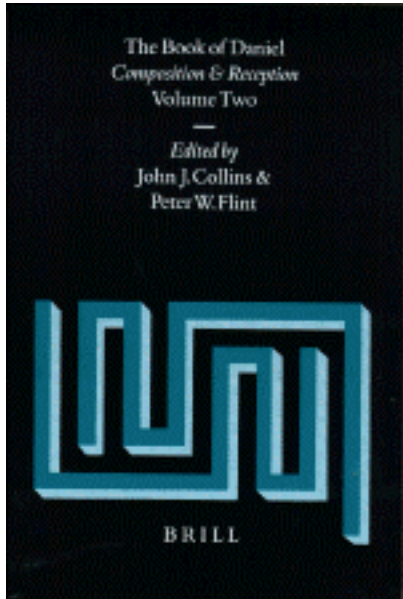


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The Book of Daniel: Volume 2: Composition and Reception

Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 83.2; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 2.2

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Beyond doubt the book of Daniel has a highly influential reception history and in many areas still engages scholars in lively discussion. Therefore, one only can applaud the effort of J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint to bring together some of the best of Danielic scholarship in another collection of excellent essays, only eight years after *The Book of Daniel* (Leuven, 1993) with its thirty refreshing papers was published.

The present book is the second of two volumes on the book of Daniel that form part of the new Brill series Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature. The purpose of the series is to study “the prehistory, contents, and themes of books of the Old Testament, as well as their reception and interpretation in later Jewish and Christian literature” (ix). Accordingly, the thirty-two essays in the two volumes on Daniel are arranged in eight sections: (1) General Topics; (2) Daniel in Its Near Eastern Milieu; (3) Issues in Interpretation of Specific Passages; (4) Social Setting; (5) Literary Context, including Qumran; (6) Reception in Judaism and Christianity; (7) Textual History; and (8) The Theology of Daniel. Volume 2 covers the last four sections with eighteen essays. Each entry is supplied with a bibliography, plus at the end of the second volume one finds a cumulative bibliography. Noticeable is the large amount of recent literature listed therein (more than one-third of the entries date in the years 1993–2001), which reflects the up-to-date discussion in the essays. Five detailed indices (Scripture, Apocrypha and

Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Other Ancient Writings, and Modern Authors) that cover fifty-five pages enhance the accessibility of the book.

In this review I summarize the major contributions of each essay and assess briefly a few selected points that are particularly relevant for the composition and understanding of Daniel. The “Literary Context” section comprises six essays. In “The Writing of Daniel,” J.-W. Wesselius suggests that the discontinuities in Daniel are best explained if one regards the book as a “dossier” on Daniel that “an author deliberately composed ... as a literary work” (296). He ingeniously shows that discontinuities in Daniel function on a higher literary level, establishing a structural framework parallel with the book of Ezra. One finds structural correspondences in the number and arrangement of the book’s episodes (six episodes in the first and four in the second part of the book), the place of the confession of guilt (both in episode 9), the introduction of the Aramaic section (Dan 2:4; Ezra 4:7), the number and position of the Aramaic episodes (episodes 2 to 7), the position of the Aramaic notes in Ezra and the proclamations of foreign kings in Daniel, and the distribution of the third- and first-person accounts. These intertextual relations are indeed very persuasive. However, it is somewhat surprising that he mentions only in passing why he believes that the derivation happened from Ezra to Daniel: “Since the structure of Daniel is apparently also dependent upon the book of Genesis ... and certain phrases in Daniel seem to indicate adaptation to the agreement with Ezra—especially the introduction of Daniel as speaking in Daniel 7 and 10-12—it is almost certain that Daniel is dependent on Ezra instead of the other way round” (300). It is not clear to me why the relation between Daniel and the Joseph story requires Daniel to be dependent upon Ezra, except if one holds to the view that the Genesis material originated in postexilic times and is the source text for Daniel. Further, it is also doubtful whether the style of first-person narrative constitutes a sufficiently crucial factor to decide on the direction of the derivation process, particularly since Dan 7–12 exhibits more continuity than Wesselius seems to allow (304; one needs to keep in mind that for Wesselius discontinuity usually increases during the structural derivation process), and the common first-person account in these chapters is certainly an aspect of continuity. While Wesselius has convincing arguments for the intertextual relation on a structural level between Daniel and Ezra, he has not yet provided enough textual arguments as to which one of the two should be regarded as the source text.

G. Boccaccini (“The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch”) argues that Daniel follows the Zadokite solar calendar that was a 360+4-day sabbatical calendar. Such a calendar recognizes the existence of intercalary days (the equinoxes and solstices) but does not count them in the reckoning of the days of the year, as does the Enochic 364-day solar calendar established by the *Astronomical Book* (1 *Enoch* 72–82) and used later in Qumran. Boccaccini then tries to solve the enigma of the different times of the end in Daniel on the basis of the Zadokite solar calendar. He succeeds in showing that the times are reckoned on the basis of a calendar that counts 360 days a year. Boccaccini also

proposes a new calculation of the 2,300 evenings and mornings of Dan 8:14 from the fall equinox of 167 B.C.E., which for him “marks the division of time at the middle of the last week of years and the beginning of Antiochus’ persecution” (323), to the twenty-seventh of the eighth month of 164 B.C.E., which for him was possibly the same day as the twenty-fifth of Kislev of the Hellenistic calendar mentioned in 1 Macc 4 as the dedication of the new altar and the end of the three-year desecration. Innovative as such an explanation may be, two underlying assumptions question its validity. Boccaccini must assume (1) that the offering of the daily sacrifice was disrupted as early as at the fall equinox of 167 B.C.E., since in the suggested interpretation of Dan 8:13–14 the interruption of the daily sacrifice lasts 1,150 days (so page 325); however, the desecration of the daily sacrifice started only from the fifteenth of Kislev, about three months later than the fall equinox; and (2) that the twenty-seventh of the eighth month indeed is the same as the twenty-fifth of Kislev, but, as Boccaccini admits, the two dates are only close to each other and do not designate the same day, and further, the former is associated only with the beginning of meal offerings upon the new altar but not with its dedication for animal sacrifices.

P. W. Flint in his paper “The Daniel Tradition at Qumran” focuses on nine nonbiblical manuscripts relevant to Daniel. There he deals especially with the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) and *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243–245), providing introductory discussions, transcriptions, translations, and extensive comments on the text. He also considers 4Q246 (4QApocalypse ar), 4Q489 (4QpapApocalypse ar), 4Q551 (4QDaniel Suzanna? ar), and 4Q552–553 (4QFour Kingdoms^{a, b} ar). It is convenient to have most of the nonbiblical materials from Qumran that can be associated with Daniel presented in one place. Flint unfortunately does not include 4Q248 (4QHistorical Text A) and 4Q530 (*Book of Giants*), although both manuscript fragments are certainly related to Daniel. This lack is compensated by the essays of Eshel and Stuckenbruck.

L. T. Stuckenbruck (“Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls”) examines the tradition-historical relationship between Daniel and Enochic apocalyptic traditions in the Qumran manuscripts *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243–245) and the *Book of Giants* (4Q530) and infers that there was a period of fluid traditions between the Danielic and the Enochic apocalyptic traditions in the second century B.C.E., so that the book of Daniel supposedly could adapt Enochic material to its own interests. In 4Q243–244 he finds distinct evidence of influence by both the Danielic and the Enochic literature, while 4Q245 appears only to exhibit tradition-historical links to the *Animal Apocalypse*. The comparative analysis of the *Book of Giants* (4Q530 ii 15b–20) and Daniel 7:9–10, 28 leads Stuckenbruck to the conclusion that the *Book of Giants* preserves “an earlier form of the throne-theophany” (384) that has been expanded in Daniel, whatever the temporal relationship between the two is. The theophanic tradition in the giant’s vision then illuminates the tradition-historical background of Dan 7 which also has been influenced by other Enochic traditions (*I Enoch* 14:17–22; 90:20, 24). Stuckenbruck bases his

conclusion on three points, of which he regards only one criterion, a tendency to inflate numbers, as decisive in indicating the way tradition develops. For him, the number of worshipers in the *Book of Giants* that are counted in the “hundreds” and “thousands” have been transformed into the “thousands” and “myriads” in Dan 7. One may question whether such a single criterion is sufficient to decide on the issue. Whatever the case may be, the material presented by Stuckenbruck casts new light on Dan 7, and future studies need to take note and reconsider the tradition-historical relation between the *Book of Giants* and Dan 7.

In the brief essay “Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel” E. Eshel argues that 4Q242 (*Prayer of Nabonidus*) was one of the source texts of Dan 4; 4Q248 (Historical Text A) was one of the possible sources for Dan 11:21–45; Dan 12:7 originated in 4Q248 lines 9–10; and, following Stuckenbruck, Dan 7 presents a more developed tradition of what is found in column 2 of 4Q530 (*Book of Giants*). The relations are obvious, but their specific nature is more difficult to assess. At least the long-held literary priority of the Prayer of Nabonidus over Dan 4 should be reevaluated, for M. Henze (*The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar* [Leiden, 1999], 63–73) now argues that the *Prayer of Nabonidus* is not the source text for Dan 4.

J. F. Hobbins (“Resurrection in the Daniel Tradition and Other Writings at Qumran”) surveys in a comparative study the common and distinguishable features of the expectations about life after death, including the concept of resurrection in early Enochic literature, *Jubilees*, the *Words of Ezekiel* (or Pseudo-Ezekiel), and Dan 12. For Dan 12, he finds structural parallels to *1 Enoch 22*, in that there are three final destinations of the dead, and thematic parallels to *Jubilees 23*, in that both express hopes of geopolitical reversal and expect the righteous to be raised to a joyful state after death (“graduation to a higher state”), with the final destination being heaven. With an otherwise fine analysis, one may only take issue with Hobbins’s view that all texts, except in the *Words of Ezekiel*, refer to a resurrection of the spirit. It is misleading to compare Dan 12 with merely the Qumran material. The specific choice of “waking vocabulary” in Dan 12 (שׁוֹנֵם “asleep” and קִיּוּם “to awake”)—according to Hobbins unique among the literature he surveyed (414), but certainly not unique in the Old Testament (Jer 51:39, 57; 2 Kgs 4:31)—in combination with אֲדָמָה עָפָר “ground of the dust,” which possibly alludes to Gen 3:19 and 2:7, seems to refer to physical resurrection. As the physical body goes to sleep in the dust (Job 7:21; 20:11), it will awake to its glorious state. Though disputed, the reference to the rising of “corpses” in Isa 26:19, which uses vocabulary similar to Dan 12:2, appears to express belief in physical resurrection. In the end, Dan 12:2 may be more in line with the resurrection motif in the Old Testament, as its culmination, than dependent upon Jewish traditions as preserved in Qumran.

Six essays are listed under the section “Reception of Daniel in Judaism and Christianity.” The reception history illustrates the often-amazing variety of interpretations and appropriations the text of Daniel has received. At the same time these essays let one understand why the book of Daniel had such an enormous impact throughout its history of interpretation. With this young area of research, one enters an almost dispute-free zone, except for the nature and extent of the influence of Dan 7 in the New Testament.

K. Koch, a prolific writer on the reception of Daniel, traces the “Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel” and the reception of its ideas from the scarce references to Daniel in second-century B.C.E. literature, over the Old Greek version, the popular reception of Daniel in Qumran literature and in apocalypses of the Roman age (*Testament of Moses*, *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*), and the application of Danielic concepts, particularly “kingdom of God” and “son of man,” in the Synoptic Gospels, finally to the reading of Daniel by early Jews and Christians of Roman times. Koch concludes that it is the specific decoding of Daniel’s symbols by Jews and Christians in the Roman age, with their actualization and identification of contemporary Rome as the last world empire, that is decisive for the inclusion of Daniel in the canon.

Ch. Rowland explores in “The Book of Daniel and the Radical Critique of Empire: An Essay in Apocalyptic Hermeneutics” the role of Daniel in the work of Thomas Muentzer, Gerrard Winstanley, and William Blake (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries). He shows how the apocalyptic text has been appropriated by actualizing its meaning in contemporary events and how it functioned as a catalyst for action.

U. Gleßmer (“Die ‘vier Reiche’ aus Daniel in der targumischen Literatur”) describes how the Danielic schema of the four kingdoms has been appropriated and actualized in five targumic passages (on Gen 15:10–17; Lev 26:42–44; Deut 32:24; 1 Sam 2:1–10; Hab 3:17) so that the final phase of foreign rule reaches its climax with contemporary Rome. Gleßmer also finds nuances in the actualization, such as the prophetic passages include a specific messianic reference to the *Heilszeit* and their form of the four-kingdom schema appears not as fixed as (and therefore older than) that in the Pentateuch passages.

The two essays on the New Testament leave no doubt that Daniel did influence the New Testament writings. C. A. Evans (“Daniel in the New Testament: Visions of God’s Kingdom”) demonstrates that Jesus’ concept of the kingdom of God is rooted in the book of Daniel (against the hypothesis of a Hellenistic context). He documents passages that speak of the kingdom of God in Jewish-Palestinian writings and other Jewish sources and then describes how the Danielic “kingdom” tradition has been reflected in Qumran, Josephus, *4 Ezra*, and later rabbinic and early Christian exegesis. Evans convincingly demonstrates that Jesus’ understanding of the kingdom of God is consistent with these earlier sources and shows specific Danielic influence in seven major and some minor

elements. Daniel's influence is not only detected in the Gospels but also in Paul (mainly through the dominical tradition) and in the Apocalypse.

J. D. G. Dunn ("The Danielic Son of Man in the New Testament") traces the influence of the son-of-man vision in Dan 7 on the New Testament. About ten texts in the Gospels and two in the book of Revelation show substantial influence. The direct influence on Revelation is beyond dispute, but how Daniel's vision influenced the Gospel tradition is not that clear. Dunn explores three hypotheses: (1) the son-of-man motif in the Gospels starts and develops from Jesus' own hope for vindication from the Danielic son-of-man figure; (2) it originates in Jesus' idiomatic son-of-man usage, with a post-Easter transformation of the motif by using Dan 7:13; and (3) Jesus himself used the Danielic son-of-man figure with reference to himself. Though Dunn cannot decide, he is clear that Dan 7 has influenced the Jesus tradition, and thus his essay is in line with the present majority view and, for example, against the influence of the Similitudes on the Gospel son-of-man tradition.

M. Henze's essay deals with "Nebuchadnezzar's Madness (Daniel 4) in Syriac Literature," that is, the writings of Aphrahat, Ephrem, and the *Letter to the Mountaineers*. The Syriac reception history of Dan 4 shows an interesting shift: While Aphrahat followed the rabbinic reading and emphasizes the divine retribution in Dan 4, Ephrem broke with the exegetical tradition and focused on the penitential aspect, thus transforming Nebuchadnezzar into an exemplary figure. Ephrem's exegesis in turn led to Syrian "proto-monasticism" in which Nebuchadnezzar was viewed as a model penitent and ascetic ideal.

The "Textual History" section comprises three essays dealing with Daniel in Qumran, the Greek versions of Daniel, and the Syriac Daniel. E. Ulrich writes on "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls." He lists all the textual variants in the Qumran manuscripts and evaluates their significance in regard to the textual history of Daniel. As is already well known, 4QDan^a agrees in orthography with the MT, but with respect to textual variants 4QDan^a and 4QDan^b agree against the MT. For Ulrich, there are four variant editions of Daniel: a basic, no longer extant edition from which the following derived; an edition witnessed by the MT as well as by 4QDan^a, 4QDan^b, and 4QDan^d for chapters 4–6; an edition witnessed by the OG and Theodotion for chapters 4–6; and an edition that includes the "Additions."

A. A. Di Lella, in "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel," provides a well-balanced overview of the issues in the study of the Greek texts of Daniel, with reference to the major scholarly contributions. He discusses the Old Greek, Theodotion and its debated relation to OG, the Additions to Daniel, the Hexaplaric Recension, and the Lucianic Recension, and draws some conclusions of his own. Besides surveying the field, Di Lella proposes again (see his AB commentary *The Book of Daniel*,

81–82) that Theodotion is a first-century B.C.E. independent translation of the MT “with an eye on” OG (except for Dan 4–6) “that was never reworked by the recensionist Theodotion” (596), a view quite similar to McLay’s recent conclusions.

K. D. Jenner provides an overview for the study of the “Syriac Daniel,” beginning with the available sources and a summary of the results of scholarly research, in particular Taylor’s *Peshitta of Daniel*. Jenner recognizes several areas important in the discipline: (1) the comparative study of unit delimitations through the system of paragraphing and the systems of punctuation and accents in the ancient Peshitta manuscripts; (2) the place of Syriac Daniel in the order of biblical books (flexible canonical status belonging to both the Prophets and the Writings); (3) the comparative study of the use of lectionaries; (4) the rubrics, that is, the editorial explanations or allusions to world history added to the text; and (5) the use of Daniel in comments and expositions.

The last section on “The Theology of Daniel” starts with J. Goldingay’s “Daniel in the Context of Old Testament Theology,” in which he focuses on two questions: Who is God? and Who are we? He observes that the assertions of God’s sovereignty become stronger the more the book progresses, while at the same time God’s sovereignty, as well as his activity and speaking, is expressed more and more indirectly. In answering the latter question Goldingay pursues the recurrent motifs of power, learning, and religion in the Danielic presentation of the Gentile leaders first and then of the Jewish leaders. Goldingay’s approach is remarkably refreshing when he calls for a reading of Daniel not only from the standpoint of the faithful Jews, which we usually are inclined to do, but also from that of the Gentile leaders, and to ask ourselves in which manner we exercise power in the world.

J. Barton’s main point in “Theological Ethics in Daniel” is that the book shares its ethical concerns (food laws, prayer, loyalty to God) with other Jewish literature (Judith, Tobit) and hence cannot be regarded as a sectarian ethics but is totally mainstream. In fact, the ethical center in Daniel, namely, submission to God, is expected to be valid for Jews as well as non-Jews. Herein, Daniel follows the ethical outlook of the Israelite prophets.

Finally, the inclusion of J. Lust’s article, “Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel: The Tamid and the Abomination of Desolation” (the only essay in this volume that was published previously, in 1993), could be regarded as a tribute to one of the major theological motifs in Daniel: the cultic motif. Lust gives an overview and a comprehensive critique of the two major interpretations of the expression שְׁקוּץ מִשְׁמֵם (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11), that is, to regard it as “contemptuous deformation” (E. Nestle, E. Bickermann) or as referring to astral cult (J. Goldstein, K. Koch). Lust himself argues that the “abomination of desolation” in Daniel is a pagan sacrifice in replacement of the Tamid and originally suggests that שְׁקוּץ מִשְׁמֵם is a construction in which מִשְׁמֵם indicates the one to whom the abomination belongs, thus the “abomination of the desolator.” Whereas the

replacement theory is attractive, the latter suggestion remains problematic, both grammatically and for using the LXX as major argument to explain how the Hebrew in these difficult constructions should be understood.

It is obvious that a main focus of *The Book of Daniel* is the relation of Daniel to the Qumran literature, since one-third of the essays deal in one way or another with it. Such an emphasis has to be welcomed, for “Daniel at Qumran” has become more and more essential when one deals with the text, composition, literary context, and reception of Daniel. That several essays concentrate on Qumran brings in turn also a somewhat irritating but perhaps unavoidable repetition of material, such as regarding the Qumran manuscripts of Daniel (cf. 330–31 with 573–75) or the discussion on 4Q242 (cf. 332–38 with 387–88), 4Q243–244 (cf. 339–41 with 371–76), 4Q245 (cf. 351–60 with 376–77), and 4Q530 (cf. 378–84 with 390–92). Further, besides the explicit reprint of Lust’s essay, some parts are clearly an adaptation, sometimes even a reiteration of previously published material. For example pages 335–38 are found in Collins in DJD 22.88–93; pages 338–51 correspond to Collins in *RQ* 17 (1996): 111–35 and to Collins and Flint in DJD 22.133–51; pages 351–60 to Flint, *RQ* 17 (1996): 137–50; pages 371–84 to Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (N. Richland Hills, 2000), 142–54; pages 378–84 to Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*, (Sheffield, 1997), 211–20, and to Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (Tübingen, 1997), 120–23; and Henze’s essay (550–71) is a selected excerpt from chapter 4 of his published dissertation *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar* (Leiden, 1999), 147–70, 192–201. One has the impression that especially the essays in relation to Qumran are rather summarizing the state of research than being original or probing further. Still, the major advantage of the present volume is that some of the earlier discussions have been brought up to date and that the different issues that pertain to the study of Daniel are now quite handy located at one place.

For a book of such a caliber one would expect and wish that the editorial process had received much greater care. It is amazing to see so many slips and errors (I counted sixty-four, without the repetitions). This is not only distracting but at times really annoying, such as when the subtitle and the first line of the following paragraph are hopelessly mixed beyond reparation, just to be followed by another two slips in the next line (674).

This collection of essays is simply a must for any serious student of the book of Daniel and of its reception and influence, especially the relation between Daniel and Qumran. Although the contents of some of the essays may be found to a large extent in other places, it is the unquestionable merit of the editors to have brought together a wide array of splendid papers on important issues relating to the book of Daniel that will certainly stimulate further research.