4QPSEUDO-DANIEL A-B (4Q243–4Q244) AND
THE BOOK OF DANIEL

LORENZO DiTOMMASO
Department of Theology
Concordia University, Montréal

1. Introduction

With the sole exception of Adam,¹ the figure of Daniel the Prophet² has had more ancient and mediaeval apocryphal literature attributed to or associated with it than any other from the Hebrew Bible. Over fifty Jewish, Christian, and Islamic compositions are extant, each of which may be classified under one of only three types:³ i) legenda, or

¹ And perhaps Ezra and/or Moses, although there is no way to be certain until a full account of the corpus of the apocrypha pertaining to each figure is tallied. On the apocryphal Adam literature, see, most recently, M.E. Stone, A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve (SBLEJL 3; Atlanta: SBL, 1992); idem, “The Fall of Satan and Adam’s Penance: Three Notes on The Books of Adam and Eve,” JTS 44 (1993), 143–156; idem [with G.A. Anderson], A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve (2d ed.; SBLEJL 5; Atlanta: SBL, 1999); idem, Texts and Concordances of the Armenian Adam Literature. Volume 1: Genesis 1–4. Penitence of Adam. Book of Adam (SBLEJL 12; Atlanta: SBL, 1996); idem, A Concordance of the Armenian Apocryphal Adam Books (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 1; Louvain, 2001); and M.D. Eldridge, Dying Adam with His Multitithic Family: Understanding the Greek Life of Adam and Eve (SVTP 16; Leiden: Brill, 2001). See also the essays in Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays (eds G. Anderson, M.E. Stone, and J. Tromp; SVTP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000).


³ On the full range of this apocryphal Daniel material, see L. DiTommaso, The Book of Daniel and the Daniel Apocrypha (SVTP 20; Leiden: Brill, 2005). Note also the earlier and still-valuable studies, particularly F. García Martínez, “Notas al margen...
the third-person narratives about Daniel’s life, deeds, and/or death; ii) *apocryphal apocalypses*, which are the first-person accounts of Daniel’s revelatory visions of the future;³ and iii) *prognostica*, the first-person scientific manuals devoted to the forecasting of the future.⁵

The relationship between the Book of Daniel and these Daniel apocrypha very much depends on the relative dates of composition. Most of the apocrypha were written in late antiquity or the mediæval era, well after the biblical Book reached its final forms⁶ and, more importantly, after it had become an inseparable part of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. Because of this, we may speak of these Daniel apocrypha as being “post-biblical”—they were composed in the light of an authoritative biblical text, which they also reflect in both genre and content.⁷ The later Daniel legenda, for example, took their inspiration from the “court tales” of mt Daniel chapters 1–6 and the Greek Additions of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, while the visions of chapters 7–12 greatly influenced the apocryphal Daniel apocalyptica.⁸

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³ Half of these texts are mediated (i.e., true apocalypses), while the other half are what I term “apocalyptic oracles.” Almost all of these apocalyptic oracles are of Byzantine provenance and were composed originally in Greek, even if some are extant only in other languages. For a detailed examination of these texts and the development of the genre apocalypse in its Byzantine context, see L. DiTommaso, “The Christian Daniel Apocalyptica” [forthcoming in the proceedings of the First Annual Pappas Patristic Conference].

⁵ The term “scientific” is used in the context of the science of the ancient and mediæval worlds, which included prognostication and divination. The texts attributed to Daniel tend to focus on the significance of dreams (the *Somniale Danielis*), the days of the month (the *Lunationes Danielis*) and, to a far lesser degree, astronomical and meteorological phenomena (e.g., the *Praedictiones Danielis* or the *MalΩamat D®niy®l*).

⁶ That is, the Hebrew/Aramaic, Greek, and Latin texts, or the translations of these texts. That the peculiar forms of the Book of Daniel in their late antique and mediæval translations continued to exert an influence on the shape of the Daniel apocrypha is seen in the Armenian Seventh *Vision of Daniel*, the title of which cannot be original since it derives from the fact that the Book of Daniel is divided into six visions in some Armenian Bibles.

⁷ The differences among the witnesses of the biblical Daniel (e.g., Masoretic Text (mt) versus the Old Greek text (OG) versus the Theodotion-version (Θ)) and the disagreements at the level of the text (e.g., the differences in individual readings between the mt and some of the Qumran copies, or between the mt and the Peshitta version) do not affect this conclusion.

⁸ All the apocryphal Daniel apocalypses and apocalyptic oracles are of the “historical” type, thereby reflecting the influence of Daniel 7–12 in both form and content. The best definition of the genre remains the oft-cited one articulated by J.J. Collins,