# A HARMONY OF DANIEL IN THREE TRADITIONS

*The Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, the Theodotion Revision, and the Dead Sea Scrolls — Phase 2F of the MT/LXX/DSS Textual Harmony Project*

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## Preface

This volume presents Phase 2F of the MT/LXX/DSS Textual Harmony Project, focusing on the book of Daniel — the most textually complex book in the entire Hebrew Bible canon, and the only book for which the church deliberately replaced the Septuagint translation with a later revision before the Old Greek tradition was even a century old.

Daniel stands apart from every other book examined in this project in four ways that make it uniquely challenging:

**First, Daniel is bilingual.** The book is written partly in Hebrew (1:1–2:4a; 8:1–12:13) and partly in Aramaic (2:4b–7:28). This bilingual character — with no clear theological or narrative

rationale for the language switches — has generated extensive scholarly debate about the book's compositional history and is without parallel in the Hebrew Bible canon.

**Second, the Old Greek (LXX) of Daniel was so different from the proto-Masoretic Hebrew/Aramaic text** that the church replaced it with the revision made by **Theodotion** (fl. c. 180 C.E.) in virtually all Christian manuscripts by the third century C.E. The original LXX Daniel survives in only two Greek manuscripts — Codex Chisianus (Codex 88) and a Syriac translation (the Syro-Hexapla) — and in the Göttingen Septuagint edition. This is unique in the history of the LXX: in every other book, the Old Greek remained the church's Bible; in Daniel, Theodotion displaced it entirely.

**Third, the LXX of Daniel contains three substantial additions absent from the MT/Aramaic text:** - **The Prayer of Azariah** (inserted into MT Daniel 3, between verses 23 and 24) - **The Song of the Three Young Men** (inserted into MT Daniel 3, continuing after the Prayer of Azariah) - **Susanna** (a complete narrative, placed before MT Daniel 1 in some manuscripts, after chapter 12 in others) - **Bel and the Dragon** (two narrative episodes, placed after MT Daniel 12)

These additions raise the deuterocanon question directly: they are canonical in Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, deuterocanonical or apocryphal in Protestant and Jewish traditions, and entirely absent from the MT.

**Fourth, the Dead Sea Scrolls preserve eight Daniel manuscripts** — more than for most biblical books — but none of them contains the LXX additions. The DSS Daniel manuscripts are all in Hebrew or Aramaic, aligning with the MT base text, and contain no trace of the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, or Bel and the Dragon.

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## The Four Traditions for Daniel

### The Masoretic Text (MT) / Aramaic Daniel

The MT/Aramaic Daniel is preserved in: - **Codex Leningradensis** (L, 1009 C.E.) and the **Aleppo Codex** (A, c. 920 C.E.) — the standard MT witnesses - The BHQ Daniel volume (edited by A. Geissen and others; Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2016)

The MT/Aramaic text contains 12 chapters with the following bilingual structure:

| Chapters | Language | Content |
|---|---|---|
| 1:1–2:4a | Hebrew | Prologue; the court scene; beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream |
| 2:4b–7:28 | Aramaic | The four kingdoms; the fiery furnace; Nebuchadnezzar's madness; Belshazzar's feast; the lion's den; the four beasts |
| 8:1–12:13 | Hebrew | The ram and goat; Gabriel's interpretation; the seventy weeks; the final vision |

### The Old Greek (OG / LXX) of Daniel

The Old Greek translation of Daniel is the most divergent of any LXX book from its Hebrew/Aramaic source. It was translated in the late second or early first century B.C.E. and contains:

1. **The 12 MT/Aramaic chapters** — but with extensive additions, expansions, and variations throughout
2. **The Prayer of Azariah** and **the Song of the Three Young Men** — inserted into chapter 3
3. **Susanna** — a detective narrative about Daniel as a young judge
4. **Bel and the Dragon** — two stories satirizing idol worship

The Old Greek survives in: - **Codex Chisianus** (MS 88) — an 11th-century manuscript; the primary surviving OG witness - The **Syro-Hexapla** — a Syriac translation of Origen's Hexapla column that preserves the OG Daniel with Origenic sigla - The Göttingen Septuagint critical edition: **Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco** (edited by Joseph Ziegler and Olivier Munnich, 1999)

### Theodotion's Revision (Th / θ′)

Theodotion (fl. c. 180 C.E.) produced a thoroughgoing revision of the Old Greek toward the Hebrew/Aramaic text. His revision of Daniel was so much closer to the MT/Aramaic — and so much more readable — that the church adopted it in place of the OG by the late second or early third century C.E. Origen (c. 185–254 C.E.) already knew the Theodotion Daniel as the standard Greek text.

Theodotion's Daniel: - Follows the MT/Aramaic closely, including the bilingual structure - Retains the three OG additions (Prayer of Azariah, Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon) but often in forms closer to the OG than to a fresh translation - Was used by the NT authors — several apparent NT allusions to Daniel follow the Theodotion form

The NT's use of Theodotion Daniel (rather than the OG) is significant: it means that in some NT passages, what appears to be a "LXX quotation" is actually Theodotion. The Book of Revelation's allusions to Daniel are particularly dependent on Theodotion.

### The Dead Sea Scrolls of Daniel

Eight Daniel manuscripts were found at Qumran:

| Signum | Location | Content | Character |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1QDan^a** (1Q71) | Cave 1 | Dan 1:10–17; 2:2–6 | MT-aligned |
| **1QDan^b** (1Q72) | Cave 1 | Dan 3:22–30 | MT-aligned |
| **4QDan^a** (4Q112) | Cave 4 | Dan 1–7 (extensive) | MT-aligned |
| **4QDan^b** (4Q113) | Cave 4 | Dan 5–7; 8 | MT-aligned |

| Signum | Location | Content | Character |
|---|---|---|---|
| **4QDan^c** (4Q114) | Cave 4 | Dan 10–12 | MT-aligned |
| **4QDan^d** (4Q115) | Cave 4 | Dan 4; 7 | MT-aligned |
| **4QDan^e** (4Q116) | Cave 4 | Dan 9–10 | MT-aligned |
| **pap6QDan** (6Q7) | Cave 6 | Dan 8; 10–11 | MT-aligned |

All eight DSS Daniel manuscripts: 1. Follow the MT/Aramaic bilingual structure 2. Contain none of the LXX additions (no Prayer of Azariah, no Susanna, no Bel and the Dragon) 3. Preserve the same 12-chapter structure as the MT 4. Show the language switches between Hebrew and Aramaic at the same points as the MT

Critical edition: DJD XVI (P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, J. Sanderson, et al., 2000).

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## Part One: The Bilingual Structure and Its Significance

### The Language Switches in Daniel

The most distinctive textual feature of Daniel is its bilingualism. The book switches languages **twice**:

1. **Hebrew → Aramaic** at 2:4a/4b: The Chaldeans begin to speak to the king in Aramaic, and from that point the narrative continues in Aramaic through chapter 7.

2. **Aramaic → Hebrew** at 8:1: The vision of the ram and the goat is narrated in Hebrew, and the book remains in Hebrew through its conclusion at 12:13.

**The textual evidence:** All DSS manuscripts, the MT, and the Theodotion version preserve the language switches at exactly the same points. The Old Greek, working from a Semitic source, does not reflect the bilingual character in Greek — both Hebrew and Aramaic portions become Greek.

**Scholarly debate on the language switches:**

**Position 1 — Canonical unity with compositional history (Collins, Goldingay):** The bilingual structure reflects the book's compositional history. The Aramaic chapters (2–7) represent an earlier collection of court tales that circulated independently; they were incorporated into a Hebrew framework (chapters 1 and 8–12) by the final editor. The language switches are seams of composition rather than deliberate literary devices.

**Position 2 — Literary intentionality (Lenglet, Steinmann):** The bilingual structure is deliberate and chiastic. The Aramaic chapters (2–7) form a chiasm: A (ch.2: four kingdoms), B (ch.3: fiery furnace), C (ch.4: Nebuchadnezzar's madness), C' (ch.5: Belshazzar's feast), B' (ch.6: lion's den), A' (ch.7: four beasts). The Hebrew chapters frame this Aramaic center.

**Position 3 — Scribal accident (Torrey):** The language switch at 2:4b began as a marginal note (*"In Aramaic"*) that was subsequently incorporated into the text, and the remainder of the Aramaic section followed from this scribal accident. This view has few current adherents.

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## Part Two: The OG vs. Theodotion in the Narrative Chapters

### Daniel 4 — Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of the Great Tree

Chapter 4 is where the OG diverges most dramatically from both the MT/Aramaic and the Theodotion version. The OG is substantially longer and presents a significantly different narrative framework.

**MT/Aramaic (ASV) — Daniel 4:1–3 (= OG 4:1; Th 4:1):** Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth: Peace be multiplied unto you. It hath seemed good unto me to show the signs and wonders that the Most High God hath wrought toward me.

How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.

**OG (Brenton, from Codex 88) — Daniel 4:1:** In the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, he said: I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in my house, and prosperous in my palace. And I saw a vision, and it terrified me…

**Theodotion (Brenton) — Daniel 4:1–3:** Nabouchodonosor the king, to all peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be multiplied to you. It seemed good to me to declare the signs and wonders that the most high God has wrought with me. How great are his signs, and how mighty his wonders! His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his power to all generations.

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR — Major]** The OG of Daniel 4 begins with a specific date (*"the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign"*) absent from the MT/Aramaic and Theodotion. The MT/Aramaic begins immediately with the royal proclamation; the OG provides a narrative introduction with a date and setting that are not in the MT. - **[ORDER]** The OG presents the events of chapter 4 in a different narrative order from the MT. The MT/Aramaic follows the structure: royal proclamation → dream → Daniel interprets → fulfillment (Nebuchadnezzar's madness) → restoration and doxology. The OG has a substantially different internal arrangement. - **[ADD in OG]** The OG of chapter 4 is approximately **one-third longer** than the MT/Aramaic. The OG contains extended speeches, additional prayers, and narrative elaborations absent from the MT. This is the opposite of the Jeremiah situation (where the LXX is shorter than the MT); in Daniel 4, the OG is *longer* than the MT.

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### Daniel 5:1–6 — Belshazzar's Feast

**MT/Aramaic (ASV):** Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken out of the temple which

was in Jerusalem; that the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, might drink therefrom.

Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, drank from them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace; and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote. Then the king's countenance was changed in him, and his thoughts troubled him; and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

**OG:** The OG of chapter 5 is considerably shorter than the MT, lacking several elaborative phrases.

**Theodotion (Brenton):** Baltasar the king made a great supper for his thousand nobles, and before the thousand was the wine. And Baltasar drinking commanded to bring the vessels of gold and silver, which Nabouchodonosor his father had brought out from the temple in Jerusalem; that the king and his nobles, and his mistresses and his concubines, should drink out of them.

Then were brought the golden and silver vessels which had been taken out of the temple of God in Jerusalem; and the king and his nobles, and his mistresses and concubines, drank out of them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of iron, and of wood, and of stone.

In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote in front of the lamp on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the knuckles of the hand that wrote. And the king's countenance was changed in him, and his thoughts troubled him; and the joints of his loins were relaxed, and his knees struck against each other.

**DSS (4QDan^a):** The scroll preserves portions of Daniel 5. It agrees substantially with the MT/Aramaic at the preserved points.

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR]** The Theodotion follows the MT/Aramaic closely in this passage — demonstrating its revisory character: the Theodotion translator corrected the OG toward the MT. - **[VAR]** MT: *"the joints of his loins were loosed"* (*qatrê horṣêh mitparsqîn*) — Theodotion: *"the joints of his loins were relaxed."* The Aramaic image of physical terror (the king's body literally coming apart at the joints) is preserved in both.

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### Daniel 6:1 — The Number of Satraps

**MT/Aramaic (ASV):** It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps, who should be throughout the whole kingdom.

**OG:** And Darius the Mede received the kingdom, being sixty-two years old. And it pleased him, and he appointed over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps…

**Theodotion:** And it pleased Darius, and he appointed over the kingdom a hundred and twenty princes…

**DSS (4QDan^b):** Partially preserved; agrees with MT/Aramaic at this point.

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR]** The OG adds Darius's age (*"sixty-two years old"*) at 6:1 — a detail from MT 5:31. The OG seems to have combined these notices. The MT keeps them separate; Theodotion follows the MT's arrangement. - **[ADD in OG]** The OG of chapter 6 contains several narrative elaborations absent from both the MT and Theodotion, including expanded descriptions of Daniel's accusers and the king's distress.

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## Part Three: The Additions — Susanna, Prayer of Azariah, Song of the Three Young Men, and Bel and the Dragon

### Overview

The three addition complexes in the Greek Daniel tradition require separate treatment because they raise both textual-critical and canonical questions simultaneously. The term *"additions"* is used here descriptively, without prejudging whether they were composed in Greek or translated from a Semitic original, and without prejudging their canonical status.

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### Addition One: The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men

**Location in the Greek tradition:** Inserted between MT Daniel 3:23 (the three young men are thrown into the furnace) and 3:24 (the king is astonished to see four men in the furnace).

**MT Daniel 3:23–24 (ASV):** And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up in haste; he spake and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

In the MT, this transition is abrupt: the men are thrown in; immediately the king is astonished to see four men walking unharmed. The LXX additions expand the interior of the furnace narrative.

**The Prayer of Azariah (= Shadrach / Hananiah):**

Azariah is the Hebrew name of Abednego (see Dan 1:7). The prayer placed in his mouth in the furnace is a national confession of sin and a plea for deliverance — closely related in genre to Nehemiah 9, Ezra 9, and Daniel 9 (MT).

The prayer begins (Brenton): *And Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner; and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said: Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and thy name is worthy of praise, and glorious for ever: for thou art just in all things that thou hast done to us.*

The prayer confesses Israel's sin (*"for we have sinned in all things, and done unjustly, departing from thee"*), acknowledges the justice of the current suffering, and appeals to God's faithfulness to the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

**The Song of the Three Young Men:**

Following a prose transition that describes a royal servant stoking the furnace (and an angel descending to protect the three), the Song of the Three Young Men is a doxological hymn calling on all creation to bless God — structurally related to Psalm 148 and to the Benedicite (*"O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord"*) of the Christian liturgical tradition.

The Song begins: *Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed God in the furnace, saying: Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and highly exalted for ever. And blessed is thy holy and glorious name: and to be highly praised and highly exalted for ever.*

**DSS Evidence for the Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Young Men:**

No Qumran manuscript contains the Prayer of Azariah or the Song of the Three Young Men. All eight DSS Daniel manuscripts go directly from the equivalent of MT 3:23 to MT 3:24 without any addition. This absence does not prove the additions are secondary — absence of evidence is not evidence of absence — but it means the DSS provide no positive support for the Semitic-original theory.

**The question of original language:**

Were the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic and translated into Greek? Or were they composed in Greek?

**Evidence for a Semitic original:** - The Greek contains Semitisms (Semitic idioms underlying the Greek) detectable by analysis - Carey Moore (*Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions*, Anchor Bible 44, 1977) argues for a Hebrew Vorlage based on stylistic analysis - The prayer's content and theology are thoroughly Jewish and consistent with Second Temple Hebrew prayer literature

**Evidence for Greek composition:** - No Hebrew or Aramaic manuscript of these additions has been found — including at Qumran - The additions integrate smoothly with the Greek narrative context - Some scholars (Collins) remain agnostic, noting the evidence is insufficient to determine the language of composition

**Current consensus (Harrington, Collins):** The additions were most likely composed in Hebrew or Aramaic and translated into Greek, but certainty is not possible without Semitic manuscripts.

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### Addition Two: Susanna

**Location:** In most Greek manuscripts, Susanna appears **before** Daniel 1 as a kind of prologue establishing Daniel's wisdom. In the Theodotion version, it appears **after** Daniel 12 as an appendix. In Origen's Hexapla it appeared after chapter 12. The difference in placement between the OG and Theodotion traditions is itself significant.

**The Narrative:**

Susanna is a wealthy Jewish woman in Babylon, wife of the respected Joakim. Two elders of the Jewish community lust after her and attempt to coerce her into sexual relations. She refuses; they falsely accuse her of adultery with a young man. She is condemned to death. The young Daniel, filled with wisdom, intervenes: he cross-examines the two elders separately, asking each under which tree they witnessed the alleged act. They give contradictory answers (one says "a mastic tree," the other "an oak tree"). Their false testimony is exposed, they are executed under the lex talionis, and Susanna is vindicated.

**OG vs. Theodotion of Susanna:**

The OG and Theodotion versions of Susanna differ substantially — more so than in any other addition. The OG is shorter; Theodotion is longer and more dramatic. Key differences:

- **OG**: Susanna's beauty is not described; she prays silently before Daniel intervenes; the narrative is more compressed
- **Theodotion**: Susanna's beauty is explicitly described (*"very delicate and beautiful"*); her prayer is given in full; the dramatic cross-examination is more detailed

**DSS Evidence for Susanna:**

No Qumran manuscript contains Susanna. The DSS evidence for Susanna is entirely absent.

**The question of original language:**

The Semitic-original question is more complex for Susanna than for the Prayer of Azariah: - Julius Africanus (c. 160–240 C.E.) already raised the question, arguing to Origen that the wordplay on trees (*schinos/schizō*, mastic/split; *prinos/pristhai*, oak/saw) works in Greek but not in Hebrew or Aramaic. If the original was in Hebrew or Aramaic, the wordplay would be different or lost. - Origen acknowledged the wordplay argument but maintained the story's canonical authority. - Carey Moore argues that the wordplay could have been introduced by the Greek translator from a Semitic original without the pun. - Louis Hartman argues the wordplay is constitutive of the narrative's conclusion (it is the *mechanism* of the vindication) and therefore Greek composition is more likely.

**Current scholarly assessment (Collins, DiLella):** The wordplay argument is the strongest internal evidence against a Semitic original for Susanna. Most scholars remain uncertain but acknowledge that Greek composition is a genuine possibility — unlike the Prayer of Azariah, where the evidence slightly favors a Semitic original.

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### Addition Three: Bel and the Dragon

**Location:** Appended after Daniel 12 (MT chapter 12) in all Greek manuscript traditions.

**The Two Episodes:**

**Bel:** The Persian king Cyrus confronts Daniel about his refusal to worship the idol Bel. The king asks why Daniel does not worship, since Bel is clearly a living god who consumes great

quantities of food each day. Daniel challenges this: he spreads ashes on the floor of Bel's temple at night. In the morning, footprints are visible in the ash — those of the priests and their families who secretly ate the offerings. The idol is exposed as a fraud; the priests are executed.

**The Dragon:** Cyrus points to a living serpent worshiped as a god and challenges Daniel to deny that *this* is a living deity. Daniel feeds the dragon a compound of pitch, fat, and hair, causing it to burst. The Babylonians protest; Daniel is thrown into the lion's den (a second lion's den narrative, distinct from Daniel 6). The prophet Habakkuk is supernaturally transported from Judea to Babylon (carried by an angel holding him by his hair) to bring Daniel food. Daniel is delivered; his accusers are devoured by the lions.

**OG and Theodotion of Bel and the Dragon:**

The OG and Theodotion differ significantly in attribution. The OG superscription reads: *"From the prophecy of Habakkuk the son of Joshua of the tribe of Levi."* The Theodotion superscription reads: *"From the prophecy of Daniel."*

This is a fundamental difference in authorial attribution. The OG presents Bel and the Dragon as a prophecy of Habakkuk; Theodotion (followed by virtually all subsequent Christian tradition) presents it as part of Daniel.

**DSS Evidence for Bel and the Dragon:**

No Qumran manuscript contains Bel and the Dragon. The DSS evidence is entirely absent.

**The question of original language:**

Unlike Susanna, Bel and the Dragon contains no wordplay that specifically requires Greek. Semitic originals have been proposed by multiple scholars. A Hebrew fragment (4Q551) found at Qumran has sometimes been associated with Bel and the Dragon traditions, though its identification is disputed.

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## Part Four: The Seventy Weeks — Daniel 9:24–27

The Seventy Weeks prophecy is the most extensively discussed passage in Daniel for both Jewish and Christian interpretation, and the passage where the MT, OG, and Theodotion show the most significant verbal variants with direct theological consequences.

**MT/Aramaic (ASV) — Daniel 9:24–27:** Seventy weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy.

Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto **the anointed one, the prince** (*māshîaḥ nâgîd*), shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: it shall be built again, with street and moat, even in troubled times.

And after the threescore and two weeks shall **the anointed one** (*māshîaḥ*) be cut off, and shall have nothing: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the

sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and even unto the end shall be war; desolations are determined.

And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one that maketh desolate; and even unto the full end, and that determined, shall wrath be poured out upon the desolate.

**OG — Daniel 9:24–27:** The Old Greek of this passage differs substantially from the MT at several points — most significantly at 9:26:

*And after the sixty-two weeks,* ***the anointing and the judgment*** *shall be destroyed, and there shall be none; and he shall destroy the city and the sanctuary with the leader who is coming.*

**Theodotion (Brenton) — Daniel 9:24–27:** Seventy weeks have been determined upon thy people, and upon the holy city, for sin to be ended, and to seal up transgressions, and to blot out the iniquities, and to make atonement for iniquities, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the Most Holy.

And thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of the command for the answer and for the building of Jerusalem, until **Christ the prince** (*Christou archon*), shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks…

And after the sixty-two weeks, **the anointing shall be destroyed, and there is no judgment in him**: and he shall destroy the city and the sanctuary with the prince that is coming.

**4QDan^a (DSS):** The fragments of Daniel 9 in the DSS are too small at this point to clearly adjudicate between traditions, but what is preserved aligns with the MT/Aramaic base text.

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR — Major]** MT: *"the anointed one, the prince"* (*māshîaḥ nâgîd*) — Theodotion: *"Christ the prince"* (*Christou archon*). Theodotion renders the Hebrew *māshîaḥ* as *Christos* — the Greek equivalent — rather than transliterating it (as the OG sometimes does) or rendering it descriptively. This means that in the Theodotion version, Daniel 9:25 explicitly reads *"Christ the prince"* — a reading that Christian interpreters from Hippolytus onward identified as a messianic prophecy of Jesus with a specific timetable.

- **[VAR]** MT 9:26: *"the anointed one shall be cut off, and shall have nothing"* (*wĕyikkârêth māshîaḥ wĕ'êyn lô*) — OG: *"the anointing and the judgment shall be destroyed"* — Theodotion: *"the anointing shall be destroyed, and there is no judgment in him."* These three renderings represent meaningfully different texts. The MT's *"and shall have nothing"* (*wĕ'êyn lô*, literally "and nothing to him") is interpreted by Christian exegetes as the Messiah dying without earthly possessions or defenders — a reading applied to the crucifixion of Jesus.

- **[THEOL]** The Seventy Weeks prophecy has been interpreted in three primary ways:

    1. **Historical (Maccabean crisis):** The seventy weeks refer to the period from the Babylonian exile to the Maccabean period (167–164 B.C.E.), with *"the anointed one who is cut off"* being the high priest Onias III, murdered in 171 B.C.E. This is the dominant critical-scholarly reading (Collins, Goldingay).

2. **Messianic (traditional Christian):** The seventy weeks provide a timetable from Artaxerxes's decree to restore Jerusalem (445 B.C.E. or 458 B.C.E.) to the death of Jesus. The Theodotion's explicit *"Christ the prince"* supports this reading.

3. **Eschatological (futurist):** The seventieth week is separated from the other sixty-nine by an unspecified gap and refers to a future tribulation period. This is the reading dominant in dispensational Protestant interpretation.

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## Part Five: The Vision Chapters — Daniel 7 and Daniel 12

### Daniel 7:13–14 — The Son of Man

**MT/Aramaic (ASV):** I saw in the night-visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one **like unto a son of man** (*kĕbar 'ĕnâsh*), and he came even to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

**OG:** And behold, as it were the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and he came as far as the Ancient of days and was presented before him.

**Theodotion (Brenton):** And behold, one as the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and he came on to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before him. And to him was given the dominion, and the honour, and the kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed.

**NT Usage:** - Matthew 24:30: *"they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory"* — following Theodotion - Matthew 26:64; Mark 14:62: Jesus before the Sanhedrin — *"ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven"* — Theodotion - Revelation 1:7: *"Behold, he cometh with the clouds"* — Theodotion/Daniel 7:13

**4QDan^a (DSS):** Preserves portions of Daniel 7. The text agrees with the MT/Aramaic at the preserved points.

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR]** The Aramaic *kĕbar 'ĕnâsh* ("like a son of man / like a human being") is a simile: the visionary figure is *like* a human being — contrasting with the beasts of the preceding visions. Both the OG and Theodotion render this as *"like a son of man"* (*hōs huios anthrōpou*), preserving the simile. The NT's application of *"the Son of man"* as a title for Jesus draws on this Danielic background. - **[NT uses Theodotion]** The NT citations of Daniel 7:13 follow the Theodotion version rather than the OG — confirming that Theodotion's Daniel was in use by NT authors even before Theodotion's revision was officially adopted by the church. This is the strongest NT evidence for Theodotion Daniel predating its official adoption.

### Daniel 12:1–3 — The Resurrection

**MT/Aramaic (ASV):** And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

**OG:** At that time Michael shall stand up, the great prince, who stands over the children of thy people: for it is a time of affliction, such as has not come to pass from the time that there was a nation upon the earth until that time. At that time all thy people shall be saved, even those found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the breadth of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and many of the righteous as the stars for ever and ever.

**Theodotion (Brenton):** And at that time Michael the great prince shall stand up, who stands over the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of tribulation, such tribulation as has not been from the time that there was a nation on the earth until that time: at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that is written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting reproach. And the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and some of the many righteous as the stars for ever and ever.

**4QDan^c (DSS):** Preserves Daniel 12:1–2. Agrees substantially with the MT.

**NT Usage:** - John 5:28–29: *"all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment"* — clearly echoing Daniel 12:2 - Matthew 13:43: *"Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father"* — echoing Daniel 12:3

**Variance Notes:** - **[VAR]** MT: *"many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth"* (*wĕrabbîm*) — OG: *"many of them that sleep in the breadth of the earth."* The OG reads *wĕrabbîm* differently — either a different Hebrew Vorlage or a translator's interpretation of *'ăphar* (dust) as *plateia* (breadth/plain). - **[THEOL]** Daniel 12:2 is the clearest OT statement of **bodily resurrection with two outcomes** — some to everlasting life, some to everlasting contempt. It is the primary OT text for NT resurrection theology. The MT, OG, and Theodotion all agree on the substance of the two-outcome resurrection; the verbal variants are minor and do not affect the theological substance. - **[DSS]** 4QDan^c agrees with the MT at 12:1–2, confirming the standard text.

## Appendix A: Summary of Daniel Divergences

| Passage | MT/Aramaic | OG (LXX) | Theodotion | DSS | NT | Type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dan 3:23–24 | Abrupt transition | Adds **Prayer of Azariah** + **Song of Three Young Men** | Retains additions | Absent | — | [ADD in OG] |
| Dan 4 | 12-chapter structure | ~1/3 longer; different narrative frame | Follows MT | MT-aligned | — | [ADD + ORDER in OG] |
| Dan 6:1 | Age of Darius not given | Adds age of Darius (62 years) | Follows MT | MT-aligned | — | [ADD in OG] |
| Dan 7:13 | *kĕbar ʾĕnâsh* (like a son of man) | *hōs huios anthrōpou* | Same | MT-aligned | Matt 24:30; 26:64 — **follows Theodotion** | [VAR — minor] |
| Dan 9:25 | *māshîaḥ nâgîd* (anointed one, prince) | *chrisma* (anointing) | ***Christou archon*** (Christ the prince) | MT-aligned | — | [VAR — Theodotion renders *Christos* explicitly] |
| Dan 9:26 | Anointed one “cut off, has nothing” | “anointing and judgment destroyed” | “anointing destroyed, no judgment in him” | MT-aligned | — | [VAR — three different renderings] |
| Dan 12 | Ends at 12:13 | Adds **Bel and Dragon** | Adds **Bel and Dragon** | Ends at 12:13 | — | [ADD in OG and Th] |
| Before | Absent | **Susanna** | **Susanna** | Absent | — | [ADD in OG |

| Passage | MT/Aramaic | OG (LXX) | Theodotion | DSS | NT | Type |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dan 1 / after Dan 12 | | | | | | and Th] |
| Bilingual structure | Hebrew/ Aramaic switches at 2:4b and 8:1 | Not visible (all Greek) | Not visible (all Greek) | Confirmed same switch points | — | [STRUCTURAL] |

## Appendix B: The Canonical Status of the Additions

The canonical status of the three addition complexes (Prayer of Azariah / Song of the Three Young Men; Susanna; Bel and the Dragon) is the primary point on which Christian traditions diverge:

**Roman Catholic:** The additions are **deuterocanonical** — part of the canonical scriptures, but distinguished from the protocanonical books. The Council of Trent (1546) formally defined the deuterocanonical books as canonical. The additions appear in the Catholic Bible as part of Daniel.

**Eastern Orthodox:** The additions are **canonical** — accepted without the formal distinction of protocanonical vs. deuterocanonical. Orthodox Christianity uses the LXX (with the additions) as its Old Testament.

**Protestant:** The additions are **apocryphal** — valuable for edification but not canonical scripture. The Reformers followed Jerome's principle of *Hebraica veritas* (the Hebrew truth) — what is not in the Hebrew Bible is not canonical. The Westminster Confession (1647) explicitly lists the books of the Apocrypha as not part of the canon.

**Judaism:** The additions are not canonical. Rabbinic Judaism accepts only the Hebrew/Aramaic 12-chapter Daniel.

**The DSS evidence:** The complete absence of the additions from all eight Qumran Daniel manuscripts does not prove the additions were not written by Jews — they may have been composed after the Qumran period or in communities not represented at Qumran. But the DSS evidence does confirm that the 12-chapter Hebrew/Aramaic Daniel was the established text in Second Temple Judaism, and no Second Temple Jewish community at Qumran used the additions as part of their Daniel text.

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## Appendix C: Daniel and the New Testament — An Accounting

Daniel is the OT book most extensively underlying the Book of Revelation. The following are the major NT citations:

| NT Reference | Daniel | Tradition | Content |
|---|---|---|---|
| Matt 24:15 | 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 | MT/Th | "Abomination of desolation" |
| Matt 24:30; 26:64; Mark 14:62 | 7:13 | **Theodotion** | "Son of man on clouds" |
| John 5:28–29 | 12:2 | MT/Th | Two-outcome resurrection |
| 1 Cor 6:2 | 7:22 | MT/Th | Saints judging the world |
| Rev 1:7 | 7:13 | **Theodotion** | "Coming with clouds" |
| Rev 1:13–15 | 7:13; 10:5–6 | **Theodotion** | Son of man vision |
| Rev 4:7 | 7:4–7 | MT/Th | Four beasts |
| Rev 12–13 | 7; 8; 11 | **Theodotion** throughout | Apocalyptic framework |
| Rev 19:20 | 7:11 | MT/Th | Beast destroyed |

**Finding:** The NT uses Theodotion Daniel more than the OG Daniel — confirming that Theodotion's revision was in use before its official adoption by the church, and that the NT authors had access to a proto-Theodotion text type.

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## Appendix D: Essential Scholarship for Daniel

### Primary Text Editions

- Geissen, A., et al., eds. *Daniel*. Biblia Hebraica Quinta 14. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2016. [MT/Aramaic BHQ]
- Ziegler, J., and O. Munnich, eds. *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*. Septuaginta XVI/2. 2nd ed. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999. [OG and Theodotion critical edition — Göttingen]
- Skehan, P.W., E. Ulrich, J. Sanderson, et al. *Qumran Cave 4: X, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIV. Oxford University Press, 1995. [Includes Cave 4 Daniel]
- Ulrich, E., et al. *Qumran Cave 4: XI, Psalms to Chronicles*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVI. Oxford University Press, 2000. [4QDan$^{a-e}$]

### English Translations

- Brenton, L.C.L. *The Septuagint with Apocrypha*. 1851. Public domain. [OG and Theodotion]

- McLay, R.T. “Daniel.” In Pietersma and Wright, eds., *NETS*. Oxford University Press, 2007. [OG scholarly standard]
- Abegg, M., P. Flint, and E. Ulrich. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*. HarperOne, 1999. Pp. 484–506. [DSS Daniel]

### Commentaries

- Collins, J.J. *Daniel*. Hermeneia. Fortress Press, 1993. [The essential critical commentary; full textual apparatus]
- Goldingay, J. *Daniel*. Word Biblical Commentary 30. Word, 1989.
- DiLella, A.A., and L.F. Hartman. *The Book of Daniel*. Anchor Bible 23. Doubleday, 1978.
- Longman, T. *Daniel*. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Eerdmans, 1999. [Traditional view]
- Lucas, E.C. *Daniel*. Apollos Old Testament Commentary 20. InterVarsity Press, 2002.

### The Additions

- Moore, C.A. *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions*. Anchor Bible 44. Doubleday, 1977. [The essential commentary on the additions]
- deSilva, D.A. *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance*. Baker Academic, 2002. Pp. 213–268. [Accessible introduction]
- Wills, L.M. *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*. Cornell University Press, 1995. [Susanna and Bel as Jewish narrative]

### OG vs. Theodotion

- McLay, R.T. *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 43. Scholars Press, 1996. [The essential specialized study]
- Schmitt, A. *Stammt der sogenannte θ′-Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?* Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1966. [Questions whether the “Theodotion” Daniel is actually by Theodotion]
- Pace Jeansonne, S. *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7–12*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 19. Catholic Biblical Association, 1988.

### Daniel and the NT

- Beale, G.K. *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*. University Press of America, 1984. [Essential]
- Casey, M. *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. SPCK, 1979.
- Hurtado, L.W. *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*. 2nd ed. T&T Clark, 1998. Pp. 51–69. [Daniel 7 and NT Christology]