

What each did with the David they inherited



The Sanctifying of David



Doug Mason

What each did with the David they inherited

The Sanctifying of David

**The Adulterer became Adored; the Loathed became Beloved;
From Hated to Admired; from Earthly to Heavenly**



Doug Mason

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FURTHER READING

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JESUS-FOLLOWERS: FROM A FUNDAMENTALIST NAZARENE TO VISIONARIES OF THE DIASPORA: [HTTPS://JWSTUDIES.COM/REVOLUTIONS_JESUS-FOLLOWERS](https://jwstudies.com/Revolutions_Jesus-Followers).

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WELCOME!

My Study *Israel's World*¹ considers regional and internal influences at the time of the Israelite's emergence and consolidation, ending with the inauguration of the Monarchy under King David. My Study, *The Amazing Transformation of David*² contrasts the Biblical image of King David with his image at the conclusion of the Second Temple period.

The Bible depicts King David as a deeply flawed, unsavoury character, the perpetrator of evil acts including: murder, insurrection, adultery, banditry, and extortion. The sanitizing of David's character during the following centuries and millennia created an image that idolizes him as the paragon of virtue, closely associated with the promised Messiah. This Study identifies the Davidic sanitizing process:

1. The Davidic dynasty
2. End of the Davidic dynasty
3. Transforming influences of Deutero-Isaiah and of the Chronicler
4. The anticipated political, warrior Davidic Messiah
5. The Gospels' merciful, saving Messiah
6. Beloved Son of David in the early Church Fathers
7. Rabbinic Judaism's sanitizing of David
8. Islam's sanitizing of David
9. The imposition of modern concepts

PLEASE NOTE

Please note that the [RESOURCES](#) (listing includes numerous Summaries.

Many of these Summaries supply the only information in this Study from that Resource.

Doug

¹ "Israel's World": <https://www.academia.edu/s/017917049f?source=link> (PDF) Israel's World | Doug Mason - Academia.edu ;

² "The Amazing Transformation of David":
https://www.academia.edu/73220914/THE_AMAZING_TRANSFORMATION_OF_DAVID

SUMMARIES

| The Sanitizing of David | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|--|
| DAVID | DAVIDIC KINGDOM | NO DAVID | MYSTICAL DAVID | | | | |
| Bandit Extortionist Adulterer Insurrectionist Murderer Hated Scheming | ❖ <u>Anointed of God</u> ❖ <u>Covenant by God</u> Bathsheba → Solomon | National covenant Deutero-Isaiah | David Sanitized Chronicles | Eschatological Messiahs Apocalyptic literature | Son of David Psalms of Solomon | Son of David Matthew | David sanitized Judaism Islam |
| | Zedekiah | | | | | | |



Unpopular Scoundrel, Murderer

When King David came to Bahurim, a man of the family of the house of Saul came out whose name was Shimei son of Gera; he came out cursing. He threw stones at David and at all the servants of King David; now all the people and all the warriors were on his right and on his left.

Shimei shouted while he cursed, "Out! Out! Murderer! Scoundrel! The LORD has avenged on all of you the blood of the house of Saul, in whose place you have reigned; and the LORD has given the kingdom into the hand of your son Absalom. See, disaster has overtaken you; for you are a man of blood." ...

David said to Abishai and to all his servants, "My own son seeks my life; how much more now may this Benjaminite! Let him alone, and let him curse; for the LORD has bidden him. It may be that the LORD will look on my distress, and the LORD will repay me with good for this cursing of me today."

So David and his men went on the road, while Shimei went along on the hillside opposite him and cursed as he went, throwing stones and flinging dust at him. (2 Samuel 16: 5-13, NRSV)

Biblical David



Wife-stealer, Polygamist, Murderer

Why have you [David] despised the word of the LORD, to do what is evil in his sight?

You have struck down Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and have taken his wife to be your wife, and have killed him with the sword of the Ammonites. Now therefore the sword shall never depart from your house, for you have despised me, and have taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be your wife.

Thus says the LORD: I will raise up trouble against you from within your own house; and I will take your wives before your eyes, and give them to your neighbor, and he shall lie with your wives in the sight of this very sun. For you did it secretly; but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun." (2 Samuel 12:9-12, NRSV)

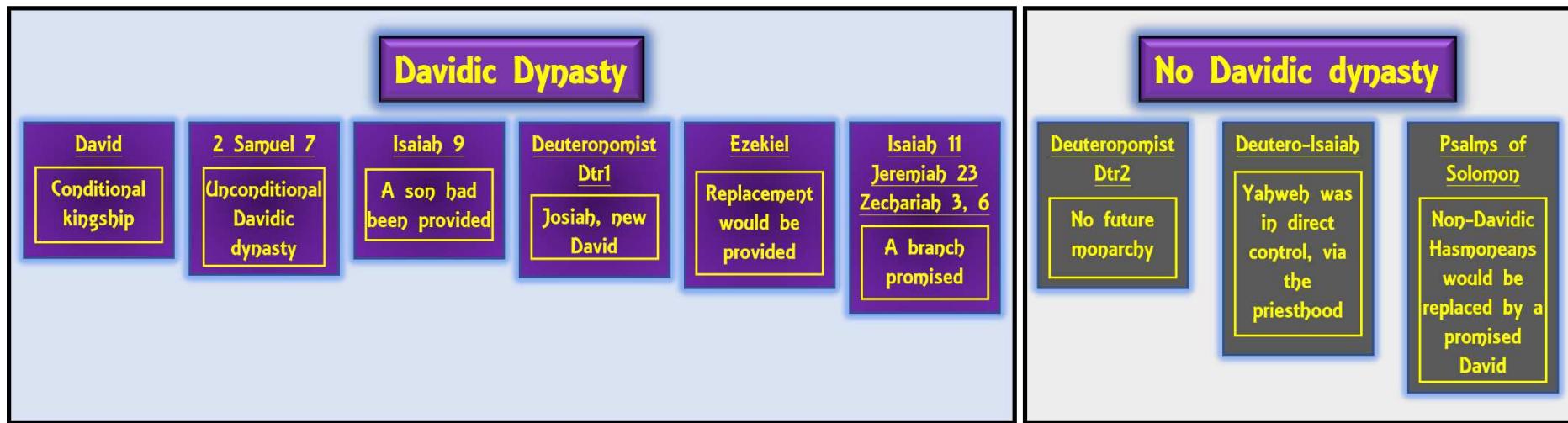


Adulterer, Deceiver, Murderer

It happened, late one afternoon, when David rose from his couch and was walking about on the roof of the king's house, that he saw from the roof a woman bathing; the woman was very beautiful. ... So David sent messengers to get her, and she came to him, and he lay with her. (Now she was purifying herself after her period.) Then she returned to her house. The woman conceived; and she sent and told David, "I am pregnant." ...

David invited [Bathsheba's husband, Uriah] to eat and drink in his presence and made him drunk ...

In the morning David wrote a letter to Joab, and sent it by the hand of Uriah. In the letter he wrote, "Set Uriah in the forefront of the hardest fighting, and then draw back from him, so that he may be struck down and die." (2 Samuel 11: 2, 4-5, 13-15, NRSV)



Although some had predicted an unbroken Davidic dynasty, this proved to be a forlorn hope

Each recorded its own David

Earliest Historians

- Samuel
- Some Psalms

Second Temple Jews

- Deuteronomist
- Chronicler
- Apocalypses
- Dead Sea communities
- Anti-Hasmoneans
- Paul

Galilean

- Canonised Gospels
- Non-canonical Gospels

Formative Christianity

Earliest Church Fathers

Imperial Christianity

Creeds

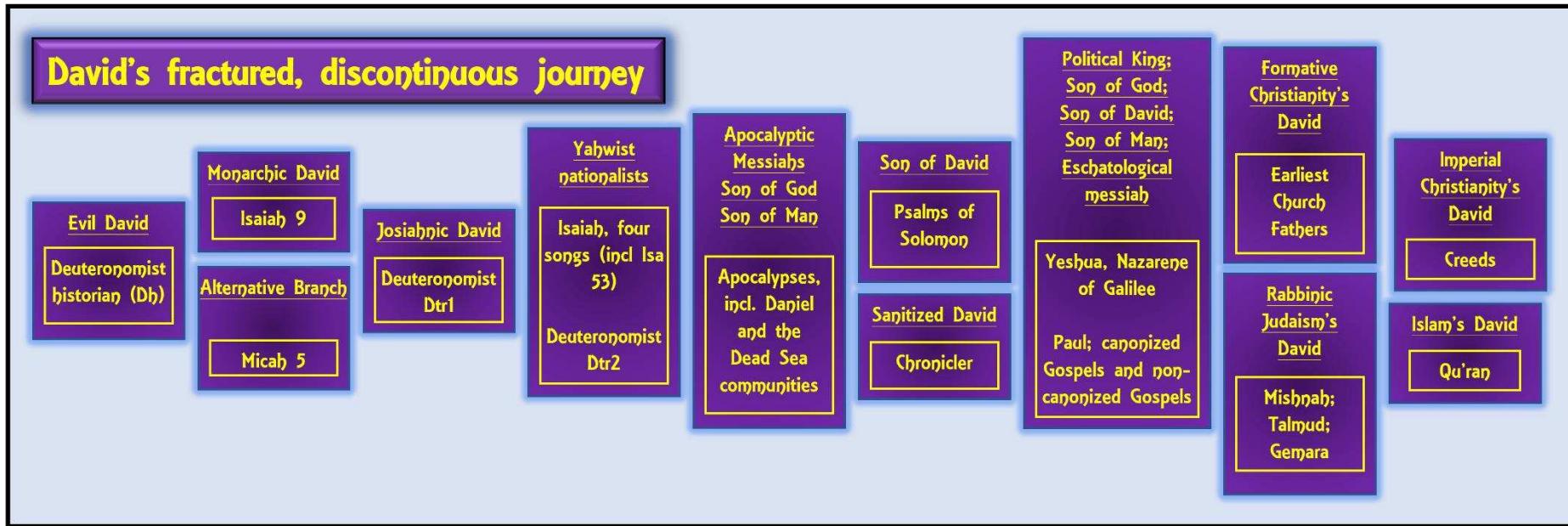
Rabbinic Judaism

- Mishnah
- Talmud
- Gemara

Islam

Qu'ran

If a community referred to King David, and not all did, each applied him according to the requirements of their own local situation



Each community used King David for their own purposes, agendas and objectives

Isaiah transferred the Davidic promises to the nation as a whole

The Psalmist's promise to David and to his descendants

May Your priests wear victory and Your faithful ones exult! For the sake of Your servant David, do not turn aside from your anointed one. YHWH swore to David faithfully. ... I shall place on your throne one of your offspring. If your descendants keep My covenant and the laws which I teach them, their descendants also will sit on your throne for eternity. For YHWH has chosen Zion, He desires it as His seat. ... I shall certainly bless its food supply, and I shall satisfy its poor with sustenance.

I shall let its priests wear salvation ... I shall make success flourish for David; I have set up a lamp for My anointed one. I shall make his enemies wear humiliation, and the crown will glimmer on him." (Ps 132.9-18)

The Davidic Extinction

Deutero-Isaiah transferred the promise to the whole nation

The spirit of the Lord YHWH is on me, for He has anointed me to bring good news to the lowly, ... to give the mourners of Zion a turban rather than dust. ... You will be called, 'the priests of YHWH'. ... You will consume the wealth of nations. ... I shall reward you faithfully and establish an eternal covenant with them. And their seed will be known among the nations ... for they are seed whom YHWH has blessed.

I rejoice greatly in YHWH ... for He has let me wear a garment of salvation; He covers me with victory, [making me] like a bridegroom who sports a turban or a bride decked out in her jewelry. For as the land brings out its vegetation, and as a garden lets a thing sown flourish, so the Lord YHWH will allow victory to flourish along with praise before all the nations. (Isa 61.1-11)

The Revisionist, Sanitizing Chronicler

DAVID

The Chronicler's revisionist interpretation of David began the process of rehabilitating David's image.

The Chronicler rewrote David's history, omitting or transforming facts that did not show him and his successors as observing the Priestly Law.

The Chronicler wrote that the Persian Cyrus will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, and without a descendant of David.

JOSIAH

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history to elevate him to a position comparable to Moses.

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history, saying he recovered territories which traditionally belonged to David's "Greater Israel".

The Apocalyptic, Political Messianic Son of David

QUMRAN

PSALMS OF
SOLOMON

REVELATION

The author of Revelation envisioned a militant Davidic messiah whose robe would be dipped in blood as he struck down his enemies with the sword (Rev 19:11-21).

To intensify this messiah's militant nature, the writer of Revelation, like the authors of Ps. Sol. 17, 4Q161, and 4Q285, transformed Isaiah 11's verbal weapon, the "word of the mouth," into a literal rod of iron.

While the communities that composed Ps. Sol. 17, the Qumran texts, and Revelation are commonly regarded as pacifistic, their common image of a warrior messiah suggests that they looked forward with apparent eagerness to great bloodshed and annihilation of their enemies

Perhaps with this image in mind we can better understand the apparent frustration of those followers of Jesus who, having witnessed Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem as king, along with his rampage in the temple and prediction of its very destruction, were disappointed when Jesus became the slain messiah, rather than the slaying messiah.

On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17, Kenneth Atkinson, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 118, no. 3, Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, page 460

Militant

Violent

King

Ruler

Yeshua, Nazarene from Galilee, King

"The Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David." (Luke 1:32, NRSV)

"Where is the child who has been born king of the Jews?" (Matthew 2:2, NRSV)

Jesus answered "My kingdom is not from this world. ... My kingdom is not from here." (John 18: 36, NRSV)

The chief priests, along with the scribes, were also mocking him ... "Let the Messiah, the King of Israel come down from the cross now". (Mark 15:31-32, NRSV)

Yeshua (Joshua), the Nazarene from Galilee (not Judea), did not fulfil the role of either the biblical Messiah as the king or the high priest. Nor did he fulfil the role of the Second-Temple period's Davidic Messiah as the nation's military rescuer who would restore Israel from oppression

The Gospels' Sanitized Son of David

RUTHLESS DAVID

Bandit
Extortionist
Adulterer
Insurrectionist
Murderer
Hated
Scheming

MERCIFUL SON OF DAVID

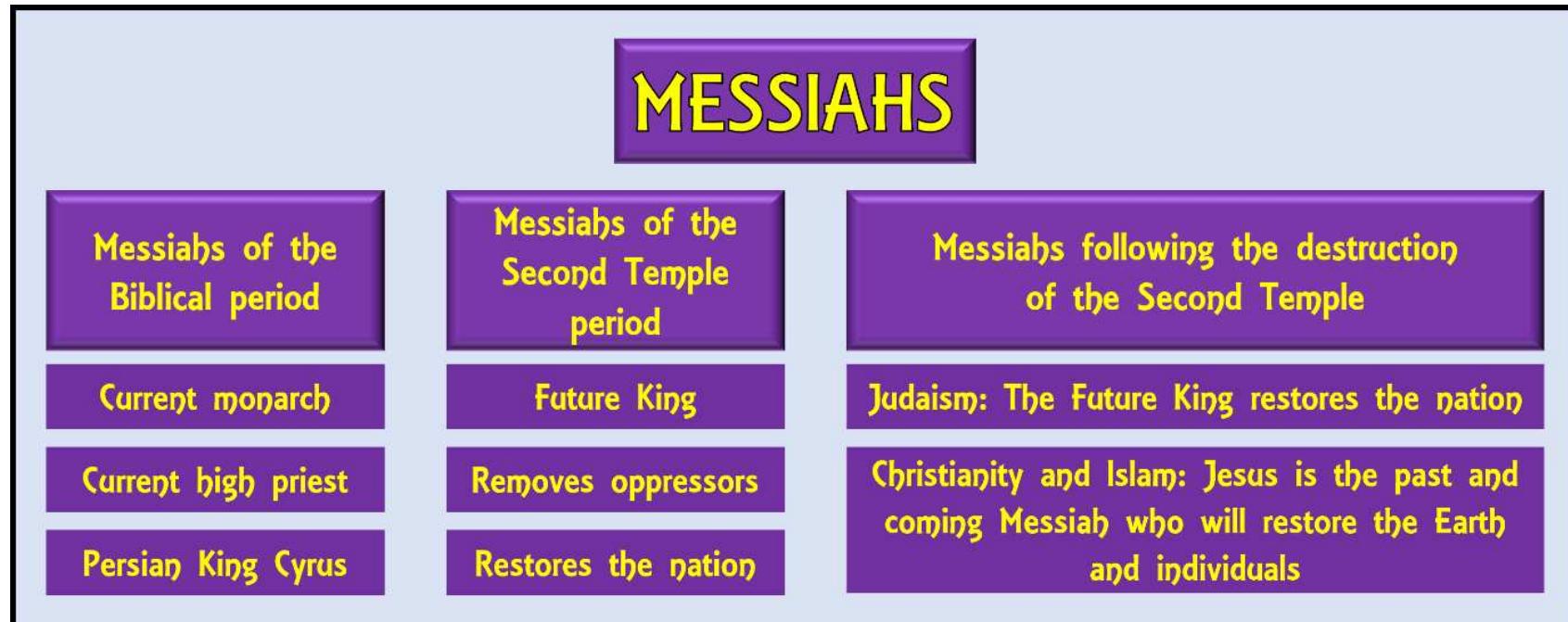
People call out to Jesus as “Son of David”

Their cry is for “Mercy”, not for a “King”

They call for a healer, not for a mighty Davidic warrior

Mark 10:47-48, 51
Matthew 20:30-31, 33
Matthew 9:27, 30
Matthew 15:22, 28
Matthew 21:9, 30 (Hosanna: “Save us”)
Luke 18:38-39, 41

When Jesus did respond, it is as the “Son of Man”,
never acknowledging David



The concepts and roles of “Messiahs” were different for each community,
depending on their objectives

What each did with
the David
they inherited

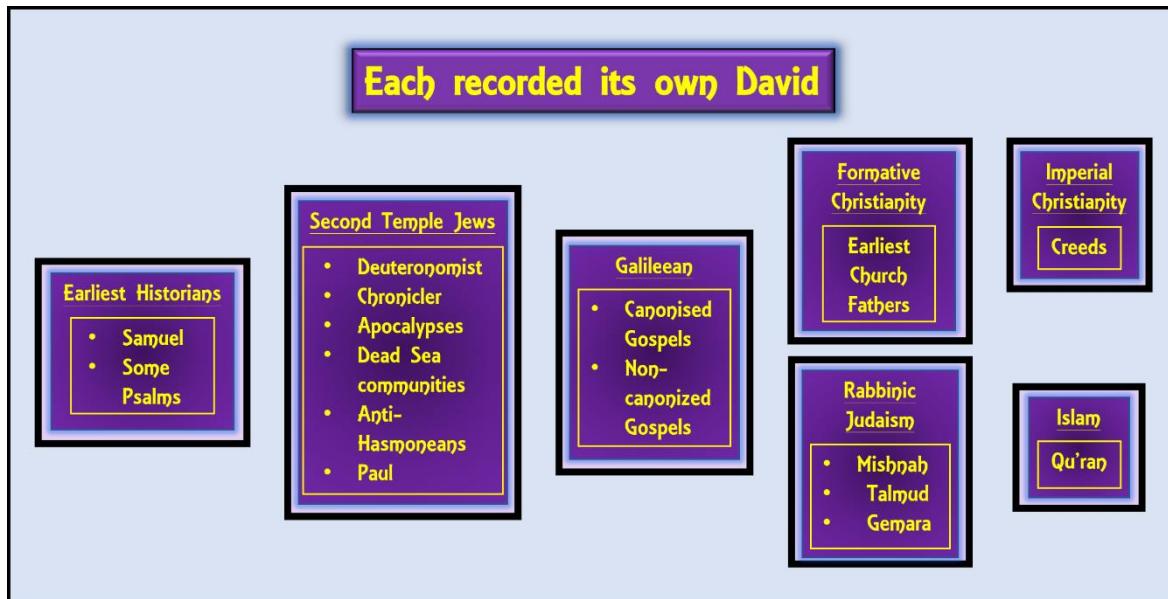
The Sanitizing of David

THE DAVIDIC DYNASTY

Not all references to the Davidic *dynasty* relate to a Davidic *messianism*

Most discussion of the davidic *dynasty* tradition in early Judaism has taken place within the framework of the larger subject of *messianism*. This tends, however, to limit from the outset one's interpretive options about the possible ways in which the davidic dynasty tradition may have functioned.

Specifically, all references to that tradition need not have been oriented toward hope for a messianic figure; reference to the davidic dynasty tradition could serve other functions. (Pomykala (1995), 7-8. *Italics* added)



If a community referred to King David, and not all did, each applied him according to the requirements of their own local situation

David

**Unpopular scoundrel, murderer, wife-stealer, extortionist, polygamist
deceiver, insurrectionist**

My previous Studies³ outline the obnoxious, self-obsessed, murderous nature of King David. Please refer to them for a detailed account of the biblical record.

³ Israel's World:

<https://www.academia.edu/s/017917049f?source=link> (PDF) Israel's World | Doug Mason - Academia.edu ;

The Amazing Transformation of David:

[https://www.academia.edu/73220914/THE AMAZING TRANSFORMATION OF DAVID](https://www.academia.edu/73220914/THE_AMAZING_TRANSFORMATION_OF_DAVID)

The “Davidic Dynasty”



Unpopular Scoundrel, Murderer

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| DAVID | DAVIDIC KINGDOM | NO DAVID | MYSTICAL DAVID | | | | |
| Bandit Extortionist Adulterer Insurrectionist Murderer Hated Scheming | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ <u>Anointed of God</u> ❖ <u>Covenant by God</u> <p>Bathsheba → Zedekiah</p> | <p>National covenant Deutero-Isaiah</p> | David Sanitized Chronicles | Eschatological Messiahs Apocalyptic literature | Son of David Psalms of Solomon | Son of David Matthew | David sanitized Judaism Islam |

By tracing the interpretive swerve away from an adulterous and impliedly murderous David to a more chaste (though still penitent) Dawud, we can follow (albeit at great distance) the development of the profile of this important figure in the religious imagination of the ancient to late ancient Near East.

When we do this, we discover that the revisionist interpretation of the Biblical chronicler is only the beginning of a normative narrative line designed to rehabilitate the image of the Israelite king as we meet him in 2 Samuel. (Wright (2001), 202)

Was Bathsheba a victim, willing participant, or scheming manipulator?

In 2 Samuel 11, David sees Bathsheba, a married woman, from the rooftop of his palace. As David peers into her home with the curtains wide open, Bathsheba is not reading her Bible, she's bathing. Consumed with lust, David seeks her out and she ends up pregnant. David's sin continues when he uses his power to have her husband murdered. [verses 2-4]

Controversy arises because some scholars believe calling Bathsheba an adulterous woman is incorrect and unfair. They contend she was sought by the king and could not refuse. However, others argue she was an active participant – possibly even seducing David. The point is, we don't know the seductive details. What we do know are the consequences for David and Bathsheba's sin, and ironically, God wove Bathsheba into the genealogy of Jesus as the mother of Solomon. ...

Bathsheba's story does not end with the birth of Solomon. The history books of the Bible articulate how Bathsheba went on to play a major role in David's life as his wife and trusted confidant. She is involved in the rescue of David's kingdom when a rebellious son attempts to steal the throne of Israel. She wisely navigates the political climate of the day to have David's choice, Solomon crowned as the next king. When Solomon became king, he sought her wisdom. ... Bathsheba went on to be one of only five women with a place in Jesus' genealogy. (<https://www.southbaychurchli.org/life-purpose-hope-blog/woman-of-the-bible-bathsheba>) (accessed 27 March 2022)

David's city, Jerusalem

David chose Jerusalem, which was an independent city in Benjamin, between Israel (north) and Judah (south)

David elected to establish his capital neither in Israel, the traditional seat of the league, nor in Judah his own tribe and the locus of his first capital. Rather, he conquered and chose Jerusalem, a neutral city, so to speak, between his two kingdoms. Jerusalem became the city of David, the personal possession of the king by right of conquest, providing the king with an independent power base over which he exercised absolute sway. (Cross (1973), 230)

Question: Was Jerusalem in Benjamin or Judah? Joshua 15:8 and 18:28

(Answer by [Dr. Joseph R. Nally, Jr.](#)

Joshua 15:8 Then it ran up the Valley of Ben Hinnom along the southern slope of the Jebusite city (that is, Jerusalem). From there it climbed to the top of the hill west of the Hinnom Valley at the northern end of the Valley of Rephaim.

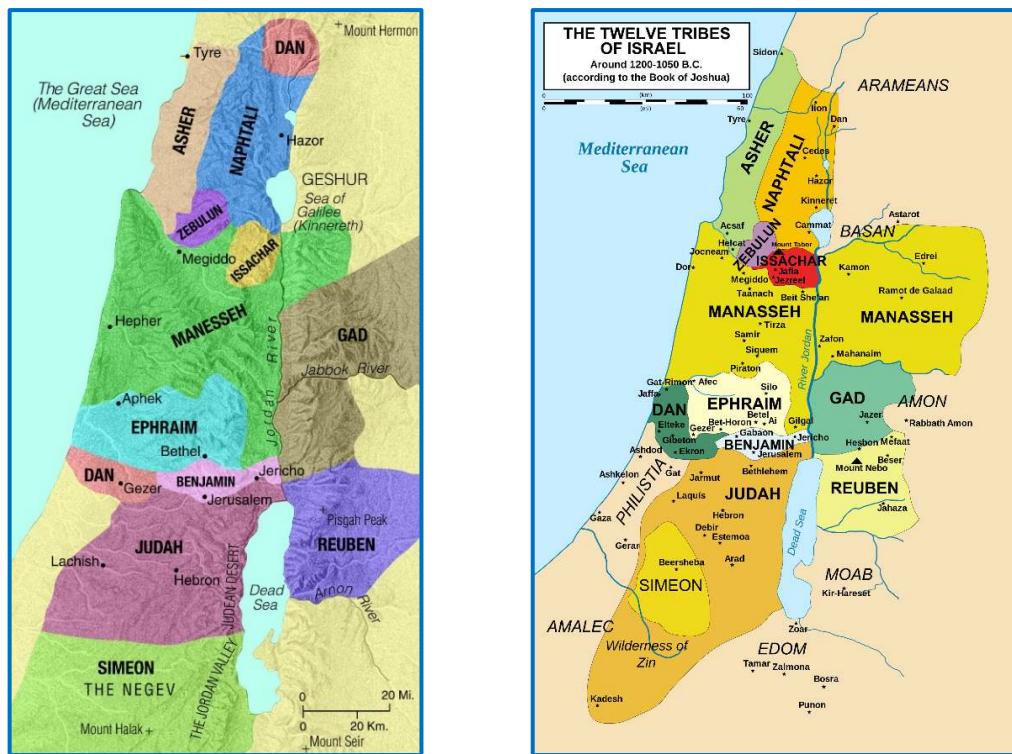
Joshua 18:28 Zelah, Haeleph, the Jebusite city (that is, Jerusalem), Gibeath and Kiriath - fourteen towns and their villages. This was the inheritance of Benjamin for its clans.

John Lightfoot (*The Temple-Service: and the Prospect of the Temple*, Chapter 1, J.F. Dove, 1823) states that according to Jewish tradition the altars and sanctuary were in Benjamin, while the courts of the temple were in Judah. So both would be correct. Regardless. **Jerusalem lay outside Judah's territory (Josh 15:8) until the city was finally captured by David (2 Sam. 5:7).**

Butler states: The border here is carefully defined to go just south of Jerusalem itself, while the corresponding description for Benjamin places it just inside Benjaminite territory (18:16). This is a major point used by scholars in trying to date the list (cf. Soggin, 173-74).

Reference: Butler, T. C. Vol. 7, *Word Biblical Commentary: Joshua* (188). Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 2002. ([Was Jerusalem in Benjamin or Judah? Joshua 15:8 and 18:28 \(reformedanswers.org\)](https://reformedanswers.org/article/was-jerusalem-in-benjamin-or-judah-joshua-158-and-1828)) accessed 27 March 2022; **bold** added)

The “Davidic Dynasty”



Jerusalem – in Benjamin

Jerusalem was situated in Benjamin, rather than in Judah or in Israel

Whereas the eastern and western frontiers do not present any difficulties, the northern frontier presents a complex situation. The number of fixed points which are given, with the degree of accuracy that this assumes, shows how important it was. It reflects the effective maximum northward extension of the tribe of Judah and the groups incorporated within it. ...

The large number of fixed points around Jerusalem is immediately evident; their purpose is to show that the territory of the city state of Jerusalem remains outside the territory of Judah (in 18.16 it is included theoretically within the frontiers of Benjamin). ... As can be seen, the frontier includes territory which does not strictly belong to Judah. ...

There is no question that this text is an ancient one, whether its latest date is placed at the beginning of the tenth century, or whether it is dated at an even earlier period. In order to choose between these two alternatives, one might appeal to the description of the frontier in the Jerusalem region, [13:7-9]; here the distance between the town and the fixed points can sometimes be measured in tens of metres.

Either the frontier refers to a period where Jerusalem was not yet conquered, which would necessarily mean a period earlier than that of David, or else it refers to the period which followed the conquest of the city, and simply signifies that it remained an autonomous administrative community, a situation which is well attested in later centuries, where the mention of Jerusalem is always distinguished from that of Judah. (Soggin (1972), 173-175

Solomon

Solomon's ruthless suppression

The kingship of Solomon was consolidated by ruthless suppression of all possible opposition. Solomon's chief potential rival, Adonijah, David's eldest after Absalom, was murdered on the pretext that he had asked for the hand of David's young wife Abishag. Such a request – if Adonijah made it – would have been understood in Israel as an open claim to David's throne.

The circumstances under which Adonijah's alleged request for Abishag were made are remarkable. The request was transmitted through Bathsheba, whose ambitious court intrigues designed to place her beloved son Solomon on the throne were well known.

Solomon denied, so to speak, his mother's request and executed Adonijah for sufficient cause. We doubt if even the most fervid supporter of Solomon could have related this tale without tongue in cheek. If Adonijah did in fact behave as claimed, he deserved to be executed-for stupidity.

Joab, general of the armies of David and an early supporter of Adonijah, was murdered at the altar allegedly on privy instructions of David on his deathbed.

Shimei, a survivor of the house of Saul, was placed under house arrest and later executed. More important breaks with the past were marked by the banishment of Abiathar the high priest, also a member at one time of Adonijah's party. (Cross (1973), 237)

Nathan, the prophet of David and a firm supporter of Solomon's enthronement also disappeared from the scene at the beginning of Solomon's reign. ... The last mention of Nathan is at the coronation of Solomon, and with his disappearance or death the prophetic office effectively disappeared from the Judean court to revive only in the eighth century B.C. (Cross (1973), 238)

Politically and militarily, Solomon broke from David's rustic court

In political and military affairs, Solomon's break with the rustic court of David was equally dramatic. Solomon introduced chariotry in Israel and with it a new class of military nobility.⁴ In fact, a whole new elite emerged made up of officers of the court who administered the new royal cartels, the expanded corvee, and fiscal systems.

Solomon followed the familiar pattern of rewarding military and administrative services with land, bringing into being a landed aristocracy with loyalties directly bound to the court. (Cross (1973), 239)

Solomon sought to transform Israel into a full-fledged Oriental monarchy

While David eschewed outright innovations which seriously violated traditional religious and social institutions, his son Solomon sought to transform Israel into a full-fledged Oriental monarchy and was prepared to ignore or to flout older institutions in his determination to centralize powers and to consolidate his realm. (Cross (1973), 240-241)

Solomon departed from the ways of David, assimilating foreign styles of leadership

Another index of Solomon's departure from the ways of his father and assimilation of foreign styles of kingship may be found in his cultivation of wisdom. Solomon expended his energies not in the primitive, exuberant Yahwism of David but in the pursuit of cosmopolitan and tolerant wisdom in the fashion of the foreign courts, especially of Phoenicia and of Egypt, the latter mediated largely through the wisemen and hierophants of Phoenicia.

His tolerance also extended to the shrines of foreign cults established in his cosmopolis. (Cross (1973), 239)

Likely, innovations in the later Judaean royal ideology were initiated by Solomon

I [Frank Moore Cross] am inclined to believe that there is sufficient indirect evidence that the later Judaean royal ideology was part of a pattern of innovations begun by Solomon, “Canaanizing” the royal ideology and cult, and that David's kingship was more limited and more responsive to Israel's traditional politico-religious forms. (Cross (1973), 234)

⁴ On Solomon's chariotry and trade with Egypt and Cilicia in horses and chariots, see 1 Kings 5:6-8; 10:26, 28f.: on Solomon's navy, see 1 Kings 9:26.

Solomon broke from the ideology of holy war

Contrary to David's policy, Solomon systematically set out to erect a series of alliances for mutual defense and for trade. In adopting such a policy, Solomon went in the face of the ideology of holy war with its demand for the sole dependence of the confederation on Yahweh and his armies. (Cross (1973), 240)

Solomon's new palace and temple were unlike David

Unlike Solomon, who built both a new palace for himself and the temple of Yahweh, David in fact founded only a tent-shrine for Yahweh. (Cross (1973), 246)

The temple cult was largely created through the innovation of Solomon

The temple and its cult were largely, if not exclusively, the creation and innovation of Solomon. The later attribution to David of preparations and plans to build a temple remind us of a series of actions and policies of Solomon which were credited to his father by Solomon, but which diametrically opposed the actual policies of David before the regency of Solomon. (Footnote: The most glaring instances of this technique of the Solomonic court may be found in the murders which secured Solomon's throne, the murder of Joab and Shimei in particular, attributed to privy instructions of David on his deathbed.) (Cross (1973), 231)

Solomon fashioned a new cultus appropriate to his pretensions

Solomon was freer to fashion a new cultus appropriate to his pretensions of imperial grandeur. He imported the architects and artisans of his Phoenician ally Hiram to build his royal shrine in the pattern of the Canaanite dynastic temple.

To be sure, this break with past cultic traditions was not complete. The procession of the Ark to its place in the Temple of Solomon linked the cult of the league with the new, permanent shrine and its cultus. (Cross (1973), 238)

Solomon's new cultus shifted the focus of Israel's festal celebrations

Solomon instituted a new cultus which shifted the focus of Israel's festal celebrations further away from the covenantal renewal feasts of the league and the limited covenantal forms of David's royal ideology. (Cross (1973), 238)

Solomon's new cultus assimilated mythological themes inherent in the dualistic typology of the Canaanite temple

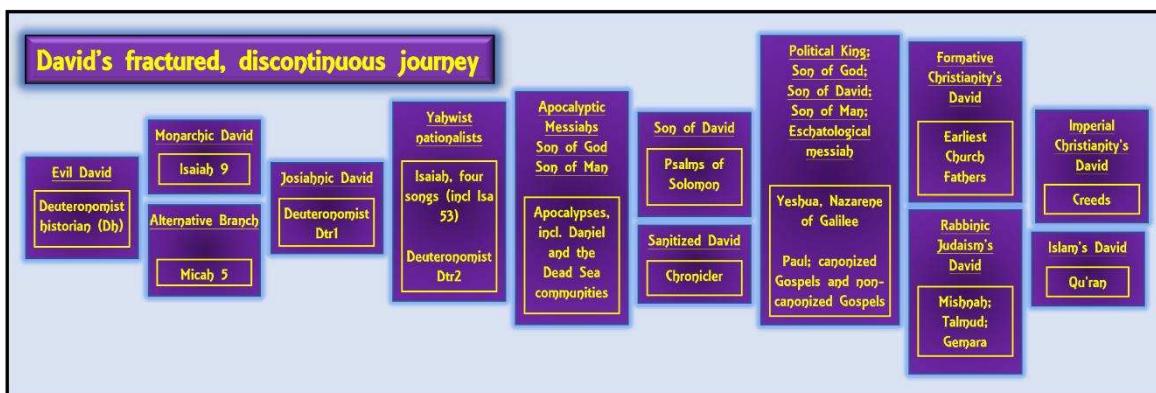
At the same time, the cultus assimilated mythological themes inherent in the dualistic typology of the Canaanite temple: the mythic identification of creation (that is, victory over chaos). ... In its mythic dimension, the Temple of Zion and the kingship of the Davidic house are fixed in the “orders of creation,” and thereby given eternal stability. (Cross (1973), 238-239)

Deuteronomy banned specific innovations of Solomon

So great was the shock on the more or less egalitarian tribesmen of Israel that the polemic against kingship preserved in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic sources⁵ singles out and proscribes the specific innovations of Solomon in imitation of his royal neighbors. ... The tribal divisions and the tribal representatives used still by David were overthrown. (Cross (1973), 240)

⁵ See Deut. 17:14-17; 1 Sam. 8:11-18, esp. 12-14.

Variability of the Davidic Covenant



Each community used King David for its own purposes, agendas and objectives

The Covenant was variously described as conditional, unconditional, and ambiguous

While all texts with the *sonship* formula hold that the *dynastic* decree is perpetual and explicitly or implicitly unconditional, the texts which use the *covenant* formulation may be explicitly conditional (Psalm 132: 11 f.), explicitly unconditional (Psalm 89: 20-38; Jeremiah 33: 17, 19- 22; 2 Chronicles 13: 4 [?]), or ambiguous (2 Samuel 23: 5; 2 Chronicles 21: 7). (Cross (1973), 259. *italics*, underlining added)

In some pre-exilic texts, the Davidic tradition is guaranteed unconditionally while in others it is conditional

Perhaps the most striking feature ... is the diversity present in the pre-exilic davidic dynasty tradition. In a few texts, dynastic continuance is understood as guaranteed by an unconditional promise, while in others it is conditioned on the king's faithfulness to the Torah.

The tradition of a Davidic covenant may not have been as dominant as is often assumed

In the Hebrew Bible as a whole, the davidic dynasty tradition, and more specifically, the tradition of a davidic covenant, may not have been as dominant as often assumed. In this regard, J. Levenson's comments are apt:

Even in the religious consciousness of an Israelite for whom kingship was of central importance, the entitlement of the House of David could remain peripheral.

That is why, despite the presence of a great quantity of material bearing on royal theology, the specific covenant with David is expounded in clear form so very rarely. Not all royal theology was Davidic, and not all Davidic theology was covenantal. (Levenson, *Davidic Covenant*, 217. Cf. also Cross, *Hebrew Epic*, 219-273). (Pomykala (1995), 67 and footnote 245)

The tradition of the Davidic Dynasty

Mixing of the Covenant theology of the *kingship* and the Adoption theology of divine *sonship* gave rise to the Judaean royal ideology

These data suggest two sources of royal ideology have merged in early Israel. One is the *covenant* theology of the league, the kingship of Saul and David, surviving in the Northern Kingdom, at least in prophetic circles. The second is the theology of divine *sonship* or the eternal decree of *adoption*.

The mixing of the two streams, most evident in Psalm 89:20-38, the only liturgical source using the explicit language of both the covenant and sonship formulae, gave rise to the standard Judaean royal ideology, which, whatever language it used, conceived the choice of the Davidic house and the sanctuary of Zion to be by eternal decree.

The impact of the emergent ideology was profound, shaping the understanding of the royal covenant or decree, and by retrojection, the understanding of the covenant of the patriarchs. “Covenant” developed a new sense, coming to mean “unconditional promise or oath”, or simply “eternal divine decree.”

The Deuteronomist of the seventh century [BCE] clearly understood Nathan’s oracle to be such an eternal divine decree although his own views are obscured both by the conditional league theology implicit in early Deuteronomic sources on the one side and the conditional understanding of the kingship on the part of the Deuteronomistic editor of the Exile. (Cross (1973), 260)

The Davidic dynasty tradition possessed a rich fund of concepts, images, and terms

Great diversity exists in the biblical traditions about davidic figures and the davidic dynasty. In light of this diversity, when early Jewish texts do make clear reference to the davidic dynasty tradition, one must ask which tradition or what aspect of the tradition is being utilized. This should make one wary of attempts to see every reference to the davidic dynasty in early Jewish literature as an allusion to 2 Sam 7:11-16 with its unconditional covenantal promise. Much more was available.

Early Jewish writers who took up the davidic dynasty tradition possessed a rich fund of concepts, images, and terms from which to draw. (Pomykala (1995), 68)

The Davidic dynasty tradition was interpreted in a variety of ways

In the period of early Judaism, the davidic dynasty tradition was interpreted and applied in numerous ways. (Pomykala (1995), 266)

[In early Judaism] the davidic dynasty tradition was interpreted in a variety of ways according to the intention of the literary work in which it was used and served a meaningful function within the socio-historical setting in which that work was composed. (Pomykala (1995), 270)

The Davidic dynasty is more than messianic

Reference to the davidic dynasty tradition was not limited to “messianic” interpretations. (Pomykala (1995), 270)

Even prior to the Exile, the tradition of the Davidic dynasty was diverse, not always in terms of a covenant agreement

Analysis of the davidic dynasty tradition in the biblical material prior to the late Persian period indicated that the tradition of a davidic dynasty was marked by diversity. Not even in the pre-exilic texts, which came from a time when there were sitting davidic kings, was there a wholly consistent understanding of the davidic dynasty.

Specifically, the dynasty could be construed as either conditional or unconditional, and not always in terms of a covenant agreement. Nor was the davidic dynasty the only model of Israelite kingship available, as Deut 17:14-20, Gen 49:8-12, Num 24:17-19, and Isa 32:1-8 revealed. (Pomykala (1995), 265)

Monarchy in Israel could be spoken of apart from direct reference to the Davidic dynasty tradition

In the prophetic literature, a conception of a future “new David” appears. Nevertheless, monarchy in Israel could be spoken of apart from direct reference to the davidic dynasty tradition, such as in Deut 17:14-20, Gen 49:8-12, Num 24:17-19, and Isa 32:1-8. (Pomykala (1995), 24-25)

Unconditional covenant at 2 Samuel 7

The central theme of 2 Samuel 7 is David’s eternal dynasty

The main oracle [at 2 Samuel 7] begins in verse 11 b focusing on the *bêt David*, the dynasty of David, which Yahweh will build. Yahweh will establish the seed of David on the throne. David’s son will build

Yahweh's *bêt*, supplying the symbolic symmetry. David's house is mentioned in verse 11 b and again in verse 16 as secure and eternal. ...

Verses 18-29, the prayer of David, is a Deuteronomistic composition underlining the importance of the oracle, the promise to David of an eternal house.

The central theme is obvious: the *bêt David*, David's eternal dynasty, is mentioned seven times. in verses 18. 19, 25, 26, 27, and 29. (Cross (1973), 247)

2 Samuel 7 promised an everlasting Davidic dynasty, free of conditions

Of primary importance for the davidic dynasty tradition is 2 Sam 7:11b-l6, Nathan's oracle to David that the Lord would make for David a house. [v(erse) 11b]. Specifically, after David's death, God promised to raise up his seed after him, one who would build the temple, and establish the throne of his kingdom forever [vv. 12-13].

Moreover, the Lord would be a father to him and he a son to the Lord (v. 14), thus establishing a filial relationship between God and davidic kings.

When he commits sin, there will be temporal punishment, but God will not take his steadfast love from him (vv. 14b-15). “And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me; your throne shall be established for ever” (v. 16).

Here, then, is the promise of an everlasting davidic *dynasty*, free of conditions. (Pomykala (1995), 13. *Italics* added)

2 Samuel 7 says that no wrongdoing by the king can bring an end to David's dynasty

In 2 Samuel 7: 14b-16, immediately following the sonship formula, there is the specific assertion that no wrongdoing on the king's part can bring an end to David's perdurable dynasty. Psalm 89: 20-38 is the ultimate statement of this doctrine. (Cross (1973), 258)

The Deuteronomist imposed his point of view on 2 Samuel 7

The unity of 2 Samuel 7 is a unity imposed on his sources by the mind and point of view of the Deuteronomistic historian. ... One finds it surprising that more attention has not been given to the Deuteronomistic idiom of the chapter. It fairly swarms with expressions found elsewhere in works of the Deuteronomistic school. (Cross (1973), 252)

At 2 Samuel 7, the Deuteronomist held an unqualified ideology of the Judaean monarchy

In view of the antimonarchical elements surviving in Deuteronomic (Dt) tradition, notably in the law of the king, and in certain sources in the books of Judges and Samuel, it is remarkable to discover that the Deuteronomist in 2 Samuel 7 and in Kings share in unqualified form the ideology of the Judaean monarchy. (Cross (1973), 282)

2 Samuel 7 echoes the theme that the Lord would not forsake the people, for David's sake

2 Samuel 7 echoes the themes we have been tracing. The unconditional promise of the land in Moses' speech (Deuteronomy 1:8, 39. and so on) and in Yahweh's address to Joshua (Joshua 1:6, and so on), the assertion of Yahweh to Joshua and Israel that he will never break his covenant with them (Judges 2:1), and the words in Samuel's address, “For the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake ... (1 Samuel 12 :22) find their natural culmination and climax in the oracle to David: “He shall build a house for me, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever ... if he commit iniquity I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men; but my faithfulness shall not depart from him ... and thy house and thy kingdom shall be sure forever before me: thy throne shall be established forever” (2 Samuel 7: 13b-16). (Cross (1973), 251)

At 2 Samuel 7, David was promised a new kind of kingship and Israel granted a new form of hope

In the Deuteronomist's understanding, Yahweh chose David to be over his people Israel and Jerusalem as his eternal throne, or rather, as the sanctuary of his name.

In 2 Samuel 7 David, who had been faithful in establishing the shrine of the Ark in Jerusalem, was promised a new kind of kingship and Israel granted a new form of hope. Actual history is telescoped in 2 Samuel 7. While the promise was made to David, it is the house of David and the house of Yahweh that were bound together and promised eternity. (Cross (1973), 251)

At 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 89 the *patriarchal covenants* were mythologized in the royal theology

The royal theology of the type found in 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 89:20-38 stands behind the Yahwistic reformulation of the patriarchal covenants. ... The patriarchal covenant thus was mythologized in the royal theology. Kingship in Israel became rooted in creation and fixed in eternity. (Cross (1973), 261)

The text of 2 Samuel 7 is disturbed by a fundamental dichotomy

The so-called oracle of Nathan in 2 Samuel 7 has been the object of repeated study but still bristles with difficulties. The text is disturbed by a fundamental dichotomy.

Verses 1-7 contain an oracle in prose opposing the building of a temple. This theme is very striking since it stands in opposition not only to the pro-temple oracle in verses 11b - 16 but to the royal ideology of the Deuteronomistic historian of the seventh century who was responsible for the present form of 2 Samuel 7.

Attempts to overcome this dichotomy and to harmonize the two oracles (or the two sections of the oracle)⁶ have proliferated, with none proving satisfactory. ...

The historicity of the oracle of Nathan against the building of a temple for the Ark is guaranteed by its context with which it stands in the greatest tension and by the evidence that David in fact never built a temple. In effect, it testifies to David's acceptance of a limited kingship, which on other grounds appears to have been the case. (Cross (1973), 241, 243)

Repeated unconditional covenant with David and his dynasty

When the nature of David's Kingdom changed, the Covenant became unconditional

In the transformation of David's kingdom into a full-fledged international power, kingship and royal cultus under the stimulus of Canaanite monarchical institutions evolved further. The “Davidic covenant” became an unconditional, eternal decree of deity, the mount of Zion his eternal dwelling place. This ideology survived in Judah until the fall of the kingdom and with it the house of David. (Cross (1973), 264-265)

The Lord promised a lamp for David and his sons for ever

This metaphor of leaving a lamp for David in Jerusalem appears in 1 Kgs 15:4 and 2 Kgs 8:19, the latter text specifically alluding to a dynastic promise:

Yet the Lord would not destroy Judah, for the sake of David his servant, since he promised to give a lamp to him and to his sons for ever. (Pomykala (1995), 14)

Solomon sinned but a tribe retained for the sake of David, “Yahweh’s servant”

Moses is called repeatedly by Yahweh “my servant Moses” or the “servant of Yahweh”. Joshua is given the title “servant of Yahweh”, and David is often called by Yahweh, “David my servant”. ... The

⁶ The kernel of two oracles are imbedded in 2 Sam. 7.

promise of the future thus is focused upon the servant of Yahweh, in new and unique fashion in 2 Samuel 7.

Repetition and emphasis are found in the original parts of Solomon's speech in 1 Kings 8. While Solomon's sins of oppression and idolatry spell doom for the empire, one tribe is left to the house of David “for the sake of David my servant” and we are informed in Yahweh's oracle. “I shall afflict the seed of David … but not forever, an indirect promise of the restoration of David's kingdom.

For Jeroboam's dread sin, the bull and the altar of Bethel in particular, the destruction of the Northern Kingdom is decreed. Fulfilment of the promises will be found in the new David, Josiah. destined (in the view of the Deuteronomistic historian of the seventh century) to recreate the Davidic empire, and, having destroyed the altar of Bethel, to reestablish Jerusalem as the central shrine of all Israel. (2 Samuel 7: 13b-16). (Cross (1973), 251-252)

Despite Solomon's apostasy, the Lord promised that the entire kingdom would not be taken from his son

The prophecy in 1 Kings 11 concerning the division of the kingdoms states that in spite of Solomon's apostasy, the Lord would not take the entire kingdom from Solomon's son, but leave one tribe to him for David's sake (I Kgs 11:12,13,32,34-36). (Pomykala (1995), 13)

Deuteronomistic theology of history stressed the eternal decree of Davidic kingship

The persistence of the Deuteronomistic stress upon the eternal decree of Davidic kingship … *must* be pertinent to the Deuteronomistic theology of history. (Cross (1973), 278)

At Psalm 89, the promise is made of an everlasting Davidic dynasty

Here [in Psalm 89], as in 2 Sam 23:5, covenant terminology is used to describe the promise of an everlasting davidic dynasty. …

The future of David's line is based on the Lord's steadfast love for David and secured by covenant (vv. 29-30). The dynastic line, like celestial phenomena, will be everlasting (vv. 30,37-38) because the promise is unconditional; disobedience will be punished, but the royal line continually perpetuated due to God's solemn oath (vv. 31-36) (Pomykala (1995), 15)

Only 2 Sam 23:5 and Psalm 89 conceive the Davidic dynastic promise as a covenant

In only two texts—2 Sam 23:5 and Psalm 89—is the davidic dynastic promise conceived of in terms of a covenant. (Pomykala (1995), 24)

For the sake of David, Yahweh was unwilling to destroy Judah

The refrain persists. Of Abijah we read: “but his heart was not perfect with Yahweh his god as the heart of David his father. Yet for the sake of David, Yahweh his god gave him a fief in Jerusalem in setting up his son after him and in establishing Jerusalem because David did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh.”⁷

Jehoram of Judah “walked in the ways of the kings of Israel … and did that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh. But Yahweh was unwilling to destroy Judah for the sake of David his servant as he promised him to give him a fief for his sons always.” (Cross (1973), 283)

A sign given to Ahaz that the Davidic dynasty would survive in the person of his son Hezekiah

The prophet [Isaiah] was directly involved with two rulers, Ahaz (Jehoahaz) and his son Hezekiah, at moments of deadly crisis for the Judean state.

⁷ 1 Kings 15:3-5a

In the first of these, in the year 734 B.C.E., the prophet gave comfort and assurance to Ahaz faced with the prospect of an imminent attack on Jerusalem by a coalition of Aram (Damascus) and the kingdom of Israel (Isa 7:1-17). ... Isaiah offered a sign to back his reassurance; the offer was declined but was given anyway. The sign was a young woman who is pregnant and will give birth in the near future to a son whose name will be Immanuel (Isa 7:14).

Since the consoling word ... was addressed in the first instance to the current ruler in the line of David, it is probable that the young woman was his wife and the message to Ahaz was that the dynasty would survive in the person of his son Hezekiah. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 134)

It widely agreed that Psalm 110 affirms the continuity of the Davidic rule

Although the term “anointed” does not appear in Psalm 110, it is widely and rightly regarded as a Royal Psalm, in which the continuity of the Davidic line, ruling as God's viceregents, is affirmed. As such, it is widely quoted or alluded to in the New Testament. ...

But as verse 4 of this psalm tells us, and as Hebrews 8:1 and 10:12 remind us, the role that is being discharged is not only that of ruler (verse 2, “rule,” “sceptre”) but also that of “priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek,” the king-priest. (Kee (1987), 188)

How could David be the Lord's son?

While Jesus was teaching in the temple, he said, “How can **the scribes say that the Messiah is the son of David?** David himself, by the Holy Spirit, declared, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet.”’ **David himself calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?**” (Mark 12:35, 36, 37, NRSV)

Jesus asked [the Pharisees] this question: “What do you think of the Messiah? Whose son is he?” They said to him, “**The son of David.**” He said to them, “How is it then that **David by the Spirit** calls him Lord, saying, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet”’? **If David thus calls him Lord, how can he be his son?**” (Matthew 22:42, 43, 45, NRSV)

[Jesus] said to [the scribes], “How can they say that the **Messiah is David's son?** For **David himself says** in the book of Psalms, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.”’ **David thus calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?**” (Luke 20:41-44, NRSV)

Psalm 110: David did not ascend to sit at the Lord's right hand

For **David did not ascend into the heavens**, but he himself **says**, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand.”’ (Acts 2:34, NRSV)

Conditional covenant with David

Conditions were imposed on the Davidic monarchy for it to continue

Dtr⁸ also contains traditions that impose conditions on the davidic monarchy if it is to continue. For example, in David's charge to Solomon in 1 Kgs 2:1-4, he tells his son to keep the commandments in the law of Moses (Pomykala (1995), 14)

The promise of a continuing Davidic dynasty depended on the obedience of the king

What is noteworthy is that in all three of these passages [1 Kings 2:4; 8:25; 9:3-9], explicit reference is made to the continuing dynasty promised to David, but in each case this promise is understood conditionally, dependent on the obedience of the king. (Pomykala (1995), 14)

⁸ The Deuteronomist Historian

At Psalm 132, the promise is conditional on the obedience of Davidic kings

In contrast to the unconditional dynastic promise in Psalm 89, Psalm 132 reflects an explicitly conditional version of this promise, dependent on the obedience of davidic kings. ... While the word “covenant” occurs (v. 12), it does not refer to the davidic covenant; nor is there any notion of the divine adoption of the king. (Pomykala (1995), 15, 16)

The Davidic covenant at Psalm 132 is conditional

Our earliest witness to the Davidic covenant is found in lore of Davidic date embedded in Psalm 132. ... The “covenant” and “stipulations” designated [in Psalm 132] are conditional. There can be no doubt. Obedience is explicitly required.

Such a conception of the Davidic covenant is precisely in agreement with the concept of kingship in the era of Saul and in the later Northern Kingdom. It conforms with the status of David’s kingship at the beginning of his reign.

At the same time, [Psalm 132] stands in sharp contrast to the standard Judaean ideology of kingship with its notion of an unconditional and eternal decree of kingship promised the Davidic house.

Yet there can be no question about the origin of Psalm 132. It belongs to the Jerusalem cultus and must be placed early in the development of that cultus.

The notion of a conditional covenant of kingship, a codicil, so to speak, in Israel’s covenant with Yahweh (after the manner of the dynastic stipulations in suzerainty treaties), fits well with the conditional Tent of David, and its Ark of the old covenant.

It fits not at all into the ideology of the dynastic temple, the eternal dwelling of the deity, and the symbol of the permanent house or dynasty. Nor will it fit with other materials of the Jerusalem royal cult. There is no hint of the Canaanite ideology of divine adoption found already in such documents as 2 Samuel 7:16-17 and Psalm 89:20-38, both of which specify that under no conditions will David’s house be thrown down. (Cross (1973), 232-233)

The pre-Solomonic Davidic covenant at Psalm 132

Psalm 132:11f reflects the actual concept of the “Davidic covenant” held in pre-Solomonic Jerusalem. (Cross (1973), 255)

The LORD swore to David a sure oath
from which he will not turn back:
“One of the sons of your body
I will set on your throne.

*If your sons keep my covenant
and my decrees that I shall teach them,
their sons also, forevermore,
shall sit on your throne.”*

For the LORD has chosen Zion;
he has desired it for his habitation:
“This is my resting place forever;
here I will reside, for I have desired it.” (Psalm 312:11 -14, NRSV; *italics added*)

Jeroboam

David in Kings is the symbol of fidelity, in contrast to Jeroboam

The crucial event in Judah, comparable to the sin of Jeroboam was the faithfulness of David. Through much of Kings this theme of grace and hope parallels the dark theme of judgment.

The “Davidic Dynasty”

David established Yahweh's sanctuary in Jerusalem, an eternal shrine on chosen Zion; Jeroboam established the rival shrine of Bethel, a cultus abhorrent to Yahweh, bringing eternal condemnation.

David in Kings is the symbol of fidelity, Jeroboam the symbol of infidelity. (Cross (1973), 282)

Evil brought upon the House of Jeroboam because he had not been like Yahweh's servant, David

Ahijah of Shiloh also proclaimed an oracle ... pointing forward to the crescendo of this theme in Kings, the fall of the North. “Thus saith Yahweh, God of Israel: ‘Because I exalted you from the midst of the people and made you commander over my people Israel, tearing the kingdom from the house of David to give it to you, yet you have not been like my servant David ... but have done evil ... casting me behind your back, therefore I will bring evil on the house of Jeroboam and will cut off from Jeroboam every male, whatever his status, and I shall consume the house of Jeroboam as one burns up dung and it is gone.

“He of (the house of) Jeroboam who dies in the city the dogs shall devour, and he who dies in the field the birds of the heaven shall eat.” The grisly fulfilment of Ahijah's prophecy is carefully noted in 1 Kings 15: 29. (Cross (1973), 280)

Jeroboam's opposition to David's cult became the Deuteronomist's central theme

The degree of David's success in establishing Jerusalem as the city of the central sanctuary of the tribes of Israel (as well as its royal shrine) may be gauged by Jeroboam's frantic attempts to set up a counter-cultus and the opposition to his cult both in the north and in the south, where it came to be a central theme of the Deuteronomistic history. (Cross (1973), 232)

Yahweh rejected the entire seed of Israel because Jeroboam tore Israel from the house of David

The string of oracles and judgments which make up this theme in Kings is completed in the great peroration on the fall of Samaria in 2 Kings 17:1-23. Here the Deuteronomist reached the first great climax of the last section of his work and rang the changes on his theme of Jeroboam's sin and Israel's judgment.

And Yahweh rejected the entire seed of Israel and afflicted them and gave them into the hands of spoilers until he had cast them out from his presence. For *he tore Israel from the house of David* and they made Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, king, and Jeroboam enticed Israel away from Yahweh and caused them to sin a great sin. (2 Kings 20, 23). (Cross (1973), 281)

Hezekiah

Hezekiah was effectively a second David

According to the historian of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kgs 18-20), Hezekiah is presented as, in effect, a second David. He followed David's example in all things religious (2 Kgs 18:3). Though humiliated by the Assyrians, he attacked the Philistines as David had done (18:8). Like David, he went to “the house of God” to pray (2 Kgs 19:1; 2 Sam 12:20), and, like him, he heeded prophetic admonitions (2 Kgs 19:2-7) and received a communication from David's God (20:5-6). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 6)

Praise heaped on Hezekiah and on Josiah as beyond comparison

For the Dtr author, Hezekiah ranks as incomparable: “There was none to compare with him among all the kings of Judah after him, nor any among those before him” (2 Kgs 18:5). This statement will call for qualification when we go on to read the same praise of Josiah less than a century later (2 Kgs 23:25). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 2)

Prophet Micah wrote during much of Hezekiah's reign

The prophet Micah was born in the town of Moresheth-Gath, an agricultural town in southern Judah. His name means “who is like God.” He was active between 742 and 687 BC during the overlapping reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, as well as Hezekiah. Which is where he is listed on the Biblical Timeline Poster. Most of the situations Micah wrote about occurred during the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, but his prophecies were written during much of Hezekiah’s reign.⁹

Micah said little about David and predicted a ruler would come from the clan of Bethlehem

Micah has little to say about David and his dynasty. At a time of deprivation and disorientation, Zion is told that the former dominion and sovereignty will return, but David is not named (Mic 4:8-10). Even more recondite is the prediction of a ruler from Bethlehem (Mic 5:1-4a [Eng 2-5a]).

From you, Bethlehem Ephrathah,
one of the least among the clans of Judah,
there shall come forth for me a ruler over Israel. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 128)

A new ruler would arise who will not emanate from the Davidic line in power in Jerusalem [Micah]

Mic 4:14-5:4a (Eng: 5:1-5a) proclaims that in contrast to the present king now under siege (4:14), a new ruler will come forth from Bethlehem Ephrathah (5:1) who will shepherd [5:3] Israel. His origins are both humble—from the small clan in Bethlehem Ephrathah, David’s ancestral village—and ancient (5:1).

Israel will be given up for a time until this new ruler’s mother gives him birth, at which time his brothers will return to Israel (5:2). He will rule in the power of the Lord, Israel will be secure, his fame will be universal, and if 5:4a is to be included in the unit, his reign will bring an era of peace. In short, his reign will coincide with ideal circumstances.

The somewhat mysterious characterization of this future ruler makes his relationship to the davidic dynasty tradition ambiguous. What is clear, however, is that this new ruler will not emanate from the davidic line currently in power in Jerusalem. Consequently, some kind of genealogical break with the currently ruling royal line is envisioned, thus indicating a tradition here that is in opposition to the dynastic promise found in 2 Sam 7:11-16 and Psalm 89. (Pomykala (1995), 17, 18)

Josiah

A strongly nationalistic group put Josiah on the throne

Josiah was put on the throne by a group referred to as the “people of the land”. Whatever this designation denotes elsewhere, in these last decades of the kingdom of Judah it refers to a strongly nationalistic group, opposed to foreign influences and fiercely devoted to the native dynasty. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 7)

King Josiah revived the Davidic state

There were two editions of the Deuteronomistic history, one written in the era of Josiah as a programmatic document of his reform and of his revival of the Davidic state.

The second edition, completed about 550 B.C., not only updated the history by adding a chronicle of events subsequent to Josiah’s reign, it also attempted to transform the work into a sermon on history addressed to Judaean exiles. (1973), 287)

⁹ [Micah – Amazing Bible Timeline with World History](#) accessed 21 April 2022

Josiah attempted to restore the kingdom or empire of David in all detail

[Josiah] attempted to restore the kingdom or empire of David in all detail. ... The story of the renewal of the covenant and the resurrection of the Davidic empire by the reincorporation of the North is told at a length not given to the labors of other approved kings after David. (Cross (1973), 283)

Deuteronomistic history was Josianic propaganda

The Deuteronomistic history, insofar as these themes reflect its central concerns, may be described as a propaganda work of the Josianic reformation and imperial program. In particular, the document speaks to the North, calling Israel to return to Judah and to Yahweh's sole legitimate shrine in Jerusalem, asserting the claims of the ancient Davidic monarchy upon all Israel. (Cross (1973), 284)

The Deuteronomist wrote a stirring sermon to rally Israel's hope in the new David, King Josiah

[The Deuteronomist historian] has written a great sermon to rally Israel to the new possibility of salvation, through obedience to the ancient covenant of Yahweh, and hope in the new David, King Josiah. (Cross (1973), 285)

Josiah likened to David

Josiah both reproduces the essential features of the David of the traditions and recapitulates the history of the dynasty. That he is a kind of replica or avatar of David is intimated at the beginning of the account of his reign, where we are told that “he did what was right in the sight of Yahweh, conducting himself in every respect after the manner of David his ancestor, without deviating either to the right or the left” (2 Kgs 22:2). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 20)

The Deuteronomist Historian wrote there had never been a king like Josiah

The other great Davidic embodiment was King Josiah. The thesis of a redaction of Dtr during the reign of Josiah, Hezekiah's grandson, first proposed by Frank Moore Cross of Harvard University, has won wide acceptance¹⁰. The concluding sentence of this edition is identified as the praise of Josiah with which the Historian recapitulates the reign: “Before him there was no king to compare with him, who turned to Yahweh with all his heart, soul, and strength, in keeping with the entire law of Moses” (2 Kgs 23:25; a scribe in the post-disaster period added the sentence following: “nor did any to compare with him arise after him”). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 6-7)

Above all, Josiah did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, as did David his father

While the kings of Israel were always condemned, each having done that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh, “judgment does not come automatically upon the kings of Judah. Certain kings, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Hezekiah, and above all Josiah, “did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, as did David his father.”

Even King David and Hezekiah had peccadilloes. Josiah alone escaped all criticism. Josiah “did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh and walked in all the ways of David his father and did not turn aside to the right or to the left.”¹¹ “And like him there was no king before him turning to Yahweh with his whole mind and soul and strength according to all the law of Moses.”¹² (Cross (1973), 283)

¹⁰ Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973) 286-89;

¹¹ 2 Kings 22:2

¹² 2 Kings 23:25a

The hope of a new Israel and the renewing of the sure mercies shown to David centered on Josiah

In Josiah is centered the hope of a new Israel and the renewing of the “sure mercies” shown to David.¹³ ... The days of the Judges, of Samuel and Saul reveal a pattern of alternating judgment and deliverance. But in David and in his son Josiah, is salvation. (Cross (1973), 284)

Josiah, born to the House of David, would sacrifice the priests of the high places

The (unnamed) prophet is made to give utterance to one of the most astonishing as well as rare instances of a *vaticinium post eventum*¹⁴ found in the Bible, obviously shaped by an overenthusiastic editor’s hand: “He cried against the altar [of Bethel] ... ‘Altar, Altar, thus saith Yahweh: behold a son will be born to the house of David, Josiah by name, and he will sacrifice upon you the priests of the high places who burn incense on you, and human bones <he> will burn upon you’. The reform of Josiah is here anticipated, preparing the reader’s mind for the coming climax. (Cross (1973), 279-280)

Pre-Exilic traditions

Traditions concerning the Davidic monarchy in the Deuteronomistic History are of pre-exilic origin

Texts in the Deuteronomistic History: Although the final edition of the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr) was composed during the exile, sometime after 560 BCE, almost all the traditions concerning the davidic monarchy incorporated into it are of pre-exilic origin. (Pomykala (1995), 12)

Lack of uniformity and contradictory conceptions in the pre-exilic community concerning the Davidic dynasty tradition

In the pre-exilic period the davidic dynasty tradition is well attested, yet quite diverse. In light of this diversity, perhaps scholarly terminology should begin to speak of davidic dynasty traditions—in the plural rather than the singular—to represent the lack of uniformity and even contradictory conceptions that are in evidence. (Pomykala (1995), 24-25)

Almost all pre-exilic prophets had a uniformly negative view of the monarchy

Since our concern is with the dynastic theme, we begin by noting the almost uniformly negative view of the monarchy in the original prophetic deposit. With the exception of Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, books concerned exclusively with foreign nations (respectively, Edom, Assyria, and Babylonia), the preexilic prophets, to a greater or lesser degree of intensity, denounce current rulers and ruling classes. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 116)

Jeremiah: “The Branch”

Jeremiah: A Branch will be raised for David who will rule as king, saving Judah while Israel will live in peace

The days are surely coming, says the LORD, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land.

In his days Judah will be saved and Israel will live in safety. And this is the name by which he will be called: “The LORD is our righteousness.”

Therefore, the days are surely coming, says the LORD, when it shall no longer be said, “As the LORD lives who brought the people of Israel up out of the land of Egypt,” but

¹³ Cf. Isa 55:3; 2 Chron 6:42

¹⁴ The term applied to a passage in the prophets or the gospels which has the form of a prediction but is in fact written in the knowledge of the event having occurred (e.g. probably Luke 21:20). [vaticinium ex eventu - Oxford Biblical Studies Online](#) accessed 2 April 2022

“As the LORD lives who brought out and led the offspring of the house of Israel out of the land of the north and out of all the lands where he had driven them.” Then they shall live in their own land. (Jeremiah 23:5-8, NRSV)

Jeremiah identified the “righteous branch” as the eternal Davidic dynasty

If there was any ambiguity about who Jeremiah identified as the “righteous branch” in 23:5-6, all doubt is removed in 33:17-26.72 God affirms his covenant promise to David of an eternal dynasty of descendants on his throne one generation another (Ps 89:4, 29, 36-37; 132:11-12):

“David will never lack a successor to occupy the throne over Israel … David will always have a descendant to occupy his throne … Like the stars in the sky which cannot be counted and the sand on the seashore which cannot be numbered, I will multiply the descendants of My servant David … I will never refuse any of my servant David’s descendants to rule over the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for I will restore them and show mercy to them” ([Jeremiah] 33:17, 21-22, 26). (Johnston (2007:1), 14)

Jeremiah expected YHWH would restore the Davidic dynasty as the righteous branch

If there is any ambiguity about who Jeremiah envisaged as the “righteous branch” in 23:5-6, all doubt is removed in 33:14-26. ...

In 33:14-26, [Jeremiah] announced that one day Yahweh would restore the Davidites to the throne and the Levites to the priesthood. The rejection of the lines of Jehoiakim (36:30) and Jeconiah (22:30) and the certain captivity and death of Zedekiah (32:4) may have called into question the continuance of the Davidic promise which always had a certain conditional nature to it (cf. 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:5). This promise shows that the covenant still stood and would ultimately find its fulfillment. (Johnston (2007:1), 12)

Describing the coming righteous ruler of Judah, Jeremiah employed the imagery of a new growth of vegetation sprouting from the earth

Jer 23:1-8 is a fitting close to the cycle of oracles on David’s house in 21:1-23:8. It [contrasts]... the past four post-Josianic kings with the coming “righteous branch.” ...

[Jeremiah 23, verses] 5-6 promise that [God] would raise up a “righteous branch” to rule Judah. The prediction, “He will rule as king [*Hebrew text*] with wisdom and understanding, and will do what is just and right [*Hebrew text*] in the land” (v. 5), makes clear both that he will rule as a king, and unlike his wicked post-Josianic predecessors would fulfill the dynastic obligation of upholding moral righteousness and providing social justice (21:11-22:7).

Jeremiah confers on this coming figure the title, (trad., “a righteous Branch”). Although [*Hebrew text*] is traditionally glossed “branch” as a limb growing out of a tree, technical studies suggest it denotes “shoot,” the new growth of vegetation (leafy plant, standing stalk, or cultivated crop) sprouting up from the ground (Gen 19:25; Isa 4:2; 61:11; Ezek 16:7; 17:9, 10; Hos 8:7; Ps 65:10[11]). (Johnston (2007:1), 10)

Jeremiah’s “righteous branch” would be a dynasty of godly Davidites ruling in succession, one generation after another

By alluding to God’s promise of innumerable descendants (Gen 13:6; 15:5; 22:17; 26:4), it is clear that Jeremiah envisages, not a single eternal Davidic king nor a single eternal Levitical priest, but a multiplicity of Davidites on the throne and Levites before the altar.

Rather than identifying the “righteous branch” as the single eschatological Messiah of Second Temple period literature, Jeremiah has in mind a dynasty of godly Davidites ruling in succession one generation

after another. Thus, “righteous branch” as the first in a succession of godly Davidic kings, or in a collective sense of the future godly Davidic dynasty as a whole. ...

[Jeremiah] 33:14-26 envisages, not the last eschatological David, but the next historical David. ...

It is very clear from the passage that the prophet envisions a series of Davidic rulers. Jer 33:14-26 expresses the expectation of an innumerable succession of descendants from the righteous ruler whom the LORD would raise up after Judah is restored to the land. What is in view is not a single eschatological Messiah who in his own person will reign eternally, but a reinstitution or reinstatement of the Davidic covenant, the perpetual right of the Davidic dynasty to rule over the nation of Israel for all time. (Johnston (2007:1), 14)

Jeremiah pictured the coming “shoot” would revive Josiah’s qualities

Jeremiah pictures [“*the branch*”] as a Josiah *redivivus*—not a bodily resurrected Josiah, but the embodiment of the qualities of his ideal predecessor. ... It is more likely that Jeremiah envisaged ... the next Davidic king, who would restore the throne to the dynasty at the end of the exile.¹⁵ (Johnston (2007:1), 11)

The Exilic period

The Davidic dynasty tradition experienced a range of attitudes during the exilic period

In exilic texts, the davidic dynasty tradition proved durable, adaptable, or expendable. While expectation for a renewed davidic monarchy was possibly attested in Ezek 17:22-24, other interpretations of the tradition were present: Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24-25 and Jer 30:9 spoke of a figure typologically similar to David, the “new David;” in the theocracy described in Ezekiel 40-48, there was a place for a [prince], but he was not specifically davidic; in Isa 55:3b, the promise to David was transferred to the people of Israel; and in Jeremiah 40-41 and the final edition of Dtr, hope for the restoration of the davidic dynasty was given up. (Pomykala (1995), 265)

During the Babylonian Exile, Davidic dynasty traditions either continued, changed, or were abandoned

In the exilic period, the davidic dynasty traditions known from the pre-exilic period were carried on, transformed, or abandoned. ...

Ezek 34:23f; 37:24E and Jer 30:9 reflect hope for a “new David,” an ideal king typologically like David, perhaps of davidic lineage. On the other hand, in Ezekiel 40-48, the ideal theocracy included a ruler ... whose characterization is not specifically davidic. ...

Isa 55:3b transferred the eternal covenant promise given to David to the people as a whole, thereby abandoning a desire to see the davidic monarchy reinstated.

Jeremiah 40-41 and the exilic edition of Dtr (cf. 2 Kgs 25:27-30; see also Jeremiah 52) reveal no hope for the restoration of the davidic dynasty. ...

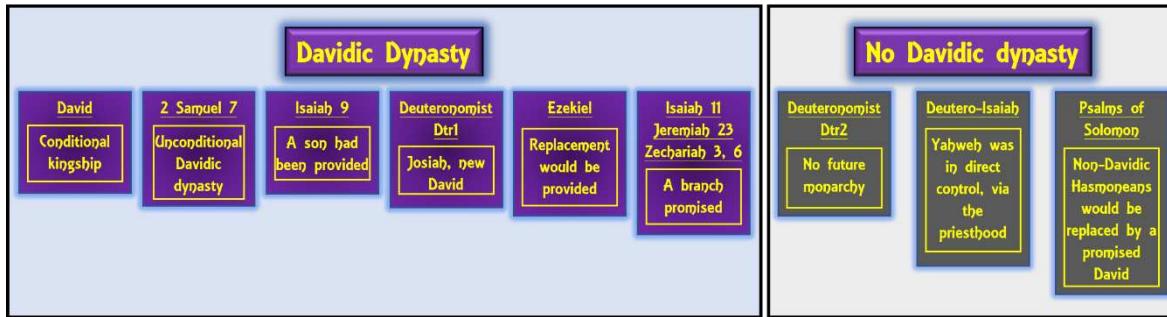
The passages usually dated toward the end of the exile, such as Ezekiel 40-48, Isa 55:3b, and 2 Kgs 25:27-30, lack any expectation for the literal continuation of the dynasty. (Pomykala (1995), 41)

In exilic passages, kingship was reduced to a component part of the theocracy

As in pre-exilic passages, ... another feature, while not entirely new, comes in for renewed emphasis—the notion of Israel as a theocracy, in which the Lord lives and rules in the midst of his people with the king or prince as his vassal. ... The result was a vision of Israelite kingship more circumscribed than in the pre-exilic period—a vision of kingship reduced to a component part of the theocracy. (Pomykala (1995), 41)

¹⁵ Mowinkel, *He That Cometh*, 164; Gakuru, *An Inner-Biblical Exegetical Study of the Davidic Covenant and the Dynastic Oracle*, §6.2.5.2e; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 560-563; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 446-47.

END OF THE DAVIDIC DYNASTY



Although some had predicted an unbroken Davidic dynasty, this proved to be a forlorn hope

Babylon's destruction of Jerusalem ended the Davidic dynasty

The sack of Jerusalem and the ignominious end to the reign of the last of David's line to occupy the throne was the climactic event long remembered in psalm, lament, and liturgical prayer. The eclipse of the dynasty, and with it the collapse of an entire way of life, was the outcome of about a quarter of a century of incompetent rule by the last four rulers, three sons and one grandson of Josiah. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 12)

Physical Davidic rule ended when Jerusalem was destroyed in 587 BCE

Davidides—Dynastic successors to King David who ruled the kingdom of Judah in Jerusalem until Jerusalem's destruction in 587 BCE. The term is also used of successors of those kings (e.g., Zerubbabel) who were still identified as David's descendants in the Persian period even though no further kings from the line of David ever ruled Judah again. (Nogalski (2018), 218)

The Deuteronomist Historian wrote that the Davidic line effectively ended with the death of Josiah twenty-three years before the fall of Jerusalem

Looking back on this sad final chapter from the other side of the disaster of 586 B.C.E., the [Deuteronomist] Historian is telling his readers that the Davidic line in effect came to an end with the death of Josiah twenty-three years before the fall of Jerusalem. The reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah could be discounted as illegitimate since these two sons of Josiah were put in place by foreigners.

The illegitimacy of Zedekiah is especially in evidence in the final paragraph of the History which intimates that the exiled Jehoiachin continued to be regarded as the rightful heir *in absentia*. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 18)

Early post-exilic expressions on the Davidic dynasty

Historical reconstruction is difficult as the Josianic Deuteronomistic historian edited all prose texts dealing with David's kingship

The task of historical construction is not easy in view of the overcoating of virtually all genuine materials of Davidic date by the official Judaean royal ideology, which developed beginning with Solomon and his dynastic temple and which was endorsed by the Deuteronomistic historian (of the time of Josiah) who has edited all prose texts dealing with David's kingship. (Cross (1973), 232)

For some, the future hope lay with the restoration of the Davidic kingdom

In the early Old Testament future hope, the king is in reality not a specific individual person, the unique one who will have no successor. What we find there is not the coming of an individual Messiah, but a restoration of the Davidic kingdom under the sway of the house of David.

This is clear from such passages as Jer 17:25; 33:15-26; Isa 55:3-5; Amos 9:11; Mic 4:8 ... In Jer 17:19-27, the prophet speaks in the plural of "kings and princes sitting on the throne of David".¹⁶ (Johnston (2007:1), 14)

Exilic works looked to restoration, eternal covenant, conquest, a new Temple and a new David

The great works of the Exile with their lively hope of restoration; of the eternal covenant and return (the Priestly work), of a new Exodus and Conquest (Second Isaiah), and of a new allotment of the land, a new Temple, and a new Davidid (Ezekiel). (Cross (1973), 289)

Following the fall of the Davidic dynasty, some traditionalists attempted to carry forward or transform the Davidic dynasty

Whereas pre-exilic passages about the davidic dynasty would have functioned in some way to legitimate a *sitting* davidic king, the exilic and early post-exilic passages offer an indication of how some tradents¹⁷ attempted to *carry forward or transform the davidic dynasty* tradition at a time when there was no davidic king on the throne of Israel. (Pomykala (1995), 11. *Italics added*)

The prophet lamented the extinction of the Davidic dynasty

The sense of loss at the extinction of the dynasty, intensified by subjection to imperial control, is expressed poignantly in Lamentations (4:20):

The Anointed of the Lord, the breath of our nostrils, under whose shadow we thought we might live among the nations, was caught in their traps. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 2)

Following the Exile, the Davidic monarchy disappeared from society, although it had a powerful hold on the eschatological imagination

Preexilic Israel was ruled by kings and guided by prophets; Second Temple Judaism was not. A representative of the Davidic monarchy was the governor of Judea at the beginning of the Persian period, but after him the Davidic monarchy disappears from society, although it exercised a powerful hold on the eschatological imagination. (Cohen (1987), 11)

When there were no longer any Davidic kings, even more diverse expressions of the Davidic dynasty tradition were being expressed

In subsequent periods of Israelite literature when no davidic king reigned, we will see even more diverse expressions of the davidic dynasty tradition. (Pomykala (1995), 25)

In the early post-exilic period, there was no dominant widespread expectation for a Davidic monarchy or Davidic messiah

In the biblical tradition, non-davidic models of kingship were available, and in passages from the exilic and post-exilic periods, the davidic dynasty tradition proved adaptable and expendable. Indeed, it is my contention that there is little evidence from the early post-exilic period for an expectation of the re-establishment of a specifically davidic monarchy or hope for a specifically davidic messiah.

Thus, at the dawn of the early Jewish period, there existed no dominant and widespread expectation for a davidic messiah that early Jewish authors would inherit and carry on. (Pomykala (1995), 67)

The early Deuteronomist's theme of hope for a restored State under a righteous David was overwritten and contradicted

In the light of our understanding of the two editions of the work and their different tendencies, the primary edition (Dtr¹) from the author of the era of Josiah, the second (Dtr²) from a late Deuteronomist

¹⁶ Sigmund Mowinkel, *He That Cometh*, revised edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 165.

¹⁷ **Tradent:** Chiefly in Rabbinic Jewish contexts: a person who hands down or transmits (especially oral) tradition.
[TRADENT English Definition and Meaning | Lexico.com](https://www.lexico.com/definition/tradent) accessed 28 March 2022)

of the Exile, a number of puzzles and apparent contradictions in the Deuteronomistic history are dissolved or explained. ...

In the retouching of the original work by an Exilic hand, the original theme of hope is overwritten and contradicted, namely the expectation of the restoration of the state under a righteous Davidid to the remembered greatness of the golden age of David. (Cross (1973), 288)

Isaiah (chapters 8-9) looked forward to a reunified Israel under a Davidic king

[Isaiah] 8:23-9:6 (Eng: 9:1-7) portrays a situation in which a period of gloom is transformed into light and glory, a time when the lost territories of the Northern Kingdom will be rejoined to Israel (8:23-9:1), a time of joy and freedom from external oppression (9:2-4).

This new situation is related to the appearance of a new davidic king:

For to us a child is born, to us a son is given; and the government will be upon his shoulder, and his name will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there will be no end, upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from this time forth and for evermore (9:5-6).

First, we should observe that this passage is an enthronement hymn for a davidic king, and accordingly, in this context the mention of birth and sonship is likely a reference to the king's status as God's adopted son such as one finds in Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14.21

Secondly, the throne names assigned to this royal figure in 9:5, probably on the model of Egyptian practice, highlight his role as a wise leader (Wonderful Counselor), military hero (Mighty God, translated better as Divine Warrior), protector of the people (Everlasting Father, i.e., the father of his people), and the guarantor of peace and prosperity (Prince of Peace, or well-being).

Moreover, his rule on the throne of David will be characterized by greatness and peace—over David's kingdom, including the northern territories—accompanied by justice without end (v. 6a). Finally, this is all ultimately attributed to God (v. 6b). (Pomykala (1995), 18-20)

Isaiah (chapters 10-11) looked to a new king who would stem from the beginnings of the Davidic house, not from the line in Jerusalem

Isa 10:33-11:10 presents another ideal image of a royal figure. It explains that after the destruction of an enemy (Assyria) or Israelite leaders (10:33-34), a new king will arise:

There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. [11:1]

The precise meaning of the imagery is open to interpretation. On the one hand, it may imply that this future king will come from the source of the davidic tradition and not from the current royal line in jerusalem. This idea of a collateral line stemming from the very beginnings of the davidic house, spawning a new David, would be akin to ideas in Mic 5:1.

On the other hand, it could simply reflect the hope that even if the present davidic king is threatened or overthrown, the davidic line itself will continue.

In any case, this king will possess superlative spiritual endowments including wisdom, counsel, might, knowledge, and fear of Lord (11:2). His rule will not only be characterized by justice and righteousness (11:3b-5), but by paradisal conditions of peace and harmony extending to the whole earth (11:6-9). The nations will seek him and his rule will be glorious (11:10). (Pomykala (1995), 20)

The reference to a “branch” at Isaiah 11, related to the future state of the extinct Davidic dynasty

The field of vision in the prediction of a branch from the stump of Jesse in Isa 11:1-9 is amplified and deepened to take in an open-ended future. The passage reads as follows:

A shoot will grow from Jesse's stump,
a sprig will spring from its roots.
On him the spirit of Yahweh will rest (etc.) ...

The language of the poem, beginning with the plant metaphors in the opening verse, is characteristic of the postexilic period. Moreover, the image conjured up in this first verse is the stump of a tree which has been cut down but yet may put out new shoots, as sometimes happens with tree stumps. ... The allusion is therefore to the dynasty, now extinct, which may nevertheless be revived in a future only dimly discerned. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 136)

6th CENTURY BCE DEUTERO-ISAIAH

Deutero-Isaiah broadened prophecies concerning David so they referred to the entire nation

Several times Deutero-Isaiah repeats prophecies of Isaiah concerning the Davidic dynasty but broadens their scope so that they refer to the entire nation (11.1-10 // 42.1-8, 60.17-61.1, etc.). Such allusions involve typology (since they pattern the experience of the nation after that of the Davidides), reprediction, and perhaps exegesis. Deutero-Isaiah utilizes royal psalms (psalms that refer to YHWH's promises to David or his descendants) in precisely the same fashion. (Sommer (1998), 112)

Deutero-Isaiah applied the Psalmist's prayer on behalf of the Davidic dynasty to the future exaltation of the nation as a whole

Psalm 132 consists of a prayer on behalf of a Davide king. The psalmist reminds YHWH of the promises He had made to David concerning David's progeny and city:

May Your priests wear victory and Your faithful ones exult! For the sake of Your servant David, do not turn aside from your anointed one. YHWH swore to David faithfully. ... I shall place on your throne one of your offspring. If your descendants keep My covenant and the laws which I teach them, their descendants also will sit on your throne for eternity For YHWH has chosen Zion, He desires it as His seat. ... I shall certainly bless its food supply, and I shall satisfy its poor with sustenance.

I shall let its priests wear salvation ... I shall make success flourish for David; I have set up a lamp for My anointed one. I shall make his enemies wear humiliation, and the crown will glimmer on him." (Ps 132.9-18)

Deutero-Isaiah uses many of the same terms as he describes the future well being and exaltation of the nation as a whole:

The spirit of the Lord YHWH is on me, for He has anointed me to bring good news to the lowly, ... to give the mourners of Zion a turban rather than dust. ... The ancient ruins will be built ... and the ruined cities renewed. ... And you will be called, 'the priests of YHWH'. ... You will consume the wealth of nations. ... Because they were put to shame doubly and inherited contempt as their portion, therefore they will inherit doubly in their land. I shall reward you faithfully and establish an eternal covenant with them. And their seed will be known among the nations ... for they are seed whom YHWH has blessed. I rejoice greatly in YHWH ... for He has let me wear a garment of salvation; He covers me with victory, [making me] like a bridegroom who sports a turban or a bride decked out in her jewelry. For as the land brings out its vegetation, and as a garden lets a thing sown flourish, so the Lord YHWH will allow victory to flourish along with praise before all the nations. (Isa 61.1-11)

Not only do these passages share ample vocabulary, but they both refer to certain themes as well. ... Both texts express a concern for the poor and lowly. ... Both refer to royal headdress: the psalm speaks of a crown, and the prophecy of a turban.

The abundance of shared vocabulary and themes begins to suggest that the parallel is no mere happenstance. A typical stylistic feature of Deutero-Isaianic allusion adds to the impression that the prophet borrowed from the psalmist. (Sommer (1998), 112-114)

Isaiah transferred the Davidic promises to the nation as a whole

The Psalmist's promise to David and to his descendants

May Your priests wear victory and Your faithful ones exult! For the sake of Your servant David, do not turn aside from your anointed one. YHWH swore to David faithfully. ... I shall place on your throne one of your offspring. If your descendants keep My covenant and the laws which I teach them, their descendants also will sit on your throne for eternity. For YHWH has chosen Zion, He desires it as His seat. ... I shall certainly bless its food supply, and I shall satisfy its poor with sustenance.

I shall let its priests wear salvation ... I shall make success flourish for David; I have set up a lamp for My anointed one. I shall make his enemies wear humiliation, and the crown will glimmer on him." (Ps 132.9-18)

The Davidic Extinction

Deutero-Isaiah transferred the promise to the whole nation

The spirit of the Lord YHWH is on me, for He has anointed me to bring good news to the lowly, ... to give the mourners of Zion a turban rather than dust. ... You will be called, 'the priests of YHWH'. ... You will consume the wealth of nations. ... I shall reward you faithfully and establish an eternal covenant with them. And their seed will be known among the nations ... for they are seed whom YHWH has blessed.

I rejoice greatly in YHWH ... for He has let me wear a garment of salvation; He covers me with victory, [making me] like a bridegroom who sports a turban or a bride decked out in her jewelry. For as the land brings out its vegetation, and as a garden lets a thing sown flourish, so the Lord YHWH will allow victory to flourish along with praise before all the nations. (Isa 61.1-11)

The Psalmist's promises to the Davidic dynasty were transferred by Deutero-Isaiah to the nation as a whole

The promises vouchsafed to David and his descendants in the psalm are transferred to the nation as a whole in Deutero-Isaiah. According to the psalmist, a covenant is made with David and his offspring. But in Deutero-Isaiah the covenant is with the nation.

Similarly, the psalm describes the Davidic ruler as wearing a crown, while in Deutero-Isaiah it is the mourners of Zion and the speaker, not the royal family, who receive turbans. Not only do the people acquire royal prerogatives; they are also described as YHWH's "priests".

An additional transfer of royal and priestly motifs occurs in the beginning of the passage, where a speaker (who is either the prophet himself or the servant introduced earlier in the book, which most likely depicts the nation Israel) announces that he has been anointed; the king was anointed in the psalm.

Further, the speaker in Isaiah 61 is the subject of the verb ("to wear a turban"), which suggests his priestly status, since the same [Hebrew] root provides the noun "priest". The final verses of the chapter make the surrender of royal and priestly motifs to the nation particularly clear. In Ps 1132.17 YHWH causes salvation to flourish for David. This wording is repeated in Deutero-Isaiah, but without the reference to David; there YHWH causes victory to flourish for the speaker.

In the psalm, YHWH clothes the priests with victory, but in Deutero-Isaiah the speaker wears salvation. (Sommer (1998), 114)

Deutero-Isaiah stressed that the covenant with the people was unconditionally eternal

The covenant described in the psalm is revised in an important way. The psalm's covenant is couched in conditional language: "If your descendants keep My covenant and the laws which I teach them, their descendants also will sit on your throne for eternity."

But Deutero-Isaiah eliminates any reference to conditionality in the agreement between Israel and YHWH. Instead, he stresses that the covenant is an eternal one. By so doing, the prophet brings the vocabulary borrowed from Psalm 132 into agreement with the Davidic promise as it appears in most other texts, such as Psalm 89 or 2 Samuel 7, where that covenant is unconditional. (Sommer (1998), 114-115)

The king in Psalm 72 provided Deutero-Isaiah with the pattern for what will happen to the people as a whole

A similar affinity between a psalm concerning the Davidic dynasty and a chapter in Deutero-Isaiah bearing on the nation as a whole occurs in several passages that depend on Psalm 72: Isa 44.28-45.8, 49.7-23, and 60.1-21.

These allusions omit any reference to the Davidic dynasty. What happens to the king in the psalm provides the pattern for what happens to the people as a whole in the later texts. In the psalm, the foreign rulers bow down before the king, but in Deutero-Isaiah they pay obeisance either to the city of Jerusalem or to the people as a whole. Thus the allusions underscore once again the absence of a king in Deutero-Isaiah's view of the post-exilic period. (Sommer (1998), 115)

Deutero-Isaiah transferred the commitment concerning the Davidic dynasty to the people as a whole, while referencing Cyrus' role

The only mention of David in ... Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (chs. 40-66), occurs towards the conclusion of Deutero-Isaiah at the beginning of the last chapter (55:1-5). ... After the invitation to accept the free gift of food that nourishes (vv. 1-2), the address continues as follows (vv. 3-5):

Come to me and listen carefully,
Hear me, and your spirit will revive.

I shall make a perpetual covenant with you,
the tokens of faithful love I showed to David.

As I appointed him a witness to peoples,
so you will summon a nation you do not know,
and a nation that does not know you will come in haste to you,
for the sake of your God,
for the Holy One of Israel who has made you glorious. ...

The point is being made that the commitment concerning the dynasty has now been reinterpreted, reformulated, and transferred to the people as a whole, those addressed by the author who had survived the disaster which swept the dynasty away. ...

The statement “you will summon a nation you do not know, and a nation that does not know you will come in haste to you” echoes the frequent summons addressed to Cyrus in [Deutero-Isaiah] (Isa 41:25; 42:6; 45:3, 4), even though he does not know Israel's God (45:4-5). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 59-60)

Transferring promises from the royal family to the nation, Deutero-Isaiah engaged in allusion and revision

Other exilic and post-exilic authors remained loyal to the Davidic dynasty and anticipated their return to the throne. That Deutero-Isaiah nowhere refers to a king in the renewed commonwealth intimates that he did not look forward to a restoration of the monarchy. ... The whole people now share in what had been the Davidides' unique relationship with YHWH. ... By transferring promises from the royal family to the nation, Deutero-Isaiah engages not merely in allusion but in revision. (Sommer (1998), 118)

At Isaiah, “branch” referred to the future purified remnant of the people in Jerusalem

The Isaian collection, built up around the sayings of the prophet Isaiah active in Jerusalem in the latter half of the eighth century B.C.E., is the richest and most diverse of prophetic books. ... The primary emphasis in the book is, in fact, on the city and its temple as focal points of an envisaged future, more so than on the Davidic theme. The temple is to be the destination for people from all nations. ...

The term *semah* “branch” more commonly associated with a Davidic-messianic figure beginning with Zerubbabel, occurs in a brief postexilic adjunct to an Isaian saying, but with reference not to David or the Davidic lineage but to the future purified remnant of the people resident in Jerusalem (Isa 4:2-6). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 133-134)

The dynastic promise had been reinterpreted, hence Deutero-Isaiah’s complete absence of allusion to David and to the Davidic dynasty

For the Isaian author, the dynastic promise has undergone a fundamental reinterpretation. Hence the complete absence of allusion to David and the Davidic dynasty in [Deutero-Isaiah] either as a historical reality, or the object of hope for the future, or a feature of eschatological scenarios, a situation unparalleled in prophetic texts dated to the exilic period. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 61-62)

Cyrus was the principal agent of national rehabilitation and restoration for Judean communities in Judah and the Diaspora

According to Isaiah 40-48, Cyrus is destined to be the principal agent of national rehabilitation and restoration for Judean communities in Judah and the Diaspora. Karl Budde stated this very clearly many years ago: “Cyrus stands at the very center of the prophet's worldview”¹⁸. He is the one who will defeat Judah's enemies — Babylon in the first place,¹⁹ impose an international order based on justice

¹⁸ Cited in Max Haller, “Die Kyros-Lieder Deuterojesajas,” in EUQARISTHRION: *Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Hans Schmidt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923), 261

¹⁹ Isa 41:1-5, 25-29; 43:14; 45:1-7, 13; 46:11; 48:14-16.

and peace (42:1-4), allow, even facilitate, the repatriation of those forcibly deported (42:7; 45:13), and make possible the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple (44:28; 45:13). These tasks are to be discharged under the direct inspiration and aegis of Yahweh, Israel's king²⁰. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 64-65)

Deutero-Isaiah applied language similar to David's prerogatives at Psalm 2 to his description of the Persian monarch Cyrus

In one allusion, Deutero-Isaiah asserts that Davidic prerogatives are vouchsafed to a foreign king as well. In Psalm 2[1-10], YHWH declared His special favor for David and his descendants. ... [At Isa. 44.24-45.8], Deutero-Isaiah uses similar language as he describes Cyrus's position in relation to other kings and to YHWH. ... One can confidently assert that Deutero-Isaiah borrowed from Psalm 2 specifically.

While Deutero-Isaiah often applies Davidic promises to the nation, here they are bequeathed to the Persian king, Cyrus. The transfer of Davidic blessing to Cyrus matches Deutero-Isaiah's reference to him as ("messiah, anointed one"; see Isa 45.1), a term normally reserved in the Hebrew Bible for an Israelite king or priest. According to the psalm, the Davidic king was to have acquired dominion to "the ends of the earth" through his divinely aided warfare; according to Deutero-Isaiah, it is Cyrus whom YHWH will aid, so that nations throughout the world will be trampled down and kings will surrender before him. Thus the career of the Davidide in the psalm provides the prototype for Cyrus's experience in the later text. (Sommer (1998), 115-117)

²⁰ Isa 41:21; 43:15; 44:6. With the verb "stir up;" "inspire" in Isa 41:2, 25; 45:13; cf. 2 Chr 36:22; Ezra 1:1

ZECHARIAH

Zechariah: “The Branch”

At Zechariah chapter 3, the term *ṣemah* (“Branch”) referred to Zerubbabel

“I am about to bring my servant ‘Branch’ ... and in a single day I shall wipe out the guilt of this land” ([Zechariah] 3:8b, 9b). The term *ṣemah*, cognate with the verbal stem *ṣāmāh* (“sprout”, “germinate”), refers to something growing from the ground. The translation “branch” is not very satisfactory but no better term (shoot, sprout, slip, sprig, offshoot?) has been proposed. As an organic metaphor, *ṣemah* takes its place with the range of terms indicating organic growth in the opening verse of the Isaian poem about the peaceful kingdom under an ideal ruler (Isa 11:1). ...

Used as a code name, *ṣemah* has therefore a certain congruity with the name Zerubbabel, derived from Akkadian *zēr bābili* (“seed of Babylon”), but its use here was most likely suggested by the “righteous branch” or “branch of righteousness” in Jeremiah, terms for the future ruler whose reign will bring justice, security, and salvation (Jer 23:5-6; 33:15).

There can scarcely be any doubt that, in this statement to Joshua and his colleagues, *ṣemah* refers to Zerubbabel, absent from the scene but closely associated with Joshua the high priest in all our sources. Moreover, “Branch” is the designated builder of the temple in Zech 6:12, and the same is said of Zerubbabel in Zech 4:9. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 91)

Zerubbabel was the leader of the pioneer contingent of expatriates that returned to Judah

In the Hebrew section of Ezra (Ezra 1:1-4:7), Zerubbabel was the leader of the pioneer contingent of expatriates which returned to Judah in the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which would be 538 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:2 = Neh 7:7). Together with the priest Jeshua (or Joshua) he built the first altar, celebrated Sukkoth, made preparations for the rebuilding of the temple, and in the second year laid the foundations of the temple and began construction (Ezra 2:2; 3:1-13). In the Aramaic section of the book (Ezra 4:8-6:18), he and Jeshua resume the building project in the second year of Darius, therefore eighteen years later (4:24), with the support of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (5:1-2). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 72)

Zerubbabel was Yahweh’s chosen servant

[Part of] Haggai’s climactic fifth discourse (Hag 2:20-23) reads as follows. ...

“... I will take you, Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, my servant [word of Yahweh] and wear you as my signet ring, for it is you that I have chosen [Word of Yahweh of the hosts].” ...

The oracle addressed directly to Zerubbabel, Yahweh’s servant, consists in three statements: I shall take you; I shall wear you as a signet ring; and I have chosen you for a special task. The language is deliberately reminiscent of the initial election of David. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 79, 80)

Zechariah: “The House of David”

The phrase “house of David” conveys a wide range of meanings

Outside Zech 12:2-13:1, the phrase “house of David” occurs 19 times in the Hebrew Bible. Apart from references to a building,²¹ the phrase refers to the rule²², the king or court²³, or the dynasty²⁴ of the davidic family. Yet all these references presume a time when the house of David was in power as the ruling family in Judah or Israel. They may, therefore, be less helpful in determining the meaning of the phrase in Zech 12:2-13:1, which dates from a time during the post-exilic period when the davidic family did not provide kings for Judah. (Pomykala (1995), 118)

At Zechariah, the phrase “House of David” referred to a clan that numbered hundreds or maybe thousands of members

The reference to the house of David in Zech 12:2-13:1 must be interpreted as designating a relatively large social unit consisting of several hundred or even a few thousand members, something like a clan. ... Furthermore, 12:8 makes clear that this house of David is to be included among the inhabitants of Jerusalem. ...

The phrase [“House of David”] does not refer to a dynastic line or an individual figure, but to a clan consisting of hundreds or thousands of members. This point is further corroborated by mention of the wives of the house of David in [Zechariah] 12:12. Thus, the “house of David” must be understood as a prominent Jerusalem clan which exercised some form of power. Yet there is little evidence that members of the house of David occupied official political office. (Pomykala (1995), 119, 120)

“The house of David” referred to a large social group akin to a clan, but does not imply a messianic or royalist hope

Many interpreters have seen Zech 12:2-13:1 as a witness to davidic messianic or royalist hopes. But the foregoing study has shown that mere reference to the “house of David” does not imply a messianic or royalist hope. Here in Zech 12:2-13:1, the house of David refers to a rather large social group akin to a clan. This clan could trace its genealogy back to the pre-exilic family of David and surely was a prominent group within Jerusalem in the late fifth to early fourth centuries BCE. Moreover, this oracle proclaims that in the eschatological restoration their prominence would remain. It appears that the social hierarchy present in Jerusalem is merely idealized. There is no evidence that messianic or royalist hopes were fixed upon the house of David. No individual figure is in view—whether royal or messianic; the passage speaks of a group of people including women. In addition, the passage contains no overt expectation of a future royal or messianic rule. (Pomykala (1995), 124)

The two oracles at Zechariah 10-12 do not suggest Davidic royal or messianic figures are involved in the final battle or subsequent rule

Zechariah 12-14 presents two oracles describing the final victory of the Lord on behalf of Israel. Both stress the Lord’s role as savior. Neither account suggests that davidic royal or messianic figures are involved in the battle or the subsequent rule. The disproportionate amount of interest devoted to the supposed messianism of these chapters, and Deutero-Zechariah as a whole, is no doubt related to the New Testament’s application of Zech 9:9 and 12:10 to Jesus (Matt 21:5; John 12:15 and 19:37, respectively)²⁵.

²¹ Cf. 1 Sam 19:11; Isa 22:22.

²² Cf. 1 Sam 20:16; 2 Sam 3:1,6 (prior to the establishment of the dynasty); 1 Kgs 12:19,20,26; 14:8).

²³ Cf. Isa 7:2,13; Jer 7:2.

²⁴ Cf. 1 Kgs 13:2; 1 Chr 17:24; 2 Chr 21:7; also 2 Sam 7:11b

²⁵ Zech. 9:9 makes no mention of a davidic king

To be sure, Zechariah 9-14 witnesses to royal themes (9:9) and addresses the problem of leadership in terms of shepherding (10:2-3; 11:4-17), a metaphor commonly used of kings. But there is no evidence of a hope for a davidic king or messiah. [Dr. Rex] Mason's comments are an apt summary of the evidence:

It is illegitimate to detect a Messianic figure elsewhere in deutero-Zechariah. Whatever be made of the promises concerning David in 12:8, it cannot be overlooked that the house of David needs to share in the general act of penitence which follows, nor that the context specifically states that victory will be clearly Yahweh's, so that the glory of the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall not be unduly exalted above that of the rest of the community (v. 7). Even if v. 8 is secondary in its present position, this does not suggest that the circle responsible for the final form of these oracles saw the house of David in a traditionally Messianic way ... No reference to human leadership of any kind is found in ch. 14. (**Mason**, Rex, 237²⁶) (Pomykala (1995), 125)

²⁶ Mason, Rex A. (Regent's Park Col., Oxford). *The Relation of Zech. 9 - 14 to proto-Zechariah*. Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1976, 88(2), 227-239

THE SANITIZING, REVISIONIST CHRONICLER

The Revisionist, Sanitizing Chronicler

DAVID

The Chronicler's revisionist interpretation of David began the process of rehabilitating David's image.

The Chronicler rewrote David's history, omitting or transforming facts that did not show him and his successors as observing the Priestly Law.

The Chronicler wrote that the Persian Cyrus will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, and without a descendant of David.

JOSIAH

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history to elevate him to a position comparable to Moses.

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history, saying he recovered territories which traditionally belonged to David's "Greater Israel".

The Chronicler's revisionist interpretation of David began the process of rehabilitating David's image

By tracing the interpretive swerve away from an adulterous and impliedly murderous David to a more chaste (though still penitent) Dawud, we can follow (albeit at great distance) the development of the profile of this important figure in the religious imagination of the ancient to late ancient Near East. When we do this, we discover that the revisionist interpretation of the Biblical chronicler is only the beginning of a normative narrative line designed to rehabilitate the image of the Israelite king as we meet him in 2 Samuel. (Wright (2001), 202)

The Chronicler rewrote David's history, omitting or transforming facts

The Chronicler rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. His object was to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. In the course of this process all facts that did not square with the Chronicler's presuppositions were either omitted or transformed. (Charles (1913), 7)

The Chronicler did not testify to a Davidic hope

Altogether, the internal textual signals do not testify to a davidic hope on the part of the Chronicler. ...

What is known about the context of Chronicles speaks against a messianic or royalist interpretation, for when Chronicles was written, sometime between ca. 435-348 BCE, the monarchy and the dynasty had been defunct for 150 to 240 years. Furthermore, the only documented messianic or royalist stirring during the Persian period, found in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (1-8), lay 85 to 175 years in the past. The political significance of the davidic dynasty was a distant memory. (Pomykala (1995), 110, 111)

The Chronicler did not make an explicit call for either a Davidic monarchy or for a Davidic messiah

Nowhere in Chronicles is there an explicit call for the resumption of the davidic monarchy or a direct expression of hope for a davidic messiah. The messianic or royalist interpretation of the Chronicler's ideology is derived from indirect evidence found both in the text and in hypothetical contexts. (Pomykala (1995), 110)

Neither the text nor the context of Chronicles supported a messianic or royalist interpretation

No extant Jewish literature, including Chronicles, or material evidence from the late Persian period testifies to a continuing messianic or royalist tradition connected with the davidic house. Neither the text nor the context of Chronicles supports a messianic or royalist interpretation. Instead, in the hands of the Chronicler the davidic dynasty tradition subserved a particular vision of the Jerusalem cultic community in the late Persian period. (Pomykala (1995), 111)

The Chronicler focused the dynastic promise on Solomon, without it being construed as “eternal” or “everlasting”

The dynastic promise [of the Chronicler] is focused on Solomon and his role as the temple builder, is conditioned upon the obedience of kings whose apostasy the Chronicler documents, and need not be construed as “everlasting” or “eternal”. (Pomykala (1995), 110)

The Chronicler did not give the Davidic family any official office

In Zech 12:2-13:1; 1 Chr 3:17-24; and Ezra 8:2b] the davidic family possesses social prominence but holds no official office; nor is it the object of royal or messianic speculation. Accordingly, this appears to be the status of the davidic family in the late Persian period. It is clear then that these traditions about davidic descendants have little to do with Jewish ideas from a later period about a Son of David as a messianic figure. (Pomykala (1995), 126)

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history to elevate him to a position comparable to Moses

The account of Josiah's reign in 2 Chronicles 34-35 presents him much more unequivocally and comprehensively as the counterpart at the end of the dynasty to David at its beginning. The author had evidently read his principal source, 2 Kings 22-23, closely, but could not accept the implication that Josiah had tolerated pagan cult practices for eighteen years and had undertaken the repair of the temple when it was still full of idolatrous cult objects and accommodated male cult prostitutes.

The Chronicler's solution was to revise the chronology of the reign so as to limit Josiah's infidelity to his minority and attribute his reforms not to the discovery of the law of Moses but to his own religious initiative. At the age of sixteen, ten years before the discovery of the law book in the temple (2 Chr 34:8, 14-18), Josiah had a religious experience and “began to seek the God of his ancestor David” (34:3).

This adjustment of the chronology of the reign allowed the author to elevate David to a position comparable to that of Moses, a position which is in evidence throughout 1-2 Chronicles and testifies to the author's relative freedom from tradition. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 22)

The Chronicler revised Josiah's history, saying he recovered territories which traditionally belonged to David's “Greater Israel”

The Chronicler's Josiah is superimposed on David in another respect, one which called for a more drastic revision of his principal source: he is now the one who recovered for Judah territories which, according to tradition, had belonged to David's “Greater Israel”. The [Deuteronomist] Historian (2 Kings 22-23) states at several points that the king's reforms were limited to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (23:5-6, 8, 24) and provides little support for reforming activity outside of that region. ...

For the author of Chronicles, on the other hand, the religious reforms of Josiah extended into Ephraim, Manasseh, Naphthali, and Simeon, all the way, therefore, from the extreme north to the extreme south of the country (2 Chr 34:6-7, 9). In the context of the author's general ideology, the intent was to cleanse all the territory once under David's rule from the same religious "abominations" from which Judah was now, for the time being, free (34:33). This is an important point for the author since it meant that Judah and Ephraim, north and south, were once more united under a descendant of David as at the beginning.

This account of Josiah's reconquest of the irredentist provinces of David's one-time kingdom is often accepted as historically reliable, but it appears that the situation of the great empires at that time left no opening for such a campaign of conquest. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 22-23)

The Chronicler wrote that the Persian Cyrus will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, without a descendant of David

Whereas Dtr [the Deuteronomistic History] in its final form ends by opening up a future for the Davidic line in the person of the deported Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:27-30), for Chronicles the next chapter of the history will feature not a descendant of David but the Persian Cyrus, who will be inspired by the God of Israel not to restore the dynasty but to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 27)

Ezra

For Ezra, the Davidic king had in effect disappeared

As Ezra said, they were not the masters of their own land. The Davidic king had in effect disappeared. This led to an enormous amount of speculation about the meaning of the Second Book of Samuel, which promised that the Davidic kingship would continue forever. Thus the idea was born that a king of David's line would return and bring with him a perfect order. (Segal (1986), 30)

BEN SIRA (second century BCE)

Ben Sira was composed about 180 BCE

The book of Ben Sira was composed in Hebrew c. 180 B.C.E. by a sage in Jerusalem bearing the name שמעון בן יושע בן אלעזר בן סירה Shim'on ben Yeshua' ben 'El'azar ben Sira (to cite the name of the author as presented in Manuscript B at 50:27, 51:30), or Yeshua' ben 'El'azar ben Sira (via the Greek version at 50:27) – but which has come down to us, regardless of the specific forenames, as simply Ben Sira (again, see Manuscript B at 51:30: שנקרא בן סירה 'who is called Ben Sira').

The composition is a collection of proverbs and teachings, written in poetry, within the well-known and widespread ancient Near Eastern tradition of wisdom literature. Its closest analogue within the biblical canon is the book of Proverbs, from which Ben Sira draws much of its inspiration.²⁷

Ben Sira had no further place for a king, with priests taking on the functions and symbols of the pre-exilic Davidic monarchy

About two hundred years after the composition of Chronicles and Zech 12:2-13:1, Ben Sira (198-175 BCE) offered an interpretation of the davidic dynasty tradition. On the one hand, Sirach could portray the davidic covenant and kingship as a praiseworthy part of Israelite history (47:11, 22), even though he believed the davidic monarchy had come to an end because its kings had abandoned the Torah (49:4-5). On the other hand, for Ben Sira the davidic covenant found its ultimate fulfillment in the Second Temple high priesthood, the office which had taken over the functions and symbols of the pre-exilic davidic monarchy. ...

Ben Sira's ideal Israel had no place for a king, let alone a davidic king. (Pomykala (1995), 267)

Ben Sira did not entertain the Davidic dynasty reviving back to life

In [Ben Sira's] eulogy of David ([Sirach] 47:1-11), he praises him as liturgical musician and performer and as solicitous for temple worship, after the manner of the David of the book of Chronicles, but there is no David *redivivus* in Ben Sira and he entertains no lively expectation of a revival of the dynasty. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 142)

While Ben Sira praised David, it did not speak of the restoration of his line

The wisdom book of *Ben Sira* reveals the views of a pious scribe in Jerusalem at the beginning of the second century B.C.E. ... *Ben Sira* had little interest in eschatology of any sort. ... We find no reference to a Messiah. *Ben Sira* praises David at some length (47:1-11) but does not use the occasion to speak of the restoration of his line. ... For Sirach himself the glory of David belongs to the past. ... Most scholars agree that Sirach has no interest in a Davidic Messiah. (Collins (1987), 98)

Second Temple period “Messiah”

Second century BCE literature provided little evidence of hope for restoration of the Davidic line

There is relatively little textual evidence from [the second century B.C.E.] for the hope that the Davidic line would be restored. Instead, we find a range of figures who are viewed as agents of salvation by different groups. (Collins (1987), 98)

²⁷ [The Book of Ben Sira | Introduction](#) accessed 21 April 2022

The eschatological “Messiah” occurs only from the time of the Second Temple after the Old Testament

The title “Messiah” (Heb. מֶשֶׁח) as a designation of the eschatological personality does not exist in the Old Testament; it occurs only from the time of the Second Temple after the Old Testament period. (Flusser (1959))

The eschatological “the Messiah” first appears during the Second Temple period

The expression “the Messiah” does not occur anywhere in the Hebrew Scriptures, but only appears for the first time in the early Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, where it designates various eschatological figures.²⁸ ...

It is not until the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period that we encounter for the first time the title, “the Messiah,” used in a technical sense, where it refers to various eschatological figures.²⁹ ...

The first clear definitive development of the technical concept of the Messiah as an eschatological figure of deliverance does not appear until the postexilic era or Second Temple period. (Johnston (2007:1), 1, 2)

The Messiah was a postbiblical figure who would break the yoke of the heathen and reign over a restored kingdom of Israel

The word Messiah is an anglicization of the Latin *Messias*, ... a charismatically endowed descendant of David who the Jews of the Roman period believed would be raised up by God to break the yoke of the heathen and to reign over a restored kingdom of Israel to which all the Jews of the Exile would return.

This is a strictly postbiblical concept. Even Haggai and Zechariah, who expected the Davidic kingdom to be renewed with a specific individual, Zerubbabel, at its head, thought of him only as a feature of the new age, not as the author or even agent of its establishment. One can, therefore, only speak of the biblical pre-history of messianism. (Ginsberg, (1967))

²⁸ See Johnston’s Paper for the comprehensive list of supporting Resources.

²⁹ John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 11. Also see John J. Collins, “The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 199-217. Collins defines the concept of “the Messiah” as an eschatological figure who plays a role in the drama of the end-time, especially a king who restores the Davidic line in Israel.

THE EXPECTED MESSIANIC SON OF DAVID

For a listing of New Testament citations and allusions to apocryphal and pseudepigraphal Hebrew writings, see: *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority*, pages 452-464, Lee Martin McDonald, Baker Academic, 2007. Also available at:
https://jwstudies.com/Applications_of_the_Hebrew_Appcypgra.pdf
accessed 25 April 2022

A more complete listing is provided at *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, Appendix Two, by C. A. Evans, pages 342-409

As one New Testament example, Matthew's Gospel references *Psalms of Solomon* at: Matthew 6:26 (PsSol 5:9-19); Matthew 11:23 (PsSol 1:5); Matthew 13:6 (PsSol 18:6-7); Matthew 19:28 (PsSol 17:26, 29); Matthew 21:12 (PsSol 17:30)

Davidic protest against the monarchy

The Davidic figure in the *Psalms of Solomon* was a frontal assault on the legitimacy of the Hasmonean kings

Pss. Sol. 17 sets forth the first positive expectation of a davidic figure in the early Jewish period. What accounts for this phenomenon? The answer lies close at hand, specifically, in the opposition to the Hasmonean kings reflected in Pss. Sol. 17:5-7. ...

The davidic king would be all the things the Hasmonean kings were not, and Israel would be all the things that the Maccabean kings could never make it. ...

What is at issue is a frontal assault on the legitimacy of the Hasmonean kings by means of a powerful biblical tradition. (Pomykala (1995), 165, 166)

The attempts to restore the Davidic dynasty were protests against imperial rule

From beginning to end, attempts to restore the Davidic dynasty, or predictions of its future or its eschatological restoration, were without exception protests against imperial rule. By the time the empire of Republican Rome began to make its presence felt in the Hellenistic kingdoms towards the beginning of the second century B.C.E., Judea had accumulated a great deal of experience in living under imperial rule. ... "Their primary concern was with foreign politics, chiefly because it constituted the theater of their god's activity."³⁰ (Blenkinsopp (2013), 161)

Writings stressed the promised king's Davidic ancestry in opposition to either the Hasmoneans or the Herodians

In the *Psalms of Solomon*, the Qumran scrolls, the apocalyptic literature and some of the early rabbinic material, the king is an active agent of deliverance, destroying the wicked, judging the nations and ruling in judgment and righteousness.

Some writings place special stress on his Davidic ancestry, generally in opposition to the royal pretensions of the Hasmoneans or Herodians. Yet throughout it is the fact of God's deliverance rather than the identity of the deliverer which is of primary importance. The most widely utilized promise

³⁰ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 1:443.

tradition text is Isaiah 11, where the Spirit-endowed ‘shoot of Jesse’—full of wisdom, knowledge, counsel and strength—will judge the poor and afflicted with justice and destroy the wicked with the rod of his mouth and the breath of his lips. (Strauss (1995), 337)

The *Psalms of Solomon* talk of ‘the son of David’, a king who will shatter unrighteous rulers, destroy the pride of the sinner and then gather together a holy people whom ‘he shall lead in righteousness’ (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:55ff.). (Freeman (2009), Kindle Locations 315-316)

The Hasmoneans were neither Davidic nor Zadokite

Enthusiasm for the Hasmoneans was by no means universal and was tempered by the knowledge that they were not of Davidic lineage and therefore, to that extent, lacking legitimacy. The author of the *Psalms of Solomon* makes the same point about them: “With pomp they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance/They despoiled the throne of David with arrogant shouting” (Pss. Sol. 17:5-6). ...

The Hasmoneans were not of the Zadokite line. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 164)

The *Psalms of Solomon* reacted to the Hasmonean dynasty, promising an expected Davidic king

Within early Judaism, Pss. Sol. 17 provides the most extensive description of an expected davidic king and his kingdom. ...

The psalmist offers his complaint (vv. 4-20) ... by recalling God’s promise to David concerning an eternal dynasty:

Lord, you chose David to be king over Israel, and swore to him about his descendants forever, that his kingdom should not fail before you (v. 4). ...

Easily detected behind this thinly veiled description are the events involving the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty, Pompey’s capture of Jerusalem and deportation of Aristobolus II, the puppet regime of Hyrcanus II, the resulting effects on the community behind the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the sorry state in which the author found Israel. ...

In response to this situation, the psalmist makes his plea, which describes the expected davidic king and the Israel that will exist under his rule. (Pomykala (1995), 159, 160-161)

Expectation of an ideal eschatological Jewish national ruler materialised in the Hellenistic period, probably the Maccabees and Hasmoneans

The OT does not appear to exhibit any clear development of the messianic expectation. All that can be demonstrated is the presence of the expectation in the passages already referred to and in others extending, via Jer. 23:5-8 and Ezek. 34:23-24, to Hag. and Zech.

Until this point they exhibit a strange uniformity. It is not until the Hellenistic period that this is overtaken by a sharp materialization of the concept in the direction of the expectation of an ideal eschatological Jewish national ruler who would nonetheless transcend national frontiers. It seems that the details, at least in part, were taken from the picture of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans and introduced into the older expectation oriented toward the memory of David. We see this most clearly in Pss. Sol. 17:21-40; 18:3-9. (Verbrugge (2000), 611)

The hope for a Davidic messiah arose to negate the Hasmonean royal house and to envisage an ideal social and political order

Pss. Sol. 17 is the first evidence for the expression of hope for a davidic messiah in early Jewish literature. The emergence of this interpretation of the davidic dynasty tradition in the mid-first century BCE was based on the utility of the concept of a Son of David for negating the legitimacy of the Hasmonean royal house and for envisioning an ideal social and political order, free from oppression and impurity, and characterized by piety, righteousness, and wisdom. (Pomykala (1995), 169)

Psalms of Solomon 17 is virulently directed against the author's Jewish opponents

Although *the Psalms of Solomon*, and particularly Pss. Sol. 17, are considered anti-Roman, which they are, Pss. Sol. 17 at least is even more virulently directed against the Jewish opponents of its author. Accordingly, this deep division between pious Jews and sinners indicates an ideology in which the author and his community no longer look for reform of the current social and political landscape, but envision a completely new configuration.

The remainder of the plea (vv. 26-42) articulates a vision of an ideal Israel ruled by an ideal davidic king. (Pomykala (1995), 163)

Texts referring to the Davidic messiah were utilized to challenge the legitimacy of Herodian or Roman kings

These texts referring to the davidic messiah ... were utilized, on the one hand, to challenge the legitimacy of herodian or Roman kings, and on the other, to provide a vision of Israelite kingship in the last days.

In this latter regard, the davidic king's primary duty was to lead the Sons of Light to victory against their eschatological enemies and then rule in royal splendor. ...

The davidic dynasty tradition therefore provided the resources for imagining the kind of human leader appropriate to the eschatological scenario as conceived at Qumran. (Pomykala (1995), 214)

The *Psalms of Solomon* recalled the promise of a perpetual Davidic dynasty, interrupted on account of the Hasmoneans' sins

Since the dissemination of anti-Roman propaganda was a dangerous business, there is the additional problem of the coded and arcane language in which these views were expressed. This is the case with the *Psalms of Solomon*, composed within a few years of the occupation of Jerusalem by the Romans in 63 B.C.E. ...

For obvious reasons Pompey's name does not appear in the Psalms, but his siege of the temple area and entry into the holy of holies are referred to indirectly at [Pss] 2:1-2 and his death in Egypt in 48 B.C.E. more overtly. ...

The 17th psalm in this collection recalls the promise of a perpetual dynasty made to David, now however interrupted on account of sin, especially the sins of the Hasmoneans:

Lord, you chose David to be king over Israel,
and swore to him about his descendants forever,
that his kingdom should not fail before you. ...
With pomp they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance;
they despoiled the throne of David with arrogant shouting. ...

The *Psalms of Solomon* demonstrate that the dynastic theme could still be a live issue in Judea of the early Roman period, but we do not know how widely these expectations were shared either in Judea or in the Diaspora. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 165-166)

The protesters promised a son of David

The hope for a future Son of David was an invention of the second century BCE at the earliest

The concept of the future advent of a son of David, as a king sent by God to end the present state of corruption, is not a continuation or development of ancient hopes for the return of the Davidic dynasty. Rather, it is a late invention of tradition, to be dated to the first, possibly second, century BCE at the earliest. (Tromp (2001), 201)

In reference to a messianic figure, the phrase “Son of David” in *Psalm of Solomon* is the only occurrence in early Jewish literature

The first request in the plea sets forth the theme for this section:

See, Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David, to rule over your servant Israel in the time known to you, O God (v. 21).

This plea rests on the conviction of an eternal davidic dynasty.

It is significant too that this is the only time the phrase “Son of David” occurs with reference to a messianic figure in early Jewish literature.

More importantly, this davidic king is depicted as God’s chosen agent. In contrast to the Hasmoneans, who usurped the royal office, the davidic king will be raised up by God. (Pomykala (1995), 161-162)

The concept that a descendant of the family of David would appear in the future on the political stage commenced in the first century BCE

Since the first century BCE, Palestinian Judaism knew the concept of a descendant of the family of David who would in the future appear on the political stage to assume power and establish a kingdom of righteousness, holiness and peace in Jerusalem.

A well-known example of texts expressing this expectation is Psalm of Solomon 17, but other texts are witness to its existence, too; 4Q161; 4Q174; 4Q252 and 4Q285 should be mentioned among the older examples.

The idea that God would bring a son of David to royal power in Jerusalem did in fact exist, at least from the first century BCE.

The idea of a son of David expected to be sent by God as king in the eschatological future is the relatively late (second or first century BCE) result of a combination of various, originally unrelated ideas. (Tromp (2001), 179, 180, 182)

The late eschatological son of David was a variant on the general phenomenon throughout the Hellenistic Near East

Jewish eschatology did not emerge as the result of the disappointment at the Davidic dynasty's failure to return. Jewish eschatology should rather be interpreted as a specific variant of a phenomenon occurring in the Hellenistic Near East in general. The observation that Jewish eschatology was unrelated in origin to the figure of the son of David easily explains why there are so many Jewish eschatological texts in which no king features, and why the son of David emerges only in relatively late eschatological texts.

Jewish eschatology is not the eventual outcome of the loss of the Davidic dynasty. Instead, the inclusion of a royal figure into the complex of eschatological expectations is best considered as a secondary specialization of the general concept of future restoration. (Tromp (2001), 186)

***Psalm of Solomon* 17 contains the most extensive pre-Christian Jewish description of a son of David expected to assume power in the future**

Eschatological texts including a political figure must always be assumed to have been written by people who were in political opposition to the people who were concretely in power.

That this is indeed the case, seems obvious, on the one hand, from such texts as *Psalm of Solomon* 17, which is commonly taken to have been written in opposition to the Hasmonean rulers of Judea (cf. Ps. Sol. 17:4-6).³¹ This opposition may well have “led to the emergence of an interpretation of the davidic dynasty tradition in terms of an ideology” of renewed davidic kingship.³² ...

³¹ The Psalm is usually dated to shortly after Pompey's invasion of 63 BCE.

³² Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition*, 167

Psalm of Solomon 17 contains the most extensive pre-Christian Jewish description of a son of David expected to assume power in the future. It follows a description of the present situation in Jerusalem, which is characterized by the tyrannical, murderous rule of illegitimate, non-Davidic kings, as well as by the sinfulness and criminal behaviour of the inhabitants of Jerusalem themselves (17:1-20). (Tramp (2001), 188, 190)

In the *Psalms of Solomon*, Israel's restoration required the Lord's "anointed one" to be a royal descendant of David

In the *Psalms of Solomon* (late first century B.C.), however, hope for the restoration of Israel is tied to God's raising up a descendant of David as "the Lord's anointed one" (*christos kyriou*, Pss. Sol. 17:32; 18:7), and the messianism here is of a purely royal variety. (Reid (2004), 142)

In the *Psalms of Solomon*, the "Son of David" is righteous, holy, and wise

This Son of David is characterized in an idealized way. He is compassionate to all nations (v. 34b), he is free from sin (v. 36a), powerful in the holy spirit (v. 37b), wise in counsel (v. 37a), he will not weaken (v. 38b), he is mighty in action (v. 40a), faithful and righteous (v. 40b), and has pure words, like those of the angels (v. 43c). Here we observe again that notably absent are characteristics suitable for a warrior; rather the emphasis is on righteousness, holiness, and wisdom. (Pomykala (1995), 164)

The expectation of a Davidic Messiah

The Davidic Messiah emanates from the time when the Maccabean Aristobulus I accepted the title of a king

The prevalence of the Davidic Messiah in the apocryphal literature became common from the time when the Maccabean Aristobulus I accepted the title of a king. This was seen as a usurpation of the rights of the family of David; hence as a reaction, the Davidic Messiah received his central importance as can be seen from the *Psalms of Solomon* written approximately in 63 B.C.E. (especially in the 17th Psalm). (Flusser (1959))

A Davidic messiah first emerged in the first half of the first century BCE

The idea of a davidic messiah first emerged in the first half of the first century BCE, in order to articulate Pharisaic opposition against the ruling Hasmoneans. (Pomykala (1995), 270)

The first evidence for Davidic messianism is found in the middle of the first century BCE, in the *Psalms of Solomon*

There existed in early Judaism no continuous, widespread, or dominant expectation for a davidic messiah. Indeed, after the expression of hope for the restoration of the davidic dynasty in some biblical texts from the exilic and post-exilic periods, the first evidence for davidic messianism is found in Pss. Sol. 17, which dates from the middle of the first century BCE. (Pomykala (1995), 270)

The earliest reference to a Davidic messiah appears in the *Psalms of Solomon*

The first explicit expression of hope for a davidic messiah is in Pss. Sol.³³ 17, which dates from the middle of the first century BCE.

References to the davidic kings or dynasty in Chronicles, Ben Sira, and other works certainly show interest in the davidic *dynasty* tradition, and are often cited superficially in support of a tradition of davidic *messianism*, but these passages may not reveal an expectation for a davidic *figure*. In addition, neither Josephus nor Philo mentions such an expectation. ...

³³ *Psalms of Solomon*

How widely the *Psalms of Solomon* were used in the Second Temple period is not known. Furthermore, the didactic prayers in the *Psalms of Solomon* probably reflect more the ideas of learned circles than popular ideology. (Pomykala (1995), 5, 6. *Italics added*)

The hope for an eschatological Davidic Messiah is a secondary development of a more general eschatological worldview

Obviously, David was seen as a figure from the past, whose name is used as a warrant of legitimacy. Although the memory of his name was alive, in none of the examples discussed above is there a link to the future, or the slightest trace of hope for a return to the throne by a son of David. ...

The hope for an eschatological, Davidic Messiah is a secondary development of a more general eschatological worldview. The name of David apparently stood for the king of the Judeans *par excellence*; only when in eschatological circles the idea of a future ideal king arose, was this name associated with future expectations. (Tromp (2001), 200-201)

Davidic messianism was limited to Palestinian communities between 60 BCE and 100 CE

The evidence for davidic messianism in the Second Temple period is limited to three communities, all of Palestinian provenance, active between ca. 60 BCE and 100 CE. (Pomykala (1995), 270-271)

The Davidic prince, the Messiah, is God's "servant", not God's equal

Can the Messiah be called My servant? During the Messianic Era the promised king from David's line will be placed over God's flock (Ezekiel 34:23-31). In that day, God the ultimate savior of his people will establish His covenant of peace. How is the Davidic prince, the Messiah, referred to during the messianic reign? God calls him My servant—not My equal. God never called Jesus His servant, during Jesus' lifetime. Is My servant a title to be applied to Jesus by God during the supposed second coming of Jesus when he will manifest himself not as a servant but as king of Israel and as one-third of the triune deity of Christianity? In the Ezekiel passage the Messiah of Israel is called God's servant, not his equal. What that tells us is that Jesus is not the Messiah—not then, not now, not ever. (Sigal (2013), Kindle location 76)

The violent, rebellious, militant Davidic Messiah

The Davidic Messiah during the Hasmonean and Herodian eras was militant

Militant Davidic messianism first emerged in the latter years of the Hasmonean era and became widespread during the Herodian period. This violent messiah was fashioned predominantly as a righteous counterpart to Herod the Great and subsequent Herodian rulers, whom he was expected to overthrow before then inaugurating an eternal reign of peace. (Atkinson (1999), 435)

The messianic Davidic king would lead in violent rebellion against the occupying forces and then reign as God's righteous king

Psalm of Solomon 17 has elicited considerable scholarly interest, given its messianic expectation of a "son of David" (17:21), who was also designated the Lord's messiah (17:32). This psalm begins with a proclamation that God alone is king of the nation and has chosen the Davidic dynasty to rule Israel (17:1-4). The author then condemns illegitimate Jewish sinners who wrongly usurped the Davidic throne (17:5-6), only to be subsequently overthrown by a "man that is foreign to our race" (17:7). This individual, also condemned as "the lawless one" (17:11), inflicted great bloodshed upon Jerusalem, which in turn forced the author's community to flee the city for their lives (17:11-20).

These atrocities prompted the pious group responsible for the composition of this psalm to look forward to a messianic Davidic king, who would lead them in violent rebellion against the occupying forces (17:21-25). Once in control of Jerusalem, this Davidic messiah was expected to reign as God's righteous king (17:26-46). (Atkinson (1999), 440-441)

The Davidic messiah in the *Psalms of Solomon* 17 is a warrior, judge, and a man who will “smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter’s jar”

The most striking aspect of the Davidic messiah in Ps. sol. 17 is his tumultuous proclivities. He is closely fashioned after Isa 11:2-4 and is portrayed as a warrior, judge, and a man of purity who will rule over a perfected Israel. This messiah's specifically militant qualities are conveyed by the psalmist in graphic terms, for he is expected to “smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter’s jar”. (Atkinson (1999), 444)

The Apocalyptic, Political Messianic Son of David

QUMRAN

PSALMS OF SOLOMON

REVELATION

The author of Revelation envisioned a militant Davidic messiah whose robe would be dipped in blood as he struck down his enemies with the sword (Rev 19:11-21).

Militant

To intensify this messiah's militant nature, the writer of Revelation, like the authors of Ps. Sol. 17, 4Q161, and 4Q285, transformed Isaiah 11's verbal weapon, the “word of the mouth,” into a literal rod of iron.

Violent

While the communities that composed Ps. Sol. 17, the Qumran texts, and Revelation are commonly regarded as pacifistic, their common image of a warrior messiah suggests that they looked forward with apparent eagerness to great bloodshed and annihilation of their enemies

King

Perhaps with this image in mind we can better understand the apparent frustration of those followers of Jesus who, having witnessed Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem as king, along with his rampage in the temple and prediction of its very destruction, were disappointed when Jesus became the slain messiah, rather than the slaying messiah.

Ruler

On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17, Kenneth Atkinson, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 118, no. 3, Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, page 460

QUMRAN'S FIRST CENTURY BCE EXPECTATIONS

The Qumran community developed an interest in Messianism

A strong interest in messianism arose and developed within first century BCE communities

Apocalyptic groups developed the idea of a transcendent savior figure, either as an alternative or as a complement to earthly messianism. Only with the rise of the Qumran community do we find a group with a strong and developed interest in messianism, and then again in the first century B.C.E. in the *Psalms of Solomon*. (Collins (1987), 106)

Davidic Messianism emerged at Qumran

Davidic messianism emerged at Qumran only during the Herodian period. (Pomykala (1995), 269)

The Qumran communities developed an elaborate portrait of the Davidic messiah

With respect to the role and activities of the davidic messiah, the texts present a more elaborate portrait. He will arise in Zion and seems to be involved in repulsing an attack of the Kittim against Jerusalem.

Whether actually participating in that particular battle, the Branch of David nonetheless plays a major role in the eschatological war against the Kittim and others pitted against the remnant of Israel. He judges the nations with his sword, decimating the enemy forces as one hacks down a forest with an ax.

He then personally executes the king of the Kittim. The activity of the davidic messiah in the final conflict against the Sons of Darkness is so significant, he is said "to save Israel."

Altogether a distinctively militant portrayal of the Branch of David is articulated.

It is at the time of this victory over the Kittim that dominion returns to Israel and davidic rule is restored, never to be cut off. As for the nature of the davidic messiah's reign, it will be universal, over all the nations, and will display the marks of royal splendor—a throne of glory, a holy crown, and fine clothing. (Pomykala (1995), 213)

Qumran community expected a political, warrior Davidic Messiah

Qumran's earlier paradigm of dual messiahs was replaced by a violent messiah

While the Qumran community first placed its hopes in other messianic paradigms, such as the dual messiah, new historical circumstances created by the Herodian dynasty stimulated their expectation of a violent Davidic messiah who was fashioned as a righteous counterpart to the Herodian rulers. (Atkinson (1999), 458)

A number of Qumran texts show the community expected a violent messiah

This militant Davidic messiah is ... also found in a number of Qumran texts. ... [which] also bear witness to a common expectation for a violent messiah. (Atkinson (1999), 445)

This Davidic Messiah will destroy his enemies with a physical weapon as well as with the word of his mouth

The author [of Psalms of Solomon 17] seeks to further expand upon this messiah's violent nature by creatively transforming Isaiah 11's verbal weapons, namely, the "rod of his mouth" and the "breath of his lips," into a literal sword, the "iron rod."

This modification creates a Davidic messiah who will destroy his enemies, both Jews and Gentiles, with a physical weapon, an iron rod, as well as with the word of his mouth (17:23-24). ...

The author of Ps. Sol. I7 uses scripture to fashion a militant Davidic messiah who is portrayed as an essentially righteous, yet violent, counterpart of Herod the Great. (Atkinson (1999), 444, 445)

Qumran texts and *Psalms of Solomon* 17 depict a messiah who is a king, a warrior, a violent military figure and a righteous ruler

The Qumran texts examined in this study delineate a messiah who is a Davidic king (4Q161; 4Q285; 4Q252; 4Q174), a warrior (4Q161; 4Q285; 4Q252; 4Q174), and a righteous ruler (4Q252; 4Q174). These descriptions closely parallel the messiah of Ps. Sol. 17, who is also portrayed as a Davidic king (17:21), and a violent military figure (17:22-25) who is to exercise righteousness (17:26).

If 4Q246 has been correctly analyzed in this study, this document should then be included as an additional witness to the militant Davidic messiah tradition. (Atkinson (1999), 458)

The Davidic Messiah would be called “the Son of God”

The Dead Sea communities expected the Davidic messiah would be called “Son of God” and “Son of the Most High”

Another case of qualified divinization concerns the Davidic messiah. The notion that the Davidic king was the son of God is well established in the Hebrew Bible in 2 Samuel 7:14 and in Psalm 2:7. It was only natural then that the coming messianic king should also be regarded as the Son of God. The Florilegium from Qumran (4Q174) explicitly interprets 2 Samuel 7:14 in a future, messianic, sense: “I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me. He is the Branch of David, who will arise ... at the end of days.”

A fragmentary Aramaic text (4Q246), popularly known as “The Son of God Text,” predicts the coming of a figure who will be called “Son of God” and “Son of the Most High”; this figure is probably the Davidic messiah, though some scholars dispute this interpretation.

To say that the king was the son of God, however, does not necessarily imply divinization. Israel, collectively, is called God’s son in the Book of Exodus and again in Hosea, and the “righteous man” is identified as God’s son in the Wisdom of Solomon, a first-century C.E. Jewish text from Alexandria. There are other traditions, however, that suggest a more exalted status for the messianic king. (Redford (1997), Kindle locations 1085-1092)

Qumran expected the appearance of the Branch of David

Appearance of the Branch of David would fulfil the Davidic Covenant

It is now possible to draw some general conclusions about how this [davidic dynasty] tradition functioned at Qumran. ... First, the Branch of David would arise and take office in the last days, an expectation supported by an appeal to various scriptures, including Gen 49:10, Jer 33:17, 2 Sam 7:11-14, Amos 9:11, and Isa 10:34-11:5. In particular, his appearance was viewed as the fulfillment of the davidic covenant. As to his character, only two qualities are ascribed to him: righteousness and might. (Pomykala (1995), 212)

At Qumran, the royal authority of the Branch of David would be subordinate to that of the priests

Judgments made by the Branch of David will be in accordance with the instructions and commands of the priests.

Indeed, at every turn his royal authority is relativized by the dominate role of priestly figures. He stands not alone, but with the Interpreter of the Law, a priestly messiah. Even during the war with the Kittim, priests give the commands.

The davidic messiah is plainly subordinate to the authority of the priests. This subordination of the royal messianic figure is consonant with other passages in Qumran documents. (Pomykala (1995), 213)

Qumran communities expected a warrior Son of God

The “Son of God” in 4Q246 is a warrior who was expected to subdue the Gentiles

A number of Qumran texts ... used the Davidic dynasty tradition ... Although 4Q246 does not explicitly refer to a Davidic messiah, it is directly relevant to this study for its description of a figure called the “Son of God” is nearly identical to the militant messiah of Ps. sol. 17. ... The “Son of God” in 4Q246 is a warrior who was also expected to subdue the Gentiles. (Atkinson (1999), 445-446)

Document 4Q246 fashions a violent, military eschatological Son of God

The Aramaic document 4Q246, commonly known as the “Son of God” text ... uses scripture to fashion a violent eschatological king who is like the Branch of David. (Atkinson (1999), 452)

4Q246’s author used holy war language, such as “give into his hands” and “cast down before him,” to describe the military activities of this “Son of God,” who will fight and prevail over his enemies, presumably the kings of Assyria and Egypt, to inaugurate God’s everlasting kingdom. The text reads (col. 2.5-9):

5 His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom and all his ways will be in truth. He will jud[ge]
6 the earth in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth,
7 and all cities will pay him homage. The Great Cod will be his strength;
8 He will wage war for him. He will give peoples into his hands and all of them
9 He will cast down before him. His dominion will be an eternal dominion, and the depths of

Although the Qumran texts reflect some exegetical variation, a remarkable degree of consistency remains in the manner in which messianic titles are combined. John Collins comments, concerning 4Q246: “... He functions as a warrior to subdue the Gentiles: God will make war on his behalf and cast peoples down before him”³⁴. Therefore, the presence of the word “messiah” must not be considered a causa sine qua non for a messianic interpretation. Because different epithets and titles are applied to the same figure, the equation of the “Branch of David” with the “Son of God,” provided by 4Q174’s citation of 2 Sam 7:14, demonstrates that this figure in 4Q246 is a Davidic messiah. (Atkinson (1999), 452-453)

4Q246 clearly portrays this Son of God as a warrior, who will cast down his enemies before assuming the throne (col. 2.8-9) for an eternal kingdom (col. 2.9). The militant nature of this latter phrase is particularly clear, for 4Q252 also states that Davidic dominion will be achieved following the annihilation of the messiah’s enemies.

The role of the “Son of God” in 4Q246 is similar to the messiah of Ps. Sol. 17, for both will successfully fight to overthrow their opponents and establish the kingdom of God. This Son of God’s power, like that of the Davidic messiah of the Psalms of Solomon, does not emanate from within himself, but God is his strength (col. 2.7). (Atkinson (1999), 454)

4Q285 contains an expectation for a militant Davidic messiah

4Q161 is now paralleled by the recently released fragment 4Q285, which also contains an expectation for a militant Davidic messiah within an interpretation of Isaiah 10 and 11. (Atkinson (1999), 449)

³⁴ J. J. Collins also states: “It is important to recognize, however, that messiahs can be referred to by titles other than *mašiah*. So, for example, the Branch of David is simply another way of referring to the Davidic messiah, even when the word *mašiah* is not used” (Apocalypticism, 72).

The Messiah of 4Q252 will presumably use violence to undermine the legitimacy of the current monarch

4Q252 reflects the idea of the messiah as the son of David who is presumably to use violence to bring about his eternal reign. This document's reference to Jer 23:5 and 33:15 is certainly intended to undermine the legitimacy of the current monarch, for it restricts kingship to those of David's house. (Atkinson (1999), 456)

Christian expectations of a violent Davidic Messiah

The pre-Christian expectation for a violent warrior Davidic Messiah is repeated in the *Book of Revelation*

Evidence delineated in this study suggests that the common pre-Christian expectation of a Davidic messiah is of a violent warrior who would function as a righteous counterpart to the current Herodian monarch. Perhaps it is not coincidental that Jesus of Nazareth, a contemporary of Herod the Great, is explicitly identified by another contemporary Jewish group as a Davidic messiah.³⁵

Although the militant Davidic messiah tradition may seem to oppose the New Testament's portrayal of Jesus as Davidic messiah, this image of the warrior messiah was later adopted by the author of Revelation, who envisioned a militant Davidic messiah whose robe would be dipped in blood as he struck down his enemies with the sword (Rev 19:11-21).³⁶

To intensify this messiah's militant nature, the writer of Revelation, like the authors of Ps. Sol. 17, 4Ql61, and 4Q285, also transformed Isaiah 11's verbal weapon, the "word of the mouth," into a literal rod of iron.

While the communities that composed Ps. Sol. 17, the Qumran texts, and Revelation are commonly regarded as pacifistic, their common image of a warrior messiah suggests that they looked forward with apparent eagerness to great bloodshed and annihilation of their enemies

Perhaps with this image in mind we can better understand the apparent frustration of those followers of Jesus who, having witnessed Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem as king, along with his rampage in the temple and prediction of its very destruction, were disappointed when Jesus became the slain messiah, rather than the slaying messiah. (Atkinson (1999), 460)

³⁵ The portrayal of Jesus more readily accords with Qumran text 4Q521, which speaks of a messiah whom heaven and earth will obey.

³⁶ For a discussion of the militant nature of Revelation as a "Christian war scroll," see R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993) 210-37.

THE GOSPELS' MERCIFUL GALILEAN MESSIAH

The Gospels' Sanctified Son of David

RUTHLESS DAVID

Bandit
Extortionist
Adulterer
Insurrectionist
Murderer
Hated
Scheming

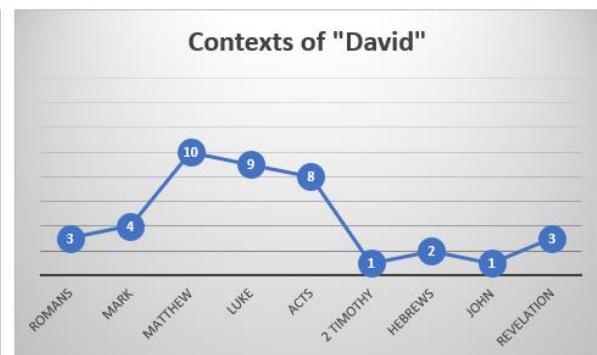
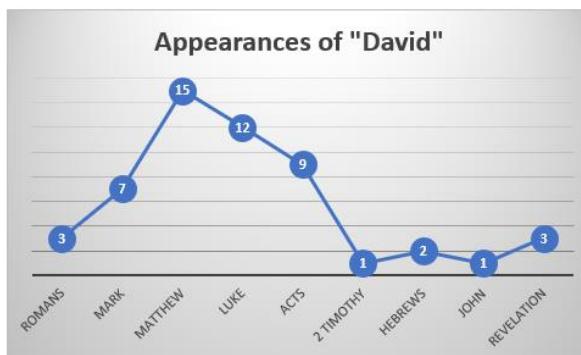
MERCIFUL SON OF DAVID

People call out to Jesus as "Son of David"
 Their cry is for "Mercy", not for a "King"
 They call for a healer, not for a mighty Davidic warrior

Mark 10:47-48, 51
 Matthew 20:30-31, 33
 Matthew 9:27, 30
 Matthew 15:22, 28
 Matthew 21:9, 30 (Hosanna: "Save us")
 Luke 18:38-39, 41

When Jesus did respond, it is as the "Son of Man", never acknowledging David

Appearances of "David" in the New Testament



New Testament books placed in approximately chronological order

Jesus' broken Davidic genealogy

Matthew's artificial structure of Jesus' ancestry

Mathew provides Jesus with a family history which goes back 42 generations and is taken from the Old Testament, although the names of 11 generations listed in 1 Chronicles are overlooked. A similar version in Luke goes all the way back to Adam but both make it clear that Jesus was a direct descendant of King David in three separate periods of 14 generations. This is Jewish numerology and considered important by the rabbis since it is the numerical number of the consonants in the name DAVID (there being no vowels in Hebrew) – D being the third letter in the Hebrew alphabet (or 3), V being the eighth (or 8) so David can be represented as 3 +8+3 or 14.

To the Gospel authors this provided confirmation that Jesus was the direct descendant of David and thus the Messiah as forecast by both Isaiah (11.1-10) and Jeremiah (33.15-22). Incidentally a similar

situation is seen in the Greek name of Jesus "IESOUS" where the numerical equivalent of each consonant adds up to the magic number of 888. (Pike (2016), Kindle locations 1045-1051)

In Matthew 1:11 Matthew omits Jehoiakim (2 Kings 23:34). Matthew's goal is to reduce the genealogies to a memorable three sets of fourteen individuals, for fourteen is the number of "David," D = 4, V or Hebrew waw = 6 and the last D = 4, for a total of 14.

But even more typical of the genealogies is Matthew 1:1, where "Jesus Christ" is said to be the "son of David," who in turn is "the son of Abraham." David lived about 1000 B.C. and Abraham about 2000 B.C. Similar huge leaps over intervening generations are also taking place in Genesis 5 and Genesis 11. (Kaiser (1996), 49)

Joseph, not Mary, was descended from King David yet Jesus' genealogy is through Joseph, despite not being Jesus' father

As is well known, Jesus Christ means "Jesus the Messiah." According to ancient Jewish belief, the Messiah was to be a descendant of David – the Son of David. Both Matthew (1:2-16) and Luke (3:23-38) provide a genealogical logical tree for Jesus leading back to David. In both of these genealogies, it is Joseph, not Mary, who is descended from King David. The most remarkable able thing, moreover, is that **Joseph's** genealogies are to be found in those same Gospels – Matthew and Luke – that tell the story of the **virgin** birth.

It would seem that neither of these Evangelists sensed any tension between the descent of Jesus from David through Joseph and the conception of Jesus without the agency of a human father. We should keep in mind that the two genealogies agree only from Abraham down to David. (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 235-239)

Jesus' lineage to David is traced through Joseph and Mary despite the end of the Davidic dynasty centuries earlier (Jeremiah 22 refers)

It is true that the prophecies reaching back to the time of David's reign as king (1000 BC) included the teaching that one of David's own lineage would be seated on the throne forever. Thus, if the lineage of Jesus is considered as presented in Matthew 1 and Luke 3, the line of both Joseph and Mary can be traced back to and through David. While both Joseph and Mary were of the line of David, ... difficulty arises when one considers the text of Jeremiah 22. (Taylor (2020), Kindle location 2705)

Genealogies leapt intervening generations

Abridgment is the general rule in biblical genealogies. Thus, for example, Matthew 1:8 omits three names between King Joram and Ozias (Uzziah), Ahaziah (2 Kings 8:25), Joash (2 Kings 12:1) and Amaziah (2 Kings 14:1). (Kaiser (1996), 49)

Matthew's genealogy and birth narrative to establish Jesus as the Davidic Messiah

The main emphasis, or one of the main emphases, of the Matthean genealogy and infancy narrative is to establish that Jesus is the Davidic Messiah, thus asserting for the originally Jewish Christian church of Matthew that Jesus does meet the hope of Israel (1:1, 16, 17). At the same time, Matthew wishes to show by the genealogy and the Magi story that Jesus is the son of Abraham (1:1), the one who is destined for a saving role for the gentiles as well. (MacRae (1987), 179)

Krister Stendahl has shown convincingly that ... Matthew ...Chapter 1 demonstrates Jesus' Davidic descent and Chapter 2 his birth in David's city Bethlehem. These are the traditional qualifications that prove he is indeed the Messiah of Israel. (MacRae (1987), 179)

Jesus' Davidic genealogy by Matthew

An account of the **genealogy** of Jesus the Messiah, the son of David, the son of Abraham. ... and **Jesse the father of King David**. ... So all the **generations from Abraham to David** are fourteen generations; and from David to the deportation to Babylon, fourteen generations. (Matthew 1:1, 6, 17, NRSV)

Jesus' Davidic genealogy by Luke

Son of Melea, son of Menna, son of Mattatha, son of Nathan, **son of David**, son of Jesse, son of Obed, son of Boaz, son of Sala, son of Nahshon, son of Amminadab, son of Admin, son of Arni, son of Hezron, son of Perez, son of Judah, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, son of Terah, (etc.) (Luke 3:31, NRSV)

Claims to the “House of David”

There were numerous descendants of King David in Jesus' time

It would have been quite natural that any expected Messiah be retrospectively legitimized by his followers as the Son of David. On the other hand, it has become clear that in Jesus' time there were indeed many real descendants from the family of the famous King David. ...

So, knowledge that one was from the family of David would not necessarily legitimize a person for messianic claims. It is important to reiterate, moreover, that even though there were those in the first century who could trace their lineage to David, we cannot be certain that Jesus himself belonged to David's line. (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 240-245)

Joseph was of the house of David

Engaged to a man whose name was **Joseph, of the house of David**. (Luke 1:27, NRSV)

Joseph, a descendant of the House of David

Joseph also went from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to Judea, to the **city of David called Bethlehem**, because he was descended from the house and **family of David**. (Luke 2:4, NRSV)

Joseph was a son of David

“**Joseph, son of David**, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife.” (Matthew 1:20, NRSV)

The mighty savior from the “House of David” would rescue the people from their enemies

[John's] father Zechariah was filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke this prophecy: “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he has looked favorably on his people and redeemed them. He has raised up a mighty **savior for us in the house of his servant David** ... that we would be **saved from our enemies and from the hand of all who hate us**. ... And you, child, will be called the prophet of the Most High; for you will go before the Lord to prepare his ways.” ... The child grew and became strong in spirit, and he was in the wilderness until the day he appeared publicly to Israel. (Luke 1:19, NRSV)

Paul’s Jesus was descended from the Davidic dynasty

Paul says he is in service to someone named Jesus, which is the Greek form of the Hebrew name Joshua, and this Jesus is descended from the Davidic dynasty, the most glorious of the ancient monarchies of Israel. (Eisenbaum (2009), 7)

Paul's Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, "according to the flesh"

Paul was not in the least interested in the Jesus of history. His Christology was entirely based on his own vision of a 'risen' Christ and his own pagan religious beliefs. As far as it went, Paul believed that Jesus was the physical son of Joseph and Mary.

"Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." Romans 1:3 (KJV)

(Sebastian (2017), Kindle locations 907-915)

The writers of the Synoptic Gospels believed Jesus was the physical son of Joseph and Mary

The writers of the Synoptic Gospels did not believe that Jesus was divine at birth. They believed that he was the physical son of Joseph and Mary. There are two genealogies of Christ Jesus in the Gospels, one in Luke and one in Matthew, both of them are focused specifically on Jesus through his paternal line. Both of the genealogies contradict each other. Neither writer even knew who Jesus' grandfather was; Matthew names him as Jacob and Luke names him as Heli. (Sebastian (2017), Kindle location 915)

The narratives sought a Davidic birth and infancy for Jesus

Both birth narratives have Jesus born in Judea as many believed the Messiah would be born in Judea, in Bethlehem

Since Matthew and Luke provide the Davidic genealogy of Jesus, it is no surprise that it is they who set the place of his birth in Bethlehem, the city of David's birth. Nevertheless, here the two accounts display important differences.

According to Luke 2:4, Jesus' family traveled to Bethlehem only because cause of the census. Before the birth of Jesus, they lived in Nazareth to which they returned. According to Matthew 2:23, however, the family resided in Bethlehem in Judea before the birth of Jesus and settled in Nazareth only after their return from Egypt.

It would seem, then, that both the tradition that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, and the proof of his Davidic ancestry, arose because many believed that the Messiah would be of David's line and would, like David, be born in Bethlehem. This follows plainly from John 7:41-42. (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 245-250)

The Messiah would be a descendant of David, thus not from Galilee

Some in the crowd said, "This is really the prophet." Others said, "This is the Messiah." But some asked, "**Surely the Messiah does not come from Galilee, does he? Has not the scripture said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?**" (John 7:42, NRSV, bold added)

Jesus, a Savior, the Messiah, the Lord, born in the City of David

To you is born this day in **the city of David** a Savior, who is the Messiah, the Lord. (Luke 2:11, NRSV)

Matthew linked the Messiah's birth in Judea and his eventual domicile in Galilee

Matthew ... chapter 2 focuses on the link between the Messiah's birth in Judea and his eventual domicile in Galilee, and the final prophetic motif that "he should be called a *Nazarene*" (2:23) reflects the dismissive tone of a superior Judean observer.

Jesus' decision to settle in Capernaum leads Matthew to insert a substantial formula-quotation from Isaiah which identifies "Galilee of the nations" as the place where the true light is to shine (4:13-16). (France (2007), 7)

Luke's birth and infancy narrative is explicitly political, foreshadowing the eternal kingdom of David

Matthew's account of the birth and infancy (Matt 1:18-2:23) reads like a kind of midrash on interconnected biblical-messianic texts. ... The parallel in Luke's gospel ... is more explicitly political, foreshadowing the eternal kingdom of David and the redemption of Israel, especially in the two canticles (Luke 1:5-80). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 178)

While Luke's infancy narrative differs from Matthew's narrative, both reference David

The Lukan infancy narrative shares with its very different Matthean counterpart two major concerns: that Jesus is the Messiah expected by Israel, and that as Messiah he is destined to be Savior of the gentiles as well. The first point is made specifically by the Davidic references such as 1:32: "And the Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David." (MacRae (1987), 182)

John did not know that Jesus had been born in Bethlehem or that he was descended from David

John 7:41-42 ... tells of some who denied that Jesus was the Messiah, saying, "Is the Christ to come from Galilee? Has not the scripture said that the Christ is descended from David, and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" John, therefore, knew neither that Jesus had been born in Bethlehem, nor that he was descended from David. (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 250-252)

Jesus lived and preached in Galilee

Yeshua, Nazarene from Galilee, King

"The Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David." (Luke 1:32, NRSV)

"Where is the child who has been born king of the Jews?" (Matthew 2:2, NRSV)

Jesus answered "My kingdom is not from this world. ... My kingdom is not from here." (John 18: 36, NRSV)

The chief priests, along with the scribes, were also mocking him ... "Let the Messiah, the King of Israel come down from the cross now". (Mark 15:31-32, NRSV)

Yeshua (Joshua), the Nazarene from Galilee (not Judea), did not fulfil the role of either the biblical Messiah as the king or the high priest. Nor did he fulfil the role of the Second-Temple period's Davidic Messiah as the nation's military rescuer who would restore Israel from oppression

Jesus was from Nazareth in Galilee

The crowds were saying, "This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee." (Matthew 21:11, NRSV)

The Messiah would be a descendant of David, thus not from Galilee

Some in the crowd said, "This is really the prophet." Others said, "This is the Messiah." But some asked, "Surely the Messiah does not come from Galilee, does he? Has not the scripture said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?" (John 7:42, NRSV)

This is the story of Jesus of Nazareth

To read Matthew in blissful ignorance of first-century Palestinian sociopolitics is to miss his point. This is the story of Jesus of *Nazareth*. (France (2007), 7)

Peter was a companion of “Jesus the Galilean”

When Peter, as distinctive a northerner as his master, is unmasked in the high priest's courtyard, it is, Matthew tells us, as a companion of “*Jesus the Galilean*” (26:69). (France (2007), 7)

Peter's Galilean way of talking betrayed his origins

After the arrest of Jesus, Peter betrayed himself by his peculiarly Galilean pronunciation (Footnote: See Matt. 26:73; Mark 14:70; Luke 22:59). (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 224, 2151)

“Yeshu” was the Galilean pronunciation of “Yeshua” (Joshua, “Jesus”)

Jesus is the common Greek form of the name Joshua. In Jesus' day the name was pronounced “Yeshua.” We find him named in ancient Jewish literature where he is sometimes called “Yeshu” that, almost certainly, was the Galilean pronunciation. (Flusser (2007), Kindle Locations 223-224)

The resurrected Jesus headed immediately to Galilee

“Do not be afraid; I know that you are looking for Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for he has been raised, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. Then go quickly and tell his disciples, ‘He has been raised from the dead, and indeed he is going ahead of you to Galilee; there you will see him.’ (Matthew 28: 5-7, NRSV)

Judas Iscariot was Jesus' only Judean Disciple

Judas's name is the Greek version of the Hebrew “Judah” which roughly means “Praise” or “Let God Be Praised.” However, the origin of “Iscariot” is not as clear. It is widely held that the Greek *iskariotes* comes from Hebrew *ishq'riyoth*, meaning “man of Kerioth,” a city in Palestine. Thus, in this case a name like Judas Iscariot would be similar to calling someone “Bob from Los Angeles” or “Jenny the Bostonian.”

If the speculations about the meaning of “Iscariot” are true, he would have been from southern Judah, which also means he would have been the only one of the 12 disciples from Judea; the rest were from Galilee. (<https://www.christianity.com/wiki/people/who-was-judas-iscariot.html> accessed 16 April 2022)

Galilee was not Judea

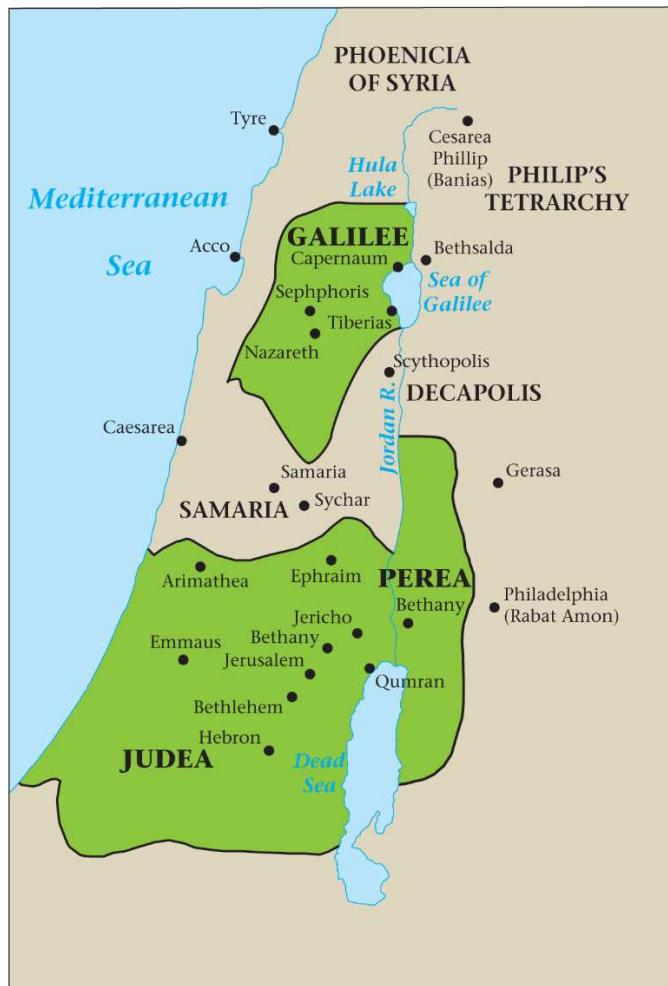
Galilee was separated geographically from Judea

Geographically, Galilee was separated from Judea by the non- Jewish territory of Samaria, and from Perea in the southeast by the Hellenistic settlements of Decapolis. (France (2007), 6)

Ever since Solomon's time, Galilee was a province with a history, political status and culture set apart from the southern province of Judea

Modern readers of the NT often know little about the geopolitical world of first-century Palestine. It is commonly assumed that “the Jews” were an undifferentiated community living amicably in the part of the world we now call “the Holy Land”, united in their resentment of the political imposition of Roman rule to which all were equally subject.

One of the more significant gains of recent NT studies has been the increasing recognition that this is a gross distortion of the historical and cultural reality. In particular, it is now widely recognized that Galilee was in the first century, as indeed it had been ever since the death of Solomon, a distinct province with a history, political status and culture which set it decisively apart from the southern province of Judea, despite the fact that the latter contained the holy city of Jerusalem to which all Jews felt a natural allegiance as the focus of the worship of the God of Israel. (France (2007), 5-6)



Jesus is a Galilean, of *Nazareth*, not of Judea ("the Jews"), nor of David's city, Jerusalem

Galilee offered better agricultural and fishing resources than the more mountainous territory of Judea

Economically, Galilee offered better agricultural and fishing resources than the more mountainous territory of Judea, making the wealth of some Galileans the envy of their southern neighbors. (France (2007), 6)

At the time of Jesus, Galilee was under a Herodian prince while Judea had a Roman prefect

Politically, Galilee had been under separate administration from Judea during almost all its history since the tenth century B.C (apart from a period of "reunification" under the Maccabees), and in the time of Jesus it was under a (supposedly) native Herodian prince, while Judea and Samaria had since A.D. 6 been under the direct rule of a Roman prefect. (France (2007), 6)

Judea was not Galilee

The Romans created the Roman province of Judea, which included Samaria, Judea and Idumea, a non-Jewish region just south of Judea

Where is "Judea" (John 3:22)?

Israel was divided into three regions back then. Judea was in the south and included Jerusalem; north of Judea was Samaria; and north of Samaria was the region of Galilee, which included the Sea of Galilee. After conquering Israel, the Romans created the Roman province of Judea, which included Samaria,

Judea and Idumea, which is a non-Jewish region just south of Judea. So, "Judea" referred to both an Israeli region and a Roman province that was about three times larger than Judea, the region. The "land of Judea" (John 3:22) refers to the region, so Jesus and His disciples had left Jerusalem but hadn't gone far. ([Judea Meaning - The Province, The Region And The "Land" \(bibleversestudy.com\)](https://www.bibleversestudy.com/Judea-Meaning-The-Province-The-Region-And-The-Land) accessed 19 March 2022)

Who is a Judean? Who is a "Jew"?

Only these persons may be defined as *Judeans*:

1. A member of Judah's tribe, when the Hebrew people was divided into tribes.
2. An inhabitant of Judea country when it existed as a state entity. ([Who is a Judean? Who is a "Jew"? | The Hebrew Identity](https://www.bibleversestudy.com/Who-is-a-Judean-Who-is-a-Jew) accessed 19 March 2022)

| John 7: The "Jews" were the residents of Judea | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|---------------|----------|------------|----------|--|--|
| 2424 [e] | 1722 [e] | 3588 [e] | 1056 [e] | 3756 [e] | 1063 [e] | 2309 [e] | 1722 [e] | 3588 [e] | 2449 [e] | | |
| Iēsous | en | tē | Galilaia | ou | gar | ēthelen | en | tē | loudaia | | |
| 'Iησοῦς | év | τῇ | Γαλιλαίᾳ | οὐ | γὰρ | ἦθελεν | ἐν | τῇ | 'Ιουδαίᾳ | | |
| Jesus | in | - | Galilee | not | for | He did desire | in | - | Judea | | |
| N-NMS | Prep | Art-DFS | N-DFS | Adv | Conj | V-IIA-3S | Prep | Art-DFS | N-DFS | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3754 [e] | 2212 [e] | 846 [e] | 3588 [e] | 2453 [e] | 615 [e] | | | | | | |
| hoti | ezētoun | auton | hoi | loudaioi | apokteinai | | | | | | |
| ὅτι | έζήτουν | αὐτὸν | οἱ | 'Ιουδαῖοι | ἀποκτεῖναι | | | | | | |
| because | were seeking | Him | the | Jews | to kill | | | | | | |
| Conj | V-IIA-3P | PPro-AM3S | Art-NMP | Adj-NMP | V-ANA | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1510 [e] | 1161 [e] | 1451 [e] | 3588 [e] | 1859 [e] | 3588 [e] | 2453 [e] | 3588 [e] | 4634 [e] | | | |
| ēn | de | engys | hē | heortē | tōn | loudaion | hē | skēnopégia | | | |
| 2 ήν | δὲ | ἐγγὺς | ἡ | έορτὴ | τῶν | 'Ιουδαίων | ἡ | σκηνοπηγία | | | |
| Was | now | near | the | feast | of | Jews | of | Booths | | | |
| V-IIA-3S | Conj | Adv | Art-NFS | N-NFS | Art-GMP | Adj-GMP | Art-NFS | N-NFS | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3327 [e] | 1782 [e] | 2532 [e] | 5217 [e] | 1519 [e] | 3588 [e] | 2449 [e] | | | | | |
| Metabēthi | enteuthen | kai | hypage | eis | tēn | loudaian | | | | | |
| Μετάβηθι | ἐντεῦθεν | καὶ | ὑπαγε | εἰς | τῇν | 'Ιουδαίαν | | | | | |
| Depart | from here | and | go | into | - | Judea | | | | | |
| V-AMA-2S | Adv | Conj | V-PMA-2S | Prep | Art-AFS | N-AFS | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |

Judea means "land of the Jews"

What is the significance of Judea in the Bible?

Judea means "land of the Jews." The territory of Judea, formerly called Judah, began to be referred to as "Judea" only after the [Babylonian captivity](#). Most of the Jews who returned from exile were from the tribe of Judah. Since the territory of Judah was nearly all that remained of the northern and southern kingdoms at the time of the exile, the returning captives were called "Judeans," and their homeland became known as Judea.

The name *Judea* is first introduced in the Bible in the book of Ezra as a province of the [Persian Empire](#): "Be it known unto the king, that we went into the province of Judea, to the house of the great God, which is builded with great stones, and timber is laid in the walls, and this work goeth fast on, and prospereth in their hands" ([Ezra 5:8, KJV](#); see also [Ezra 9:9](#)).

Ancient Israel was divided into three main regions: [Galilee](#) to the north, Samaria in the center, and Judah, later called Judea, to the south. The province of Judea, as distinguished from Galilee and Samaria, included the territories of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, and part of Ephraim. This area, known as the upper hill country, extended from Bethel in the north to Beth Zur in the south, and from Emmaus in the west to the Jordan River in the east.

After the period of exile in Babylon, Judea proper comprised a relatively small region immediately surrounding the city of Jerusalem, an area much reduced from the former kingdom of Judah. However, at times in the Bible, *Judea* is applied in a broader political sense to mean all the territory occupied by the Jewish nation ([Matthew 19:1; Luke 1:5; 4:44; 7:17; 23:5; Acts 10:37; 11:1, 29; 26:20](#)). ([What is the significance of Judea in the Bible? | GotQuestions.org](#) accessed 19 March 2022)

They were called Jews because they were from Judea, not meaning they were from Judah's tribe

Question; Why are the Jews called Jews in the first place? Answer; because they're from Judea.

Jeremy Gimpel said there's the theory that they're called Jews because they're from the tribe of Judah. But the rabbi said that's not true. "If you read the book of Esther, Mordecai is called Mordecai the Jew. But he's from the tribe of Benjamin. But he's called a Jew because he's from Judea."

"The Jewish people are called Jews because our land, the mountains and desert of Judea birthed our name. We are Jews because we are from Judea. So, if the world is saying the Jews can't live in Judea where could a Jew really live?" Rabbi Gimpel remonstrated, saying that's one of the main messages he wants Australians to hear. [Why are the Jews called Jews? – 'Because they're from Judea!' - Vision Christian Radio](#) accessed 19 March 2022

Judeans despised their northern neighbours as lacking sophistication and with a distinct way of speaking

Culturally, Judeans despised their northern neighbors as country cousins, their lack of Jewish sophistication being compounded by their greater openness to Hellenistic influence.

Linguistically, Galileans spoke a distinctive form of Aramaic whose slovenly consonants (they dropped their aitches!) were the butt of Judean humor. ...

Even an impeccably Jewish Galilean's ... accent would immediately mark him out as "not one of us" and all the communal prejudice of the supposedly superior culture of the capital city would stand against his claim to be heard even as a prophet, let alone as the "Messiah", a title which, as everyone knew: belonged to Judea (cf. John 7:40-42). (France (2007), 6)

Judeans reckoned Galileans were religiously lax

Religiously, the Judean opinion was that Galileans were lax in their observance of proper ritual, and the problem was exacerbated by the distance of Galilee from the temple and the theological leadership, which was focused in Jerusalem. (France (2007), 6)

The southern capital rejected and killed the northern prophet

From the moment Jesus, in the far northern area of Caesarea Philippi, turns toward Jerusalem the shadow of the cross falls across the story, and nothing but disaster is expected in Jerusalem. And so it transpires: the southern capital rejects and kills the northern prophet; hope for the future is found not in Jerusalem but in the declaration that the risen Jesus will be restored to his scattered flock back home in Galilee (Mark 14:28; 16:7). (France (2007), 7)

Jesus did not call himself "Messiah" and did not accept the expectations of that position

When Peter calls Jesus, "Messiah", Jesus called for silence and spoke of himself as the "Son of Man"

Jesus never refers to himself as Messiah. In Mark's gospel, Simon Peter proclaims him as such, to which the Jesus of Mark's gospel responds only by enjoining silence and then goes on at once to speak of himself as the Son of Man (Mark 8:27-33). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 179)

Jesus condemned Peter for declaring Jesus was the Messiah

Indeed, to refer to Peter's statement as a "confession" is almost a contradiction in terms, since it is clear from what he reportedly says immediately following his announcement that Jesus is the Messiah that he does not understand who Jesus is, or what God is doing through him, or who God's people are, or what their destiny is. (Kee (1987), 206)

As the Son of David, Jesus did not exert kingly rule but forgiveness and mercy

The Son of David would seem to have a self-evident meaning; that is, the royal heir of Israel's first true king, who will preside over the affairs of the people of God. This does not apply in Mark, however. Jesus' violation of the sabbath law, or more precisely, his defense of his disciples for such an infraction of the commandment, is justified by appeal to the precedent of David (2:23-27). When one of his potential beneficiaries, Bartimaeus the blind beggar, beseeches Jesus to heal his eyes, the appeal is to the mercy of the Son of David, not to his power as monarch. (Kee (1987), 202-203)

In the Gospels, Jesus conformed to none of the traditional messianic descriptions

The picture of Jesus in the Gospels suggests that he conformed to none of the traditional messianic descriptions. He called in question by his person any notion of himself as a political savior-king and did not allow his own followers to address him as such. Even an event like Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16:13-23; Mk. 8:27-33; Lk. 9:18-22) ... does not take us beyond this conclusion. (Verbrugge (2000), 612)

Davidic profile of Jesus

Overall, the Davidic profile of Jesus is marginal and explicitly political

Taking the gospel narrative as a whole, including the Fourth Gospel, the conclusion seems justified that the Davidic aspect of the profile of Jesus, understood as more explicitly political in nature, is marginal. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 178)

Mark does not give prominence to the title "Son of David"

Mark is familiar with the Jewish tradition that the Messiah is a descendant of David, but he does not give the title Son of David the prominence that it has in Matthew, for example. The fragment of controversy dialogue about David calling his descendant Lord (via Ps. 110:1: "The Lord said to my Lord") in Mark 12:35-37 and parallels is obscure at best and very difficult to interpret. (MacRae (1987), 176)

Matthew alone showed keen interest in Jesus as the "Son of David"

Matthew alone of the evangelists evinces a keen interest in presenting Jesus as the Son of David. In Mark and Luke, this christological title is found only four times (cf. Mark 10:47-48//Luke 18:38-39; Mark 12:35, 37//Luke 20:41, 44), and John makes no use of it whatever (but cf. 7:42). Matthew, on the other hand, employs it ten times: in four cases he appropriates it from Mark (20:30-31//Mark 10:47-48; 22:42, 45//Mark 12:35, 37); but in six instances it appears he has himself introduced it into the text (1:1; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15). In one other passage, "son of David" likewise seems to be redactional, but here it is a designation for Joseph ("Joseph, son of David", 1:20). (Kingsbury (1976), 591)

The coming of the Lord meant the coming kingdom of David

Many people spread their cloaks on the road, and others spread leafy branches that they had cut in the fields. Then those who went ahead and those who followed were shouting, "Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord! Blessed is the coming kingdom of our ancestor David! Hosanna in the highest heaven!" (Mark 11:10, NRSV, bold added)

As Son of the Most High, Jesus will receive David's throne

He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the **throne of his ancestor David**. (Luke 1:32, NRSV, **bold** added)

The resurrection of a Davidic descendant was 2 Timothy's gospel

Remember Jesus Christ, raised from the dead, **a descendant of David** — that is my gospel. (2 Timothy 2:8, NRSV, **bold** added)

The afflicted sought salvation from the Romans by this “Son of David”

Jesus was greeted as the potential political leader who would overthrow the Romans

The Bible tells us that people cut branches from palm trees, laid them across Jesus' path and waved them in the air as he entered Jerusalem the week before his death. They greeted Jesus not as the spiritual Messiah who would take away the sins of the world, but as a potential political leader who would overthrow the Romans. They shouted "Hosanna [meaning "save now"], blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel!" (<https://www.learnreligions.com/palm-branches-bible-story-summary-701202> accessed 3 April 2022)

The disciples anticipated the imminent restoration of the Davidic kingdom

According to Luke, the joy of the disciples at the anticipation of the proximate restoration of the Davidic kingdom, which is to be a glorious and peaceful kingdom, breaks out as they descend the Mount of Olives, the place of revelation (Luke 19:37-40). (Blenkinsopp (2013), 177)

Large crowd spread their cloaks on the road: “Hosanna”

A **very large crowd** spread their cloaks on the road, and others cut branches from the trees and spread them on the road. The crowds that went ahead of him and that followed were shouting, "Hosanna to the **Son of David!** (Matthew 21:9, NRSV, **bold** added)

Children in the temple: “Hosanna”

But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the amazing things that he did, and heard the **children crying out** in the temple, "Hosanna to the **Son of David**," they became angry. (Matthew 21:15, NRSV, **bold** added)

“Hosanna” (save, please), uttered as “Israel’s King”

They took branches of palm trees and went out to meet him, shouting, "Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord — the King of Israel!" (John 12:13, NRSV)

Hosanna Means “Save, Please!”

"Please Lord, please save us. Please, Lord, please give us success" ([Psalm 118:25](#)).

The Hebrew word, "hoshi'a na," is translated in Greek as "(h)osanna." In English, we know it as "hosanna." The original intent of the scripture is "Save!" It is viewed as a plea for help. It's as if we were yelling "stop!" at someone about to throw a firecracker at us. We use this when we understand the potential impact of something about to happen, and as an act of surrender.

In moments like this, we realize we cannot save ourselves and we need to connect to our source of security quickly. In the firecracker example, that security is the person with the firecracker in their hand. In our spiritual lives though, that security is in God. In its purest form, this is worship as we feel we have to come to the end of ourselves and we need God to intervene.

Hosanna Means “Salvation! Thank You!”

Throughout different translations and edits, the original plea to “*please, save us!*” changed to a proclamation of “*Salvation! Thank you!*” We read above in [Psalms 118:25](#), “*Please, Lord, please save us. Please give us success.*” This is the only time this plea is used. Right after that, in verse 26, there is a shift from concern to confidence.

Verse 26 says, “*Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord.*” This is a great example of [faith](#) and a demonstration of the shift from Old Testament to New Testament. Today, we hear songs like the ones described in the opening and read scriptures in the New Testament where “hosanna” is used more as a term of adoration and praise.

<https://www.biblestudytools.com/bible-study/topical-studies/what-does-hosanna-mean.html>
accessed 3 April 2022. See also, *inter alia*, <https://www.desiringgod.org/messages/hosanna>

The afflicted addressed Jesus as “Son of David”

Jesus is addressed as “Son of David” almost exclusively by people suffering from afflictions and disabilities — the blind, the dumb, the sick, the deaf, and the possessed. (Blenkinsopp (2013), 178)

A blind beggar: “Son of David, have mercy. ... Teacher, let me see”

Bartimaeus son of Timaeus, a blind beggar, was sitting by the roadside. When he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to shout out and say, “**Jesus, Son of David**, have mercy on me!” Many sternly ordered him to be quiet, but he cried out even more loudly, “**Son of David**, have mercy on me! ... My teacher, let me see again.” (Mark 10:47-48, 51, NRSV, **bold** added)

Blind man: “Have mercy on me. ... Lord, let me see again”

A blind man was sitting by the roadside begging. ... He shouted, “**Jesus, Son of David**, have mercy on me!” Those who were in front sternly ordered him to be quiet; but he shouted even more loudly, “**Son of David**, have mercy on me! ... Lord, let me see again”. (Luke 18:38-39, 41 NRSV, **bold** added)

Two blind men: “Have mercy on us. ... Lord, let our eyes be opened”

There were **two blind men** sitting by the roadside. When they heard that Jesus was passing by, they shouted, “**Lord, have mercy on us, Son of David!**” The crowd sternly ordered them to be quiet; but they shouted even more loudly, “**Have mercy on us, Lord, Son of David!** ... **Lord, let our eyes be opened.**” (Matthew 20:30-31, 33, NRSV, **bold** added)

Two blind men: “Have mercy on us” ... Their eyes were opened

As Jesus went on from there, **two blind men** followed him, crying loudly, “**Have mercy on us, Son of David!**” ... And their eyes were opened. (Matthew 9:27, 30, NRSV, **bold** added)

Canaanite woman: “Have mercy on me, Lord”. Her daughter was healed

A **Canaanite woman** from that region came out and started shouting, “**Have mercy on me, Lord, Son of David!**” ... And her daughter was healed. (Matthew 15:22, 28, NRSV, **bold** added)

Paul expected Jesus to restore Davidic rule

As to [God] raising [Jesus] from the dead, no more to return to corruption, he has spoken in this way, ‘I will **give you the holy promises made to David**.’ Therefore he has also said in another psalm, ‘You will not let your Holy One experience corruption.’ For **David**, after he had served the purpose of God in his own generation, died, was laid beside his ancestors, and **experienced corruption**. (Acts 13:34, 36, NRSV, **bold** added)

Paul directly refers to David's words or actions on two occasions

So also **David speaks** of the blessedness of those to whom God reckons righteousness apart from works. (Romans 4:6, NRSV, **bold** added)

And **David says**, "Let their table become a snare and a trap, a stumbling block and a retribution for them. (Romans 11:9, NRSV, **bold** added)

The promise to the “root of Jesse” had not been the case for centuries, but Paul understood Jesus would restore that rule

The fourth and final citation in [Romans 15] verse 12 is from the major prophet, Isaiah 11:10 (LXX), which has a distinctive messianic message:

"The root of Jesse will be [i.e., alive], even the one arising to be ruler of nations [*ethnōn*], unto him nations [*ethnē*] will [look in] hope."

Jesse was the father of David, who was promised that a descendant would always reign as king. By the time of Paul, however, that had not been the case for many centuries, and thus this promise had been construed by some Jews to refer to a future descendent from the family of David who would reestablish that rule, one some called the Messiah, and one Paul understood to be Jesus. (Nanos (2017), location 4964)

David upheld in Hebrews

God spoke through David

[God] sets a certain day — “today” — **saying through David** much later, in the words already quoted, “Today, if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts.” (Hebrews 4:7, NRSV, **bold** added)

David's conquering faith

And what more should I say? For time would fail me to tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, of **David** and Samuel and the prophets — who **through faith conquered kingdoms**. (Hebrews 11:32, NRSV, **bold** added)

David upheld in Luke/Acts

The Holy Spirit spoke through David

The Holy Spirit through **David foretold** concerning Judas. (Acts 1:16, NRSV, **bold** added)

David spoke as a prophet

Since he was a prophet, he knew that God had sworn with an oath to him that he would put one of his descendants on his throne. Foreseeing this, **David spoke** of the resurrection of the Messiah. (Acts 2:30-31, NRSV, **bold** added; cf. NIV)

The Holy Spirit spoke through God's servant, David

It is you [Sovereign Lord] who said by the Holy Spirit It is you [Sovereign Lord] who said by the Holy Spirit through **our ancestor David, your servant**: ‘Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things?’, your servant: ‘Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things?’ (Acts 4:25, NRSV, **bold** added)

David prophesied concerning Jesus

David says concerning [Jesus of Nazareth], ‘I saw the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand so that I will not be shaken; therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced. (Acts 2:25, NRSV, **bold** added)

David found favor with God

Our ancestors in turn brought [the tent of testimony] in with Joshua when they dispossessed the nations that God drove out before our ancestors. And it was there until the time of David, who found favor with God and asked that he might find a dwelling place for the house of Jacob. But it was Solomon who built a house for him. (Acts 7:45, NRSV)

When [God] had removed [Saul], he made David their king. In his testimony about him he said, 'I have found David, son of Jesse, to be a man after my heart, who will carry out all my wishes.' (Acts 13:22, NRSV, bold added)

David in the Book of Revelation

The “key” of David

"And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: These are the words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David." (Revelation 3:7, NRSV, bold added)

The “Lion of Judah” was the Revelator’s “Root of David”

Then one of the elders said to me, "Do not weep. See, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered"³⁷. (Revelation 5:5, NRSV, bold added)

Jesus, the “Morning Star” was a descendant of David

"It is I, Jesus, who sent my angel to you with this testimony for the churches. I am the root and the descendant of David, the bright morning star."³⁸ (Revelation 22:16, NRSV, bold added)

³⁷ Jesus was from Galilee, not from either Judah or Judea

³⁸ Today the “Bright Morning Star” is named after Venus, goddess of Love, while in Biblical times it was known as Lucifer, “Light Bringer”

“SON OF DAVID” IN THE CHURCH FATHERS

Clement of Rome

To the Corinthians: a man after my own heart, even David the son of Jesse

18. And what of the illustrious figure of David? Though God says of him, I have found a man after my own heart, even David the son of Jesse, and I have anointed him with everlasting mercy, yet this is how he addresses God: *O God, in your great mercy have mercy on me; in the fullness of your compassion blot out my transgressions. Wash me clean of my wickedness, and pure of my sin. I know my own disobedience; my sin is always before my eyes.* (Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. Louth, 30. Kindle location 347)

Ignatius

To the church at Ephesus: Jesus Christ our God, seed of David and of the Spirit of God

18. ... Jesus Christ our God was conceived by Mary of the seed of David and of the Spirit of God. (Louth, 66; Kindle location 940)

20. ... Jesus Christ (who is the seed of David according to the flesh, and is the Son of Man and Son of God). (Louth, 66; Kindle location 940)

To the church at Tralles: Christ was of David's line

9. ... Christ was of David's line. He was the son of Mary; He was verily and indeed born, and ate and drank. (Louth, 81. Kindle location 1098)

To the church at Rome: Jesus Christ, the seed of David

7. ... I am fain for the bread of God, even the flesh of Jesus Christ, who is the seed of David; and for my drink I crave that Blood of His which is love imperishable. (Louth, 87. Kindle location 1196)

To the church at Smyrna: Our Lord, truly of David's line

Our Lord; believing Him to be truly of David's line in His manhood, yet Son of God by the Divine will and power. (Louth, 96. Kindle location 1314)

The Epistle of Barnabas

Barnabas: Christ is a son of David

12. ... And because in after times they will assert that Christ is a son of David, David himself is inspired to say, in fear and understanding of this error of sinful men, The LORD said to my lord, Sit here on my right hand, until I make your enemies a cushion to put your feet on (Ps cx, 1). (There is likewise the saying of Isaiah, the LORD said to my anointed lord, I have taken hold of his right hand, for nations to bow in submission before him; and I will break down the might of kings (Isa xlv, 1). Notice how David calls Him Lord; he does not call Him son. (Louth, 150. Kindle location 2460)

The Didache or The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles

The Didache: the holy Vine of thy servant David

9. At the Eucharist, offer the eucharistic prayer in this way. Begin with the chalice: 'We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy Vine of thy servant David, which thou hast made known to us through thy servant Jesus.' (Louth, 150. Kindle location 2760); also available at <http://www.scrollpublishing.com/store/Didache-text.html> accessed 5 April 2022)

The *Didache*

The *Didache* (did-a-key), Διδαχή, or The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, is an early Christian text that most scholars date to the first or early second century. The Didache was highly regarded by many early Christian authors and theologians. Athanasius of Alexandria (d.373) recommended it to converts, and it had a great influence on the Apostolic Constitutions (375).

Before the New Testament canon was formally settled in 692, a number of Biblical canons included the Didache; John of Damascus (d.749) was also a noted supporter.

The text disappeared and was lost for centuries, until it was rediscovered in 1873 by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Today it is usually included among the second-generation Christian writings known as the Apostolic Fathers. ([Didache: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles \(legacyicons.com\)](http://legacyicons.com) accessed 5 April 2022)

Formative Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism

The New Testament prominence of “Son of David” and messianism in Rabbinic Judaism influences discussion of the Davidic dynasty

Discussion of the meaning and function of the davidic dynasty tradition in early Judaism has often taken place within the context of the assumption that Second Temple Judaism was characterized by a widespread, continuous, and dominant expectation for a davidic messiah, the Son of David.

No doubt this assumption about what may be called a “traditional” davidic hope derives from the prominence of the title “Son of David” in the New Testament³⁹ and the presence of davidic messianism in rabbinic judaism⁴⁰. (Pomykala (1995), 4)

³⁹ Mark 10:47-48; Matt 1:1-17; 9:27; 15:22; 21:9,15; Luke 1:32; 2:4; 3:23-38; Acts 13:22-23; Rom 1:3-4; Rev 5:5; 22:16.

⁴⁰ For references to the messiah as Son of David in the Babylonian Talmud, see G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909) 317; on the davidic messiah in rabbinic thought, see also J. Neusner, *Messiah in Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 175,187-191; (etc.)

RABBINIC JUDAISM'S SANITIZING OF DAVID

The Talmudic Rabbis continued the Chronicler's rehabilitation of David



Eine Streitfrage aus dem Talmud (A Controversy from the Talmud)
Carl Schleicher (fl. C 159 – after 1871)

The Rabbis of the Talmud picked up where the chronicler left off. For them, David was a model of piety who spent his leisure hours, when he could find some, engrossed in study and prayer. Indeed, despite the assertion of the chronicler that Satan was able to induce David to authorize the taking of a census (1 Chr 21:1), later Rabbinic tradition assures us that the king was “one of the few pious men over whom the evil inclination had no power”. (Wright (2001), 202)

There are no references to a Davidic messiah in the Mishnah

There are no references to a davidic messiah in the Mishnah (see J. Neusner, “*Mishnah and Messiah*”, [in] *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* [Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs, 1987] 269-270). (Pomykala (1995), Footnote 13, page 4)

ISLAM'S SANITIZING OF DAVID

Muslims' divine books

Muslims are taught to respect these divine books. Belief in them, alongside the Quran, is one of the six articles of faith accepted by Muslims. These scriptures include the Tawrat (known by Jews as the Torah), which Allah revealed to Musa (Moses) in a perfected form but which has been corrupted over the years into the Torah we know today. The Zabur was revealed to the prophet Dawud (David), and may be the same collection of hymns and songs of praise known to Jews and Christians as the Psalms. (Boyett (2016), 88)

The Qur'an belongs to a genre of religious literature produced in the Near East for longer than 2000 years

The Qur'an explicitly places itself in a prophetic lineage that contains figures associated with both the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. ... The Qur'an belongs to a genre of religious literature produced in the Near East over a period that spans the better part of two millennia (from, say, the twelfth century BCE to the seventh century of our own era, and from the Iranian plateau in the East to the Nile Valley in the West). Included in this genre are the writings associated with Zarathustra, the Tanakh, Christocentric literature, and the Qur'an. ...

All of these literatures contain evidence of intertextual engagements with materials that lie outside of their respective canonical boundaries. (Wright (2001), 199)

In the Qur'an, David (Dawud) is a link in the chain of prophets who preceded Muhammad

The Israelite king, mentioned sixteen times in the Qur'an. David (Dawud) appears in the Qur'an as a link in the chain of prophets who preceded Muhammad. Although he is not one of the law giving prophets, he is far from a marginal figure. (Hasson (2001), 495-496)

Chronicles and Islamic tradition progressively sanitized King David, removing his sins and weaknesses

The Israelite king [David] was progressively "sanitized" to remove his sins and weaknesses. This is readily apparent in the Islamic tradition (which includes many characters from the Hebrew Bible). This "sanitizing" was a process known earlier, however, not only in the Babylonian Talmud but even in the Bible itself. The David of Chronicles has omitted some of the less desirable characteristics described in 2 Samuel, a prime example being the episode relating to Bathsheba and his subsequent murder of Uriah the Hittite. (Grabbe (2001), 20)

The Chronicler and the Qur'an refused to transmit accounts of David's failings

Like the Qur'anic portrait of David, 1 Chronicles is silent on the matter of Bathsheba, Uriah, and King David. ... The extra-marital mischief that 2 Samuel recounts is absent from the chronicler's tale. ... Both 1 Chronicles and the Qur'an employ allusion to alert their readers to the fact that they are aware of the received tradition: they simply refuse to be passive transmitters of it. ...

The Qur'an, by endorsing this particular interpretative trajectory, sets its prophetic "seal of approval" upon it. It then, in turn, becomes a link in a longer chain of Muslim exegesis in which the rehabilitation of the David of 2 Samuel is strengthened and generalized (in the eighth–ninth centuries) into a doctrine of prophetic impeccability. (Wright (2001), 201, 202, 202-203)

David was appointed a deputy of God on the earth, a title given only to him and to Adam

David was the recipient of a written divine book of psalms. Mountains and birds obeyed him in praising God. He killed Goliath and God granted him kingship after Saul and wisdom, sometimes explained as

the gift of prophecy. God also gave David and his son Solomon "knowledge", which in this case is sometimes understood to be the ability to comprehend the language of the birds and animals. He was appointed a deputy of God on the earth, a title given only to him and to Adam. David cursed the unbelievers among the Children of Israel. (Hasson (2001), 496)

The Qur'an does not mention Uriah, Bathsheba or Absalom

Unlike the Hebrew Bible, the Qur'an does not explicitly mention anything about Uriah, Bathsheba or the other wives of David or about Absalom or his other sons, with the exception of Solomon. There is also no mention of his stay in Hebron and Jerusalem and his conflicts with the Philistines. (Hasson (2001), 496)

Later Islamic exegesis presents David as completely purified of all sins

The image of David in later [Islamic] exegesis closely parallels that in the Jewish sources (e.g. the Books of Chronicles, the mishna, the talmud and the haggada), where he is represented as completely purified of all sins. Such traditions were compatible with the Islamic doctrine of infallibility of prophets which developed in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries and Muslim authors followed this lead. For example, in the Muslim tradition Bathsheba was engaged to Uriah, not married to him. David asked for her hand and her parents preferred him, the king, to Uriah, the warrior. Other versions of the story maintain that Bathsheba was divorced or widowed and Uriah was resurrected for a moment to tell David that he forgave him, not for sending him to his death, but for marrying his widow. God pardoned David. Muslim story-tellers accepted these legends and rejected the older image of David from the Book of Samuel and Kings, where he is charged with adultery and murder. Further, it seems that such a total change in the attitude towards David (and other biblical figures) in the Jewish sources is one of the bases for the qur'anic accusation that the Jews had falsified the Bible. (Hasson (2001), 496-497)

The image of David varies in different currents of Islam

The image of David varies in different currents of Islam. The canonical Sunni collections, which were compiled in the third/ninth century, strengthened opposition to the use of traditions from Jewish sources by neglecting all the above-mentioned stories. In these sources David is represented largely by his prayers, fasts, songs and handiwork.

On the other hand, the Sh'l tradition insisted on the complete infallibility of David and blamed the Sunnis for the accounts which portray him as less than perfect. Finally, the Sufis made David a symbol of asceticism, circulating his pious prayers and utterances and the legends dealing with his repentance. He became a supreme example of devotion. Accounts concerning David also form an integral part of every book celebrating the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem. (Hasson (2001), 497)

The Qur'an says King David was endowed by God with remarkable characteristics

The Israelite King David (Arabic: *Dawud*) is mentioned in the Qur'an no less than sixteen times. He appears as a prophetic figure—one of the Prophet Muhammad's ancient precursors (Q. 4:163; 6:84). Like the Prophet Muhammad, Dawud is a bearer of holy writ (the psalms or az-zabur) and was endowed by God with some remarkable characteristics. For example, the Qur'an tells us that God subjugated the mountains that they might sing praises to Him with Dawud in the deep of the night and at the dawning of the day (Q. 38:18).

The Qur'an provides a number of details about David's life that one also encounters in the Former Prophets: that he killed Goliath (Jalut, Q. 2:251), succeeded Saul as King of Israel, and had a son named Solomon who was renowned for his wisdom (Q. 21:78). (Wright (2001), 200)

The Qur'an does not reveal the precise nature of David's sin

The Qur'an also informs us that Dawud was a penitent—though we do not learn the precise nature of his sin. ... No mention is made of Bathsheba, Uriah, or Nathan in the Qur'anic account. Instead, the

Qur'an simply asserts that Dawud ... understands that God has put him to the test; he asks God to forgive him, and God accepts his plea (Q. 38:21–25). (Wright (2001), 200)

The Islamic martyrdom is viewed as more of a Davidic characteristic

Whereas Christian martyrdom is modeled after the pattern of Jesus, who actually prayed for the forgiveness of his executioners, the Islamic martyr is viewed as more of a Davidic character, valiantly risking his life fighting Goliath, the mighty heathen. (Richardson (2018), Kindle location 1414)

INFLUENCE OF MODERN CONCEPTS

Biblical scholars have been influenced by the importance of Davidic messianism in Christian and later Jewish thinking

I [Kenneth Pomykala] suspect that biblical scholars have emphasized the frequency and importance of the davidic dynasty tradition in the biblical material—especially late biblical literature—because of the importance of davidic messianism in both Christian and later Jewish thinking. (Cf. Levenson, *Davidic Covenant*, 217f; see also R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant*, 317 n. 23, for a similar sentiment (Pomykala (1995), 67-68; and footnote 246)

Modern thinking of “Messiah” refers to an eschatological figure as the agent of divine salvation

In modern vernacular, the title “the Messiah” refers at the very least to an eschatological figure who functions as the divine agent of salvation of the faithful and brings in God's eternal kingdom over which he exercises universal rule at the end of time.⁴¹ (Johnston (2007:1), 1)

Modern eschatological use of “messiah” does not correspond with its use in the ancient texts

The modern scholarly usage of “Messiah,” however, does not simply correspond to the usage of the ancient texts, since it is restricted to anointed figures who have eschatological significance. (Collins (1987), 97)⁴²

The modern perception of “Messiah” is often not historical but is current thinking impressed upon the Hebrew Scriptures

The modern perception of a single, ultimate, eternal Messiah who is clearly revealed in the Hebrew Bible is not a matter of historical description, but hermeneutical retrojection backwards into the Old Testament from the New. ...

In an historical investigation into the question, “What did the ancient Israelites know/believe about the Messiah and when did they know/believe it?” we must not anachronistically retrovert the later canonical/Christotelic expectation back onto the early historical expectation of preexilic Israel. (Johnston (2007:1), 2, 7)

There was no straight-line development of “traditional” Davidic messianism to be taken over by Christianity or formative Judaism

Interpretations of earliest Christology or rabbinic messianism that rely on a straight line development of “traditional” davidic messianism, rooted in the biblical material, carried on through the Second Temple period, and taken over by earliest Christianity or formative Judaism, must be rejected. Interpretations of earliest Christology or rabbinic messianism that rely on a straight line development of “traditional” davidic messianism, rooted in the biblical material, carried on through the Second Temple period, and taken over by earliest Christianity or formative Judaism, must be rejected. (Pomykala (1995), 271)

⁴¹ For definitions for the title, “the Messiah,” see F. Hesse, s.v., “Chrio,” in G. Friedrich, ed. et al, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 9.501-09; Gerbern S. Oegema, *Der Gestalte und sein Volk* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) 26; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 11; Wolter H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period*, JSOT Supplement 304 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 23.

⁴² I was keen to provide passages from *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* by John J. Collins.

I have provided these few passages from Collins' contribution to Jacob Neusner's 1987 book, *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*. Naturally, John Collin's own book replicates passages and arguments that he provides in Neusner's book, so I decided to highly recommend Collin's book while not needing to provide passages from it. — Doug

RESOURCES

Please note that a Summary in the following list could be the only information from that Resource in this Study. Each reference identifies the means to access the Resource.

- Abruzzi**, William S. (2015). *The Birth of Jesus: A Critical Analysis of the Infancy Narratives*. [s \(drabruzzicom\)](#) accessed 13 March 2022. ([PDF The Birth of Jesus: The Evolution of Jesus in the Infancy Narratives \(researchgate.net\)](#)) accessed 13 March 2022.
- Albertz**, Rainer (1994). *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period, Volume I: From the Beginnings to the End of the Monarchy* (The Old Testament Library). Presbyterian Publishing Corporation. Kindle Edition.
- Alley**, Gary Lee, Jr (2001). *Luke's Exegesis on Isaiah 61:1-2 within the Synoptic Gospels' Tripartite Redemptive Framework*. Thesis. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. ([PDF Good News to the Poor: From Jubilee to Judgment \(Luke's Exegesis on Isaiah 61:1-2 within the Synoptic Gospels' Tripartite Redemptive Framework\) | Gary Alley - Academia.edu](#)) accessed 14 March 2022
- Amaral**, Joe (2011). *Understanding Jesus: Cultural Insights into the Words and Deeds of Christ*. FaithWords. Kindle Edition.
- Atkinson**, Kenneth (1999). *On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17* in Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. 118, no. 3, Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, pp. 435–60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3268183> accessed 13 March 2022
- Baden**, Joel (2013). *The Historical David: The Real Life of an Invented Hero*. HarperCollins. Kindle Edition.
- Bailey**, Randall C. (1990). *David in Love and War: The Pursuit of Power in 2 Samuel 10–12*. Sheffield Academic Press, 87–88, 90,
- Barton**, John (2019). *A History of the Bible: The Book and Its Faiths*. Penguin Books Ltd. Kindle Edition
- Beale**, G. K. (1985). *The Origin of the Title 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' in Revelation 17. 14* in [New Testament Studies, Volume 31 , Issue 4](#), October 1985 , pp. 618 – 620 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688500012157> OR [The Origin of the Title 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' in Revelation 17. 14 | New Testament Studies | Cambridge Core](#) accessed 5 April 2022. The purpose of this note is to discuss the christological title 'King of kings and Lord of lords' in Rev 17. 14. Most commentators have generally understood the title to have its broad background in intertestamental Judaism and the Old Testament. The title is also attested in Babylonian and Egyptian tradition, but such an influence is unlikely here since John usually limits his sphere of reference to the Old Testament and its related literature and traditions.
- Among the possible above-mentioned references in Judaism and the Old Testament, 1 En 9. 4 bears closest resemblance to Rev 17. 14. The 1 En reference could be in mind, not only because of its similarity of wording, but also because its context concerns eschatological judgment (i.e. of the fallen Watchers), as does that of Rev 17.
- Bejarano-Gutierrez**, Juan Marcos (2017). *Forgotten Origins: The Lost Jewish History of Jesus and Early Christianity*. Yaron Publishing. Kindle Edition.
- Bejarano-Gutierrez**, Juan Marcos (2018a). *Messianic Expectations: From the Second Temple Era through the Early Centuries of the Common Era*. Yaron Publishing. Kindle Edition.

- Bejarano-Gutierrez, Juan Marcos** (2018b). *The Judaisms of Jesus' Followers: An Introduction to Early Christianity in its Jewish Context*. Yaron Publishing. Kindle Edition.
- Beresh, Nathan** (2016). *Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls: What Were the Messianic Expectations of the Qumran Community?* Thesis. McMaster Divinity College. ([PDF](#)) [Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls | Nathan Beresh - Academia.edu](#) accessed 13 March 2022. Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls is a complex and difficult subject to define. Out of the approximately 650 non-biblical scrolls, few make any mention of the messiah or other alternative messianic titles. Studying messianism in the scrolls gives rise to numerous questions. What are the similarities and differences between the Qumran community's expected messiah(s) and that of the Hebrew Bible? How many messiahs were the community expecting? How can the roles and duties of the messiah(s) be reconstructed? These questions have been the source of much controversy and debate among scholars over the past seventy years of Dead Sea Scroll study and will likely continue to be in the future.
- Bergsma, John** (2019). *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Revealing the Jewish Roots of Christianity*. The Crown Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.
- Bibliowicz, Abel Mordechai** (2019). *Jewish-Christian Relations: The First Centuries*. Movement Publishing
- Blackwell, Ben C.; Goodrich, John K.; Maston Jason** (2015). *Reading Romans in Context: Paul and Second Temple Judaism*. Zondervan Academic. Kindle Edition.
- Blackwell, Ben C.; Goodrich, John K.; Maston Jason** (2018). *Reading Mark in Context: Jesus and Second Temple Judaism*. Zondervan Academic. Kindle Edition.
- Blackwell, Ben C.; Goodrich, John K.; Maston Jason** (2019). *Reading Revelation in Context: John's Apocalypse and Second Temple Judaism*. Zondervan Academic. Kindle Edition.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph** (2013). *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel*. Eerdmans. Joseph Blenkinsopp traces the development of traditions about David in the collective memory of the people of Israel and the first Christians, from the extinction of the Davidic dynasty in the sixth century B.C.E. to the early common era.

David Remembered is neither a biography of David nor an exegetical study of the biblical narrative about David. Rather, it focuses on the memory of David as a powerful factor in the formation of social identity, in political activity (especially in reaction to imperial rule), and in projections of the future viewed as the restoration of a never-forgotten past.
- Blizzard, Roy B.** (2013). *Mishnah and the Words of Jesus*. Bible Scholars, Inc. Kindle Edition.
- Bockmuehl, Markus; Paget, James Carleton** (2007). *Redemption and Resistance: The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*. T&T Clark
- Boyarin, Daniel** (2012). *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ*. The New Press. Kindle Edition.
- Boyett, Jason** (2016). *12 Major World Religions: The Beliefs, Rituals, and Traditions of Humanity's Most Influential Faiths*. Zephyros Press. Kindle Edition.
- Brettler, Marc Zvi; Levine, Amy-Jill** (2011). *The Jewish Annotated New Testament*. (Second Edition New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation). Oxford University Press. Kindle Edition.
- Brettler, Marc Zvi; Levine, Amy-Jill** (2020). *The Bible With and Without Jesus: How Jews and Christians Read the Same Stories Differently*. HarperOne. Kindle Edition.
- Brindle, Wayne Allan** (1988) *A Definition of the Title "Son Of God" in the Synoptic Gospels*. Thesis. Dallas Theological seminary. ([PDF](#)) [A Definition of the Title "Son of God" in the Synoptic Gospels | Wayne Brindle - Academia.edu](#) accessed 13 March 2022. This dissertation aims to define the

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title "Son of God" as applied to Jesus Christ in the Synoptic Gospels. In the Old Testament the term "son of God" was variously applied to angels, Israel, Israelites, Davidic kings, and possibly to the Messiah. In intertestamental Judaism the term was used mainly with reference to Israel and its righteous people, and is never specifically applied to the Messiah. In Hellenistic literature the title was sometimes given to pagan kings, emperors, and certain heroes. None of these occurrences can form the background for the Synoptic use of the title. In the synoptic Gospels Jesus uses only two titles of Himself: Son and Son of Man.

Brooke, George J. (2005). *Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. Fortress Press. Kindle Edition. The essays collected here are mostly concerned with how scriptural interpretation, commentary or exegesis as found in the Dead Sea Scrolls might illuminate innate similar matters of interpretation in the writings of the New Testament and vice versa.

Callaway, Phillip R. (2011). *The Dead Sea Scrolls for a New Millennium*. Cascade Books, an imprint of Wipf and Stock Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Carlson, Kristofer (2019). *Hidden in Plain Sight: Protestants and the Apocrypha*. Dormition Press. (Kindle Edition). Most Protestants would be surprised to know that the New Testament relies upon the Apocrypha. Jesus Himself quotes from it, quoting from it in the same way He quotes from the Old Testament. The Apostle Paul quotes from the Apocrypha, as well as other New Testament writers. What are we to make of this? Is it possible that the Reformers were mistaken when they separated these books from the rest of the Old Testament? How was the canon established in the first place, and which books did it contain? If the Apocrypha were used by the apostolic Church, why were they removed from Protestant Bibles? Is it possible that by eliminating these books from their Bibles, Protestants are missing something that was important to the apostolic church? Is it possible the Apocrypha add richness and depth to our understanding of Christ? This book provides answers to these and other questions, with the goal of encouraging the appreciation of these books, which have been hidden in plain sight.

Charles, R. H. (1913). *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: with introductions and critical and explanatory notes to the several books: volume 2: The Pseudepigrapha*. <https://archive.org/details/apocryphapseude02char> accessed 12 March 2022. Also see: *The Book of Jubilees*, from "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament", R.H. Charles, Clarendon Press, 1913. Kindle Edition.

Charlesworth, J.H. (1987). *From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives* in Neusner (1987), pages 225-264

Charlesworth, James (1992). *The Messiahs: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*. Fortress Press. How did the Jews from 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. conceive and express their beliefs in the coming of God's Messiah? Why did the Jews who were closely associated with Jesus of Nazareth claim within ten years of his crucifixion in 30 C.E. that he indeed was the promised Messiah?

An international team of prominent Jewish and Christian scholars discuss these and related questions in this volume that stems from the First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins.

The book focuses on the historical and theological importance of the presence or absence of the term "Messiah" and messianic ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures, the New Testament, Philo, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. It clarifies the key issues to be discussed, illustrates the appropriate methodology shared by international experts, and concentrates on the perplexing questions regarding messianic beliefs in Judaism and Christianity before the close of the New Testament and the editing of the Mishnah.

- Charlesworth**, James (2006). *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (Volumes 1 – 3). Baylor University Press
- Clements**, Ruth A.; **Schwartz**, Daniel R. (2009). *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004. Brill. The 13 papers comprising this volume represent the fruits of the first Orion Center Symposium devoted to the comparison of the Dead Sea and early Christian texts. The authors reject the older paradigm which configured the similarities between Qumran and early Christian literature as evidence of influence from one upon the other. They raise fresh methodological possibilities by asking how insights from each of these two corpora illuminate the other, and by considering them as parallel evidence for broader currents of Second Temple Judaism. Topics addressed include specific exegetical and legal comparisons; prophecy, demonology, and messianism; the development of canon and the rise of commentary; and possible connections between the Gospel of John and the Dead Sea Scrolls.
- Cline**, Eric H. (2007). *From Eden to Exile: Unraveling Mysteries of the Bible*. National Geographic. Kindle Edition.
- Cohen**, Shaye J.D. (1987). *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, Third Edition. Presbyterian Publishing Corporation. Kindle Edition.
- Collins**, John J. (1987). *Messianism in the Maccabean Period* in Neusner (1987), pages 97-109
- Collins**, John J. (1995). *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Second Edition. Eerdmans
- Collins**, John J. (2000). *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism: Volume 1. The Origins and Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*. Continuum Publishing Company
- Collins**, John J. (2015). *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. Eerdmans. Kindle Edition.
- Collins**, John J. (2016). *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. (Third Edition). Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.. Kindle Edition.
- Collins**, John J.; **Harlow**, Daniel C. (2012). *Early Judaism: A Comprehensive Overview*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Kindle Edition.
- Collins**, John J.; **Nickelsburg**, George W.E. (1980). *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*. Society of Biblical Literature. Scholars Press.
<https://archive.org/details/idealfiguresin0000unse> accessed 20 March 2022
- Coogan**, Michael (2011). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of The Bible. Volume 1: Acts-LXX*. Oxford University Press
- Cousens**, Bonnie (2013). Reclaiming Jewish History. International Institute for Secular Humanistic Judaism. Kindle Edition.
- Cross**, Frank Moore (1973). *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Harvard University Press. The essays in this volume address key aspects of Israelite religious development.
- Cross traces the continuities between early Israelite religion and the Canaanite culture from which it emerged; explores the tension between the mythic and the historical in Israel's religious expression; and examines the reemergence of Canaanite mythic material in the apocalypticism of early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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Danby, Herbert (1933). *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with introduction and brief explanatory notes*. Oxford University Press

De Lang, Marijke H. (nd). *The use of Psalm 110 in the New Testament*. United Bible Societies. ([99+](#)) [The use of Psalm 110 in the New Testament | Marijke H de Lang - Academia.edu](#) accessed 23 March 2022

de Roo, Jacqueline C. R. (1999). *David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls* in Dead Sea Discoveries, vol. 6, no. 1, Brill, 1999, pp. 44–65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4193111> accessed 20 February 2022

DelHousaye, John (nd). A Pardes Reading of the Gospel According to Mark. ([PDF](#)) [A Pardes Reading of The Gospel According to Mark | John DelHousaye - Academia.edu](#) accessed 13 March 2022. The Fathers developed a fourfold hermeneutic, based on the Fourfold Gospel, called quadriga ("chariot drawn by four horses"). The approach began in the East and came to the West. Appropriating the dualistic schema of human nature, the Bible may be read physically and spiritually. The body of Scripture is its literal (or historical) sense. The inner or spiritual dimension may be divided into three other senses: the typological, moral, and anagogical. ... The Rabbis were also developing a fourfold hermeneutic to the Old Testament, given the acronym pardes ("paradise") in Hebrew.

Edersheim, Alfred (1865, 2018). *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah* (p. 20). Harris Press. Kindle Edition.

Edersheim, Alfred (1887, 2017). *Bible History: Old Testament*. Genteel Books. Kindle Edition and PDF.

Eisenbaum, Pamela (2009). *Paul Was Not a Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle*. HarperOne. Kindle Edition.

Eisenman, Robert; **Wise**, Michael (1994). *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*. Dorset House Publishing. This groundbreaking volume features revelatory material--available primarily for the first time. These 50 documents cast a startling light on events in Palestine at the dawn of Christianity, alluding not only to doctrines we now recognize as Christian, but also to the precursors of Islam and Jewish Kabbalism. Forty-five years after their discovery, significant and controversial portions of the Dead Sea Scrolls remain inaccessible, guarded jealously by a small, scholarly elite. Now in this groundbreaking volume, controversial material is available for the first time. Compiled by scholars Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise, these fifty documents cast a startling light on events in Palestine at the dawn of Christianity. They portray not a family of peaceful Essenes but a fiercely militant religious sect whose members awaited an apocalyptic Day of Vengeance.

The authors speak of a messiah and the resurrection of the dead. They allude not only to doctrines we now recognize as Christian but also to the precursors of Islam and Jewish Kabbalism. Providing precise transliterations into modern Hebrew characters and English translations, and accompanied by detailed commentaries, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* represents a quantum leap in our knowledge of the ancient origins of modern faith.

Elliott. J.K. (1993). *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Clarendon Press. Kindle Edition.

Eusebius. *History of the Church*. Acheron Press. Kindle Edition.

Evans, Craig (2004a). *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture. Volume 1: Ancient Versions and Traditions*. T&T Clark

Evans, Craig (2004b). *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture. Volume 2: Later Versions and Traditions*. T&T Clark

Evans, Craig A. (2019a). *A Handbook on the Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith*. Hendrickson Publishers, Inc. Kindle Edition.

Evans, Craig A.; **Mishkin**, David (2019b). *A Handbook on the Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith*. Hendrickson Publishers, Inc. Kindle Edition.

Feinman, Peter (2017). *Jerusalem Throne Games: The Battle of Bible Stories After the Death of David*. Oxbow Books. Kindle Edition.

Feldman, Ariel (2015). *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*. De Gruyter. (Sample Chapter). ([PDF](#)) *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*. BZAW 469; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015. Sample Chapter | Ariel Feldman - Academia.edu accessed 14 March 2022

Feldman, Louis H. (1989). *Josephus' Portrait of David*, in Hebrew Union College Annual, vol. 60, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, 1989, pp. 129–74, [Josephus' Portrait of Moses on JSTOR](#) accessed 11 March 2022. In the portrayal of David in his paraphrase of the Bible in the Antiquities, Josephus was confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, as the beneficiary of so many gifts from the Romans, he could hardly praise David, who was the ancestor of the Messiah, and who ipso facto would lead a revolt against Rome and establish an independent state. On the other hand, David was a great folk hero, and his qualities of character could be used in answering the calumniators of the Jews. Josephus' solution was to adopt a compromise: thus he gives David a distinguished ancestry without stressing it unduly. He uses the figure of David to answer the denigrators of the Jews; he notes David's wealth to refute the canard that the Jews are beggars; he ascribes to him the cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, and piety to counteract the charges that the Jews were not original, that they were cowards, that they were immoderate, that they lacked humanity (a corollary of justice), and that they were impious. When David is elevated, it is not so much for his own sake as it is to increase the drama of the situation.

Fitzmeyer, Joseph, S.J. (2000). *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*. Eerdmans

Flusser, David (1959). *Messiah*. Jewish Virtual Library, from IEJ, 9 (1959), 99–109. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/messiah> accessed 7 April 2022

Flusser, David (1989). *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect*. Ministry of Defense [MOD] Books. The Essene sect was one of the most remarkable in both general and Jewish history. The Essenes sought a better world with a superior societal order, and attempted to realize these in their way of life. This was a unique Jewish sect, some of whose writings were found in the Qumran caves and verified what had been known about the sect from other sources.

Prof. Flusser invites the reader to take a thrilling tour of the spiritual realms of the Essenes, and at the end of this tour he believes that the reader will ask himself whether he too, as the Essenes, longs for a better world, in which one “moves away from evil and clings to the good, and acts with truth, charity and justice in the world.”

Flusser, David; **Notley**, R. Steven (2007). *The Sage from Galilee: Rediscovering Jesus' Genius*. Eerdmans. Kindle Edition. This new edition of David Flusser's classic study of the historical Jesus, revised and updated by his student and colleague R. Steven Notley, will be welcomed everywhere by students and scholars of early Christianity and Judaism. Reflecting Flusser's mastery of ancient literary sources and modern archaeological discoveries, *The Sage from Galilee* offers a fresh, informed biographical portrait of Jesus in the context of Jewish faith and life in his day.

Including a chronological table (330 BC – AD 70), and twenty-eight illustrations, *The Sage from*

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Galilee is the culmination of nearly six decades of study by one of the world's foremost Jewish authorities on the New Testament and early Christianity. Both Jewish and Christian readers will find challenge and new understanding in these pages.

- France**, R. T. (2007). *The Gospel of Matthew* (The New International Commentary on the New Testament). Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. Kindle Edition.
- Fredriksen**, Paula (1988). *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus*. Yale University Press. Kindle Edition.
- Fredriksen**, Paula (2017). *Paul: The Pagan's Apostle*. Yale University Press. Kindle Edition.
- Fredriksen**, Paula (2018). *When Christians Were Jews: The First Generation*. Yale University Press. Kindle Edition.
- Freeman**, Charles (2009). *A New History of Early Christianity*. Kindle Edition.
- Gärtner**, Bertil (1965). *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple symbolism of the Qumran texts and the New Testament*. Cambridge University Press. Judaism was rich in groups and factions. There were the groups which gathered around judges, prophets and popular leaders of various kinds; there were groups connected with the organization of the army; and many more: all were interrelated and played an important role in the social and religious life of the people. The most important of these groups during the periods when the Jerusalem temple provided a national focus were the Levites and priests. Another group which took over the spiritual leadership of the nation during the last period of the temple was the company of the scribes. But although the scribes became spiritual leaders and were responsible for the education of the people, the priests retained their position of prominence, for reasons connected with their necessary offices in the temple.
- Ginsberg**, Harold Louis (1967). *Messiah*, Jewish Virtual Library, from Conservative Judaism, 22 no. 1 (1967), 2–11. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/messiah> accessed 7 April 2022
- Gordon**, Nehemia (2005). *The Hebrew Yeshua vs. the Greek Jesus New Light on the Seat of Moses from Shem-Tov's Hebrew Matthew*. Makor Hebrew Foundation. Kindle Edition.
- Grabbe**, Lester L. (2010). *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus*. Bloomsbury Publishing. Kindle Edition.
- Grabbe**, Lester L.; **Nisseinen**, Martti (2011). *Constructs of Prophecy in the Former and Latter Prophets and Other Texts*. Society of Biblical Literature. This collection of essays, arising from the meetings of the SBL's Prophetic Texts and Their Ancient Contexts Group, examines how prophecy has been constructed in biblical literature such as the Former Prophets, the Latter Prophets, Chronicles, and Daniel, and even in the Qur'an. Recognizing that these texts do not simply describe the prophetic phenomena but rather depict prophets according to various conventional categories or their own individual points of view, the essays analyze the way prophecy or prophets are portrayed in these writings to better understand how they were structured by their respective authors.
- Green**, William Scott (1987). *Messiah in Judaism: Rethinking the Question* in Neusner (1987), pages 1-13
- Greenstone**, Julius Hillel (2017). *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History*. HardPress, Jewish Publication Society of America. Kindle Edition.
- Gromacki**, Gary (nd). *Doctrines of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Doctrine of the Messiah*. ([PDF](#)) [Doctrines of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Doctrine of the Messiah | Gary Gromacki, Th.M., D.Min., Ph.D. - Academia.edu](#) Messianism is the expectation of a coming anointed king or kings who would liberate Israel from Gentile domination. The Jewish community at Qumran believed in the

coming of a Messiah. Were they looking for one Messiah or two? This article examines the *Messianic Anthology* (4Q175), the *Messianic Apocalypse* (4Q521) and the *Apocryphon of Daniel* (4Q246) to see what the Jews at Qumran believed about the Messiah. Their beliefs are compared to the OT predictions about the coming of a Messiah.

Hägerland, Tobias (2012). *Jesus and the Forgiveness of Sins: An Aspect of His prophetic Mission*. Cambridge University Press. Kindle Edition.

Hagner, Donald A. (2012). *The New Testament: A Historical and Theological Introduction*. Baker Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

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This title is not without precedent, however, and appears as a messianic title in the readings of the MSS of PsSol 17. 32. This paper will examine the use of χριστος κυριος in PsSol 17. 32, and will propose that it is one of several new messianic titles combining 'messiah' with a political honorific used as an appositional modifier.

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Johnston, Gordon (2007:4) *How Many Messiahs Did the Prophets Expect and Why Did Second Temple Judaism Expect Them? The Two Anointed Ones: Two Messiahs?* Zechariah 4:1-14 Midwest Regional Meeting of Evangelical Theological Society (March 2007) **Plenary Paper #4.** [\(PDF\) How Many Messiahs Did the Prophets Expect and Why Did Second Temple Judaism Expect Them? \(Part 4\) | Gordon Johnston - Academia.edu](#) accessed 14 March 2022

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Kaiser Jr., Walter C.; **Davids**, Peter H.; Bruce, F.F.; Baruch, Manfred T. (1996). *Hard Sayings of the Bible*. Society of Biblical Literature. Kindle Edition.

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Kingsbury, Jack Dean (1976). *The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel* in Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. 95, no. 4, Society of Biblical Literature, 1976, pages 591-602, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3265574> accessed 12 March 2022. Matthew alone of the evangelists evinces a keen interest in presenting Jesus as the Son of David. In Mark and Luke, this christological title is found only four times (cf. Mark 10:47-48//Luke 18:38-39; Mark 12:35, 37//Luke 20:41, 44), and John makes no use of it whatever (but cf. 7:42). Matthew, on the other hand, employs it ten times: in four cases he appropriates it from Mark (20:30-31//Mark 10:47-

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48; 22:42, 45//Mark 12:35, 37); but in six instances it appears he has himself introduced it into the text (1:1; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:9, 15). In one other passage, “son of David” likewise seems to be redactional, but here it is a designation for Joseph (“Joseph, son of David”, 1:20).

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[EBOOK: From History To Mystery The Life And Teachings Of The Historical Jesus Book PDF EPUB TUEBL MOBI \(nwcbooks.com\)](#) accessed 12 March 2022; [\(99+\) From History To Mystery: The Life and Teachings of the Historical Jesus | Rev. Lisa Carmany - Academia.edu](#) accessed 6 April 2022

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The author argues that there was no continuous, widespread or uniform expectation for a Davidic messiah in the early Jewish period and such expectations did not emerge until the middle of the first century BCE in response to specific historical and religious forces.

Porter, Stanley (2007). *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*. Eerdmans. When the ancients talked about "messiah", what did they picture? Did that term refer to a stately figure who would rule, to a militant who would rescue, or to a variety of roles held by many? While Christians have traditionally equated the word "messiah" with Jesus, the discussion is far more complex. This volume contributes significantly to that discussion.

Ten expert scholars here address questions surrounding the concept of "messiah" and clarify what it means to call Jesus "messiah." The book comprises two main parts, first treating those writers who preceded or surrounded the New Testament (two essays on the Old Testament and two on extrabiblical literature) and then discussing the writers of the New Testament. Concluding the volume is a critical response by Craig Evans to both sections.

Price, Robert M. (2012). *The Amazing Colossal Apostle: The Search for the Historical Paul*. Signature Books. Kindle Edition.

Puskas, Charles B. (2016). *Hebrews, the General Letters, and Revelation: An Introduction*. Cascade Books, an Imprint of Wipf and Stock Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Rainbow Warrior (nd). *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Chapter I: The Three Victories of the Messiah*. [Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Chapter I – The Three Victories of the Messiah. \(DOC\)](#) [Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls | Rainbow Warrior - Academia.edu](#) accessed 13 March 2022. If you want to know Jesus more, this research finds the culture and upbringing of Jesus as it is related to the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran. There are parallel prayers between the family of Jesus and the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The prayers of Jesus also resemble those of the scrolls. These similarities raise the probability that Jesus and his kin were part of the community of the Dead Sea Sect, argued to be the Essenes in this research. This research also developed the Teacher of Righteousness as Onias III who founded the Essenes and wrote their Thanksgiving Hymns. As well, Joseph, the father of Jesus, is presented through 10 clues to be Joseph Barnabas and Joseph of Arimathea. He was there to bury his son, Jesus the Messiah. Joseph was the legitimate High Priest of Israel who officially embraced the Messiah and led many, particularly from the Essene community and later the Gentiles, to his son, the Messiah.

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Psalter is the same figure we encounter in the LXX Psalter and 11QPs^a Psalter; however, it is David as he is remembered uniquely in each of the Editorial Variant Texts. The MT Psalter is compared with the LXX Psalter and 11QPs^a Psalter. Contra Wilson, who argues that the MT Psalter deemphasises David when compared to the other textual witnesses, I argue that the MT Psalter is also susceptible to be read as a highly Davidic book. David is an important character in the Psalter and is the last of Israel's legendary figures mentioned within the bodies of the psalms. In the final analysis, the MT Psalter concludes with David, the sweet psalmist of Israel, remembered for directing Israel in the worship of Yahweh through unconditional praise, a praise resounding from every corner of the cosmos, Yahweh's temple.

Redford, Donald B.; **Collins**, John J.; **Dever**, William G.; **McCarter Jr.**, P. Kyle (2012). *Aspects of Monotheism: How God is One*. Biblical Archaeology Society. Kindle Edition.

Reed, Greg (nd). *The Targum and Messianic Cornerstone*. ([PDF](#)) [The Targum and Messianic Cornerstone | Greg Reed - Academia.edu](#) accessed 14 March 2022. I was interested in comparing the *Targum translation of Psalm 118* with that of *Targum Jonathan of Isaiah 28*. My research shows a strong Messianic connotation in early Judaism of the MT translation of "cornerstone".

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- Simkovich**, Malka Z. (2018). *Discovering Second Temple Literature: The Scriptures and Stories That Shaped Early Judaism*. The Jewish Publication Society. Kindle Edition. Exploring the world of the Second Temple period (539 BCE–70 CE), in particular the vastly diverse stories, commentaries, and other documents written by Jews during the last three centuries of this period, Malka Z. Simkovich takes us to Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, to the Jewish sectarians and the Roman-Jewish historian Josephus, to the CairoGenizah, and to the ancient caves that kept the secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls. As she recounts Jewish history during this vibrant, formative era, Simkovich analyzes some of the period's most important works for both familiar and possible meanings.

This volume interweaves past and present in four parts. Part 1 tells modern stories of discovery of Second Temple literature. Part 2 describes the Jewish communities that flourished both in the land of Israel and in the Diaspora. Part 3 explores the lives, worldviews, and significant writings of Second Temple authors. Part 4 examines how authors of the time introduced novel, rewritten, and expanded versions of Bible stories in hopes of imparting messages to the people.

Simkovich's popular style will engage readers in understanding the sometimes surprisingly creative ways Jews at this time chose to practice their religion and interpret its scriptures in light of a cultural setting so unlike that of their Israelite forefathers. Like many modern Jews today, they made an ancient religion meaningful in an ever-changing world.

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- Sommer**, Benjamin (1998). *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*. Stanford University Press. This book examines the use of older biblical texts in Isaiah 40-66, notably the writings attributed to Deutero-Isaiah. Its discussion of allusions, influence, and intertextuality generates significant questions for both biblical scholars and literary critics: Why do authors allude? How does the presence of older material in a text affect readers? How can critics identify genuine cases of allusion? Are contemporary theories of intertextuality applicable to ancient texts? The author defends the controversial historical questions asked by scholars of inner-biblical exegesis, modifying some of the dominant (and, in some ways, misleading) categories other biblical scholars have created. In sum, the book aims to refine the study of inner-biblical exegesis through an extensive examination of the use of older texts in one corpus.
- The redactional complexity of the Book of Isaiah has rendered it central to discussions of canon formation and the final shaping of biblical material. The author demonstrates that Deutero-Isaiah situated himself in a wide stream of tradition by no means limited to an Isaianic school, and that his most important literary precursor was not First Isaiah but Jeremiah. This finding necessitates a trenchant reappraisal of recent work on the unity of the Book of Isaiah. Further, the author shows that the strikingly consistent poetics of allusion running throughout all of Isaiah 40-66 testifies to the coherence of those chapters as a single corpus, arguing against multiple authorship.
- Close readings of the use of borrowed material in Isaiah 40-66 sharpen our appreciation of Deutero-Isaiah's originality and artistry, highlighting his attempts to convince Judean exiles that God had neither abandoned nor failed them. The prophet's heavy dependence on earlier prophets illuminates the changes classical Israelite prophecy underwent in the Babylonian exile. These changes led to the disappearance of prophecy and the rise of exegetical forms of religious expression known from Qumran, early Christianity, and rabbinic Judaism.
- Stewart**, Alexander C. (2010). *The Lord's Anointed: Covenantal Kingship in Psalm 2 and Acts 4*. Thesis. Liberty University
- Strauss**, Mark (1995). *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*. Sheffield Academic Press. The nature of Lukan Christology has been much debated in recent years, with various scholars claiming the pre-eminence of such categories as Lord, Prophet (like Moses), Christ, or Isaianic Servant. ... The present work is an examination of one major theme within Luke's christology, Jesus as the coming king from the line of David.
- Strauss**, Mark L. (2007). *Four Portraits, One Jesus: An Introduction to Jesus and the Gospels*. Zondervan Academic. Kindle Edition.
- Tabor**, James (nd). *One, Two, or Three Messiahs*. ([99+](#) One, Two, or Three Messiahs | James Tabor - Academia.edu accessed 8 April 2022
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