# Poetic Passages in the Aramaic Part of the Book of Daniel\*

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In the present study, our aim is to investigate some short poetic passages of the Aramaic part of the Book of Daniel: Dan 2,20-23; 3,31ff. [VG 3,98ff.]; 4,31f.; 6,26ff. Regarding their poetic form, these passages differ from their actual context (which is a narrative), and their redactional character is striking. Below, we explore the special features of these passages, then we ask after their role in the highly complicated *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the Book of Daniel.

# 1. Special Features of the Poetic Passages

The Aramaic part of the Book of Daniel (2,4b-7,28) can be divided into two distinct parts. On the one hand, the greater part consists of series of short narrative stories (2,4b-6,29). On the other hand, chapter 7 – although in its language it corresponds to the previous stories – anticipates in its genre the Hebrew chapters of the Book, which contain apocalyptic material.

The first narrative unit (chapter 2) tells of the dream of king Nebuchadnezzar, and its decipherment by Daniel. Verses 2,20-23 belong to this story. They anticipate in hymnic style the theological conclusion of the story, the

As far as we know, until this time only one study was dedicated specifically to these passages: Towner, Passages 317-26. See further Prinsloo, Poems 93-108.

<sup>\*</sup> The author thanks the valuable remarks of Professor John J. Collins.

In the case of chapter 3, verse-numbering of the masoretic text and Old Greek / Vulgate is different, because the Latin and Greek textual tradition of the book insert two further poetic units into the chapter, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three (between MT 3,23f.). Therefore, masoretic chapter 3 contains 33 verses, whereas in the Vulgate this same chapter consists of 100 verses. In the same time, Old Greek omits MT 3,31ff.; these are present in Theodotion, but with the numbering 4,1ff. Moreover, Old Greek has here a highly different version of the chapter compared to the masoretic text. Following the general custom – and because our main object is the Aramaic material of the book, preserved in the masoretic text – we follow the numbering of the masoretic text, while giving the numbering of the Vulgate between brackets (if necessary).

confession of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. 2,47a-b). <sup>3</sup> Chapter 4 tells of the madness and healing of Nebuchadnezzar, the following two poetic passages frame this story (3,31ff. [VG 3,98ff.] and 4,31b-32). Finally, the fourth poetic passage is found at the end of chapter 6: this concludes the story of the miraculous adventure of Daniel in the lion's den, and the entire narrative material of chapters 2-6. In the actual form of the book, thus, these passages mark out the narrative parts of the Aramaic Daniel, since they are found at the beginning, at the end, and in the middle of the greater unit of the narratives.

#### 2. Daniel 2,20-23

Based on the vocabulary and theological view of the unit, we can postulate at least two stages of the emergence of these verses. 2,21a.23 seem to be secondary. Lexically, in 2,21a we find the terms "times" and "ages" (ערניא וזמניא), which occur repeatedly also in the rest of the chapter. However, while the meaning of these terms is concrete in the rest of the chapter, in the poetic passage they denote abstract notions. Furthermore, the root ערהע in the sense of "to remove [a ruler]" is absent from chapter 2 (we can

According to my understanding, the Danielic stories have four basic elements. These are: 1. an introductory part, which presents the protagonists and the reason of the conflict; 2. the conflict: misfortune of the Jewish protagonist; 3. the solution: the Jewish protagonist regains his position; 4. the "theological / moral conclusion": the pagan king tolerates or confesses the god of the Jewish protagonist. I developed this in my Hungarian paper, Xeravits, Átalakuló hagyományok 13-26, esp. 17ff., an English translation of which is forthcoming in the volume Xeravits u.a., Monotheism; see further Wills, Jew 10ff.193-204; Collins, Daniel 42ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. esp. Crüsemann, Formgeschichte 81-154.

note, nevertheless, that it occurs in this sense also in Dan 5,20). *Thematically*, it is striking that in the entire material of 2,20-23 we find the theme of God's rule over all kingdoms only here, in V.21a. From the viewpoint of poetics, if we remove V.21a from the context, we get a poetically fluent text: an introductory bicolon followed by two tricola, as follows:

I.	3+3	מברך מן־עלמא ועד־עלמא	להוא שמה די־אלהא	V.20a
II.	5+3+3		די חכמתא וגבורתא די לה־היא	V.20b
		ומנדעא לידעי בינה	יהב חכמתא לחכימין	
III.	4+3+3	ידע מה בחשכא	הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא ונהורא עמה שרא	V.22
(IV.)	3+3+5	מהודא ומשבח אנה	לך אלה אבהתי די חכמתא וגבורתא יהבת לי	

After the introductory bicolon, the first tricolon praises God as the source of wisdom, while the second tricolon, which uses explicit apocalyptic and dualistic vocabulary, transforms the material of the previous tricolon onto a cosmic or ethical level.<sup>5</sup>

Material of 2,23 is also problematic. V.23b is without doubt secondary: this interpretative bicolon helps contextualize the thanksgiving. Without V.23b, also a tricolon remains; this develops further the material of the unit. V.23a echoes the call of V.20a (לך...מהודא ומשבח אונה), and V.23a actualises the teaching of VV.20b.21b. Nevertheless, this tricolon provides a break in several respects. On the one hand, we find a grammatical change: until this verse, the thanksgiving speaks about God consistently in the third person singular, but V.23a uses second person singular forms. On the other hand, theologically: the initial divine name ("God of my fathers", אבהתי (אבהתי אבהתי) is a special, deuteronomic-like term, which is alien both to the text of the thanksgiving and to the entire material of the Book of Daniel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Collins, Daniel 160; Goldingay, Daniel 48.

the king (2,27). On the contrary, the thanksgiving contains a highly developed sapiential theology. It depicts God as the one who has wisdom (2,20b). God can communicate this wisdom to others (2,21b), and in this particular case He communicates it to Daniel (2,23b). In light of this view, the denoting of the pagan scientists as "wise men" has an ironic overtone. The contrast is very sharp between the efficacy of the wisdom coming from God and the ineptitude of the wisdom of the pagans.

Other connecting points between the thanksgiving and the rest of chapter 2 are the themes of revelation (alg: 2,22a), and, especially, of "knowing" (עודי 2,23c). The Ap'el form of the root ידע is one of the key-terms in the debate between the king and the pagan wise men (2,5b.9a), while the root occurs, when Daniel and his companions ask God to give the explanation of the king's secret mystery. Later in the story both roots occur in connection with Daniel: ידע denotes his activity (2,26b.30b), while אוני denotes the activity of God in the background of the events (2,28a.29b.30a). In this regard, however, a characteristic difference can also be found between the thanksgiving and the rest of the chapter. In the latter, the object of the root ובלא is generally the "mystery" (בוא 2,19a.28a.29b.30a), this word is however completely absent from the vocabulary of the thanksgiving. Here, instead of "mystery," we find the abstract terms "deep and hidden things" (בוא 1,22a).

The contextualisation of the thanksgiving into chapter 2 is further strengthened by the mention of "times and ages" (ערניא וומניא), and by the theme of the lordship of God over kings in 2,21a. This text obviously reflects the dream of the king (succession of great world-empires), a *topos* that has central importance in some chapters of the Book of Daniel. Yet, we have seen that the position of V.21a within the text of the thanksgiving is uncertain.

Although the contextualisation of the thanksgiving seems to be well-done, we can nevertheless find signs of secondary character. The features of this poetic passage explored above let it be understood as a theological reflection on the rest of chapter 2. Themes of the thanksgiving — God who disposes of wisdom and sovereignty, and who alone reveals the secrets of the histoire sainte — all recur in the rest of the chapter. However, especially with the word-pairs איים משפח מול משפח מול לא נומניא וומניא וומניא וומניא וומניא וומניא וומניא the thanksgiving uses more abstract theological language than the rest of the chapter. Moreover, we can easily extract the thanksgiving from the context: these verses not only differ from the rest of the chapter in their poetical form, but the material of chapter 2 displays an intelligible train of thought without the text

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kratz, Translatio 161-225.

of the thanksgiving. V.2,24 continues 2,19a organically, and the insertion of the thanksgiving does not improve the dynamics of the structure of the unit.

Thus, we can label Dan 2,19b-23 a secondary amplification, which was formed directly for its present context. Its role is secondary in the emergence of the chapter. Nevertheless, in the canonical form of the chapter, this passage is important, because it summarises and theologically interprets the material of its context.

# 3. Daniel 3,31ff. [VG 3,98ff.]

This poetic passage is found in the introduction of chapter 4. The medieval numbering of the verses is obviously wrong in this case, because these verses belong to chapter 4, and not to chapter 3; yet, for the sake of convenience this erroneous numbering is generally not corrected.

Within this passage only V.33 is poetic, but in its actual context, VV.31ff. are closely linked with each other. The poetic verse contains the confession of the king Nebuchadnezzar, while the previous verses encase this in the context of a circular epistle.

This unit presents various problems. The first is textual: ancient versions of the unit preserved different texts of these verses. The Vulgate, Peshitto and Theodotion contain a text conformed to the masoretic text, but the most ancient Greek translation of the book (Old Greek) lacks these verses. <sup>9</sup> The

The argument of Prinsloo, Poems 97-101, for the contextualisation of the passage is valid only at the level of the canonical form. It seems that he does not want to consider the literary structure of the passage without the poetic passage.

Towner, Passages 318 n. 4, argues that the author of the thanksgiving is the same as the rest of the chapter, but the setting and structure of the passage contradict this. More probable is the opinion of Collins, Daniel 160, who believes that the thanksgiving was composed *ad hoc* for this context, but does not assert the common authorship of the passage and the rest of the chapter.

This most ancient Greek text of the book was preserved by three witnesses. Ms 88 (*Codex Chisianus*), copied between 9-11 century A.D., papyrus 967, copied between 2-3 century A.D., and the Syrohexaplaric text (SyH), which is in fact a highly slavish translation of the LXX column of Origen's *Hexapla* from 615-617 A.D. This text-form is generally called Old Greek, and not Septuagint, because the Septuagint mss contain the θ' translation of Daniel, and not the Septuagint itself. (Exact reason of this was already unknown for Saint Jerome, but we can think about the considerable differences between OG and MT.) However, while the Septuagint contained originally this version, the distinction of the scholars between Septuagint and Old Greek is really unnecessary. To the Old Greek of Daniel see *inter alia* Montgomery, Daniel 35-39; Bruce, Version 22-40; Collins,

Old Greek has instead a related surplus: at the end of chapter 4 it contains not only one poetic passage – as does the masoretic text – but two. The first of these does not have a direct parallel in the masoretic text, but is thematically linked with MT 3,31ff.

The position of the unit 3,31ff. is questionable also in the masoretic text. On the one hand, if a poetic passage containing the confession of the pagan king is incorporated into a court tale, it belongs to the end of the story and not to its beginning (this fact had obviously influenced the numbering these verses as the end of chapter 3 and not as the beginning of chapter 4). On the other hand, the position of V.33 itself is problematic within the unit 3,31ff. With great certainty, we can label this *poetic* verse as a secondary reworking of the prose verses 3,31f. Thus, 3,33 is doubly secondary: in relation to the rest of the chapter, and in relation to its proper context. <sup>10</sup> That V.33 emerges secondarily from its immediate context, is well demonstrated by comparison with VV.33a-32a:

אתיא ותמהיא (3,32aa)

(3,33aα) אתוהי כמה רברבין ומהוהי כמה תקיפין ותמהוהי כמה מקיפין

The first bicolon of the poetic verse thus explains the meaning of the two key-words of 3,32a ("signs and wonders", אחיא וחמהיא). Regarding the teaching of the chapter, these words seem to fit the context, but they do not form part of the chapter's vocabulary proper. Moreover, we cannot find these words anywhere in Daniel 2-7, except for one occurrence, in the similar poetic passage of 6,28. We can thus with good reasons suppose that these words were placed to their actual place by the influence of 6,28.

#### 4. Daniel 4,31f.

This poetic passage forms part of the moral / theological conclusion of chapter 4. The content of the verses is – as in the previous case – the confession of Nebuchadnezzar. The introductory stich (4,31a) has a double significance: 4,31a $\gamma$ - $\delta$  introduces the confession itself, and 4,31a $\alpha$ - $\beta$  attaches the passage to the context of the rest of the chapter.

This passage, as opposed to 3,31ff., is found also in the Old Greek, but with remarkable variants. Here the conclusion is inserted into a different place, instead of MT 4,31a $\beta$  in a context which recalls 4,33a $\beta$  (OG 4,36 [Rahlfs' numbering]:

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Haag, Errettung 13f.; Albertz, Gott 44f.; Collins, Daniel 220ff.

Daniel 4-9; Di Lella, History 586-607. Text editions of papyrus 967: Geissen, Septuaginta-Text; Hamm, Daniel Kap. 1-2; and Daniel Kap. 3-4.

εν εκείνω τω καιρω αποκατεσταθη η βασιλεία μου έμοι και η δοξα μου απέδοθη μοι). After this, we find the praise of God, the creator (lacking in the masoretic text), then follows a text that recalls mostly MT 3,32f. (OG 4,373-7: εξομολογουμαι και αίνω ότι αυτος έστιν ο θς των θων και κς των και κς των βασιλέω ότι αυτος ποιεί σημεία και τέρατα και αλλοιοί καιρούς και χρονούς αφαιρών βασιλεύων και κατίστων έτερους αντ αυτών). In this verse 4,375-7 has special importance, because it is parallel with 2,21, and thus shows, that this passage was inserted into the context after Daniel \*(3).4-6 and chapter 2 had been combined. After these, the Old Greek contains mixed material, including the episode of the circular epistle of the king (OG 4,37b-c), which is familiar from MT 3,31; within a poetic confession that recalls MT 3,31b-32 (OG 4,37c5-8: ότι εις έστιν ο θς και τα θαυμασία αυτού μεγαλα το βασσιλείον αυτού εις τον αιώνα η εξουσία αυτού απο γενέων εις γενέας).

The poetic passage of the masoretic text can be divided into two main parts: 4,31b is a repetition of the short confession-formula, which we saw already in 3,33b in the reversed order; whereas 4,32 praises God's incomparable power compared to the created universe.

The contextualising of the passage in the masoretic text displays severe problems. 4,33aα repeats with minor changes the text of 4,31aβ, which immediately precedes the passage. The material that follows the poetic passage seems to continue the line of narrative interrupted in V.31a. This gives us the impression that VV.31b-32 are secondary. The examination of the vocabulary of the passage results in similar conclusion. On the one hand, only two of the passage's key-terms can be found in the rest of the chapter, a form of the root מבר ("to wish for", three times) and the term של ("power", once, in 4,19b). On the other hand, מות ("generation"), לשנות ("to consider, take for"), חיל ("army") and למות ל" ("to strike") are unfamiliar from the material of the chapter, and, moreover, מות הוא occurs only here and in the parallel colon of 3,33b, whereas למות is hapax in the entire Biblical Aramaic.

#### 5. Daniel 6,26ff.

The last passage which concerns us (6,26ff.) is found at the end of the collection of court tales. The text contains again the confession of a pagan king (in this case Darius). The immediate context is again the king's circular epistle. The structure of the passage is as follows: 6,26a: introduction; 6,26b-27a: greeting and the king's decree; 6,27b-28: poetic confession of

Similarly Grelot, Septante 17: "on a donc jusqu'ici l'impression d'un texte secondaire, composé par un auteur qui connaît les ch. II à VI du livre".

the king. 12 It seems that this unit gives a theological assessment of the entire collection of court tales.

The Old Greek version displays again interesting variants. The immediate context is also Darius' circular epistle. But the poetic confession differs from the masoretic text. First, OG  $6.27_{3.4}$  is a variant of MT 6.27ba- $\beta$ . Second, OG  $6.28_{1.2}$  is a confession of Darius (lacking in the masoretic text), which is followed by a variant of MT 6.28. On the one hand, the Old Greek version omits the allusion to signs and wonders (MT 6.28aa2-b), and the mention of the lions (MT 6.28bb); on the other hand, it is a polemic against the idols (OG  $6.28_3$ ):  $\epsilon\omega_{\zeta}$  του αιωνος  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  δαρείος  $\epsilon\sigma$ ομαι αυτω προσκυνων και δουλεύων πασας τας ημέρας μου τα γαρ  $\epsilon$ ιδωλα τα χειροποιητα ου δυνανται σωσαι  $\omega_{\zeta}$  ελυτρωσατο ο  $\theta_{\zeta}$  τον δανιηλ. With this, the sequence of the masoretic text: "save  $\rightarrow$  (as) he has saved" is changed into "unable to save  $\rightarrow$  (as) he is able to save".

Recently, Gert Prinsloo argued at greater length that this passage forms the climax of the story, and thus, that we must consider it as an essential part of the chapter's material. Again, he is undoubtedly right regarding the canonical form of the chapter. But, a closer reading of the passage helps us to discover its secondary character, just as in the case of Dan 3,31ff. and 4,31f. It is striking that there is only one serious terminological link between the poetic passage and the rest of the chapter. The verb שִׁישׁ which is one of the theological key-terms of the chapter (cp. 6,15.17.21) occurs at the beginning of 6,28aa and 6,28ba. One can mention the term אַישׁ ("living God") in 6,27ba, which occurs also in 6,21b $\beta$ , this latter occurrence is, however, obviously secondary. (It is noteworthy that the Old Greek does not contain this term at all). As for the rest, about the word שֵׁישׁ we can say the same as in the case of 4,31; while the terms אַחִין וּחמַהִין ("signs and wonders") occurs only 6,28a $\beta$  and in the text of 3,32f.

These features shows that secondary material, which originally was independent of the rest of the chapter, was inserted into the actual text of Daniel 6. This redaction was careful to harmonise the inserted material with the rest of the chapter (cf.  $6,28a\alpha_1$ .b; in the Old Greek this *Tendenz* is not so strong), but at the same time it preserved connections with the similar passages in the Book.

Different structuring of the text: Prinsloo, Poems 101f.

Prinsloo, Poems 103-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. Collins, Daniel 21; Haag, Errettung 41; Albertz, Gott 141.

### 6. The Relationship of the Poetic Passages with Each Other

We can divide these four poetic supplements of Daniel 2-6 into two groups. 2,20-23 displays a good number of differences from the other three, which have stronger contacts with each other. The two groups have at least three striking differences: the speaker is different, the fundamental theme is different, and the contextualising of the units is different. Despite their similar form, their origin is different.

- 1. Regarding the difference of the speaker, it is enough to note that in Dan 2,20-23 the thanksgiving is spoken by Daniel, whereas in the three other passages we find thanksgiving / confession of pagan rulers. Consequently, the passages have different places within the text of the related chapters: the prayers of the kings belong to the moral / theological conclusion of the stories, while 2,20-23 does not fit into this sub-genre.
- 2. Concerning thematic unity: while Dan 2,20-23 centres around God's wisdom and revelation, the three other passages are built around another, different theme, confessing the overall reign of God. Key-terms are "king-dom" (מלכו) and "power" (שלכו). The most condensed exposition of this idea is found in the two bicola 3,33b and 4,31b, where we find, in the reverse order:

3,33b	ושלטנה עם־דר ודר	מלכותה מלכות עלם
4,31b	ומלכותה עם־דר ודר	דישלטנה שלטן עלם

The key-terms (שלמן and שלמן) recur also in the last passage (cf. 6,27b $\gamma$ - $\delta$ ), in this case however not in this accurately constructed manner, but explaining the same theological topic: "his reign is everlasting, and his dominion lasts forever". <sup>16</sup> On the contrary, in the poetic passage of chapter 2, this theological viewpoint occurs only in V.21a, in – as we have seen – a secondary position.

3. We have pointed out that the poetic supplement of chapter 2 – despite its clearly secondary nature – is well contextualized within the material of the chapter. The other three passages do not have such a harmonic contextualization. Perhaps 3,32f. [VG 3,99f.] shows the best relationship with its immediate context, because here the terms "signs and wonders" could refer to the mighty acts of God on Nebuchadnezzar. But in 6,28a $\beta$  this theme reappears again, and this fact calls for caution in the interpretation. Anyway, the theological intention in the background of choosing these terms is obvious: they easily recall the phrase אוחות ומפחים, pre-eminently used by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Similarly Towner, Passages 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> To the theme of reign in the Aramaic Daniel see Kratz, Translatio 161-225.

Deuteronomists. The presence of this deuteronomistic concept is even more interesting, for it calls our attention to the divine appellative אלה אבהתי found in  $V.2,23a\alpha_1$ , which has a similar background.

# 7. Emergence of the Poetic Passages

Based on the above, we believe, it is clear that the poetic passages have a different origin than the stories in which they are actually incorporated. The intention of some of them (4,31f.; 6,26ff.) is to give the conclusions of the stories a theological emphasis, or, to place the narratives into a historico-theological context (3,31ff.; 4,31f. and 6,26ff.). From the material and placement of the three related poetic passages, some scholars wanted to conclude that once they had the role of framing Daniel \*4-6 as a unit that originally circulated independently.<sup>17</sup> This, however, is questionable, mostly because of the testimony of the Old Greek version of the book. The Old Greek – as we have noted – does not insert a poetic passage at the beginning of chapter 4. Instead, it has two poetic passages at the end of chapter 4, and one at the end of chapter 6. Seeing that in its entirety, the Old Greek preserved a *Vorlage*, which is more ancient than the masoretic text, <sup>18</sup> this fact *in se* excludes the possibility that the poetic passages were composed for an originally independent Daniel \*4-6.

It is worth noting furthermore, that the poetic passage of Old Greek that does not have a direct parallel in the masoretic text (OG 4,37<sub>5-7</sub>) is related to 2,21. As we have seen, the poetic passage of chapter 2 was formed directly for its present context, and does not allude to the main themes of the other three units. Therefore we can with good reasons suppose, that the formation of these other three units began only *after* chapter 2 and the material of chapters \*(3).4-6 were combined.

Moreover, the text of the entire book as preserved in papyrus 967 makes possible some further clarifications. In this papyrus, the order of the chapters is different, and we find the following sequence: 1-4.7-8.5-6.9-12. From a chronological perspective, this order is better than the one found in the masoretic text, but – as Johan Lust has demonstrated – the emergence of this order was not caused by the intention of correcting the masoretic text. Rather, the order of papyrus 967 emerged independently from the masoretic text. Disregarding its origin, however, papyrus 967 preserved such a version, in which Aramaic and Hebrew parts of the Book (and even the deute-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Haag, Errettung.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Albertz, Gott.
19 Lust, Septuagint 39-53.

rocanonical supplements) are equally present, but the state of the poetic passages is rather archaic. From this, it follows that these passages obtain their precise placement witnessed by the masoretic text in a considerably later stage of the Book's *Entstehungsgeschichte*, in the stage of the formation of the final masoretic form of the Book.

# Summary

This study investigates some short poetic passages of the Aramaic part of the Book of Daniel: Dan 2,20-23; 3,31ff.; 4,31f.; 6,26ff. All of these passages appear to be late additions to the Aramaic narratives. In this study, we explore the special features of these passages, and ask after their role in the highly complicated *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the Book of Daniel.

#### Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel untersucht einige kurze poetische Stücke des aramäischen Teiles des Buches Daniel (Dan 2,20-23; 3,31ff.; 4,31f.; 6,26ff). All diese Stücke scheinen eine spätere Ergänzung der aramäischen Erzählungen zu sein. Im Beitrag werden die strukturierenden Merkmale der poetischen Abschnitte behandelt. Anschließend geht es darum, welche Rolle diese Passagen in der komplizierten Entstehungsgeschichte des Buches Daniel spielen.

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