

Daniel in Ezek 14:14, 20 and 28:3

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Introduction

A person named Daniel is mentioned three times in the book of Ezekiel. In Ezek 14 he is spoken of as a righteous man:¹

(13) "Son of man, if a country sins against me by being unfaithful and I stretch out my hand against it to cut off its food supply and send famine upon it and kill its men and their animals, (14) even if these three men--Noah, Daniel and Job--were in it, they could save only themselves by their righteousness, declares the Sovereign Lord."

(19) "Or if I send a plague into that land and pour out my wrath upon it through bloodshed, killing its men and their animals, (20) as surely as I live, declares the Sovereign Lord, even if Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, they could save neither son nor daughter. They would save only themselves by their righteousness."

In Ezek 28, as part of a prophecy against Tyre, he is spoken of as a wise man:

(2) "Son of man, say to the ruler of Tyre, 'This is what the Sovereign Lord says: "In the pride of your heart you say, "I am a god; I sit on the throne of a god in the heart of the seas." But you are a man and not a god, though you think you are as wise as a god. (3) Are you wiser than Daniel? Is no secret hidden from you?'"

Preterist scholars hold that the individual mentioned in Ezek 14:12, 20 and 28:3 cannot be the author of the biblical book of Daniel.² The argument has four main parts.

The Case Against Biblical Daniel

First, whereas in the book of Daniel the name is spelled *ḏnʾyl*, in Ezekiel it is spelled *ḏnʾl*. The fact that two spellings occur is thought to imply that two different persons might be referred to.

Second, the two men mentioned along with Daniel in Ezek 14:12, 20 (Noah and Job) are not Jews by race. It is pointed out that for Daniel to be the only Jew in a series of non-Jews would be unusual.

Third, Noah and Job are both claimed to represent the misty past historically, from Ezekiel's perspective. Again it would be unusual to include a person from a much later period of history in the context provided by these two earlier figures.³

Fourth, it is said that the likelihood of any individual, within his own lifetime, assuming the degree of public stature implied by Ezekiel's references to Daniel would make it impossible for a contemporary of the prophet to be intended in the passages under discussion. Noth writes:

As concerns Daniel, it is already quite clear that the Daniel of our present book of Daniel, or of a preliterary form of the Daniel legends in Dan 1-6, cannot be intended. The textual tradition [Danielerzählungstradition] of the book is much too recent for that; and transposing the figure of Daniel to the period of the Babylonian exile will not at all do in Ezek 14:12-20, since here by Daniel it would hardly be possible to mean a contemporary. The same applies also to Job.⁴

The Case for Biblical Daniel

The argument from language

The presence or absence of *yodh* in Daniel's name is a purely orthographic matter that does not indicate any difference in pronunciation. Thus, *dnʿl* in Ezekiel is to be vocalized Daniel, and not Danel as some have thought. In the Masoretic text the name is spelled both *dnyʿl* and *dnʿl*, at Qumran it is *dnyʿl* and *dnyl*, in the Peshitta it is *dnyʿyl*. No particular significance attaches to the spelling of the name.

At Qumran, to my knowledge, the name Daniel is found only three times--in fragments representing the text of Dan 1:11 (1QDan^a)⁵ and 10:12 (6QDan),⁶ and in a general reference to "the book of Daniel the prophet" in a florilegium, or collection of readings, identified in the literature as 4QFlor.⁷ In 1QDan and 4QFlor the name is spelled *dnyʿl*, as in the Masoretic text, but in 6QDan it is *dnyl*. The relevant Qumran fragments are now quoted below.

1QDan^a wyʿmr *dnyʿl* ʿl [. . .] hsr̄ysym ʿl *dnyʿl* ḥnnyh [. . .] (Dan 1:11)

6QDan ʿl tyrʿ [dnyl ky m[n hyw]m hryšwn ʿšr n[tt ʿt lbk] (Dan 10:12)

4QDanFlor ʿš[r] ktwb bspr *dnyʿl* hnbyʿ

It would be most interesting to see how the Qumran scribes spelled Daniel's name in Ezek 14:14, 20 and 28:3. Unfortunately only a few fragments of Ezekiel have been found at Qumran and those that we have contain no passages which would give us the desired information.⁸

In the Septuagint of Daniel, and in Theodotian, the name of Daniel is spelled *Daniēl* [Δανιηλ], with *iota*. In Ezekiel also the spelling is the same. Thus, the Greek translators of Ezekiel did not take the letters *dnʿl* to represent a pronunciation that was any different from what the letters *dnyʿl* imply elsewhere. The passages from Ezekiel are now given in Greek.

Ezek 14:14 (LXX) kai ean ōsin hoi treis andres houtoi en mesō autēs, Nōe kai *Daniēl* [Δανιηλ] kai Iōb, autoi en tē dikaiosunē autōn sōthēsontai, legei kurios.

Ezek 14:20 (LXX) kai Nōe kai *Daniēl* kai Iōb en mesō autēs, zō egō, legei kurios, ean huioi ē thugareres hupoleiphthōsin, autoi en tē dikaiosunē autōn rusontai tas psuchas autōn.

Ezek 28:3 (LXX) mē sophōteros ei su tou *Daniēl*; sophoi ouk epaideusan se tē epistēmē autōn;⁹

The evidence from the Peshitta is of special interest, because there a fourth spelling of Daniel's name is introduced. Both in the book of Daniel and in Ezekiel the Syriac has *dnyʔyl*. Texts cited before from both books are now given in Syriac.

Dan 1:11 wʔmr *dnyʔyl* lmnšr dʔšlḥ rb mhymnʔ ʿl dnyʔyl wʿl ḥnnyʔ wʿl myšʔyl wʿl ʿzryʔ

Dan 10:12 wʔmr ly ʔ tdḥl *dnyʔyl* mṯl dmn ywmʔ qdmyʔ dyhbt lbk lydʿʔ lmqm qdm ʔlhʔ ʔštmʿ mlyk

Ezek 14:14 wʔn nhwwn bh hlyn tltʔ gbryn nwh ʔ *wdnyʔyl* wʔhwb hnwn bzdyqwthwn npšwn npšhwn ʔmr mrʔ mrwtʔ

Ezek 14:20 wnwḥ *wdnyʔyl* wʔywb ʔyt bgwh ḥy ʔnʔ ʔmr mrʔ mrwtʔ dlʔ brʔ wlʔ brtʔ npšwn ʔʔ hnwn bzdyqwthwn npšwn npšhwn

Ezek 28:3 dlmʔ ḥkym ʔnt mn *dnyʔyl* ʔw ksyʔʔ ḥzyt bhkymwtk

In the above examples passages from Ezekiel (14:14, 20; 28:3) are of special interest because the Peshitta spelling of "Daniel" is the same there as we find in Daniel (1:11; 10:12). From the present discussion it is clear that the name of the prophet Daniel can be spelled more than one way. In the Masoretic text it is *dnyʔl* or *dnʔl* (with no *yodh*), at Qumran it is either *dnyʔl* or *dnyl* (with no *aleph*), and in the Peshitta it is consistently *dnyʔyl* (with *aleph* and two *yodhs*). These facts are summarized in table 1.

Table 1
Attested Spellings of the Name Daniel

Spellings	MT	Qumran	Peshitta
dnyʔl	Dan	1QDan ^a , 4QFlor	
dnʔl	Ezek		
dnyl		6QDan	
dnyʔyl			Dan, Ezek

There are three other names in the Old Testament that refer to a single individual, contain a first person singular possessive pronoun, and are spelled with and without *yodh*. These are Abishai (*ʔbyšy/ʔbšy*),¹¹ Absalom (*ʔbyšlwm/ʔbšlwm*),¹² and Elizaphan (*ʔlyspn/ʔlspn*).¹³ Note that the name of David is also spelled with and without *yodh*,¹⁴ that Cyrus is spelled with and without *waw*,¹⁵ and that the king who conquered Jerusalem and took Daniel captive is known both as Nebuchadnezzar (with *nun*) and Nebuchadrezzar (with *resh*).¹⁶

The argument from language--although not their main line of defense--has been used by preterists to imply that the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel is not the same as the hero of the book of Daniel. Non-preterists also have occasionally felt that this was a good argument, or at least one to be acknowledged as a position held by others. The editors of the *New International*

Version, for example, offer a footnote at Ezek 14:14 which says: "Or *Danel*; the Hebrew spelling may suggest a person other than the prophet Daniel; also in verse 20." But the preterist writer John Day, who has written perhaps more eloquently than anyone else against recognizing the biblical Daniel in Ezek 14, candidly admits that this popular linguistic argument does not bear close scrutiny.

"Dressler, pp. 155-6 . . . is right in his observations that there are no linguistic objections to the equation of the Daniel of Ezekiel xiv 14, 20 and the hero of the book of Daniel. Ezekiel simply spells the name without the vowel letter *yodh*. Cf. E. Lipiński, *VT* 28 (1978), p. 233, who points out that the Massoretic pointing and the Greek transcription show that the West Semitic name was vocalized Daniel, not Danel, and that the name Da-ni-el is already attested at Mari in the 18th century B.C. (Contrast Babylonian Da-ni-li.)"¹⁷

The argument from national origin

The main difficulty with the preterist argument from national origin has to do with Noah. Since Noah did not descend from Jacob--father of the Israelites--the genetic relationship between these two men is considered somehow comparable to that between Jacob and Job. This does not follow, however, because Jacob descended from Noah. It makes little sense to point out that Noah did not descend from Jacob and imply by this that their mutual relationship is somehow more distant under such circumstances that if the reverse had been the case. It is therefore misleading to state that Noah was a non-Israelite, and yet it is certainly not possible on the other hand to say that he was one. It would be better to say instead that he was a pre-Israelite, setting aside a distinction that was not available during his lifetime. Since for him these categories did not exist he cannot reasonably be assigned to either one of them. In the case of Job it is not possible to set the distinction aside; in the case of Noah it is necessary to do so.

John Day considers the above argument, as put forward originally by Dressler,¹⁸ and rejects it.

With regard to the non-Israelite emphasis of Ezek. xiv 14, 20, Dressler states, "one needs no particularly fertile imagination to view an Israelite Daniel flanked by a pre-Israelite and a non-Israelite to arrive at an equally satisfying theological construction" (p. 157). However, this ignores the fact that Noah is not only a pre-Israelite, but also a non-Israelite, so that this is most naturally the case also with Daniel, and anyway, the only Israelite Daniel who might be regarded as a possible candidate, the hero of the book of Daniel, is already ruled out on chronological grounds, as noted above.¹⁹

This time, though, Day is wrong. Instead of an Israelite Daniel being out of place alongside a non-Israelite Noah and a non-Israelite Job, the pattern is one of racial variety just as Dressler suggested--one pre-Israelite, one Israelite, and one non-Israelite. Noah and Job are indeed genetically related to each other, but they do not have an equivalent relationship to Israel. Noah lived at a time before the Israelite/non-Israelite distinction had become available, and the two men in the list for whom such a distinction was possible represent both of the logical alternatives--Daniel was a Jew, Job was a non-Jew. What we find in this case is symmetry, not incongruity.

Day would counter that whether Noah was a non-Israelite or a pre-Israelite is irrelevant. The fact that he lived before such a people or nation existed in itself prevents him from being a

member of it, and so, for whatever reason, he was in fact not a Jew and this is the central point. But if the reason why Noah was not an Israelite has to do with the age in which he lived, then we are dealing with an argument from time and not from race. Time is the next item to be taken up. What I have attempted to demonstrate here is that Noah and Job do not have an equivalent relationship to Israel and that it is misleading to take them together in order to propose a contrast with Daniel in Ezek 14. The fact is that there are no defensible racial subgroupings in Ezekiel's list of three men, but rather three separate and equal categories.

A major point of Ezekiel's comparison is precisely that if men of great piety representing any national background were present they would not be able to save the people from their punishment. The presence of a Jew in a list intentionally designed to illustrate racial variety is not incongruous at all. What we would have to explain there is the absence of a Jew, not the presence of one.

The argument from historical timeframe

We now turn to the matter of time. There are two factors to consider. One is Daniel's historical relationship with Noah and Job, the other is Daniel's historical relationship with Ezekiel. Each is discussed in turn.

Daniel in relation to Noah and Job. The preterist argument from time is least effective in regard to Job. A tacit assumption of some, though not all, preterist writers is that Noah and Job are somehow comparable in a historical sense. Again they are grouped together, this time as persons coming from an earlier age than Daniel. This assumption, like the earlier one concerning race, is true only to an extent.

Both Noah and Job come from an age earlier than Daniel, but they do not come from the same age as each other. It is not separating Noah and Job from Daniel historically that I object to, but grouping the first two together. There should be three categories rather than two. Noah is an example of a person who lived in what we might call high antiquity--from Ezekiel's perspective. Daniel is an example of a person living in modern times--from Ezekiel's perspective. And, as I attempt to demonstrate below, Job is an example of a person living approximately midway between these two historical extremes.

It will now be necessary to establish a reasonable estimate, based on biblical evidence, of when Job lived. The one objective fact we know about Job that would help us identify his place in history is that he lived 140 years. As it turns out this particular piece of information is quite helpful. According to Gen 5, people lived some 900 years on average before the flood.²⁰ Then in Gen 11 a sharp decline is documented for persons living immediately after the flood.

This process of decline had not yet run its course by the time Israel left Egypt. Jacob lived 147 years, Aaron lived 123 years, Moses lived 120 years, and Joshua lived 110 years. The traditional length of David's life was 70 years,²¹ and in 1 Chron 29:26 it is written that "He died at a good old age, having enjoyed long life, wealth and honor." Since there was a fair amount of consistency in the rate at which patriarchal lifespans shortened over time, this curve can be used to give an indication of when other persons of known age lived in relation to the patriarchs. See table 2.

On the basis of table 2 it is clear that Job's life of 140 years would fall somewhere between that of Jacob (147 years) and Aaron (123 years). And, basing our observations on the

only evidence available, one would expect Job to have been born closer to Jacob than to Aaron. One could reasonably expect Job to have been a later contemporary of Jacob. We proceed under this assumption.

Table 2
Patriarchs After the Flood:
Length of Life

Name	Total Life	Reference
Shem	600	Gen 11:10-11
Arphaxad	438	Gen 11:12-13
Shelah	433	Gen 11:14-15
Eber	464	Gen 11:16-17
Peleg	239	Gen 11:18-19
Reu	239	Gen 11:20-21
Serug	230	Gen 11:22-23
Nahor	148	Gen 11:24-25
Terah	205	Gen 11:26,32
Abraham	175	Gen 21:5,25:7
Isaac	180	Gen 25:26,35:28
Jacob	147	Gen 47:28
Job	140	Job 42:16
Aaron	123	Num 33:39
Moses	120	Deut 34:7
Joshua	110	Josh 24:29

With some indication now in place as to when Job might have lived relative to Jacob, the next step is to show when he lived relative to Noah. A chronology based on the Hebrew text of Gen 5 would place Noah's birth at 1056 A.M. and that of Gen 11 would place Jacob's at 2168 A.M.²² Thus, Jacob would have been born 1112 years after Noah was born and died 309 years after Noah died.

The time of Job's life has been discussed in relation to Noah (1000 years before) and Jacob (in roughly the same time frame). We now explore the relationship between when Job lived and the time of the exile when Ezekiel and Daniel lived. It is my purpose to show that, on biblical evidence, Job would have been born approximately the same length of time after Noah as before Daniel. Thus, a basis is provided for the important generalization that Job came from an age of history as distant from that of Noah as it was from that of Daniel, and therefore that no time-related subgroupings are appropriate within Ezekiel's list of heroes.

Table 3 presents one way the available data could be brought together. It must be realized that a number of assumptions and uncertainties remain. As a result we should be open to corrections and accept more information as it becomes available, but the data should not be dismissed. Assumptions made in table 3 include the following: (1) that the Hebrew record is preferable to the Greek where the two differ,²³ (2) that the exodus occurred 1253 years after the flood and 1445 years before Christ, thus making it possible to equate A.M. 1253 with 1445 B.C.²⁴, and (3) that a reasonable estimate of when Job lived relative to the patriarchs can be obtained from how long he lived relative to the patriarchs.

Table 3
Patriarchs After the Flood:
Placement in History

	Name	Total Life	A.M.		B.C.		Reference
			Born	Died	Born	Died	
1.	Shem	600	1558	2158	2400	1800	Gen 11:10-11
2.	Arphaxad	438	1658	2096	2300	1862	Gen 11:12-13
3.	Shelah	433	1693	2126	2265	1832	Gen 11:14-15
4.	Eber	464	1723	2187	2235	1771	Gen 11:16-17
5.	Peleg	239	1757	1996	2201	1962	Gen 11:18-19
6.	Reu	239	1787	2026	2171	1932	Gen 11:20-21
7.	Serug	230	1819	2049	2139	1909	Gen 11:22-23
8.	Nahor	148	1849	1997	2109	1961	Gen 11:24-25
9.	Terah	205	1878	2083	2080	1875	Gen 11:26,32
10.	Abraham	175	1948	2123	2010	1835	Gen 21:5,25:7
11.	Isaac	180	2048	2228	1910	1730	Gen 25:26; 35:28
12.	Jacob	147	2108	2255	1850	1703	Gen 47:28
13.	Aaron	123	2423	2546	1535	1412	Num 33:39
14.	Moses	120	2433	2553	1525	1405	Deut 34:7
15.	Joshua	110	2473	2363	1485	1595	Josh 24:29

In fig. 1 (below) the information from table 3 is summarized in bar graph format. The same fifteen persons are referred to, but for economy of space the names are not repeated after each figure. Note that in a graph of this sort only the y axis has significance.

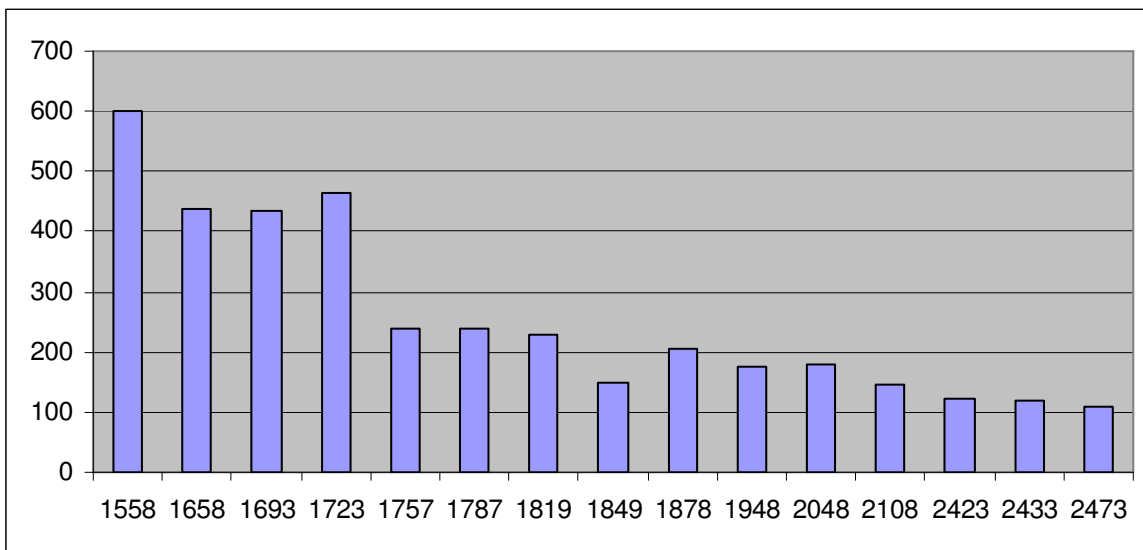


Fig. 1. Comparison of patriarchal lifespans, Shem to Joshua.

In fig. 2 the same information is restated with the y axis representing each individual's age at death, as in fig. 1, and the x axis representing the estimated Anno Mundi year of his birth. The trend of their ages is indicated by the data points themselves and by a logarithmic curve, extrapolated from the data. Including information on when Job lived in a table designed to help us find out when he lived would be circular, so I have not included Job in fig. 1 or fig. 2.

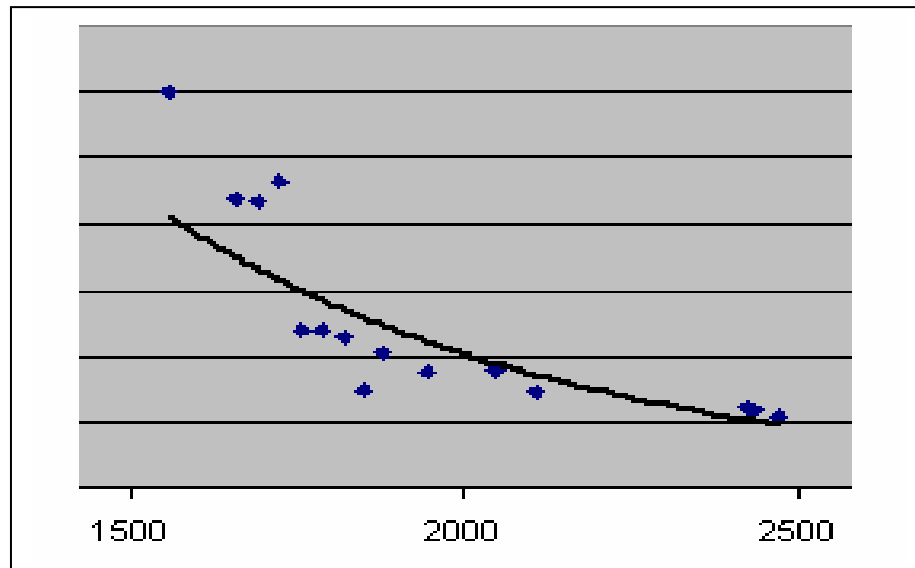


Fig. 2. Relationship of age at death and approximate Anno Mundi year of birth for fifteen patriarchs, Shem to Joshua, with logarithmic curve showing the downward trend of their ages.

If the exodus occurred in 1445 B.C., and if 1445 B.C. is the same as A.M. 1253, then the first deportation to Babylon in 605 B.C. could be stated in Anno Mundi years as A.M. 3353. If this is the case, and if Daniel was 15 years old when that event occurred, then he would have been born about 1160 years after Jacob was born. Thus, the amount of time separating the birth of Noah and the birth of Jacob was 1112 years and the amount time separating the birth of Jacob and the birth of Daniel was 1160 years. If these numbers are correct to within a margin of as little as a few centuries either way, the generalization can still be made that the time from Noah to Jacob was about the same as the time from Jacob to Daniel. If in addition Job was born not long after Jacob then the amount of time from Noah to Job was about the same as that from Job to Daniel.²⁵ On the best evidence available this period in both cases was about 1000 years.

What I have attempted to establish in all of this is simply that according to the biblical record Noah and Job did not come from the same period of history as each other, or even from substantially comparable periods of history. They are different from each other historically in relation to Daniel just as they are different from each other racially in relation to Daniel. The reason why it is important to establish the above fact is that the preterist argument from time rests on an assumption that Noah and Job are somehow comparable in terms of when they lived. They are not. Noth looks for a nonbiblical Job in Ezek 14 on this very basis, i.e., because of his underlying belief that the Noah referred to and the Job referred to must come from the same general timeframe. Because he felt that the biblical Job came too late in history to satisfy this condition, he rejected the idea that biblical Job was the one intended. The principle of

comparability for Noah and Job in the matter of time, as well as of national origin, is axiomatic to the preterist position in Ezek 14. In both cases the assumption is unwarranted.

If what I have said is true, one must ask what exegetical significance it has for the passage before us. The implications are clear. No one at all--from any timeframe--would be able to intercede for the generation to which Ezekiel refers. The section's examples have been chosen with care. Just as the three men in Ezekiel's list represent a full range of racial choices, they also represent a full range of historical choices. One came from the distant past (about 2000 years before Ezekiel), another came from the prophet's own age, and the third came from a time approximately midway between the others (about 1000 years before Ezekiel). The presence of a contemporary in a list specifically designed to represent an assortment of different historical timeframes is not out of place, but rather necessary in order for the point to be made with its desired force.

Daniel in relation to Ezekiel. Granting now that Ezekiel might have had reason to include a Jew from his own generation in Ezek 14, why should that individual be Daniel? Whatever basis Ezekiel might have had for his estimation of Daniel's character must have been provided not only during his own lifetime but fairly early in Daniel's career. There had to be a certain amount of time for his opinions to mature.

One could hardly overestimate the impact on the Jewish national consciousness of the events of Dan 2. When Daniel's life was threatened along with that of the other wisemen of Babylon, the salvation God provided was not done in a private manner, nor was it done on a small scale. When Nebuchadnezzar realized the magnitude of what Daniel had accomplished, as he thought, in first relating and then interpreting a dream which had been told to no one, he prostrated himself before Daniel and worshiped him as a god: "Then King Nebuchadnezzar fell prostrate before Daniel and paid him honor and ordered that an offering and incense be presented to him" (Dan 2:46-47). As a result Daniel was named the chief administrator in the province of Babylon and in addition was placed as head over all its wisemen. Besides this Daniel's three companions were raised to high office within the government. There was no attempt to keep the matter a secret, nor would it have been possible to do so if someone had tried. The effect on Jewish morale, whether in Babylon or Jerusalem, must have been genuinely dramatic.

In Ezek 28 wisdom is the trait especially mentioned in connection with Daniel. In Ezek 14, however, an appeal to Dan 2 must be accounted for, since in the one passage Daniel is said to be righteous and in the other he is said to be wise. I would argue that the two traits cannot be separated in the case of Daniel. When the king asked Daniel if he were able both to tell the king's dream and interpret it, "Daniel replied, 'No wise man, enchanter, magician or diviner can explain to the king the mystery he has asked about, but there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries. He has shown King Nebuchadnezzar what will happen in days to come'" (Dan 2:27-38). And again, "'As for me, this mystery has been revealed to me, not because I have greater wisdom than other living men, but so that you, O king, may know the interpretation and that you may understand what went through your mind'" (Dan 2:30). Daniel was wise not just because of his great intelligence but because of his firm trust in God, i.e., Daniel's wisdom was a result and outgrowth of what Ezekiel describes as righteousness.

As regards the ability of a man to rise to considerable prominence among his contemporaries, consider Ben Sira's references to the high priest Simon, who had been an earlier contemporary of the writer. Simon is given 21 verses of the most ardent praise (50:1-21) within a very few years of his death as compared with 17 verses for Aaron (45:6-22).²⁶ It is not

that Simon had more importance in Ben Sira's thinking than Aaron did, but he did have more immediacy than Aaron. Contemporaneity can have more than one kind of impact. It does not always make an individual seem less important to his peers than might otherwise have been the case.

Conclusion

In Ezek 14:14, 20 God is not saying through His prophet that three specific non-Israelites from one particular segment of history would be powerless to help the generation in question. He is saying that no one at all--from any people or any age--would be able to help them. This is the whole point of the passage. One might ask, in this case, how well the point could have been made if the examples used to illustrate it had been restricted to a list of men who represented only one racial category (non-Israelites) and only one broad historical era (the distant past). Surely it would make at least as much sense to use men as examples who represented a degree of racial and historical variety.

¹Scripture quotations are from the New International Version (NIV), copyrighted 1978.

²See George A. Barton, "Danel, a Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 60 (1941):213-25; Martin Noth, "Noah, Daniel and Hiob in Ezechiel XIV," *Vetus Testamentum* 1 (1951):251-60; John Day, "The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel," *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980):174-84.

³There is some discussion about Job, however, since Martin Noth argues that the same reasoning urged against identifying the biblical Daniel in our passage applies also to biblical Job. He would look outside Scripture for the historical roots of both these figures, and not just Daniel. See Noth, "Noah, Daniel und Hiob," p. 252.

⁴"Noah, Daniel und Hiob," p. 252

⁵D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, I: Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 150-51.

⁶M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, III: Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 114-16.

⁷John M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, V: Qumran Cave 4; I (4Q158-4Q186)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 53-55.

⁸Fragments of Ezekiel, or citations from Ezekiel, have been found in Qumran caves 1, 3, 4, and 11. From cave 1 we have 4:16-5:1 (1QEzek), from cave 3 16:31-33 (3QEzek), from cave 4 37:23(?) (4QFlor), and from cave 11 4:9-10; 5:11-17; 7:9-12. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study*, Sources Biblical Study 8 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 166.

⁹"Are you not wiser than Daniel? Have not sages taught you their knowledge?"

¹⁰For the development of Hebrew spelling practices see Frank Moore Cross, Jr. and David Noel Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence*, American Oriental Series, vol. 36, (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952). See also Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Scribners, 1971), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

¹¹Abishai is spelled with *yodh* in 1 Sam 26:6, 6, 7, 8, 9; 2 Sam 2:18, 24; 3:30: 10:10, 14; 16:9, 11; 18:2, 5, 12; 19:21 (22); 20:6, 10; 21:17 and 23:18; it is spelled without *yodh* in 1 Chron 2:16; 11:20; 18:12 and 19:11, 15. See Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae: Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1964), pp. 1349-1532, for an exhaustive catalogue of Old Testament names.

¹²Absalom is spelled with *yodh* only in 1 Kgs 15:2 and 10; it is spelled without *yodh* in 2 Sam 3:3; 13:1, *4, 20, 20, 22, 22, 23, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39; 14:1, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 33; 15:1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 6, 6, 7, 10, 10, 11, 12, 12, 13, 14, 31, 34, *37; 16:8, 15, 16, *16, 17, *18, 20, *21, 22, 22, *23; 17:*1, *4, 5, 6, 6, 7, *9, 14, 14, *15, *18, 20, *24, *25, *26; 18:5, 5, 9, 9, *10, 12, 14, 15, 17, *18, *18, 29, 32, 33 (19:1) (x3); 19:*1 (2), 4 (5), 4 (5), 6 (7), 9 (10), 10 (11); 20:6; 1 Kgs 1:6; 2:7, 28; 1 Chron 3:2; 2 Chron 11:20, 21 and Ps 3 (title) (1). Let an asterisk (*) indicate cases where the name is spelled without *waw* (*ʾbšlm*).

¹³Elizaphan is spelled with *yodh* in Num 3:30; 34:25; 1 Chron 15:8 and 2 Chron 29:13; it is spelled without *yodh* in Exod 6:22 and Lev 10:4;

¹⁴David is spelled with *yodh* in Ezra-Neh, 1 and 2 Chron generally and in 1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 3:14; Ezek 34:23; Hosea 3:5; Amos 6:5; 9:11; 1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 3:14; 11:4, 36. The more common spelling is without *yodh*, as in 1 and 2 Sam, 1 and 2 Kgs, Pss, Prov, and elsewhere. See Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), under טד [dāwîd] and טיט [dāwîd], p. 205.

¹⁵Cyrus is spelled with *waw* in 2 Chron 36:22, 22, 23; Ezra 1:1, 7, 8; 3:7; 4:3, 5; Isa 44:28; 45:1 and Dan 1:21; 10:1; it is spelled without *waw* in Ezra 1:1, 2,

¹⁶The spelling with *nun* (*nbwkdñsr*) is confined to Ezra-Nehemiah and Daniel; the spelling with *resh* (*nbwkdṛšr*) appears only in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. References are as follows: (a) *nbwkdñsr* (*nun, aleph*) 2 Kg 24:1, 10, 11; 25:1, 8, 22; 1 Chron 6:15 (5:41); 2 Chron 36:6, 7, 10, 13; Ezra 2:1; Jer 27:6, 8, 20; 28:3, 11, 14; 29:1, 3; 34:1; 39:5; Dan 1:1; (b) *nbwkdñsr* (*nun, no aleph*) Ezra 1:7; ; 5:12, 14; 6:5; Neh 7:6; Est 2:6; Dan 1:18; 2:1, 1; 2:28, 46; 3:1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, 24, 26, 28; 4:1 (3:31), 4 (1), 18 (15), 28 (25), 31 (28), 33 (30), 34 (31), 37 (34); 5:2, 11, 18; (c) *nbwkdṛšr* (*resh, aleph*) Jer 21:2, 7; 22:25; 24:1; 25:1, 9; 29:21; 32:1, 28; 35:11; 37:1; 39:1, 11; 43:10; 44:30; 46:2, 13, 26; 49:28, 30; 50:17; 51:34; 52:4, 12, 28, 29, 30; Ezek 26:7; 29:18, 19; 30:10.

¹⁷Ibid., n. 18, pp. 181-82.

¹⁸H. H. P. Dressler, "The Aqht-Text: A New Transcription, Translation, Commentary, and Introduction" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1976).

¹⁹"The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel," *Vetus Testamentum* 30, 2 (1980):175.

²⁰The antedeluvian patriarchs and the age at which each died are as follows: Adam 930 years, Seth 912, Enosh 905, Kenan 910, Mahalel 895, Jared 962, Enoch 365, Methuselah 969, Lamech 777, and Noah 950 (see Gen 5 passim and 9:29). The central tendency of these ages is stated below in terms of both mean and median averages.

Enoch and Noah both included . . . mean average = 857
 Noah included but not Enoch . . . mean average = 912
 Enoch included but not Noah . . . mean average = 847
 Neither Enoch nor Noah included . mean average = 907

Enoch and Noah both included . . . median average = 911
 Noah included but not Enoch . . . median average = 912
 Enoch included but not Noah . . . median average = 910
 Neither Enoch nor Noah included . median average = 911

Note that the median averages listed above cluster much more tightly than do the mean averages. The mean is particularly sensitive to extreme scores, such as Enoch's unusually short lifetime of 365 years. A median average of 910, 911, or 912 years would be the most representative measure for people living before the flood.

²¹We know that David ruled 40 years, but the Bible does not state explicitly how he was when he died. Josephus supplies the traditional length of David's life as 70 years. See H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus, trans., *Josephus*, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 1:566-67, "With these recommendations to his son concerning the state and his friends and those whom he knew to be deserving of punishment, David died at the age of seventy, having reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over the entire country" (vii,389).

²²Dates given here follow the chronological reconstruction offered by the editors of the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1953), pp. 182-96. An apparent discrepancy is that Terah fathered Abraham at age 130 in the proposed chronology instead of age 70 (see Gen 11:26). This point is clarified on p. 128: "Terah died in Haran at the age of 205 years (ch. 11:32). Abram journeyed to Canaan at the age of 75 (ch. 12:4). Abram's call to leave Haran came after his father's death, as explicitly stated in Acts 7:4. Abram cannot then have older than 75 at the death of his father, and Terah was at least 130 years old when Abram was born. Therefore, ch. 11:26 means that Terah began to beget sons when he was seventy years old. Youngest of the three sons, Abram is mentioned first because of his importance as ancestor of the Hebrews." The above interpretation differs from that of E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 77: "26 And when Terah reached the age of 70, he had begotten Abram, Nahor, and Haran." See also p. 78: "26. Cf. v 32. [The two sentences are identical in structure, listing the patriarch and the age at which he had three sons, who are named, i.e., Noah at 500 and his three sons; Terah at 70 and his three sons. NF]." Of the two interpretations I find the first more convincing.

²³See the comparative tables conveniently supplied by the *SDA Bible Commentary*, 1:248, 289.

²⁴The dates A.M. 1253 and 1445 B.C. are the best estimate of recognized scholars, whose work was drawn upon in the compilation of the *SDA Bible Commentary*, 1:182-96. I do not claim here that either date is necessarily correct in any final sense, nor would those who proposed it, but I do accept both dates as a sound and reasonable starting point for discussion.

²⁵If Job's life did not overlap Jacob's it would be because Job lived later than Jacob by a wider margin than supposed, not because he lived earlier. Thus, the historical distance between Noah and Job would be greater than suggested above rather than less and the point being made in the present section would be more forceful than claimed at present.

²⁶Dividing chap. 50 of Ben Sira from chaps. 44-49 may or may not be defensible. For related discussion see Hardy, "Ben Sira's Silence Concerning Daniel," n. 5, in this issue of *Historicism*.