiah 26:19. Field is probably right to suggest that the reading of the minor versions, ἐξυπνισθήσονται, ‘they shall awake from sleep’ (cf. Job 14:12), was inspired by קָם rather than by קָם. But this only proves that the revisers glanced at קָם once the three-verb structure of the LXX was already fixed; it does not determine the original LXX alignment.

Nevertheless, Hengel’s thesis about the popularity of the Qumran text type is still tenable. The renderings of the fourth verb קָם in Isaiah 26:19 are all future, suggesting an imperfect וִירָנְנוּ, as in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>: εὐφρανθήσονται (LXX), αἰνέσουσιν (Aq.), ἀγαλλιάσονται (Sym.), ἀλαλάξουσιν (Theod.). Since וִירָנְנוּ is stylistically inconceivable apart from a preceding imperfect יִקְרָמוּ, the latter can probably be presupposed in the *Vorlagen* of all the Greek versions. The author of Daniel 12:2 was indeed reading a

popular text.