JAMES SEUNG-HYUN LEE

Reimagining Exile in Daniel

Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 143

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A Literary-Historical Study

Mohr Siebeck

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To Charlene

Preface

This book is the revision of my 2012 doctoral dissertation at Union Presbyterian Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. Its publication is long overdue. My responsibilities as the president and associate professor of International Theological Seminary, West Covina, California, prevented me from reworking my dissertation in a book form. The ITS Board granted me a three-month sabbatical in 2022 to carry on research and writing. This book is the result of my labor during that time. I am grateful to the Board for their support and for allowing me to focus on my research despite many institutional needs.

I based my research on historical and literary evidence from the book of Daniel to articulate its concept of exile and to trace the identity and characteristics of the Danielic group responsible for the book's final redaction and compilation. The emerging details contribute to understanding plurality in religious and political thoughts in Hellenistic Judaism. For the Danielic group, exile was a middle space that afforded the group a unique historical perspective that both embraced and critiqued Babylon and Jerusalem. By identifying themselves with those remaining in exile, the Danielic group claimed the legitimacy of their prophetic identity and teaching during the Antiochan persecutions.

My experience as a member of a minoritized group in the US and extensive work with pastors and leaders from the majority world have led me to understand and appreciate exile as a truly global human experience that transcends time and space. The discovery of exile theorists such as Edward Said enabled me to develop a framework for the book around exile, weltanschauung, and identity.

Exile has been a much-discussed topic in recent years in both academia and ministry. Contemporary studies on migrations and refugees have shed much light on the experience of Judeans who suffered a similar plight through the Babylonian exile two millennia ago. With the decline of church membership, churches in North America speak more often of exile and view their reality and experience as that of exile. I hope that this book brings a richer and more textured understanding of exile that may hold promise and hope for readers.

I am deeply grateful to those who have been part of my journey with Daniel. Rainer Albertz kindled my interest in the book of Daniel at the

University of Münster. Sib Towner at Union Presbyterian Seminary (Union-PSCE back then) prodded me to consider Daniel for my research. Andreas Schüle took an interest in my work and provided valuable guidance and insights as my dissertation supervisor. Samuel Adams and Samuel Balentine challenged me to dig deeper into the Danielic concept of exile and refine my understanding of the Daniel group. My special thanks to the Forschungen zum Alten Testament editors at Mohr Siebeck for accepting my manuscript for publication, and Claus-Jürgen Thornton, who helped me immensely with copy editing and formatting. Finally, I want to thank my family for their unwavering support. My parents, Rev. Yun Gil Lee and Sook Ja Lim, have been my role models of faith and love for Scripture. My spouse, Charlene, has been a trusted companion and partner who has given me much-needed encouragement along the way. Without her presence and help, this book wouldn't have been possible.

Los Angeles, 2023 James S. Lee

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BDB	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (reprint, Oxford: Clarendon, 1974)
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HeyJ	*The Heythrop Journal*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*The Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSJSup	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism in Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KBL	Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Tetamenti libros*. 2nd edition (Leiden: Brill, 1958)
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly*
LXX	Septuagint
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OG	Old Greek
Or	*Orientalia*
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
pap.	papyrus
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
SBLAcBib	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Syh	Syro-Hexapla
Symm.	Symmachus
Syr.	Syriac
Tg.	Targum
Theod.	Theodotion
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
v(v).	verse(s)
Vulg.	Vulgate
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK AT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare. Altes Testament

Chapter 1

Exile as an Ideology

1.1 Defining Exile

The book of Daniel narrates the travail and success of a Jewish exile named Daniel under gentile rulers as well as his apocalyptic visions regarding the future of the nations and of his own people. The book begins with Nebuchadnezzar's deportation of Jehoiakim and temple articles to Babylon (1:1–3). John Ahn employs the term "forced migration" to denote the Babylonian exile that took place in three waves, 597, 587, and 582 BCE, for "Judah's migration was not voluntary."[1] According to Ahn's generational study of forced migration, Daniel and his three friends belong to the "in-between 1.5 generation," who "left Judah and who grew up in Babylon."[2] While it may be useful to apply the concept of "forced migration" to "the exile" presented in the book of Daniel, it is clear that the book is not interested in giving an accurate, historical depiction of the Babylonian exile.[3] Daniel 1 does not use the term גלה to refer to the deportation of Jews, a term which is otherwise commonly used for the Babylonian exile in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21; Isa 5:13; Jer 1:3; 52:27; Ezek 12:3; 39:23; Amos 1:5; 5:5; 6:7; 7:11, 17). Daniel 1:2 claims that "the Lord handed (נתן) over Jehoiakim to his [Nebuchadnezzar's] hand," a statement that exhibits a strong theological bent with no claim to "historical objectivity." The book does not report the migration of Jewish population explicitly. One can only deduce from Dan 1:3 that some of Jewish elites accompanied Jehoiakim to Babylon.[4] It is also noteworthy that the account of the catastrophic event of Jerusalem's fall and

[1] John Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations: A Sociological, Literary, and Theological Approach on the Displacement and Resettlement of the Southern Kingdom of Judah*, BZAW 417 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 35.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Segal comes to a similar conclusion and advocates for a literary-ideological approach that explores how the authors of Daniel "perceived the past" or how "they wanted their readers to perceive this past." Michael Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel*, BZAW 455 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 2.

[4] Even the historicity of Jehoiakim's captivity to Babylon is debatable. Second Kings and Jeremiah do not report the event. Especially, Jer 36 indicates that Jehoiakim still resides in Jerusalem in the fourth year of his reign.

the subsequent mass deportation of Judeans in 587/586 BCE is completely absent in the book of Daniel.

Especially, in Dan 9 one finds an understanding of exile, which is more indicative of the book's political and religious agenda. Daniel ponders Jeremiah's prophecy, which predicts that Jerusalem's desolation will last for seventy years. Daniel humbles himself and prays to his God. As he confesses the sins of his people in an earnest plea, the angel Gabriel appears to Daniel and imparts to him a new understanding: "seventy weeks" are decreed for his people and Jerusalem.[5] James VanderKam argues that the "seventy weeks," which extend to the time of Antiochus IV's reign, presuppose that "the condition of which Jeremiah spoke remained in force, ostensibly in the first year of Darius the Mede (Dan 9:1) but historically for the actual author more than three and one-half centuries after the return of 538."[6] That is, the "seventy weeks" in Dan 9 represent more than an interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy. Daniel's adaptation of Jeremiah communicates a view of the Second Temple period as a time of ongoing exile.[7] For the Danielic editors, the exile was not a past event but a present reality, which the group learned to embrace as an existential state.[8]

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[5] James L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1997), 2. He claims that the angelic revelation is an explicit interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10), in which Jeremiah's reference to "seventy years" means 490 years.

[6] James C. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott, JSJSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 90.

[7] Ibid., 89; Michael A. Knibb, "Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976): 253–72. Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 458–533; John S. Bergsma, "The Persian Period as Penitential Era: The 'Exegetical Logic' of Daniel 9.1–27," in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Lester L. Grabbe with Deirdre Fulton (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 50–64. Against this view, Bergsma argues that the author of Dan 9 understands his own time as a progressive fulfillment of the prophecies of restoration and the Persian and early Hellenistic period primarily as a "penitential era," an era necessitated by the absence of repentance during the seventy years prophesied by Jeremiah (ibid., 61). However, as we will see in the next chapter, according to Jeremiah, true repentance precedes the return of YHWH's favor on the exiles and their consequent return to their homeland.

[8] Philip R. Davies, "Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?," in *Leading Captivity Captive: 'The Exile' as History and Ideology*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup 278 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 130. James M. Scott, ed., *Exile: A Conversation with N. T. Wright* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2017). In the present book, "the Danielic editors" refers to the final redactors of the book. For more detailed definition of the term, see pp. 24–26.

Therefore, the exile represented in the book of Daniel is more than a "historical referent." It is a "literary and cultural referent."[9] Robert Carroll calls "the exile" a "biblical trope" and "root metaphor," which various authors in the Hebrew Bible employ in order to understand and construct history in relation to their present time.[10] As a metaphor, it is inherently ideological, because it reflects a particular group's view of history based upon the group's social location. For instance, Chronicles portrays the exile as "temporary" and a "prolonged Sabbath," during which the land of the former kingdom of Judah remained uninhabited until its reoccupation by the returning exiles.[11] This account reflects the view of the Babylonian golah, who returned from Babylon and formed the Jerusalem establishment in the Persian Yehud.[12] On the other hand, the exile, according to the book of Daniel, never comes to an end in a historical realm; it only awaits an apocalyptic end.[13] The building of the Second Temple and the return of the deportees do not demarcate the history of the Jewish people. There is no separation between the exilic and post-exilic periods. Only one continuous epoch of history exists, with the deportation of Jehoiakim and temple vessels as its beginning. This observation leads us to questions about the social location of the Danielic editors and

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[9] Robert P. Carroll, "Exile! What Exile? Deportation and the Discourses of Diaspora," in *Leading Captivity Captive*, 64.

[10] Ibid. See also Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible*, VTSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme and Ingrid Hjelm, eds., *Myths of Exile: History and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (London: Routledge, 2015); Jesper Høgenhaven et al., eds., *Images of Exile in the Prophetic Literature: Copenhagen Conference Proceedings 7–10 May 2017*, FAT 2.103 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

[11] Carroll, "Exile! What Exile?," 65–66; John Kessler, "Images of Exile: Representations of the 'Exile' and 'Empty Land' in Sixth to Fourth Century BCE Yehudite Literature," in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Contexts*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, BZAW 404 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 309–52; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Total Exile, Empty Land and the General Intellectual Discourse in Yehud," in ibid., 155–68. While the rhetoric of exile as the total deportation of population and empty land is for some scholars the ideological product of the Jerusalem group in hegemony and is under suspicion, Ben Zvi qualifies the discourse more as negotiations among various groups in Yehud for a common unity and identity.

[12] Carroll, "Exile! What Exile?," 67. Carroll coined the term "the myth of the empty land" first. Robert P. Carroll, "The Myth of the Empty Land," in *Ideological Criticism of Biblical Texts*, ed. David Jobling and Tina Pippin, Semeia 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 79–93. See also Jordan Guy, *United in Exile, Reunited in Restoration: The Chronicler's Agenda*, HBM 81 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2019); Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

[13] The angelic vision in Dan 9, however, echoes the Chronicler's sabbatical understanding of "the exile."

how the group's social location contributed to its unique understanding of exile. Davies writes:

> It is thus possible for the historian to speak of a group using 'Exile' as a political claim, but not to identify these as 'Judah' or 'the Jews', but only one of several groups entitled to that claim, yet for whom 'exile' was not an experience. In other words, the historian can identify whose *story the 'Exile' belongs to* and point to a group (or a cluster of groups) which will have been in contest over its claims as Judah with at least one other group (or groups).[14]

Although we do not have much historical or archeological data about the Danielic editors, the book of Daniel as the group's historical and cultural footprint reveals much about: (1) the general socio-religious milieu in which the group was located; (2) a broad scribal culture of which the group was part; and (3) the particular social location of the group and its distinctive worldview. The book of Daniel does not necessarily talk about its authorial or editorial group directly; rather, its identity and social location are embedded in the court tales and the apocalyptic visions. Having inherited traditions from the past, the Danielic editors re-appropriated the traditions, giving them new meaning for their own time. The historical forces of the time shaped the group's sense of identity and worldview. Therefore, this book explores the traces of self-reference and self-portrayal of the group in the text of Daniel.

With the particular view of exile in Dan 9 as a starting point, this book examines how the editorial group behind the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the book of Daniel[15] alluded to, appropriated authoritative traditions such as Jeremiah and Chronicles, and developed a nuanced understanding of exile. Martien Halvorson-Taylor characterizes exile as a metaphor that signifies an "expression for marginalization of other sorts … a variety of alienations: political disenfranchisement within Yehud, deep dissatisfaction with status quo, and a feeling of separation from God."[16] Daniel Smith-Christopher views the biblical exile as "both a historical human disaster *and* a disaster

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[14] Davies, "Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?," 136 (emphasis original); Ehud Ben Zvi, "Inclusion in and Exclusion from Israel as Conveyed by the Use of the Term 'Israel' in Post-Monarchic Biblical Texts," in *The Pitcher Is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström*, ed. Steven W. Holloway and Lowell K. Handy, JSOTSup 190 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 95–149. Nicolae Roddy, "Exile as Identity in Persian Yehud," *Journal of Religion & Society Supplement Series* 13 (2016): 35–47. Davies makes this statement in the context of the Persian Yehud. I believe that it is true of groups from the Hellenistic Yehud.

[15] The Old Greek version (OG), particularly chs. 4–6, departs from the Aramaic text significantly. The textual relationship between the Greek versions, particularly the Old Greek, and the Hebrew/Aramaic text is complicated and is beyond the scope of this book. This book will focus on the Hebrew/Aramaic text's allusion to authoritative traditions, as it is mainly interested in the theology/ideology of exile represented in the Hebrew and Aramaic text.

[16] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 1.

that gave rise to a variety of social and religious responses with significant social and religious consequences," which "has great contemporary theological significance for modern Christian movements."[17] The concept of exile as metaphor for catastrophic human experience sheds light on the book of Daniel's representation of exile. Daniel gives a depiction of the exile in light of displacement, alienation, and persecution. Its concept of exile is closely associated with the domination of the nations and the absence of the efficacious temple during the Second Temple period. However, one needs to nuance such a view of exile as the book also evidences a more positive understanding.[18] Rather than portraying the exile solely as the state of divine absence and judgment, the court tales (Dan 1–6) depict the prosperity and success of Jewish courtiers in the gentile court, to which their unwavering faith in their God and God's favor upon them contribute. Even when the apocalyptic visions present a gloomier picture of Israel's plight under the domination of imperial power, the harsh reality of exile remains in tension with divine nearness and God's sovereignty over history, as evidenced in the angelic revelations.[19]

Exile in the book of Daniel is a privileged place.[20] The court tales of the book consistently portray Daniel as an exile (2:25; 5:13; 6:14, גלות). While

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[17] Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 6 (emphasis original).

[18] For instance, Jörn Kiefer argues that the simplistic understanding of exile as only a negative experience derives from nineteenth century nationalism. The Hebrew root גלה for exile can be also understood as an emigration for economic purposes, i.e., voluntary migration. Jörn Kiefer, "Not All Gloom and Doom: Positive Interpretations of Exile and Diaspora in the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism," in Scott, *Exile: A Conversation with N. T. Wright*, 122.

[19] "Divine power and activity is at once both the subject of 'emphatic assertion' in the book and also completely absent from other places … God's actions are recounted and spoken of by Daniel and his friends in every narrative in chs. 1–6, graphically on display in ch. 7, and yet invisible and rarely mentioned directly in chs. 9 and 10–12." Amy C. M. Willis, *Dissonance and the Drama of Divine Sovereignty in the Book of Daniel* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 3. While I agree partially with her observation, I would not go as far as to assert that divine activity is absent in Dan 9–12. How do we then understand the angelic revelations other than as the evidence of divine nearness and sovereignty?

[20] For instance, Jione Havea in his essay on the book of Ruth argues that migration is an option for the privileged to escape from their perilous situation. Naomi and her family belong to the group, since they had the means to leave their hometown during the drought. Jione Havea, "Stirring Naomi: Another Gleaning at the Edges of Ruth 1," in *Reading Ruth in Asia*, ed. idem and Peter H. W. Lau (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 112–13. Similarly, although Daniel's migration is involuntary, the book of Daniel portrays Daniel as a member of the Israelite royal family and nobility (Dan 1:3). This view of exile in the book of Daniel clearly stands in contrast with the view expressed in the biblical literature from the Persian era. Compared with the book of Daniel, the book of Esther, while asserting the expansion of God's redemption beyond the land of Israel, restrains from speaking of God's

the categorical description accentuates the "otherness" of Daniel as a foreign captive in the gentile court, it plays on the meaning of the root, "to reveal" or "to go in exile."[21] Daniel the exile is also the recipient of divine mystery. God reveals (גלא/גלה) mysteries to Daniel in a nightly vision (2:19, 22, 28, 30). The revelation of the mystery helps Daniel understand Nebuchadnezzar's dream and save the lives of the court seers. In a visionary narrative (Dan 10), Daniel also receives a revelation (גלה) regarding a great conflict that will plague his people and homeland (v. 1). According to these texts, exile is not antithetical to revelation.[22] Exile is the privileged place of divine nearness; it is where one finds divine favor (cf. 9:23; 10:11).[23]

However, how can we explain the vastly different treatments of the nations in the court tales and the apocalyptic visions? While the court tales include the persecutions of the faithful Jews and idolatry of gentile kings, they still maintain the optimistic views of Jews prospering under the royal protection and gentile kings acknowledging the God of heaven as a sovereign God. On the other hand, the apocalyptic visions present the nations mainly as wild and

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activities directly. "The theological reaction to the Exile, then, was overwhelmingly negative, viewing that period as a barren interlude valuable only as propaedeutic to the return. The Exile was not seen as part of God's beneficent guidance of Israel, but in terms of moral theology only: God was punishing Israel for its sins (Is. 40:2). To choose to remain in the Exile was thus absurd; the theology of Second Isaiah, of the other biblical literature quoted above, and of all the Judean rebellions leaves no provision for a continuing Diaspora." Jon Levenson, "The Scroll of Esther in Ecumenical Perspective," *JES* 13 (1976): 446; Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Exile and Return in Jubilees," in Scott, *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, 127. On the topic of divine absence in Esther and Song of Songs, see also Chloe T. Sun, *Conspicuous in His Absence: Studies in the Song of Songs and Esther* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2021).

[21] Kader Konuk, "Jewish-German Philologists in Turkish Exile: Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach," in *Exile and Otherness: New Approaches to the Experience of the Nazi Refugees*, ed. Alexander Stephan (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 31; Gregory Lee Cuéllar, *Voices of Marginality: Exile and Return in Second Isaiah 40–55 and the Mexican Immigrant Experience* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 13–14; Edward W. Said, "Reflections on Exile," in idem, *Reflections on Exile: And Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 173–86.

[22] "Revelation would be the opposite of exile; what is revealed in [Isa] 40:5, for instance, is 'glory of YHWH, manifested in the return to Zion (40:9–11). What the people reveal, unconsciously, is an anti-revelation. They uncover their own annihilation, corresponding to the limitless or anarchic mouth of Sheol that opens in the place of Zion." Francis Landy, "Exile in the Book of Isaiah," in Ben Zvi and Levin, *The Concept of Exile*, 252. Thus, the Danielic understanding of the exile rejects Isaiah's anti-revelatory view of the exile.

[23] In both verses a heavenly being calls Daniel "greatly beloved" (חמדות). Jeremiah 21:8–10 already offers the view of exile as a decision and choice the Judeans could make. In a covenantal formulaic fashion, Jeremiah presents the way of life and the way of death before the Judeans. According to the prophet, opting to go in exile is the way of life.

violent animals that trample on the world and Israel. I submit that the two differing views are not necessarily incompatible. Although I do not deny the Diasporic provenance of the court tales, I argue that the Danielic editors, who were responsible for the final compilation of the book, placed the court tales side by side with the apocalyptic visions for a reason. The co-presence of the court tales and the apocalyptic visions reveals the group's ambivalent attitude towards the nations, as the group perceived itself to be in continuous exile under the Hellenistic regime.[24] The editors approached the locus of exile as where "both the sense of 'otherness' and the sense of 'belonging' irreversibly coexist."[25] By asserting exile as its own location, the Danielic editors claimed that it belonged to neither Babylon nor Jerusalem; it inhabited a middle place, which afforded the group a unique perspective that both embraced *and* critiqued Babylon and Jerusalem.[26] Edward Said writes:

> The more one is able to leave one's cultural home, the more easily one is able to judge it, and the whole world as well, with the spiritual detachment and generosity for true vision. The more easily, too, does one assess oneself and alien cultures with the same combination of intimacy and distance.[27]

Thus, the present book adopts a dialectical view towards exile and uses it as a heuristic tool to explore the ideological/theological concept of exile and its implication for the social location of the Danielic editors.

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[24] Sophia A. McClennen, *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004), 2–3.

[25] Cuéllar, *Voices of Marginality*, 15. Cuéllar distinguishes the experience of exile from that of return and uses the quote to describe the latter. However, the two experiences merge for the Danielic editors, as the group regards life in its homeland under the imperial domination as a continuing exile.

[26] Cuéllar, *Voices of Marginality*, 15; Uriah Y. Kim, "Where Is the Home for the Man of Luz?," *Int* 65 (2011): 250–62; Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migration*, 112–13. Ahn's characterization of 1.5 generation, under which he places Daniel and his three friends, as exhibiting nothing but a positive attitude towards both Jerusalem/Judah and Babylon is, thus, a gross simplification of the complex reality of exile. As we will see, Dan 9 exemplifies the criticism of both Babylon and Jerusalem.

[27] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 259. However, Said speaks of exile not as privilege but as "an alternative to the mass institutions that dominate modern life." Exile is not a matter of choice; it is a condition or state into which one is born or an event that happens to a person; he advocates cultivating a critical stance, what he calls a "scrupulous subjectivity." Said, *Reflections*, 184.

1.2 The Concept of Exile and the Social Setting of the Book of Daniel

The study of exile as a metaphorical and ideological concept with the implication for the social location of the Danielic editors has been scant. Past studies of exile in the book of Daniel revolve around either an effort to reconstruct the life and experience of exiles in the golah community or to draw theological and ethical implications from the metaphorical view of exile, i.e., a state of deprivation.[28] The topic of exile as an ideological expression of the Danielic editors that reflects their historical and social setting has not been sufficiently explored. Research on the exile in the book of Daniel can be divided largely into two groups, following the two distinct parts of the book: one focusing on the court tales in Dan 1–6 and the other on the apocalyptic visions in Dan 7–12.

1.2.1 Exile in Dan 1–6

Lee Humphreys observes that the world in which Esther and Daniel live is "fluid."[29] While adversity and persecutions are possibilities, contact and interaction with the foreign world are possible and affirmed. Court tales, as one finds them in the book of Esther and Dan 1–6, are produced "to entertain and to serve the purpose of presenting a style of life for Jews of the Diaspora."[30] This portrayal of exile is in clear contrast with the time of Antiochus IV's persecutions, in which the line between Jews and pagans was clearly drawn.[31] Thus, Humphreys concludes that the court tales cannot be at home in Hellenistic Palestine[32] and advocates a Diasporic provenance of the tales.[33] He postulates that the purpose of joining the tales with the apocalyptic visions in Daniel is "to heighten the element of conflict within the tales," which inherently existed between the Jews and the gentiles.[34] Granted that the core of the court tales is of a provenance different from the apocalyptic visions, it seems questionable that the final redactor only compiled the court tales and

[28] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischoff (reprint, Boston: Beacon, 1993), 108. Weber claims that the exile caused the Jews to become a "pariah people." According to him, one of the effects of being a "pariah people" is that their deprivation of status in society results in their greater adherence to religion, pariah status, and to the "salvation hopes" that come with their stringent observation of religious requirements.

[29] W. Lee Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973): 222.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 221.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 223.

[34] Ibid., 222.

visionary narratives mechanically without any overarching vision other than simply to highlight the conflict between the Jews and the gentiles. Furthermore, it is possible that the final redactor juxtaposed the apocalyptic visions with the court tales in order to circumscribe the former's harsh rhetoric against the nations through a more benevolent and "humane" depiction of gentile rulers. How do we also explain the missing account of the deportees' return under Cyrus's edict throughout the book? Is it a mere coincidence or does it reflect a particular view of the final redactor(s) regarding the exile?

For Lawrence Wills, the court tales in Dan 1–6 are examples of the "wisdom court legend." He defines the genre as "a legend of a revered figure set in the royal court which has the wisdom of the protagonist as a principal motif."[35] Wills finds examples of the genre in ancient literature such as the cycle of Greek sages (Solon, Thales, Bias) at the court of Croesus and the cycle of Croesus in the court of Cyrus related by Herodotus.[36] What binds the stories of Daniel and Esther together with the cycles in Herodotus is the deportees' "successful" assimilation in the foreign royal court. The life of Daniel and Esther narrated in the biblical tales as well as Susanna and Bel and the Dragon reflects the orientation of the Jewish administrative and entrepreneurial class in the Persian Empire. As "successfully assimilated" elites of the society, Jews like Esther and Daniel exemplify Diasporic Jews' openness to gentile culture and their willingness to associate themselves with the gentiles even through marriage, as demonstrated in the book of Esther.[37]

Reinhard G. Kratz argues for the Persian provenance of Dan 1–6, although he acknowledges a few instances of redaction made from the Hellenistic period. His evidence lies in the fact that the original form of the tales is without eschatological orientation and, therefore, reflects a theocratic worldview. Arguing that the tales' theocratic worldview strongly resembles Chronicles,[38] Kratz, along with Odil Hannes Steck, locates the final compilation of the book in the priestly, wisdom circles of Jerusalem.[39]

Rainer Albertz challenges the artificial division of non-apocalyptic court tales and apocalyptic visions through the removal of apocalyptic elements in the Aramaic part of the book, Dan 2–7. He highlights a shift of *Tendenz* from the Aramaic Daniel apocalypse (Dan 2–7) to the Hebrew Daniel apocalypse

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[35] Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends*, HDR 26 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 37.

[36] Ibid., 59–68.

[37] Ibid., 197.

[38] Reinhard G. Kratz, *Translatio Imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld*, WMANT 63 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 146, 273.

[39] Ibid., 279; Odil Hannes Steck, "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 53–78.

(Dan 1; 8–12). He asserts that "the realization of God's kingdom against the mighty foreign empires of the world" marks the *Tendenz* of the Aramaic apocalypse.[40] When Albertz turns to Dan 1–6 for a glimpse of the life of the Babylonian golah and its theological conceptualization of exile, the pictures that emerge from the chapters are "only blurred memories of the historical circumstances of the exilic period."[41] The narratives in Daniel are concerned exclusively with a few chosen Jewish aristocrats, leaving out the fate of the general population of the golah.[42] The narratives portray Daniel and his friends as gaining political advancement at the royal court through divine favor; their unwavering loyalty to their monotheistic faith also leads to life-threatening crises in the pagan environment.[43] Albertz concludes by speculating that the stories of Daniel and his friends probably reflect typical experiences of the exilic community, especially Jewish Diaspora in the centuries following the deportations. He surmises that the Babylonian exile in the book of Daniel serves as "the prototype for Israel's life in the Diaspora."[44]

According to John Collins, Daniel and his companions are the embodiment of the exemplary exiles modeled after the advice of Jeremiah, who writes to the exiles: "seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile. … for in its welfare you will find your welfare" (Jer 29:7). At the same time, the tales highlight the virtue of adherence to the Jewish religion they promulgate: they view compromise with idolatry in a negative light and assert that the success of the Jews depends on "their fidelity to their God."[45] As for the setting of the tales, Collins (and also Albertz) surmise that the compilation of the tales took place during the pre-Maccabean Hellenistic period because of the reference of the fourth kingdom in Dan 2 to the Greek.[46] However, both Albertz and Collins understand the exile as a historical referent and view the court tales as didactic stories for Jews in the Diaspora. Thus, they fail to explore the metaphorical and ideological aspect of the concept of exile in the book and its ramification for the social setting of the Danielic editors.

Other scholars adopt a more metaphorical view of exile. Regarding it as the state of imperial domination, they investigate the theological and ethical significance of exile. Daniel and the Jewish courtiers are commended for

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[40] Rainer Albertz, "The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, vol. 1, VTSup 83/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 177.

[41] Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.*, trans. David Green, StBibLit 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003; trans. of *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 22.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., 20.

[44] Ibid., 22.

[45] John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 51.

[46] Ibid., 36.

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