DANIEL 6:20: AN ARAMAIC CALQUE ON AN AKKADIAN EXPRESSION*

Shalom M Paul Bible Department, Hebrew University Jerusalem

Abstract

It is suggested in this contribution that in Dan 6:20 בְּנֶבְהָא is not a gloss but rather an Aramaic calque on the Akkadian expression, ina/ana mimmû šēri ina namāri, "When the first light of dawn shone," which occurs several times in the Gilgamesh epic, tablets VI:88; VIII:1, 64, 90, 206; XI:48, 97, which is comprised of the Akkadian verb, namāru, "to dawn, shine brightly," and the noun, šēru (= בַּנָבְהָ בֹּ), "daybreak, daylight." There is also the possibility that the word בְּנֶבְהָ was incorrectly copied and should be vocalized as an infinitive, בְּנֶבְהָה, thus creating an exact parallel to the Akkadian verb, namāru. This, then, would add yet another example to the multiple influences of Akkadian words and phrases upon the Aramaic of the book of Daniel.

To Yeshoshua Gitay, friend and colleague.

^{1.} Compare the similar motif and wording in Esth 6:1.

^{2.} In 4QDan^b, the reading is: [לה] רא בנגהא ובאתבה[לה]. According to the spacing, it is apparent that יקום was omitted. See Ulrich E et al., *Qumran Cave 4-XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford, 2000), 261–262.

Compare similarly, e.g., הפכפרת, Lev 13:42; 14:49; שחרח רת, Song of Songs 1:6; הפכפר, Prov 21:8; הפכפרת, Isa 2:20. See Kautsch, E and Cowley, AE, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar² (Oxford, 1957), 234–235, 84b.

Dalman, G, Aramäisch-neuhebräische Handwörterbuch² (Frankfurt am Main, 1922), 433a; Brockelmann, C, Lexicon Syriacum² (Halle, 1928), 797a.

^{5.} For citations, see Sperber, A, The Bible in Aramaic, III (Leiden, 1962), ad loc. (Hebrew).

נפק בעָדן צפרא. "He, Mordecai, is comparable to the planet Venus that shines amongst the stars and resembles the dawn that comes forth at morning time."

The second noun, גוהא, אוהה, which is well attested not only in Biblical Hebrew both as a verb, "to shine," in the *qal*, Isa 9:1; Job 18:5; 22:28; and in the *hiph'il*, 2 Sam 22:29 = Ps 18:29; Isa 13:10; and as a noun, "brightness, light of heavenly bodies," in the singular twenty times, e.g., Amos 5:20; Isa 50:12; 60:19; 62:1; Ezek 1:13; Hab 3:11 (compare also the Deir Alla inscription, first combination, lines 6–7: גְּלְ הַוֹת, Isa 59:9; but also in Rabbinic Hebrew, designating, in addition, the planet Venus, בוכבא (cf. the reference above to the two Targums to the book of Esther).

Because of the unusual combination of these two synonymous nouns in one and the same verse, commentators have assumed that the second, בנגהא, functions as an Aramaic gloss which was inserted to clarify the rare substantive, בשפרפרא, similar to what has been suggested for Dan 4:12, where the phrase אַרְעָאַב אַרעא appears at the end of the same verse containing בַּדְתָאַא 77. This latter example, however, is most likely not a misplaced gloss (since there would be no reason to gloss this clearly understandable expression), but rather is an example of a textual doublet created by the preservation of two variant synonymous readings. 10 It is here suggested that in Dan 6:20 בְּנֶנְהָא is not a gloss either, but rather an Aramaic calque on the Akkadian expression, ina/ana mimmû šēri ina namāri, "When the first light of dawn shone," which occurs several times in the Gilgamesh epic, tablets VI:88; VIII:1, 64, 90, 206; XI:48, 97, which is comprised of the Akkadian verb, namāru, "to dawn, shine brightly," and the noun, šēru (= ב', "daybreak, daylight." Furthermore, if the reconstruction of the citation from Gilgamesh VIII:64 is correct: ina mimmû šēri ina namāri Gi[lgameš itbīma], "When the first light of dawn shone, Gi[lgamesh arose]," this would supply an exact cognate equivalent to our verse.¹³ In light of this, there is also the possibility that the word ជុះជុះ was incorrectly copied and should be vocalized as an infinitive, בְּנָגְהֶה, thus creating an exact parallel to the Akkadian verb, namāru. This, then, would add yet another example to the multiple influences of Akkadian words and phrases upon the Aramaic of the book of Daniel.¹⁴

^{6.} The root appears both in Syriac, እርቪኒ, and in the Ugaritic epic of Kirta (KTU² 1.16.I:37): wtgh nir rbt, "the shining of the great light" (an epithet of the sun). See Pardee, D, "The Kirta Epic," in: Hallo, WW (ed.), The Context of Scripture, I (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997), 340.

See Levine, BA, "The Deir-'Alla Plaster Inscriptions," in: Hallo, WW (ed.), The Context of Scripture, II (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000), 143.

Sokoloff, M, A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Ramat Gan, 1990), 340; idem, A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (Ramat Gan, 2002), 728–729; Jastrow, M, Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature (New York, 1950), 872–873.

^{9.} Jastrow, Dictionary, 619.

^{10.} For textual doublets, see Tov, E, Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible (Minneapolis, 1992), 241–243.

^{11.} CAD, N/I, 209–218. Compare also the noun form, namārītu, "dawn," ibid., 208.

^{12.} CAD, Š/II, 331.

^{13.} For a citation from a neo-Babylonian text, without the substantive *mimmû* (literally, "any"): *ina šēri ina namāri*, see Lambert, WG, "Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice," *Iraq* 27 (1965), 6:26.

^{14.} See Paul, SM, "The Mesopotamian Background of Daniel 1–6," in: Collins, JJ and Flint, PW (eds.), The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception, I (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2001), 55–68, with additional bibliography. After this article was submitted for publication, Dr. Sol Cohen brought to my attention further attestations of this substantive in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. See Duensing, H, Christliche-Palästinisch-Aramäische Texte und Fragmente Göttingen 1906 (Jerusalem, 1971), 115; Kohut, A, Arukh ha-Shalem², VIII (Vienna, 1926), 139.