Bibliography for "Who Wrote Daniel?," by Paul Lawrence, *Bible and Spade*, Volume 28:1, Winter 2015.

1 The use of specific dates to introduce several of the main sections of the book, e.g. 1:1; 2:1; 7:1, 8:1; 9:1 and
10:1 indicates that the author is intending to write history. T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel* , Oxford, 2009, 9.

2 W.H. Shea *AUSS* 26 (1988) 67-81.

3 W.H. Shea *AUSS* 26 (1988) 76.

4 W.H. Shea *AUSS* 20 (1982) 29-52. The Babylonian *ardi* = *ardu* "slave" is equated with Heb. *ebed* of the same meaning. The scribe did not change Nabu, into the standard Hebrew Nebo, but substituted -*b* with the next letter
in the alphabet -*g* to avoid mentioning the name of the god. For the complete text see E. Unger *Babylon, die heilige Stadt nach Beschreibung der Babylonier*, Berlin,1931 and J.B. Pritchard *ANET₃* Princeton UP, 1969, 307b-308a.

5 E.g. J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Minneapolis, 1993, 141,183.

6 A.R. Millard *Bible Commentary for Today* London, Glasgow, 1979, 903; S.R. Miller *NAC* Nashville, 1994, 33; T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel* 7.

7 Several historical questions have been clarified by new archaeological discoveries, two examples will suffice here: (1) The relationship between the Babylonian king Nabonidus and his regent Belshazzar whom the book of
Daniel calls king (5:1) was elucidated by discoveries of cylinders at Ur in 1854 giving the name of Belshazzar. (2) The wall of the throne room in Babylon was found to be coated with white gypsum plaster (as recorded in Daniel 5:5) T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel* 67, 149.

8 E.J. Young *Daniel* Grand Rapids, 1949, 25.

9 E.B. Pusey *Daniel the Prophet*, 75 cited in S.R. Miller *NAC* 36.

10 S.R.Miller *NAC* 33.

11 S.R.Miller *NAC* 37.

12 S.R.Miller *NAC* 47.

13 S.R.Miller *NAC* 48.

14 J.G. Baldwin *TC* Leicester, 1978, 32.

15 E.J. Young *Daniel* 19.

16 See further the contrasting monographs of J.C. Whitcomb *Darius the Mede* Philadelphia 1963 and D.J. Wiseman *Some Problems* London, 1965, 9-16; with summaries in A.R. Millard *Bible Commentary for Today* 902; A.R. Millard in *Do Historical Matters matter to faith?* Wheaton, 2012, 275-7; P.J.N. Lawrence *Lion Atlas of Bible History* Oxford 2006, 110; T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel* 111-132. The work of W.H. Shea is perhaps of note, since he changes his identification from Cyrus *AUSS* 29 (1991) 235-256 to Ugbaru *JATS* 7 (1996) 1-19; *JATS* 12 (2001) 97-105.

17 G.L. Archer *EBC* Grand Rapids, 1979, 7, 74.

18 G.L. Archer *EBC 7*, 74.

19 J.G. Baldwin *TC* 65.

20 NIV has "Media and Persia" here.

21 A.R. Millard *Do Historical matters matter to faith?* 274.

22 R.K. Harrison *Introduction to the Old Testament* London, 1970, 1120-1, cited in S.R. Miller *NAC* 27.

23 R.H. Charles *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* Oxford UP, 1929, viii and lxxviii, we should note that English versions, such as NIV, may vary between "PN, the king" and "king PN" for stylistic reasons, not always reflecting the Hebrew or Aramaic text.

24 T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel*, 149.

25 S.R. Miller *NAC* 41-3, who argues that the difference is spelling of the name Daniel in the Ezekiel and Daniel may not be as significant as is often claimed. Ezekiel's stinging rebuke of idolatry in chapter 14 does not sit well with his use of the idolatrous Daniel from Ugarit as an example, see also T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel* 17. J.J. Collins' (*A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 2) claim that most probably the name Daniel was taken from Ezekiel is inadmissible. He proposes that because Daniel was not as well known as Noah
and Job in Jewish circles, the post-exilic author was free to attach the name to a figure who would illustrate righteousness and wisdom in a historical context.

26 A.R. Millard *Bible Commentary for Today* 903; J.J Collins *ABD* 2, 31

27 S.R. Miller *NAC* 25.

28 S.R. Miller *NAC* 25.

29 J.E. Goldingay *WBC* Waco, 1987, xxvi.

30 There seems to have been an earlier version of "Theodotion" quoted by John in Revelation. F.F. Bruce *The Books and the Parchments3*, London, Glasgow, 1963, 153.

31 H.G. Liddell and R. Scott *Greek – English Lexicon* (1940 edition) 1605b.

32 H.G. Liddell and R. Scott *Greek – English Lexicon* (1940 edition) 374a

33 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* London, 1965, 43.

34 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 43.

35 The Apocrypha is a collection of texts written between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New Testament, and now preserved in Greek.

36 S.R. Miller *NAC* 40 and Fn 95, see also E.J. Young *Daniel* 20, J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 72. The later 3 Maccabees 6:6-7 (1st C AD) also cites example of three youths in fiery furnace and Daniel in lions' den. It notes that God moistened the fiery furnace with dew. "*When the three friends in Babylonia freely gave their lives to the flames that they should not serve vain things, you made the fiery furnace as dew, and delivered them unharmed even to the hair of their head, turning the flame on all their adversaries. When Daniel was cast through the slanders of envy as food for wild beasts to the lions beneath the ground, you brought him up to the light unhurt.*"

37 S.R. Miller *NAC* 25 notes: Arguments from silence are notoriously precarious. Ben Sirach's list, though large, is selective.

38 A.R. Millard *Bible Commentary for Today* 904.

39 J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 2; S.R. Miller *NAC* 37. Even though its antiquity is more striking than that of the oldest manuscripts from Qumran F.M. Cross later modified this date to between 100 and 50 BC, J.G. Baldwin *TC* 44-5.

40 J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 2. S.R. Miller *NAC* 25 (citing J.A. Soggin *Introduction to the Old Testament* 409) notes: Many fragments at Qumran are "*an evident sign that the book had acquired considerable importance at the earliest in the 3rd C and certainly in the 2nd C*".

41 J.G. Baldwin TC *45*, S.R. Miller *NAC* 38-39, (citing R.K. Harrison *EBC* 1, 248).

42 E.J. Young *Daniel* 20, S.R. Miller *NAC* 36, citing E.J. Young *Introduction to the Old Testament* 361.

43 Ant.11.337. S.R. Miller *NAC* 41. Elsewhere Josephus declares of Daniel "*one of the greatest prophets, he was*

not only accustomed to prophesy future things, but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass," (Ant.10.267). J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel,* 52.

44 J.E. Goldingay *WBC* xxv.

45 S.R. Miller *NAC* 32.

46 A. Sáenz-Badillos *A History of the Hebrew Language*, Cambridge UP, 1993, 122 see also 114.

47 W.J. Martin *Some Problems* London, 1965 30; see further S.R. Miller *NAC* 31-2.

48 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 32-33.

49 This arises from close contact with the Akkadian and earlier Sumerian languages which are also SOV.

50 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 76, see also Baldwin *TC* 32 and Miller *NAC* 31.

51 F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs *Hebrew and Lexicon of the Old Testament* Oxford, 1907, 1117a.

52 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 33-4 Fn 18.

53 But not the scrolls from Wadi Murabba'at which have –z J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 16.

54 J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 15-16. K.A. Kitchen (*Some Problems* 61) observes: *While it is theoretically possible that a Daniel in Babylon in the early Persian period (c. 530 BC) might have written his Aramaic as spoken, and not in the customary historical orthography, it would be a far simpler and more realistic assumption that he would have written his Aramaic in the then current historical orthography which eventually was conformed to the more phonetic spelling of a later day.*

55 J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 19.

56 J.C. Greenfield *JANESCU* 11 (1979) 45-51.

57 A.R. Millard *Bible Commentary for Today* 902.

58 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 35.

59 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 37.

60 S.R. Miller *NAC* 28.

61 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 41-2.

62 *raz* "mystery" occurs in a restored context in the Elephantine papyri.

63 Ezra 4:17; 5:7,11. The variant *gizbar* for *gedabar* also occurs in Ezra 1:8; 7:21.

64 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 37,41. It is sometimes held that this is the origin of the phrase *eš dat* "fiery law" in Dt.33:2, but other options are possible. See further P.J.N. Lawrence *The Books of Moses Revisited* Eugene, 2011, 100 and 100 Fn 23.

65 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 43. J.G. Baldwin *TC* 33, S.R. Miller *NAC* 28. J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*19 seeks to nullify the significance of this observation with his remark: *While a late 6th C date is compatible with the Persian loanwords, a later date is more probable, because extensive linguistic borrowing does not occur instantaneously*.

66 The three terms cited below lack the definite article *–a* showing that they were clearly seen as foreign terms. T.C. Mitchell *PEQ* 124 (1992) 114. We should note that the fourth term in the list Aramaic *sabbeka* = Greek *sambyk*. is a Semitic loanword into Greek, E.M. Yamauchi *Persia and the Bible* Grand Rapids, 1990, 382.

67 The ending *–s* shows it was borrowed from the Ionic form *kitharis* (known in Homer c 750 BC)*,* not the Attic *kithara* known only from the late 6th C BC onwards, E.M. Yamauchi *Persia and the Bible* 380; T.C. Mitchell *PEQ* 124 (1992) 136.

68 So H.G. Liddell and R. Scott *English-Greek Lexion* (1940 edition) 1752a; T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce *Some Problems* 25 propose "stringed instrument of triangular shape"; T.C. Mitchell *PEQ* 124 (1992) 139 advances "another type of lyre".

69 If *sāmp_ny*a is "bagpipe", its separation from the other wind instruments in the list must be explained T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce *Some Problems* 26*.* However the traditional rendering "bagpipe" can be ruled out as anachronistic since there is no evidence for such before the beginning of the Christian era, T.C. Mitchell *PEQ* 124 (1992) 135. The term possibly qualifies the whole clause signifying "in unison" T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce *Some Problems* 26 thus H.G. Farmer in *Oxford History of Music 1*, Oxford UP, 1957, 238,245 combines these last two to produce the somewhat over technical "upper-chested 'concord' harp".

70 So NRSV "drum", T.C. Mitchell *PEQ* 124 (1992) 138-9 "tambour".

71 *Iliad* 13.731; *Odyssey* 1.153

72 T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce *Some Problems* 25; S.R. Miller *NAC* 29. *Psal'trion* is not attested until Aristotle (384-322 BC) (Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 20), *symph⌒nia* is used in Plato (428/7-348/7 BC) but with the meaning "harmony" (T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce 26), the earliest occurrence of *symph⌒nia* in sense of musical instrument is in Polybius' account of Antiochus Epiphanes (26.1.4; 30.26.8) See also J.J. Collins *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* 20.

73 S.R. Miller *NAC* 32.

74 S.R. Miller *NAC* 27.

75 S.R. Miller *NAC* 27.

76 J.G. Baldwin *TC* 37 citing W. Lee Humphries *JBL* 92 (1973) 221.

77 For another "loanword cluster" in a different context see P.J.N. Lawrence *The Books of Moses* 96.

78 S.R. Miller *NAC* 30, K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 49, J.G. Baldwin *TC* 34. K.A. Kitchen (*Some Problems* 50) notes that if Daniel were a 2nd C work, should we not expect Greek terms where Hebrew and Aramaic terms did not suffice for such officials as *strat. gos, epistolographos* and *arch⌒n*?

79 S.R. Miller *NAC* 30.

80 K.A. Kitchen *Some Problems* 41.

81 T.E. Gaston *Historical Issues in the Book of Daniel*, 153.

82 E.J. Young *Daniel* 223.

83 Daniel 11:14 would seem to be a case