# Table of Contents

## Introduction

1. **Coordinates on a new methodological perspective**  
   1.1. *Daniel* as prototestamentary book: references about some problematic questions  
      1.1.1. The linguistic structure  
      1.1.2. The literary structure  
      1.1.3. *Daniel* Wirkungsgeschichte  
   1.2. *Daniel* as a source for paleochristian communities: its reception  
      1.2.1. From paleochristian literature to paleochristian identity: a methodological reflection  
      a) Short excursus on the most common interpretations of *Daniel* types  
      b) Coordinates on a new methodology  
2. **The plan of the present work**  
   2.1. A pluridisciplinary approach  
   2.2. The delimitation of the work  
   2.3. The methodological steps  
   2.4. A terminological clarification

## I. *The typological use of Daniel* “tales”

2. **“Tales” of *Daniel* in Judeo-Christanity. From *Pascha ex passione* to martyrdom**  
   2.1. The continuity between martyrdom and passion: *Daniel* “tales” and *Jonah* in paleochristian iconography  
      2.1.1. The programmatic function of *Jonah* cycle  
      2.1.2. *Jonah* cycle and *Dn* “tales”  
       a) Lateran antefixes (REP 1:130)  
      2.1.3. Excursus: the adoption of the three Hebrews’ type from Jewish Easter to Quartodeciman theology  
   2.2. From *sequela* to “identification”: *Daniel* “tales” and the symbols of the cross  
      2.2.1. Does a “staurologic pose” exist?  
       a) Camposanto Teutonico fragment (REP 1:894)  
      2.2.2. The cross and the ship  
       a) Velletri tombstone (REP 2:242)  
   2.3. The literary voice of “Quartodeciman” *Daniel*: “tales” in *Acta Martyrum*  
      2.3.1. The “paradigmatic” case of *Martyrium Polycarpi*  
       a) Literal citations  
       b) Non-literal allusions  
       c) Narrative coincidences  
       d) From “assumption” to “theological elaboration”  
       e) Excursus: from typology to cult. The “bread” and the martyr  
      2.3.2 A “visual portrait”: *Passio Fructuosii, Auguri et Eulogi*
2.3.3. Between “martyrdom” and “Spirit”: Passio Montani et Lucii

2.4. Final Considerations

3. Before salvation: the apocalyptic caos and Jewish-Christian hermeneutics

3.1. A paradigmatic case of “apocalyptic assumption”: Daniel “tales” in Adversus Haereses

3.1.1. The “apocalyptic contents”: the theological value of the three Hebrews citation in Adversus Haereses
  a) The episode of the furnace and the tribulatio
  b) The Hebrews and the iusti

3.1.2. The method of the citation: the “apocalyptic symbology” in the three Hebrews’ reference
  a) The “number of the beast”
  b) The fire
  c) The water

3.2. Literary parallels for Irenaeus’ exegesis

3.2.1. The case of Methodius of Olympus’ De Resurrectione

3.3. The “apocalyptic iconography” of the three Hebrews and Noah

3.3.1. “Apocalypse” in iconography? The figurative couple formed by the Hebrews and Noah
  a) Noah and the Hebrews: realia.
  b) The type of Noah between baptism and salvation

3.3.2. The crasis of fire and water

3.4. Final Considerations

4. “Exierunt educti velut manu Dei”: Daniel “tales” and Christians’ eschatological destiny

4.1. Excursus. Eschatology and iconography, from “paradigmi di salvazione” to “eschatological types”

4.2. The “saved-martyr”: Daniel in Lions’ den in catacomb paintings

4.2.1. Daniel and the resurrection: Eliodora’s vault

4.2.2. Daniel and baptism: cubicle III of Pietro and Marcellino catacomb

4.2.3. Daniel and salvation: the cubicle of Susanna
  a) The arch (inferior level): the “baptismal” scene of Noah
  b) The vault (intermediate level): the “second pergola”
  c) The skylight (superior level): Lazarus and the “saved-Daniel”
  d) From the single sections to the whole program

4.2.4. Daniel and the community: the cubicle of Nicerus
  a) The bottom-wall
  b) The left-wall
  c) The right-wall
  d) The vault
  e) From the single sections to the whole program

4.3. Other traces of an eschatological reception of Daniel “tales”

4.3.1. The Hebrews and flesh resurrection: from Irenaeus to Tertullian
  a) The “undamaged” Hebrews in Irenaeus
  b) Men’s futura integritas in Tertullian
4.3.2. “The fourth in the furnace”: the interpretation of a biblical character, from Hebrew Bible to Christian authors.
   a) “The fourth” as Logos in Irenaeus
   b) “The fourth” as Jesus Christ in De Pascha Computus
   c) From “Son of God” to “Son of Man” in Tertullian
   d) From the “Son” to the “Angel” in Clement of Alexandria

4.4. Final Considerations

I 1.

“Tales” of Daniel in the Typology of the Church

5. From the “Furnace” to the Present of Communities

   5.1.1. What Daniel could not do: the interpretation of “tales” in De Lapsis
      a) Can a martyr grant forgiveness? Daniel “tales” in the light of Ezekiel
      b) From “typology of the church” to parenesis
   5.1.2. The identity of the “martyr”. “Tales” in Cyprian’s Epistulae
      a) “Et si non”: the Hebrews as confessores.
      b) Dying for faith: the three Hebrews as martyrs
      c) End times and the martyr: Daniel and the three Hebrews in Epistle 67
      d) When the confessor is a bishop
   5.1.3. Excursus: some considerations about the text of Daniel assumed by Cyprian
   5.1.4. A final reflection on Cyprian’s reception of “tales”

5.2. Honorata Mors. Daniel “tales” in Tertullian’s Elaboration about Martyrdom
   5.2.1. From death to God’s Spirit: Jeremiah and the three Hebrews in Scorpiace
      a) Scorpiace 8:1: declaring the role of death
      b) Scorpiace 8:2-3: the sacrifice of the prophets
      c) Scorpiace 8:4-6: from death to Spirit
      d) Scorpiace 8:7-8: coming back to the importance of sacrifice
      e) In conclusion
   5.2.2. From “earthly survival” to “eschatological salvation”: Luke and the three Hebrews in Adversus Marcionem

6. The “Typology of the Church” in Iconography: Daniel Types and the Persecuted Community

6.1. Deconstructing Iconography: the Elaboration Process of the Three Hebrews’ Types
   6.1.1. “Building the furnace”: the first step in the visual adoption of the Hebrews’ “tale”
   6.1.2. From the three Hebrews to the three wise men: from refusal to adoration
      a) The “coexistence” of the Hebrews and the wise men: St. Damaso sarcophagus
      b) The “substitution” of the Hebrews with the wise men: Cherchel antefixes
      c) The “fusion” of the Hebrews and the wise men: St. Gilles-du-Gard fragment

6.2. Excursus. The Body of Daniel: from the Type of the Lions’ Den to Ecclesia Martyrum

6.3. Susanna and the Orant: Making a “Martyrial Community”
   6.3.1. The “typological” fortune of Daniel 13 in literature. Susanna and the “menaced” church
6.3.2. The iconography of Susanna. From the “menaced church” to the “persecuted church”
   a) The “type of Susanna” pp. 321-333
   b) Susanna and the portrait of the dead: a case of “figurative resemblance” pp. 321-326
   c) From “figurative resemblance” to “exegetical interpretation”: the portrait of the “dead-martyr”
   d) From the “elders” to the “apostles”. A problematic connection pp. 329-332
6.4. Final Considerations pp. 334-336

II. THE ALLEGORIC USE OF DANIEL “TALES” pp. 338-379

7. The “allegoric” approach to “tales” pp. 339-352
   7.1. “Peripheral use” of “tales”: Origen as an interpretative paradigm
      a) Origen and the “tales”: an overall view pp. 341-343
      7.1.1. Excursus. The “formular” reception of “tales”, from Origen to early Christianities pp. 344-346
      7.1.2. Daniel as instrument to read Scriptures: the “allegoric-scriptural” reception of “tales” pp. 347-353
   7.2. The “allegoric-figural” interpretation: “tales” as models of Christian realities pp. 354-377
      7.2.1. The “tale” of Susanna and its “moral” interpretation pp. 355-364
         a) Daniel in the story of Susanna: the “moral allegory” in Origen pp. 356-361
         b) Susanna as figura: the allegory of chastity pp. 361-364
         c) “Allegory” in iconography? The “illustration” of Susanna’s story pp. 365-377
      7.2.2. “Tales” as models to build a “theological system”. Christian wisdom and the reading of Scriptures pp. 365-370
         a) “Tales” and the degrees of Christian wisdom pp. 371-372
         b) “Tales” and the “revelation” of Scripture pp. 372-377
         c) “Tales” and the truth of God’s word. A possible case of “peripheral typology”? pp. 378-379
    7.3. Final Considerations

III. THE LITERARY USE OF DANIEL “TALES” pp. 381-412

8. Daniel “tales” in a “literary” perspective pp. 382-402
   8.1. From the “passages” to the “book”: “tales” and the systematic approach to Daniel pp. 383-387
      8.1.1. The “tales” and the “book”: Hippolytus’ interpretation of Daniel narrations
         a) The prologue: contents and methods of the commentary pp. 387-389
         b) Susanna in the commentary In Danielem pp. 389-393
         c) The three Hebrews’ in the commentary In Danielem pp. 393-399
         d) Daniel in the lions’ den in the commentary In Danielem pp. 399-401
         e) Conclusive consideration pp. 401-402
   8.2. A “literary reception” of “tales” in iconography?
      8.2.1. A “cycle” of Daniel? pp. 403-409
      8.2.2. The “tale” of Daniel and the dragon pp. 406-410
8.3. CONCLUSIVE CONSIDERATIONS

CONCLUSIVE CONSIDERATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

9. REVALUATING THE “TALES”: THE SPECIFICITY OF THE “HAGGADIC DANIEL” CIRCULATION IN EARLY CHRISTIANITIES
   9.1. A “MARTYRIAL TYPOLOGY”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

COMMENTARIES
CRITICAL EDITIONS
ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES
TEXT AND STUDIES

pp. 411-412

pp. 414-420

pp. 415-417

pp. 417-420

pp. 421-472

pp. 423-424

pp. 425-431

pp. 432-434

pp. 435-472