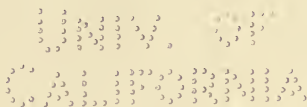


# BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

BY

THE MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF  
PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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NEW YORK  
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS  
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TO VINDI  
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THE ARAMAIC OF DANIEL

ROBERT DICK WILSON

Purpose of the article is to review certain statements of Dr. Driver about the Aramaic of Daniel.

Citation of Dr. Driver's statements.

The four propositions contained in these statements.

- A. Discussion of the first proposition, that Daniel belongs to the Western Aramaic.
  1. Proof that the preformative 'y' was not in Daniel's time a distinctive mark of Western Aramaic.
  2. Proof that the ending *ā* retained its definite sense up to 400 B. C. among the Eastern Arameans.
- B. Discussion of the second proposition, that the Aramaic of Daniel is all but identical with that of Ezra.
- C. Discussion of the third proposition, that it is nearly allied to that of the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan and to that of the Nabateans and the Palmyrenes.
  - I. Signs and sounds.
    1. Use of Aleph.      2. Use of Wau.      3. Use of He.
    4. Use of Lomadh.    5. Use of d and z.    6. Use of m and n.
    7. Further discussion of n.
    8. Interchange of Sadhe, Ayin and Qoph.
    9. Use of other letters.
  - II. Forms and Inflections.
    1. Pronouns.    2. Nouns.    3. Particles.    4. Verbs.
      - a. Imperfect of the Lomadh Aleph (Hê) verbs.
      - b. The Hophal.      c. The Pe'il.
      - d. The 3rd pl. fem. perfect.
      - e. The Nun of Pe Nun verbs in the imperfect.
      - f. אִתִּי                      g. Shaphel.
      - h. The preformative He in the causative stem.
- III. Syntax: the manner of denoting the direct object.
- IV. Vocabulary.
  - a. Of Onkelos.
    1. Verbs denoting the idea "to put".
    2. Foreign words employed.
      - (1) Greek. (2) Persian. (3) Babylonian.
  - b. Of the Nabateans.
  - c. Of the Palmyrenes.
  - d. Of the Targum of Jonathan.
- D. Discussion of the fourth proposition, that the Aramaic of Daniel is that which was spoken in or near Palestine at a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great.

*Conclusion:* The evidence points to Babylon as the place and the latter part of the 6th century B. C. as the time of the composition of Daniel.

## THE ARAMAIC OF DANIEL

Every student of the Old Testament who has read the chapter on Daniel in Dr. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament* (*LOT* latest edition 1910) must have been forcibly struck by the arguments presented in favor of a late date for the book which are based upon the alleged agreement between the Aramaic contained in it and that found in the dialects of the Nabateans, of the Palmyrenes, and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. So impressed was the writer of this article by the significance of these statements, backed up as they are by an imposing array of evidence, that he determined to undertake a new investigation of the whole problem of the relations existing between the various dialects of Aramaic. Such an undertaking necessarily involved as complete an investigation as was possible of the documents which constitute the extant literature of these dialects, in so far as they bear upon grammar and lexicography. Fortunately, a large part of the work involved in the investigation had already been completed by him. But, needless to remark, the accomplishment of such a task—and the writer does not regard it as yet accomplished, although he is firmly convinced that further investigation will only serve to strengthen and confirm the conclusions which he has put forward in this article—would have been utterly impossible, had there not been already to hand so many grammars, lexicons, and texts, of scientific value. Largely for convenience of treatment the writer has divided the material into ten parts, each of which he calls a dialect. These dialects are (1) Northern Aramaic, embracing all inscriptions found outside of Egypt down to the year 400 B.C., (2) Egypto-Aramaic, (3) Daniel, (4) Ezra, (5) the Nabatean inscriptions, (6) the Palmyrene, (7) the Targum of Onkelos, (8) the Syriac, (9) the Mandaean, and (10) the

Samaritan. The works to which he has been most indebted are the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and the works of De Vogué, Euting, Pognon, Sayce-Cowley, Sachau, Littmann, Cooke, Lidzbarski, Brederik, Nöldeke, Petermann, Kautzsch, Strack, Marti, Brockelmann, Norberg, Levy and Dalman. The invaluable Sachau papyri (Leipzig, Heinrichs 1911) arrived in time to be made available in their bearing upon most of the points discussed.

The views advanced by Dr. Driver to which the writer takes exception will be found on pages 502-4, and 508 of his *LOT*, where we read as follows:

“The *Aramaic* of David (which is all but identical with that of Ezra) is a *Western* Aramaic dialect, of the type spoken in and about *Palestine*.<sup>1</sup> It is nearly allied to the Aramaic of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan; and still more so to the Aramaic dialects spoken E. and SE. of Palestine, in Palmyra and Nabataea, and known from inscriptions dating from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. In some respects it is of an earlier type than the Aramaic of Onkelos and Jonathan; and this fact was formerly supposed to be a ground for the antiquity of the Book. But the argument is not conclusive. For (1) the differences are not considerable,<sup>2</sup> and largely ortho-

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Enc. Brit.* xxi. 647<sup>b</sup> — 8<sup>a</sup> = *Die Sem. Sprachen*<sup>2</sup> (1899), 35, 37; *Enc. B.* i. 282. The idea that the Jews forgot their Hebrew in Babylonia, and spoke in “Chaldee” when they returned to Palestine, is unfounded. Haggai, Zechariah and other post-exilic writers use Hebrew: Aramaic is exceptional. Hebrew was still normally spoken c. 430 B. C. in Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 24). The Hebrews, after their Captivity, acquired gradually the use of the Aramaic *from their neighbours* in and about Palestine. See Nöldeke. *ZDMG.* 1871, p. 129 f.; Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.* § 6; Wright, *Compar. Gramm. of the Semitic Languages* (1890), p. 16: “Now do not for a moment suppose that the Jews lost the use of Hebrew in the Babylonian captivity, and brought back with them into Palestine this so-called Chaldee. The Aramean dialect, which gradually got the upper hand since 5-4 cent. B. C., did not come that long journey across the Syrian desert; it was *there*, on the spot; and it ended by taking possession of the field, side by side with the kindred dialect of the Samaritans.” The term “Chaldee” for the Aramaic of either the Bible or the Targums is a misnomer, the use of which is only a source of confusion.

<sup>2</sup> They are carefully collected (on the basis, largely, of M’Gill’s investigations) by Dr. Pusey, *Daniel*, ed 2, pp. 45 ff., 602 ff. (an interesting lexi-



graphical: the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan did not probably receive their present form before the 4th cent. A.D.:<sup>3</sup> and we are not in a position to affirm that the transition from the Aramaic of Dan. and Ezra to that of the Targums must have required 8-9 centuries, and could not have been accomplished in 4-5; (2) recently discovered inscriptions have shown that many of the forms in which it differs from the Aramaic of the Targums were actually in use in neighbouring countries *down to the 1st cent. A.D.*<sup>4</sup>”

Thus the final ה (for א) in verbs ל'א, and in חרה, מה, אנה, &c., occurs often in Nab.; the Hofal (*not* a Hebraism: Nöld. *GGA.*, 1884, 1015; Sachau; Wright), and in the pass. of Pe'al (Dan. iii. 21 *al.*: Bev. pp. 37, 72), in the Palm. Tariff (Sachau, *ZMDG.* 1883, p. 564 f.; Wright, *Comp. Gr.* p. 224 f.; otherwise Cooke, 334); note also עבירה *was made* in Cooke, No. 96<sup>s</sup> (Nöld, *Z. f. Ass.*, 1890, p. 290; cf. Dalman, *Gram. des Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* 202 (253) *n.*); the א in the impf. of verbs א'א not changed to י, repeatedly in Nab. and the Tariff; מראנא (with א) Dan. iv. 16, 21; Kt. Nab, Cooke 81<sup>s</sup>, 82<sup>s</sup>, 94<sup>s</sup>, Eut. 27 (= *CIS.* ii. 224)<sup>3s</sup>; איתי (Tg. אית) Nab. Cooke 80<sup>r</sup> 81<sup>r</sup> 85<sup>s</sup> 86<sup>r</sup>.<sup>7</sup> &c.; רי (Tg. ר) and רנה (Tg. רין), both regularly in Palm. Nab.; אנוש Dan. iv. 13, 14; Kt., Nab. *ibid.* 79<sup>r</sup> 86<sup>s</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> &c.; נ retained in the impf. of verbs פ'ינ, Nab. *ibid.* 79<sup>r</sup> 80<sup>s</sup> <sup>9</sup> 86<sup>s</sup> 87<sup>s</sup> ינפק, 79<sup>s</sup> <sup>6</sup> 80<sup>s</sup> ינתן; the 3 pl. pf. *fem.* in ו-, as Dan. vi. 5, vii. 20; Kt., Nab. *ibid.* 80<sup>r</sup> 85<sup>r</sup>. For the suff. of 3 ps. pl., Nab. has הום (the more original form), Palm. הון; Dan. agrees here with Palm., Jer. x. 11 with Nab.; Ezr. has both forms.

It is remarkable that—to judge from the uniform usage of the inscriptions at present known from Nineveh, Babylon, Têma, Egypt, and even Cilicia (coins of Mazæus: Cook 149 A 6, cf. on A 5), Cappadocia (Lidzbarski, *Ephem. Epigr.* i. 67, 323, 325), and Lycia (*CIS.* II. i. 109,—with

cal point is that the vocabulary agrees sometimes with Syriac against the Targums). But when all are told, the differences are far outweighed by the *resemblances*; so that relatively they cannot be termed important or considerable. (The amount of difference is much exaggerated in the *Speaker's Comm.* p. 228. The statement in the text agrees with the judgment of Nöldeke, *l.c.* p. 648<sup>b</sup>; *Enc. Bibl.* i. 283.)

<sup>3</sup> Deutsch in Smith's *DB.* iii. 1644, 1652; Volck in Herzog,<sup>2</sup> xv. 366, 370; Nöldeke, *Enc. Bibl.* i. 282.

<sup>4</sup> See (chiefly) De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale* (1868), with inscriptions from Palmyra, mostly from 1-3 cent. A. D. (an excellent selection in Cooke, *N.-Sem. Inscr.* Nos. 110-146), the long bilingual Tariff of tolls from Palmyra, of A. D. 137 (*ibid.* No. 147); Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885), with inscriptions (largely of the reign of חרתת = 'Aperas, 2 Cor. xi. 32) from B. C. 9 to A. D. 75 (Cooke, Nos. 78-102).

ונה for רנה)—in the Aramaic used officially (cf. p. 255; Isa. xxxvi. 11) in the Ass. and Persian empires, the relative was ך, not, as in Dan. Ezr., and Aram. generally, רי (ר). ך thus occurs on weights and contract-tablets from Nineveh (*CIS.* 11. i. 2-5 [cf. Cooke, No. 60], 17, 20, 28, 30, 31, 38, 39, 41, 42, all of 8-7 cent B. C.; cf. Cooke 150. 2); and Babylon (*ibid.* 65, B. C. 504, 69-71, B. C. 418, 407, 408; Clay, in *OT. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, 1908, ii. 299 ff., Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 33 from the reign of Artaxerxes, B. C. 464-424, and Nos. 23, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35, 40 from that of Darius II., B. C. 424-404; cf. Cooke, No. 67: ארק (א) earth for ארע (א) (Dan., Ezr.) also occurs regularly in the same inscription, *CIS.* 1-4 [Cooke, No. 66], 7, 11, 28, 35 from Nineveh, Clay, Nos. 5, 8, 11, 29, 40 from Babylon. These differences are cogent evidence that the Aramaic of Daniel was not that spoken at Babylon in Daniel's age. Its character in other respects apart from the Persian and Greek words which it contains, cannot be said to lead to any definite result: its resemblance with the Aramaic of Ezra (probably c. 400 B. C.) does not prove it to be contemporary.

Again Dr. Driver says on page 508 of the same work: "The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (B.C. 332). The Aramaic is also that which was spoken in or near Palestine. With our present knowledge, this is as much as the language authorizes us definitely to affirm."<sup>6</sup>

There are four main propositions contained in these citations from Dr. Driver: first, that the Aramaic of Daniel is Western; second, that it is all but identical with that of Ezra; third, that it is nearly allied with that of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and to that of the Nabateans and Palmyrenes; and fourth, that it was "spoken in and about

<sup>6</sup> So in the Aram. of Zinjirli (p. 255 n.): Cooke, Nos. 61-65.

<sup>6</sup> In justice to Dr. Driver we have cited the above statements in full. In justice to the writer of this review it should be said that he has reserved for a future article the words in the second citation, "The Hebrew supports"; and that the word "thus" of the first sentence in so far as it refers to Dr. Driver's discussion of the Hebrew of Daniel on page 504-8 has not been considered in this article. Hebrew is brought into the present treatment only in so far as it is a constituent part of the Aramaic portion of Daniel.



Palestine", "at a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great".

A. Taking these propositions up in order, we would like to ask in the first place, in view of the inscriptions that have been lately published, what foundation still exists for designating the Aramaic of Daniel as Western.

The only reasons given by Prof. Theodor Nöldeke, who is generally recognized as the highest authority in this field, for the distinction between Eastern and Western Aramaic are that the third person masculine of the Imperfect of the Eastern type has the preformative *n* (or *l*), whereas the Western has *y*; and that the Eastern has ceased to attach the sense of the definite article to the ending *ā* of the status emphaticus. (See also Margoliouth in *Encyc. Brit.* 24:625). It is undoubtedly true and must be readily admitted by all that these distinctions are perfectly clear and undeniable in all works which have come down to us that were written subsequent to the year 200 A.D. But all the documentary evidence that we possess shows that in earlier times, down at least to 73 A.D., the Eastern Aramaic did not differ in these two respects from the Western. According to Nöldeke himself the evidence of the Babylonian Talmud does not go back beyond the period from the fourth to the sixth century A.D., and the Mandaean writings belong to a somewhat later period.<sup>7</sup> The earliest Syriac writing known is the inscription of the tomb of Manu near Serrin in Mesopotamia, which was discovered and published by H. Pognon, the erudite French consul, in his work called *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la Région de Mossoul, Paris, 1907*. (Part First, page 15, seq.) All of the imperfects of the third person in this inscription, and there are six of them, have the performative *y*; so that it is certain that as late as the end of the 1st century A.D., the preformative that has hitherto been looked upon as at all times a characteristic of the Western Aramaic was also in use in the Eastern. Whether the other preformative was also in use so early is an interesting question, but one

<sup>7</sup> In his Mandaean Grammar, page 22, he states that the earliest of the Mandaean writings that are known was composed in the 7th century A. D.

which cannot be answered at present, since no further data exist. It ought, however, certainly to be admitted, that if one writer of Eastern Aramaic could and did use the preformative *y* at the end of the first century A.D., another writer of Eastern Aramaic might have used it at the end of the sixth century B.C. That is, if Manu, son of Darnahai, used it in 73 A.D., Daniel *may* at least have used it in 535 B.C., despite the fact that from the second century A.D. on, other forms are found to have been used universally and exclusively in all the East-Aramaic documents that have been discovered.

But the inscription of Manu is not the only evidence that the preformative *y* was used in pre-Christian times in Eastern Aramaic. In CIS43 we find the form *ya'al* "let him bring", and also יכלא in CIS106, both of the 7th century B.C. Furthermore, in all of the old Aramaic names that have so far been published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and elsewhere, which contain this form of the verb as a component part, the preformative is invariably *y*. All of these names are indisputably from the regions occupied by the Eastern Arameans. These names are Yirpeel, (CIS77) from the eighth or seventh century B.C.; Neboyirban (CIS39) from the year 674 B.C.; Yibcharel (CIS47) from the seventh century B.C.

Finally, the third person masculine of the imperfects in the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription published in Sept. 1911 by Prof. Sachau of Berlin, have invariably the preformative *y*. Of course, this may represent a West-Aramaic rescension; but, inasmuch as the kings of Persia had their court in the midst of the East-Arameans and since the Behistun Inscription was in the neighborhood of the regions occupied by the East-Arameans, it is fully as probable that the Aramaic version preserved in these particular papyri represents the Eastern Aramaic of that time.

Inasmuch, then, as it has been shown that the preformative *n* to denote the third person masculine of the imperfect was never employed by any of the oldest Arameans, East or West, the assertion that the book of Daniel (whether it was written in the second or in the sixth century B.C., is not here the question) was written in a Western dialect and the consequent

implication that it cannot have been written in Babylon, are both shown to be without any foundation in the facts as known.

With regard to the use of Lomadh as a preformative of the jussive form of the imperfect, the fact that it has been found in the Hadad inscription from the 8th century B.C. shows that it may well have been used in a document coming from the 6th century B.C. The fact that in later times it occurs only in the Babylonian Talmud and in the Mandaean,<sup>8</sup> both written in or about Babylon, shows as far as it shows anything, that Daniel was written in the East rather than in the West.

With regard to the second distinction between the Western and Eastern Aramaic (that the former employs the ending  $\bar{a}$  to denote the definite or emphatic state, whereas the latter has come to use the emphatic in the same sense as the absolute), a study of the earlier East-Aramaic inscriptions would indicate that in the usage of the period from 800 B.C. to 400 B.C. the distinction between the two states was just as closely preserved in the Eastern as in the Western Aramaic. Thus in the Aramaic inscriptions from the 8th to the 6th century B.C. the ending  $\bar{a}$  to represent the emphatic state is employed in the following phrases:

- "of the land", CIS Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7.
- "sale of the handmaid Hambusu", id. 19.
- "sale of the field", id. 24, 27, 53.
- "book of the silver", id. 30.
- "son of the king", id. 38, 39.
- "the barley", id. 42.
- "the silver", id. 43, 70, 71, 108.
- "the scribe", id. 46, 84.
- "the pledge", id. 65.
- "the house", id. 65.
- "the eunuch", id. 75.
- "the guards", id. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Dalman says on p. 264 of his Grammar, that in Onkelos and the Targum of Jonathan the form never is found except in additions (abgesehen von Zusätzen) to the text.



So in Clay's Aramaic Indorsements, some of which reach as late as 400 B.C., we find the same usage, viz., "the rent of the land", No. 5, 8, 11, cf. 21; "document concerning the house", 17; "Darius the king", 22; "document of the lands of the Carpenter", 29.

When it is remembered that all the inscriptions here cited are from the provenience of the Eastern Aramaic, that they cover the period from the 8th century B.C. to the 5th Century B.C. inclusive, and that in every one of the cases given in the CIS and in Clay's Indorsements the emphatic state is used in a definite and proper sense, it will be evident that in the 6th century B.C., a writer composing a work at Babylon might have employed the emphatic state in its definite sense. For there is no proof that in the 6th century B.C., any dialect of the Aramaic did not use the emphatic state to denote what the Hebrew denoted by the definite article. The Eastern as well as the Western Aramaic documents alike employ the emphatic state, ending in *ā*, and they both alike employ it correctly and in the same sense.

There is therefore no evidence that in the 6th century B.C., either of these two features, which at a later time make the distinction between the Eastern and Western Aramaic, was in existence; and hence it is wrong to say that the book of Daniel was written in Western Aramaic as distinguished from Eastern.

B. The second statement of Dr. Driver to the effect that the Aramaic of Daniel is all but identical with that of Ezra may be accepted as in most respects correct. This is what we might have expected, if Daniel was written in the 6th and Ezra in the 5th century B.C. But since they are almost identical, it would follow that if the Aramaic of Daniel were late, the Aramaic of Ezra would be late also. That is, this would follow if Dr. Driver's argument be correct and if it were true that a proved similarity between the Aramaic of Daniel and that of the Nabateans, Palmyrenes, and the Targums, would prove the late date of Daniel. By parity of reasoning, if Daniel be late because its language is like that of the Nabateans, Palmyrenes, and the Targums; then it is early because it is like that of Ezra, or Ezra is late because its language is

like that of Daniel. According to Dr. Driver's own argument, either Daniel and Ezra are both early or both late. In the sequel we shall endeavor to show that the language of Daniel is not like that of either the Nabateans, the Palmyrenes, or the Talmuds, and that the language of Daniel is early rather than late.

C. In the third place, Dr. Driver says, that the Aramaic of Daniel is "nearly allied to the Aramaic of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan; and still more so to the Aramaic dialects spoken East and Southeast of Palestine, in Palmyra and Nabataea, and known from inscriptions dating from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D."

The obvious intention of this statement is to leave the impression on the mind of the reader that the book of Daniel is late, because the Aramaic dialect in which a part of it is written resembles the Aramaic contained in writings that are known to have been composed long after the 6th century B.C. We judge that it was a slip of the pen that caused Dr. Driver to say that the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions are dated from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. It would be more exact to say that the Nabatean inscriptions whose date is known extend from 70 B.C. to 95 A.D. and the Palmyrene from 9 B.C. to 271 A.D. This correction of Dr. Driver's statement merely brings it into harmony with the generally accepted view, that there are no Aramaic inscriptions of any kind from what is called the Greek period, except the bilingual proper name from Tello. But passing by this statement as a mere inadvertence, we shall address ourselves to the main issue, stating the question to be considered as follows: Is it true that the Aramaic of Daniel is *nearly allied* to that of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and to that of the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions?

Before attempting to answer this question, it may be well to define what we mean by "nearly allied". All dialects of a given language are allied and always more closely allied to one another than they are to the dialects of any other language. When it is said that one dialect of a language is *nearly allied* to one or more other dialects, it means that it resembles it or them more closely than it resembles certain



others. In other words, it is a comparative statement. In the particular case before us, it can only mean that the Aramaic of Daniel is more nearly allied to those dialects mentioned than it is to the Northern Syriac of the Sendshirli inscriptions, or to the Egyptian Aramaic, or to the Mandaean and Syriac. And the purpose of the statement is, that, if it were true, it would make a presumption, almost equivalent to a demonstration, that the Aramaic of Daniel was written in or about Palestine and at a date not far removed from that at which the documents which it resembles were written.

If it can be shown that the Aramaic of Daniel resembles the Aramaic from the 8th to the 5th century B.C. as much as it resembles that of these later documents, no conclusion as to the date of the Aramaic of Daniel could be drawn from its resemblances to these other Aramaic dialects. If it can be shown that it more closely resembles the language of the ancient documents than it does that of the later, there would be a strong presumption for an early date for the Aramaic of Daniel. And *vice versa*.

But, while paying due attention to the resemblances between the dialects, we must not fail to keep in mind, that after all it is the *differences* between the dialects that constitute their essential characteristics. The Aramaic of Daniel, for example, is not a *dialect* because of those parts which are common to it with other dialects, but because of its differentia. And the question to be asked with regard to these differentia in determining the date and provenience of a dialect is: At what time and place would a dialect possessing them have been produced? If the dialect is preserved in a single work, we may further ask, whether the personality, education, and circumstances, of the presumptive author might have influenced him in certain peculiarities of language, making them personal rather than dialectic.

Furthermore, in discussing the question of the date and provenience of a work, and the peculiarities and alliances of a dialect, it is proper to consider not merely the grammar of each but also the vocabulary. And again, in respect to the vocabulary, it is not so much to the use of different words that are possibly of pure Aramaic origin or use, as to the

admixture of foreign vocables, that attention must be directed, inasmuch as almost every work, especially if it be on a new subject, will contain words not found elsewhere in the written language. Foreign terms, however, almost infallibly indicate the location and time that the work was written, especially in their earliest occurrence, or if they be found nowhere else.

With these preliminary remarks, let us proceed to a discussion of the relations of the Aramaic of Daniel to that of the other dialects, first as to its grammar and secondly as to its vocabulary. We shall study these relations under the headings of signs and sounds, forms and inflections, syntax and vocabulary.

### I. SIGNS AND SOUNDS

The dialects agree in general in the use they make of the signs *b*, *g*, *h*, *t*, *k*, *l*, *p*, and *r*. That is, where we find *b* or *g* in one dialect we may expect to find them in all, since they always denote the same sound. But on the other hand, the use of Aleph and *h* varies frequently in the different dialects or even in the same dialect; as does also that of *d* and *z*; *w*, *y* and Aleph; *m* and *n*; Semkath and Sin; Sothe, 'Ayin, and Qoph; and of Shin and Tau. Sometimes these differences are simply variant ways of spelling, no difference in sound being presupposed. At other times, however, a variation in the sound lies at the foundation of the variation of the sign.

1. *Use of Aleph.* Giving our attention first to the letter Aleph, we shall take as an example of the variation in the use of it the word כּוּרַא "lord". The fact that this word retains the Aleph in the Nabatean, just as we find it in the Kethiv of Dan. iv. 16, 21, is used by Dr. Driver as evidence that Daniel may have been late in spite of the fact that the Aramaic of the Targums has dropped the Aleph. The evidence with regard to the writing of כּוּרַא is as follows:

a. In the Sendshirli inscriptions we find it in the const. sing. כּוּרַא B. R. 3, כּוּר[א] Pan. 11, כּוּרַא Pan. 19, B. R. 5, 6.

b. In the Egypto-Aramaic, כּוּרַא in Sach. 15.15.6, 35.37.2; 50a. 2, 61R. 9 in the absolute; 2.15 in the construct; כּוּרַא

7.8, 11. 17, 12.2 (?), 13.12V.2, 36.39R.1, 43.2.10, 60.7.2; **טראַן** 49.2 and CIS144A.1,2; **טראה** 49.2 and CIS145AF; **טראַן** 1.1, 2.18, 23, 3V.17, 22, 4.5.7, 12, 12, 5. 1, 5; **טראַי** 11.1, 12.1, 12; **טראַתי** 13.12V.1.2.3. Without Aleph, **טריהם** ? 15,15.6; in SC possibly **טרי** M.a.2(?) and **טון** P.2.

c. In Daniel **טרא** in the construct ii. 47, v. 23; **טראי** iv. 16, 21.

d. In Ezra, no form found.

e. In Nabatean, **טרא** in the construct CIS235A2; **טראנא** Pet. i. 3. CIS199.8, 201.4.

f. In Palmyrene, **טרא** in the construct, Vog.73.1; Tay.1; **טרהון** Vog.28.4, **טון** Vog.23.2, 25.3; **טרוהי** Vog. 103.6; **טרתהון** Vog.29.4(?)

g. In all the Targums, we have **טר**, in the construct **טרי** but never **טרא**.

h. In Syriac, Mandaean, and Samaritan, the Aleph is always dropped.

From the above examples it will be seen that while a late writer of Aramaic might have written the word as Daniel does, the almost universal usage is against it. The Nabateans and Palmyrenes in the central desert still employed it, but to the east, north and west of them it was dropped by all. Among the older writings, however, it was almost as universally employed, but one certain example of its omission being known.

2. *Use of Wau.* Every student of ancient Aramaic texts knows that variations in the use of Wau and Yodh are no sure indications of the age of a document. In inscriptions from the same age and dialect, we frequently find the same word written both with and without one or the other of these letters. For example, take in Palmyrene the word "to save". It is written **שׁוּב** in Cooke No. 101, from A.D. 45, and **שׁוּב** in another document from 96 A.D. (*id.* note). Take also **יּוּמא** (Sachau papyri 64.2) instead of the usual **יּוּמא** (*id.* 2.20; 3V.19; 20.K.7.1; 33.33.4; 45.1; 63.1b.2).

Further, it must be kept in mind in discussing Wau and Yodh, that thousands of variations in the use of them are to be found in the Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament. We should remember also that the vowel signs now in the Hebrew



and Aramaic texts of the Bible do not antedate the 6th century A.D.

Bearing these facts in mind we shall enter upon a discussion of Dr. Driver's statement on page 504 of LOT, that we have the same manner of writing אַנוּשׁ in the Kethiv of Daniel iv. 13, 14 and in the Nabatean (Cooke 79.7, 86,3,5,6, etc.). This remark must refer to the spelling, since the use of the word in the sense of "one" is found in Palmyrene (Cooke p. 311) and we may add, in SC, K8, 10, and in Sach. 36.39 and 46.14; but in Daniel it means "men, mankind, Menschheit" just as in Sach. Pap. 46.6 and 48.1.4. The papyri distinguished between אַנוּשׁ and אַנוּשׂא using the former for "one" and the latter for "mankind", just as Daniel does, for in iv. 13, 14 the latter writes אַנוּשׂא (or אַנוּשׂא if we follow the Qrê), while the Nabatean has אַנוּשׁ. In other words, the meaning of the form used in Nabatean differs from that used in Daniel in the verses cited. Still, as Daniel does elsewhere use אַנוּשׁ in the sense of "one", we may waive this point.

It has been customary to call these two cases Hebraisms, as Marti did in the first edition of his Aramaic Grammar. This would seem probably correct, in view of the fact that Daniel eight times elsewhere in the Aramaic portions spells the word אַנוּשׂא and that the word is spelled with the  $\hat{o}$  42 times in the Hebrew portion of the Bible. The Massorettes have considered the  $\hat{o}$  to be a mistake in the text of iv. 13, 14 and have corrected it by changing the vowel from  $\hat{o}$  to  $\hat{a}$  in harmony with the usual spelling elsewhere in Daniel. In view of the fact that the Hebrew in nearly all cases has changed an  $\hat{a}$  to  $\hat{o}$ , and especially in view of the further fact that in the West Syriac an East Syriac  $\hat{a}$  is pronounced as  $\hat{o}$ , it is easy to see how a writer or copyist might vary in the spelling of a word containing a sound that shifted from  $\hat{a}$  to  $\hat{o}$ . Especially would this be true of a Hebrew writing Aramaic. This variation of sound may account also for the fact that the Palmyrene has אַנוּשׁ while the Nabatean has אַנוּשׁ. For ourselves, we prefer to consider it an error of a Hebrew scribe, just as the Massorettes have done. But at any rate, that the writer of

Daniel should have spelt the word twice with an *â* as against eighteen times with an *ô* does not show a very close relation between him and the Nabatean scribes who wrote the inscriptions in that language in the first century A.D.; for they always write it with an *ô*.

3. *Use of He.* Dr. Driver says that Daniel may have been late, because a final He in verbs Lomadh Aleph occurs often in Nabatean, although the Targums have uniformly employed Aleph. This statement is ambiguous. No verb that had originally an Aleph as its third radical has been found either in Nabatean, or Palmyrene. What Dr. Driver means us to understand is, that verbs whose third radical was Wau or Yodh have had this third radical elided and that its place is taken by the vowel letter He, instead of by Aleph as in the Targums. How a verb whose third radical was Aleph could have been written in Nabatean or Palmyrene, we do not know, because no such verb has yet been found. The evidence for the use of the final He, or Aleph, in the verbs whose third radical was originally Wau, Yodh, or Aleph, is as follows:

a. The Syriac, Mandaean, and the Aramaic of the Targums never use He.

b. The early inscriptions always use He for verbs whose third radical was Wau or Yodh and Aleph for those whose third radical was Aleph.

c. The Nabatean and Palmyrene and the book of Ezra have no verbs whose third radical was originally Aleph. In writing those which had originally Wau or Yodh, they sometimes employ He, sometimes Aleph.

d. Samaritan commonly employs Aleph for verbs that originally had Aleph and He for those that had Wau and Yodh, though for the latter Wau and Yodh are sometimes employed, perhaps in imitation of the Arabic method of writing them.

e. The text of Daniel presents a method of writing different from that found elsewhere.

(1) The originally Lomadh Aleph verb נשא is written with an Aleph.

(2) The verb טשא which the Sachau papyri treat as an



originally Lomadh Aleph verb, Daniel writes **מטא** once and twice, **מטה**.

(3) **שרא** is written with an Aleph, (once only). Possibly this verb is found in the **עבדשרא** of CIS696.3.

(4) **מנה**, **רבה** and **אתה** are written with a He, though Ezra writes the latter with an Aleph.

(5) **חזא** and **בעא** are written once each with Aleph and once each with He. Marti's text reads **חזא** both times and **בעא** both times. **הזא** is written seven times and **הוא** four times without variants, and once we find each one in the Kethiv and the other in the Qrê. Since the latter two verbs are always written with a He in Egypto-Aramaic and **מטא** with an Aleph, it would require merely the harmonizing of these variant readings of Daniel to bring his text into complete accord with the spellings of the Aramaic Egyptian documents of the 5th century B.C. The same may be said of **אנה**, **מה**, and **חרה** which is Egypto-Aramaic and always spelled with a He.

4. *Use of Lomadh.* a. In Daniel. In the verb **סלק** the **ל** is assimilated backwards whenever the **ס** comes at the end of the syllable; e. g., a. **הַסְקִי** iii. 22, **חֶסֶק** vi. 24.

Instead of the doubling of the **ס**, the Inf. Hoph. inserts a Nun before it. e. g. **הַנְסִיקָה** vi. 24. But **מְהַלְכִין** iii. 25, iv. 34.

b. In Ezra, the **ל** of **הַלֵּךְ** is dropped. e. g., **יִהְיֶה** v. 5, vii. 13, **לְמַהֲרָךְ** vii. 13.

c. In N. Syr. the verbs containing these peculiarities have not been found.

d. In Egyptian Aramaic, we have **תהד** Sak. B.4 C6 (= CIS145 B4C6) and SCG 25, 28; **אתהד** SC.D22; **מְהַד** Sach. 63.5.2, but **מְהַלֵּךְ** 42.9; **יחבון** Sach. 29.19.

e. In Nabatean the verbs containing these peculiarities have not yet been found.

f. In Palmyrene we find **אסקו** T. 1.5, **מסק** T. 1.8; **אסק** Vog. 74. We find in Pal. also **כלדיא** Sem. vi. 4 for **BAשדיא**.

g. In Onkelos **ל** is (1) dropped in the Imv. Peal of **סלק** and in the Impf. and Inf. Peal of **הליד** (Dalm. 66.1, 70.9.), e. g. **סקו** N. xiii. 17, **סק** G. xxxv. 1, **סקי** N. xxi. 18, **יהד** D. xx. 6, **יחבון** E. xxxii. 1, **למהד** D. xxix. 17.

(2) Assimilated in  $\text{מסך}$  N. xiii.31,  $\text{אסק}$  E. xxxii. 38,  $\text{אסך}$  G. viii. 20.

h. In Sam.  $\text{ל}$  is dropped in the Imv. Peal of  $\text{הלך}$  and  $\text{סלק}$  e. g.,  $\text{אהך}$  G. xxviii. 2,  $\text{סוקו}$  N. xxxiii. 17,  $\text{סק}$  G. xxxv. 1; but  $\text{סלקי}$  N. xxi. 18. It is assimilated in  $\text{אסק}$  G. viii. 20,  $\text{מסק}$  E. xix. 23.

i. In Syriac (see Nöldeke § § 29 and 183 (5)) the first  $\text{ל}$  is not pronounced in  $\text{מטללא}$  and  $\text{מטללא}$  and falls away in some forms of  $\text{אזל}$  and in the Peal and Aphel of  $\text{סלק}$ .

j. In Mandaean we have  $\text{מאסק}$ ,  $\text{אמיק}$ ,  $\text{מימאק}$ ,  $\text{עמאק}$ ,  $\text{נימאק}$ ,  $\text{מיה}$ ,  $\text{מאק}$ .

From the above collection of facts as to the manner of writing Lomadh we find that it is assimilated backwards in all the forms of Peal and Aphel perfect and imperfect which have a preformative. Unfortunately, such forms are found only in Daniel, Onkelos, Syriac, Mandaean and Samaritan. Daniel is peculiar in inserting a dissimilative Nun in the infinitive of the causative active stem of this verb.

Further, Daniel agrees with the Egypto-Aramaic in retaining the Lomadh in forms of  $\text{הלך}$  in which the preformative is Mem.

5. *Use of d and z.* The primitive Semitic seems to have had three sounds corresponding to our *d*, *dh*, and *z*. From whatever source they adopted their alphabet there seem to have been but two signs to express the three sounds. One of these signs was used exclusively to denote *d* and another to denote *z*. There being no sign for the third sound, three methods were followed. The Arabs invented a third sign. Hebrew, Ethiopic and Babylonian expressed *dh* prevaillingly by the *z* sign but sometimes by the *d* sign. The old Aramean inscriptions of Northern Syria and of Assyria from the 9th to the 7th century inclusive always use *z*. The Palmyrene, the Syriac and the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan always use *d*. The Aramaic papyri use either with almost equal frequency. The Samaritan Targum and the Mandaean dialect also, vary in their use even in writing the same words. The earliest Nabatean inscription, dating from 70 B.C. (CIS I 349) always uses *z*, but all the other inscriptions regularly use *d*. In the Assyrian transliterations of Aramean names

as early as 855 B.C., Hadadezer is rendered by Dad-idri. Daniel and Ezra always use *d* for this sound except in Ezra's writing of נזכר where Daniel has נדרר.

This variety of sign to express the same original sound would seem to confirm the opinion that we have here to deal not with a linguistic or dialectic change of sound but with the endeavor to compel two signs to serve for three sounds. The Arabic denotes it by putting a dot over the ordinary sign for *d*. The other dialects avail themselves of the usual sign for *d* or *z*, just as we English avail ourselves of the sigh *th* in *thin* and *that*. The oldest Arameans consistently used *z*. The book of Daniel, if written in the latter part of the 6th century B.C., would be the first known document to use the sign *d* for *dh*. Being an educated man the author used it consistently and exclusively. After his time, the writers in Egypt and the Samaritans and Nabateans wavered in their usage; but the Targums and those books whose writers were under the influence of Daniel came to use *d* exclusively. The Arabs not being under this influence pursued their own way of expressing *dh*. In studying this difficult question we must keep two matters in mind; first, that Daniel had studied both Hebrew and Babylonian and in each of these *dh* was written by means of both *d* and *z*; and secondly, that somebody must have started this spelling reform and Daniel's position would have enabled him to do it.

6. *Use of Mem and Nun.* These two letters vary in the different languages and dialects of the Semitic family in the absolute masc. plural of the noun and in the second and third personal pronouns. The latter only enters into the discussion of Daniel because he always uses the forms *kon* and *hon* where some other Aramaic dialects use *kum* and *hum*, or *hon* and *kon*. The question is: Can the book of Daniel have been written in the 6th century B.C. and yet have used *n* instead of *m* in these cases? We think it can.

(1) Because all Aramaic documents of any age written in the East have used *n* instead of *m*. This is true of everything in Syriac, Mandaean, and the Talmud as well as of Palmyrene.

(2) It is true of all documents in Assyrian and Babylonian.



(3) Ezra, whose composition Dr. Driver puts at 400 B.C., uses *n* as well as *m*.

(4) The Samaritans used *m* as well as *n*.

(5) While it may be said, that the Sendshirli and other early Western documents used *m* in imitation of the Hebrews and Phenicians, or in the case of the Nabateans, of the Arabs; so it may be said, that the eastern dialects used *n* in imitation of the Assyrio-Babylonians. Ezra being composed largely of letters between the eastern Arameans and the western uses both.

(6) The variations in the transliteration of proper names in the use of *m* for *n* and *n* for *m*, and between mimmation and nunnation present a problem that cannot yet be solved and that should make us hesitate to dogmatize on the reasons for the variations in the different dialects and languages in the use of these letters.

(7) The earliest document outside the Scriptures and the Assyrio-Babylonian to make use of *n* is the Palmyrene inscription of 21 A.D. The earliest Syriac is from 73 A.D. The latest Nabatean inscription to use these suffixes uses the form with *m*. It is dated according to Cooke (North Semitic Inscriptions p. 252) in 65 A.D. If the writer of Daniel could have used the *n* in 165 B.C. in Palestine, as his critics would have us believe, although those "in and about Palestine" were using *m*, why may he not have used *n* in Babylon in 535 B.C. where all in and about Babylon were using *n*?

7. *Further use of Nun.* The following uses of Nun are to be noted.

(1) It is dropped :

- a. In Daniel, פִּיִּסְרִי iii. 26.
- b. In Ezra, שֵׁא v. 15.
- c. In No. Syr., תְּנִי CIS.150<sup>6</sup>.
- d. In Eg. Ar., שֵׁא, טֵר, חֵת. See Sach. Pap.
- e. Nabatean, no form occurs.
- f. Palmyrene, no form occurs.
- g. In Onkelos, חֵת, פִּיִּק. See Dalman p. 293.
- h. In Syriac, טֵר, חֵת, פִּוִּק, and many others. See Nöldeke pp. 22, 115.

- i. In Mandaean, only in **מאב, פיל, הות, פאק**. Nöldeke p. 240.
- j. In Sam., **אחת, סב**. See Petermann pp. 8 and 34.
- (2) It is assimilated:
- a. In Daniel, **יפל** iii. 6, 10, 11, **תפלון** iii. 5, 15, **מצל** vi. 28, **הצלה** iii. 29, **הצלותה** vi. 15, **יתננה** iv. 14, 22, 29, **מתנתך** ii. 6, 48, **מתנתך** v. 17.
- b. In Ezra **יפל** vii. 20, **תחת** vi. 5, **אחת** v. 15, **מהחתין** vi. 1.
- c. In N. S. **יתן** Hadad 23; **יתנו** Hadad 4; **אשא** Zakir i. 11; **יסחו** Ner i. 9.
- d. In Eg. Ar. **יתן** CIS149 BC12; **יתן** [י] CIS138 B2; **יתון** CIS145 B6; **מתנא** Sach. Pap. vi. 2, 7, 11, 12.
- e. In Nabatean **מתן** [תא] Litt. i. 3; **אתתה** CIS, 158<sup>a</sup>.
- f. In Pal. **אפק** TII b43, **מאפק** TII c12; **אסה** Vog. 74, **מסק** Ti8, **יתן** TII a5, b20, **מדיתהון** Eph. II 278<sup>a</sup>, **אחת** *id.* 298<sup>a</sup>.
- g. In Onkelos the Nun is almost always assimilated, except when before He or Ayin. Dal. p. 101.
- h. In Syr. "almost always", Nold. § 28, except before He.
- i. In Mandaean "often". **אפיק, ניפיל, שיתא** "year", Nöldeke §§ 56, 178.
- j. In Sam. **נתת, יסב**. See Petermann pp. 8 and 34.
- (3) It is inserted:
- a. In Daniel, **תנדע** iv. 22, 23, 29, 30; **אנדע** ii. 9; **ינדעון** iv. 14; **מנדע** ii. 21, iv. 31, 33, v. 12; **הנסקה** vi. 24; **הנעל** ii. 25; **הנעלה** iv. 3.
- b. In Ezra, **תנדע** iv. 15.
- c. In N. S. No examples.
- d. In Eg. Ar. **מנדעם** Sach. often; **מנדע** Sach. 43.1.5; **כנכר** Sach. ix. 17, ii. 28, 3R27; **צנפר** Sach, *ter.*
- e. In Nab. No examples.
- f. In Pal. No examples.
- g. In Onkelos. Only in **הננין** Ex. xxxii. 19. See Dalman, p. 102.
- h. In Syr. only in **גנכרא**; but "Nun stroked out later", Nöldeke §28.
- i. In Man. "manchmal", and especially *nd* for *dd*, *ng* for *gg*, *mb* for *bb*. Nöldeke, §68.



- j. In Sam. apparently never. The so-called Nun epenthetic is not an insertion. See Petermann, p. 9.
- (4) It is epenthetic:
- Always with the impf. before suffixes. Marti §52b.
  - Always with the impf. before suffixes. *id.*
  - In N. S. לכתשנה Had. 31; but, לכתשה without Nun in the same line, ויהנסנה Zakir II 20.
  - In Eg. Ar., it is frequent, יתקלנהי Sak. A6 תלנה [ת] *id* C3 (unsicher, Lidg). And almost always in the Sachau papyri. (See *id.* p. 272).
  - In Nab. no examples have been found.
  - In Palm. יכילנה T II. b23; but יפתחיהי Cl. Gan. I<sup>6</sup>.
  - In Onk., always with impf. before suffixes. See Dalman pp. 368-374.
  - In Syriac it is not found. See Nöldeke §28.
  - In Mandaean it is apparently not used. See Nöldeke §200.
  - The Samaritan often employs it. See Petermann p. 9, and numerous examples on p. 32.
- (5) It is retained at end of syllable:
- In Dan. הנפק v. 2, הנפקו v. 3, ינתן ii. 16, אנבה iv. 9, הנחת v. 20, אנפוהי ii. 46, אנתון , אנתה .
  - In Ezra הנפק v. 14 *bis.*, vi. 5, הנוקת iv. 22, תהנוק iv. 13, מהנומת iv. 15, מנתן vii. 20, תנתן vii. 20, ינתנון iv. 13, הנמיין vi. 9.
  - In N. S. ינסחוהי Tay. 14, [יהנ]פק Tay. iii. 21, ינצר Ner. i. 13, תנצר Ner. i. 12.
  - In Eg. Ar., almost always. In Sayce-Cowley 34 exs; in Sachau pap. 34 exs. See SC, p. 18, and Sachau p. 271.
  - In Nab., ינפק CIS.197<sup>2</sup>, ינתן CIS.197<sup>3,6</sup>, 198<sup>5</sup>, אנתתה Litt. ii. 8.
  - In Palm., never in examples found.
  - In Onk., מינסב, גינתא, שינתא and before and ה and ע, Dalm. p. 101, and often at end of word. *id.* 102, e. g. תמן for תמה.
  - In Syr., גנתא, שכינתא, מדינתא and before He. See Nöldeke §28.

i. In Mand., *אופיא, שכינתא, מדינתא, נינתא*. See Nöldeke Gr. p. 52.

j. In Sam. *הנפק*, and often. See Pet. p. 35.

It will be noted that so far as examples are found there is an exact agreement in the use of Nun between Daniel and the North Syrian and Egypto-Aramaic. The latter is in perfect agreement with Daniel in every one of the five particulars. The examples of the uses of Nun are extremely rare in the Nabatean and Palmyrene, so that no comparison can be made. The agreement in the Onkelos is close, but an agreement for a late date and a "near alliance" of the dialect of Onkelos with that of Daniel loses its force in view of the like close agreement between the dialect of Daniel and that of the inscriptions of Northern Syria and of Egypt.

8. *Use of Šodhe, 'Ayin and Qoph.* The fact that Daniel writes the word for "earth, land" with an 'Ayin instead of a Qoph is taken by Dr. Driver as a positive proof that "the Aramaic of Daniel was not that spoken at Babylon in Daniel's age". In support of this position he cites the fact that in CIS I-4, 7, II, 28, 35 from Nineveh and in Clay's Aramaic Endorsements, Nos. 5, 8, II, 29, 40 from Babylon the word is written *ארקא* and in Daniel *ארעא*. He might have added, that in the Sendshirli inscriptions in like manner this is the case not merely for this word but for two others; and that the inscription from Zakir, also writes 'arqa. Further, he might have said that in some of the Aramaic papyri from Egypt the word is written with a Qoph.

But, he should have added, also, in order that we should have a fair statement of the case, first, that the papyri of the 5th century B.C. have already begun to write this word with an 'Ayin. Some of them use 'Ayin alone, as for example, the Sachau papyri and Sayce-Cowley A and G. Some use Qoph alone, as C, D, E, of Sayce-Cowley and B uses both.

Secondly, it might be added that the papyri also write *קמרא* for *צמר* "wool" and *עק* for *עץ* Bib. Aram. *אע* as also both *ערק* and *ערע* where the Targum and Syriac have *ארע* "to meet".

Thirdly, it should be added that the Targum of Onkelos writes *דעדק* where the Syriac has *דקדק*.

Fourthly, that the Nabatean inscription of El-Hejra A.D.1. has קנס for the Phoenician and Hebrew ענש "fine".

Fifthly, that the Samaritan Targum has יעד (e. g. Lev. ix. 10) where the Syriac has יקר. Further, it often writes שמק for שמע.

Sixthly, the Mandaean writings (6th to 9th cent. A.D.) still write ארקא. They also write אקמרא for צמר, אקאפרא for עפר, אקנא for עאנא = צאן (See Nöldeke Mand. Gram. p. 72); but they use the Hebrew spelling for עץ "tree".

Seventhly, in the Aramaic verse in Jeremiah (x. 11) both writings of the word for earth occur.

Eighthly, Ezra always uses 'Ayin just as Daniel does.

From the above statements it will be seen that Qoph was used to denote this sound from the 9th century B.C. to the 9th century A.D., and 'Ayin from the 5th century to the present. It is true that if Daniel were written in the 6th century B.C., it will have been the first record known in which 'Ayin was used. But it must be borne in mind, first, that in the 5th century Ezra also uses it always just as Daniel does; secondly, that in the same century the Aramaic papyri use both; thirdly, that there may have been two uses side by side at Babylon in the 6th century B.C. as well as at Syene in the 5th; and lastly, that someone must have used this writing first, and why not Daniel?

9. *Use of Other Letters.* With regard to the letters, Teth, Tau, Shin, Sin and Samekh, it is only necessary to say that they are written in general in the same way as in the Aramaic papyri and in Ezra, both from the 5th century B.C.

## II. FORMS AND INFLECTIONS

1. With regard to the pronouns of Daniel, it may be said, that with the exception that *dh* is written with Dolath instead of with Zayin, they agree more closely in writing, form and inflection with those of the old Aramaic dialects found in the papyri and in the inscriptions of Syria than they do with those of the later inscriptions and Targums, or with those of the Syriac, Mandaean and Samaritan documents.

2. With regard to the nouns, also, not merely in the forms



found but in the way they are written and in the inflection, they show an almost exact resemblance to the Northern Syrian inscriptions from the 9th to the 7th century B.C., and to the nouns found in the Egyptian papyri from the 5th century B.C.

3. With respect to the particles, the dialects differ so much both in the character and number of the particles used and in the meanings attached to them, that we shall have to postpone treatment of them to another time. Suffice it to say that with regard to the writing, forms, inflection and use, of those found in Daniel there is no good reason for supposing that they may not have characterized a dialect written at Babylon in the 6th century B.C.

4. With regard to the verbs used in Daniel, we shall go more into particulars. Next to the spelling of words in general the forms of the verbs and the spelling of them are made by Dr. Driver the principal ground upon which he bases his conclusion that the Aramaic of Daniel is late.

As to agreements in forms, all of the old Aramaic dialects, from the earliest to the old Syriac and Mandaean inclusive, have the three active stems Peal, Paal, and Aphel or Haphal, and the two reflective or passive stems Ethpeel and Ethpaal, varying mostly only in certain particulars of spelling. We shall not go into these variations except as it is necessary to make clear the three points specified by Dr. Driver in *LOT* p. 504.

a. His first point is, that the imperfect of Lomadh Aleph verbs in Nabatean and in the Palmyrene Tariff is found with Aleph and not with Yodh. The inference that we are intended to draw is, that inasmuch as Daniel has in like manner Aleph and not Yodh, therefore it is from the same region and age.

But, first, while it is true that Yodh alone has thus far been found in the inscriptions antedating 600 B.C. as the concluding consonant of Lomadh He verbs, it is questionable if they should be brought into this comparison. For in Egypto-Aramaic, the forms ending in Yodh are all apparently Jussive forms, (See Sachau p. 270) and these forms are carefully distinguished from the forms ending in He which are the regular indicative forms. In the Sendshirli inscriptions also,

three of the forms are also certainly Jussives, one of them occurring with the negative 'al as in the Sachau papyri; and the fourth follows a Wau that is probably a Wau conversive, since it follows a perfect and is used in the same sense. Following the analogy of the Hebrew, which uses the Jussive, or a form like it, after Wau conversive, we would classify this fourth imperfect in the Hadad inscription as a Jussive also. The use of a Wau conversive in the Aramaic of the Hadad inscription is rendered probable by its certain use in the Zakir inscription, where we have ויעניי, ויאמר, and ויאמר.

The forms in Yodh of the early inscriptions being thus ruled out of the discussion, we find that the Egypto-Aramaic except in the Jussive employs consistently a He at the end of the imperfect of Lomadh He verbs and Aleph at the end of Lomadh Aleph verbs; whereas Daniel employs Aleph usually for both and exceptionally He for both. Nabatean goes one step further and never employs anything but Aleph for both. The Palmyrene Tariff uses He once; but everywhere else, both in the Tariff and elsewhere uses Aleph. The Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud has uniformly a Yodh at the end. The Syriac as uniformly has Aleph, while the Mandaean has Yodh followed by Aleph. The Samaritan commonly employs Yodh, but He is occasionally found.

From all which it appears: First, that the only Aramaic that employs He at the end of its Lomadh He verbs in the imperfect is the Aramaic that was written by Jews, or those directly influenced by Jews, such as the Aramaic papyri of Egypt, and the works of Daniel and Ezra. The few sporadic cases of its employment in Samaritan and the one instance of its use in Palmyrene may be attributed to the same influence. Secondly, it appears that Yodh was used by the Arameans who lived and wrote in Palestine after Ezra's time as is evident from the usage of the Jewish Targums and of the Talmud and of the Samaritans. It was used, also, by the Jews who wrote the Babylonian Talmud; and in the forms of the imperfect used in the Hadad inscription from Northern Syria. Thirdly, Aleph was, with the one exception in Palmyrene noted above, the universal ending in the dialects between Palestine and Syria on the one hand and the Mandeans on the other,



i. e., among the Nabateans, the Palmyrenes, and the so-called Syrians. Fourthly, the Mandaeans used both at once and together, i. e. a Yodh followed by an Aleph. Fifthly, Daniel being in the central country between the two extremes may well have used Aleph, as all other dialects in the central zone have done, his exceptional use of He being due to Hebrew influence.

b. Dr. Driver's second point is, that the Aramaic of Daniel is late, because a Hophal has been discovered in the Palmyrene Tariff, written in 137 A.D. He might have added, because another is found in the Targum of Onkelos, and two in the Jerusalem Targum I. (See Dalman p. 253). These last are probably not mentioned by him because they are so sporadic and obviously due to Hebrew influence. As to the first point, it may be said,

(1) That it is doubtful if there be a Hophal form in the Tariff. The words יכתב and יבן may be otherwise explained in perfect harmony with common Aramaic usage, and are so explained by Duval and Cooke. If אשר be a passive of the causative stem and not the active, it is formed rather after the analogy of the Arabaic 4th stem than after that of the Hebrew, or Bib. Aramaic Hophal. Our readers will notice that these verbal forms are without any vowel, or other points that distinguish species or stem. Whether they be Hophals or not depends upon the pointing that you insert.

(2) That in this same Tariff, we find the Ittaphal used six times in the passive of the causative stem. Now, it is a noteworthy fact that no dialect that uses the Hophal uses the Ittaphal also, and vice versa. The Sendshirli inscriptions have the Hophal once in the participle מ'ימת from מות. Daniel has the Hophal of nine verbs in eleven different forms. Ezra has but one Hophal. But none of these three dialects (or two, if you put Ezra in the same dialect with Daniel) has an Ittaphal.

On the other hand, the Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums, of the Palmyrene inscriptions, of Syriac and Mandaean, and Samaritan, employs the Ittaphal to the entire exclusion of the Hophal or Ophal, unless these unpointed Palmyrene words be treated as such. The Targum of Onkelos has 20 verbs in the Ittaphal and not one case of the Hophal, unless a variant

reading in Ex. xix. 13 be classed as such (See Dalman Gram. der jüd.-pal. Aram. §§ 59.6 and 64).

(3) If it is right for Dr. Driver to make as much as he does of the agreements between Daniel and the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions as regards the writing of Aleph and He in certain forms in order to prove that they are or may have been written near the same time, it is no more than fair to suggest that the fact that Daniel uses a Hophal while in Palmyrene we find an Ophal might better be regarded as supporting the theory that the two dialects were spoken at different dates. In fact, since the bulk of the population of Palmyra was Arab and since many proper names, especially of gods, and several common names of Arabic origin appear in their literature, we might expect to find in the Palmyrene traces of Arabic grammatical usages. (Cooke N. S. Insc. p. 264). This אִשַׁר might indeed be the passive of the 4th stem 'ushira and be due to Arabaic influence; just as the Hophals in Daniel and the Niphals in Samaritan are due to Hebrew influence.

The relations of the dialects, so far as the forms of the verbs are concerned, will be best seen from the series of tables to be found in the Appendix. From these tables it will appear that no two dialects agree exactly in the forms used by them. As to forms in general it appears that Daniel agrees more nearly with Ezra and Egypto-Aramaic than with any later dialects. As to the Hophal, the possible use of one form of it in Pal. and Onk. is offset by the certain use of the Hophal in Ezra and its probable use in Hadad 24 and 26.

c. Dr. Driver uses the fact that עִבִּידָה, the third singular feminine perfect passive, is found in CIS 196:7, a Nabatean inscription from 37 A.D., to show that Daniel may have been written late. We, also, think that this is a perfect passive; though in regard to the other example cited, the כַּתַּב of the Palmyrene Tariff, we agree with Prof. Cooke (NSI p. 334), that it is not necessary to treat it as a passive, whether Pual, or Peil. We do think, however, that it would have been right for Dr. Driver to have cited the Samaritan נִסְכַּת the translation in Gen. iii. 19 of the Hebrew לָקַח "was

taken"; as also the **אחידת** of Meg. Taan. (See Dalman p. 253).

But that our readers, most of whom are not specialists, may be able to estimate these facts at their true value in their relation to the question of the date of Daniel, it may be well to add, that not merely Ezra but the Aramaic papyri also, make use of this form. Ezra has **יהיבו** in v. 14 and the Sachau papyri have **קטילו** in i. 17 and ii. 15, **לפיהת** in 56 V.I.I; **שאילתם** in SC, II 8; all of which are certainly true Peil forms. Prof. Sachau adds further the forms **קטייר**, **קטייר**, **עבייר**, **כתיר**, and **שליח**. So that while admitting that this perfect passive *may* have been written late, the arguments from analogy and from frequency of use are decidedly in favor of an early date, inasmuch as Ezra and the Aramaic papyri are admittedly from the 5th century B.C. Further, the argument that the late isolated forms (one each in Nabatean, Samaritan and the Talmud) may have been used through imitation of, or under the influence of, the Arabic, which forms its passive regularly in this way, cannot be used with regard to the Aramaic of Egypt in the 5th century B.C.

d. The third plural of the feminine of the perfect ends in Wau in Daniel v. 5, vii. 20 and also in Nabatean in Cooke 80:1 and 85:1.

It is well known that in Hebrew the one form **קטלו** serves for the third feminine plural as well as for the masculine. In Daniel, this usage may have been derived from the Hebrew. Unfortunately, the old Aramaic inscriptions have no example of the feminine plural of the perfect.

The best possible explanations of the form **עבדו** in Nabatean are (1) that, like the Hebrew, there was no feminine form, or (2) that the sculptor followed the common manner in other inscriptions, where the masculine form is always used, or (3) that he used the masculine, because the nearest noun in each of the two cases is masculine in form, although the name of a woman.

The Sachau papyri, however, give us one form of the feminine plural imperfect and it agrees with the form in Daniel. I refer to **יירוקן**, p. 169 of Sachau's papyri. This is exactly like the **ישכנן** of Dan. iv. 18. The Nabatean gives us but



one example of the imperfect third plural feminine and it has the same form as the masculine, i. e. יתקברון (See Cooke NSI p. 221 and p. 240).

It will be noticed, that the Qrê in Daniel has corrected the ending י to ת, in all cases in the perfect where it has a feminine subject. This harmonizes the form with that in use in the Assyrian and in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. In the Jerusalem Targum, the third feminine perfect plural ends in *an*; in Syriac in *ên* or a silent Yodh, or the ending has disappeared; in Mandaean, in ין or א, but usually the ending has entirely disappeared; in Samaritan, in י, ין, or ן.

To sum up, the third feminine plural in the Kethiv of Daniel agrees with the form found in Nabatean, and the Qrê agrees with the forms found in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan.

The third feminine imperfect plural in Daniel agrees with that found in the Sachau papyri but differs from that found in Nabatean. In this case, all the other dialects agree with Daniel, the Nabatean standing alone.

e. The Nun, says Dr. Driver, is retained in the imperfect of Pe Nun verbs in the Nabatean just as in Daniel. A more exact statement of the case would be, that the Nun has been retained in *all* of the examples of the imperfect of Pe Nun verbs thus far found in Nabatean, agreeing in this respect with the comparatively few examples found in Daniel where Nun is not assimilated. A fuller statement of the facts with regard to the writing of Nun in all the dialects will give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the relation in this regard between the Aramaic of Daniel and of the other dialects.

i. As to the retention of a Nun in the imperfect of verbs Pe Nun, Daniel retains once only, Nabatean always, whereas Daniel assimilates eight times and Nabatean never. In Ezra, the Nun is retained three times, assimilated once. In Northern Aramaic (Sendshirli *et al.*) Nun is retained four times, assimilated four. In Egypto-Aramaic, Nun is retained about seventy times, assimilated about three. In Palmyrene, it is assimilated almost always, except before He or Ayin. In Samaritan, Nun is often retained, but most frequently assimilated. In



Syriac it is assimilated almost always and in Mandaean often.

2. Nun is inserted often in Daniel and Mandaean and not infrequently in Egypto-Aramaic; never in Nabatean, Palmyrene and Samaritan, nor in the North Syrian inscriptions; in Onkelos, Ezra, and Syriac, in only one word for each. Daniel here agrees on the one hand with the dialect nearest his own time and on the other with that nearest to Babylon.

3. In regard to dropping the Nun in the imperative Peal, all of the dialects in which imperatives are found agree. No examples have been found in Nabatean or Palmyrene.

4. In regard to Nun epenthetic, it is always found with the imperfect before suffixes in Daniel, Ezra, and Onkelos; never in Syriac and Mandaean and there are no examples of it in Nabatean; nearly always in the North Syrian inscriptions and in Egypto-Aramaic and in Samaritan; and once in Palmyrene and once not.

f. Dr. Driver suggests that Daniel may be late because the word for "there is" is written the same way in Nabatean as in Daniel, i. e. איתי. This he says to overthrow the supposition that Daniel cannot be late because Onkelos has אית. A fuller statement with regard to איתי may be made so as to avoid misunderstandings. The long form is used in Daniel without suffixes, ten times; in Ezra, twice; in Sayce-Cowley, fifteen times; in Sachau papyri, six times; in Nabatean, twice. The short form is used in the Targums always; in Palmyrene once (the only time found); in Syriac and Mandaean always; in Egypto-Aramaic once only. (i. e. in Sachau xxxi. 3).

g. Dr. Driver might well have added to his collection of similarities in the use of verb forms between the Nabatean and Daniel the remarkable fact that each of them has but one Shaphel form and that from the same root, i. e., שיוב Cooke No. 101:12 (or שיוב in one other insc. Duss and Maclean, No. 62). To be sure, this form is found in other late dialects, but not from this verb exclusively. The Galilean dialect has also שעבד, שיצי and שלהי. Onkelos has all of these and in addition שכליל and שלהב. The Targum of Jonathan adds שעמם and שחכיב. The Jerusalem Targums use seven additional forms. The Syriac has at least twelve of these forms; the Mandaean, six; and the

Modern Syriac, four. Besides these, we find half a dozen forms in New Hebrew.

In the Bible, Ezra has the form from two verbs, to wit שיצי and שכלל.

Fortunately, the form שויב the only one that Daniel employs, is found also in the old Aramaic inscriptions and it is the only form yet found. It occurs in the Sachau papyri xxxii. 14, xii. 5 and 56 obv. i. 6. So that the use of this form in Aramaic documents can now be traced back to a time when men who may have known Daniel were still living.

h. Dr. Driver might also have mentioned the fact that the preformative He in the causative stem, which Daniel employs so often, is no evidence of an early date, because it is found, also, in Nabatean in the form הקים CIS 161.1.1 and 349.2. To be sure, he may have thought this to be unnecessary, because Onkelos also has He in the causative of the verb to know (הודע) and in the borrowed Hebrew word היטין. As we, however, think that Daniel's use of He in this form is one of the strongest proofs of its early date, we shall present the facts as to the preformative of the causative stem in the Aramaic dialects.

1. The Syriac and Palmyrene always have Aleph.
2. The early inscriptions of Zakir, Sendshirli and Assyria and the Aramaic papyri always have He.
3. The Nabatean always has Aleph except in two cases, both from the same verb; the Targum of Onkelos has Aleph in scores of cases, He in but two verbs, one of them certainly borrowed from the Hebrew; the Mandaean uses He nearly always, Aleph only occasionally; the Samaritan usually has Aleph, but sometimes He; the Targum of Jonathan uses He in the one form הופע and the Jerusalem Targums have He in eight or nine verbs, manifestly under the influence of Hebrew, as is doubtless the case in the Samaritan also.
4. Ezra has Aleph once only and He everywhere else.
5. Daniel has Aleph but twice and He in numerous instances.

It will thus be seen, that in this respect, the usage of Daniel is decidedly with the earlier dialects and against the later ones.

## III. SYNTAX

We shall not have space here to discuss fully the syntactical relation of Daniel to the other dialects. As an example of the importance of this subject in determining the dialectical affinities, we shall mention only the manner of denoting the accusative.

1. All of the dialects agree in that they employ no particle before the indefinite direct object and in that they frequently omit it before the definite direct object as well.

2. Regarding the use of the particles, the following points are to be noticed:

a. Daniel, the Egyptian papyri, the Syriac and the Mandaean, frequently employ Lomadh before the definite direct object, but not without many variations of usage one from the other, especially in the case of the Mandaean. The Zakir, Sendshirli and Nabatean inscriptions never employ Lomadh with the direct object, and Palmyrene but once only. Ezra and the Samaritan seldom employ it. Onkelos sometimes uses it, but preceded by a pronominal suffix after the verb. In this respect it agrees with the common usage in the Mandaean.

b. The Zakir inscription always uses אִית before the definite direct object except when it is accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun.

Onkelos, the Samaritan, and the Nabatean often use it (written אִית).

Palmyrene, Daniel and the Sendshirli inscriptions have it once each.

In Syriac it is seldom employed, and then mostly in the Bible to render the Hebrew אִת.

Ezra, the Egyptian papyri, and the Mandaean, never employ it.

It will be seen from the above that in respect to the use of Lomadh Daniel disagrees with all the dialects with which Dr. Driver says it is "nearly allied", and that it agrees most nearly with the Egypto-Aramaic, the one written just about the time that Daniel is said to have lived, and with the Syriac



and Mandaean, that were written in the regions the nearest to Babylon.

With regard to the use of ית as the sign of the definite object, Daniel employs it but once. In this respect he differs decidedly from Onkelos and the Nabatean, and agrees most nearly with the Sendshirli of the 8th century B.C., and with the Palmyrene. That it is employed so frequently in the earliest of all the inscriptions, that of Zakir and also in the Sendshirli, permits of its use by Daniel in the 6th century B.C.

#### IV. VOCABULARY

In discussing the vocabulary of Daniel we shall consider in order the relation that it bears to the vocabularies of Onkelos, the Nabateans, the Palmyrenes, and the Targum of Jonathan.

a. Onkelos. As a matter of fact, the vocabulary of Daniel is not "nearly allied" to that of Onkelos as will sufficiently appear from the following evidence which the writer has selected from a large number of similar proofs.

1. Let us call up the testimony of the verbs employed in the two dialects to denote the idea "to put, to set".

Daniel employs שים ten times in this sense. It is the only word used by him to express this idea. Ezra uses it sixteen times; Zakir four times; Sendshirli, four; Nerab, three; the Sachau papyri, thirteen times; and Teima, once. Onkelos never uses it but once for certain (Ler. 1914) and perhaps in one other place (Gen. 1. 26) where the text is disputed. This is most noteworthy inasmuch as שים "to put" occurs in the Hebrew Pentateuch 151 times and שית of like meaning, eighteen times. The common word in Onkelos to render these words is שוא by which he translates the Hebrew שים 130 times and שית fourteen times. The Hebrew שים he renders also by פנא twelve times; שרא and סדר three times each; גזר, עבד and אסר once each. The Hebrew שית he renders also by פנא, יהב, and ערב once each. The one time that Onkelos does use שים (Lev. xix. 14), it is a translation of נתן.

Further, it should be remarked with regard to שים, that neither the Targum of Jonathan, nor the Nabatean nor the Palmyrene uses it at all.



And again, it should be observed, that in Syriac and Mandaean, both belonging to what is called Eastern Aramaic, שׂים is the ordinary verb for "to put" just as it is in the North Syrian and Egypto-Aramaic inscriptions and in Ezra and Daniel.

Again, it should be observed on the other hand, that Daniel does use שׂוא twice (iii. 29, v. 21), but never in the sense in which it is employed in Onkelos. In Onkelos it always means "to set, to put, to make"; but in Daniel it means "to be or make like". This meaning in Daniel is like that found in the Egypto-Aramaic, the Syriac, and the Mandaean, where the primary meaning was "to be at par", "to be equal to"; hence, "to be worth" in a business sense and "to be worthy" or "to agree" in a moral sense. It is so used seven times in the SC papyri and frequently in both Syriac and Mandaean.

Finally, of the other eight verbs which Onkelos uses to translate שׂים and שׂית Daniel employs all but סדר and אסר; but all of them only and always in a sense different entirely from that in which they are employed in Onkelos as a rendering for the two Hebrew words for "to put", except in the case of the one word עבד which Onkelos uses for שׂים but once and for שׂית not at all. Thus מנה is used in Daniel in the sense of "to number" (three times), Pa. "to appoint" (three times). So also in Dan. vii. 25, שרא "to loose" (five times); גזר "to cut out", (twice); יהב "to give, deliver over" (twenty times, in Ezra eight times); ערב "to mix", (four times).

We hope our readers will peruse the preceding paragraphs twice at least, that they may fully appreciate the data therein presented. Here is an idea for the expression of which the Hebrew Pentateuch uses two words 169 times. That one of these two words which the Hebrew employs 151 times is rendered in Onkelos by a word that is never used in this sense in Daniel, whereas Daniel uses to denote the idea the same word that is found in Hebrew. Further, the Targum of Jonathan, the Nabatean, and the Palmyrene agree with Onkelos in not using שׂים while the old inscriptions on the one hand and the eastern dialects on the other, agree with Daniel in using it and also in their use of שׂוא. Lastly, of the eight other words

found in Onkelos to render שים and שית, Daniel uses six, but only one of them in a sense that might be deemed equivalent to that of the verb "to put".

If we had space, we would like to add a number of other demonstrations of like character with the above, some of which would be almost or quite as convincing. We hope that this one will be sufficient to make the reader pause at least for further light upon the subject before accepting the statement that the Aramaic of Daniel is "nearly allied" to that of Onkelos.

2. Not merely, however, in the pure Aramaic words employed, but also in the foreign words that are found in them, do the dialectical differences between Daniel and Onkelos appear.

(1) Daniel uses three words which seem to be Greek. These words are names of musical instruments, and things of this kind nearly always even to this day bear names which indicate more or less definitely the source, national or personal, from which they came. We are not going to discuss at this time the possibility of Greek words having been found in Aramaic in the 6th century B.C. We shall only remark in this connection, that Prof. Sachau thinks he has discovered three Greek words and one Latin one in the papyri of the 5th century B.C. But, when comparing the vocabulary of Daniel with that of Onkelos with which it is said to be "closely allied", the great question is not how does it happen that there are three Greek words in Daniel, but rather why are there no more than three. Dalman in his *Grammar of the Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic*, pages 184-187, gives a list of twenty-five Greek nouns that occur in Onkelos. On page 183, he gives two denominative verbs found in Onkelos that are derived from Greek nouns that had been taken over into the dialect of the people from among whom the Targum originated. Moreover, these Greek words do not all occur in one section and in one phrase as in Daniel, but they are scattered all through the Pentateuch from the first chapter of Genesis to the latter part of Deuteronomy. These words do not denote articles of commerce merely, as is the case in Daniel, but governmental, geographical, and scientific terms, such as could

have come into use only after the conquest of Alexander. So that, as far as Greek words are concerned, the dialect of Onkelos differs from that of Daniel:

- a. In the number of words that occur.
- b. In the frequency of their occurrence.
- c. In that they are scattered through the whole book in one case and confined to a single section and phrase in the other.
- d. In that one borrows names of musical instruments merely, whereas the other has borrowed names of stuffs, stones, colors, and geographical, commercial, governmental and scientific terms. In Daniel, such borrowed terms are prevailingly Babylonian and Persian, never Greek.
- e. In that the dialect of Onkelos has verbalized two Greek nouns at least, whereas all of Daniel's verbs are Aramaic (or Hebrew), except one, and it is Babylonian.

(2) The Aramaic of Daniel, according to Dr. Driver, has thirteen Persian words. We think this estimate is probably correct. The Targum of Onkelos, however, has but five Persian words. The most common of these, פתגם, occurs in the Hebrew of Esther and Ecclesiastes, once in each, and four times in the Aramaic of Ezra and twice in that of Daniel. Another, פרשן, occurs also in the Hebrew of Ezra once and in the Aramaic three times. In Onkelos, it occurs only in Deut. xvii. 18. The other three are found in Onkelos once each. The Egyptian papyri have ten to fifteen Persian common names besides a large number of proper names. Ezra has at least ten. The Greek and Babylonian writers of the Persian period have also a large number of Persian words (See Prof. John D. Davis in the Harper Memorial Volume). The Nabatean, on the other hand, has no Persian word and the Palmyrene only one common name (from 264 A.D.) and one proper name (from 125 A.D.) In the Targum of Jonathan there are but a very few Persian words.

So that in regard to the Persian words employed, Daniel is seen to agree with the writings from the Persian period, and not as Dr. Driver suggests with the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and with the Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions.

(3) An important element in the vocabulary of Daniel, to



which, however, Dr. Driver pays no attention, are the Babylonian words contained in it. The lately discovered documents of this once important language have enabled us to explain a number of words as of genuine Semitic origin, which were formerly supposed to be of Persian origin, or to be Aramaic words peculiar to Daniel. Of the former kind are many proper names such as Ashpenaz, Beltshazzar, Abednego and others. Of the latter class are *אתון*, *חשה*, *זיו*, *אשף*, *שויב*, *כתל*, and perhaps *נסך* and *רחץ*. Of these Babylonian words, Ezra has about eight common names and a number of proper ones, such as Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. The Egypto-Aramaic, also, is rich in Babylonian terms of both kinds, there being from eleven to sixteen Babylonian common names and a large number of proper names in the Sayce-Cowley papyri alone.

On the other hand, the Targum of Onkelos has probably only six or seven words of Babylonian origin and all of them are found in, and perhaps most if not all of them derived by, Onkelos from the Babylonian through the earlier works of Daniel and Ezra.

b. Vocabulary of the Nabateans. It is impossible for the writer to conceive how anyone who had read the Nabatean inscriptions could assert that, so far as vocabulary is concerned, the language is "nearly allied" to that of Daniel. Take for the sake of comparison with Daniel the El Hejra inscription of A.D.1 (Cooke p. 220). There are sixty-three words in this inscription. Fourteen of these are proper names, of which one is the name of a place, one of a month, five the names of gods, and seven the names of persons. All of these are Arabic except the name of the month Tebeth which is Babylonian. There are forty-nine other words, twenty-five of which are found in Daniel. But of these three are pronouns and eleven are particles. The five verbs are *עבר*, *נתן*, *כתב*, *נפק*, and *זבן*, to which may be added *איתי* "there is", all of which are found in Egypto-Aramaic and all but *זבן* in Ezra. They are found in Syriac, Mandaean, and all in Onkelos, except *זבן* (one or two derivatives of which are found, however). Palmyrean, also, has all of them. The nouns are *אלף*, *יד*, *ירח*, *שנה*, and *כלך*, all words that are found in Babylonian and Hebrew as well as in Egypto-Aramaic and all later Aramaic



dialects. As to the twenty-four words that are not found in Daniel five are Arabic nouns and two are Arabic verbs, i. e., Arabic roots in Aramaic forms. Moreover one word is possibly Babylonian and one possibly Latin; six are particles, one of which is probably Arabic; one is of doubtful origin and meaning; and the others are the words for "nine", "self", "posterity", "daughter", "good", "love", and for "to bury".

This is a fair sample of the longest and most distinctively Nabatean inscription. Occasionally, we meet with a Greek word, or even a Latin word, and there is possibly one Babylonian word, but there are no Persian words and no Hebrew ones. The distinctive feature of this dialect is its Arabisms. We leave the intelligent reader to form his own judgment as to whether the Nabatean dialect is "nearly allied" to that of Daniel, in which there are *no* Arabic words, but many Hebrew, Persian, and Babylonian ones.

c. The Vocabulary of the Palmyrenes. As an example of the Palmyrene inscriptions, we shall give an analysis of No. 129 in Cooke's NSI. p. 249, (A.D. 264). The first line has one Aramaic, one Latin and two Greek words; the second, one Aramaic, two Latin, and one Persian word; the third, one Aramaic, two Latin, and one Greek word; the fourth, three Aramaic, one Greek, and two Arabic words; the fifth, five Aramaic, and one Babylonian word; the sixth, one Aramaic word followed by the date.

We shall give also a translation of No. 127. "*Septimius Worod, most excellent* (Gk) *procurator* (Gk) *ducenarius* (Lat) which has been set up to his honor, by *Julius Aurelius Nebu-bad*, son of *So'adu* (son of) *Haira, strategos* (Gk) of the *colony* (Lat), his friend. The year 574 (i. e. 263 A.D.), in the month *Kislul*."

Finally, we shall give a translation of No. 121. "Statue of *Julius Aurelius Zabd-ile*, son of *Maliku*, son of *Maliku*, (son of) *Nassum*, who was *strategos* (Gr) of the *colony* (Lat) at the coming of the good *Alexander Caesar*; and he served when *Crispinus* the *governor* was here and when he brought here the *legions* (Lat) many times; and he was chief of the market and spent *money* (Arab) in a most generous manner; and he

led his life peaceably (?); on this account the good Yarhibal has borne witness to him, and also *Julius*, who fosters and loves the city; the *council* (Gk) and *people* (Gk) have set up (this) to him to his honor. The year 554." (i. e. AD. 242-3).

The above are good examples of the composition of the Palmyrene Aramaic dialect. Our readers will perceive that the language is a mixture of pure Aramaic with Greek, Latin, Arabic, and (in the case of proper names and names of months) of Babylonian. Only one Persian word is here; but this word is the title of a governmental official and was taken over from the Sassanian Persians and not from the old Achæmenids of Daniel's time.

Our readers will please notice that in the Palmyrene we have a conglomerate of very different composition from that in Daniel, which, as we saw above, is composed of Aramaic, Hebrew, Old Persian, Babylonian and Greek (3 words); whereas Palmyrene is composed of Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, Latin, Babylonian and New Persian (one word) with no Hebrew.

We have placed the names of the languages making up the two dialects in the order of their relative frequency of occurrence. The reader may make his own conclusion as to whether they are "nearly allied".

d. The Targum of Jonathan. What we have said above about the Targum of Onkelos is even more true of that of Jonathan. See especially Dalman's Grammar and Levy's Dictionary.

D. As to Dr. Driver's fourth proposition, that the Aramaic of Daniel is "that which was spoken in or near Palestine" and "at a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great", we shall address our remarks first to the statement that such a dialect was spoken *near* Palestine, and we shall begin by asking when was it spoken near Palestine and by whom. The only evidence we have is (1) that from the North Syrian inscriptions, but this language is not like that of Daniel, for it has no Persian, no Babylonian, no Greek; (2) that from the Nabateans, but we know that they were an Arab people speaking or at least writing Aramaic and that of a kind, as we have seen, unlike that found in Daniel; (3) that from the Palmyrenes, but we have seen that the language of

the Palmyrenes was *not* like that of Daniel; (4) that of the Syrians, but their earliest document goes back only to 73 A.D. and the next to 201 A.D.; besides, as is well known, Syriac is not written in the dialect of Daniel. In other words, there is no evidence, that any dialect resembling Daniel's was ever spoken by anybody *near* Palestine.

Nor have we any evidence from *in* Palestine. Dr. Driver says that the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan received their present form between the 4th and 6th century A.D. Now between the time of Ezra which he places in Palestine at 400 B.C. (probably c. 400 B.C., *LOT* p. 504) and that of the Targums, what evidence can be produced to show what the people living in Palestine spoke? There are no Aramaic inscriptions from Palestine from any time. The other Targums are certainly later than those of Onkelos and Jonathan. Besides, if anything earlier than these were forthcoming, we doubt not Dr. Driver would have produced it. Of course, there are the writings of the Samaritans; but in the first place, they are not written in a dialect resembling that of Daniel, and secondly, no one probably would contend that they reached their present form until long after the year 400 A.D.

But perhaps by *near Palestine*, Egypt might be meant. Here, however, we are met by two serious objections to Dr. Driver's proposition. First, the latest dated document from Egypt is from the year 400 B.C.; and secondly, the Aramaic of Egypt differs in some very important respects from that of Daniel. For example, it has no Hophal, nor is it full of Hebrew common words as Daniel is. Besides, it has Egyptian words, both proper and common, and Daniel has neither.

But, perhaps, *Babylon* is *near* Palestine. We are of the opinion that it is near enough for the dialect in which Daniel is written to have been spoken there. This provenience and this alone would in our opinion suit the peculiarities of the dialect of the book of Daniel. This would account for the absence of Egyptian words. This would account for the Persian and Babylonian and Hebrew elements that mix in with the pure Aramaic to form this dialect. Then, also, 150 years after Sennacherib had conquered the Greeks of Cilicia, thirty years after Nebuchadnezzar had conquered the Greek mer-



cenaries of the king of Egypt, and long after he had taken Greek hirelings into his own service, we might expect to find the names of three Greek musical instruments in the language spoken by probably the major part of his subjects.

But how about the Persian words? There is no difficulty whatever about them. The children of Israel had been settled in the cities of the Medes for almost 200 years before Daniel is supposed to have been written. Some of these Israelites and many of the Jews were settled in Assyria and Babylonia where most if not all of the people spoke Aramaic. Nineveh and northern Assyria were conquered by the Medes about 606 B.C. Here were seventy years before Daniel was written for Israelites and Jews and Arameans to adopt Medo-Persian words. All the witnesses from antiquity unite to prove that the Medes and Persians were akin and spoke dialects of the same language. The Greeks and the Hebrew prophets use their names at times interchangeably. The proper names of gods and persons used among them are the same, or similar. No one can affirm with any evidence to support him that the words in Daniel called by us Persian might not rather be called Median. The difficulty arising from the way in which the author of Daniel writes a few of the sounds is more than offset by the fact that nowhere else than in Babylon at about the year 500 B.C. could such a composite Aramaic as that which we find therein have been written. Grammar and vocabulary alike can be best accounted for by supposing that the book was written by a Jew living in Babylon at about that time, that is, when Aramaic was the common language of the world of commerce and diplomacy and social intercourse, when Babylonian and Medo-Persian were contending for the universal dominion over the nations, and when Greek words were just beginning to appear in the *Lingua Franca* of international commerce.



## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we would express the hope that we have been able to convince our readers that in so far as philology is concerned there is no such evidence existing as Dr. Driver alleges, in support of the late date and western provenience of the book of Daniel. The evidence for the early date derived from the orthography is not as convincing in the case of every individual letter as could be desired; but taken as a whole, it is in favor of an early rather than of a late date. The evidence derived from forms and inflections and syntax is decidedly, and that from the vocabulary is overwhelmingly, in favor of an early date and of an eastern provenience. What may be called the pure Aramaic matrix of this unique conglomerate, which we call the dialect of Daniel, presents evidence in the words that it used to express the most common ideas that it differed materially from the dialects with which Dr. Driver affirms that it was "nearly allied". These same words show that a close relationship existed between it and the dialect of Egypto-Aramaic of the 5th century B.C., and also a remarkable agreement with the Syriac and Mandaean, among the most eastern of all the dialects. So that the evidence of the strictly Aramaic vocabulary of the dialect of Daniel is predominantly in favor of the early date and of the eastern provenience.

But, it is when we consider the foreign elements in the language, that we must be convinced that the evidence for the composition of the book at or near Babylon at some time not far removed from the founding of the Persian empire is simply overwhelming. At no other time could such a conglomerate have been composed. The nearest dialects to it in variety and kind of commingling elements are those of Ezra and of the Egyptian papyri, both from the 5th century B.C. At a time later than this, there is no evidence that any such dialect was in use. At a place far removed from Babylon, a composition of such heterogeneous elements could never have been produced. For there never has been a time and place known to history save Babylon in the latter

half of the 6th century B.C., in which an Aramaic dialect with just such an admixture of foreign ingredients and in just such proportions could have been brought into existence. For, it must be borne in mind, that the place and time of all the Aramaic dialects can be determined approximately by the kinds and proportions of extraneous elements contained in them. Thus the Zakir inscription of 850 B.C. has no foreign elements, except perhaps Hebrew. The Sendshirli inscriptions of the latter part of the 8th century B.C. have Assyrian ingredients. The Egypto-Aramaic of the 5th century B.C. has Persian, Babylonian, Hebrew, and Egyptian terms, and perhaps one Latin and three Greek words. Ezra has Persian, Babylonian and Hebrew. The Nabatean has Arabic in large measure, one Babylonian word and a few Greek ones. The Palmyrene has Greek predominantly, some Arabic, and two Sassanian, or late Persian words. The Targum of Onkelos has mainly Greek words, (two of which have been verbalized after Aramaic forms), five Persian words, and some Hebrew and Babylonian elements. The Targum of Jonathan has yet more Greek nouns and three verbs likewise Aramaic in form derived from Greek nouns, at least one Latin word, apparently no Persian words, and only one Babylonian word or form, except such as are found in the Scriptures, and a considerable number of Hebrew words. The Syriac (Edessene) has hundreds of Greek words, a considerable number of which are verbalized; scores of Latin words; many Hebrew words, a few of them verbalized; a few Babylonian words and forms; many late Persian nouns, perhaps none of which are verbalized; a little Sanskrit, and in later works many Arabic nouns, especially names of persons and places. In New Syriac the foreign elements are predominantly Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish loan words.

Therefore, it being thus apparent that on the basis of foreign elements imbedded in Aramaic dialects, it is possible for the scholar to fix approximately the time and the locality in which the different dialects were spoken; all the more when as has been shown in the case of Daniel such a date and locality are required by the vocabulary of the pure Aramaic substratum and favored or at least permitted by its grammati-

cal forms and structure, we are abundantly justified in concluding that the dialect of Daniel containing, as it does, so many Persian, Hebrew, and Babylonian elements, and so few Greek words, with not one Egyptian, Latin or Arabic word, and so nearly allied in grammatical form and structure to the older Aramaic dialects and in its conglomerate vocabulary to the dialects of Ezra and Egypto-Aramaic, must have been used at or near Babylon at a time not long after the founding of the Persian empire.

## APPENDIX.

The verbal forms used by the Arameans may be denoted to the eye by three tables, giving the forms used between 900 and 400 B. C., between 400 B. C. and 700 A. D., and by the writers of Daniel and Ezra and the dialects of the Nabateans and Palmyrenes respectively.

TABLE I.

ZAKIR	SENDSHIRLI & NERAB	EG.-ARAMAIC
Peal	Peal	Peal
Paal (?)	Paal (?)	Paal
Hafal	Hafal	Hafal
	Ethpeel	Ethpeel
	Hafal (?)	Ethpaal
	Peil	Peil
		Shafel

TABLE II.

TRG. ONKELOS.	TRG. JNO.	SYRIAC	SAM.	MANDEAN
Peal	Peal	Peal	Peal	Peal
Paal	Paal	Paal	Pail	Pail
Afal	Afal	Afal	Afal	Afel
Ethpeel	Ethpeel	Ethpeel	Ethpeel	Hafel
Ethpaal	Ethpaal	Ethpaal	Ethpaal	Shafel
Ittafal	Ittafal	Ettafal	Ittafal	Safel
Pael	Ishtafal	Shafel	Nifal	Ethpeel
Päel	Päel	Safel	Pual (?)	Ethpaal
Päel	Päel	Ethpauel (?)	Hafal' (?)	Ettafal
Palpel	Palpel	Palpel	Peil I	Eshtafal
	Palel	Ethpauel (?)		
Hofal I (?)	Ithpalpel	Pael (?)		
	Hofal I (?)	Eshtafal		

TABLE III.

DANIEL	EZRA	NABATEAN	PALMYREAN
Peal	Peal	Peal	Peal
Paal	Afel	Paal	Paal
Hafel	Afel	Paal	Paal
Afel	Hafel	Afel	Afel
Shafel I	Shafel 2	Hafel	
Ethpeel	Ethpeel	Shafel I	
Ethpaal	Ethpaal	Ethpeel	Ethpeel
Pael I	Pail	Ethpaal	Ethpaal
	Hafal I	Peil I	
Hofal 9	Hishtafal I		
Hithpolel I	_____		
Hithpoal I	_____		
Peil	Peil		