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A Sure House: Studies on the Dynastic Promise to David in the Books of Samuel and Kings

Rückl, Jan

Abstract: This book is a study of the texts referring or alluding to the dynastic promise to David in the books of Samuel and Kings (and the “Law of the King” in Deut 17,14-20). Attention is paid to the textual problems of some of the studied passages, especially 2 Sam 7 which has different meanings in the most important textual witnesses (MT, LXXB, LXXL, 1 Chr 17MT, 1 Chr 17LXX). Although the most ancient retrievable text of 2 Sam 7 is not to be identified with MT, this text form corresponds to the original basic meaning of the chapter. Special attention is given to the value of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7. There are many “synonymous” differences between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17, which cannot be explained as resulting from “mistakes” or “tendentious” (e.g. ideologically motivated) changes in one of the two traditions. A statistic study of the patterns of agreements among the witnesses leads to the conclusion that evaluating these differences “case by case” would lead to arbitrary decisions; the great majority of these differences are a result of the Chronicler’s relatively free approach to his source. The emergence of 2 Sam 7,1-17 may be construed in two historical contexts. In the “exilic” period, the purpose of the dynastic promise being linked to the polemic against the traditional significance of the temple in royal ideology might be to preserve – or to establish – the validity of the promise after the fall of the temple. Alternatively, 2 Sam 7,1-17 might have been written at the time after Zerubbabel (at the end of the 6th / beginning of the 5th c.), during the period when the temple of Jerusalem was restored, but the Davidides could not derive their legitimacy from it, since the cult and the temple were understood as the domain of priests under the auspices of Persian rule. The author of 2 Sam 7,1-17 may also be thought to be responsible for 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the texts that primarily emphasize, in accordance with 2 Sam 7,14-15, the unconditional nature of the dynastic promise once it is given. In the books of Kings, 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45; 1 Kgs 11,29-38*; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 could be ascribed to this hand as well. All these texts could have been written in both the Neo-Babylonian and Persian period, similarly to 2 Sam 7,1-17. However, some other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel (1 Sam 2,27-36; 2 Sam 7,18-29; 22,51; 23,1-7) cannot be dated to the Neo-Babylonian period (or even the very beginning of the Persian period). Theoretically, these texts could belong to the same redactional layer as 2 Sam 7,1-17, but only in case we adopt the later one of the two suggested dates of its origin. In contrast, if the earlier date is accepted for the first group of texts, the second group must have been added later (in one or several stages). At any rate, whereas all these texts may be regarded as a defense of actual political interests of the ex-royal family in the exilic and/or post-exilic period, this does not hold for 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 where the power of the Davidic kings is explicitly conditional upon the eternal loyalty of David’s descendants to Yhwh. These passages cannot be ascribed to the same author(s) as the other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel–Kings; on the other hand, this redaction in Kings was perhaps not driven by actual anti-Davidic political interests, representing rather an attempt to explain the unfulfillment of the dynastic promise. Following W. Oswald (and building on the work of S. McKenzie), we ascribe the oracles against the founders of the dynasties (or, in the case of Ahab, the dynasty’s other “prominent” member) ruling in northern Israel and the related fulfillment notices (1 Kgs 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 Kgs 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17) to the same author as 2 Sam 7,1-17 (the promise to Jehu in 2 Kgs 10,30 belongs here as well). Hence, both dynastic promises to and judgments against dynasties in Sam–Kgs depend on the piety of the dynasty’s founder. This

conception of the history of the Judean and Israelite kingdoms as a history of royal dynasties, unfolding according to the evaluation of the dynasty's founder, is largely determined by the historical situation of the Davidides after the loss (or radical downfall) of their power in the 6th and 5th c. B.C.E. The author of these texts is the (first) author of the book of Kings, and probably also the first redactor of Samuel (though the latter might have existed in some form earlier). These books were composed on the basis of older sources in the Neo-Babylonian or, perhaps more likely, Persian period.

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ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-132774>

Monograph

Published Version

Originally published at:

Rückl, Jan (2016). A Sure House: Studies on the Dynastic Promise to David in the Books of Samuel and Kings. Fribourg / Göttingen: Academic Press / Vandenhoeck Ruprecht.

Rückl A Sure House

ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

Founded by Othmar Keel

Published on behalf of the BIBLE+ORIENT Foundation

in cooperation with

the Department of Biblical Studies, University of Fribourg Switzerland,

the Institute of Egyptology, University of Basel,

the Institute of Archaeology, Near Eastern Archaeology section,

University of Berne,

the Institut romand des sciences bibliques, University of Lausanne,

the Institute of Religious Studies, University of Zurich and

the Swiss Society for Ancient Near Eastern Studies

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Jan Rückl

A Sure House

Studies on the Dynastic Promise to David
in the Books of Samuel and Kings

Academic Press Fribourg
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

The series *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* publishes monographs, collective volumes and conference proceedings in all areas of ancient Near Eastern studies: biblical studies (Hebrew Bible and Septuagint), egyptology, assyriology, archaeology, iconography, history of religions. The editors and the partner institutions ensure its multi- and interdisciplinary orientation and academic quality. The series enjoys worldwide distribution, subscription and readership.

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Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Orientalische Altertumswissenschaft
Société suisse pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien
Swiss Society of Ancient Near Eastern Studies



Publication subsidized by the Swiss Academy of Humanities
and Social Sciences and the Czech Science Foundation

This book is a result of research funded by the Czech Science Foundation
as the project GACR P401/12/G168 «History and Interpretation of the Bible».

Internet general catalogue:

Academic Press Fribourg: www.paulusedition.ch

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen: www.v-r.de

© 2016 by Academic Press Fribourg and
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen

ISBN: 978-3-7278-1800-4 (Academic Press Fribourg)

ISBN: 978-3-525-54407-5 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

ISSN: 1015-1850 (Orb. biblicus orient.)

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Acknowledgements

This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation written under the joint supervision of Professors Martin Prudký (Protestant Theological Faculty, Charles University of Prague) and Thomas Römer (Faculty of Theology and Sciences of Religions, University of Lausanne). The defence of the dissertation took place in September 2012 in Prague. To both Martin and Thomas, I am grateful for the numerous advice, inspiration and encouragement they have given me. To work with them has always been enriching in many ways.

The reports on the dissertation were written by Prof. Eric Eynikel and Prof. Christophe Nihan; I am indebted to both for valuable comments.

Many other people assisted me in various ways during the time I was writing the dissertation and then preparing it for the publication. I would like to thank in particular Dr. Jürg Hutzli, Prof. Christophe Nihan, and Hervé Gonzalez who read parts of the manuscript and spent many hours discussing various aspects of it with me. Both in Prague and Lausanne, I presented parts of the book in various seminars, colloquies, or on other more informal occasions, and received valuable comments from many people. From Switzerland, I would like to mention specifically Prof. Jean-Daniel Macchi; from the Czech Republic Dr. Lydie Kucová, Assoc. Prof. Petr Sláma, Assoc. Prof. Filip Čapek, and Dr. Petr Tomášek. Finally, I should mention that it had always been a pleasure to discuss our often disagreeing views on the books of Samuel and Kings with Dr. Philippe Hugo and Dr. Omer Sergi.

Several people greatly contributed to the English of the text. On the dissertation level, Antonín Handl translated the parts of the text that I wrote in Czech and corrected the parts I wrote in English. Later on, the revised and enlarged text for the publication was corrected by Julia Rhyder. In the final phases of the preparation of the manuscript, I benefited from the advice of Marianna Ostrovskaya. My warm thanks go to all three of them; all remaining mistakes are, of course, mine.

Finally, from *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, I wish to thank Prof. Christoph Uehlinger for accepting the book in the series, and, together with Marcia Bodenmann, for the cooperation and help during the editorial process.

1. Introduction

1.1 *The theme, scope and arrangement of the study*

Scholars have long been fascinated with the biblical texts that deal with the Davidic dynasty. Indeed, 2 Sam 7,1-17, where the dynastic promise is proclaimed by the prophet Nathan, constitutes perhaps one of “the most discussed and most disputed” texts of the Hebrew Bible.¹ Were we to classify the great variety of views expressed in the historical-critical debate on the relevant texts in Samuel-Kings, the decision to date the dynastic promise (or its basis) to the pre-exilic period or to a later period would certainly be a meaningful criterion. This decision does not only affect the text’s date of composition. The presumed original intention of the text’s author (or its function in the primary context) is also partly deduced from the postulated date of origin. What is more, scholars who date these texts before 587 B.C.E often construe the relationship between these texts and extratextual reality quite differently to those who date them later. Consequently, the texts’ assumed date of origin is, to a greater or lesser extent, also connected to the method of analysis applied to them.

Scholars who locate the formulation of the dynastic promise in the monarchic period often understand it, with good reasons, as political propaganda defending concrete political interests in a more or less clearly defined socio-political situation. For instance, F. M. Cross considered the dynastic promise to be one of the cornerstones of the composition of the pre-exilic Dtr History that formed “a propaganda work of the Josianic reformation and imperial program.”² A more recent example is Schniedewind’s monograph *Society and the Promise to David*, where, in the chapter concerning 2 Sam 7,1-17, he describes the emergence of the so-called United monarchy at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. in light of archaeological findings and social anthropological models of state formation, and then he characterizes Nathan’s prophecy as “*a common ideology on which the legitimacy of the rulers could be based*” (emphasis by W. M. S.).³

By contrast, among the scholars who situate 2 Sam 7 or other instances of the dynastic promise within a period after 587, there is a tendency to see these texts as some kind of learned reflection rather than a discourse of

¹ So already Dietrich – Naumann, *Samuelbücher*, p. 143; similarly Nelson, *Redaction*, p. 105. An overview of the history of research on 2 Sam 7 will be provided in ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.

² Cross, *Myth*, p. 284.

³ Schniedewind, *Society*, p. 17-39, the quotation from p. 28.

power. T. Veijola believed “*dass die Entfaltung der Davidtradition zu ihrem vollen theologischen Format erst eine Leistung der dtr Reflexion ist*” (emphasis by T. V.).⁴ Similarly, S. L. McKenzie regards the dynastic promise as an *aetiology* that *explains* the long duration of the kingdom of Judah and its ruling dynasty.⁵

These differences in reading 2 Sam 7 according to its presumed date of origin should not be simplistically reduced to supposed *a priori* differences in epistemological approaches of individual scholars towards biblical texts. While all texts of the Hebrew Bible may be *somewhat* political, they are not all political in the same manner and to the same extent. Among the variety of the biblical texts, we may find some that were composed, perhaps self-consciously, to directly defend concrete political interests, as well as others of a more “learned” and reflexive character. As far as the dynastic promise is concerned, either interpretation seems plausible from a methodological point of view.⁶

In the case of Nathan’s oracle in 2 Sam 7, most scholars today accept a pre-exilic origin of its variously delimited core. The oracle is then regarded as a piece of political propaganda. However, the link between 2 Sam 7 and pre-exilic Judean royal ideology should not be based solely on an intuition, namely, that this biblical text – central to the claimed eternal character of the Davidic dynasty – must have originated in the monarchic period, when the dynasty indeed was in power. We should rather ask whether the *specific* form of the dynastic ideology in Nathan’s oracle corresponds to the time of the emerging monarchy (as Schniedewind suggests) or the time of prosperity under Josiah’s rule (as many believe), or still yet to a different period. As we will see in the below overview of research on 2 Sam 7, many scholars acknowledge that some elements of Nathan’s oracle do not correspond to usual forms of the royal ideology in the ancient Near East. This occasionally leads scholars to engage in speculative reconstructions of an older text that would be more suitable to the assumed historical context.

⁴ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 135-136.

⁵ McKenzie, *David*, p. 216 (for more on McKenzie’s interpretation, see ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.). Cf. also the way various exilic writings (including the “dtr” ones) are described by Lohfink, *Movement*, p. 62: “These different texts indicate the existence of a single movement, more religious and intellectual than concrete and political, that formed little by little and caught hold in the whole Babylonian Golah. It wanted to recover its own identity, through reflection and a turning inward.”

⁶ In contemporary historical-critical study of the Hebrew Bible, the prevailing approaches to the texts seem akin to the functionalist understanding of myth, going back to É. Durkheim and B. Malinowski, and/or critical discourse analysis. Certain aspects of the myth, however, are difficult to explain in this frame, and some scholars of the second half of the 20th c. stressed the myth’s intellectual function again (C. Lévy-Strauss being an excellent example). For an overview of the points at issue and the history of research, see Oden, *Myth*.

Society is constructed with help of force and discourse, and the “monarchic” discourses, like any other discourses of the ruling classes, usually serve to transform “simple power into ‘legitimate’ authority.”⁷ Both the authors of conservative and subversive discourses always have some extent of actual *force*, and there are reasons to believe that a specific form of a discourse is in some ways related to the force of its author. The actual force, however, need not correspond to the claims of the discourse in direct proportion. It is precisely in the situations of a lack of force that the author of a discourse may realize that his success relies more on the persuasive power of the discourse than on his actual force. This applies to royal ideologies as well. To take an extreme example, a king or an entire dynasty may find himself or themselves dethroned and subsequently attempt to regain power by asserting his/their *right* (no matter how defined) to the throne. Hence, even a “royal” discourse need not necessarily be accompanied by actual reign.

Until lately the possibility that 2 Sam 7,1-7 comes from a period after 587 B.C.E. but advocates for the political interests of the living Davidides has been relatively neglected in the research. W. Oswald, however, has recently described Nathan’s oracle in this manner, and I believe his argument to be persuasive.⁸ In the first chapter of the present book, I provide additional arguments in favour of this interpretation and offer two possibilities of a more precise dating of the text (one of them is very similar to Oswald’s proposal). Further chapters of the initial part focus on the references to the Davidic promise found in the books of Samuel, while the second part examines the references to the promise in Kings. For obvious reasons, the dynastic promise to David does not appear in any other book of the traditionally delimited Dtr History, with the exception of one possible reference in the last verse of what is known as the Law of the King (Deut 17,14-20), a reference I shall deal with in the last chapter. I attend, at least briefly, to all the texts of the so-called Dtr History where the issue of an eternal Davidic dynasty appears in some form, yet I choose to ignore the passages that refer to 2 Sam 7 merely as a prediction of the building of the temple by a descendant of David, with no mention of the dynastic promise (1 Kgs 5,17-19; 6,11-13MT; 8,15-21).

Building on the results of the analysis of 2 Sam 7,1-17, we may ask whether other references to the dynastic promise in these books served to legitimate the Davidic dynasty as well, or if they somehow reinterpreted the promise. J. Vermeylen, for instance, believes 2 Sam 7,18-29 was written in the Persian period, and the “house” of David became here a metaphor for “Israel” defined as the people (mentally) gathered around the temple of Jerusalem (Vermeylen also interprets 2 Sam 22 and 23,1-7 in this manner).⁹

⁷ Lincoln, *Discourse*, p. 4-5.

⁸ Oswald, *Nathan*, *passim*.

⁹ Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 475, 479, 481.

The coherence or incompatibility of the functions of various occurrences of the dynastic promise may inform our understanding of the formation and history of the transmission of Samuel and Kings. Hence, in the concluding chapter, I will try to set the results of my analysis within a larger picture of recent research on the formation of these books.

1.2 The importance of the text-critical assessment of some of the discussed passages

Some of the passages studied in the present book display considerable textual differences in various witnesses, and in many cases scholars largely disagree in their attempts to determine the oldest text. The history of the text of the books of Samuel is complicated, and our understanding of this history has developed rapidly over the past decades.¹⁰ Already some of the most prominent scholars of the nineteenth century¹¹ had recognized that the Hebrew model of the Old Greek translation of Samuel represented a text largely different from MT. During the twentieth century, however, a great deal of exegetical work on Samuel was characterized by a lack of deeper interest in Septuagintal readings. Scholars frequently assumed that LXX's variants against MT were to a large extent the result of the work of the translators.¹² This approach to the text of Samuel has been challenged by the discovery of the fragments of Samuel in Qumran (1QSam, 4QSam^a, 4QSam^b, 4QSam^c). When it turned out that the readings of 4QSam^a and 4QSam^b frequently agree with those of LXX, it was no longer possible to consider these Greek variants a result of the work of the translators. These discoveries rekindled interest in the Greek text of Samuel, and even before the final publication of all Samuel scrolls in DJD, numerous works were published where LXX's witness was taken seriously again. In his important commentary, P. K. McCarter presented an impressive attempt to reconstruct an eclectic text of the whole book, often preferring the readings of LXX and/or 4QSam^a over MT.¹³ Scholars are not in agreement concerning the degree of literalness of the Old Greek translation of Samuel, and it seems that 2 Reigns is more literal than 1 Reigns. Nevertheless, it is clear that, though not always totally concordant, the translation of both 1 and

¹⁰ For a detailed survey of research and presentation of contemporary issues, see Hugo, *History*, p. 1-19.

¹¹ Most importantly Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*; Wellhausen, *Text*; Driver, *Notes*.

¹² Cf. e.g. de Boer, *I Samuel I–XVI*. On p. 69, de Boer concludes: "On the grounds of our research, this part [1 Sam 1–16] of G can be considered of little value for the determination of the 'original' Hebrew text. The divergences give important material for the determination of the intrinsic value of the translation and point out the difficulties which M has not smoothed out, but they cannot amend the Hebrew text."

¹³ McCarter, *I Samuel and II Samuel*.

2 Samuel is literal and isomorphic enough to be useful for the reconstruction of its underlining Hebrew text. In Samuel, LXX's variants against MT reflect in most cases a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from MT.¹⁴

The discovery of 4QSam^a also led to a new appraisal of the synoptic passages in Chronicles as a witness to Samuel's text. Previously, scholars most often supposed that the book of Samuel used by the Chronicler was practically identical to MT of Samuel. Consequently, the differences between MT of Samuel and MT of Chronicles in the synoptic passages were taken as evidence of the Chronicler's revising activity. But 4QSam^a repeatedly agrees with Chronicles against MT of Samuel (it should be noted that Chronicles' readings often correspond to the readings of 1 Reigns, but insufficient attention was paid to this fact before the emergence of the scrolls). This provoked a re-evaluation of the relationship of Chronicles to the textual witnesses of Samuel, and ultimately led to the conclusion that the Chronicler did not work with a text identical to MT of Samuel, but rather a text close to LXX and 4QSam^a. Some scholars even suggested that when the Chronicler copied from older sources, he did so in a manner that was less free than scholars had assumed prior to the discovery of the scrolls. Those who advocated this position therefore recommended that scholars pay attention to the witness of Chronicles when seeking the oldest text of Samuel (for references and a more detailed discussion, see ch. 2.1.2.9, p. 111ff.).

Present-day research on the books of Samuel is thus confronted with a number of textual witnesses, since it has to consider most seriously MT, LXX, the Qumran texts, and with many passages the witness of 1 Chronicles, both in their masoretic and Greek versions^{15, 16}. By contrast, the Peshitta, the Targum and the Vulgate are less important for the oldest history of the text of Samuel since the type of text they present is close to MT.

There is a general agreement in the contemporary research that during a large part of the Second temple period, the books of Samuel existed in at least two or three forms. Traditionally, the differences between the textual traditions were understood to be the result of the process of transmission. In recent times, however, several scholars have suggested that the differences between the textual traditions of Samuel (or at least of some passages) have not emerged exclusively through the process of scribal transmission, but have also been created by "deliberate interventions of a literary nature",¹⁷

¹⁴ For the literalness of the translation, see especially: Tov – Wright, Study, p. 149-187; Cross – Saley, Analysis, p. 46; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 39-44; Hugo, History, p. 2.

¹⁵ For a brief overview of the research on various versions of Chronicles, see Knoppers, I Chronicles 1–9, p. 55-65.

¹⁶ As a matter of fact, the situation is rendered even more complex by issues pertaining to some of the witnesses, most importantly the intricate history of Samuel's Greek text. For this, see Hugo, History, p. 4-7 and esp. *id.*, Grec, p. 113-141.

¹⁷ Hugo, History, p. 1.

so that the different textual types may be understood as different “editions” of the book.¹⁸

Two texts analyzed in this study – 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 – played a major role in the discussion of the history of the text of Samuel (the former passage as a part of 1 Sam 1–2). It is clear from the history of research on both texts that even an identification of a coherent set of differences between individual textual witnesses may not lead to an unambiguous recognition of an older form of the text. On the contrary, as P. Hugo remarks, “de telles différences littéraires peuvent souvent être interprétées dans les deux sens.”¹⁹ Concerning 2 Sam 7, serious differences between textual witnesses were indeed interpreted recently in both directions (see below ch. 2.1.2, p. 92ff.). Since the chapter has a very different meaning in various witnesses, the results of a literary analysis and the search for the original historical context of 2 Sam 7 are largely dependent on what available version of the text we consider to be the oldest. Certain text-critical decisions are thus crucial for the interpretation of the “original” form of 2 Sam 7 (or, to be more exact, the oldest form of the chapter we have access to). It seems to me, however, that in respect to the present state of research on the text of Samuel in general, and in view of the recent discussion on 2 Sam 7 in particular, it would be inappropriate to discuss the most conspicuous differences exclusively. A characteristic trait of a textual witness or even a “literary revision” may manifest itself not only in extensive modifications, but also in a number of small textual changes. Taken individually, such small variants can seem unimportant, but careful analysis of a longer stretch of the text may reveal that they are part of an interconnected set of changes governed by a common logic.²⁰ The need for systematic comparison appears particularly clear if, following the trend of recent research, we try to take seriously the witness of Chronicles. 1 Chr 17 and 2 Sam 7 con-

¹⁸ For this trend in the research, see e.g. several contributions in Hugo – Schenker, *Archaeology*. Cf. Rofé, *Traits* (part of the mentioned volume as well), who suggests that 4Q51, usually called 4QSam^a, should not be considered a scroll of Samuel but rather a copy of an otherwise unknown work designated by him *Midrash Sefer Samuel*. – Rofé’s understanding of 4Q51 seems to me to be based on an anachronistic idea of what scribes of the Second Temple period would consider a text of Samuel, and what they would consider to be something else. MT and LXX of both Samuel and Kings display numerous differences whose nature may be qualified as literary. No matter how we evaluate these differences in terms of relative chronology, there can be little doubt that both MT and the *Vorlage* of LXX were considered texts of Samuel and Kings. Therefore, even if we accept for the sake of the argument that in all the passages analyzed by Rofé the text of 4Q51 is secondary, the scroll cannot be considered essentially different from MT and/or LXX of Samuel as regards the presence of secondary literary developments (while, of course, the revisions present in the individual witnesses may be of different kinds – Rofé, for instance, finds a nomistic revision in 4Q51, similarly to Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 148).

¹⁹ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 189.

²⁰ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 27; Hugo, *History*, p. 10-12.

tain a large number of synonymous readings, and it is often virtually impossible to determine which of the variants is older on the basis of the given passage alone. If, in such cases, we abandon the effort to discover at least some tendencies peculiar to individual witnesses, the application of the principle whereby every textual difference is evaluated on its own may lead to rather arbitrary decisions. For these reasons, I found it useful to provide a thorough text-critical commentary on 2 Sam 7. It should be noted in advance, however, that it did not bring me to a text conspicuously different from MT. The reader who is not interested in my arguments for every chosen reading can therefore skip the commentary of individual textual differences and start, e.g., with chapter 2.1.2. Here I attend to differences in the meaning of the chapter as a whole in the main textual witnesses, the question of whether the witnesses contain different literary “editions”, and the problem of their genetic relationship (relative chronology). I pay special attention to the problem of 1 Chr 17 as a witness to 2 Sam 7, and hope my conclusions prove useful for more general research concerning the relationship between the texts of Samuel and 1 Chronicles. For the sake of convenience, I present my attempt at the most ancient retrievable text of 2 Sam 7 at the end of the text-critical sub-chapter (2.1.2.10).

A somewhat extended treatment of text-critical issues was also necessary in the case of 1 Sam 2,27-36; 2 Sam 22 and 2 Sam 23,1-7, but I do not treat all the textual differences present in the main witnesses of these texts in the same way as in the textual commentary of 2 Sam 7. A detailed text-critical commentary of 1 Sam 2,27-36 was recently offered by J. Hutzli.²¹

The text of the book of Kings had a complicated textual history as well. As in the case of Samuel, it is clear that the Hebrew model of the Old Greek translation of Kings (= 3–4 Reigns) represented a text largely different from MT. Nevertheless, as the references to the Davidic promise in Kings are rather brief, it was not necessary to engage in a systematic text-critical analysis of larger passages. However, occasionally I will stop at some textual differences. Most important and rather hotly debated is perhaps the difference between Ahijah’s oracle in 1 Kgs 11,29-39 (MT and the standard LXX), and its counterpart included in the so-called “supplement” in 3 Reigns 12,24a-z (the oracle in v. 24o).

1.3 The question of the so-called Deuteronomistic History and the deuteronomistic texts in the Former Prophets

M. Noth believed that most of 2 Sam 7 could not be a dtr text; he admitted, however, that the Deuteronomist made some additions to the text of the chapter, and that he reformulated Nathan’s oracle according to his wishes

²¹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 118-129, 138-139.

in 1 Kgs 5,17-19 and 8,15-20.²² Contrary to Noth, D. J. McCarthy included 2 Sam 7 among the key dtr passages that the Deuteronomist used in order to structure his work.²³ Over the course of time, mainstream research has taken a more positive stance towards McCarthy's suggestion, and most of the studies on 2 Sam 7 (and the dynastic promise in Samuel and Kings in general) have been integrally connected to the hypothesis of Deuteronomistic History (DtrH). This theory, however, currently exists in several rather different variants, some of which are very far from Noth's original idea. There are scholars who continue to work with one of the two classic variants of the hypothesis that evolved in the seventies, i.e. Cross's model of two blocks (pre-exilic Dtr1 and exilic Dtr2) or the Göttingen model of (at least) three layers (DtrH, DtrP and DtrN, all of them from the "exilic" [i.e. neo-Babylonian] period, or, in case of DtrN, perhaps early Persian period). Since the eighties, some scholars, such as e.g. J. Van Seters or S. L. McKenzie, have come back to Noth's idea of one dtr author. However, they are more skeptical about the possibility of reconstructing the Deuteronomist's sources; according to this perspective, non-dtr texts of the Former Prophets are frequently considered post-dtr (in Van Seters's view e.g. the Succession Narrative in 2 Sam 9–20 + 1 Kgs 1–2).²⁴ Others go forward in the direction set by the Göttingen model, discovering a large number of dtr redactions in Deut and the Former Prophets, and so only allowing for a rather limited volume of the original DtrH. It is then frequently assumed that at least some of these redactions did not affect the whole of DtrH in its traditional delimitation. Despite differences as to when the dtr redactional activity began, there seems to be a tendency in recent research to suppose that the oldest form of DtrH was only constituted by the books of Samuel* and Kings*. ²⁵ T. Römer tried to integrate various voices of the current debate into a compromise model: in his view, some texts in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets labeled as "dtr" were already in development in the pre-exilic period; the dtr scribal activity then continued in the Babylonian exile (when the continuous narrative extending from Deut to Kgs was created) and in the Persian period, either in Babylon or in Judah.²⁶ A similar approach was taken by C. Nihan. Building on older studies that found shorter proto-forms of the traditionally delimited Dtr History in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets, Nihan suggested that the coherence of the

²² Noth, *History*, p. 89, 91. I will come back to Noth's understanding of 2 Sam 7 below in ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.

²³ McCarthy, *II Samuel 7*, p. 131-138. For more about McCarthy's suggestion, see ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.

²⁴ Van Seters, *Search*; *id.*, *Saga*; McKenzie, *Kingship*.

²⁵ E.g. Provan, *Hezekiah*, p. 158-163; Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 174-175; Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 14-15; see also Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 245-248, who thinks, however, that the oldest redaction of 1 Sam 2–2 Kgs 25 should not be called "deuteronomistic" but rather "proto-deuteronomistic."

²⁶ Römer, *So-Called*.

composition Exod–Kgs is not the work of one author, but instead is the final result of a complex process, during which various literary materials became gradually nearer each other.²⁷ Long-term dtr scribal activity in various parts of the Hebrew Bible is then ascribed to a “dtr school” (understood primarily as a school of thought, even though some scholars attempt to explain the institutional framework in which such a school might have emerged, an issue we will return to below). There are, however, a growing number of scholars who suggest we abandon the notion of DtrH altogether, since, in their opinion, the dtr redactions in the books of the Former Prophets are heterogeneous to the extent that they preclude any notion of a coherent literary work.²⁸ Some scholars even go so far as to deny any significant presence of deuteronomism in the Former Prophets. G. Auld believes that linguistic and thematic connections between Deut and the Former Prophets are mostly the result of the influence of Josh–Kgs on Deut, and it is therefore inappropriate to call the Former Prophets deuteronomistic.²⁹ In K. L. Noll’s opinion, various narratives contained in the Former Prophets are in conversation with Deuteronomy – while some passages in Joshua and Kings do embrace dtr views, most of the texts of the Former Prophets that interact with Deuteronomy display negative or at least suspicious attitudes towards it.³⁰ A very superficial connection of Josh–Kgs was, in Noll’s view, achieved only at ca. 200 B.C.E.

Due to this diversification of the hypothesis of DtrH (including the very rejection of it), there is at present no agreement among scholars on several key issues related to the “dtr” texts – e.g. their delimitation, coherence, uniform or multiple authorship, socio-political location, the period they were written etc. – and the term “deuteronomistic” has become inconveniently ambivalent. Indeed, with the traditional models of DtrH losing popularity, the term “dtr” has become utterly insufficient for expressing the historical and social context of a given text. Hence, before I set out to discuss texts which are often designated as “dtr”, I would like to briefly consider the way the word has been used in recent debate on the formation of the Former Prophets³¹, and subsequently the way I will employ it in this book.

In a recent article, C. Nihan observed that the term “deuteronomistic” is commonly used to describe at least three phenomena: 1) a specific *phraseology*; 2) a certain *ideology*; 3) and a group of *scribes* who wrote and/or

²⁷ Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, esp. p. 418-435.

²⁸ E.g. Knauf, *Historiography*.

²⁹ Auld, *History*, p. 362-363; *id.*, *Prophets*, p. 122-123.

³⁰ Noll, *Debate*; see also *id.*, *Kings*, p. 49-52, 67-72.

³¹ For detailed treatments of this issue, see Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*; Schmid, *Image*; Ben Zvi, *Term*. For a history of research on the Dtr History, see Römer – de Pury, *Historiography*, p. 24-141; more recent, yet briefer accounts: Römer, *So-Called*, p. 13-43; *id.*, *L’histoire deutéronomiste*, p. 315-331. The following terminological discussion is based on an article by M. Prudký and the present author (Rückl – Prudký, *Charakter*, esp. p. 377-381).

revised several books of the Hebrew Bible.³² Somewhat overlooked in this short list is another (and perhaps the most frequent) usage of the term, which is undoubtedly linked to the three usages adduced above (and to which the mentioned article devotes most attention): 4) the term “deuteronomic” is also used to describe certain *texts* which exhibit dtr phraseology and/or dtr ideology, and are therefore often ascribed to some dtr scribes. The application of the adjective “deuteronomic” to certain texts will be my primary concern here.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the terms “deuteronomic” and later on “deuteronomic” were used to describe various aspects of literary activity, perceived by modern scholars to be influenced by the book of Deuteronomy or its original core, especially in the Pentateuch, the Former Prophets and Jeremiah. The question of the coherence of the “deuteronomic” redactions extending through several books of the Former Prophets was repeatedly asked from at least the 1840s,³³ but the various answers given before Martin Noth’s *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* left largely unaffected the usage of the term “deuteronomic.”

In the context of Noth’s hypothesis, the term “deuteronomic” designated the texts formulated by the author of DtrH, the Deuteronomist. In Noth’s view, the Deuteronomist integrated a variety of sources into his work, and he himself formulated the text rather rarely, especially in the easily recognizable passages of the Former Prophets that contain vocabulary and style close to Deuteronomy. However, later scholars like F. M. Cross, T. Veijola, W. Dietrich and J. Van Seters (to mention just a few names representing various developments of the hypothesis) believed the Deuteronomist or several deuteronomists to be responsible for more texts of the Former Prophets. Consequently, the label “dtr” came to be applied to various passages for which it was impossible to find marked parallels in Deuteronomy. In practice, redactional critics defined as “dtr” the texts of the Former Prophets that were close to Deuteronomy in terms of language and/or ideology, as well as texts somehow close or linked to the texts regarded as dtr by the first criterion, although these latter texts did not contain (or contained little

³² Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 409.

³³ Ewald, *Geschichte*, p. 195-215, ascribed the “deuteronomic” texts in the books Judg–Kgs to two redactions. First, the materials contained in our books of Samuel and Kings were revised under the influence of Deuteronomy in the 7th c. B.C.E, most likely during Josiah’s reign. Later, sometime in the second half of the 6th century in the Babylonian exile, another deuteronomic redactor compiled and adapted into one whole the materials comprised in Judg, Ruth (in this respect, LXX would represent an older order of the books than MT), Sam and Kgs. Similar deuteronomic redaction in two stages was discovered in Judg–Kgs by J. Wellhausen (*Composition*, p. 208-301). While Wellhausen declared the question of whether the same redactor(s) worked in several books to be of no matter (“gleichgiltig”), he nevertheless considered it likely, since the books of Judges and Kings largely agree in their “chronological and ethical pattern” (p. 301), and Samuel may hardly be excised from the whole delimited in this way.

of) deuteronomic³⁴ phraseology and treated themes absent from or dealt differently in Deuteronomy itself.

Sometimes, scholars used the presence of rather unspecific expressions and motifs or ostensible intertextual relations with other dtr texts to determine whether a text is deuteronomistic. On the basis of these vague criteria, dtr redactions were gradually discovered in a constantly widening body of texts both inside and outside Deut-Kgs.³⁵ In the nineties, the fallacy of this “pan-deuteronomism” was patent,³⁶ and some scholars tried to establish more objective criteria for identifying the dtr texts. It is often thought that two criteria should be combined – the presence of dtr language and the presence of dtr ideology, i.e. ideally the language and the ideology that are in harmony with Deuteronomy.³⁷ Sometimes a third criterion is added with the purpose of distinguishing “authentic” dtr texts from later imitations which (according to this perspective) may be called “post-dtr” – so e.g. C. Nihan suggests we can properly speak about a specific dtr school only until the 5th c. B.C.E, since after the emergence of the Torah, Deut ceased to belong exclusively to this school, becoming a work of reference for all the scribes in Judah, Samaria and the diaspora.³⁸

A certain problem of the third criterion defined in this manner is the hypothetical character of a long-term existence of a specific “school” of dtr scribes.³⁹ How should we imagine this “school”? It is sometimes described as a school of thought – the dtr scribes would constitute a school in the sense of the partisans of a doctrine, not in the sense of an educational institution.⁴⁰ On the other hand, some scholars attempt to localize the dtr scribes in socio-political terms, and in doing this, they sometimes do search for an *institutional* framework in which such a school of thought might have emerged. For R. F. Person, the “Deuteronomic school” (Person does not use the adjective “deuteronomistic”) was a “scribal guild that was active in the Babylonian exile and Persian period and had its origins in the bureaucracy of the monarchy. The members of this school, the Deuteronomic

³⁴ By “deuteronomic”, I mean contained in Deuteronomy itself.

³⁵ For detailed and documented descriptions of these developments, see Coggins, *Deuteronomistic*, p. 27-31; Wilson, *Deuteronomist*, p. 69-78; Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 412-415.

³⁶ See e.g. the studies collected in Shearing and McKenzie (eds.), *Deuteronomists*.

³⁷ E.g. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, p. 1-3; Van Seters, *Evidence*, p. 160-161; Brettler, *Predestination*, p. 185; Ben Zvi, *Redaction*, p. 241; Römer, *So-Called*, p. 33-34; Noll, *Debate*, p. 317; *id.*, *Kings*, p. 69; Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 26-27; Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 414-415. Cf. also Lohfink, *Movement*, p. 41-42; Blenkinsopp, *Deuteronomic Contribution*, p. 86.

³⁸ Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 435-436. For another attempt at distinguishing dtr redaction from dtr influence, see Kugler, *Deuteronomists* (methodological principles on p. 129-130).

³⁹ McKenzie, *Response*, p. 18; Schmid, *Image*, p. 375-376.

⁴⁰ Lohfink, *Movement*, p. 62-63; Crenshaw, *Deuteronomist*, p. 147; Patton, *PanDeuteronomism*, p. 202; Römer, *So-Called*, p. 47; Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 430.

scribes/redactors, were trained in this school and may have been involved in the instruction of others.”⁴¹ In the Persian period, most likely under Zerubbabel, the dtr school returned from exile to Jerusalem with the support of the Persian power, in order to work as scribes for the imperial administration and to preserve, codify and create literature for the restored temple.⁴² Later on, the deuteronomists were displaced by another school that came to Jerusalem with Ezra; this latter school redacted Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.⁴³ Person’s views have been the subject of criticism by E. Ben Zvi.⁴⁴ The latter questions the very notion that the presence of certain phraseology and themes in some biblical books makes the existence of a specific dtr school, construed in institutional terms, necessary. Since it is unlikely that the supposed dtr scribes would use the dtr style in their work for the Persian administration, the scribes would have been able to write in various styles, and this in turn would mean the existence of dtr phraseology and themes does not necessarily point to the existence of a separate dtr school.⁴⁵ To my mind, this objection accurately points to the largely hypothetical character of Person’s historical reconstruction.

Somewhat different is the conception of the dtr school suggested by C. Nihan. In continuity with the ideas of D. Carr, Nihan suggests the emergence of the dtr literature was the result of a transformation in the educational curriculum of the Judean scribes taking place in the seventh-sixth c. B.C.E.⁴⁶ He believes that during this time, a first version of Deuteronomy gradually became the basis of the curriculum. The deuteronomists were therefore the scribes whose education predominantly involved “reading, memorization and commentary of Deuteronomy”; being thus “encultured” by Deuteronomy, these scribes would subsequently use the deuteronomistic concepts and phraseology creatively in their work on other texts as well, while continuously adapting these concepts and phraseology to the changing political situation as need be.⁴⁷ This description seems to suggest that, at some moment, practically all scribes in Judah were “deuteronomistic.” Yet, as non-deuteronomistic texts were also composed in the Neo-Babylonian and early Persian periods, we would have to presume that there were also other groups (of scribes) in Judah, Samaria and the diaspora, who did not accept the authority of Deuteronomy.⁴⁸ Thus there is a certain tension in this model, and this tension may indicate that this explanation has

⁴¹ Person, *School*, p. 7; see also p. 79-81 and *passim*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 58, 63, 79-81.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 59-60, 142-145.

⁴⁴ Ben Zvi, *Review of Person, School*, p. 458.

⁴⁵ Cf. also Lohfink, *Movement*, p. 53-54.

⁴⁶ Carr, *Writing*, esp. p. 134-42, 166-67; Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, esp. p. 429-435.

⁴⁷ Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 430. Similarly Person, *School*, p. 80-81.

⁴⁸ Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 435.

somewhat overemphasized the role of the scribes' educational process in the emergence of deuteronomism.

In practice, the third criterion may sometimes be difficult to apply. Numerous texts, as e.g. Malachi or Chronicles, may be considered post-dtr since dtr phraseology appears in them together with expressions typical of other biblical traditions, notably P.⁴⁹ Now, in a text like Daniel's prayer in Dan 9, we perhaps find a few non-dtr elements as well; yet the fact that these will not normally be considered additions to a basic dtr text, but instead the prayer in its entirety will be regarded as post-dtr, is due mostly to the late origin of the book of Daniel as a whole. The possibility that the books Deut-Kgs also contain such very late texts that look wholly deuteronomistic cannot be excluded. In their literary context, however, we will not be able to discern them from "authentic" dtr texts.⁵⁰ To be sure, this difficulty does not constitute a fundamental objection against the very attempt at a historical reconstruction distinguishing "authentic" deuteronomists from their imitators, and this kind of problem is by no means unique in the study of the Hebrew Bible. As scholars gradually give up on the idea of an exclusive connection between certain ideological-linguistic sets and distinct social groups, all redaction-critical work faces similar difficulties.⁵¹

The criterion of the simultaneous occurrence of language and ideology derived from Deuteronomy may be problematic as well, if applied in the quest for dtr *redactions* of the Former Prophets, typical for most of the research on these books after Noth. This may be illustrated by the dispute about the dtr character of a few verses in 1 Sam 25 (which will be discussed later in this book). T. Veijola in his seminal study *Die ewige Dynastie* concluded that the topic of the eternal Davidic dynasty was fully developed only by the (first) exilic Deuteronomist (DtrG in the Göttingen model). In connection to this hypothesis, he regarded as dtr 1 Sam 25,21-22.23b.24b-26.28-34.39a where Abigail, among other things, foretells David that Yhwh will make him a "sure house."⁵² M. Peetz responds to this in her recent monograph dedicated to 1 Sam 25 that the chapter is unlike Deuteronomy in its language and content, and therefore it cannot be claimed that it passed

⁴⁹ Nihan, *Deutéronomiste*, p. 435-436, cf. also 414-415.

⁵⁰ Consider, for instance, the numerous places in the Former Prophets where MT reads a longer text than LXX. Some of MT's pluses seem "deuteronomistic", yet scholars often consider them late additions to the shorter text attested in LXX. See e.g. Person, *School*, p. 21-24, 34-50, and the references he adduces. Person himself considers these post-LXX additions genuinely "Deuteronomic", and so concludes that the "Deuteronomic school" was active deep into the postexilic period. For Noll, *Debate*, p. 23-25, the late character of "dtr" texts in the Former Prophets indicates on the contrary that they were neither generated by a "school" nor guided by a redactional plan, but rather added "on an ad hoc basis" by various scribes.

⁵¹ On this problem, cf. also the reflections of Linville, *Israel*, p. 61-69.

⁵² Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 47-55.

through a dtr redaction.⁵³ Peetz obviously uses the term “deuteronomistic” differently than Veijola. Within the Nothian model and its first developments, e.g. in the case of the classics of the Göttingen school, the use of the term “deuteronomistic” was legitimate even for texts that lack parallel in Deuteronomy, because this characterization primarily attributed a text to a certain author (the dtr historian or one of his successors in Cross’s and the Göttingen models). In these older versions of the hypothesis, the “Deuteronomist” was by no means construed as *essentially* connected to (Ur-) Deuteronomy (e.g. via a specific scribal school), since Deut was no more than (an important) source of the Deuteronomist. Theoretically, the historian might receive an altogether different name – in Noth’s version of the hypothesis it could be, for example, something like the *Pessimistic historian from the area of Bethel and Mizpah*.⁵⁴ To be sure, the (Ur)Deuteronomy was believed to have a strong influence on the Deuteronomist(s), and Noth assumed that in the Former Prophets, the historian himself mainly formulated the easily recognizable passages that are similar to Deuteronomy in terms of language and content. Therefore, scholars like Cross, Veijola or Van Seters could at most be blamed for not renaming the “dtr” historian at the moment they started to believe him to be responsible for much more of the text in the Former Prophets than affirmed by Noth.

In the current research, notably on Deut and the Former Prophets, the term “deuteronomistic” may therefore be used in one of two ways. First, in conformity with the traditional hypothesis of Deuteronomistic History, the term may express the attribution of a text to an author or authors somehow influenced by Deuteronomy (or rather an older form of it). With this use of the term, it is impossible to apply the rule of simultaneous presence of deuteronomistic ideology and phraseology, since a writer influenced by Deuteronomy did not have to conform to all views contained in Deut, he could write about themes absent from Deut itself, and his vocabulary did not have to be limited to the vocabulary of Deut.⁵⁵ On the other hand, this approach theoretically allows for distinguishing texts “authentically” dtr (no matter how we define them) from “post-dtr” texts, i.e. texts influenced by dtr texts but not created by the scribes responsible for “authentic” dtr texts.

Second, the term “dtr” may be used to chiefly express the affinity of a given text to Deut, as was more or less the case before Noth’s *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. In this case, we may try to establish what is sufficiently similar to Deut to deserve the label “deuteronomistic”, e.g. with the help of the criterion of simultaneous occurrence of phraseology and ideology for which parallels can be found in Deut. Then, however, the deuteronomistic or non-deuteronomistic character of the texts cannot func-

⁵³ Peetz, Abigajil, esp. p. 229-231, 242.

⁵⁴ For the location of the Deuteronomist in the area of Bethel and Mizpah, see Noth, *History*, p. 145.

⁵⁵ Cf. Linville, *Israel*, p. 65.

tion as the only or main clue for the reconstruction of dtr redactions in larger literary units, since, again, we cannot assume that the author of the dtr passages (defined in this way) shared the viewpoint of Deuteronomy on every issue, that he was unable to write about themes not appearing in Deut, or that his language was limited to the vocabulary of Deut, etc. Defined in this way, the historical phenomenon of deuteronomism is best construed as a long-term stream of *theological tradition*, which originally might have appeared and been transmitted in a particular milieu, but was from some point accessible to all Judean/Jewish *literati*, much like other biblical traditions.⁵⁶ Consequently, even according to relatively strict criteria, we will be able to consider texts like Dan 9,4-19 to be dtr, and with a broadness of mind, perhaps also the Epistle of Barnabas⁵⁷ or Surah 5,70-71 from the Koran⁵⁸.

How, then, will the term “deuteronomistic” be used in this book? Aside from the reference to the duration of the royal dynasty in Deut 17,20, the issue of the Davidic promise is not present in Deuteronomy. In the current research, a broad agreement on a certain model of DtrH, permitting a widely acceptable use of the term “deuteronomistic” for the identification of one single redaction or a few redactions of the Former Prophets, does not exist. At the same time, the notion of a specific yet lasting dtr “school”, more or less definable in institutional terms, is entirely hypothetical. With the situation as it is, I have attempted to use the term “dtr” in my own analysis only sparsely, and when I do so it is with the latter of the two meanings described above in mind, i.e. in order to express intrinsic features of the text (its affinity to Deut), rather than primarily to ascribe the text to a “dtr” redaction of Deut and the Former Prophets or another literary unit. However, redaction-critical use of the term will recurrently appear in the discussion of past research, since my investigation of the dynastic promise in Samuel and Kings primarily engages with those studies that ascribed a major role in the development of this theme to the “dtr” redaction of the Former Prophets (for the references, see ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.). Admittedly, I probably was unable to completely get rid of the traditional redaction-critical use of the term even in my own comments. It seems to me, however, that an attempt for an absolute coherence in this question would sometimes unduly complicate the formulation of otherwise simple statements made in continuity with past research. At any rate, I believe that my description of the political in-

⁵⁶ For this approach, see especially Schmid, *Image*; cf. already Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, p. 349. The groundbreaking study of deuteronomism from the perspective of the history of traditions is Steck, *Israel*. Cf. also Lohfink, *Movement*, p. 64-66; Ben Zvi, *Term*; *id.*, *Redaction*, p. 258.

⁵⁷ Rhodes, *Epistle*.

⁵⁸ Steck, *Israel*, p. 97-99. Cf., however, Lohfink's observation in *Movement*, p. 38, that Steck's “deuteronomistic portrait of history” does appear in 2 Kgs 17,7-20 and in Jeremiah, but not in Deuteronomy.

terests linked to the composition of 2 Sam 7 and some of the other examined passages, together with the delimitation of the probable date of the origin of these texts, permit us to locate them in a socio-historical context that, though not as definite as we might wish, is by far more concrete than a mere designation “deuteronomistic.”

2. 2 Samuel 7

Since several recent studies have aimed to prove that the oldest form of the text of 2 Sam 7 is not to be sought in MT but rather in various forms of the Greek text of the chapter⁵⁹, I consider it appropriate to begin my own interpretation of the chapter with a thorough description of its various forms in the main textual witnesses. A vast majority of the historical-critical research on 2 Sam 7 has little regard for non-masoretic forms of the text and scholars often quickly move to “higher criticism” based on MT. For this reason, this study includes a brief introduction to the history of research on 2 Sam 7 only after the text-critical commentary, so that the overview of the main themes of the research into 2 Sam 7 is not separated from my own contribution to these issues.

2.1 The text of 2 Samuel 7

As recently emphasized by A. Schenker and P. Hugo, Nathan’s oracle has different meanings in 2 Sam 7MT, 2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17MT and 1 Chr 17LXX. Moreover, these differences may have been created by sets of interconnected changes in some of the witnesses.⁶⁰ In the following commentary, I will first note and discuss the textual problems which do not seem to be intrinsically linked to a larger literary editing of the text. The variants which can be construed as components of larger literary interventions into the text in one or several witnesses will be mentioned in the corresponding verse, but their detailed discussion will be deferred to the end of the chapter.

The following notes mention all the differences of the main witnesses (MT, 4QSam^a, LXX, 1 Chr 17MT and LXX); I include the readings of other witnesses (Syr, Tg, Vg etc.) only when there is a particular reason to do so. I do not include the Greek text of 1 Chr 17 if it is in accord with MT of 1 Chr 17; I do include the Greek reading of 1 Chr 17 whenever it differs from MT of 1 Chr 17, even when 1 Chr 17LXX is in accord with MT of

⁵⁹ Lust, David; Schenker, Verheissung; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 176-191.

⁶⁰ Schenker, Verheissung; Hugo, History. As a matter of fact, the difference between MT and LXX of 1 Chr 17 may be somewhat exaggerated, as it mainly depends on the short reading *καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος*, attested in *Vaticanus*, *Sinaiticus* and the minuscule *c*₂ (cf. also *Alexandrinus*, *Venetus* and other minuscules reading *καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος*). If, however, together with Rahlfs, Allen and Pisano we accept the longer reading *καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος* attested in ms f as the oldest (of those available), the meaning of LXX’s and MT’s texts will not be so dissimilar. See below for a more comprehensive discussion of this problem.

2 Sam 7. In other cases, the list of variants is mostly negative, with the exception of 4QSam^a, which I mention even when it is in accord with MT so as to make it obvious that the discussed text has been preserved in this Qumran scroll. The siglum LXX designates a reading contained in LXX^B (which is mostly identified as the best witness to OG in 2 Sam 7)⁶¹, and as a rule other mss as well. A more detailed description of the manuscript tradition is given when necessary.

I chose a special approach regarding the variants of the Lucianic text of the Septuagint. I mostly do not mention the readings of LXX^L when they are in accord with MT against LXX^B. I do mention LXX^L when it differs from MT and LXX^B and is likely to mirror a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. Especially important are the passages where LXX^L provides a reading different from both MT and LXX^B but identical to 1 Chr 17; in these passages, LXX^L may either represent OG, or it may contain the so-called proto-Lucianic readings that resulted from an early revision of OG toward a Hebrew text that in these instances would be close to the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler. In these passages, the variants of 1 Chr 17 against 2 Sam 7 MT and LXX^B were probably a part of the Chronicler's text of Samuel and are not the work of the Chronicler.

The variants collected by B. Kennicott and J. B. de Rossi from the medieval Hebrew manuscripts mostly emerged in the Middle Ages and have little value for reconstructing the old text.⁶² I cite them only according to BHS, including its information on the frequency of the variant. These variant readings of medieval masoretic mss are not necessarily based on older traditions even when they agree with some older witnesses, e.g. LXX. Such concurring readings may be secondary (e.g. facilitating) variants that emerged independently in various traditions, as a result of similar mechanisms at work across different texts.⁶³

The last line of every textual note summarizes how the witnesses of the variation unit under discussion agree and disagree with one another. The letter between the brackets indicates the supposed cause of the variation. I distinguish between three types of origin of the variants: 1) variant readings created *non-intentionally* in the process of textual transmission (abbreviation "n"); 2) variant readings created for ideological reasons, thus reflecting a specific *tendency* of the scribe responsible for them (t); 3) variant readings created *intentionally* by a scribe, but not for specific ideological reasons (i). This last category of readings results simply from a scribe's not too literal approach to the text he is copying; it describes e.g. synonymous readings.

⁶¹ In the Greek text of 1–4 Reigns, 2 Reigns 7 belongs to the section ββ (2 Reigns 1,1–9,13) where the best witness for OG is the codex *Vaticanus* unaffected here by the *kaige* recension.

⁶² Tov, *Criticism*, p. 37–39, 299.

⁶³ See the note to the word מִן in v. 7 for such case.

When two or even three kinds of causes for the variation can be imagined, I note them all, and include a question mark. If the passage presents three or four variant readings and there are distinct relations among the extant variants, two or three variation categories separated by a comma are indicated. The frequency of the patterns of agreements will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

Usually I try not to merely provide a list of variants, but rather to present arguments for the reading I consider being the best. In this respect, an exception is constituted by the variant readings according to the $S \neq C$ ⁶⁴ pattern (i.e. the passages where the main witnesses of 2 Sam 7 stand against the main witnesses of 1 Chr 17). The readings of 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 are often synonymous in these places, and it is impossible to argue in favour of one of them in the context of the given passage alone. The evaluation of such types of textual differences depends to a large extent on a scholar's perspective on the relationship between the texts of the books of Samuel and 1 Chronicles overall. Towards the end of the chapter I try to show that the readings of 2 Sam 7 should be *a priori* preferred in *such* passages.

Following J. Hutzli⁶⁵, I usually try to avoid designating a reading as “original” or “the most ancient”. I prefer to speak of readings “more ancient” than other attested variants, since we may never be sure that the passage did not originally include another reading which has not survived in any witness and cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the sources at our disposal. I should admit, however, that in cases where I argue for a reading on the basis that it, unlike other attested readings, corresponds to the literary structure and function of a section of the text, I do in fact consider the preferred reading to be original in fullest sense of the word.

2.1.1 Textual commentary of 2 Samuel 7

Verse 1:

בְּיָמָיו; 1 Chr 17,1 בְּאַשְׁמֹרֶת.

$S \neq C$ (i)

הַמֶּלֶךְ; LXX^L ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυὶδ (see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray for other variants in the Greek mss); 1 Chr 17,1 הַמֶּלֶךְ.

The reading ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυὶδ is probably due to the tendency of LXX^L to add proper names.⁶⁶ This development in LXX^L is inner-Greek, there is thus no need to infer a genetic relation with Chronicles' reading.

$S \neq C$ (i)

⁶⁴ To represent the relationship between textual witnesses, I do not use common abbreviations of biblical books, but merely S, C, SMT, SLXX etc.

⁶⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 140-141.

⁶⁶ Brock, *Recensions*, p. 252; cf. also Fernández Marcos, *Text*, p. 194-195.

הַנִּחִילָיו; LXX κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτὸν – “had given him an inheritance”; v. 1b is missing in 1 Chr 17.

The translator probably read הַנִּחִילָיו.⁶⁷ Usually, the reading of LXX is considered secondary. The change may have occurred as a result of the combination of scribal errors: metathesis of י and ח, and a connection of two formerly separated words.

According to P. Hugo, this change in the *Vorlage* of LXX may be intentional, the scribe would have avoided the tension between the gift of rest in this verse and the wars in 2 Sam 8.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Hugo admits the possibility that the presence of the verb נָחַל in MT is a consequence of the influence of v. 11, where this verb also appears.⁶⁹

To the first possibility suggested by Hugo we could object that the reading הַנִּחִילָיו creates greater tension with 2 Sam 8 than the reading לֹו הַנִּיחַ. Conquests in 2 Sam 8 are, in the end, not in opposition to Yhwh’s gift of rest to David in 2 Sam 7,1. Conversely, it is obvious that David seized the lands of the “surrounding enemies” as late as in 2 Sam 8. It is therefore difficult to imagine that the entry of הַנִּחִילָיו into the text of 2 Sam 7,1 reflects an attempt to avoid the contradiction with 2 Sam 8.

Hugo’s alternative idea to consider לֹו הַנִּיחַ in v. 1 a harmonization with v. 11 seems to me unlikely. The sentence וַיְהִי וְהָיָה לֹו מְסָבִיב מִכָּל אֹיְבָיו is a dtr phrase which can also be found in Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1 (shorter forms in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 2 Sam 7,11; 1 Kgs 5,18). As we will later see, the writer of the chapter has probably used this phrase in 2 Sam 7,1b to create a link to Deut 12,9-11. This is in keeping with the general purpose of vv. 1-3, which is to present David’s plan to build a temple as being thoroughly appropriate.⁷⁰ The use of לֹו הַנִּיחַ is thus in accord with the dtr style present elsewhere in the chapter; moreover, the mention of rest from the enemies plays a role in the opening of the given section. By contrast, the verbal form הַנִּחִילָיו would be rather unusual given the context. The verb נָחַל hiph. usually appears with two accusatives, which denote the receiver of the heritage and the object that is to be inherited. Instead of the second accusative, the original owner of the inherited object introduced by the proposition מִן would appear in this case, and there is no parallel to such a construction.⁷¹ After all, even 2 Sam 7,1a, according to which David was “sitting in his house”, is hard to harmonize with the conquest of the lands of the surrounding enemies in v. 1bLXX.

⁶⁷ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191.

⁶⁸ Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷⁰ The verb נָחַל hiph. appears in Deut 12,10 as well, but not as constituent of a phrase which would correspond to 2 Sam 7,1bLXX. The reference to Deut 12,10 is apparent in 2 Sam 7,1b only if we read 2 Sam 7,1 in MT’s form.

⁷¹ Admittedly, נָחַל hiph. with the preposition מִן appears in Ezek 46,18; in this verse, however, the preposition introduces the aggregate of the possessions from which the prince’s sons inherit.

MT's reading is more ancient, and LXX's reading is best explained by a combination of scribal errors.

SMT \neq SLXX \neq C (n, t)⁷²

מִסְבִּיב מְכַל־אֵיבִיו; LXX κύκλω ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κύκλω; v. 1b is missing in 1 Chr 17.

LXX's reading is a doublet. Aside from the question of whether the doublet existed in the *Vorlage* of LXX or appeared as late as in the Greek text, the long text probably presupposes a variant where מִסְבִּיב was merely at the end of the verse. In the other cases where מִסְבִּיב and מְכַל אֵיבִים + pronominal suffix follow נוֹחַ hiph. (Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1), the order is the reverse of 2 Sam 7,1MT. In 2 Sam 7,1 the most likely development is the following. The oldest (retrievable) text corresponded to MT, then a change of word order followed in a part of the tradition, either under the influence of Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1, or by the fact that a scribe skipped מִסְבִּיב and subsequently added it at the end of the clause. Later (still in a Hebrew text or already in a Greek text), the word was also added to the part of the clause in which it appears in MT.

SMT \neq SLXX \neq C (ni?, t)⁷³

The whole of 1b is missing in 1 Chr 17,1, and some scholars consider the short reading as more ancient.

In P. K. McCarter's view, 2 Sam 7,1b does not make sense in its context because David's wars continue immediately in the following chapter; furthermore, according to "the last (Deuteronomistic) editor of this material" David did not enjoy the rest (1 Kgs 5,17-18).⁷⁴ McCarter solves the problem of v. 1b together with v. 11a β where in his view the promise of rest to David does not make sense either. McCarter thinks that in 11a β the promise was originally related to Israel (see the textual note *ad loc.*). Later 11a β was erroneously related to David, but a scribe added a marginal correction to the text, changing the pronouns back from the 2nd (אֵיבִידְךָ ... לְךָ) to the 3rd p. (אֵיבִיו ... לוֹ), and this correction has then entered the text in a wrong section in 1b.⁷⁵

S. L. McKenzie dealt with the problem of 2 Sam 7,1b on several occasions. In his first contribution to the question, he explained the plus in 2 Sam 7,1b by the fact that "S^M is expansionistic."⁷⁶ It must be noted, however, that the half-verse is attested in OG of 2 Sam 7,1b, though in a corrupted form. Later McKenzie expanded McCarter's understanding of

⁷² See below for the absence of v. 1b in Chronicles.

⁷³ See below for the absence of v. 1b in Chronicles.

⁷⁴ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191.

⁷⁵ 2 Sam 7,1b was considered as a late addition already by Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 129-130.

⁷⁶ McKenzie, Use, p. 63.

2 Sam 7,1b.⁷⁷ According to McKenzie, v. 1b is not only in conflict with the wars in chapters 8; 10 and 13–20, but also with the theme of “rest” in DtrH as a whole. McKenzie believes that in the original version of DtrH, the promise of rest and of the centralization of the cult, given in Deut 12,10–11, was realized *only* in the time of Solomon (see especially 1 Kgs 5,18–19; 8,56), and all the other references to the rest of Israel (or David) before the rule of Solomon are therefore later additions. References to rest after the conquest of the land in the time of Joshua (Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1) would then not form part of DtrH; McKenzie, following M. Noth, considers these references to be part of the great post-dtr addition in ch. 13–22.⁷⁸ Lastly, McKenzie believes that 2 Sam 7,1b is also in tension with v. 11aβ, a verse that he reads as a statement concerning the future. McKenzie avows McCarter’s conjectures in these verses and considers both references to David’s rest to be secondary.

I have several objections to McCarter’s and McKenzie’s arguments, starting with the fact that v. 9aβ, too, mentions the cutting off of all David’s enemies⁷⁹. As to the supposed contradiction between vv. 1b and 11aβ, it should be noted that not all perfect forms in vv. 9–11 must necessarily be understood as converted perfects, which is a point that I shall return to later. Furthermore, if Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 is to be excluded from the original form of DtrH, we also have to exclude references to rest in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15. The promise of the rest given to the Cisjordanian tribes in Deut 3,20 and Josh 1,15 is obviously related to the period that followed the conquest of the land (that is the time which the formula in Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 is concerned with), instead of the time of Solomon. In Deut 3,20 and Josh 1,15, this rest is actually identical to the conquest of the land. It also follows from these verses that the Transjordanian tribes “rested” even before Israel crossed the Jordan. That in itself does not pose a major problem from the perspective of McKenzie’s argument, as we might simply say that neither Deut 3,20, nor Josh 1,12–15 were part of the original dtr form of the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua.

Still, altogether, the references to rest that McKenzie excludes from the (original) DtrH do pose a certain problem for his (and McCarter’s) understanding of 2 Sam 7,1b. T. Römer, in his overview of the state of the research on DtrH, situated McKenzie among what he calls as neo-Nothians, i.e. scholars who returned to M. Noth’s original thesis that the author of DtrH was an individual historian active in the exilic period.⁸⁰ Within this

⁷⁷ McKenzie, David, p. 209–212; McKenzie, Typology, p. 173–174.

⁷⁸ For arguments for the exclusion of Josh 13–22, see Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 40–41; McKenzie, David, p. 210–212.

⁷⁹ This observation is made by Oswald, Nathan, p. 34. – McCarter, II Samuel, p. 202, believes that v. 9 refers to those who were in David’s way to power, especially Saul and those associated to him.

⁸⁰ Römer, So-Called, p. 31–32; McKenzie, Kingship, p. 286–314.

model, it might seem adequate to outline a concept of the gift of rest attributed to the dtr historian, and to consider all the remaining references to rest that do not fit this concept to be various additions to the work of the historian. The formula of rest is generally regarded as dtr, and the whole debate on the meaning of this concept in DtrH, which McKenzie (and McCarter) participate in, is based on this supposition. Now, those references to the rest of Israel that McKenzie considers to be post-dtr are no different from the (supposedly) more ancient occurrences; this tells us that even scribes after the (supposed) dtr historian were able to use this dtr phraseology. In the history of research after M. Noth, this banal discovery usually led to the creation of multi-layered models of the genesis of DtrH, which would be a work of several (or many) dtr authors. The motif of rest, expressed by the hiphil of the verb נָח or the noun מְנוּחָה, appears in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets in Deut 3,20; 12,9-10; 25,19; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 23,1; 2 Sam 7,1.11; 1 Kgs 5,18; 8,56. Of these occurrences of the motif in the so-called DtrH, Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 23,1; 2 Sam 7,1 should in McKenzie's (and McCarter's) model be considered secondary; moreover, in McKenzie's view, the current form of 2 Sam 7,11, where the receiver of the rest is David, is secondary as well.⁸¹ McKenzie resolves in a literary-critical manner the contradiction between Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 on the one hand, and a direct line from the promise of rest and centralization of the cult in Deut 12,9-10 to its realization under Solomon's rule on the other. His solution for the formulations in 2 Sam 7,1b.11a β is, by contrast, text-critical (he regards the existing form of the verses to be the result of scribal errors). However, when more than half the occurrences of the motif of rest in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets are not in accord with the Deuteronomist's (postulated) original intention, McKenzie's procedure in 2 Sam 7,1.11 is problematic. Should we accept that the Deuteronomist's notion of the rest of Israel was in accord with McKenzie's proposition, the question remains whether the "dtr" form of 2 Sam 7 must have been a work of the (original) dtr historian (which would mean that vv. 1b.11a β would have to be secondary within the chapter), and not of any other author using the given dtr phraseology, for example the author(s) of Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 (and Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15). A brief summary of the history of Israel from the exodus to the rise of David in 2 Sam 7,10-11 could indeed indicate that the author of Nathan's oracle took into account the rest of Israel after the conquest of the land in the time of Joshua (see the text-critical note to the word וְלָמַן in v. 11). The main argument against cutting out v. 1b from 2 Sam 7 is that the mention of rest is utterly in accord with the function of the *whole exposition* in vv. 1-3, which is to present David's intent as adequate to the situation and so create a false expectation. I will later return to the function of this opening scene in

⁸¹ McKenzie himself excludes, apart from 2 Sam 7,1(.11), only Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 (McKenzie, David, p. 210-212).

greater detail; here I should only point out that we can hardly doubt that vv. 1-3 are intended to have this role, since David's plan is in the first place endorsed even by the prophet Nathan.

We should mention in this context that v. 1b is not merely a variant of 11aβ in the 3rd p., which itself makes McCarter's reconstruction of scribal errors leading to v. 1b highly doubtful. Unlike v. 11aβ, v. 1b also includes the word **מַסְבִּיב**, and so it is the fullest variant of the given dtr phrase, and it is precisely in this extended form that v. 1b clearly refers to Deut 12,9-11, thereby contributing to the general purpose of vv. 1-3 of presenting David's plan to build a temple as appropriate. It is thus likely that 2 Sam 7,1b made part of the authorial composition in 2 Sam 7, and 1 Chr 17 has left out the reference to David's rest because of the discrepancy with the following wars (2 Sam 8; 1 Chr 18–20,3), in agreement with the strong contrast in the books of Chronicles between David and Salomon as men of war and peace respectively (cf. 1 Chr 22,7-10; 28,3)^{82, 83}. As noted by S. Pisano, 2 Sam 7,1b may be looking rather into the past than into the future, describing the present situation in which David could conceive of building a temple for Yhwh.⁸⁴

But it is even possible that for the author of 2 Sam 7, David's wars of conquest in ch. 8 did not present a disturbance of David's rest. As may be seen in Deut 25,19 ("when Yhwh your God has given you rest from all your surrounding enemies... you will blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven"), not all scribes using this dtr terminology necessarily identified the "rest from enemies" with peace of arms. At any rate, the reading of 2 Sam 7,1b is more ancient than its absence in 1 Chr 17,1.⁸⁵

S ≠ C (t)

Verse 2:

הַמֶּלֶךְ; 1 Chr 17,1 **דָּוִד**.

S ≠ C (i)

הָאֵלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,1 **הָאֵלֹהִים**.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,1LXX **ἰδοὺ** probably reflects **הִנֵּה**, as the Greek text of the books of Chronicles usually translates **הִנֵּה** by **ἰδοὺ**, while the imperative **הָאֵלֹהִים** is usually translated with the help of **ἰδὲ** (1 Chr 21,12.23; 28,10) or **βλέπε** (2 Chr 10,16).

S ≠ C (i)

⁸² In a somewhat different form, the contrast already appears in 1 Kgs 5,17-19. For a brief overview of interpretations of 1 Chr 22,7-10, see Avioz, Oracle, p. 144-149.

⁸³ So also Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 273.

⁸⁴ Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 273.

⁸⁵ McKenzie, David, p. 217, as we have seen, does consider, together with McCarter, 2 Sam 7,1b to be a result of scribal errors. Nevertheless, he believes that the short reading in 1 Chr 17,1 emerged as a result of the Chronicler's shortening of the text. See also the note to the verb **וְהִנַּחְתִּי** in v. 11.

אַרְזִים; 1 Chr 17,1MT הָאֲרָזִים; 1 Chr 17,1LXX κεδρίνφ.
S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

בְּרִית־יְהוָה; 1 Chr 17,1 בְּרִית־יְהוָה.

The reading of 2 Sam 7 is older. It is in greater accord with the function of the opening of the chapter to evoke the idea that the focus of God's presence, or God himself, resides in a place that is far worse than that of David. The unclear distinction between Yhwh and the symbol of his presence permits an argument to be made using a rhetorical question in v. 5 (see below for details). If the ark is merely the Ark of the Covenant then the effect of David's vague description of the situation is lost.

S ≠ C (it?)

יֵשֵׁב; omitted in 1 Chr 17,1.

Again, the implicit (yet effective) antithetic parallelism between the places of residence of Yhwh and David, present in 2 Sam 7, is weakened in 1 Chr 17.

S ≠ C (i)

בְּתוֹךְ; 1 Chr 17,1 תַּחַת.

S ≠ C (i)

הִרְיָעָה; LXX^B τῆς σακηνῆς; LXX^L τῆς σακηνῆς κυρίου; 1 Chr 17,1 הִרְיָעוֹת.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,1 may be a harmonization with the priestly description of the Tabernacle made from "ten curtains (יריעת) of fine twined linen" (Exod 26,1, etc.) and eleven curtains of goats' hair (Exod 26,7 etc.).

LXX's majority reading does not have to presuppose a *Vorlage* different from MT. No doubt, σακηνῆ most often translates אהל or משכן, yet it is attested as a translation of הִרְיָעָה also in Hag 3,7. At any rate, the reading הִרְיָעָה is better than אהל or משכן in 2 Sam 7,2, since, as the expression ארזים present in both MT and LXX shows, the rhetorical force of David's statement resides in the comparison between the *materials* with which David's and Yhwh's abodes are constructed. LXX's formulation ἐν μέσφ τῆς σακηνῆς (or, hypothetically and less likely, בתוך האהל in its *Vorlage*) may be due to the influence of 2 Sam 6,17 where the ark is set inside the tent (בְּתוֹךְ הָאֹהֶל / εἰς μέσον τῆς σακηνῆς). The reading τῆς σακηνῆς κυρίου corresponds to the tendency of LXX^L to add "proper names or pronouns in order to make the narrative absolutely explicit."⁸⁶ This development in LXX^L is inner-Greek.

S ≠ C (i)

⁸⁶ Brock, Recensions, p. 252; cf. also Fernández Marcos, Text, p. 194-195.

Verse 3:

אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ; 1 Chr 17,2 אֶל־דָּוִד.

S ≠ C (i)

לְ; missing in several mss, Syr and 1 Chr 17,2.

The short text may be due to parablepsis through homoioteleuton.

S ≠ C (ni?)

עָשָׂה; ms ועָשָׂה; LXX καὶ ποίει.

MT, as *lectio difficilior* and at the same time *lectio brevior*, is probably older.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

יְהוָה; LXX^L ὁ θεός; 1 Chr 17,2MT הָאֱלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,2LXX ὁ θεός.

LXX^L probably reflects the Hebrew text of Samuel available to the Chronicler. According to de Lagarde's third rule of text-critical analysis of LXX, the reading of LXX^L, different from MT, should be considered as OG.⁸⁷ It is very difficult to decide, however, whether יהוה or האלהים is older. We may guess that the reading האלהים is due to assimilation to the last reference to the deity in the phrase וארון האלהים that appears in the previous verse.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

Verse 4:

דְּבַר־יְהוָה; 1 Chr 17,3MT דְּבַר־אֱלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,3LXX λόγος κυρίου.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,3LXX seems to be an assimilation to 2 Sam 7,4, most likely already in 1 Chr 17,3LXX's *Vorlage* (2 Sam 7,3LXX reads ῥῆμα κυρίου).⁸⁸

S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

נָתַן; some mss and a rabbinic quotation add הַנְּבִיא; LXX^L Ναθαν τὸν προφήτην; the same in Syr; in 1 Chr 17,3 the longer reading appears in some masoretic mss and in Syr.

The longer reading might have developed independently in several textual traditions under the influence of v. 4.

לְאֶמֶר; missing in 1 Chr 17,3LXX (mss BSf).

The short text may be due to inner-Greek parablepsis through homoioteleuton.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

⁸⁷ De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Allen, *Chronicles I*, p. 193.

Verse 5:

אֶל־דָּוִד; אֶל is absent from numerous mss, as well as from LXX, Syr, Tg^{ms}, Vg; 1 Chr 17,4 reads אֶל־דָּוִד עֲבָדִי.

2 Sam 7MT doubles prepositions before appositions more often than LXX and 1 Chr 17. It is difficult to determine whether systematic repetition of the prepositions in MT is an original feature of the text, partially weakened in other textual traditions, or a result of secondary stylistic perfectionism. The first possibility seems more plausible to me.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)

הָאֵתָהּ; LXX οὐ σὺ; Syr ܠܐ ܐܬܗܐ. 1 Chr 17,4 has לֹא אֵתָהּ as well.

As the discussion of the meaning of this verse in various textual witnesses in ch. 2.1.2, p. 92ff., will show, the rhetorical question in 2 Sam 7,5bMT and the statement in LXX do not have the same effect. J. Lust and P. Hugo are therefore wrong in suggesting that the negative statement in LXX might be a correct translation of the rhetorical question.⁸⁹ It is very likely that LXX presupposes a *Vorlage* different from MT⁹⁰; לֹא אֵתָהּ is in fact attested in the Hebrew text of 1 Chr 17,4.

Most scholars consider MT's reading to be older. P. Hugo, however, recently suggested that the older reading in 2 Sam 7,5b might be לֹא אֵתָהּ.⁹¹ The first part of Nathan's oracle (vv. 5-7) opens and ends with a rhetorical question, and, in Hugo's view, "la finesse de cette structure en inclusion, sans prouver qu'elle est secondaire, le laisse pourtant supposer."⁹² Yet, vv. 6-7 indicate that David's plan to build a temple where Yhwh may reside is rejected in vv. 5-7. The simple negative sentence in 2 Sam 7,5LXX conflicts with this meaning of vv. 6-7, since in v. 5bLXX it seems as though David's plan was devoid of problems of any kind, except that it will not be *him* who will actually build the temple. A rhetorical question in v. 5bMT is a better fit in the first part of Nathan's oracle. A shift towards לֹא אֵתָהּ could be an attempt to soften (or in fact remove) the critique of David's plan which is thus only postponed. Regarding this verse, W. M. Schniedewind is right that 2 Sam 7,5LXX and 1 Chr 17,4 contain a pro-temple bias.⁹³

SMT ≠ SLXX C (t)

לִי; omitted in 1 Chr 17,4LXX^{BS}.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

בָּיִת; 1 Chr 17,4MT הִבֵּיתָ; 1 Chr 17,4LXX οἶκος.

⁸⁹ Lust, David, p. 253, 259; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

⁹⁰ Contra Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 111-112. For a more detailed discussion of Schniedewind's views, see below ch. 2.1.2.6, p. 97ff. – Hebrew *Vorlage* different from MT is correctly supposed e.g. by McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191.

⁹¹ Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹³ Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 111-112.

After the omission of לִי from the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,4LXX, the article might have been lost by haplography.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (n)

A few mss add לְשָׁמִי after בֵּית. This is due to a secondary influence of the “dtr” name theology that appears in v. 13.

לְשָׁבֶתָּ; 1 Chr 17,4MT לְשָׁבֶתָּ; 1 Chr 17,4LXX τοῦ κατοικῆσαι με ἐν αὐτῷ.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,5MT is original. As I will later demonstrate, this reading is in perfect accord with the rhetorical progression of the chapter.

The 1st p. pronominal suffix: S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

ἐν αὐτῷ: S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

Verse 6:

לְמִיּוֹם הָעֶלְיָתִי; LXX ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνήγαγον; 1 Chr 17,5 מִן־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלִיתִי.

2 Sam 7,6LXX probably does not presuppose a different *Vorlage* from MT. For the understanding of הָעֵלִיתִי (originally inf. cs. + pronominal suff. 1st p. sg.) by LXX as pf. 1st p. sg., cf. 1 Sam 8,8. The reading of 1 Chr 17,5 develops the particular understanding of the syntax of the passage reflected in 2 Sam 7,6LXX: in 1 Chr 17,5 הָעֵלִיתִי is written *plene*, it is preceded by a relative particle, and the article is added to the “day”, since it is no more a *nomen regens* in a genitive construction.

S ≠ C (i)

אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל; 1 Chr 17,5 אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

S ≠ C (i)

מִמִּצְרַיִם; 2 mss מארץ מצרים; Vg *de terra Aegypti*, Syr ܡܕܢܚܪܐ ܕܥܝܬܐ; similarly a part of the manuscript tradition of LXX. In mss Bhnva₂ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου appears before τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ. 1 Chr 17,5 omits the name of the place from which Israel was led.

It is possible that מִמִּצְרַיִם was missing in an ancestor ms of LXX, and was later inserted into the text (Hebrew or Greek) under the influence of proto-MT, but in another place.⁹⁴

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (ni?)

וְעַד; LXX ἕως; 1 Chr 17,5 עַד.

The shorter reading *may* be more ancient. I, however, prefer the longer reading because it is probably more difficult in this instance.⁹⁵

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

⁹⁴ Similarly McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, preferring the shorter text.

⁹⁵ Obviously in this and other similar cases, the decision has no bearing at all on the meaning of the text. It may, however, be important for our idea of the value of individual witnesses in 2 Sam 7 / 1 Chr 17.

מתהלך בְּאֵהָל; 1 Chr 17,5MT אֶל-אֵהָל; 1 Chr 17,5LXX ἐν σκηνῇ;

1 Chr 17,5MT either leaves out מתהלך (that is, according to Knoppers, related to homoioarcton with מאהל)⁹⁶, or rather *instead of the phrase* מתהלך בְּאֵהָל it has מאהל אל אהל, where the first word (together with the first letter of the preposition?) comes from מתהלך.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n, i)

וּבְמִשְׁכָּן; LXX^L ἐν σκηνῇ; 1 Chr 17,5MT reads וּבְמִשְׁכָּן after which the verse ends; 1 Chr 17,5LXX καὶ ἐν καταλύματι.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,5MT is erroneous; it quite obviously needs the addition of אל משכן, as suggested by the apparatus of BHS in accordance with Tg (the latter, however, contains a “midrashic” presentation of the history of the Shekinah: והייתי משרי שכנתי ממשכן זמנא לנוב ומנוב לשילה (ומשילה למשכן גבעון). Yet even this longer, reconstructed form would be probably already corrupt – as mentioned above, the corruption of 1 Chr 17,5 may have resulted from an erroneous reading of מתהלך.⁹⁷ The reading of 1 Chr 17,5LXX καὶ ἐν καταλύματι (B has καλύμματι, but that is most likely merely an inner-Greek error, cf. 2 Sam 7,6LXX) may either be a witness to Chronicles’ correct reading, or a result of assimilation with 2 Sam 7,6LXX.

Any attempt at retroversion of LXX^L’s reading shows that it is due to an inner-Greek secondary shift. Yet its cause remains unclear.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (in?)⁹⁸

Verse 7:

בְּכָל; some mss בכל.

בְּנֵי; missing in one ms, LXX and 1 Chr 17,6.

The shorter text could *prima facie* seem more ancient. On the other hand, the fact that one (!) masoretic ms also contains this short reading (which in the masoretic type of the text is undoubtedly secondary) suggests that there may have been at work a motive for shortening the text.⁹⁹ The individualizing phrase בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל most often designates a group of people (the Israelites) without a geographical aspect (see e.g. v. 6). Contrary to that, in the expression בְּכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל, the nation’s name “Israel” nearly always has a geographical aspect of the territory inhabited by this people. Hence,

⁹⁶ Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 663.

⁹⁷ Cf. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, who argues in favour of the short text (perhaps corresponding to the *Vorlage* of Syr [ܡܫܬܚܬܐ] in 2 Sam 7,6) reading only באהל.

⁹⁸ Though it is clear that the reading of 1 Chr 17,5MT is secondary, it is difficult to ascribe this variation to one of our three categories. Possibly, under the influence of the preceding text, there was just an involuntary interchange of ב by מ. On the other hand, if the reconstructed reading וּבְמִשְׁכָּן אֶל מִשְׁכָּן once existed, it could be a result of voluntary assimilation to the preceding phrase מאהל אל אהל.

⁹⁹ For such cases, see a methodological note in the introduction to this chapter.

MT's longer reading may be more ancient, and the shorter reading conserved in several witnesses may be the result of simplification.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

יִדְבָּר דְּבָרָתִי; LXX εἰ λαλῶν ἐλάλησα; Vg *numquid loquens locutus sum*; 1 Chr 17,5 LXX εἰ λαλῶν ἐλάλησα.

The difference only concerns vocalization.

שְׁבִטִי; LXX φυλῆν; 1 Chr 17,6 MT שְׁפָטִי; 1 Chr 17,6 LXX φυλῆν.

The singular in LXX probably results from an omission of one *yod* from the phrase שְׁבִטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

The difference between שְׁבִטִי and שְׁפָטִי is a known *crux interpretum*. All the main textual witnesses in 2 Sam 7,7 and even 1 Chr 17,6 LXX read שְׁבִטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, but this phrase seems rather puzzling when read in connection with its subordinate clause אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי לְרַעוּת אֶת עַמִּי אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל.

The suggested solutions may be divided into three groups:¹⁰⁰

a) The classic proposal, adopted by several modern translations (e.g. RSV, EIN, LUT, BJ), is to read שְׁפָטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל according to the parallel text in 1 Chr 17,6.¹⁰¹ This reading is also in accord with 2 Sam 7,11 where Yhwh appoints (צוה) judges (שְׁפָטִים) as well.

b) Others preserve the reading שְׁבִטִי, but again with the meaning of rulers, judges etc. So Mitchell Dahood tentatively proposed reading שְׁבִטִי here as a plural of שְׁבֵט, which would be a dialectal form of שְׁפָט.¹⁰² His suggestion is based on the interchangeability of mute and sonant labials *p* and *b*, supposedly observed in Ugaritic, and documented once in Hebrew as well.¹⁰³ Yet, Dahood's reading does not seem probable in this case, given the occurrence of the common form שְׁפָט in v. 11.

Patrick V. Reid also construes the word שְׁבִטִי as the plural of שְׁבֵט, but with a different meaning to that proposed by Dahood. He conceives it as a denominative qal participle of שָׁבַט with the meaning of "the one who wields a staff" or "staff bearer".¹⁰⁴ This word is not documented elsewhere, although Reid suggests Deut 33,5 and 2 Sam 5,1 may constitute two other occurrences.

¹⁰⁰ The following overview is rough and incomplete. Given the excellent discussions of the history of research in Begg, Reading *šbty(km)*, p. 87-105, and *id.*, The Reading in 2 Sam 7,7, p. 551-558, I do not feel any need to go into detail. As far as I know, no substantially new treatment of the problem has been suggested since Begg's second article.

¹⁰¹ Beginning perhaps with Sébastien Chateillon (or Castellio) in notes appended to his translation of the Bible from 1551 (according to Barthélemy, CTAT I, p. 245). After him e.g. Wellhausen, Text, p. 170; Smith, Samuel, p. 299; Driver, Notes, p. 275; Cross, Myth, p. 244; McCarthy, II Samuel, p. 133.

¹⁰² Dahood, Proverbs, p. 43.

¹⁰³ Dahood, Philology, p. 74-75; Aharoni, Arad, p. 46-49. The misuse of the so-called "non-phonemic interchange of labials *b* and *p*" in biblical textual criticism was criticized by Grabbe, Interchange, p. 307-314.

¹⁰⁴ Reid, 2 Samuel 7:7, p. 17-20.

Other scholars understand the word to be the plural of שֶׁבֶט with the meaning “rod”, “staff” or “scepter” as a metonymical denotation of the bearer of the scepter, i.e. a ruler.¹⁰⁵ This figurative speech occurs in Num 24,17 and Isa 14,5.29 but with a more effective function, since in these passages the metonymy is also a metaphor: the rod “beats” a nation, or nations. With nothing of that kind in 2 Sam 7,7, it would perhaps be better to understand שֶׁבֶט in respect to the verb רָעָה as a *shepherd’s* staff (so Lev 27,32; Ps 23,4; Ezek 20,37; Mic 7,14), but even this solution would not make the image much more beautiful. To say that a staff pastures seems far less elegant than to say that a rod beats, even if both the rod and the staff are instruments. At any rate, in the rest of the HB שֶׁבֶט with the meaning of shepherd’s staff is never used metonymically of either Yhwh or a people’s leader.

The most interesting interpretation of this type was suggested by *CTAT I*.¹⁰⁶ It takes as its starting point the comparison between Josh 23,2; 24,1 and Deut 29,9. The verses Josh 23,2 and 24,1 list as representatives of Israel זְקֵנִים, רָאשִׁים, שְׁפָטִים, and שֹׁטְרִים, while in the very similar context of Deut 29,9 we find the sequence זְקֵנִים, שְׁפָטִים, וְשֹׁטְרֵיכֶם. ¹⁰⁷ The authors of *CTAT I* are of the opinion that a “deuteronomistic redactor” issued a “rejuvenated” version of the list of Deut 29,9 in Josh 23,2; 24,1.¹⁰⁸ They believe that, besides the meanings “rod” and “tribe”, שֶׁבֶט also meant “leader” in the old Hebrew, and they find other occurrences of שֶׁבֶט in this sense in Deut 33,5 and 2 Sam 5,1 (cf. v. 3). In light of Deut 29,9, I believe we cannot exclude the possibility that the word שֶׁבֶט could designate a (tribal) leader in biblical Hebrew.¹⁰⁹

c) P. de Robert¹¹⁰, D. F. Murray¹¹¹ and C. Begg¹¹² read שבטי with the meaning “tribes.” Murray suggests the text should be emended to read אֶת מְבַלְ שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אחד which he translates “to anyone from all the tribes of Israel”, identifying rather surprisingly the person alluded to as David himself. This is obviously far-fetched; the text can be read as a polemic against

¹⁰⁵ Already Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, 1842, p. 156.

¹⁰⁶ *CTAT I*, p. 245f.

¹⁰⁷ For the problems connected to LXX’s reading of Deut 29,10(9) – οἱ ἀρχίφυλοι ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ γερουσία ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ κριταὶ ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς ὑμῶν, see Begg, *The Reading sbty(km)*, p. 89-91.

¹⁰⁸ The character of Josh 24 and its relationship to Josh 23 are disputed matters, with recent discussion clearly tending to a “post-dtr” (or at least “late dtr”) dating of ch. 24; see e.g. Anbar, Josué; Römer, Väter, p. 320-330; Van Seters, Joshua 24, p. 139-158. This nevertheless does not affect the principle of the argument given by *CTAT I*.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also Gevirtz, Judge, p. 61-66. Gevirtz’s approach is somewhere in between the suggestions made by Dahood and *CTAT I*. In his view, Hebrew שֶׁבֶט (2) “ruler, judge” derives from TBT, a phonetic variant of TPT “to judge, rule”, and is thus only a homonym with שֶׁבֶט (1) “staff” < ŠBT. – For the discussion of different meanings of שֶׁבֶט in the HB, see Salvesen, שֶׁבֶט, p. 121-136.

¹¹⁰ De Robert, Juges, p. 116-118.

¹¹¹ Murray, Once Again, p. 389-396.

¹¹² Begg, Reading *sbty(km)* in Deut; *id.*, Reading in 2 Sam 7,7.

David without “anyone from all the tribes of Israel” necessarily having to be David himself. The plural **בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל** in 7b also testifies against this identification, a fact which Murray is conscious of but practically ignores.¹¹³ From the text-critical point of view the proposition is weak as well – the reading has no support in the texts and the supposed kind of haplography that led to the loss of **מִכָּל** is not very probable; **מִכָּל** would fall out because of two **בְּכָל** in 7a, but these would be relatively distant from the reconstructed **מִכָּל**.¹¹⁴

P. de Robert preserves MT, suggesting an original reading of the syntax of the verse. He believes the text makes sense as it is, if we do not relate the infinitive **לְרַעוֹת** to the object of **צִוִּיתִי** (as is common), but to its subject, i.e. Yhwh. The latter would then appoint the Israelite tribes with the view of performing (or when performing) his pastoral activity. This construction is possible, though unusual. From 47 remaining occurrences of **צוּה** + *object* + *infinitive*, the subject of the infinitive is the direct object of the verb **צוּה** in 44 places. One occurrence (Exod 6,13) can be theoretically disputed much like 2 Sam 7,7, and in one place (Josh 9,24) the subject of the infinitive is most likely the subject of **צוּה** (here also Yhwh). It can nevertheless be pointed out that we do not encounter the appointment of the tribes within the framework of Yhwh’s pastoral care for his people anywhere in the HB (I find de Robert’s reference to Ps 78,52-55 inaccurate).

Finally, C. Begg argues for the reading “tribes of Israel” and the traditional understanding of the syntax of the sentence (with “tribes” as the subject of **לְרַעוֹת**). In his view the phrase refers to various tribes that successively exercised primacy over the others. Admittedly, **שֶׁבֶט** as subject of **רָעָה** is unparalleled in the HB, but the more general notion of a tribe enjoying primacy among the people of Israel is not¹¹⁵.

My own suggestion falls within this same category. As noted by the three authors just mentioned, there are indeed some basic arguments for the reading **שֶׁבֶטִי** with the meaning of “tribes”:

1) **שֶׁבֶטִי** is *lectio difficilior*, especially in the vicinity of **שֶׁפִּטִּים** in 2 Sam 7,11.

2) The old versions understand the word to mean (a) tribe(s): LXX – **φυλῆν**, Vg – *tribubus*, Syr **ܫܒܬܝܐ**, Tg **משבטיא**; LXX has **φυλῆν** even in 1 Chr 17,6.

3) The expression “judges of Israel” is unusual; we find it, apart from 1 Chr 17,6, only in Num 25,5, in sg. also in Mic 4,14MT. By contrast, the expression “tribes of Israel” is very frequent (48x in the OT), in 2 Sam 15,2 there is even **מֵאֶחָד שֶׁבֶטִי יִשְׂרָאֵל**.

The least we can say is that the reading “tribes of Israel” in 2 Sam 7,7 is very old since it is most likely presupposed already in Solomon’s summary

¹¹³ Murray, *Once Again*, p. 395-396.

¹¹⁴ See also Begg, *Reading in 2 Sam 7,7*; this article is almost entirely dedicated to the criticism of Murray’s position.

¹¹⁵ See Gen 48,17-20; 49,3-4.8-10; Deut 33,16; 1 Sam 9,20f.; Jer 31,9; Hos 13,1; Ps 78,67-70; 108,8; 1 Chr 28,4.

(usually considered *dtr*)¹¹⁶ of Nathan's saying in 1 Kgs 8,16.18f. As seen in the *Table 1* below, Solomon's summary can be divided into three steps: 1) since the exodus from Egypt, Yhwh has not chosen a location for his temple; 2) he chose David; 3) the temple is to be built by his son. Now, if we link these steps with the corresponding parts of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, we can see that the speech about the Israelite tribes belongs to the first part of the prophecy. The corresponding passage to 2 Sam 7,7 in 1 Kgs 8,16 reads: "Since the day that I brought my people Israel out of Egypt, I chose no city in all the tribes of Israel in which to build a house..."¹¹⁷ With a view to the future, similar sayings are formulated in Deut 12,5.14; besides 1 Kgs 8, retrospectively in 1 Kgs 11,32 (cf. v. 13.36); 14,21 and 2 Kgs 21,7. The reading "to one of the tribes of Israel" in 2 Sam 7,7 is also in accord with the plural *בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* in 7b.

The mention of the tribes of Israel in 2 Sam 7,7 can be related to the "*dtr*" polemic against a non-centralized cult, first and foremost the "sin of Jeroboam", i.e. the sanctuaries that this king, according to 1 Kgs 12,26-33, built in Bethel and Dan. In terms of our text, Yhwh did not choose (up until now) any tribe to build a temple for him; now (v. 13) he is going to designate David's son to be the builder of the house for Yhwh's name, but the other tribes still do not have any right to a temple building. This polemic is present in all aforementioned passages that refer to the choice of a place from the tribes of Israel as the site of the temple, the most conspicuous being Deut 12,14: "But only at the place that Yhwh will choose in one of your tribes (*בְּאַחַד שְׁבֵטֶיךָ*) – there you shall offer your burnt offerings and there you shall do everything I command you." Here, as in 2 Sam 7,7, we see the notion that the place for the temple can in fact be among only *one tribe*.

The occurrence of the tribes of Israel in 2 Sam 7,7 thus makes perfect sense in the context of "*dtr*" edition of Samuel. We can retain the unusual notion of the tribes appointed to shepherd the people as a reference, albeit a somewhat awkward one, to the primacy successively enjoyed by various Israelite tribes as suggested by Begg, or it can be avoided by accepting de Robert's understanding of the syntax of the verse. I tend to favour the former, since a clumsy rendering of a common idea seems more likely than a rather unusual expression of an otherwise unknown concept.¹¹⁸

S CLXX ≠ CMT (n)

¹¹⁶ Noth, *History*, p. 91, followed by many others.

¹¹⁷ Cf. McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 192, who also thinks that 1 Kgs 8,16 testifies in favour of the reading *שְׁבֵטִי* in 2 Sam 7,7. McCarter regards 1 Kgs 8,16 as an "interpretive Deuteronomistic paraphrase", and in 2 Sam 7,7, taking up P. V. Reid's suggestion, he vocalizes the word as *šōb'ē* and translates "staff bearers."

¹¹⁸ If 2 Sam 7 and 1 Kgs 8,16.18f. were not written by the same author, we might, of course, speculate that the original reading (or meaning) of 2 Sam 7,7 was different to that of 1 Kgs 8,16. Moreover, as we will see later, there is a (very slight) chance that 2 Sam 7,6(f.) contains a remainder of a (perhaps not substantially) older saying which the exilic or post-exilic author of the chapter adapted for his composition of the text.

Table 1 – Right and left sections correspond as entire sections. The coordination of the individual lines is for orientation only.

1 Kgs 8		2 Sam 7	
מִן הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר הוּצָאתִי אֶת עַמִּי אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם לֹא בַחֲרֹתִי בַעִיר מִכָּל שְׁבֹטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לִבְנוֹת בַּיִת לַהֲיוֹת שְׁמִי שָׁם	16	כִּי לֹא יִשְׁבַּתִּי בְּבֵית לְמִיּוֹם הָעֵלְתִּי אֶת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְאֵהִיָּה מִתְּהַלֵּךְ בְּאֶהֱלִי וּבְמִשְׁכְּנִי בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר תִּתְּחַלֵּכְתִּי בְּכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַדֹּבֵר דְּבַרְתִּי אֶת אֶחָד שְׁבֹטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי לְרַעוּת אֶת עַמִּי אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר לִמָּה לֹא בְּנִיתֶם לִי בַיִת אֲרָזִים	6 7
		וְעַתָּה כֹּה תֹאמַר לַעֲבָדִי לְדָוִד כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת לִקְחָתִיךָ מִן הַגּוֹי מֵאַחֵר הַצֹּאֵן לִהְיוֹת נֶגִיד עַל עַמִּי עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל	8
וַאֲבָחֵר בְּדָוִד לִהְיוֹת עַל עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל (...) רַק אַתָּה לֹא תִבְנֶה הַבַּיִת כִּי אִם בְּנֵךְ הַיָּצֵא מִחֲלָצִיךָ הוּא יִבְנֶה הַבַּיִת לְשְׁמִי	19	(...) cf. v. 5 כִּי יִמְלֹאוּ יָמֶיךָ וּשְׁכַבְתָּ אֶת אֲבֹתֶיךָ וְהִקִּימְתִּי אֶת זֶרְעֶךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֶּעֶיךָ וְהִכִּינְתִּי אֶת מַמְלַכְתּוֹ הוּא יִבְנֶה בַּיִת לְשְׁמִי	12 13

אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי; missing in 1 Chr 17,6LXX (only mss BSc₂).
S CMT ≠ CLXX (ni?)

אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל; אֶת is missing in several mss; 1 Chr 17,6 omits the whole of אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל.
S ≠ C (i)

Verse 8:

לְדָוִד; ל is missing in a few masoretic mss, Syr.

מִן־הַגּוֹי מֵאַחֵרֵי הַצֹּאֵן; numerous mss LXX^B ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας τῶν προβάτων; LXX^L ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας ἐξ ἐνὸς τῶν ποιμνίων; similarly VL: *de casa pastoralis ex uno grege*; 1 Chr 17,7 מִן־הַגּוֹי מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאֵן. The parallel passage in Ps 78,70-71 reads מִמִּכְלַת צֹאֵן מֵאַחֵר עֲלֹת.

An equivalent to מֵאַחֵר is lacking in the reading of 2 Sam 7LXX^B. LXX^L presupposes the form of the preposition without the *yod* at the end because it is only this form that could be confused with מֵאַחֵד (or, theoretically, מִן (אֶחָד) reflected by ἐξ ἐνὸς. These Greek readings in 2 Sam 7 represent an interesting case of the “proto-Lucianic” problem.¹¹⁹ The reading of LXX^L,

¹¹⁹ For a description of the problem, see Kauhanen, Problem, p. 13-23.

whose early character is confirmed by VL, is clearly based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. Does LXX^L represent the OG, or an approximation to a Hebrew text that would be at this point close or identical to MT?

It should be noted that the presence of ἐξ ἐνὸς is not LXX^L's only difference from LXX^B in this variation unit, since the former reads here τῶν ποιμνίων while the latter has τῶν προβάτων. The readings ἐξ ἐνὸς and τῶν ποιμνίων both form part of an early level of LXX^L, since both are reflected in VL. The two differences may be connected if the shift happened from LXX^B to LXX^L. It is easy to understand how the addition of ἐξ ἐνὸς might have provoked the substitution of προβάτων by ποιμνίων in order to avoid the idea that God took David from "one of the sheep." It would be difficult, on the other hand, to determine what connected the two differences if we imagined a shift in the opposite direction (a hypothetical reading ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας τῶν ποιμνίων would be unproblematic). Therefore, following the rule that a reading is vindicated by "its ability to explain the existence of the other readings"¹²⁰, the reading of LXX^B should be considered older than that of LXX^L. The latter is an approximation.

For LXX^B, one does not need to presuppose a *Vorlage* different from MT. The translator might have left the preposition מאחר (or its variant – cf. 1 Chr) untranslated because of his rendition of נוה by ἡ μάνδρα. In MT, the expressions מן הנוה and מאחר הצאן are synonymous, since נוה by itself connotes pasture and flock, though it can be used figuratively in other contexts as well.¹²¹ The term ἡ μάνδρα, on the other hand, may designate enclosed spaces of various kinds (cf. Judg [A] 6,2; Ps 9,30LXX; 103,22LXX; Song 4,8; Amos 3,3; Jer 4,7). Perhaps the translator felt that ἡ μάνδρα did not convey the pastoral context on its own, and so he transformed the apposition מאחר הצאן into the attribute τῶν προβάτων. At any rate, even if LXX^B was based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* מנוה הצאן, it is most likely the result of simplification. The longer reading may be considered a special case of repetition of a preposition before a word in apposition. Frequent use of this stylistic feature is characteristic of the chapter, and is likely therefore to be the work of its literary author.

The expression מן אחרי in 1 Chr 17,7 falls into the category of synonymous readings found in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17. The discussion of these differences is, as a rule, deferred to the end of this sub-chapter. Let it just be noted here that the unusual form of the preposition, written normally as one word ([י]מאחר), may have evolved secondarily under the influence of the preceding phrase מן הנוה. Furthermore, since the preposition (י)אחר occurs more often with a *yod* than without it, the addition of *yod* is more likely than its omission (cf. the fact that the reading with *yod* also appears in a number of medieval Hebrew mss in 2 Sam 7). 2 Sam 7MT, then, prob-

¹²⁰ Kauhanen, Problem, p. 25.

¹²¹ Ringgren, נוה nāweh, 273-277.

ably contains the most ancient reading, supported by Ps 78,71 and partly by 2 Sam 7,8LXX^L.¹²²

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i; both the relationship between SMT and C, and the omission in SLXX probably belong to this category)¹²³

לְהִיָּוֶת נָגִיד; 2 mss לנגיד; LXX τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς ἡγοούμενον.

LXX's reading might perhaps be an assimilation with לקחת / ἔλαβόν σε appearing previously in the same verse. At an earlier time, we might perhaps also imagine the emergence of the suffix from the following *nun*, through a combination of dittography and confusion of the letters.¹²⁴

SMT C ≠ SLXX (ni?)

עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל; the preposition is absent from several mss, as well as from LXX^L and other Greek mss, daughter translations of LXX, Syr, Tg^{ms}, Vg (but LXX^B presupposes עַל). The preposition is also missing from 1 Chr 17,7.

I believe that the reading of LXX^B represents the OG. One might, of course, be tempted to identify the OG with the shorter reading contained in LXX^L and some other witnesses to LXX, and consider LXX^B to be an approximation. It is difficult, though, to imagine that LXX^B in non-*kaige* sections — so different from MT as it is — would contain such miniature and pedantic approximations to MT.¹²⁵ It is more likely that the doubled preposition was lost in one part of Greek tradition, as it was in several masoretic mss and 1 Chr 17,7. The shorter readings do not have to be genetically related.

S ≠ C (i)

Verse 9:

וְאַכְרִיתָ; 1 Chr 17,8 וְאַכְרִיתָ.

SMT ≠ CMT (i)

גָּדוֹל; absent from LXX^L and 1 Chr 17,8.

Many scholars omit the adjective because they believe it weakens the following comparison in v. 9bβ. According to these scholars, גדול then ap-

¹²² But see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, who reads מְנוּחָה הַצֶּהֱנָה according to LXX; the longer reading, in his opinion, evolved under the influence of Ps 78,71.

¹²³ In order not to bias the statistics too much by my evaluation of the evidence, the pattern expresses the difference between SLXX and SMT, although I suspect that LXX's reading might not be based on a *Vorlage* different from MT.

¹²⁴ See the shapes of the letters in Papyrus Luparensis in Cross, Development, 7.

¹²⁵ This does not mean that LXX^B is free of any approximations and other secondary developments in non-*kaige* sections. For this, see Aejmelaeus, Kingdom. Cf. also Kreuzer, Old Greek, and *id.*, Lukian.

peared as a result of the influence of v. 9bβ.¹²⁶ The shorter reading of LXX and 1 Chr 17,8 might indeed be more ancient.¹²⁷

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)¹²⁸

Verse 10:

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל; ל is absent from many mss, as well as from LXX^L, Syr, Tg^{mss}, 1 Chr 17,9. But LXX^B (and the majority of other mss) in 2 Sam 7 presuppose the duplication of the preposition. See the note concerning עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 8 for a similar situation.

S ≠ C (i)

וְנִטְעָתִיהוּ; 1 Chr 17,9 וְנִטְעָתִיהוּ.

SMT ≠ CMT (i)

וְלֹא־יִסְיֹפֶנּוּ בְנֵי־עוֹלָה; LXX καὶ οὐ προσθήσει (LXX^B οὐκέτι) υἱὸς ἀδικίας; 4Q174 וְלֹא־יִסְיֹפֶנּוּ בְנֵי עוֹלָה...]; in 1 Chr 17,9, MT agrees with 2 Sam 7MT, but LXX has προσθήσει ἀδικία. Cf. the sg. in Ps 89,23.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,9LXX is damaged. It is impossible to say whether sg. or pl. is more ancient.

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (i?, n)

וְלֹא־יִסְיֹפֶנּוּ; LXX^B adds οὐκέτι; LXX^{Ah} adds ἔτι; Syr adds ܠܐܝܬܐ.

These Greek readings might presuppose the presence of the word עוד, which is absent from MT. Otherwise, οὐκέτι and ἔτι might also be due to inner-Greek assimilation to the preceding clause. Irrespective of the origin of the plus, it is probably due to such assimilation.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

לְעֶנְוֹתָיו; 1 Chr 17,9MT לְבִלְתָּיו; pc mss לְכָל(ו)תו; Syr ܠܠܗܘܬܐ = להגלותו; 1 Chr 17,9LXX agrees with 2 Sam 7.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

Verse 11:

וְלִמְן; two masoretic mss do not read ו, as well as LXX (but LXX^L and many other mss read καὶ), Syr and Vg. In 1 Chr 17,10, ו is read by both MT and LXX (וְלִמְמִים), whereas it is lacking in Syr, Tg, Vg. The ו is present in 4Q174.

¹²⁶ Wellhausen, Text, p. 171; Cross, Myth, p. 248, and others.

¹²⁷ On the other hand, one should note that it is not absolutely certain that LXX presupposes a *Vorlage* without וְלִמְן, since the translation is idiomatic (καὶ ἐποίησά σε ὀνομαστόν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μεγάλων...).

¹²⁸ This pattern is in accord with the traditional understanding of the reading of SLXX (cf. the preceding note).

This textual difference is more interesting than it might at first seem, because the adopted reading may have consequences for understanding the literary context in which the author of the chapter (or at least of this verse) envisaged his own work.

Does the phrase בראשונה (ו)למן היום אשר צויתי שפטים על עמי ישראל (vv. 10-11) describe one or two periods of time? Some scholars consider the reading without the conjunction to be more ancient.¹²⁹ Irrespective of the validity of this claim, the shorter text certainly describes only one period of time. Others suppose that the longer text is more ancient, and construe the conjunction as *waw explicativum*, as for example D. F. Murray, who translates “namely from the day.”¹³⁰

However, the longer text could also be understood as a description of two distinct periods.¹³¹ Then, similar to Isa 52,4, the time of the oppression “at the beginning” would be the time of Egyptian slavery. The use of the expression בראשונה in this sense would correspond well with the fact that Israel’s sojourn in Egypt constitutes an implied beginning to Israel’s history in the DtrH as traditionally delimited (or even better with the idea that the dtr library contained a first draft of the exodus story)¹³². It is noteworthy that the verb ענה, used in 2 Sam 7,10, and its derivative עָנִי frequently appear in the description of Israel’s slavery in Egypt (Gen 15,13; 41,52; Exod 1,11f.; 3,7,17; 4,31; Deut 16,3; 26,6f.).

Regarding the oppression experienced by the Israelites “from the time that I appointed judges over my people Israel”, it is tempting to construe a connection between this statement and the fact that in Judges, the periodical times of rest during the reigns of the saviours are not described with the usual dtr terminology of the “rest from the enemies” which uses various expressions derived from the root נוח, but by means of the verb שקט (Judg 3,11; 30; 5,31; 8,28). In the context of the classic form of the DtrH hypothesis, this phenomenon might indicate that the Deuteronomist considered the time of judges to be a general time of unrest, distinguishing the short periods of rest during the era of judges from the long termed rest for which he

¹²⁹ For example McCarter, II Samuel, p. 193; cf. also Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 664.

¹³⁰ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 69, 183f; similarly already Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 282, 286; Anderson, 2 Samuel, p. 112, 121. Murray further affirms that the word שפטים does not denote here the characters of the book of Judges (cf. Judg 2,16-19) but the judges appointed by Moses in the desert (Exod 18,21-26; Deut 1,16), so that the word “before” designates the whole lapse of time from the exodus until David’s rise to the throne, thus overlapping with the period described in v. 6aβ. In this respect, Murray notes the occurrence of the phrase צוה שפטים in both Deut 1,16 and 2 Sam 7,11. He, however, neglects the significance of the fact that in Deut 1,16 the judges are appointed by Moses, while in 2 Sam 7,11 by Yhwh, who also raises up the saviours (called judges in Judg 2,16-19) of the book of Judges. It is not clear why the appointment of judges in the desert should constitute the beginning of Israel’s oppression, either.

¹³¹ Carlson, David, p. 117-119; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 227, 382.

¹³² Römer, So-Called, p. 72.

used expressions derived from the root נוח.¹³³ Such an explanation may now appear too simplistic, given that most scholars do not work with the concept of a single dtr author. Such a variation in terminology may also be due to the fact that some reworkings of the dtr type are limited to individual books.¹³⁴ At any rate, 2 Sam 7,10b-11a MT itself may be understood as a summary of the history of Israel's rest and unrest since the time of the Egyptian oppression: up to the rest under David (2 Sam 7,1), there were two discontinuous periods of unrest. בראשונה Israel was oppressed by Egypt, and later it was oppressed in the time of judges (i.e. it did not have the rest described by the root נוח); but Israel did enjoy rest from its enemies between these periods, during the time of Joshua (Jos 21,44; 22,4; 23,1).

If MT's reading is more ancient and describes two periods of time, 2 Sam 7,10b-11a could be understood as a rather precise summary of the history since the beginning (= exodus) throughout the times of Joshua and Judges up to David. In this case, the literary context in which the author of 2 Sam 7 perceived his own work could correspond to DtrH as traditionally delimited, i.e. Deut-Kgs (any hypothesis of the "greater" DtrH – i.e. not limited to Samuel and Kings – must presuppose the existence of the exodus story, irrespective of how it was linked to DtrH).

It is difficult to know, however, whether MT's reading really is more ancient. But as we will see below, the fact alone that 2 Sam 7,11 knows the period of the judges is important in defining the chapter's literary context.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (it?)¹³⁵

וּלְמִיָּמִים – LXX τῶν ἡμερῶν; 1 Chr 17,10 reads the plural as well – וּלְמִיָּמִים.

The plural might be a harmonization with the description of the period in the book of Judges – Yhwh used to appoint the judges during a long stretch of time.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

עָמִי; missing in some mss.

וְהִכְנַעְתִּי אֶת-כָּל-אֹיְבָיו; 1 Chr 17,10 וְהִכְנַעְתִּי אֶת-כָּל-אֹיְבָיו.

In view of the preceding text in 2 Sam 7, some scholars suggest reading לוֹ מִכָּל אֹיְבָיו.¹³⁶ This conjecture does not have any support in Hebrew texts and ancient versions, neither in 2 Sam 7, nor in 1 Chr 17,10.

¹³³ Cf. 2 Kgs 23,22 according to which a cultic disorder – non-celebration of the Passover – also began in the days of the judges.

¹³⁴ Cf. also the fact that the verb שָׁקַט is used in Jos 11,23; 14,15 in a similar manner as in the book of Judges.

¹³⁵ The latter possibility would be likely if it could be proved that the *waw* is secondary.

¹³⁶ Wellhausen, Text, p. 171; Driver, Notes, p. 275; Smith, Samuel, p. 301; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 193; McKenzie, David, p. 209-212.

¹³⁸ In 1 Chr 17, 10LXX, there is, in fact, even more variation according to the manuscripts, see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray edition. I quote only those variants that have played a prominent role in the scholarly debate and are therefore important for the following discussion.

Rahlfs). “After the omission the pronoun was adapted for sense.”¹³⁹ The omission is due to homoiarcton, perhaps also to assimilation of the second clause of the verse to the syntactic relation of the first verb with the accusative of the 2nd p. pronoun.

The reading καὶ αὐτῷ ἔσται in 1 Chr 17,10LXX presupposes ואגדלך; the reading ובית in 1 Chr 17,10MT — corresponding to καὶ οἶκον found in part of the Greek manuscript tradition — accords with ואגדלך (presupposed by LXX) rather than with ואגד of MT.

I. L. Seeligmann and F. Langlamet argued that the original reading in 2 Sam 7,11-12 was כי והיה לך (אעשה) לבנה.¹⁴⁰ Seeligmann notes that while 1 Chr 17,11 begins with the word והיה, the text in 2 Sam 7,12MT does not. LXX reads καὶ ἔσται at the beginning of 2 Sam 7,12, and at the same time provides no translation for the tetragrammaton at the end of v. 11. In light of this, Seeligmann has “no doubt that the tetragrammaton here originates in a corruption of והיה (...)”¹⁴¹, and he reconstructs the further developments of the passage as follows:

After the inclusion of the tetragrammaton, corrupted from והיה, the form לבנה was of necessity changed to יבנה. Thus there evolved here a prophecy of which the subject was God, so that the scribe, forced to regard the preceding words as an announcement of this prophecy, wrote ואגד in place of ואגדלך. This introductory formula caused ובית יבנה לך to be changed into כי בית יבנה לך. Such is indeed the reading in 2 Sam., where there occurred a further change when ואגד became והגיד so as to fit in with the requirements of the form of the prophecy לך יהיה and/or as a result of the common mechanical interchange of *He* and *Aleph*. Finally the form והגיד in place of ואגד forced the scribe to add the Divine Name as subject of the sentence.¹⁴²

In contrast, S. Pisano argues that MT in 2 Sam 7,11 represents the original reading.¹⁴³ He notes that the reading considered original by Seeligmann and Langlamet corresponds only to the form of 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX in Ms d. He suggests that

¹³⁹ Allen, *Chronicles II*, p. 47; Allen is followed by Pisano, *Deuteronomist*, p. 276.

¹⁴⁰ Seeligmann, *Indications*, p. 208-210; Langlamet, *Review of Würthwein and Veijola*, p. 129, 130.

¹⁴¹ The same opinion was recently defended by Kasari, *Promise*, p. 23-24, who also provides a list of those who adhered to it before him.

¹⁴² Seeligmann, *Indications*, p. 209-210. Langlamet, *Review of Würthwein and Veijola*, p. 129, gives the same description of the text's development as is provided by Seeligmann.

¹⁴³ Pisano, *Deuteronomist*, p. 274-277.

[i]f this is not the ancient Greek version of the original Chr here, it must be a modification by the scribes based on ἀὐξήσω. (...) Rahlfs gives καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος, which is found only in Ms f, as an original Greek version which if it is correct, followed MT Chr. The fact that the form of the verb in the third person is solidly attested in the Greek tradition of Chr (Mss BANScefn_{c2}) suggests that it really is the original reading.

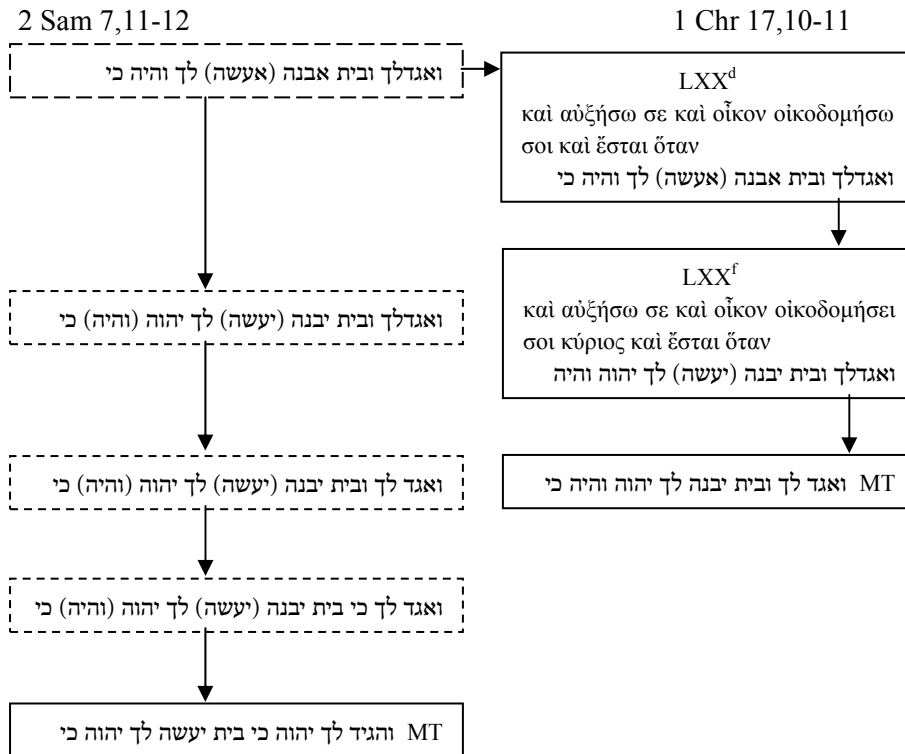
In view of this situation in Chronicles, Pisano argues that the conjecture לך (אעשה) ובית אבנה “loses its plausibility”, the reading καὶ ἀὐξήσω σε in 2 Chr 17,10LXX being “due to a reading error of לך ואגד on the part of the Greek translator.” I tend to agree with Pisano’s conclusion, even if, admittedly, his argumentation could have been more convincing.

The fact that LXX does not read the tetragrammaton at the end of 2 Sam 7,11 may be of little help in reconstructing the original text. The presence of the tetragrammaton would have indeed made no sense in LXX given that οἰκοδομήσεις is in the second person. This second person of the verb, as well as the 3rd p. pronoun αὐτῷ, is considered secondary by nearly all scholars, with the exception of A. Schenker and P. Hugo who argue it constitutes the original reading¹⁴⁴. I myself am convinced that both the 2nd p. of the verb and the 3rd p. pronoun αὐτῷ are, indeed, secondary, and I will attempt to demonstrate this point in detail at the close of this section (see ch. 2.1.2.8, p. 100ff.). Now if this is the case, the absence of a translation of יהוה at the end of 2 Sam 7,11LXX may be related to this secondary reading, and should not be used as an argument for an original reading in 2 Sam 7,11 without יהוה at its end. On the other hand, there still remains the reading of 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX^d (without the tetragrammaton and considered as original by Seeligmann and Langlamet) which is not disqualified by these observations concerning 2 Sam 7,11LXX.

There is, however, a more substantial problem with Seeligmann’s and Langlamet’s reconstruction. Seeligmann says that “the passage with which we are concerned, affords us a noteworthy example of an adaptation-cum-revision the phases of whose development can still be traced.” Yet, as a matter of fact, Seeligmann’s argument forces us to see MT’s reading in 2 Sam 7,11-12 as the final result of a development that can be traced in 1 Chr 17,10-11. This assumption, discussed neither by Seeligmann nor Langlamet, but necessary for their argument, is schematized in Table 2.

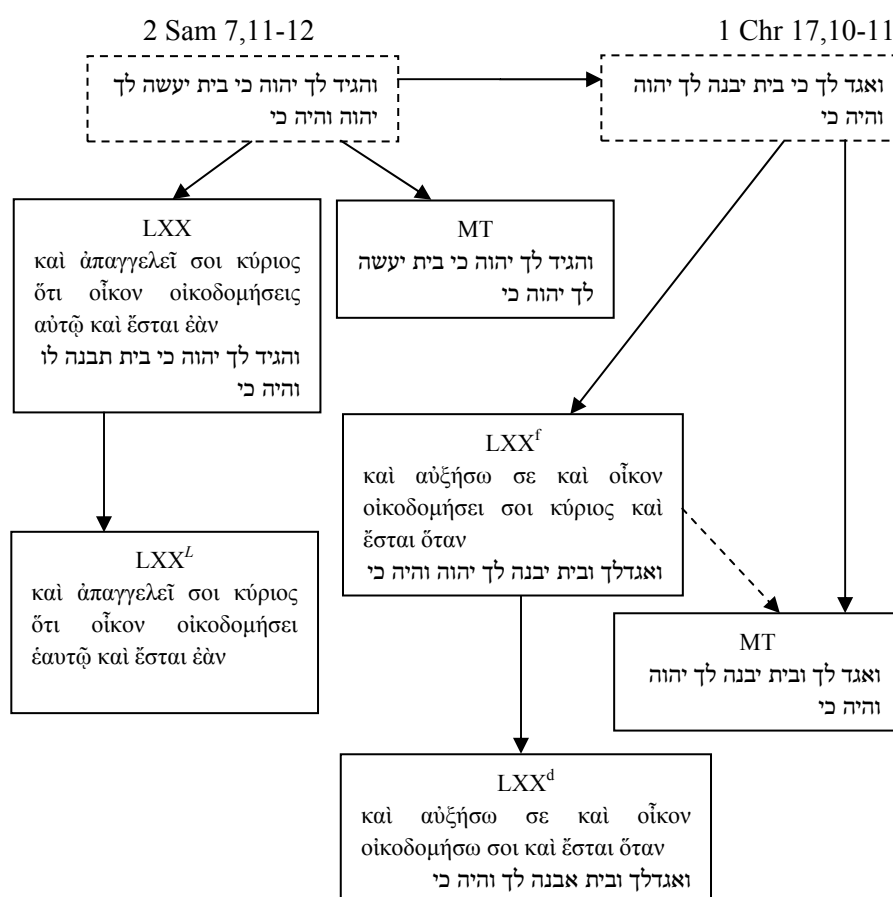
¹⁴⁴ Schenker, Verheissung, p. 179-191; Hugo, Archéologie, 179-182, 189-191.

Table 2 – The development of the text in 2 Sam 7,11-12 and 1 Chr 17,10-11, as proposed by I. L. Seeligmann and F. Langlamet. The variants enclosed by the intermittent lines are not attested in the given passage, though a similar text-form may be attested in the parallel passage of the other book.



Seeligmann's reconstruction thus implies that 1 Chr 17,10-11 took over the text in the correct form from 2 Sam 7,11-12; subsequently, the same error occurred in both texts, and then both underwent a later, parallel development, with the only difference being that the development went further in 2 Sam 7,11-12. As a matter of fact, it may even be said that Seeligmann's model implies not two but rather three identical lines of development. While the passage from LXX^d to LXX^f in 1 Chr 17,10-11 should most likely be regarded as inner-Greek, a similar development would need to be postulated for the process that gave rise to the Hebrew reading in 1 Chr 17,10-11MT. All this makes Seeligmann's suggestion extremely speculative and improbable, even if we must allow the possibility of the mutual influence between the two parallel texts in Samuel and Chronicles. As should be quite obvious, Seeligmann's proposal is far from the best model for explaining the attested readings.

Table 3 – The development of the text in 2 Sam 7,11-12 and 1 Chr 17,10-11. The variants enclosed by the intermittent lines are not attested in the given passage. The stemma is not exhaustive; there is more variation in the manuscript tradition of 1 Chr 17,10LXX. The inner-Greek developments are not essential for our study; the main purpose of this figure is to show that the text-forms on which Seeligmann and Langlamet based their proposal may be integrated into a more plausible model of textual history of 2 Sam 7,11-12 and 1 Chr 10-11 (besides those texts that are essential for Seeligmann and Langlamet, the table includes 2 Sam 7,11-12LXX^L whose position will be discussed at the end of the chapter).



It seems more probable that the texts evolved in the opposite direction, as schematized in *Table 3*.

Thus, in my opinion, the most ancient reading that may be reconstructed in 2 Sam 7,11-12 was close to MT of this passage, but unlike MT it con-

tained the word והיה at the beginning of v. 12. The presence of both יהוה and והיה is attested in 1 Chr 17,10-11, both MT and the majority of LXX. Out of the long text, MT's reading in 2 Sam 7,11-12 developed simply by haplography, the word והיה having fallen out after the preceding word יהוה.¹⁴⁵ The disappearance of יהוה in LXX is probably due to other changes in the text – with the verb οἰκοδομήσεις in the 2nd person, Yhwh ceases to be the subject of the sentence, and so the word יהוה (κύριος) at the end of v. 11 would make no sense.¹⁴⁶

The reading והגיד לך in 2 Sam 7,11 (both MT and LXX) is older than the reading ואגיד לך in 1 Chr 17,10MT. The latter is a harmonization with the rest of the divine discourse in vv. 4-14 which, with the exception of v. 10bβ, is formulated in the 1st person. The reading of 1 Chr 17,10LXX καὶ αὐξήσω σε (= ואגדלך) evolved out of ואגיד לך by scribal error.

2 Sam 7,11 reads כי בית (ὅτι οἶκον), while in 2 Chr 17,10 MT has ובית and LXX reads καὶ οἶκον. The reading of 1 Chr 17,10MT seems to correspond better with what precedes in LXX (ואגדלך) than with the preceding words in MT, a fact which, admittedly, seems to cast some doubts on the development described in the previous paragraph. If my understanding of the development from ואגיד לך to καὶ αὐξήσω σε (= ואגדלך) is correct, the reading ובית may be understood as an assimilation paired with the reading ואגדלך attested in LXX. This would mean that 1 Chr 17,10MT is a mixed text, providing the more ancient reading¹⁴⁷ ואגיד לך together with ובית which appeared in the text only after ואגיד לך changed in ואגדלך. If this reasoning is correct, we have to postulate that 1 Chr 17,10, like 2 Sam 7,11, originally read כי בית, as suggested by BHS.¹⁴⁸

Finally there is the question of the verb in 2 Sam 7,11bβ: MT יעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ; LXX οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ; LXX^L οἰκοδομήσει αὐτῷ¹⁴⁹; 4QFlorilegium יבנה לכה; 1 Chr 17,10MT יבנה־לְךָ; 1 Chr 17,10LXX^f οἰκοδομήσει σοι. While there is some confusion in the Greek manuscript tradition of 1 Chr 17,10 as to the form of the verb and the following pronoun, this is irrelevant for our study.¹⁵⁰ As we have seen, the third person of the verb (and with this, the 2nd p. pronoun) must be preferred both in 2 Sam 7,11 and in 1 Chr 17,10,

¹⁴⁵ So already Wellhausen, Text, p. 171, followed by Murray, Prerogative, p. 71.

¹⁴⁶ For possible explanations of the changes in the person of the verb and in the pronominal suffix after the preposition ל, see the discussion at the end of the chapter.

¹⁴⁷ More ancient in Chronicles only, of course! In 2 Sam 7,11, לך והגיד must be preferred.

¹⁴⁸ Alternatively, it could perhaps be imagined that the Chronicler had already misunderstood the words לך והגיד as והגדלך, he changed the text to ואגדלך, and, together with this changed כי בית to ובית. The original reading of 1 Chr 17,10b would thus be that of LXX^f. Later on, ואגדלך became לך ואגיד in MT, under the influence of 2 Sam 7,11. At any rate, the question of the priority of ואגיד לך or ואגדלך only concerns the book of Chronicles; in 2 Sam 7,11, the reading לך והגיד must be preferred.

¹⁴⁹ For other variations in the Greek manuscript tradition, see the apparatus of Brooke – McLean – Thackeray.

¹⁵⁰ See Brooke – McLean – Thackeray.

due to the יהוה that follows and should be retained in the oldest retrievable text.

But is יעשה or יבנה more ancient? McCarter reads יבנה together with 4QFlorilegium and LXX^L; the verb בנה is supported by LXX as well.¹⁵¹ It also appears in 2 Sam 7,5.7.13, and, most importantly, in v. 27, as well as in 1 Chr 17,10. Still, Murray's arguments for MT are correct: the passage from יבנה to the less self-evident יעשה is difficult to understand; moreover, the *lectio difficilior* יעשה is confirmed by 1 Sam 25,28 כי עשה יעשה יהוה and 1 Kgs 2,24 ואשר עשה לי בית. Cf. the verb עשה in 2 Sam 7,3.9.21.23.25.

To sum up, the most ancient reading that can be reconstructed in 2 Sam 7,11b-12aα is כי יהוה לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה. As we shall see below, the presence of the peculiar יהוה at the end of v. 11 is in agreement with the rhetorical progression of 2 Sam 7,1-17 as a whole.

For the notification of the patterns of agreement, the texts must be fragmented:

וְהִגִּיד לְךָ יְהוָה: S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i, n)

כִּי־בֵית: S ≠ C (i)¹⁵³

יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ: SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C¹⁵⁴ (Evaluating the difference is complicated. The difference between either of the verbs used [עשה or בנה] is intentional [i], but the difference in the form of the verb and the following pronoun between SMT, CMT and CLXX^f on the one side and SLXX on the other may be either non-intentional [n] or tendentious [t]. For this question, see the discussion below on the meaning of 2 Sam 7 in various textual witnesses.)

יְהוָה (at the end of the verse): SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (The difference between SMT and C is non-intentional [n]. The difference between MT and LXX is probably related to the difference in the person of the verb, which means that it is based either on a non-intentional [n] or a tendentious development [t]. See below for more.)

Verse 12:

כִּי־מָלְאָו בְּיָיִן; 1 Chr 17,11 יִמְלְאוּ.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,11 is peculiar. It may be an effect of a scribal mistake, through which the *yod* of the verb disappeared after the *yod* of the previous word.¹⁵⁵

SMT ≠ CMT (n)

¹⁵¹ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.

¹⁵² Murray, Prerogative, p. 71. For the expression עשה בית, cf. also Exod 1,24.

¹⁵³ For CLXX I follow the reading of ms f, as noted above.

¹⁵⁴ Again, for CLXX I follow the reading of ms f.

¹⁵⁵ For other instances, see Seeligmann, p. 209.

וְשָׁכְבָהּ; 1 Chr 17,11MT לָלַכְתָּ; 1 Chr 17,11LXX καὶ κοιμηθήσῃ, in agreement with 2 Sam 7,12.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX is probably a secondary assimilation to 2 Sam 7.¹⁵⁶ The following preposition אֶת (or עִם) shows that וְשָׁכְבָהּ in 2 Sam 7 is more ancient than לָלַכְתָּ, with which we would rather expect the prepositions לְ or אֶל.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

אֶת־אֲבֹתָיִךְ; “mlt mss” (de Rossi) עִם; 1 Chr 17,11 עִם.

In Kings and 2 Chronicles, the formula עִם אֲבֹתָיִךְ appears 33 times in the summaries of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah.¹⁵⁷ Apart from these summaries, the expression also appears in 1 Kgs 1,21; 11,21; 2 Kgs 14,22par; Deut 31,16 and Gen 47,30. It may thus be maintained, together with P. Kasari, that in 2 Sam 7,12 the reading with אֶת is – as *lectio difficilior* – more ancient.¹⁵⁸

SMT ≠ CMT (i)

יֵצֵא מִמֶּעִיד; LXX ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου; 1 Chr 17,11MT יִהְיֶה מִבְּנִיךְ; 1 Chr 17,11LXX ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου (similarly Syr and Vg).

The difference between מִמֶּעִיד (2 Sam 7) and מִבְּנִיךְ (1 Chr MT) is most likely due to the attempts of 1 Chr 17 to ascribe the divine sonship and the promise of a firm rule only to Solomon. The expression מִבְּנִיךְ suggests that David’s זֶרַע mentioned in the previous clause should be understood individually as one of the sons of David (the expression יֵצֵא מִמֶּעִיד may have been understood as far too ambivalent, allowing זֶרַע to be construed collectively; for this cf. Gen 25,23 and Isa 48,11; with another expression for “loins” also Gen 35,11 יֵצֵאוּ מִחֻלְצִיד; for the reading of 1 Chr 17,11MT cf. 2 Sam 16,11). If this observation is correct, then the reading of 2 Sam 7 מִמֶּעִיד is likely more ancient. If this shift in 1 Chr 17,11MT is in accord with the overall re-working of the material in 1 Chr 17, the reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου is probably due to assimilation to 2 Sam 7, perhaps based on 2 Sam 7LXX; on the other hand, the fact that 1 Chr 17,11LXX agrees at this point also with Syr and Vg indicates that the assimilation may have already occurred in the Hebrew text.¹⁵⁹ It is also possible (though more complicated) that in 1 Chr 17,11 the more ancient was LXX’s reading יִהְיֶה מִמֶּעִיד (ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου), which was already present in the Chronicler’s text of Samuel (agreeing here, as in many other passages, with the text of Samuel used by LXX’s translator). The

¹⁵⁶ Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194.

¹⁵⁷ See Alfrink, Expression, p. 106-18.

¹⁵⁸ P. Kasari, Promise, p. 38.

¹⁵⁹ Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, regards the reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX as assimilation, but argues that it is impossible to determine its source.

reading מְבִנֵּי would then be a secondary development in 1 Chr 17MT in agreement with the preceding re-working of 2 Sam 7 by the Chronicler.

But is יָצָא (2 Sam 7,12MT) or יהיה (2 Sam 7,12LXX, 1 Chr 17,11) more ancient? The expression יָצָא מִמֶּעִי + *pronominal suffix* occurs also in Gen 15,4; 2 Sam 16,11; cf. also 2 Chr 32,21; the reference to the Davidic promise in 1 Kgs 8,19 combines the verb יָצָא with the noun הִלְצִים. The reading of 2 Sam 7,12MT may be understood as assimilation to the other mentioned occurrences of the phrase “to come from one’s body”. On the other hand, the banal verb היה against יָצָא seems to be a simplification, which could speak in favour of the originality of יָצָא.

יָצָא: SMT ≠ SLXX C (it?)

מִמֶּעִי: S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

מִלְכֻתוֹ; 1 Chr מְלָכָהוּ.

SMT ≠ CMT (i)

Verse 13:

וְהָיָה; 2 mss וְהוּא; similarly LXX^v, and Syr.

יְבִנֶּה-לִּי בַּיִת – LXX οικοδομήσει μοι οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου (μοι is absent from mss Mcfgijnquxb₂, from several daughter translations and from quotations of several Church fathers); 1 Chr 17,12 בַּיִת לִי.

Some scholars prefer the reading of LXX or the one in Chronicles.¹⁶⁰ As will become apparent, this is in direct opposition to my understanding of the whole body of Nathan’s oracle. The reading יְבִנֶּה לִי בַּיִת makes perfect sense in 1 Chr 17, where it appears together with other changes as against 2 Sam 7 (see below for the meaning of the text in various witnesses). Yet, in 2 Sam 7 itself, when read without the other variants in 1 Chr 17, the reading יְבִנֶּה לִי בַּיִת seems rather difficult to comprehend. I will come back to this textual difference when discussing the rhetorical development of the text.

The Greek reading of mss Mcfgijnquxb₂ (without μοι) is probably a harmonization with MT. The longer reading of LXX^B is thus more ancient. As suggested by Pisano, it is possible that this long reading of 2 Sam 7,13LXX is the combination of the readings attested in 2 Sam 7,13MT and in 1 Chr 17,12.¹⁶¹ If so, it may even be that the ancient Greek version of Samuel, and therefore its *Vorlage* as well, originally contained the same reading as Chronicles.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ E.g. Gese, *Davidsbund*, p. 22-23; Cross, *Myth*, p. 243, 247; Langlamet, *Review of Würthwein and Veijola*, p. 131.

¹⁶¹ Pisano, *Deuteronomist*, p. 277-280. Cf. also McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 194.

¹⁶² In this variation unit, the category *i* is strongly dependent on my understanding of the development of the text. The insertion of לִי and the omission of לְשָׁמִי are both due to assimilation with 2 Sam 7,5 / 1 Chr 17,4, not to the rejection of the terminology of Yhwh’s

אַת־בִּסְאָן; LXX τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ; 1 Chr 17,12 אַת־בִּסְאָן.

McCarter prefers the reading of LXX and Chronicles.¹⁶³ As noted by Murray, MT's reading seems to be indirectly confirmed by 1 Kgs 9,5 and 1 Chr 22,10.¹⁶⁴ It is unclear whether this variant should be connected to (some of) the changes discussed in the subchapter 2.1.2. One might also imagine that MT's reading is a harmonization with the preceding verse. On balance, I am inclined to think that MT's reading is the most ancient, and the shift in LXX aims to somehow mitigate the promise by relating it concretely to Solomon's *throne*. The Chronicler already found this reading in his text of Samuel.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (t?)

Verse 14:

אֲנִי; LXX^L καὶ ἐγὼ.

All of v. 14b is missing in 1 Chr 17.

The omission is secondary. In 1 Chr 17,11-14 Solomon is, without a doubt, the subject of reference of the word זרע (cf. the note to יצא ממעיך in 2 Sam 7,12), and an omission of the half-verse that mentions the punishment of the king's sins is in keeping with the tendency in Chronicles to idealize Solomon's rule (cf. 1 Chr 22,9f.; 28,6).¹⁶⁵

S ≠ C (t)

אֲשֶׁר בְּהִעָוֹתָיו; LXX καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτοῦ; Syr ܡܠܝܬܐܝܗܘܢ.

McCarter suggested that LXX's *Vorlage* read וּבֵא עֲוֹתָיו.¹⁶⁶ If so, this reading seems too clumsy to be original, and it may simply be caused by a scribal error.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n, t)¹⁶⁷

Verse 15:

יָסֹר; pc mss אסור; LXX ἀποστήσω; Vg *auferam*; Syr ܐܫܝܪ; 1 Chr 17,13 אָסִיר.

name in the Greek text of Samuel or in Chronicles (for the use of this terminology in Chronicles, see Reiterer, שם, p. 161-165). In case the development would go in the opposite direction, and the contrast between יִי of 2 Sam 7,5 and לִשְׁמִי of v. 13 would be introduced into the text secondarily, the variation unit would belong to the category *t*.

¹⁶³ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.

¹⁶⁴ Murray, Prerogative, p. 72.

¹⁶⁵ Similarly Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 665, 672.

¹⁶⁶ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.

¹⁶⁷ 2 Sam 7,14b is missing in Chr.

The 1st person sg. agrees with the two other occurrences (only one in Chronicles) of the same verb in v. 15 (in MT, there is a difference in the stem used). The 1st p. may be understood as an instance of assimilation; MT's reading should be preferred as *lectio difficilior*.

According to R. A. Carlson, the clause is formulated so as to create a contrast with *ועתה לא תסור חרב מביתך* in 2 Sam 12,10, which is also an oracle of Nathan; Carlson also notes the possible connection with Gen 49,10 – *לא יסור שבט מיהודה*.¹⁶⁸ While both of Carlson's observations seem somewhat over complicated, 2 Sam 12,10 and Gen 49,10 both attest to the plausibility of MT's formulation.

The root סור is used in a few other texts in Samuel to express the idea that Yhwh's favour has been taken away from Saul. In these passages, it is either said that the Spirit of Yhwh departed from Saul (1 Sam 16,14), or that Yhwh or God (אלהים) himself departed from him (18,12; 28,15.16). The verb is always in *qal*.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

מַעֲזוֹ; 1 Chr 17,13

SMT ≠ CMT (i)

מַעֲזוֹ; 1 Chr 17,13MT מַעֲזוֹ; 1 Chr 17,13LXX ἀπὸ τῶν (ὄντων).

The plural in the Greek probably presupposes *מַעֲזוֹ* attested in 1 Chr 17,13MT. Since there is no obvious reason for the omission of Saul's name, the shorter reading seems preferable.¹⁶⁹

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

הָיָה; 1 Chr 17,13MT הָיָה; 1 Chr 17,13LXX ὄντων; Syr of 2 Sam 7,15 has a double reading, with the complete half-verse reading as follows: *וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ בְּיָמָיו הַבַּיִת וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְנוּ בְּיָמָיו הַבַּיִת*.

The plural in 1 Chr 17,13LXX probably resulted from inner-Greek assimilation to 2 Sam 7,15LXX (see previous note). The double reading in 2 Sam 7,15Syr likely emerged under the influence of Chronicles. In Chronicles, the somewhat mysterious-sounding yet banal reading *אשר היה לפניך* makes good sense, since Saul is *not* mentioned there, and the phrase *אשר היה לפניך* functions as the only indirect object. In the first member of the doublet in 2 Sam 7,15Syr, this elliptic precision following Saul's name sounds awkward.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Carlson, David, p. 108; the comparison with Gen 49,10 is taken over from B. Jakob, *Das erste Buch der Tora*, Berlin 1934, p. 901 (quoted according to Carlson).

¹⁶⁹ So already Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 172; S. R. Driver, *Notes*, p. 276; Smith, *Samuel*, p. 302; McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 194-5. Differently Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁰ The same applies to Murray's reconstruction *אשר היה לפניך* כִּי יִבְנוּ בְּיָמָיו הַבַּיִת (p. 73-75).

Some scholars have preferred the reading of 1 Chr 17,13MT since the repetition of the verb *הִסְרָתִי* is not so elegant.¹⁷¹ Murray says that “it is not easy to explain how the reading *הָיָה* might have arisen secondarily, unless as a deliberate change by the Chronicler. But there does not appear to be any obvious reason for such a change.”¹⁷² There are, however, a lot of similar cases of synonymous readings in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17, and this textual difference should be treated together with them (for which see below ch. 2.1.2.9, p. 111ff.).

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

מִלְפָּנֶיךָ; LXX ἐκ προσώπου μου; Syr has both forms, see above; according to BHS, one masoretic ms reads *מִלְפָּנִי* as well; 1 Chr 17,13MT *לְפָנֶיךָ*.

As the presence/absence of *mem* is linked to the verb used, and thus part of the previous variation unit, we are interested here only in the form of the pronominal suffix.

It is tempting to see this textual difference in connection with other textual variations in Samuel that are found in passages where one or several of the witnesses speak about an appearance of a person “before Yhwh” (*לְפָנֵי* יהוה) who, according to the rules effective in the Second Temple period (or at least its later part), should have no right to appear “before Yhwh” in the temple. A well-known example is 1 Samuel 1–2 where in several places in LXX Hannah appears (or has an intention to appear) “before Yhwh”, while MT has a different reading (1 Sam 1,9.11.14.24; 1,28/2,11; cf. also 2,11LXX, and again 2,21LXX concerning Samuel). At least some of these variations in 1 Samuel 1-2 are probably the result of theological correction in MT; the scribe active in proto-MT corrected the text in accordance with the practice of his day to restrict the access of (Jewish) women to the so-called “Women’s court” of the Jerusalem temple, and prohibit them from entering the more inner areas of the temple precinct.¹⁷³ While this kind of correction is frequently carried in an inconsistent manner, it is quite clear that passages of this sort could provoke changes in the text. From this perspective, we might consider the reading of 2 Sam 7,15LXX more ancient and regard MT’s reading as a theologically motivated revision. The stage that followed the change of the pronominal suffix is then *reflected* in 1 Chr 17,13; the 2nd person pronominal suffix brought the verse nearer to Da-

¹⁷¹ Wellhausen, Text, p. 172; S. R. Driver, Notes, p. 276; Smith, Samuel, p. 302; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194-5.

¹⁷² Murray, Prerogative, p. 73. He believes that the second *הִסְרָתִי* in 2 Sam 7,15 is due to dittography under the influence of the first *הִסְרָתִי* which, similarly to the second one, follows the word *אֲשֶׁר*.

¹⁷³ Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 61, 63f., 68f., 87-90, 112, 145f., considers LXX’s reading as more ancient in all of these passages except 1 Sam 1,24. For a summary of the system of graded holiness surrounding Yhwh’s presence in the sanctuary, see Maier, Zwischen den Testamenten, p. 226-228.

vid's history, and that is why Saul's name was added in a second stage in proto-MT.

This scenario is plausible, but not without difficulty. First, it should be noted that the expression *מלפני* does not occur here in a cultic context and does not describe the appearance of someone before Yhwh in a sanctuary (cf. 2 Kgs 17,18.23 etc.). Therefore, it is doubtful that a scribe would feel the need to theologically revise this section of the text specifically (the much more problematic v. 18 goes unchanged in MT). Moreover, 2 Sam 7,15bLXX is perhaps too redundant to represent the original form.¹⁷⁴ The third repetition of the verb *סור* is best justified when it describes something other than the previous two occurrences, i.e. *not* simply the removal of Yhwh's favour. This is the case in 2 Sam 7,15MT, owing to the reading *מלפניך*.¹⁷⁵ If 2 Sam 7,15MT constitutes the most ancient reading (with 15bβ being parallel to v. 9aβ)¹⁷⁶, the reading *מלפני* / ἐκ προσώπου μου in 2 Sam 7,15LXX is probably due to assimilation with other references in the chapter to a person or a thing "before Yhwh" (vv. 16LXX [here preferable].18.26.29).

Between the two adduced possibilities, I tend to prefer the latter, i.e. to consider MT's reading more ancient.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)¹⁷⁷

Verse 16:

:*וְנִאֲמָן בֵּיתָךְ וּמִמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד־עוֹלָם לְפָנֶיךָ בְּסֵאֵף יְהוָה נִבֹּן עַד־עוֹלָם*; LXX καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνθρωπομένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; 1 Chr 17,14 :*וְהָעֲמֻדָּתִיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי וּבְמִלְכוּתִי עַד־עוֹלָם וְכֵסְאוֹ יְהוָה נִבֹּן עַד־עוֹלָם*; 1 Chr 17,14LXX^B καὶ πιστώσω αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ μου καὶ ἐν βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος καὶ (ANS rell ὁ) θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνθρωπομένος ἕως αἰῶνος.

The discussion concerning the possessive suffixes attached to the nouns "house", "kingship" and "throne", as well as other problems connected to these words, is deferred to ch. 2.1.2, p. 92ff. For *לְפָנֶיךָ בְּסֵאֵף*, see below.

:*וְנִאֲמָן*; S ≠ C¹⁷⁸ (t)

¹⁷⁴ This holds even more for LXX's text for the whole verse.

¹⁷⁵ Note that the verse seems even less redundant in MT thanks to the inclusion of the words *מַעַם שְׂאוֹל*, which creates a somewhat greater distance between the identical forms of the verb *סור*. This observation goes slightly against my previous decision to consider these words secondary.

¹⁷⁶ For the use of the larger form of the preposition in a similar context, see Exod 23,28; Deut 9,4 etc.

¹⁷⁷ In this case, evaluating the type of difference that is witnessed here is essentially linked to my understanding of the text's development. Should we accept the first argument in favour of LXX's reading, the difference would be caused by a *tendentious* change. – Let me note that the decisions regarding all the differences in this verse are only tentative.

¹⁷⁸ The pattern might be S ≠ C^{MT ≠ LXX}. According to Rehm, Untersuchungen, p. 69, 1 Chr 17,14LXX reflects the *Vorlage* והאמנתיהו. Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, considers the

יהוה אֲדֹנִי; LXX κτὰ μέμους; Tg יי אלהים; Syr ܐܠܗܝܡ; Vg *Domine Deus*; 1 Chr 17,16 יהוה אֲלֹהֵים.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,18LXX corresponds to MT, and the readings of Tg, Syr and Vg in 2 Sam correspond to the *qere* of MT. The *qere* of 1 Chr 17,16MT corresponds exactly to the *qere* of 2 Sam 7,18MT, although their consonantal readings are different.

The transition from יהוה אֲדֹנִי to יהוה אלהים seems more likely than a transition in the reverse direction. Admittedly, the phrase יהוה אֲדֹנִי is attested in MT nearly eight times more often than יהוה אלהים; still, it seems most likely that the shift was triggered by the replacement of אֲדֹנִי by its (mistakenly) supposed *ketib* יהוה.¹⁸¹ Hence, there is a good chance that MT's reading is the more ancient.

Murray has advanced a rhetorical argument in favour of MT's reading: "In the oracular address in 7.5 and 7.8 David is identified by the term עבְדִי as 'my subject, David'. Moreover, throughout his prayer David refers to himself as עבְדְךָ [...]. The form of divine address which precisely corresponds to this is יהוה אֲדֹנִי, 'my lord Yahweh', the all but uniform reading of 2 Samuel 7 MT [in vv. 18.19(2x).20.22.25.28.29.]."¹⁸² Murray's observation is worth considering, even if I would not go as far as to consider *all* of MT's readings of יהוה אֲדֹנִי in David's prayer, including those where LXX has a different reading, as more ancient.¹⁸³ The uniformity in MT may be the result of secondary harmonization (see below).

S ≠ C (i)

הַבִּיאָתָנִי עַד-הַלֵּם; LXX ἡγάπησάς με ἕως τούτων (Nb fopsuy₂c₂e₂ ἡγάπησάς) (= אהבתני עד הלם); 1 Chr 17,16LXX ἡγάπησάς με ἕως αἰῶνος (= אהבתני עד עולם).

There is no clear intent behind these changes (in either direction), so they are probably the result of scribal error(s). The reading עד עולם in 1 Chr 17,16LXX probably appeared under the influence of numerous occurrences of this phrase in the chapter (2 Sam 7,13.16(2x).24.25.26; cf. also v. 29 where לעולם appears twice; all these occurrences have a parallel in 1 Chr 17). The reading עד הלם also better corresponds to the construction of David's speech, since it is obvious in v. 19 that v. 18 summarizes the great many favours that Yhwh has bestowed upon David *before* the proclamation of the dynastic promise.

As regards the verb, the reading הביאתני of 2 Sam 7,18 is more ancient. V. 18b corresponds to the summary in vv. 8-9.11aβ of the ways that Yhwh has helped David. The transitive verb of movement "you have brought me" in v. 18 agrees with vv. 8-9.11aβ which portray Yhwh as having "taken"

¹⁸¹ Similarly Hong, Euphemism.

¹⁸² Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 77.

¹⁸³ For a convenient overview of various readings in all these places, see the table in Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 74.

David from his flock at a meadow (לקחתִיךָ – v. 8) and accompanying him everywhere he “went” (הלכת – v. 9).

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (ni?)

Verse 19:

עָוָד; missing in LXX, Syr, and 1 Chr 17,17.

The shorter reading may be more ancient.¹⁸⁴

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה (1st occurrence); LXX: BAya₂ κούρε μου; MN rell κούρε μου κούρε; 1 Chr 17,17 אֲלֹהִים. As in the previous occurrence of the address אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה in 2 Sam 7,18MT, the readings of Tg, Syr and Vg in v. 19 correspond to the *qere* of MT.

The short reading of mss BAya₂ might be explained by an inner-Greek haplography; yet since the Greek manuscript tradition presents a similar picture in vv. 20 and 25, it seems that the longer reading in fact constitutes a correction bringing the text closer to a Hebrew text similar to MT. As far as LXX is concerned, the shorter reading is more ancient.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,17 אֱלֹהִים probably presupposes the long reading of 2 Sam 7,19; as in the previous verse, a shift occurred from אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה to אֱלֹהִים and then (unlike the case of the previous verse) the loss of יְהוָה. The variation between 2 Sam 7,19 and 1 Chr 17,17 would otherwise be difficult to explain.

It is difficult, however, to determine whether in 2 Sam 7,19 the shorter reading אֲדֹנִי (LXX) or the longer reading אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה (MT) is more ancient. The longer reading is no doubt old, but it may still be due to assimilation with אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה in the second part of the verse and elsewhere in David's prayer.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)

גָּם; missing in two mss according to BHS, in a rabbinic quotation, in LXX, and in 1 Chr 17,17 as well.

The shorter reading may be more ancient.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

עַל; LXX ὑπὲρ; 1 Chr 17,17 עַל.

LXX indicates that עַל was present in the source used by the Chronicler. The reading עַל is preferable – Yhwh did not speak “to” David's house but “concerning” it (cf. v. 25). The substitution of אַל for עַל is common in Samuel, cf. also the note to v. 28. The idea here that Yhwh has spoken (an oracle) of David's house לְמֵרְחוֹק (“far off”, i.e. concerning the distant future) may be compared to Ezek 12,27 where the house of Israel is reported

¹⁸⁴ It is clear though that similar suggestions carry only very little value since they are based merely on the mechanical application of the rule *lectio brevior potior*.

$$\text{SMT} \neq \text{SLXX C (n)}$$

Formulas such as ...**וְזֹאת תוֹרַת הַאָּדָם** (1) often occur in priestly texts (broadly speaking): Lev 6,2.7.18; 7,1.11.37; 11,46; 12,7; 13,59; 14,2.32.54.57; 15,32; Num 5,29; 6,13.21; Ezek 44,12 (2x). The word **תּוֹרָה** in all these sections means “(single) law”, and the following substantive is always in oblique genitive. In a narrow majority of the mentioned cases (11:9) a sentence like that mentioned above closes the description of the corresponding regulation. In the remaining cases the sentence introduces the description. In view of the common use of the formula, it seems unlikely that the expression **וְזֹאת תוֹרַת הַאָּדָם** in 2 Sam 7,19 would mean “manner of man”, “destiny of man” or something of the sort, as is suggested by modern translations. The enigmatic sentence 19b follows the summary of Yhwh’s oracle concerning the future of David’s dynasty in 19aβ; David then claims in v. 20 that nothing could be added to this oracle. A sentence like ...**וְזֹאת תוֹרַת הַאָּדָם** (1) could thus appear in v. 19b, more or less in accord with its regular usage, as a full stop following a law. In our case, David would rhetorically use this “legal” formula to underline the validity of Yhwh’s promise, in analogy to the texts that call the dynastic promise “a covenant.” The problem is, though, that the meaning of **וְזֹאת תוֹרַת הַאָּדָם** is completely obscure.

¹⁸⁸ Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, p. 231-232. – After the publication of Stoebe's commentary, another emendation (of the text in 1 Chr 17,17) was suggested by Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, p. 678.

An argument against the reading of 2 Sam 7,19 is also represented by the difficult reading of 1 Chr 17,17. *DCH* 5 (p. 405) mentions several attempts to understand 1 Chr 17,17b as e.g. “and you saw me as a line of humanity, the progeny, i.e. you saw me in my all descendants.” Should we ignore the fact that the translation of המעלה as “progeny” is entirely uncertain, the rest of the text could perhaps be understood in this manner in the given context; but the statement would be very peculiar. For this reason the reading of 1 Chr 17,17b is probably not original, and yet it cannot be regarded as a facilitating re-working of 2 Sam 7,19b, since 1 Chr 17,17b is by no means easier to comprehend than 2 Sam 7,19b. This applies especially to the word המעלה, since nothing in 2 Sam 7,19b corresponds to it, and it is probably the most difficult part of 1 Chr 17,17b. This indicates that 1 Chr 17,17b is not a free re-working of 2 Sam 7,19b, but rather a damaged text that should be taken into consideration when reconstructing the original text in 2 Sam 7,19b. While many previous scholars have arrived at the same conclusion, none of their suggested reconstructions are satisfactory, and so I prefer to abandon the attempt to find the original reading, as some scholars have also done¹⁸⁹.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n, i)

אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה (2nd occurrence in the verse); LXX κύριέ μου κύριε; 1 Chr 17,17 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

The same situation as in v. 18; the reading of 2 Sam 7,19MT is most likely more ancient.

S ≠ C (i)

At the end of the verse, LXX^L adds πρὸς σέ.

The word אֵלֶיךָ appears at different places in the witnesses in v. 20a. In LXX^L it wrongly occurs at the end of v. 19a as well.

Verse 20:

מָה; 1 Chr 17,18 מָה.

S ≠ C (i)

עוֹד; pc mss and a rabbinical quotation עוד דוד; Syr ܥܘܕ ܕܕܐܕܡ; 1 Chr 17,18 עוֹד דָּוִיד.

When the hiph. of the verb יסֶף is immediately followed by the particle עוד and the subject of the verb, the normal order is that which is attested here in 1 Chr 17,18, i.e. with the subject following the particle (Num 22,15; Judg 9,37; 11,14; 13,21; 1 Sam 23,4; 2 Sam 2,22; 5,22 [= 1 Chr 14,13]; 18,22; 2 Kgs 6,23; 24,7; Isa 10,20). The majority reading of MT in 2 Sam 7, confirmed by LXX, is thus *lectio difficilior* and is likely more ancient.

¹⁸⁹ Including Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, p. 231-232; Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 77-78.

The unusual word order may be due to the author's attempt to place the emphasis on David, in order to contrast him with Yhwh who is referred to by the pronominal suffix in the word אֱלֹהֶיךָ at the very end of the clause.¹⁹⁰

S ≠ C (i)

לְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהֶיךָ; 1 Chr 17,18MT אֶת-עַבְדְּךָ לְכַבֹּד אֱלֹהֶיךָ; 1 Chr 17,18LXX πρὸς σὲ τοῦ δοξάσαι; mss iny add σὲ, mss be₂ add σε τον δουλον σου. The word δοξάσαι presupposes לכבוד.

The sentence carries a completely different meaning in 2 Sam 7 than in 1 Chr 17,18: while in 2 Sam 7 David poses a rhetorical question concerning what he might say vis-à-vis all that Yhwh promised to him, in 1 Chr 17 he asks (again, rhetorically) what he could add to the “glorification” (in the majority reading of LXX it is clearly the glorification of Yhwh, in the manuscripts be₂ it is the glorification of “your servant”, and in MT the text makes little sense). In 1 Chr 17,18LXX the text thus seems to anticipate the following doxology in 1 Chr 17,19-22 in a more pronounced way than in 2 Sam 7. Other variant readings in the following text could be related to these variants.

1 Chr 17,18MT cannot be original, and 1 Chr 17,18LXX also seems clumsy. It is strange that MT reads the words אֶת עַבְדְּךָ after לְכַבֹּד where they make no sense, while the major (and perhaps older) Greek text does not contain these words after the verb δοξάσαι, and the verb is then, surprisingly, without an object.

The easiest way to explain the origin of these variant readings is probably to consider the reading of 2 Sam 7 as the most ancient. The shift from לְדַבֵּר to לְכַבֹּד may be due to a scribal mistake. Then, as the word אֱלֹהֶיךָ would not have a sense after לְכַבֹּד, it was moved before the verb. This is the majority reading of 1 Chr 17,18LXX. The verbs לְכַבֹּד or δοξάσαι in Greek without an explicitly expressed object were felt to be too clumsy, which has led to some further developments. It is difficult though to determine which of the attested Greek readings reflect developments of the Hebrew text. The reading of mss iny δοξάσαι σὲ would correspond to לְכַבֹּד in Hebrew, yet it may be an inner-Greek development. By contrast, the words τον δουλον σου in mss be₂ probably do not present an inner-Greek development, since they also occur in this place in MT (see below). It is not entirely clear, however, whether the reading of mss be₂ reflects the Hebrew text אֶת לְכַבֹּד

¹⁹⁰ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 78, on the other hand, builds on Peshitta's reading (note that the reading “your servant David” also appears in a Sahidic ms, see the apparatus in Brooke - McLean – Thackeray) to reconstruct עַבְדְּךָ עוֹד as the original reading. Peshitta's reading would then be “a conflate of the original and the corrected reading.” Murray points out that David refers to himself in the rest of the prayer as עַבְדְּךָ (vv. 19.20.21.25. 27[2x]. 28.29[2x]) or עַבְדְּךָ דָּוִד (v. 26), which seems to be more accurate in the context of David's self-abasing speech. – On the other hand, such a reflection may well be behind Peshitta's reading, assimilating the self-reference in v. 20a to the one used in v. 26.

עבדך, or, as Murray suggests, אַת עבדך appeared in the text as the (only) object of לִכְבֹּד¹⁹¹. Should Murray be right on that point (and I do find that likely), mss be₂ present a mixed text where the Greek text δοξάσαι σε was corrected according to the Hebrew text reading אַת עבדך לִכְבֹּד merely by adding τον δούλον σου. At any rate, אַת עבדך seems to be borrowed from the following clause.

In a different stream of textual tradition, which later led to 1 Chr 17MT, לִכְבֹּד without an object was construed as the substantive לִכְבָּב(ו). MT represents a mixed (and meaningless) text where אַת עבדך appears after לִכְבֹּד (we have already noted a similar development in 1 Chr 17,10). This tentative reconstruction is summarized in *Table 4*.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

וְעַתָּה אַתָּה; LXX καὶ νῦν σὺ = וְעַתָּה אַתָּה.

At first glance, MT seems to be a result of an omission, but its mechanism is not entirely clear. One could also imagine that the more ancient reading was the one attested in MT. A shift would then have occurred from וְעַתָּה to ¹⁹²וְעַתָּה, but later אַתָּה was inserted into the text after וְעַתָּה, since in rhetorically loaded sentences that begin with “You know...”, the subject is often expressed by an independent pronoun (cf. Gen 30,26.29; Exod 32,22; Num 20,14; Deut 9,2; Jos 14,6; 1 Sam 28,9; 2 Sam 17,8; 1 Kgs 2,5.15.44; 5,17.20; 8,39 [= 2 Chr 6,30]; 2 Kgs 4,1; Ps 40,10; 69,6.20; 139,2; 142,4; Jer 15,15; 17,16; 18,23; Ezek 37,3).

SMT C ≠ SLXX (n)

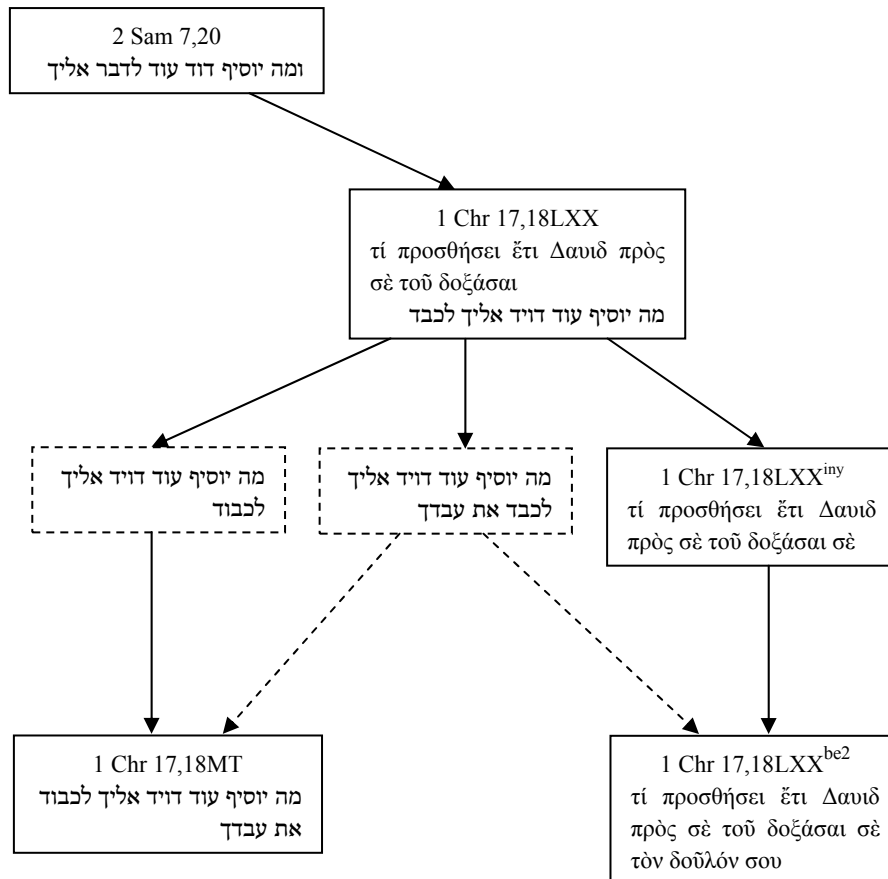
אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ יִדְעֶתָ; LXX οἶδας τὸν δοῦλόν σου; LXX^L τὸν δοῦλόν σου οἶδας; 1 Chr 17,18 אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ יִדְעֶתָ.

The agreement of LXX^L and 1 Chr 17,18 might indicate that LXX^L is based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*, and that in the text of Samuel available to the Chronicler, the verb followed after the object. How one evaluates LXX^L's reading largely depends on one's understanding of this witness in general. According to de Lagard's principles, LXX^L's reading should be considered as OG (though I find it difficult to believe that ms B contains such minuscule approximations to proto-MT). Alternatively, following Cross's model, LXX^L might have been corrected according to a Hebrew text of Samuel which had this reading attested also in Chronicles.

¹⁹¹ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 79: “... subsequently לִכְבֹּד attracts אַת (את) to it as object.”

¹⁹² The same confusion appears in 1 Kgs 1,18b. Here it seems that LXX's reading καὶ σὺ (וְאַתָּה, the same reading appears in numerous Hebrew mss together with other witnesses) is more ancient than L's reading וְעַתָּה. See commentaries *ad loc*.

Table 4 – The development of the text in 2 Sam 7,20 and 1 Chr 17,18. The variants enclosed by the intermittent lines are not attested.



The usual word order is that of 2 Sam 7,20MT (and the majority of LXX), cf. Gen 30,26.29; Num 20,14; Exod 32,22; Jos 14,6; 1 Sam 28,9; 2 Sam 17,8; 1 Kgs 2,5.44; 5,20; 8,39 (= 2 Chr 6,30); Ps 69,20; 139,2; 142,4; Jer 17,16; 18,23. For this reason, Murray prefers the reading of 2 Sam 7,20LXX^L and 1 Chr 17,18 as *lectio difficilior* (“[it] is the more likely inadvertently to be changed to the other”) with greater rhetorical force.¹⁹³

However, the shift from the usual order in 2 Sam 7,20MT + LXX rell to that attested in 2 Sam 7,20LXX^L and 1 Chr 17,18 seems plausible as well. First, it might be due to a scribal mistake. In the manuscript that would be at the origin of the text’s corruption, the word could have been written

¹⁹³ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 79.

plene ידעתה. This manner of writing the 2nd p. sg. m. is very common in Qumran and well attested in epigraphic Hebrew of the 7th-6th c. B.C.E.¹⁹⁴ The forms of 2nd p. sg. m. with a final -תה also appear in MT of the books of Samuel, with the form גליתה appearing in 2 Sam 7,27 (1 Chr 17,25 contains a more common form¹⁹⁵ גלית); the specific form ידעתה is found in 2 Sam 2,26. The scribe that copied the text could have omitted the word ידעתה due to homoioteleuton with the preceding word; the sentence would then lack a predicate, which becomes obvious after the words את עבדך; for that reason the scribe would have here added the original verb at the last moment. Admittedly, the likelihood that this parablepsis occurred would be even greater if the verb was immediately preceded by ועתה. Yet, as is apparent from the previous note, I tend to consider the reading ואתה more ancient.¹⁹⁶

Another reason for the shift from the word order in 2 Sam 7,20MT + LXX rell to that attested in 2 Sam 7,20LXX^L and 1 Chr 17,18 might be the fact that in Hebrew the former text *theoretically* permitted the reading of the divine title at the end of the verse in apposition to the word עבדך. Perhaps a scribe judged a text that *could* be read this way as clumsy.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (ni?)

יְהוָה; pc mss אֱלֹהִים; LXX κούε (mss BANya₂); ms M and the majority of other mss κούε σου κούε; 1 Chr 17,19MT יְהוָה; no equivalent appears in 1 Chr 17,19LXX.

Again, the short reading of mss BANya₂ could be the result of an inner-Greek haplography; yet as the Greek manuscript tradition presents a similar picture in vv. 19.20.25, it seems that the longer reading in the majority of Greek mss is a correction that brings the text closer to a Hebrew text similar to MT. The OG may therefore be the shorter reading.

¹⁹⁴ As stated by Gogel, Grammar, p. 83, the 2nd m. sg. perfect of the qal with -t suffix in the epigraphic Hebrew from the pre-Persian periods "is only slightly more common than those forms with -th suffix." For the discussion of the morphology of the 2nd m. sg. perfect, see *ibid.*, p. 82-88. The form ידעתה appears in Lachish 2,6; Lachish 3,8 and Arad 40,9.

¹⁹⁵ For other attestations of this kind of variation between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, see Gogel, Grammar, p. 86-87.

¹⁹⁶ We may imagine a similar (yet, in my view, less likely) process of parablepsis and subsequent restitution even *without* postulating that at one time the verb was written with the long ending -תה. The word ידעת may have been omitted due to homoioteleuton with the (present or presumed) short form of the preceding form of the 2nd p. sg. m. personal pronoun את. This short form of the pronoun is attested a few times in MT (e.g. Deut 5,27); these occurrences may either be considered archaisms or as the result of Aramaic influence. The short form of the pronoun [ת]א is reconstructed in Ajrud 15,3, which is, in fact, the only attestation of the 2nd p. sg. m. independent pronoun in epigraphic Hebrew (see the discussion in Gogel, Grammar, p. 153). Again, the same kind of parablepsis could be imagined if the verb was immediately preceded by the short form ועת, which seems to appear in Ezek 23,43 (and Ps 74,6?) and which is common in epigraphic Hebrew (for the list of occurrences see Gogel, Grammar, p. 363).

As for MT, the more ancient reading is אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה, as is found in most mss. In the reading אֲדֹנֵי אֱלֹהִים, a change of *ketib* according to *qere* has occurred.

The short reading of 1 Chr 17,19MT corresponds to 2 Sam 7,20LXX. It is perfectly plausible that the longer reading of MT is a result of harmonization with other instances of אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה in David's prayer.

SMT ≠ SLXX CMT ≠ CLXX (i, n)

Verse 21:

עֲשֵׂיתָ בְּעִבּוֹר דְּבָרְךָ וְכִלְבֵּךְ עֲשֵׂיתָ; LXX^B διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας; LXX^L διὰ τὸν λόγον σου καὶ διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου πεποίηκας; 1 Chr 17,19MT בְּעִבּוֹר עֲשֵׂיתָ וְכִלְבֵּךְ עֲשֵׂיתָ; 1 Chr 17,19LXX καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου; 1 Chr 17,19LXX^{be2} διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου.

2 Sam 7,21LXX^L offers a double reading, where the old Greek reading was appended with the reading attested in MT. The reading of LXX^B is clearly older than LXX^L. The reading of LXX^B corresponds to בְּעִבּוֹר עֲשֵׂיתָ, which is often considered problematic. According to Wellhausen, the original reading of LXX was only διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας; the following καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας is regarded by Wellhausen as an addition based on the reading of 1 Chr 17.¹⁹⁷ Driver notes that πεποίηκας has no object, and so he considers καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας to be a later addition.¹⁹⁸

The short reading of 1 Chr 17,19LXX does not differ from MT merely on account of the absence of בְּעִבּוֹר עֲשֵׂיתָ, but also because of the absence of any address to God, which was probably originally part of the preceding clause in MT's text (although the masoretic accentuation in 1 Chr 17,19MT understands it as an introduction to v. 19). The absence of an equivalent of בְּעִבּוֹר עֲשֵׂיתָ in 1 Chr 17,19LXX is probably due to homoioteleuton with the preceding אֵת עֲשֵׂיתָ in the previous verse, despite the fact that the verb יַדַּעַת, which in 1 Chr 17,18MT is between אֵת עֲשֵׂיתָ and the omitted words, remained in LXX.

The (probably) secondary reading of LXX^B could have developed in both the Hebrew and the Greek text. It is clear though, that the postulated short עֲשֵׂיתָ בְּעִבּוֹר עֲשֵׂיתָ does not have to be older than MT, since it may have originated with the omission of וְכִלְבֵּךְ due to homoioteleuton (analogically in Greek as well). As there is no particular reason for adding וְכִלְבֵּךְ, this explanation seems the most plausible.

As far as דְּבָרְךָ or עֲשֵׂיתָ is concerned, Wellhausen had already noticed that if וְכִלְבֵּךְ was original, then its presence would be an argument for דְּבָרְךָ.¹⁹⁹ It is also easy to imagine that עֲשֵׂיתָ appeared here secondarily under the influ-

¹⁹⁷ Wellhausen, Text, p. 173.

¹⁹⁸ Driver, Notes, p. 277. Driver mistakenly ascribes this remark to Wellhausen.

¹⁹⁹ Wellhausen, Text, p. 173.

ence of other occurrences of the word in this and the previous verse, and also in David's prayer in general (in MT 2 Sam 7,18-29, the expression occurs twentyfold). The shift towards עבדך may also have been influenced by the graphic similarity to the preceding בעבור.²⁰⁰ The reading of 2 Sam 7,21MT is thus probably more ancient than the other variants.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

כל־הַגְדִּלוֹתָ; LXX^L πᾶσαν τὴν μεγαλωσύνην σου.

LXX^L adds the pronoun to the only noun that was lacking it in the immediate context.

הָזֵאת לְהוֹדִיעַ אֶת־כָּל־הַגְדִּלוֹתָ; 1 Chr 17,19MT ; an equivalent is missing in the old text of 1 Chr 17,19LXX; 1 Chr 17,19Tg להודעא ית עבדך ית כל רברבתא.

The absence of these words in 1 Chr 17,19LXX is due to parablepsis after the preceding expression את כל הגדולה. It probably occurred during the stage of development that gave rise to the Hebrew text that was then available to the Greek translator.

As noted in the apparatus of BHS, the direct object את כל הגדלות in 1 Chr 17,19MT to a certain extent graphically resembles the words על כן גדלת, which introduce the following verse in 2 Sam 7MT, and which are in fact missing in 1 Chr 17,20 (see the following note). That means that nothing in 1 Chr 17,19MT corresponds to the expression את עבדך. Irrespective of whether את כל הגדלות (1 Chr 17,19MT) or על כן גדלת (2 Sam 7,22MT) is more ancient, the absence of את עבדך in 1 Chr 17,19MT may well be explained by parablepsis in 1 Chr: the verb להודיע originally had here two objects introduced by the particle את, and then the first object was later omitted. A text with two objects in 1 Chr 17,19 is attested in Tg.

The presence of את עבדך is, consequently, more ancient. For the discussion of על כן גדלת and את כל הגדלות see the following note.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 22:

עַל־כֵּן גָּדַלְתָּ; LXX ἕνεκεν τοῦ μεγαλῦναί σε; 1 Chr 17,19MT אֶת־כָּל־הַגְדִּלוֹתָ; 1 Chr 17,19LXX has no equivalent to these readings.

In all other occurrences in LXX of 2 Samuel, ἕνεκεν and ἕνεκα always translate בעבור (6,12; 9,1; 12,21.25; 18,18) or לבעבור (14,20); in the two last mentioned passages, (ל)בעבור appears before a construct infinitive. It thus seems likely that in 2 Sam 7,22, the translator of LXX read (or thought to have read) (ל)בעבור גדלך.²⁰¹

Finding strong arguments in favour of one of these readings against the other variants is rather difficult. (ל)בעבור in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,22LXX

²⁰⁰ So Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 79.

²⁰¹ As recognized by McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 234.

might be a result of an assimilation with **בַּעֲבוּר** in the previous verse. In LXX's wording, the clause in v. 22a must be understood as part of the sentence in v. 21; yet read in this way, the sentence becomes too clumsy to be the original reading. In LXX, with its reading **בַּעֲבוּר עֲבֹדֶךָ** at the beginning of v. 21, there even exists a strong tension within vv. 21-22: did Yhwh act for the sake of his servant or for the sake of his own greatness? The reading of 1 Chr 17,19MT is not very elegant either, but the reading of 2 Sam 7MT is somewhat obscure as well.²⁰²

There is, perhaps, a stylistic observation that may support MT's reading. In his prayer, David addresses Yhwh by his name ten times in 2 Sam 7 (vv. 18.19a.19b.20²⁰³.22.24.25.27²⁰⁴.28.29²⁰⁵); the name is often developed with another title, in MT of 2 Sam 7 mostly as **אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה**.²⁰⁶ The position of the address in the sentence seems to follow some basic rules. If we exclude the address in v. 22, which is under consideration here, we may observe the following:

1) The address does not seem to appear at the beginning of a clause, at least so far as 2 Sam 7MT is concerned. The address either appears at the end of a simple sentence (vv. 18.19a.19b.20) or in the second position in a clause (24.25.27.28.29)²⁰⁷.

A few qualifying remarks are, however, necessary. In 2 Sam 7,20, the masoretic division of the verses attaches the address to the preceding clause. While I prefer this understanding of the text, it is impossible to eliminate the possibility that the address was meant as an introduction to the following sentence in v. 21, which, in fact, is the way the text is understood by the masoretic pointing in 1 Chr 17,19.

Moreover, the image becomes somewhat more blurred if we take the Septuagint and the text of Chronicles into account. At the beginning of 2 Sam 7,27LXX^B there is no equivalent to the words **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ** that open the verse in MT. Therefore, the long address **κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεός Ισραηλ (יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל)** may be understood as either closing the preceding clause (in LXX^B, only **μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος** – **יגדל שמך עד עולם** appears in v. 26), or as introducing the following sentence. In the latter case, the address would appear at the beginning of a clause.

Unlike 2 Sam 7,20, 1 Chr 17,18 does not begin with the conjunction **ו**. Therefore it is impossible to say whether the address **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ** at the end of 1 Chr 17,16 is to be read with the preceding or the following clause (the masoretic pointing attaches it to the preceding clause, while the apparatus of BHS proposes to read these words with what immediately follows).

2) The address tends to appear immediately after a marker of the divine 2nd p. sg. – an independent pronoun in 2 Sam 7,24.27.29 and a pronominal suffix in vv. 19a.20. This is a quasi-“natural” stylistic procedure – a person is explicitly addressed immediately after being referred to by an expression of the 2nd person.

²⁰² What is the referent of **עֲלֵי־כֶן**? Is Yhwh great, because he announced “the great thing” or “the greatness” to David, or because there is no one like Him?

²⁰³ Missing in 1 Chr 17,19LXX due to haplography, as mentioned above.

²⁰⁴ Any address apart of **סוּ** is missing in 1 Chr 17,25LXX^B.

²⁰⁵ Missing in 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B.

²⁰⁶ The actual form of the address often varies between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17, and among the versions. This, however, does not greatly affect the following observations.

²⁰⁷ Not counting the particle **כִּי** in vv. 27.29.

Again, the texts in 2 Sam 7LXX and in Chronicles present some differences. The independent pronoun is missing in 2 Sam 7,27LXX^B, while the address is omitted in the Greek text of 1 Chr 17,19.25.27. The address יהוה at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,19MT, corresponding to אֲדֹנִי יהוה at the end of 2 Sam 7,20, does not follow after the pronominal suffix of the 2nd p. sg., because the preceding clause has a different word order in Chronicles than is found in Samuel. This, however, does not greatly affect our general observation, since in 1 Chr 17,19MT the address appears after the verb in the 2nd p. sg. יִדְעַת.

The Septuagint and the text of the Chronicles (MT and LXX) thus manifest some deviations from the adduced stylistic tendencies. In most cases, however, these variants are probably secondary. On the other hand, even if we keep with MT of 2 Sam 7, these trends concerning the position of the divine address are by no means fixed rules; the second tendency outlined above manifests itself only in five out of nine cases (still excluding 2 Sam 7,22).

All these qualifications notwithstanding, it seems to me that there is some support for the reading of 2 Sam 7,22MT על בן גדלת. The address יהוה at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,20 must be read either as the last word of the long sentence in v. 19²⁰⁸ or as the first word of the short nominal clause in v. 20aα. The latter reading, adopted by the masoretic division of the verses, seems stylistically preferable, yet *both* alternatives would be unusual in the text of 2 Sam 7 (which we try to establish in these notes).

In 2 Sam 7,22LXX, the address²⁰⁹ follows after a 2nd p. pronominal suffix. It concludes the long sentence running throughout vv. 21-22a, which is rather unusual in 2 Sam 7, but perhaps this observation does not hold much weight, since the address is, above all, attached to the short infinitival clause in v. 22a. Yet, on balance, I do not think that 2 Sam 7,22aLXX is the original text, since, with its repetition of (ל)בעבור at its beginning and its end, the proposition in vv. 21-22a seems too clumsy, being at the same time circular and somewhat self-contradictory.

In 2 Sam 7,22aMT, the address אֲדֹנִי יהוה concludes a short sentence and follows a verb in the 2nd p. sg. This agrees with both aforementioned tendencies of David's prayer in 2 Sam 7, and I tend to consider MT's reading על בן גדלת more ancient.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i? [the difference between SLXX and the other witnesses], n [at least the difference between CMT and CLXX])

יהוה; אֲדֹנִי יהוה; permlt mss אֱלֹהִים יהוה; LXX^{Bay} κύριε κύριε μου; LXX^{MNrell} κύριε κύριε μου; 1 Chr 17,20 יהוה.

²⁰⁸ In 1 Chr 17,19LXX the sentence is much more simple and shorter. Yet, as mentioned above, the short reading is secondary.

²⁰⁹ In LXX^B, the address is κύριε κύριε μου and may be the result of an inner Greek corruption, as argued by Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 76. We shall leave the form of the address aside for now.

Murray is right in claiming that the reading $\kappa\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\omicron\varsigma$ is due to an inner Greek corruption. “[A] Hebrew reading יהוה אדני would be completely without parallel. Either the $\mu\omicron\varsigma$ alone, or the combination $\kappa\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\omicron\varsigma$ was accidentally omitted, and then carelessly inserted in the wrong place.”²¹⁰ OG’s reading thus most likely agreed with יהוה אדני attested in some of the masoretic mss, including L. Other masoretic mss give the *qere* of יהוה אדני, and are therefore most likely secondary.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,22 might be the result of harmonization with the other occurrences of יהוה אדני in the prayer; moreover, the reading of 1 Chr 17,20 is shorter. That said, these considerations may prove irrelevant since we are not, in fact, comparing two textual witnesses of one literary work, but rather variant readings belonging to two different compositions. Generally, in the absence of stronger arguments for considering the Chronicles’ reading more ancient in Samuel as well, it seems wiser to follow the reading יהוה אדני attested in 2 Sam 7,22 (further discussion on the value of the Chronicles’ readings will be provided at the end of the chapter).

S \neq C (i)

כי; omitted in 1 Chr 17,20.

The omission is linked to the secondary reading את כל הגדלות at the end of 1 Chr 17,19MT.²¹¹ With respect to the wording of 1 Chr 17,19, a scribe (the Chronicler?) preferred to understand the address יהוה in v. 20 as the first word of a new sentence, and not as the end of the preceding sentence, which it is in 2 Sam 7. The occurrence of the particle כי following the address at the beginning of the sentence was regarded as clumsy, and therefore omitted.

S \neq C (n)

אלהים; omitted in 1 Chr 17,20LXX.

The omission is most likely secondary. It may be an intentional attempt to improve the parallelism between אין במוך and זולתך (אלהים) אין.

S CMT \neq CLXX (i)

בכל; permlt mss בכל; Tg בכל; Syr omits the word. In 1 Chr 17,20, the situation is similar: MT’s majority reading is בכל, but mlt mss have בכל; 1 Chr 17,20LXX κατὰ πάντα; Tg בכל; Syr כל.

The reading בכל, attested in the majority of MT’s mss in both 2 Sam 7,22 and 1 Chr 17,20, together with 2 Sam 7,22LXX, seems more ancient. ב may have changed into כ under the influence of the כ which follows.

S CMT \neq CLXX (n)

²¹⁰ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 76.

²¹¹ 1 Chr 17,19b is missing in LXX due to parablepsis.

Verse 23:

וַיָּמִי; 1 Chr 17,21 καὶ οὐκ.

The reading καὶ οὐκ may presuppose the *Vorlage* וַיָּמִי. It is probably due to assimilation with the previous verse.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

יִשְׂרָאֵל; nonn mss יִשְׂרָאֵל; LXX Ἰσραηλ; 1 Chr 17,21 יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Since the preceding word ends with *kaph*, the preposition before יִשְׂרָאֵל could have appeared due to dittography or, on the contrary, could have been easily omitted. On the other hand, it is common to find in this chapter this kind of variation in which the preposition is repeated before the word standing in apposition in some of the witnesses, while in others it is not. The reading without two prepositions is *lectio brevior*, while simultaneously it is no doubt the easier reading. It seems most natural to consider the frequent use of apposition and the repetition of prepositions to be the work of the text's author. The occasional omissions of the preposition ante the apposition would then be attributed to the copyists. The opposite scenario, in which this significant feature of the chapter emerged secondarily as a result of the work of a copyist (or copyists), is less probable.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (ni?)

Furthermore, the verse contains several interrelated textual problems, which should be at least partially dealt with in one section. The discussion follows an overview of the variant readings.

אָחָד; LXX ἄλλο (= אַחֵר); missing in Vg; 1 Chr 17,21MT אָחָד; 1 Chr 17,21LXX ἔτι (= usually thought to correspond to אַחֵר as well²¹²; Murray²¹³, however, believes that LXX's *Vorlage* was עוֹד).

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX CLXX (n)

הָלְכוּ; LXX ὠδήγησεν αὐτὸν; LXX^L ὠδήγησας αὐτὸν; 1 Chr 17,21MT הָלְכוּ; 1 Chr 17,21LXX ὠδήγησεν αὐτὸν.

According to Cross *et al.*, the reading of 2 Sam 7LXX presupposes הוֹלִיךְ אֹתוֹ, while LXX^L presupposes הוֹלִכְתּוֹ, which they consider to be a corruption of הוֹלִיךְ אֹתוֹ.²¹⁴ On the other hand, McCarter points out that LXX might have interpreted the form הִלְכוּ as a hiphil with an objective suffix.²¹⁵

It would be erroneous, though, to follow Cross's reconstruction of the development that led to the reading of 2 Sam 7LXX^L. LXX^L in v. 23 con-

²¹² So e.g. Barthélemy, CTAT I, p. 247.

²¹³ Murray, Prerogative, p. 81.

²¹⁴ Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 131; they further reconstruct the reading הוֹלִיךְ אֹתוֹ in 4QSam^a as well.

²¹⁵ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234. McCarter considers this meaning of the form to be more ancient.

tains an entirely coherent text in the 2nd p. sg. (see also the note related to the first לֹ of the verse, where LXX^L, unlike the other witnesses, reads σεαυτῷ). The 2nd person ὁδηγήσας can therefore hardly be regarded as an error. It is rather part of a harmonizing treatment. This, of course, also gives cause to question the reconstruction אֶתְּ הוֹלִיךְ in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7LXX. McCarter's suggestion is therefore more likely.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

אֶלֶּהִים; 4QSam^a [הִים] אֶלֶּי; LXX ὁ θεός; 1 Chr 17,21 אֶלֶּהִים;
4QSam^a SMT ≠ SLXX C (it?)

לֹ (1st); LXX^L σεαυτῷ.

The reading σεαυτῷ is part of the rewriting that leads to the coherent text in the 2nd p. sg. in LXX^L (see above).

עָלֶי; LXX λαόν; Tg עָלֶי; Syr ܥܠܝ; 1 Chr 17,21 עָלֶי.
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

וְלִשְׁוֹם; LXX τοῦ θέσθαι; 1 Chr 17,21 וְלִשְׁוֹם.
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

לֹ; LXX σε; 1 Chr 17,21MT לֹ; 1 Chr 17,21LXX αὐτῷ.
SMT CLXX ≠ SLXX CMT (it?)

וְלִעֲשׂוֹת; 4QSam^a שׁוֹת[לע(ו)]; LXX τοῦ ποιῆσαι; 1 Chr 17,21 omits the word.
SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n)

כָּפֶל; pc mss להם; missing in one ms; Vg eis; Syr ܠܗ; omitted in 4QSam^{a216}, LXX, 1 Chr 17,21.
SMT ≠ SLXX 4QSam^a C (i)

הַגְדֹּלָה; LXX μεγαλωσύνην; 1 Chr 17,21MT הַגְדֹּלָה; 1 Chr 17,21LXX μέγα (גדול).
SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

וְנִרְאִיתָ; LXX καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν; 1 Chr 17,21LXX καὶ ἐπιφανές.

The reading καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν of 2 Sam 7,23LXX may correspond to וּמְרֵאָה; similarly, the reading of 1 Chr 17,21LXX may correspond to

²¹⁶ It has to be admitted though, that the fragment contains only an incomplete first letter of the following word, which cannot be perfectly identified. What I find particularly problematic is the fact that the letter starts higher than the previous *tāw*, and therefore could be, in the end, a *lāmed*. On the other hand, the line seems to be rising straight up, perhaps a little to the left, but definitely not to the right, as it would be the case with *lāmed*.

וּנְרָאָה.²¹⁷ On the other hand, the niph'al participle of יִרָא seems in some cases to be translated into the Greek as if derived from the verb רָאָה (cf. Judg [ms A] 13,6; Ezek 1,22; Joel 2,11; 3,4; Hab 1,7; Zep 2,11; Mal 1,14; 3,23). This may indicate that the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,23LXX could also have been וּנְרָאָה, and the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,21LXX could have been וּנְרָאָה.²¹⁸

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (n)

לְגֵרֶשׁ; LXX τοῦ ἐβαλεῖν σε; Syr ܠܓܪܝܫ; 1 Chr 17,21 לְגֵרֶשׁ.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n)

לְ; omitted in 1 Chr 17,21.

S ≠ C (i)

גוֹיִם; 2 mss גוי; 1 Ms גוים; Syr ܕܡܠܟܐ; Vg *gentem*.

וְאֱלֹהֵי; 4QSam^a וְאֱלֹהִים; LXX καὶ σαρκώματα; Syr ܡܠܟܐ; Vg *et deum eius*; the word is omitted in 1 Chr 17,21.

According to BHS, the reading וְאֱלֹהִים should be restored in 1 Chr 17,21, the omission being due to homoioteleuton. According to Cross *et al.*, “1 Chronicles exhibits here a rare example of the suppression of a faulty reading” (i.e. וְאֱלֹהִים).²¹⁹

SMT ≠ 4QSam^a SLXX ≠ C (n, i?)

The interpretation of variant readings in 2 Sam 7,23 has been until now influenced by Abraham Geiger's 1857 opus magnum *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*.²²⁰ Geiger treats this verse in connection with other passages that he suggests were changed as a result of confusion over whether the expression אֱלֹהִים or אֵל denotes Yhwh or other god(s). The original meaning of 2 Sam 7,23 was, according to Geiger, probably the following: „Und welches ist wie Dein Volk Israel ein *anderes* (אַחֵר) Volk auf Erden, welches ein Gott gegangen sich zu erlösen zum Volke, ihm einen Namen zu machen, *ihm* (לֹ) Grosses und Furchtbares zu erweisen, vor *seinem* Volke zu vertreiben (ein anderes) Volk und seinen Gott (לְגֵרֶשׁ מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ)“

²¹⁷ Both retroversions are suggested by Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 81.

²¹⁸ It seems that the translator of the Twelve Prophets systematically understood the niph. ptc. of יִרָא to be derived from רָאָה. There is, however, no similar comparative material in 2 Samuel and Chronicles. 2 Sam 7,23 is the only occurrence of the niph. ptc. of יִרָא in 2 Samuel. Apart from 1 Chr 17,21, 1 Chr 16,25 represents the only other occurrence of where MT has נִרְאָה and LXX reads φοβερός in Chronicles. The witness of 1 Chr 16,25, however, is somewhat problematic because it is a quotation of Ps 96,4, and the Greek of 1 Chr 16,25 may have been influenced by the translation of the Psalm. In Greek, the verse has exactly the same wording in both places.

²¹⁹ Cross *et al.*, *DJD XVII*, p. 131.

²²⁰ Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 288-289.

הלך (so 2 Sam 7,23LXX and 1 Chr 17,21) was changed to the pl. הלכו (so 2 Sam 23MT). On the other hand, even the possibility that another god might choose a different nation and do magnificent deeds for them seemed problematic, and so everything was related back to Yhwh and Israel. Geiger suggests that the result of this interpretation might be found in the reading לשום לך in 1 Chr 17,21 (against לו in 2 Sam); as well as in לכם and לארצך in 2 Sam 7,23MT; and in עמך and ממצרים (לך) אשר פדית, which appear in both 2 Sam and 1 Chr. Similarly, the sg. גוי is replaced by the pl. גוים, since multiple nations were expelled from the land. In the first part of the verse, the reinterpretation goes even further in part of the tradition: merely to compare Israel with another nation is regarded as inappropriate, and אחר is changed into אחד. Geiger ascribes this correction to “the Babylonian authorities” and understands the resultant meaning of the half-verse as: Who is like your people Israel the only (i.e. chosen) people? In Geiger’s view, the variants in the two final words of the verse reflect that the original גוי ואלהיו had to be related to the verb פדית after the insertion of ממצרים (לך) אשר פדית. 1 Chr 17,23 simply shortens the text to גוים (but why would the scribe not keep the sg. form, which would seem more logical?), while LXX willfully translates as καὶ ἀνασώματα, as if the Hebrew text were ואהלים. (Unlike in Geiger’s time, the Hebrew reading ואהלים is today attested in 4QSam^a, but this may make very little change to Geiger’s argument; the voluntary change would only have to be situated in the Hebrew textual tradition behind 4QSam^a and LXX’s *Vorlage*.²²²)

At least some part of the variant readings in the verse may indeed have originated in scribal vacillation over whether the text speaks about Israel and Yhwh, or another hypothetical nation and its god. On the other hand, some variation as to the person of the pronominal suffixes may have appeared even within the tradition that understood the verse to be referring to Israel and Yhwh, as is clearly the case in MT of both 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17. Even if the excursus in v. 23aβb relates to Israel, the question remains as to until where exactly the text speaks about God in the 3rd p. and at which point it comes back to addressing Yhwh in the 2nd p., i.e. to the form of address which still appears at the beginning of the verse and which seems natural in the whole context of the prayer.

Table 5 compares the forms of 2 Sam 7,23 in the most important witnesses:

²²¹ Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 288.

²²² After all, as it is noted by Geiger himself (p. 289-290), the lists of the *tiqqune sopherim* state that in 2 Sam 20,1; 1 Kgs 12,16; 2 Chr 10,16 the reading לאהליך\לאהליו replaced the reading לאלהיך\לאלהיו. Yet, unlike Geiger, several other scholars are of the opinion that the text has *not* been emended in most of the cases mentioned in the *tiqqune sopherim* lists. For an analysis of this phenomenon, see Zipor, *Notes*, p. 77-102, and the references quoted there.

Table 5 – When two expressions appear one above the other in the same line, they represent two possibilities of retroversion. The retroverted readings follow the orthography of MT.

וּמִי כַעֲמֹךָ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִלְכוּ-אֱלֹהִים	2 Sam 7,23 MT
[] [אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם]	4QSam ^a
וּמִי כַעֲמֹךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִלְכוּ הָאֱלֹהִים הוֹלִיךְ אֹתוֹ(?)	LXX ^B
וּמִי כַעֲמֹךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִלְךְ הָאֱלֹהִים	1 Chr 17,21 MT
וְאִין כַּעֲמֹךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִלְכְּ הָאֱלֹהִים עוֹד(?) הוֹלִיךְ אֹתוֹ(?)	1 Chr 17,21 LXX
לְפָדוֹת-לֹו לְעַם וְלִשְׁוֹם לֹו שֶׁם וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לְכֶם הַגְּדוֹלָה וְנִרְאֹת	2 Sam 7,23 MT
[] שוֹת גְּ[]	4QSam ^a
לְפָדוֹת לֹו עַם לִשְׁוֹם לְךָ שֶׁם לַעֲשׂוֹת גְּדוֹלָה וְנִרְאֹת וּמִרְאֵה(?)	LXX ^B
לְפָדוֹת לֹו עַם לִשְׁוֹם לְךָ שֶׁם גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנִרְאֹת	1 Chr 17,21 MT
לְפָדוֹת לֹו עַם לִשְׁוֹם לֹו שֶׁם גְּדוֹל וְנִרְאֵה(?)	LXX
לְאֶרֶץ מִפְּנֵי עֲמֹךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ לְךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם וְאֱלֹהֵיוֹ:	2 Sam 7,23 MT
[] מִפְּנֵי [] וְאֱלֹהִים	4QSam ^a
לְגֶרֶשׁ מִפְּנֵי עֲמֹךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ לְךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם וְאֱלֹהִים	LXX ^B
לְגֶרֶשׁ מִפְּנֵי עֲמֹךָ אֲשֶׁר-פָּדִיתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם:	1 Chr 17,21 MT
לְגֶרֶשׁ מִפְּנֵי עֲמֹךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם	LXX

Geiger believes that the whole of v. 23aβb originally referred to a nation other than Israel and a god other than Yhwh. He is followed in this interpretation by many others, among them Wellhausen, Driver, and more recently McCarter and Mathys.²²³ In my opinion, such an unambiguous and grammatically coherent text is difficult to reconstruct for several reasons.

Geiger and his followers believe that at the end of 2 Sam 7,23aα, לְגֶרֶשׁ should be read together with 1 Chr 17,21. 2 Sam 7,23LXX is sometimes taken as an argument in favour of such a reading. But 2 Sam 7,23LXX reads τοῦ ἀβαλεῖν σε, which corresponds to לְגֶרֶשׁ.²²⁴ Such a *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,23LXX is closer to the reading of MT לְאֶרֶץ than to לְגֶרֶשׁ. The reading לְגֶרֶשׁ is most likely older than לְגֶרֶשׁ, since the shift from the former to the latter is easier to explain than the reverse. The pronominal suffix in לְגֶרֶשׁ should be understood as a genitive of the subject and the expression taken to mean “in your driving out” or “in order that you drive out.”

²²³ Wellhausen, Text, p. 173-174; Driver, Notes, p. 277-278; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234-235; Mathys, Dichter, p. 68.

²²⁴ The pronoun σε is very often left undiscussed by the commentators. An exception is CTAT 1, p. 248, where לְגֶרֶשׁ is considered to be the original reading.

Theoretically, however, it would be possible to regard the suffix as a genitive of the object, thus “(in order) to drive you out”, as it is in *לגרשנו* in 2 Chr 20,11.²²⁵ Taking the context into account, it is practically impossible that any scribe would understand the text in this manner. And yet, the mere *possibility* that the text *might* be understood in this manner probably led the scribes to omit the suffix in 1 Chr 17,21. But if *לגרשך* is more ancient than *לגרש*, it means that we cannot at this point reconstruct a text that would not refer to God in the 2nd p., regardless of whether *לגרשך* of 2 Sam 7,23LXX or *לארצך* in MT is more ancient.

The presence of the clause *ממצרים (לך) אשר פדית*, as is attested in all textual witnesses to 2 Sam 7,23 and 1 Chr 17,21, makes it even more problematic to try to reconstruct 2 Sam 7,23a β -b as though it did not speak of Israel and its God.²²⁶ The clause is formulated in the 2nd p. and, in view of its content and especially the mention of Egypt, is very likely to have always been related to Israel and its God. Geiger and his followers usually regard this clause as a secondary insertion, while McCarter reconstructs the 3rd p. even in this section, translating it “... his people, whom he ransomed as his own.”²²⁷ All this, however, is very speculative.

Finally, the beginning of 2 Sam 7,24 *ותכונן לך את עמך ישראל*, with the subject expressed solely by the verbal form, seems more natural if the previous verse ends with formulations in the 2nd p. rather than in the case where the 2nd p. appears for the last time at the beginning of v. 23. The reconstruction of v. 23a β -b that would speak merely about a “different” nation and its god is not very probable.

Is *לגרשך* (MT) or *לגרשך* (LXX) more ancient? This variation is clearly connected to the variant readings at the end of the verse. In 2 Sam 7,23MT we should understand the words *גוים ואלהיו* as an apposition to *ממצרים*, and the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. m. as therefore referring to Egypt.²²⁸ By contrast, the words *גוים ואהלים* are construed as an object of the verb *גרש* in LXX’s *Vorlage* and probably in 4QSam^a, in which case the 3rd p. sg. m. suffix attached to the last word would make no sense. 1 Chr 17,21 reads only *גוים* at the end of the verse, which matches the preceding *לגרש* and is compatible with the more ancient *לגרשך*.

In 2 Sam 7,23 we may find arguments for and against both MT and LXX. MT certainly looks odd. The idea that Yhwh did (great and) awesome things “to (or with) your land” seems unusual; it should be noted, however, that the expression *עשה ... לארץ* is attested in Deut 31,4 with Yhwh as the subject, and in Deut 2,12 with Israel as the subject. The con-

²²⁵ For the construction of the infinitive construct with subject and object, see GKC § 115.

²²⁶ As noted by Barthélémy *et al.*, CTAT 1, p. 249.

²²⁷ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234-235.

²²⁸ *מַצְרַיִם* is sometimes construed as m. sg., cf. e.g. Exod 3,20; Num 14,13; Josh 24,5; Ps 105,38 etc.

cept of Yhwh's land appears in various passages of the Hebrew Bible.²²⁹ According to S. R. Driver, it is imperative to read *לגרש* "in order to restore *מפני* to its right."²³⁰ He further notes that "in *מפני* the sense of *מן* is never lost", and it therefore does not have the same meaning as *לפני*. On the other hand, the preposition *מפני* does not seem impossible in the context of MT, since we find a fairly similar formulation in Josh 23,3: *ואתם ראיתם את כל אשר עשה יהוה אלהיכם לכל הגוים האלה מפניכם מצרים*. As we have seen, the two last words in 2 Sam 7,23MT should be understood as an apposition to *מצרים*. The idea that Yhwh "redeemed" Israel from the gods of Egypt may be compared with Exod 12,12 and Num 33,4, according to which Yhwh "executed judgment" on the gods of Egypt (cf. also Exod 18,10-11; Isa 19,1; Jer 43,12-13; 46,25; Ezek 30,13). The most problematic point in MT is the plural *גוים*. We may find several instances in the Hebrew Bible where Egypt might be depicted as the home of a number of nations (Lev 26,45; Ezek 20,9; 32,18²³¹), but all of these may (and probably should) also be understood in a different manner; in none of the adduced texts is it clear that these nations must be merely Egyptian nations.

The reading *לגרשך* attested in LXX seems less problematic since the verb *גרש* pi. matches with the preposition *מפני*, similarly in Exod 23,29.30.31; Deut 33,27; Josh 24,12.18; Judg 2,3; 6,9; Ps 78,55 (+ Exod 23,28 having *מלפניך*). The major problem of this reading is the last word of the verse, regardless of whether we read the attested *ואלהים* (LXX, 4QSam^a) or presuppose the more ancient *ואלהים*, reconstructed on the basis of a comparison with MT. The idea that Yhwh expelled "nations and tents" or "nations and gods" does not appear elsewhere in the HB. By contrast, the idea that Yhwh saved Israel from the Egyptian gods has, as we have seen, some resemblance to an idea attested elsewhere of Yhwh's judgment of the Egyptian gods. The presence of the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. m. in MT in contrast to the absence of a pronominal suffix in 4QSam^a/LXX may also be interpreted in favour of the originality of MT, since in this case the shift from MT to 4QSam^a/LXX would be easier to explain. Should the original reading be *ואלהיו ... לארצך*, the omission of the suffix in the last word would, in fact, be *necessary* after the shift to *לגרשך*. Should the change take place in reverse, an addition of the suffix would not be necessary (although we could imagine that the scribe who understood the last two words as an apposition to *מצרים* decided to express this relationship unambiguously by adding the suffix to the last word).

The situation is therefore a complicated one, since several features at the end of the verse speak in favour of the reading *לגרשך*, but the variant *לארצך*

²²⁹ A brief description is provided by Bergman – Ottosson, אָרָץ, p. 401-402.

²³⁰ Driver, Notes, p. 278.

²³¹ The last mentioned verse is textually problematic. See commentaries *ad loc.*

cannot be so easily rejected, and the last word undermines the reading לגרשך quite considerably.²³²

It might be easier to start with the variants that immediately precede the variant reading לגרשך/לגרשך/לארצך, since even these may be related to the variation לגרשך/לגרשך/לארצך. 1 Chr 17,21MT has the short reading לשום לך, but the plural גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנִרְאֻת indicates that the short text emerged by parablepsis from the longer text that included the word (ו)לעשות which is attested in all the major witnesses of 2 Sam 7. The syntactically less problematic reading of 1 Chr 17,21LXX τοῦ θεῶθαι αὐτῶ ὄνομα μέγα καὶ ἐπιφανὲς (= לשום לך שם גדול ונרא ונראה) is merely an adaptation of the short problematic text. 1 Chr 17,21 therefore probably presupposes the text that includes (ו)לעשות; when the omission occurred is irrelevant to this discussion.

If we examine the main witnesses to 2 Sam 7,23, we may notice that it is only the text of MT with its reading of לארצך that has at the same time the word לכם after the verb ולעשות, and introduces the word following after לכם by an article.²³³ This means that it is only in the text where in לארצך the preposition ל expresses the dative of (dis)advantage that another ל of advantage appears before the word הגְּדֻלָּה, introducing a different indirect object. Therefore, הגְּדֻלָּה and וְנִרְאֻת in MT have different “addressees” and the formulation וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם הַגְּדֻלָּה וְנִרְאֻת לְאַרְצְךָ in 2 Sam 7,23MT is *not* parallel to Deut 10,21 which speaks of “these great and terrifying things” (אֶת־הַגְּדֻלָּה וְאֶת־הַנּוֹרָאָה הָאֵלֶּה) that Yhwh performed for Israel during the exodus, nor to the similar passages that mention the “great (deeds of) terror” in the context of the exodus (מורא גדול, sometimes with the article or in plural – Deut 4,34; 26,8; 24,12; Jer 32,21). It also does not parallel the many other passages where various phenomena are characterized by the pair of adjectives גדול and נורא.²³⁴ This interpretation of 2 Sam 7,23MT is supported by the presence of the article in הגְּדֻלָּה and its absence in וְנִרְאֻת.

The syntax of MT seems clumsy, since two pairs of direct and indirect objects are connected to the verb ולעשות, and in a different order in each case. It is unanimously accepted that לכם is not original because the 2nd p. pl. turning to Israel makes no sense in the given context. Some scholars therefore prefer to read לו or להם here.²³⁵ It is true that לו corresponds to Peshitta’s reading ܠܐ, and the reading להם that is attested in some masoretic mss corresponds to Vg’s reading *eis*. The value of these versions in 2 Sam

²³² Cf. the evaluation by the committee of the authors of *CTAT I*, p. 248: The committee attributed 3 “C” and 1 “B” to לגרשך, and 1 “C” to לארצך.

²³³ It must be admitted, however, that the identity of the letter following the verb [ו(ל)עש] in 4QSam^a is not entirely clear.

²³⁴ Deut 1,19; 7,21; 8,15; 10,17; 1 Chr 16,25; Neh 1,5; 4,8; 9,32; Ps 96,4; 99,3; Dan 9,4; Joel 2,11; 3,4; Mal 3,23.

²³⁵ Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 288; Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 173; Driver, *Notes*, p. 278; Fokkelman, *Art III*, p. 382-383.

7,23 is problematic, though, since their readings *super terram* and חַל אֶרֶץ in further parts of the verse are definitely facilitating variants that presuppose the more ancient לְאֶרֶץ. It is perfectly plausible that the readings לִי and *eis* are merely two different(!) facilitating variants to the more ancient לָכֶם, regardless of whether they are the work of translators or were already present in their *Vorlage*. In 4QSam^a and LXX, לָכֶם has no analogy, and there is no obvious reason why the scribes would omit the allegedly more ancient לִי or לָהֶם, or why they would not correct לָכֶם to לִי or לָהֶם (cf. the variation לִי/לְךָ before the word שָׁם). The reading לָכֶם is therefore, in my opinion, secondary and related to the reading לְאֶרֶץ because, as I have already mentioned, it is noticeable that this connection of לְ of advantage with the pronominal suffix appears only in the text where a different indirect object of the verb עָשָׂה later follows, which is also attached by לְ of advantage (the text of Syr, Vg and Tg may be regarded as an indirect witness to this situation).

Various scenarios of the text's development are plausible, and the following is merely one attempt to reconstruct it. I believe, though, that it provides the simplest explanation for the emergence of various variant readings. The "original" reading was approximately (ו)לַעֲשׂוֹת גְּדוּלַת וְנִרְאוֹת לְגֵרֶשֶׁךָ; the plural גְּדוּלוֹת in 1 Chr 17,21 may be a remnant of this original reading. (This original גְּדוּלוֹת(ו)לְ(ו)ת should be understood as a plural of the feminine of גְּדוּלָּה, similar to Deut 10,21. The vocalization of 1 Chr 17,21 גְּדוּלוֹת is probably due to harmonization with the reading הַגְּדוּלָּה in 2 Sam 7,23.) Later, due to a scribal error, a change from the pl. גְּדוּלוֹת(ו)לְ(ו)ת to the sg. גְּדוּלָּה occurred (the sg. is attested both in MT and LXX). In LXX's *Vorlage*, the text was then harmonized by changing the word that followed into the singular as well (as I mentioned earlier, it is perfectly possible that the *Vorlage* of LXX was וְנִרְאוֹת, Murray's retroversion וּמִרְאוֹת is not necessary). The tension between sg. גְּדוּלָּה and pl. וְנִרְאוֹת was dealt with in a different manner in MT. First, the infinitive clause with וּלַעֲשׂוֹת was understood as analogous to the previous infinitive clause וּלְשׂוֹם לִי שָׁם. Whether all the changes occurred simultaneously or at different times, and in what order, is difficult to determine. But it is quite clear that the changes לְגֵרֶשֶׁךָ → לְאֶרֶץ and גְּדוּלוֹת → הַגְּדוּלָּה are connected. The word הַגְּדוּלָּה was definitively understood here as הַגְּדוּלָּה – "the greatness", "the majesty." As R. Mosis²³⁶ has written, גְּדוּלָּה "means the dominant sovereignty, the splendor around the majesty of God or a man who holds a special position. Therefore, [...] *gedhullah* always has a positive emphasis." But a gift of sovereignty to (your) land makes no sense, which is confirmed by the fact that הַגְּדוּלָּה and וְנִרְאוֹת have different recipients in 2 Sam 7,23MT. While the land is the recipient of "terrifying things", it is the people expressed by לָכֶם who are given the sovereignty. This surprising pl. of the 2nd p. could have appeared

²³⁶ Mosis, גְּדוּלָּה, p. 400.

here under the influence of certain texts summarizing Yhwh's powerful deeds for Israel in Deuteronomy, which are also formulated in the 2nd person. Cf. for instance לַכֶּם in Deut 4,34, in a context which is, in many respects, similar to that of 2 Sam 7,23.

If we accept *לגרשך* as the better reading, *ואלהיו* (2 Sam 7,23MT) at the end of the verse is impossible. The readings that are plausible from a grammatical point of view are *ואהלים* (4QSam^a/LXX) or the reconstructed *ואלהים*, and yet both of these readings seem strange.²³⁷ The simplest way is clearly to merely read *גויים* with 1 Chr 17,21; but there is some probability that the Chronicler would have omitted *ואהלים* or *ואלהים* even if it had been present in his text of Samuel.

Let us now examine the variants of the clause *אֲשֶׁר הִלְכוּ-אֱלֹהִים לְפָדוֹת-לוֹ* *לְעַם*. The variants *הִלְכוּ* (2 Sam 7MT); *ὠδήγησεν αὐτὸν* (2 Sam 7LXX; 1 Chr 17LXX); *הִלֵּךְ* (1 Chr 17MT) can be, in my opinion, evaluated in two different ways. On the one hand, we can argue for the reading *הלכו*, construed with LXX of both texts as hiph. 3rd p. pf. + suffixed pronoun of 3rd p. sg. m. Even if relative clauses introduced with *אשר* may sometimes lack any reflex of the antecedent, the long relative clause in 2 Sam 7,23 still reads better with the pronominal reflex of the antecedent attached to the transitive verb. And second, if *הִלְכוּ* is accepted as the original reading, it may seem easy to explain the subsequent developments of the text: *הִלְכוּ* in 2 Sam 7MT would be a mistaken reading of *הִלְכוּ*, and *הִלֵּךְ* in 1 Chr 17MT would be due to the facilitation of this mistaken reading.

The problem is that the reading *הִלְכוּ* indeed seems simpler from the perspective of grammar, but is not very compatible with the rest of the sentence from a stylistic perspective. As we shall see below, we should prefer the reading *עם* instead of *לעם* in the clause that follows; therefore, if we read *הִלְכוּ*, the reading “whom a god led to redeem for himself a people” emerges. While this is not impossible, the sequence “on account of whom a god went to redeem for himself a people” seems better, and, perhaps most importantly, this sequence corresponds very closely to what we have in Deut 4,34: *או הנסה אלהים לבוא לקחת לו גוי*. Since I believe that 2 Sam 7,22-24 is dependent on Deut 4, as will later become clear, I think that a non-transitive form of *הלך* is preferable in 2 Sam 7,23. The plural *הִלְכוּ* in 2 Sam 7,23MT seems problematic in view of the fact that *לפדות לו* is present in all major textual witnesses. The original was probably the sg. *הלך* (attested in 1 Chr 17), understood as qal; the final *waw* originally appeared in the word as a pronominal reflex of the antecedent, appended to the verbal form understood as hiphil (so LXX in both sections), and 2 Sam 7MT finally understood the form *הלכו* to be the 3rd p. pl. of qal.

²³⁷ For the reading *ואהלים* see 1 Chr 4,41; 2 Chr 14,14; Ps 78,55, but none of these texts is really comparable to 2 Sam 7,23.

The reading אֱלֹהִים (2 Sam 7MT and 4QSam^a) is more likely original than הָאֱלֹהִים (2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17). אֱלֹהִים alone often means “(a) god”, and this meaning is preferable here, irrespective of whether we read גִּי אֶחָד or גִּי אֲחֵר in the first part of the verse. The verse asks one of the following rhetorical questions: who is like Israel, *the only* nation for whom (a) god went to redeem for himself a people etc.?; or for which other nation did (a) god go to redeem for himself a people? אֱלֹהִים in this case cannot simply be a synonym for Yhwh because the latter is addressed in a different manner in David’s prayer. Further, should אֱלֹהִים (ה) in this case simply denote Yhwh, it would be logical to understand it in the given context as an address and to read the preceding verb in the 2nd person, as is the case in LXX^L. The reading אֱלֹהִים in 2 Sam 7,23 is also in accord with אֱלֹהִים in the preceding verse (cf. also the vocalization לְאֱלֹהִים in 2 Sam 7,24 and 1 Chr 17,22, which in both cases corresponds to the reading of LXX εἰς θεόν; הָאֱלֹהִים in 2 Sam 7,28 and 2 Chr 17,26 is probably linked to the fact that the sentence identifies Yahweh as the [only] God).

2 Sam 7,23MT is the only major textual witness that reads לַעַם; the other witnesses read merely עַם (the reading of 4QSam^a is not preserved). The reading לַעַם is strange in the given context. When in similar texts the idea that Yhwh establishes Israel as (his) people (לַעַם) is expressed by a transitive verb, the direct object is always articulated (Exod 6,7; Deut 28,9; 29,12; 1 Sam 12,22; 2 Sam 7,24 = 1 Chr 17,22).²³⁸ The reading עַם is therefore preferable; the secondary reading לַעַם is due to the influence of the aforementioned passages, especially 2 Sam 7,24.

As for the variation אֶחָד/אֲחֵר at the beginning of the verse, it has been argued that אֲחֵר (2 Sam 7LXX and perhaps also 1 Chr 17LXX) better fits the context.²³⁹ We have seen, however, that at least in the final part of the verse, from the word לְגִרְשָׁךְ onwards, it is difficult to reconstruct the verse so that it would not turn to Yhwh in the 2nd person and describe his powerful deeds for Israel. This indicates that even the part of the verse that speaks of God in the 3rd person is also connected to Israel, which would rather suit the reading אֶחָד. Otherwise we would have to say that אֲשֶׁר at the beginning of v. 23bα may have been understood in connection to Israel and not “another nation.”

Moreover, N. Lohfink believes that the reading וּמִי כַעֲמָד (ב)יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּי is syntactically incorrect, since “[the] phrase *goy ’acher ba’arets* (...) would have to stand immediately after *umi* (...), because in *mi* (who, what)-questions with comparisons, the words that come after *mi* and words

²³⁸ The reading לַעַם would perhaps be better in connection to the reading הִלְכּוּ in the previous text, since then the direct object of לִפְדּוֹת would appear at least with the previous finite verb.

²³⁹ Such is the argument of Barthélemy *et al.*, CTAT I, p. 247-248. This reading is also preferred by Geiger, Urschrift, p. 288; Wellhausen, Text, p. 173; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234.

that come after the comparison introduced by *ke* ('like, as') have different functions (cf. Mic. 7:18, where both positions are occupied).²⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the evidence from the HB is somewhat more ambivalent than Lohfink suggests. It is true that if a substantive expresses in the *mi*-question an element *a* (= the predicate that is as a rule thought not to exist), to which an element *b*, following the preposition כ, is compared, the element *a* usually occurs before כ. Such is the case in Job 34,7; Mic 7,18; Ps 77,14. The meaning of Deut 33,29 – אשריד ישראל מי כמוך עם נושע ביהוה מן עזרך – is unclear from this perspective: should we understand עם נושע as an apposition to the pronominal suffix of the 2nd p. sg., or as predicate to מי (according to this approach, כמוך would not be a predicate, but an extension of מי)?²⁴¹ The problem was already felt by some ancient readers, as may be seen in the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch העם הנושע (cf. Tg and Tg^J). Furthermore, Mic 7,18 and Neh 6,11 show that the word introduced by the preposition כ may be followed by words which (at least from the perspective of formal syntax) are either predicates to מי (Neh 6,11) or modify the predicate located between מי and כ (and are not an apposition to the word following כ).

On the other hand, even the reading אחד גוי אחד בארץ contains a syntactic-grammatical difficulty. The words גוי אחד בארץ have to be construed as standing in apposition to (כ)ישראל, and consequently we would expect the noun and the numeral in the apposition to be determinate²⁴² (cf. e.g. ...בירושלם העיר אשר... in 1 Kgs 11,36; 14,21; 2 Chr 12,13).

Finally, it is worth noting that Ezek 37,22MT contains the phrase לגוי אחד בארץ (LXX reads ἐν ἧς ἡ πόλις); Lohfink believes that this verse refers to 2 Sam 7,23.²⁴³ Should he be right, Ezek 37,22 would be proof of the antiquity of the reading in 2 Sam 7,23. Unfortunately, I do not believe that we can be certain that לגוי אחד בארץ in Ezek 37,22 is a reference to 2 Sam 7,23. Admittedly, this phrase appears in the context of the promise of restoration of Israel under the eternal rule of Davidic king/prince, i.e. in a text that probably builds on the dynastic promise to David in 2 Sam 7; it is also clear, however, that the phrase גוי אחד בארץ has a different meaning here than in 2 Sam 7,23MT.

After reviewing the situation, I find it difficult to decide whether the reading אחד or אחר is more ancient. The rhetorical construction of the section is obvious: 2 Sam 7,22 expresses the uniqueness of Yhwh and the two following verses depict the uniqueness of Israel. V. 23 uses the general

²⁴⁰ Lohfink – Bergman, אָהד, p. 198.

²⁴¹ In MT, it is also the vocalization of נושע, construing the word as a perfect of 3rd p. sg., that is difficult. Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 307, preserves the perfect and understands נושע ביהוה to be a relative clause without אשר. Anyhow, the vocalization of נושע does not greatly affect our problem.

²⁴² GKC § 131h.

²⁴³ Lohfink – Bergman, אָהד, p. 199-200. Cf. Greenberg, Ezekiel 21-37, p. 756.

term אלהים in the sense of (a) god, but it also tells the story of the exodus of Israel. This holds true irrespective of whether v. 23 explicitly states that Israel is the *only* nation on earth for which (a) god did these mighty deeds or, on the contrary, v. 23 (at least in its first part) asks the rhetorical question of whether there is any *other* nation for which (a) god would do similar things. We have seen that the attested readings do not allow a reconstruction of the verse in a form that does not shift to the 2nd person; the end of the verse, following at least the word לגרשך onwards, speaks clearly of Yhwh and Israel. The reading “the only nation” makes this shift easier, and if we grant prominence to this wider context of the verse, the reading “the only nation” would probably seem better. It must be acknowledged, though, that the anacoluthon will remain in the text anyway, and this incoherence of the verse may be due to its literary development. Any reconstruction of such a development would be far too speculative and hypothetical.

The verse contains several minor variants that are difficult to evaluate, namely ולשום / ולשום, the following word לו / לך, then לעשות / ולעשות and the question of the presence of לך after פדית at the end of the verse. In the last example, the reading with לך seems preferable since this word is attested in the main textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7.²⁴⁴ In the case of variant readings ולעשות / לעשות, we may argue that the more ancient reading was לעשות: according to this wording of the text, God made a name for himself by doing great and awesome deeds (גדולות ונראות in the supposedly original reading). Later on, the text of MT evolved so that the clause ולעשות לךם could have been understood as a kind of parallel to the previous clause (God made a name for himself and sovereignty for Israel [“you”]), to which corresponds the fact that the clauses were connected by the coordinative *waw*. As for the two remaining problems (ולשום / לשום, the following word לו / לך), I am unable to determine which reading is better. The reading לו seems more logical in relation to the previous text, but since it is not possible to reconstruct the text in the second part of the verse in a manner that would not turn to God in the 2nd p. sg., it is difficult to say at which point in the verse the 2nd person appears for the first time.

Verse 24:

וְתִכְּוֶנָּה; 1 Chr 17,22

S ≠ C (i)

לְךָ (1st); missing in 1 Chr 17,22. See the following note.

S ≠ C (i)

לְךָ (2nd); missing in LXX, Vg.

²⁴⁴ Regarding the value of the witness to 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7, see the notes at the end of the chapter.

MT with two occurrences of לך is probably secondary. It is impossible to determine which occurrence of לך is more ancient.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

לָעֵם; LXX^B λαὸν (in numerous other mss, however, the word is preceded by εἰς); similarly 1 Chr 17,22LXX.

There is probably no *Vorlage* different from MT behind LXX of the two passages.

הַיֵּיתָ; missing in 1 Chr 17,22LXX. Several mss add either ἐγένου or ἐγενήθης (see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray).

At any rate, the longer reading is preferable in the Hebrew text of 2 Sam 7,23.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 25:

אֱלֹהִים; יהוה אדני יהוה (according to BHS); LXX^B κύριέ μου; mss MN rell κύριέ μου κύριέ; VetL *Domine Deus*; Vg *Domine Deus*; 1 Chr 17,23 יהוה אֱלֹהִים.

The reading יהוה אֱלֹהִים is probably connected with the *qere* of אדני יהוה that occurs seven more times in David's prayer in MT (vv. 18.19a.19b. 20.22.28.29). LXX^B presupposes אדני; the reading of most other Greek mss would correspond to אדני יהוה.

Considering the fact that 2 Sam 7,25LXX indicates the presence of the word אדני, the whole of the evidence in 2 Sam 7,25 speaks in favour of the reading יהוה אדני that is attested in the minority of MT. As a result, we should prefer this reading to 1 Chr 17,23.

The majority reading of 2 Sam 7,25MT יהוה אֱלֹהִים could have evolved secondarily under the influence of the previous verse according to which Yhwh became the God of Israel.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)

הַדָּבָר; 1 Chr 17,23LXX ὁ λόγος σου.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

עַל-עַבְדְּךָ; 1 Chr 17,23LXX πρὸς τὸν παῖδά σου.

The *waw* in ועל ביתו, attested in all principal witnesses, proves that the preposition על is correct.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

הַקָּם; LXX πίστῶσον; LXX^L πιστωθήτω; 1 Chr 17,23MT יֶאֱמַן; 1 Chr 17,23LXX πιστωθήτω.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,25LXX^L πιστωθήτω corresponds to יֶאֱמַן, attested also in Chronicles. The reading האמן, seemingly presupposed by 2 Sam

7,25LXX, is odd, because **אמן** hiphil is normally not used as a transitive verb²⁴⁵ (cf., however, Judg 11,20; Job 15,22), and it does not mean “to confirm” or “to make permanent.”²⁴⁶ In any case, these Greek readings in 2 Sam 7,25 suggest that the Chronicler read the root **אמן** in his version of 2 Sam 7.

The reading **πίστωσον** must be considered in the larger context of LXX^B, which in this and the following verses preserves some elements of OG that are absent from other mss. The reading **καὶ νῦν** in v. 25bLXX^B (where MT has **וְעַתָּה**) was part of OG, and the same probably also holds true for the long address **κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ** that precedes it. Both of these readings, however, are secondary compared to 2 Sam 7MT (see below for all these variations). Because of the words **καὶ νῦν**, the second part of v. 25 is very much separated from the first part in LXX^B, and the long form of address **κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ** may only be part of the sentence whose verb is **πίστωσον** (in LXX^B the part of the verse after **καὶ νῦν** is a subordinate clause connected with the main clause constituting v. 26). It is hardly by accident that the problematic imperative **πίστωσον** appears in the text where it is immediately followed by a long form of the address of God, an address that *must* be construed here as part of the same clause as **πίστωσον**. **אמן** is thus very probably more ancient than the hypothetical and perhaps erroneous **האמן**. The reading **אמן** might have been in LXX's *Vorlage*, and it is also possible that the reading of LXX^L **πιστωθήτω** is in fact OG, the imperative having emerged later under the influence of other elements of OG (above all **κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ**). Alternatively, if **האמן** was in LXX's *Vorlage*, it could have developed from **אמן** simply by scribal mistake²⁴⁷, or, again, under the influence of the following form of address. Be that as it may, the readings of OG and its *Vorlage* are not so important for the present study.

What really matters is the alternative **אמן** versus **הקם**. Interesting parallels may be adduced in favour of both readings. Murray regards the reading **הקם** as indirectly confirmed by 1 Kgs 8,20;²⁴⁸ moreover, the same phrase is used in identical or similar contexts in 1 Kgs 2,4; 6,12; Jer 33,14. On the other hand, the reading **אמן** finds parallels in 1 Kgs 8,26 (= 2 Chr 6,17); 2 Chr 1,9. On balance, I slightly prefer the reading **הקם** for stylistic reasons – the imperative **ועשה** gives an awkward impression when the preceding verb is not the imperative **הקם** but the jussive of the 3rd p. **יאמן**.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 82.

²⁴⁶ Jepsen, **אמן**, p. 298-309, concludes that “[o]ne hardly does justice to the meaning of *he'emin* by taking the hiphil causatively or declaratively.”

²⁴⁷ For possible cases of substitutions **י** → **ה** a **ה** → **י** see Delitzsch, *Schreibfehler*, p. 116, 114.

²⁴⁸ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 83.

²⁴⁹ Alternatively, the fact that the verb is followed by **עד עולם** might be considered evidence in favour of the reading **אמן**. Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 83, thinks that **יאמן** is secondary, “intending to tone down the boldness of the petition.” This attenuation, however, would

SMT \neq SLXX C (i)²⁵⁰

עֲדֹנָה; after this word, LXX^B reads κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ; it is omitted in LXX^{AMNL}.

The plus is secondary; the presence of two addresses in one verbal clause would be entirely exceptional in this prayer. McCarter regards these words as a “remnant of a misplaced correction of that MT’s long haplography in vv. 26-27.”²⁵¹ Yet, as the following variant καὶ νῦν seems to be linked to the presence of this interpolated address (see below), the insertion most likely was present in OG and even in its *Vorlage*. The inner Greek developments in these verses are briefly discussed below in the note concerning the large minus in vv. 26-27LXX^B.

SMT C \neq SLXX (int?)

The whole of 1 Chr 17,23b-24aaMT (except לְאַמֵּר) is missing in 1 Chr 17, 23-24LXX owing to homoioteleuton.

S CMT \neq CLXX (n)

וְעָשָׂה; LXX καὶ νῦν; LXX^L καὶ ... ποιήσον; LXX^A καὶ ποιήσον, the same reading appears in Aquila and Symmachus (for more variants in the Greek manuscript tradition, see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray).

The reading וְעָשָׂה is more ancient; in the given context, the basic meaning of 2 Sam 7,25-26MT clearly makes more sense than the text of LXX^B. The reading καὶ νῦν (= וְעָתָה) may be a scribal mistake, though I do not know of any other evidence of the interchange ש – ת. The shift from וְעָשָׂה to וְעָתָה is easier to imagine, if, as is the case in LXX^B, this word was distanced from the previous verb due to an insertion of the lengthy address יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ), and all the more if this preceding verb was not a 2nd p. sg. imperative but a 3rd p. sg. jussive, יֵאָמֶן (1 Chr 17,23MT; as argued above, this reading was also present in an ancestral manuscript of the *Vorlage* of 2 Reigns, or perhaps even in the *Vorlage* itself).

The shift from וְעָשָׂה to וְעָתָה is clearly linked to the reading of 2 Sam 7,26LXX^B μεγαλυνθείη (against וַיְגַדֵּל in MT). If the reading καὶ νῦν (וְעָתָה) is indeed a scribal mistake, the reading μεγαλυνθείη (וַיְגַדֵּל) was simply necessitated by that mistake. It is noteworthy, however, that owing to these

be rather cosmetic, and 1 Chr 17,23 shows that even after this supposed modification the following imperative וְעָשָׂה would remain in the text, which does not point to a conscious endeavor to tone down the boldness of David’s petition.

²⁵⁰ This pattern presupposes that LXX^L’s reading πιστωθήτω is OG. Otherwise the pattern would be SMT \neq SLXX \neq C (i, n?). Yet even in such a case, the actual situation would be very close to the pattern SMT \neq SLXX C (and it is likely in any case that the Chronicler read יֵאָמֶן in his text of 2 Sam 7).

²⁵¹ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235. Similarly Pisano, Additions, p. 279.

seemingly minor scribal variants, the meaning of LXX (“and now, as you have spoken, let your name be magnified forever”) differs significantly from the meaning of MT (“and do as you have spoken [concerning David’s house]. And your name will be magnified forever”). The idea present in MT that Yhwh’s name will be magnified *by* his keeping of the promise completely disappears from this passage in LXX where God is simply petitioned to magnify his name as he promised. It is therefore also possible that both changes were not due to an accidental scribal substitution of two letters, but constitute a deliberate change to the text’s meaning, with as little intrusion into the consonantal text as possible²⁵², by a scribe who knew that the Davidic dynasty had lost their power.

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX(missing) (tn?)

Verse 26:

1 Chr 17,24MT reads וַיִּגְדֹּל at the beginning of the verse.

G. Knoppers suggested that the reading of 2 Sam 7,26 may have resulted from a parablepsis owing to homoiocartan (from וַיִּגְדֹּל to וַיִּאֲמֹן).²⁵³ וַיִּאֲמֹן in 1 Chr 17,24MT is often regarded as secondary, though; the idea that the name of Yhwh would be “stable” seems quite strange. The word וַיִּאֲמֹן probably originated from a variant or corrective reading that was included above the line or on the margin and that formerly belonged to the first word of 2 Sam 7,25aγ or 1 Chr 17,23aγ (where 2 Sam 7MT has וַיִּקְרָא, 1 Chr 17,23aγ reads וַיִּאֲמֹן, and the Vorlage of 2 Sam 7LXX might have been וַיִּאֲמֹן or וַיִּאֲמֹן).

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX(missing) (n)

וַיִּגְדֹּל; LXX^B μεγαλυνθείη; LXX^L καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθείη.

As explained above, the shorter secondary reading of LXX^B is linked to the secondary variant καὶ νῦν (= ועתה) in the last part of the previous verse. In the recensional text of LXX^L, the words καὶ νῦν (= ועתה), correctly suppressed in the previous clause, reappear in this place.

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX(missing) (tn?)

וַיִּאֲמֹר; missing in LXX^{BA}.

McCarter considers the shorter reading more ancient and understands the following words in MT as an address, not as a nominal clause.²⁵⁴ The problem should be treated together with the large minus in LXX^B in the following text, for which see below.

וַיִּאֲמֹר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵית עַבְדְּךָ דָּוִד יְהִי נִכּוֹן לְפָנֶיךָ כִּי-אָתָּה; this text is missing in LXX^B and is supplemented in LXX^{LO} (see the apparatus

²⁵² For the phenomenon, see Hutzli, Textänderungen, p. 236.

²⁵³ Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 680.

²⁵⁴ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235.

in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray for variants within the added text). 4QSam^a is very fragmentary here, but it is clear that the text contained the long reading; the editors of the scroll in DJD reconstruct the text as identical with MT.

A few scholars considered the short text more ancient²⁵⁵, but the majority of commentators, if they treat this variation at all, prefer the longer text. The short text is then considered the result of parablepsis.²⁵⁶ According to E. Dhorme, the parablepsis occurred due to homoioteleuton at יהוה צבאות, which is plausible since θεὸς Ἰσραηλ in 2 Sam 7,27aLXX^B corresponds to יהוה צבאות אלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in 2 Sam 7,27aMT, not to אֱלֹהִים עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 26MT. The longer text seems better. In LXX^B the beginning of v. 27 with the extended address and the following verbal form of the 2nd person (κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ἀπεκάλυψας = יהוה צבאות אלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּלִּיתָהּ) seems somewhat clumsy, while MT with the preceding כִּי אַתָּה is smoother and more in accord with the rhetoric and argumentation of the verse. The simplest explanation is that the text attested in LXX^B originated (at least partially) from the omission of the text that is present in MT.

But as already pointed out by S. Pisano, the emergence of LXX^B cannot be explained by mere parablepsis if we take MT as our starting point, because LXX^B lacks any reflex of לֵאמֹר.²⁵⁷ Pisano believes that לֵאמֹר may have been deliberately omitted in the *Vorlage* of LXX (he does not explain why; perhaps because the scribe understood the following words to be David's address of Yhwh?), but on that occasion more of the text than the scribe expected was omitted due to parablepsis. In Pisano's words, "the absence of this MT plus in B is due to homeoarcton at יהוה צבאות"²⁵⁸ (materially, it is the same explanation as that given by Dhorme who used the term homoioteleuton). "Then later κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεε του Ισραηλ was re-inserted into the text represented by LXX^B, but after the εως του αιωνος of v. 25 instead of after εως αιωνος of v.26, thus accounting for the plus in cod B in v. 25 which is not shared by Ant or by cod A."²⁵⁹

This last point of Pisano's interpretation (i.e. his evaluation of κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεε του Ισραηλ as a secondary re-insertion into the Greek text) seems problematic. LXX^B and LXX^A are as follows:

LXX^B: ²⁵καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ πίστωσον ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας ²⁶μεγαλυνθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος ²⁷κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ἀπεκάλυψας τὸ ὅτιον τοῦ δούλου σου...

²⁵⁵ Budde, Samuel, p. 237.

²⁵⁶ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235; Murray, Prerogative, p. 83; Pisano, Additions, p. 277-281.

²⁵⁷ Pisano, Additions, p. 278.

²⁵⁸ Pisano, Additions, p. 279.

²⁵⁹ Pisano, Additions, p. 279.

LXX^A 25 καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ πίστωσον ἕως αἰῶνος καὶ ποιήσον καθὼς ἐλάλησας 26 καὶ μεγαλυνθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεέ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυεὶδ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος ἐνώπιόν σου 27 ὅτι κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας μεγαλυνθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπεκάλυψας τὸ ὅτιον τοῦ δούλου σου...

In v. 25, LXX^A reads καὶ ποιήσον instead of καὶ νῦν, and thus retains a reading that is closer to MT than LXX^B. Then in v. 26, LXX^A contains MT's plus (apart from מִלְּפָנֶיךָ), and at the beginning of the verse reads καὶ μεγαλυνθεῖν, again in agreement with MT's $\text{וַיִּגְדַּל$ (LXX^B contains only μεγαλυνθεῖν). In v. 27, however, LXX^A repeats vv. 25b-26aa in a form that is identical to LXX^B. The text of LXX^A, reflecting a hexaplaric recension, therefore contains both the OG form of 25b-26aa and the newer form of vv. 25-27 that was brought nearer to MT. It is conspicuous that the OG variant of vv. 25b-26aa appears in LXX^A in v. 27 after the address κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. There is no obvious reason for locating the second part of the doublet at this place, but we may notice in this respect that in LXX^B verses 25b-26aa are preceded by the plus of this codex κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, i.e. the variant of the form of address after which the OG variant of vv. 25b-26aa is located in v. 27LXX^A. The OG variant of vv. 25b-26aa is located after the address κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ in v. 27LXX^A probably because vv. 25b-26aa were located after a similar address in LXX before the origin of the doublet attested in LXX^A. The text of LXX^A therefore likely presupposes the existence of the plus κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ in v. 25; the absence of an extended form of address in v. 25aLXX^A should be read with the remaining modifications that bring the Greek text of vv. 25-27 closer to MT, rather than as proof that OG did not contain this plus in v. 25a.

Besides, κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ in v. 25LXX^B is unlikely to be an attempt to restore the substantial omission in vv. 26-27, irrespective of whether this re-insertion occurred in the Greek or the Hebrew text. If a scribe had attempted to insert the missing text from v. 26-27, he would have above all completed v. 26b, and not merely the extended address that, after all, also appears in v. 27. McCarter regards this plus in LXX^B as a "remnant of a misplaced correction of that MS's long haplography in vv. 26-27," thereby suggesting that the correction was originally more extensive. This is very hypothetical though, since we would have to suppose that after this correction, the identical(!) text that was already lost once in the short text represented by LXX^B was lost again but from a different location. Mss hva₂ (+ the Ethiopic version)²⁶⁰ might seem to support this evolution of the text, since they read in this section κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν

²⁶⁰ Cf. also the Sahidic text, as quoted in the apparatus of Brooke – McLean – Thackeray.

Ισραηλ (+καὶ ἡ) ὁ οἶκος τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυειδ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος (+εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα α₂) ἐνώπιόν σου. However, this reading should in fact be understood quite differently. In the majority text of LXX a restoration of the missing text occurred in vv. 26-27, and the mss hva₂ merely provide one type of the (restored) text in which parablepsis occurred between the occurrences of the word αἰῶνος in v. 25 and v. 26.

The simplest possibility is to accept that the extended address in v. 25a was part of OG, and probably even of its *Vorlage*, because, as I pointed out above, the presence of this form of address could have worked as a catalyst for the shift from ועשה to ועתה in v. 25b in the *Vorlage* of OG.

If we suppose that both the plus attested in v. 25aLXX^B and the minus attested in vv. 26-27LXX^B originated from mistakes in the process of transmission, the concrete mechanism that led to such a development is unclear.²⁶¹ The above-mentioned developments would be easier to imagine if in the text that belonged to the developmental line that led to the *Vorlage* of LXX there was no לאמר in v. 26, and there was אלהי ישראל in v. 26aγ rather than אלהים על ישראל or אלהים לישראל. The reading אלהי ישראל is attested in 1 Chr 17,24LXX and as one of the two readings in 1 Chr 17,24MT. A reading without לאמר is not attested in any of the major textual witnesses that provide the longer text in v 2 Sam 7,26-27 and 1 Chr 17,24-25 (it is, of course missing in 2 Sam 7LXX^B). In spite of this, we may easily imagine how the omission occurred. The vocatives κύριε κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ was probably understood as an address, not a nominal sentence, as is the case in 2 Sam 7,26MT. But to read 2 Sam 7,26aβ-γ as an address would, of course, invite the omission of the preceding לאמר (this, however, did not happen in 1 Chr 17,24LXX). Simultaneously, the understanding of 2 Sam 7,26aβ-γ as an address would facilitate the shift from אלהים על ישראל (or אלהים לישראל) to אלהי ישראל (this process is perhaps attested in 1 Chr 17,24LXX, see below).

Pisano makes the plausible suggestion that לאמר could have been deliberately omitted in the *Vorlage* of LXX, and that on this occasion a segment of the text far larger than what the scribe had expected to be omitted was in fact left out because of a mistake (parablepsis).

It also seems possible, however, that the large omission in the *Vorlage* of OG did not occur due to a scribal mistake but was deliberate, since this minus in LXX^B may perhaps be connected to some other conspicuous variants. This alternative explanation that understands the minus of LXX^B as a part of a systematic redaction in the *Vorlage* of OG will be discussed at the close of this chapter.

SMT (4QSam^a) C ≠ SLXX (tn?)²⁶²

²⁶¹ Cf. the attempt at such description in Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 83.

²⁶² Inside this stretch of text, there are differences between C and SMT that will be analyzed below. The formula given here only describes the presence / absence of the large

[יהוה 4QSam^a יהוה צבאות אלהים לישראל; Ms יהוה צבאות אלהים על-ישראל
 [צבא] ואלוהים על ישראל; 1 Chr 17,24MT יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים
 לישראל; 1 Chr 17,24LXX κύριε κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεός Ισραηλ.

The plus in 1 Chr 17,24MT seems clumsy; it may be due to dittography, yet it may also conserve (voluntarily or not) two variant readings.²⁶³ The latter explanation may find some support in the fact that the reading of 1 Chr 17,24LXX θεός Ισραηλ seems to correspond to the first member of MT's "double reading", i.e. the element different to 2 Sam 7,26MT (and apparently to 4QSam^a as well). The double reading of 1 Chr 17,24MT would therefore constitute a kind of analogue to other passages, where, as we have seen, 1 Chronicles 17MT provides a text that somewhat presupposes the existence of the reading attested in 1 Chronicles 17LXX, while not being identical to it.

The double κύριε κύριε 1 Chr 17,24LXX has nothing commendable.²⁶⁴

The preposition ל in one masoretic ms of 2 Sam 7,26 may be influenced by the reading in Chronicles. The reading על is preferable in 2 Sam 7. The shift to ל in Chronicles may have occurred under the influence of the preceding text in 2 Sam 7,24 // 1 Chr 17,22 according to which Yhwh became God *to* Israel. The simple genitive construction אלהי ישראל without preposition is attested only in 1 Chronicles 17 (LXX and the first member of MT's double reading). The omission of the preposition could have been facilitated by a shift in understanding of these words from a nominal sentence to an address to Yhwh, parallel to many shorter forms of address in David's prayer. Such a situation can be observed in 1 Chr 17,24LXX, where θεός Ισραηλ presupposes אלהי ישראל while the vocatives κύριε κύριε show that the text was understood as an address.

As indicated in the previous paragraph, the understanding of 2 Sam 7,26aβ-γ as an embedded nominal clause (thus preceded by לאמר) is preferable. The understanding of this part of the text as an address, attested in 1 Chr 17,24LXX (and reconstructed by McCarter in 2 Sam 7), is harmonizing with many other addresses in David's prayer.

The double κύριε in 1 Chr 17,24LXX: SMT CMT ≠ CLXX ≠ SLXX(missing) (n)

Other differences: SMT 4QSam^a ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

דָּוִד עֲבָדָךָ; 1 Chr 17,24 דָּוִד עֲבָדָךָ. As in many similar cases, the reading of 2 Sam 7 is to be preferred.

SMT ≠ C ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

textual unit. This notification is justified because parts of the text are exactly the same in SMT and C.

²⁶³ Similarly Knoppers, 1 Chronicles 10-29, p. 680. I do not understand, however, why Knoppers says that both readings are "found in the textual witnesses to Samuel."

²⁶⁴ Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, believes that the doublet resulted from an attempt to restore κύριε in v. 25 after σύ. On this, see below.

יְהוָה; missing in 1 Chr 17,24.

The shorter reading seems peculiar because v. 24b is then presented as part of the reported speech; this is problematic because of the 2nd person pronouns in עַבְדְּךָ and לְפָנֶיךָ (for this reason, Vg reads 3rd person pronouns in 1 Chr 17,24b: *et domus David servi eius permanens coram eo*). I tend to prefer the longer, grammatically smoother reading of 2 Sam 7, all the more since the shorter reading is not attested in any of the main textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7.

SMT ≠ C ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

לְפָנֶיךָ; one masoretic ms adds לְעוֹלָם; similarly Syr ܡܢ ܗܝܬ ܠܠܗܝܬ; Tg^{ms} קדמך עד עולם.

It is not implausible that לְעוֹלָם was lost through homoiarcton. However, it is more likely that לְעוֹלָם appeared secondarily at the end of the verse under the influence of other instances of לְעוֹלָם and עַד עוֹלָם in 2 Sam 7, mainly those in vv. 16 and 29. The addition of לְעוֹלָם in some of the textual witnesses draws our attention to the structure of the shorter, more ancient text. לְעוֹלָם is not present there because both Yhwh's rule over Israel (v. 26aβ-γ) and the firmness of David's house (26b) are symptoms of the greatness of the name of Yhwh, which should be glorified forever in this manner (עַד עוֹלָם 26aα). Without לְעוֹלָם at the end of the verse, MT's majority reading does not fall short in understanding. On the contrary, לְעוֹלָם in this place is redundant.

Verse 27:

יְהוָה [יהוה] צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; 4QSam^a [יְהוָה] צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; 1 Chr 17,25MT אֱלֹהֵי; 1 Chr 17,25LXX^B omits any address except the preceding סֹט; 1 Chr 17,25LXX^A and some other mss read κύριε, while the majority of Greek mss have κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου.

As all the major textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7 (MT, LXX, 4QSam^a) agree against 1 Chr 17, the reading of which could be considered synonymous, the reading attested in 2 Sam 7 should be preferred.²⁶⁵

SMT 4QSam^a SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

לְבָנוֹת לֹא בֵּית 1 Chr 17,25; לְבָנוֹת לֹא בֵּית אֱבֹנֵה-לֶךְ.

²⁶⁵ Differently Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 680, who, however, incorrectly attributes the reading κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου to 1 Chr 17,25LXX^B, considering it the original reading and translating the beginning of 1 Chr 17,25 as a nominal clause: “indeed, you are Yhwh my God”, which, in my view, hardly fits the context. Knoppers regards 1 Chr 17,25MT as a result of parablepsis and believes that the longer reading of 2 Sam 7 is expansionist, “probably under the influence of the divine epithets in the previous verse.”

A typical case of synonymous readings in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17. The reading in Samuel must be preferred. The clumsiness of 1 Chr 17,25a suggests that it constitutes a poor attempt at simplification.²⁶⁶

S ≠ C (i)

אֶת־לְבוֹ; missing in 1 Chr 17,25; LXX^L adds ἐν θεῷ.

Since in the context of David's prayer in 2 Sam 7 the point is clearly to find the courage to ask for an eternal dynasty, the longer reading seems preferable. And as it is not clear how אֶת לְבוֹ could have been lost from the text, the reading of 1 Chr 17,25 is probably (an intentional) ellipsis.²⁶⁷ The plus in LXX^L is a pious addition.

S ≠ C (ni?)

לְפָנַי; Ms לפניך; Ms לך; 1 Chr 17,25 לְפָנַי.

Theoretically, we might speculate that the majority text of MT + LXX in 2 Sam 7 attempts to avoid the image of David praying "before Yhwh." However, this does not seem likely in view of v. 18 where David in MT "sits before Yhwh." לְפָנַי in a single(!) masoretic manuscript may be due to either the influence of v. 18 (and other occurrences of this preposition in v 2 Sam 7) or the reading of 1 Chr 17,25. In 2 Sam 7,25, אֵלַי that is attested by MT and LXX is more ancient. The reading לְפָנַי in 1 Chr 17,25 is probably an innovation by the Chronicler, who substituted it for the whole of אֵלַי אֶת־הַתְּפִלָּה הַזֹּאת (see the following note).

S ≠ C (i)

אֶת־הַתְּפִלָּה הַזֹּאת; missing in 1 Chr 17,25.

The variant of 1 Chr 17,25 is synonymous, the reading of 2 Sam 7 is preferable. 1 Chr 17,25 is elliptic; David found the courage to pray for the eternal dynasty, not to pray to Yhwh in general. The elliptical nature robs the prayer of rhetorical power, as the prayer attempts to underline the fact that Yhwh should do what he promised and what David now pleads for. It is another example of the Chronicler's shortening of the text at the end of the prayer.

S ≠ C (i)

Verse 28:

יְהוָה; אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה; nonn mss יהוה אלהים; 1 Chr 17,26 יְהוָה.

The reading יהוה אלהים emerged from the *qere* of the majority reading יהוה אֲדַנִּי to which LXX's κύριε μου κύριε also testifies. The reading of 1 Chr 17,26 is synonymous. As it is clear that the Chronicler omitted mate-

²⁶⁶ Cf. Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 84, who considers the Chronicles' reading as part "of a pronounced tendency in Chronicles to abbreviate the text in the closing verses of the prayer."

²⁶⁷ Pace Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, p. 680.

rial in this part of the prayer, it would be wrong to defend 1 Chr 17,26 as *lectio brevior*. The reading אדני יהוה is preferable.

S ≠ C (i)

הַאֱלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,26LXX θεός.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

וְדִבְרֵי יְהוָה אֲמַת; missing in 1 Chr 17,26. The first word is attested in 4QSam^a.

The clause perfectly corresponds to the rhetorical arrangement of David's prayer and is usually considered original. The omission in Chronicles is sometimes thought to be due to homoioarcton (from וְדִבְרֵי to וְתִדְבֵּר)²⁶⁸, but, again, it may be an intentional shortening.²⁶⁹ Since the conditions for parablepsis are not perfect, I find the second description more probable.

S ≠ C (i)

וְתִדְבֵּר; LXX^L καθὼς ἐλάλησας.

The reading of LXX^L is secondary, provoked by the future understanding of the preceding verb יהיו (ἔσονται). As such, the variant might well be inner-Greek.

עַל; LXX ὑπὲρ; 1 Chr 17,26 עַל.

The same situation as in 2 Sam 7,19. Again, LXX's reading indicates that עַל was present in Chronicles' source. We cannot determine which reading is older with certainty, but I tend to prefer עַל. The formulation דִּבֵּר (טוב) appears only with the preposition עַל, whether the phrase means "to speak on behalf of" (Jer 18,20; Esth 7,9) or "to promise good" (Num 10,29; 1 S 25,30; Jer 32,42).²⁷⁰ Similarly, דִּבֵּר רַע is frequently paired with the preposition עַל (1 Kgs 22,23; Jer 11,17; 18,8; 19,15; 26,13.19; 16,10; 35,17), even if, admittedly, it also appears with אֶל (Jer 36,31; 40,2MT – yet in the corresponding text, 47,2LXX has ἐπὶ, presupposing עַל which seems preferable in this case).

Cf. also 2 Sam 7,25 where David asks Yhwh to fulfill the word that he spoke of "your servant and his house."

SMT ≠ SLXX C (n)

אֶת; missing in 1 Chr 17,26.

Synonymous readings, hence that of 2 Sam 7,28 should be preferred.

S ≠ C (i)

²⁶⁸ Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 681; Murray, Prerogative, p. 84.

²⁶⁹ Suggested by Murray, Prerogative, p. 84, as an alternative explanation.

²⁷⁰ Note, however, that דִּבֵּר טוֹבוֹת, presumably meaning "speak kindly" appears with אֶל in Jer 12,6 (and with אֶת in 2 Kgs 25,28 = Jer 52,32), and the phrase דִּבֵּר רַע אוֹ טוֹב appears with אֶל in Gen 24,50.

Verse 29:

הואל; 4QSam^a הואל; 1 Chr 17,27MT הוֹאֵלָה; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B ἡρξαι; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^{rell} ἡρξω.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B ἡρξαι is too peculiar, and I therefore follow Rahlfs in accepting the majority reading ἡρξω in 1 Chr 17,27LXX (cf., however Est 6,13).²⁷¹ Therefore, 1 Chr 17,27LXX corresponds to 1 Chr 17,27MT. Taking into account the wider context, the reading of 2 Sam 7, i.e. the imperative (or the inf. abs. with the imperative meaning), seems more ancient.

S ≠ C (i)

וּבְרַךְ; 4QSam^a וּבְרַךְ; 1 Chr 17,27MT לְבָרַךְ; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B εὐλογῆσαι; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^{AN rell} pr τοῦ.

If 2 Sam 7 preserves a more ancient reading of the preceding word, then it should also be considered more ancient in this case.

S ≠ C (i).

אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה; pc mss יהוה אלהים; 1 Chr 17,27MT יְהוָה; missing in 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B, the remaining mss reading κύριε in agreement with 1 Chr 17,27MT.

The situation should be evaluated much the same way as the beginning of the previous verse. The reading יהוה אלהים originated from the *qere* of MT's majority reading אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה, supported also by LXX's κύριε μου κύριε. The original reading of 1 Chr 17,27 should be regarded as synonymous to 2 Sam 7, but it is not entirely clear whether the more ancient reading in 1 Chr 17,27 is יהוה or a mere pronoun as in 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B. It seems more likely that MT provides the older reading in 1 Chr 17,27. However, LXX^B represents here OG; the omission of יהוה from LXX's *Vorlage* may be due to parablepsis after אתה.²⁷²

Regardless, it remains clear that since the Chronicler was apparently shortening the text in this part of the prayer, we may hardly defend the reading of 1 Chr 17,26 as *lectio brevior*. The reading אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה is preferable.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i, n)

בְּרִכַּת; 1 Chr 17,27 בְּרִכַּת.

The reading of 1 Chr 17 is a result of assimilation to what follows in both 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17.

S ≠ C (i)

²⁷¹ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235, and Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 681, say that in 2 Sam 7,29LXX, the Greek ἄρξαι reflect החל (i.e. "begin [to bless]"). This is unlikely, since the middle of ἄρξω often translates יאל hiph. (Gen 18,27; Deut 1,5; Judg 1,27.35; 17,11; 19,6 [A]; 2 Sam 7,29; 1 Chr 17,27; Job 6,9; Hos 5,11).

²⁷² So also Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 681.

יְבָרֵךְ; 4QSam^a [] [ומ]ברכתך; LXX καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλογίας σου (> LXX^B) εὐλογηθήσεται; 1 Chr 17,27MT וַיְבָרֵךְ; 1 Chr 17,27LXX καὶ εὐλόγησον.

In 2 Sam 7, LXX's reading corresponds to MT; the text with the suffixed 2nd p. sg. pronoun is in any case more ancient than without it. The absence of σου in LXX^B may be due to an inner-Greek development. The loss of the pronoun in LXX^B may have been facilitated by the graphical similarity of the pronoun with the end of the preceding and the beginning of the following word (it is after σ and before εἰ).

The clumsy reading of 1 Chr 17,27MT is manifestly secondary in comparison with 2 Sam 7, the only question being whether it is another case of the Chronicler's shortening at the end of the prayer or a scribal mistake. It might be due to parablepsis, the scribe's eye passing over from one word of the root בֵּרַךְ to the other (simultaneously, the words בֵּית עֲבָדְךָ which follow in 2 Sam 7,29 could be omitted from 1 Chr 17,27 due to homoioteleuton – see the following note). The resultant phrase can be compared to Num 22,6 (אֵת אֲשֶׁר תְּבָרֵךְ מְבָרֵךְ), yet the text in 1 Chr 17,27bMT may also be understood as “you have blessed and are blessed forever”²⁷³.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,27LXX is probably secondary in comparison with 1 Chr 17,27MT. Since 1 Chr 17,27 lacked בֵּית עֲבָדְךָ which follows in 2 Sam 7, the verse 1 Chr 17,27b was probably considered too elliptical (מְבָרֵךְ was *not* related to Yhwh), and the second form of the root בֵּרַךְ was changed to an imperative. This change may have occurred in the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,27LXX, or it may be the work of the translator.

SMT (4QSam^a) SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (ni? [the difference between S and C], i)

בֵּית עֲבָדְךָ; missing in 1 Chr 17,27.

The variant in 1 Chr 17,27 again begs the question of whether it is due to intentional reducing or to parablepsis through homoioteleuton.²⁷⁴

S ≠ C (ni?)

2.1.2 *The meaning of the chapter in the main textual witnesses and the chronology of the alleged “editions” of the text*

In the preceding notes a few important textual variants has not been dealt with that affect the overall meaning of Nathan's oracle and of the whole chapter. Since there could be a relationship between the emergences of some of these variants in certain witness(es), it seems appropriate to treat them together.

²⁷³ As suggested by Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 681.

²⁷⁴ The latter is argued by McKenzie, Use, p. 52-53.

In essence, the texts differ chiefly on the question of *who* is going to build *what* for *whom* according to 2 Sam 7,11b / 1 Chr 17,10b. Scholars connect the variants in this half-verse with other variant readings, mainly in 2 Sam 7,5b / 1 Chr 17,3b and 2 Sam 7,16 / 1 Chr 17,14. The following paragraphs summarize the most important differences between the textual witnesses that played a role in the recent discussion on the most ancient text of 2 Sam 7 and its subsequent development.²⁷⁵

2.1.2.1 2 Sam 7MT

2 Sam 7,11bMT reads: *וְהָגִיד לְךָ יְהוָה בֵּית יְעֹשֶׂה לְךָ יְהוָה* – “and Yhwh declares to you that Yhwh will make you a house.” Yhwh’s pledge to David to build a house (= a dynasty) for him in 2 Sam 7MT can be understood as a pointed contrast to the rhetorical question in v. 5: *הֲאֵתָה תִּבְנֶה לִּי בַּיִת לְשֹׁכְתִי* – “are you to build me a house for me to dwell in?”. The text thus contains a pun, playing with the ambiguity of the word *בית* which denotes temple in v. 5b and dynasty in v. 11b, and the promise of a dynasty is also formulated as a somewhat contrasting answer to David’s rejected plan to build a temple to Yhwh. As said by Wellhausen, “not David to Yahweh, but Yahweh to David will build a house.”²⁷⁶ V. 16 is in accord with this basic meaning of MT: “your [David’s] house and your kingdom will be sure forever before you. Your throne shall be established forever” (*וְנָאֲמַן* (בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד-עוֹלָם לְפָנֶיךָ כְּסֶאֱךָ יְהוָה נָכוֹן עַד-עוֹלָם)).²⁷⁷

2.1.2.2. 2 Sam 7LXX

LXX provides a different text in all three instances. According to 2 Sam 7,11LXX, the Lord will announce to David that David will build a house, meaning temple, for the Lord (*καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ*). The Lord thus seems to support David’s original plan. V. 5b in LXX is not formulated as a rhetorical question, as it is in MT, but rather as an indicative sentence, an announcement to David that he will not be the one to build the temple (implying that it will be someone else) *οὐ σὺ οἰκοδομήσεις μοι οἶκον τοῦ κατοικῆσαί με*. As to the builder of the temple, the statements of v. 5b and v. 11b seem to be in blatant contradiction. Still,

²⁷⁵ More detailed descriptions of the contents of Nathan’s oracle in various textual witnesses are presented by Schenker, Verheissung and Hugo, Archéologie. I believe, however, that some variant readings do not necessarily have the meaning ascribed to them by these scholars.

²⁷⁶ Wellhausen, Composition, str. 257.

²⁷⁷ As the 2nd p. sg. suffix in *לפניך* is usually considered to be the result of a scribal mistake, we probably should read *לפני* even in MT, together with LXX (see above the note *ad loc.*).

W. Schniedewind believes that, in opposition to MT, there is a “pro-temple *tendenz*”²⁷⁸ in both of these variants of LXX. While in MT, v. 5b questions David’s plan to build a house for God where the latter would dwell or sit enthroned, the Greek text speaks merely of the postponement of David’s plan. V. 11b in LXX is not a promise of the long life of David’s dynasty, but rather an announcement of the building of a temple by David. Neither is David’s dynasty mentioned in v. 16 of LXX, since there are the 3rd p. pronouns referring to David’s descendant (Solomon) rather than the 2nd p. suffixes that would refer to David (as in MT): καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.²⁷⁹ LXX is then most likely to mention Solomon’s house in v. 16, and there is no explicit mention of David’s house in the whole of Nathan’s oracle in LXX.

2.1.2.3 2 Sam 7LXX^L

In the Lucianic text of the Greek Bible, 2 Sam 7,11b reads καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει ἑαυτῷ – “and the Lord will tell you that he will build a house to himself.” There is still no mention of David’s dynasty in v. 11b, since the builder of the temple is the Lord himself. The reading of vv. 5b in LXX^L is in accord with LXX’s majority text, and therefore the combination of v. 5b and v. 11b leads to the statement that the temple is not to be built by David but by the Lord. In v. 16, the Lucianic text speaks, like the rest of LXX, of the house of David’s descendant, and so Nathan’s oracle does not mention “the house of David” here either.

2.1.2.4 1 Chr 17MT

1 Chr 17MT has the following readings in the three discussed passages:

v. 4b: לֹא אֶתְּהָ תִבְנֶה לִּי הַבַּיִת לְשֹׁבֶת

v. 10b: וְאֶגְדָּ לְךָ וּבֵית יִבְנֶה לְךָ יְהוָה

v. 14: וְהָעִמְדָתִיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי וּבִמְלָכוֹתַי עַד־הָעוֹלָם וְכִסְאוֹ יִהְיֶה נֹכַח עַד־הָעוֹלָם:

Yhwh promises then in v. 10b that he will build a house (a dynasty) for David. Strictly speaking, according to the masoretic pointing וְאֶגְדָּ Yhwh gave the promise in the past. In v. 14, however, the word בֵּית does not denote a “dynasty.” Here Yhwh promises that he will appoint David’s descendant forever in his, that is Yhwh’s, house and in his kingdom.²⁸⁰ In the second part of verse 14, it is promised that the throne of David’s descendant (= Solomon) will be eternally secure.

²⁷⁸ Schniedewind, Criticism.

²⁷⁹ LXX^B has ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, in contrast to MT’s לפניך, for which see above.

²⁸⁰ For more on this promise see Schenker, Verheissung, p. 182; McKenzie, David, p. 223.

In comparison with 2 Sam 7MT, 1 Chr 17MT contains several other important differences in other parts of the text. In 2 Sam 7MT the combining effect of v. 5b and v. 13a creates a contrast between the house where Yhwh would reside or sit enthroned, the building of which is rejected, and a house for the name of Yhwh that is to be built by a descendant of David.²⁸¹ In 1 Chr 17, this difference between the rejected house and the house that is to be built is not present. Unlike 2 Sam 7,5bMT, v. 4b does not contain the rhetorical question that rejects David's plan to build a house for Yhwh's dwelling. Much like 2 Sam 7,5bLXX, 1 Chr 17,4b merely states that the house for Yhwh will not be built by David. Later on, v. 12a reads **הָיָא יִבְנֶה-לִּי בַּיִת**. Therefore, in 1 Chr 17,4b.12a, the point is merely the postponement of the planned construction of the house.

Unlike 2 Sam 7MT, it is less ambiguous who is the referent of the substantive **זֶרַע** in 1 Chr 7,11-14MT. While in the case of 2 Sam 7MT it is not clear whether vv. 12-15 speak of a descendant of David or of his descendants or both, in 1 Chr 17 Solomon is clearly the referent of the substantive **זֶרַע** and of the pronouns in the 3rd person that refer to it. In v. 12 this is indicated by the statement that the **זֶרַע** in question would be that of David's sons. The following verse promises the descendant a filial relationship to God, but unlike 2 Sam 7, this promise is not accompanied by a reference to the punishment for the sins of the king, which corresponds to the idealization of Solomon's rule in Chronicles. Also 1 Chr 22,9f. and 28,6 show that for the Chronicler the sonship of God is not connected to the office of a Davidic king, but is a specific distinction of the builder of the temple.

2.1.2.5 1 Chr 17LXX

In 1 Chr 17LXX, as in 1 Chr 17MT, there is no difference in the function of the temple that David intended to build and the temple that would be built by his descendant, so the rejection of David's plan only amounts to its postponement. As is also the case in 1 Chr 17MT, it is quite clear in 1 Chr 17LXX that the referent of **τὸ σπέρμα** in vv. 11-14 is David's son Solomon.

Whether 1 Chr 17LXX actually has a different meaning to that of 1 Chr 17MT depends on which text we are reading in 1 Chr 17,10bLXX. A. Schenker considers the original Greek text to be the reading contained in mss B, S and c₂: **καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος** – “and I will increase you, and the Lord will build you.”²⁸² Thus in place of MT's **וְאִגְדַּלְךָ**, LXX reads one word **וְאִגְדַּלְךָ**. More importantly, this Greek reading seems to have no equivalent for MT's word **וּבֵית**, the object of **οἰκοδομήσει**

²⁸¹ For a more thorough discussion of the text see below in ch. 2.4.4, p. 171-173.

²⁸² Schenker, *Verheissung*, p. 182-185.

being David himself. Schenker paraphrases this statement as “und der Herr wird für dich, deine Prosperität und Sicherheit sorgen”; he finds parallels for the phrase “to build someone” in Jer 24,6; 33,7; Ps 28,5. Therefore he believes the issue is the promise to David, but not a dynastic promise. Since v. 14 has a similar meaning in LXX and MT, Nathan’s oracle in 1 Chr 17LXX would not include an explicit dynastic promise to David nor Solomon.

According to Schenker, the original text of 1 Chr 17,10bLXX presupposes a Hebrew *Vorlage* יהוה ויבנה לך יהוה or יבנה לך יהוה, and he regards this shorter text as older than MT’s reading mentioning the “house.” However, the form of v. 10b is not uniform in the manuscript tradition of LXX. Mss A, N and several minuscules have the reading καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σοι, ms f reads καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος and the noun οἶκος is present in many other mss, mostly after the pronoun σοι. In the text-critical note *ad loc.*, I agreed with those scholars who locate the OG reading of 1 Chr 17,10b in ms f. As explained by L. C. Allen, the reading of LXX^B would then be due to an omission of οἶκον and subsequent adaptation of the pronoun, perhaps under the influence of the accusative in the preceding clause καὶ αὐξήσω σε.²⁸³ Now, if OG read καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος, then the meaning of Nathan’s oracle in 1 Chr 17LXX would not originally be very different from that of 1 Chr 17MT.

Recently, several studies have discussed the differences in the meaning of Nathan’s oracle in various textual witnesses, and some of them concluded that the differences are due to a set of intentional changes, so that different forms of the text can be understood as different literary editions. Scholars disagree, however, on the question of the chronology of these supposed editions.

²⁸³ Allen, *Chronicles II*, p. 47; Allen is followed by Pisano, *Deuteronomist*, p. 276. Concerning this kind of explanation, Schenker (p. 184) says that “es ist auch unwahrscheinlich, dass dieses Akkusativobjekt [=οἶκον] irrtümlich durch Homoiarkton ausfiel, weil diese Annahme das Pronomen σε oder (sic!) σοι nicht erklären würde, das als weitere Differenz den LXX-Text vom MT unterscheidet. Die Lesart σοι im Dativ ist näher beim MT. Sie ist auch leichter verständlich als jene mit σε im Akkusativ. Deshalb ist die älteste LXX-Form jene der Zeugen B, S, 127.” – In my view, without the accusative οἶκον, it is the dative σοι which becomes difficult, and it makes sense that it was changed into σε in order to supply an object to the verb οἰκοδομήσει. Note that if we accept, as I did *supra* in the text-critical note, that in general, a form of 1 Chr 17,10b mentioning the “house” is more ancient than a reading without it, then it is very probable that its loss happened in the Greek. The text καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος seems more prone to the omission of οἶκον, than יהוה ויבנה לך יהוה (MT) or כי בית יבנה לך יהוה (the text I have reconstructed as original in 1 Chr 17,10) are to the omission of בית.

2.1.2.6 W. M. Schniedewind

W. M. Schniedewind described some variants of 2 Sam 7LXX as a part of the changes in the books of Reigns which, in his opinion, show signs of “a pro-temple bias.”²⁸⁴ Schniedewind believes that translators are responsible for these changes, and the studied variant readings of LXX therefore do not presuppose a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from MT.

Schniedewind finds a pro-temple bias in the Greek text of 2 Sam 7,11, as here, unlike in MT, the word οἶκος denotes a temple, not a dynasty. A curious promise that David is to build a temple for Yhwh may in the end only mean that it is Solomon who will build the temple. According to Schniedewind, this translation could arise from the notion, which he believes is present in Chronicles, that David and Solomon are both builders of the temple. He finds another instance of LXX’s pro-temple bias in v. 5b, where LXX reads οὐ σὺ in contrast to הָאֵתָה in MT. While in MT Yhwh, according to Schniedewind, “questions the whole enterprise of temple building”²⁸⁵, LXX only rejects David as the temple builder.

Schniedewind’s interpretation of changes in v 2 Sam 7,16 is of greatest interest. While MT promises to David eternal stability of his house, his kingdom and his throne, in LXX these words are followed by possessive pronouns in the 3rd person, thus speaking of the house, the kingdom and the throne of Solomon. Schniedewind suggests that ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ here does not denote Solomon’s dynasty, but rather the temple that Solomon built, because the pun based on the ambiguity of בֵּית has disappeared from Nathan’s oracle due to changes in v. 11, and ὁ οἶκος in the Greek text only denotes the temple. Nathan’s oracle in LXX has, in Schniedewind’s view, become a promise of the firm establishment of the temple.

I shall later return to Schniedewind’s overall interpretation of the Greek text, but I would like to add a methodological note at this point. Schniedewind denies that any of the mentioned variants in LXX would be based on a different *Vorlage* than MT. But, as he himself notes, the reading οὐ σὺ in 2 Sam 7,5LXX has a parallel in the reading לֹא אֵתָה in 1 Chr 17,4. According to Schniedewind, the reading of 1 Chr 17,4 could have influenced the Greek translation of 2 Sam 7,5, but “[t]here is no reason to suspect that the Septuagint and the Chronicles reflect a *Vorlage* other than the masoretic text since there is no trigger for a scribal error from הָאֵתָה to לֹא אֵתָה (sic!). On the contrary, it is easy to understand this change as a theologically motivated interpretation.”²⁸⁶ Schniedewind seems to be unaware that a *theologically motivated change* could have occurred in the textual tradition of the books of Samuel which included the copies that the author of Chronicles and the translator of 2 Samuel to Greek were working with. In cases

²⁸⁴ Schniedewind, Criticism. Schniedewind concentrates on the variants in 2 Sam 7,1-17; 24,25; 1 Kgs 8,16.

²⁸⁵ Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 111.

²⁸⁶ Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 112; cf. also his conclusion on p. 115-116.

like this, when the Greek text of 1–2 Reigns is in accord with the Hebrew reading of 1 Chronicles, it is methodologically more appropriate to suppose that this reading was already contained in the scrolls of Samuel that were available to the translators of Samuel into Greek and to the author(s) of Chronicles.

2.1.2.7 J. Lust

According to J. Lust, the most ancient form of Nathan's oracle is present in the Lucianic Greek text of 2 Sam 7.²⁸⁷ Lust's preferencing of the Lucianic text is based on a general postulate that, in its "proto-Lucianic" form, the Lucianic text is a reliable witness of OG;²⁸⁸ he gives no argument in favour of preferring the LXX^L text over mss Bya₂ specifically in 2 Sam 7.

Lust believes that v. 16 is more ancient in the form attested in Greek texts, where the house, the kingdom and the throne of David's descendant (Lust identifies him with Solomon) is promised to survive for eternity, than in MT, where the same is promised to David. He accepts Mettinger's argument that this original Solomonic version of the promise is presupposed in Solomon's words in 1 Kgs 2,24.²⁸⁹ David's house is also not mentioned in 2 Sam 7,11bLXX^L, according to which Yhwh announces to David that Yhwh is about to build a house for himself. The main topic of the Lucianic text is, according to Lust, the focus on Yhwh's initiative rather than on dynasty.²⁹⁰ David wished to build a temple, but God prohibited him from doing so, reminding him of all that he did for David and for the people. It should be the same with the temple – if Yhwh wishes to build a temple for himself he will do so (v. 11b), which means in practice that Yhwh will make David's descendant king and the builder of the temple.

A "Davidization" of the dynastic promise then occurred later in MT. In v. 16 the dynasty is no longer promised to Solomon, but to David, and only at this point does v. 11 become a dynastic promise to David. Lust finds other, more minor traces of this redaction in v. 9 ("the great name")²⁹¹ and v. 15 (a mention of Saul and a mention of David in מלפניך). Lust attributes the whole prayer that follows the prophecy to this davidizing redaction.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Lust, David.

²⁸⁸ Lust, David, p. 245, 252. The importance of LXX^L as a witness of OG even in non-*kaige* sections has been emphasized in recent times by Kreuzer, Lukian; *id.*, Old Greek. This question, however, cannot be discussed here; for a criticism of Kreuzer's approach, see Law – Kauhanen, Remarks.

²⁸⁹ Mettinger, King, p. 58.

²⁹⁰ Lust, David, p. 260.

²⁹¹ At this point even LXX^L reads ὄνομα μέγα. Lust (p. 254 and 261) regards the majority reading of LXX and 1 Chr 17,8 without the adjective "great" as more ancient. The reading of LXX^L was in this case, according to Lust, adapted to MT.

²⁹² Lust, David, p. 259–260.

I do not find Lust's analysis very convincing. As mentioned above, Lust does not explain why he locates the oldest form of the Greek text of 2 Sam 7 in LXX^L against the majority scholarly opinion that, in this part of Reigns, the most ancient readings are to be found above all in codex *Vaticanus* (LXX^B).²⁹³

It is problematic to try to defend the priority of the "Solomonic" text in 2 Sam 7,16LXX by drawing on 1 Kgs 2,24. Firstly, we may find other passages in Samuel and Kings that are in accord with 2 Sam 7,16MT, promising a dynasty to David (1 Sam 25,28; 1 Kgs 2,4.33; 8,25; cf. also 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19); other texts in the HB also contain the idea of the dynasty of David (e.g. Ps 89,30-38; 132,11-12; Jer 23,5 etc.).²⁹⁴ Secondly, it is possible that 1 Kgs 2,24 is corrupt. This verse reads:

MT:

ועתה חי יהוה אשר הכינני ויושיבני (Q: ויושיבני) על כסא דוד אבי ואשר עשה לי
בית כאשר דבר כי היום יומת אדניהו

LXX^B: καὶ νῦν ζῇ κύριος ὃς ἡτοίμασέν με καὶ ἔθετό με ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον
Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησέν μοι οἶκον καθὼς ἐλάλησεν
κύριος ὅτι σήμερον θανατωθήσεται Ἀδωνεία

In the apparatus, BHK suggests (with a question mark) reading לו instead of לי, and J. Gray in his commentary proposes the same²⁹⁵. In my opinion, this emendation is fitting because the suffix of the 1st p. makes no sense here. Solomon can say that in the exact moment that he sat on David's throne, Yhwh built a house for David. But Yhwh definitely did not build a house for Solomon in this moment. There are other references to Nathan's oracle in 1 Kgs 2, but they are in accord with 2 Sam 7MT in their reference to the house of David (vv. 4.33, also cf. v. 45 which only mentions David's throne, but in so doing also presupposes 2 Sam 7,16 in MT's form). The confusion of *waw* and *yod* is quite common²⁹⁶; in 1 Kgs 2,24, the change of לו into לי would be easy to understand after the triple suffix of the 1st p. sg. in the previous part of the verse.

Lust's attribution of the whole of David's prayer (2 Sam 7,18-29) to the davidizing redaction present in MT is problematic. How would it then be possible that LXX (including LXX^L) contains this prayer? Does it mean that LXX^L preserves the old form of vv. 1-17, while vv. 18-29 were added to LXX^L in the image of the more recent form of the text contained in MT?

²⁹³ Cf. arguments against Lust's preference of LXX^L in Schenker, *Verheissung*, p. 179.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Schenker, *Verheissung*, p. 188, listing these and other texts and claiming that the reading of 2 Sam 7,11.16LXX contradicts them and is therefore, as *lectio difficilior*, more ancient. See below for a further discussion.

²⁹⁵ Gray, *Kings*, p. 103-104.

²⁹⁶ Delitzsch, *Schreibfehler*, p. 103-105; Tov, *Criticism*, 246-247.

Similar developments are not *a priori* excluded, but there is, as far as I can see, no proof supporting such an interpretation in this case. Lust makes no comment on these issues in his article.

2.1.2.8 A. Schenker, P. Hugo and our view of the textual history of 2 Sam 7

The most elaborate analysis of the various forms of the text of Nathan's oracle was provided by A. Schenker and P. Hugo. In their opinion the most ancient form of the text is present in 2 Sam 7LXX,²⁹⁷ but unlike Lust, they do not seek the most ancient Greek readings of 2 Sam 7 in the Lucianic text. Hugo explicitly supports the prevailing opinion that in non-*kaige* sections of Samuel, the best witness of OG is the *Codex Vaticanus*.²⁹⁸

Schenker provides an analysis of the main differences in Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7,1-17 // 1 Chr 17,1-15) in 2 Sam 7MT, 2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17MT and 1 Chr 17LXX. As in the case of the other scholars that have already been mentioned, the variants in 2 Sam 7,5.11.16 // 1 Chr 17,3.10.14 are the main focus of his study. According to Schenker, the differences between the main textual forms of Nathan's oracle are of a literary nature. Schenker finds the most ancient form of the text in 2 Sam 7LXX, which presents in his opinion a *hieros logos* of the temple of Jerusalem, with David as its builder. This is not the case in 1 Chr 17LXX, which is the second stage of the evolution of the text and where Solomon is the builder of the temple. God does not promise to build a dynasty for David in either of these older texts (Schenker reads καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος in 1 Chr 17,10LXX). The dynasty is promised to David only in 2 Sam 7MT and 1 Chr 17MT, the final stage in the evolution of the text according to Schenker.

The main clues that lead Schenker to this conclusion are the inner narrative coherence of the text and the coherence of the text within its context. The more a certain reading of the text is in tension with its context, the higher the chances that it is original, according to Schenker. Therefore the only rule is *lectio difficilior probabilior* applied to the logical coherence of the text. Schenker regards the evolution from MT to LXX in 2 Sam 7 as very improbable, as such a shift would lead to a foursome "tension" in the text:

Eine erste mit der Erzählung in 1 Chr 17, deren Parallelität aufgelöst und durch Asymmetrie ersetzt worden wäre, eine zweite mit dem Dankgebet Davids in V. 18-29, weil darin das Haus Davids siebenmal als Gegenstand der göttlichen Huld vorkommt; eine dritte Spannung wäre zwischen der in

²⁹⁷ Schenker, Verheissung; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 176-191. Hugo already briefly commented on the textual differences in 2 Sam 7,11.16 in *id.*, Jerusalem Temple, p. 184-186.

²⁹⁸ Hugo, Archéologie, p. 180. Cf. also Schenker, Verheissung, p. 179.

2 Sam 7,16; 1 Kön 2,24 an *Salomos* Haus ergangenen Verheissung Gottes und den zahlreichen Stellen aufgebrochen, an denen die Verheissung an *Davids* Haus ergeht: 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kön 2,5[sic]; 8,25; 11,36; 16,4[sic]; 2 Kön 8,19, und so würde unverständlich werden, warum der kommende Messias aus Davids Haus (z.B. Ps 89,30-38; 132,11-12; Jes 9,5-6; 11,1-5; 55,3-4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; 33,15; Ez 34,23-24 usw.) und nicht vielmehr aus dem Haus Salomos käme. Eine vierte, mehrfache Spannung ergäbe sich daraus, dass JHWH in V. 5 den Tempelbau ablehnt, David aber nach V. 11 zu ihm ermächtigt, während gemäss V. 13 der Sohn Davids den Tempel bauen wird. Diese doppelte Spannung bildet die Schwierigkeit der Textgestalt der LXX. Aus welchem Grund würde ein Redaktor eine solche Spannung in einen spannungsfreien Text denn eintragen wollen?²⁹⁹

On the contrary, all such tensions would have been neutralized by an opposite evolution of the text.

Schenker believes that there are texts in MT of Kings that presuppose the text of 2 Sam 7 in LXX's form, thus testifying indirectly in favour of this text's antiquity. These passages are: 1 Kgs 2,24; 9,5; 11,36. The text of 1 Kgs 2,24 indeed seems to presuppose the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7,16 in LXX's form. However, as I already indicated, Solomon's statement in 1 Kgs 2,24 makes no sense in the given context, and we might suppose that it is corrupt. 1 Kgs 9,5 probably does not support 2 Sam 7,16LXX. 1 Kgs 9,5b reads כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי עַל דָּוִד אֲבִיךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא יִכְרֹת לְךָ אִישׁ מֵעַל כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל; the promise is introduced by לֵאמֹר, and it is best understood as direct speech to David. The pronoun of the 2nd p. sg. in לְךָ thus probably refers to David, not to Solomon. Vv. 4-5a conditionally promise eternal stability of the throne of Solomon's kingship over Israel; the case here is of a new promise to Solomon, the direct reference to 2 Sam 7 being only in v. 5b. It is not clear to me in what manner 1 Kgs 11,36 supposedly testifies in favour of 2 Sam 7LXX; perhaps Schenker adduces it by mistake. The main argument for the originality of 2 Sam 7LXX is thus the difficult nature of the text as regards its narrative coherence.

Hugo interprets the differences between MT and LXX in 2 Sam 7,1-17 in a very similar manner to Schenker. He focuses on seven textual differences:

- 1) v. 1 – הִנֵּחֲלֵי / κατεκληρονόμησεν
- 2) v. 5 – הָאֵתָה / οὐ σὺ
- 3) v. 9 – וַעֲשֵׂתִי לְךָ שֵׁם גָּדוֹל / καὶ ἐποίησά σε ὀνομαστὸν
- 4) v. 11b, with its various forms in 2 Sam 7, 1 Chr 17,10, and 4Q174.
- 5) v. 13 – אֶת־כִּסֵּא מַלְכָּתוֹ / τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ
- 6) v. 15 – מֵעַם שְׂאוֹל אֲשֶׁר הִסְרֹתִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ / ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέστησα ἐκ προσώπου μου
- 7) v. 16, with its differences in all the pronominal suffixes.

²⁹⁹ Schenker, *Verheissung*, p. 188.

I discussed Hugo's proposals regarding the mentioned variation in v. 1 above *ad loc.*, and there is no need to revisit this here. Hugo considers all the remaining textual differences to be the result of editorial activity in MT. This activity was, in his view, led by a "pro-Davidic" and, in a way, a "pro-Temple" bias (in Hugo's understanding, "pro-Temple" means that MT makes the temple "le résultat de la seule volonté divine")³⁰⁰.

In the course of his argument, Hugo makes a number of important methodological remarks. He divides the existing interpretations of the differences between MT and LXX of 2 Sam 7 into two groups. One group of scholars understands 2 Sam 7LXX as a witness to a process of "Solomonization" of the oracle (Barthélemy, Schniedewind, Pietsch), while the second group considers MT to be the result of a "dynastic correction in favour of David" (Mettinger, Lust, Schenker). Hugo notes that the differences of the kind we have in 2 Sam 7 may often be interpreted in both directions. He believes we should consider three elements: "l'accumulation et la cohérence des indices internes à un texte donné; 2° les références bibliques et/ou historiques donnant des repères stables de jugement; 3° l'accumulation de variantes littéraires de même nature dans une section narrative plus large."³⁰¹ These methodological principles seem to me appropriate, but I remain unconvinced by their application in Hugo's study.

Hugo focuses on two topics – royal ideology and the theology of the temple. Concerning the former, Hugo finds a pro-Davidic revision in MT, apparent in vv. 9.13.15.16. The question is whether, in these variation units, we can recognize a coherent set in MT's variants. MT's reading in v. 9 is, in actual fact, in no way stronger than the reading of LXX since a pro-Davidic tendency is present in both texts; this means that even if MT were secondary, we could hardly speak of a theologically motivated "revision." R. F. Person is right that there is no need to ascribe major ideological importance to such minor variants.³⁰² As to the reading *אֵת כִּסֵּא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ* in v. 13MT (against τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ), the presence of *מַמְלַכְתּוֹ* might perhaps be understood as signaling a pro-monarchic tendency, but hardly as part of a pro-Davidic revision³⁰³ since the kingship in question is not David's but that of his descendant. As the verse speaks about the descendant who will build the temple, the identification with Solomon is here more at hand than in the following verses, so that, if anything, one should rather think here of a "pro-Solomonic" tendency of MT's plus. As to the variants in v. 15, MT explicitly names Saul here, and the pronominal suffix of the 2nd p. sg. in MT's *מִלְפָּנֶיךָ* refers to David. The reference to David is absent from the verse in LXX, and Saul is also not explicitly named. However, LXX's phrase ἂν ὧν ἀπέστησα ἐκ προσώπου μου may be understood as referring

³⁰⁰ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 190.

³⁰¹ P. Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 189.

³⁰² Person, *History*, p. 65-68 and *passim*.

³⁰³ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 182, 190.

to Saul's dynasty, and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of this phrase – מאשר הסרתי – מלפני – may refer to Saul himself.³⁰⁴ Now, if for the sake of the argument we assume that there is some kind of opposition on a supposed *pro-Solomonic* – *pro-Davidic* axis between the two forms of the text, does MT's reading in v. 15 really only move towards the pro-Davidic pole? Perhaps yes, since at least MT refers to David, and Saul is put away from before David; yet, at the same time, the main contrast of the verse created by the syntax of v. 15abα is the one between Saul and David's *posterity*, thus potentially between Saul and Solomon. What remains is primarily v. 16, where the main difference between MT and LXX does indeed consist in the fact that in the former, eternal duration is promised to the house of David, and in the latter to the house of Solomon.

If I understand correctly, the second methodological rule is related to Hugo's assertion that “[c]ette orientation de la prophétie de Nathan par le TM est en harmonie avec les mentions de la ‘maison de David’ dans de nombreux passages, comme l’a montré Schenker.”³⁰⁵ It should be recalled, however, that the passages mentioned by Schenker³⁰⁶ do not read a “non-pro-Davidic” text in LXX (except Jer 33,15 which is part of a large minus in LXX). Therefore, it seems to me methodologically problematic to accept Hugo's conclusion that MT's pro-Davidic bias is one of the specific features of the literary edition responsible for the emergence of proto-MT.³⁰⁷

Concerning the third criterion—the accumulation of literary variants of a similar kind in a wider narrative context—Hugo here refers to a previous study of his³⁰⁸ that focuses on two readings in 2 Sam 3,21.39. The interpre-

³⁰⁴ Admittedly, both LXX and its supposed *Vorlage* may also be understood differently. They may refer to certain people who once had the right to approach Yhwh, but then were denied this privilege. These could, for example, be the members of the priestly dynasty of Eli, who, according to 1 Sam 2,27-36, were destined to exercise priesthood, i.e. among other things to bear an ephod before Yhwh (v. 28) and to walk before Yhwh forever (v. 30), but due to their sins had their appointment to the priesthood revoked. (See ch. 3 for details). In such a case, the contrast described in 2 Sam 7,15LXX would be above all one between the revoked promise to the Elides, and the irrevocable promise to the Davidic dynasty.

³⁰⁵ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 190.

³⁰⁶ 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 2,5 (so Schenker; perhaps 2,4 is meant); 8,25; 11,36; 16,4 (so Schenker, probably 15,4 is meant); 2 Kgs 8,19; Ps 89,30-38; 132,11-12; Isa 9,5-6; 11,1-5; 55,3-4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; 33,15; Ezek 34,23-24, quoted in Schenker, *Verheissung*, p. 188. Admittedly, it is possible to imagine that in 1 Kgs 2,4 there is this kind of “pro-Davidic” tendency in MT as against LXX, since the latter lacks any reflex of the former's עָלַי. Yet, in view of the expressions לְאָמַר / λέγων and לְפָנַי / ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ in both witnesses, Yhwh's words must be understood as a quotation of direct speech, therefore most likely a speech directed to David. Hence the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd p. sg. refer to David. – Note that neither Schenker nor Hugo describe LXX's reading in 1 Kgs 2,4 as hinting to the older form of Nathan's oracle.

³⁰⁷ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 190.

³⁰⁸ P. Hugo, *Abner*.

tation of the textual differences in v. 21 does not convince me, and I am doubtful about the evaluation of the variants in v. 39, but it is impossible to attend to these questions here. I do not, however, rule out the possibility that MT of Samuel contains sections where David's picture is secondarily improved. J. Hutzli³⁰⁹ drew attention to several such passages and his interpretation seems feasible to me, at least in some cases. The presence of secondary euphemisms linked to David's image in MT has also been suggested by E. Tov.³¹⁰ However, the existence of such sections cannot play a major role in the evaluation of the variant readings in 2 Sam 7,16. What would, after all, be the point of such a supposed shift in MT? With regard to a change in pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. to the 2nd p. in v. 16, one could hardly speak of "relecture théologique en faveur de David." If we understand בית as "dynasty", it is not so important whether the promise is related to the house of David or the house of Solomon, as in any case the family in question is the one of David. Besides, even in LXX it is clear that in the most ancient form of David's prayer in vv. 18-29, David relates the promise to his house.³¹¹

As for the theology of the temple, Hugo believes there is a (secondary) tendency in 2 Sam 7MT to present the building of the temple as an outcome of God's sovereign decision.³¹² V. 11 in LXX is a concession to David's original plan, which was radically rejected by Yhwh in v. 5LXX (also in v. 5 Hugo is more in favour of the originality of the Septuagintal reading, principally because of MT's stylistic perfection³¹³). This concession disappears from MT (v. 11 becomes a promise of a dynasty), and Hugo also finds in MT of 2 Sam 5,6-12; 15,25 a similar emphasis on God's initiative in relation to all matters surrounding the temple.³¹⁴

The main argument against the originality of 2 Sam 7LXX is, in my opinion, an enormous incoherence in this form of the text. As Schenker pointed out, 2 Sam 7LXX contains several internal contradictions, and this form of the chapter is also in conflict with other texts. We have seen that it is precisely this "difficulty" of LXX's text that he counts as an argument for its originality. Hugo seems to accept this line of argument.³¹⁵ According

³⁰⁹ Hutzli, Retuschen, p. 102-115; *id.*, Erzählung, p. 32-33.

³¹⁰ E. Tov, Criticism, p. 271-272.

³¹¹ See below for a more nuanced formulation of this statement. It is possible that LXX's (secondary) text also intentionally permits a different understanding of the word בית in David's prayer.

³¹² Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190-191.

³¹³ Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

³¹⁴ I believe that in both 2 Sam 5,6-12 and 15,25, LXX's reading may be more ancient than MT. However, I disagree with Hugo's description of the factors that would have led to the alleged developments in MT. Discussion of these passages, however, cannot detain us here.

³¹⁵ Hugo, Archéologie, p. 189.

to both these scholars, the smoothness or “finesse”³¹⁶ of the text is rather a sign of its secondary status in comparison with the text that seems to be somehow “jagged.” Schenker suggestively asks whether it is conceivable that a redactor would insert into the text changes that would alter the text’s existing logical coherence (see e.g. the long quote above).

In contrast to this line of argument, I would suggest that if a given text is easy to distinguish as a unit and does not carry major marks of compilation of several sources or of a presence of more layers, it is a priori more likely that the text coming from the hands of its author (i.e. the most ancient text) was basically coherent (that is internally coherent, at least) and various tensions appeared in it during the long process of transmission. Tov has noted that scribal mistakes by definition create difficult readings.³¹⁷ My point here is, however, that voluntary changes, even if they are a part of a larger system of changes, may create narratively “difficult” readings. As a matter of fact, J. Hutzli is right to say that the rule *lectio difficilior praeferenda* does not apply to textual differences created by voluntary changes which do not aim to simplify the text.³¹⁸

A simple preference for narratively difficult texts might be inappropriate to the texts of the HB. The narrative smoothness of the text was probably not the main concern of a scribe in the Second Temple period when he was copying and editing a text that had some kind of authoritative status for him. Some secondary variants in the biblical texts were motivated by the scribe’s perception that the more ancient text was unacceptable theologically or for other reasons. Sometimes, we may infer from the context of such passages that the scribe followed his model more or less faithfully until he reached a passage whose wording he found explicitly heterodox or unacceptable for a different reason. At this point the scribe reworked the text into a more suitable form; but if the wider context of the passage presupposed the more ancient reading, the newly emerged text would not be coherent.³¹⁹

1 Sam 30,8MT is probably one example of such secondary incoherence.³²⁰ In 1 Sam 30, when David and his men come back to their town Ziklag, they discover that the town was burned down and their wives and children were taken captive. In v. 8, David thus inquires of Yhwh:

³¹⁶ Hugo, *Archéologie*, p. 178.

³¹⁷ Tov, *Criticism*, p. 303.

³¹⁸ Hutzli, *Retuschen*, p. 102-103.

³¹⁹ The emergence of variants of this kind seems to be provoked by a combining effect of two opposite pressures, both of them resulting from the authoritative status of the copied text. On the one hand, the scribe tended to copy the text “correctly” (even though there were manifestly various notions of what a correct copy of a text meant); on the other hand, he knew what the text could not contain.

³²⁰ For a detailed analysis, see Hutzli, *Retuschen*, p. 111-112. My summary depends on his treatment of the verse.

MT:

וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בַּיהוָה לֵאמֹר אֶרְדֵּי אֶת־רֵי הַגְּדֹד־הַזֶּה הָאֲשֶׁנִּגְנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְיָ כִּי־הֵשֵׁג תִּשְׁיֵג וְהֶעֱלַ תַּעֲלֵל:

LXX^B: καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν Δαυεὶδ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου λέγων εἰ καταδιώξω ὀπίσω τοῦ γεδδουρ τούτου εἰ καταλήμψομαι αὐτούς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ καταδίωκε ὅτι καταλαμβάνων καταλήμψῃ καὶ ἐξαιρούμενος ἐξελεῖ

In MT, v. 8aγ is introduced by the interrogative particle ה, but 8aβ is not. In LXX^B, however, both parts of David's speech are introduced by the particle εἰ. LXX's *Vorlage* probably read הָאֲרָדָה in 8aβ. That this is the older reading seems to be indicated by the fact that Yhwh's answer in 8b והֶעֱלַ תַּעֲלֵל presupposes the question הָאֲרָדָה. Hutzli suggests that a scribe active in the tradition leading to MT omitted the first interrogative particle because he found it strange that David would ask at all whether he should try to liberate the captives or not. However, the scribe did not change Yhwh's answer in a corresponding way, so that the presumably secondary text in MT is more "difficult" than the older text in LXX^B.

A similar example of a secondary, narratively difficult text could be 2 Sam 7LXX. As I will show in my description of rhetorical means used in 2 Sam 7, this chapter is, especially in MT, a very carefully crafted text; but in LXX, some of its literary finesse is lost, especially due to the variants in vv. 5.11.16. There are elements in the chapter that are present both in MT and in LXX and which presuppose or are in accord with the overall form of the text in MT, while they are in conflict with the text's meaning in LXX or they do not have such a marked function in LXX as in MT. We shall see, for example, that the exposition in vv. 1-3 in MT is masterfully deployed to set up as much as possible the rhetorical question in v. 5. In LXX though, this specific relationship between vv. 1-3 and v. 5 is not apparent, which suggests that vv. 1-3 were instead formulated with regard to v. 5 in the masoretic form.

It is a similar case regarding the question of who builds a temple for whom in various forms of the text. We will see that in MT, vv. 5.11.13 form a perfectly coherent utterance, which cannot be said of LXX.

The strongest argument against LXX's readings in vv. 11 and 16 is David's prayer. Although it contains certain important differences between MT and LXX, both forms indicate that in the original version of the text David reacts to the promise of the eternity of his dynasty (vv. 18-19.25.26[MT only].27.29). As David's prayer in LXX's text presupposes the form of Nathan's oracle present in MT, the two main meaning-making variants in the Septuagintal form of vv. 11 and 16 are most likely secondary.

What is the reason for the emergence of these variants in LXX? Changes in both verses may have resulted from the process of transmission. If the reading οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ in 2 Sam 7,11bβLXX is linked to a corresponding Hebrew *Vorlage*, it probably read תִּבְנֶה לוֹ (for the variants that presuppose the verb בָּנָה, see the note *ad loc.* above). The *taw* may have result-

ed from the dittography of the last consonant of the word בֵּית. The prefix י could then be understood as a *mater lectionis*. As to the beneficiary of the constructed house, the shift from the 2nd person pronoun to the 3rd person pronoun may be a scribal error, resulting from confusion of final ך and ן.³²¹

As to the pronominal suffixes of the 3rd p. in v. 16, it is not very likely that they would have emerged entirely involuntarily. F. Delitzsch does mention several possible cases of confusion of כ and ן,³²² but it is unlikely that such a shift would have occurred in 2 Sam 7,16 in three consequential cases, all by accident. However, the pronominal 3rd person suffixes might be the result of simple harmonization with vv. 12aβ-15 where Yhwh promises his favour to David's descendant/posterity referred to in the 3rd person. sg.

We could also imagine, however, that both of the aforementioned Septuagintal variants in vv. 11.16 are ideologically motivated "editorial" intrusions that are aimed at changing the meaning of the text, similar to the case of v. 5. As already mentioned, Schniedewind explains the differences between MT and LXX in vv. 5.11.16 by positing a "pro-temple" bias in LXX.³²³ Schniedewind ascribes this tendency to the Greek translator and believes that LXX's readings in these verses do not reflect a *Vorlage* different from MT. Such a statement is completely unfounded. In view of the translator's faithfulness in this chapter and the whole book, it seems more likely that LXX reflects its *Vorlage* also in these verses. What is more, the Hebrew text corresponding to the studied variant in v. 5LXX is attested in 1 Chr 17,4.

I discussed the reading of 2 Sam 7,5LXX and 1 Chr 17,4 וְסֵם / לֹא אֶתָּה in a text-critical note above. This reading is secondary in comparison with the reading of 2 Sam 7,5MT, and it most likely originated as a result of a "pro-temple" bias. The original reading הָאֶתָּה was probably regarded as far too polemical towards the plan of the building of the temple.

However, contrary to Schniedewind's suggestion, the reading וְסֵם in 2 Sam 7,5LXX cannot be simply attributed to the same editor as the readings of vv. 11b.16LXX. The reading לֹא אֶתָּה in v. 5 was present both in LXX's *Vorlage* and the text of Samuel that was available to the Chronicler. The reading of 2 Sam 7,16bLXX καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ is in accord with the reading of 1 Chr 17,14b וְכִסְאוֹ. The 1st person sg. suffixes in בְּבֵיתִי וּבְמִלְכוּתִי in 1 Chr 17,14a do not allow us to exactly determine the Chronicler's text of Samuel here.³²⁴ The text of Chronicles is in accord with the Septuagintal text of 2 Sam 7,16 at least as regards the fact that the promise relates to David's descendant. It is therefore perfectly possible that the Chronicler

³²¹ Both these explanations were suggested by Kasari, *Promise*, p. 21.

³²² Delitzsch, *Schreibfehler*, p. 115, 117.

³²³ Schniedewind, *Criticism*.

³²⁴ Suffixes of the 1st p. sg. (as well as the hiphil of the verb עָמַד) are clearly secondary, cf. 1 Chr 28,5; 29,11; 2 Chr 13,8. See the comments by Knoppers, *I Chronicles* 10-29, p. 665f., 672f.

read ביתו וממלכתו in 2 Sam 7,16a.³²⁵ By contrast, 1 Chr 17,10b β MT (for LXX's reading in this verse, see the note *ad loc.*) is evidently closer to 2 Sam 7,11 in MT's form than in LXX. Hence the changes in 2 Sam 7,5.16LXX could have occurred simultaneously, but the reading of 2 Sam 7,11LXX probably appeared later since, unlike the shifts in vv. 5.16, the reading of 2 Sam 7,11LXX was not present in the text of Samuel that was available to the Chronicler.

What could be the motive for the reading of 2 Sam 7,11b β LXX? As noted by Schniedewind, in LXX the pun playing on the word οἶκος / בית disappears from the verse, and in consequence the word here denotes the temple in the same way as in the preceding text. Should we then speak of a pro-temple bias in this reading? What is it that the temple actually "gains" from the fact that the building of the temple is promised to David in the same text that denies it to David in v. 5 and assigns it to his descendant in v. 13? If this change is intentional, it is probably negatively motivated by a desire to avoid the promise of the Davidic dynasty. An analogous attempt to redefine Nathan's oracle into a promise of Yhwh's dwelling in the temple may perhaps be found in the late passage 1 Kgs 6,11-13MT, missing in OG.³²⁶

The reading of 2 Sam 7,11b β LXX is in blatant contradiction to vv. 5LXX and 13LXX. Yet, for the scribe responsible for the shift to 11b β LXX (as I already mentioned, there is no reason to doubt that the change occurred in the Hebrew text), it might have been more important that the older form of the verse (as he was faced with) contradicted reality! The scribe *knew* that the Davidic dynasty did not retain its rule forever, and therefore Nathan's oracle could not have carried this meaning. He may have regarded the contradiction between vv. 5.11.13 (all in the Septuagintal form) as having been settled by verse 12. Since the temple was to be built by David's descendant who will be (so LXX) from his "belly", it might be said that the temple was to be built by David. The builder would be someone, who, according to the scribe, somehow already existed in David's loins. This kind of exegesis of problematic passages might have been widespread in the later Second Temple period, since it also occurs in Acts 2,25-32 and a similar procedure is evident in Heb 7,4-10.

Acts 2,25-32 forms a part of Peter's Pentecostal preaching. Peter quotes Ps 16,8-11, and since the psalm is introduced by the title לדוד / τῷ Δαυίδ, Peter understands these verses as David's direct speech in the 1st p. But how could David say about himself that the Lord will not leave his soul to hades and that his body would not rot (Acts 2,27 = Ps 16,10), given that, as Peter points out, he died and was buried (Acts 2,29)? Peter explains this discrepancy by pointing to the fact that David was a prophet "and knowing that with an oath God had

³²⁵ Similarly Kasari, *Promise*, p. 25.

³²⁶ The passage is obviously an interpolation; for its late character, see Cogan, *I Kings*, p. 241. Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear whether v. 13 is to be understood as the contents of the promise given to David.

sworn to him that he would set (somebody) out of the fruit of his loins on his throne (προφήτης οὗν ὑπάρχων καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὄρκῳ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσει ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ), he foresaw and spoke about the resurrection of the Christ, that he was not abandoned to hades, nor did his flesh see corruption.” (vv. 30-31). V. 30 refers to the Davidic promise as contained in Ps 132,11. The common interpretation of this section could be illustrated, for instance, by the statement of J. A. Fitzmayer: “Peter stresses that David, king of Israel, could not have been speaking of himself, so they [the Psalms 16 and 132] must refer to Jesus, who has not seen corruption.”³²⁷ I believe this is a partial misunderstanding of the speaker’s strategy; if Luke (via Peter’s words) wished merely to say that David does not speak for himself but of someone else, he would not need to quote from Ps 132. The value of Ps 132,11 is in the fact that the dynastic promise, the fulfillment of which Luke sees in Christ’s resurrection (apart from this section see also L 1,31-33; Acts 13,32-37), is given there to the *fruit of David’s loins*. David therefore could have spoken of himself, since his words were related to the descendant present in his loins.³²⁸

This line of interpretation is most explicit in Heb 7,4-10. The author of the epistle calls Jesus the priest according to the order of Melchizedek (6,20) and shows that the priesthood of Melchizedek was higher than that of the Levites. According to Gen 14,20, Abraham paid Melchizedek a tithe from war spoils, which is supposed to mean (according to the author of Hebrews) that the tithe was given to Melchizedek also by Abraham’s descendant Levi, “for he was still in the loins (ἐν τῇ ὀσφύϊ) of his ancestor when Melchizedek met him.”

A scribe of an ancestral ms of 2 Sam 7,11bLXX could therefore have reasoned in a similar way as the authors of the aforementioned New Testament texts, and so may have allowed Nathan to promise the construction of the temple to David, since the subsequent verse states that the temple would be built by his descendant who would be from his “belly.” Alternatively, if the text of the *Vorlage* of 11bLXX originated by mistake, it was probably thanks to v. 12 that its reading was preserved, because the text could have been understood in the aforementioned manner.

Are there further indications that changes occurred in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7LXX aimed at eliminating the idea of the Davidic promise? As we have seen, Schniedewind believes that ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ in 2 Sam 7,16LXX does not denote Solomon’s dynasty but rather a temple built by Solomon, since the changes in v. 11 mean that the pun playing on the two meanings of בית has disappeared from Nathan’s oracle in LXX, and ὁ οἶκος denotes there only the temple. Lust and Hugo reject Schniedewind’s proposal, since they believe that the personal pronoun in v. 16LXX “indique clairement que la maison en question est celle du roi”, and furthermore, in the follo-

³²⁷ Fitzmayer, Acts, p. 250.

³²⁸ This strongly “biological” idea of Jesus’s origin in the house of David (via Joseph according to Luke 1,27) may seem to contradict Luke’s depiction of Mary’s conception of Jesus from the Holy Spirit. But this contradiction does not challenge the interpretation of Acts 2,25-32 given above. Luke probably did not find substantial tension between Jesus’s Davidic origin through Joseph and the virginal conception, since he pays heed to Jesus’s Davidic origin for the first time precisely in connection with the angelic annunciation of the virginal conception from the Holy Spirit (Luke 1,27.32f.35).

wing verses “le roi loue le Seigneur pour ce qu’il a fait envers lui et envers sa maison.”³²⁹ This critique of Schniedewind’s proposal may be slightly too simplistic. We have already seen that the reading ביתו, corresponding to the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,16LXX, could have been found in the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler, and then it would be older than the reading of v. 11bβLXX. The pronominal 3rd person suffixes may be a result of harmonization with vv. 12aβ-15, and ביתו may have originally denoted the dynasty of David’s descendant(s). On the other hand, the later scribe responsible for the *Vorlage* of 11bβLXX may have left ביתו in v. 16 unchanged because in his text it was *possible* to relate this house to the temple and to interpret the verse as a promise of the eternal existence of Solomon’s temple.

Similarly, in case of the following prayer, it is evident even from LXX that at least in the original text of 2 Sam 7,18-29, the referent of the expressions like “the house of your servant” (vv. 19.25.29[2x]) was identical to what David calls “my house” in v. 18. Nevertheless, we cannot reject the possibility that the author of the reading of 11bβLXX wished to see the temple built by Solomon as standing behind the references to a permanent house of Yhwh’s servant (there is no promise to the house of David in v. 18). In that case, we could perhaps link the extensive minus in vv. 26-27LXX to the reading of v. 11bβLXX. In a text-critical note above, I attempted to explain the short text of LXX merely as a result of the process of scribal transmission. But a precise mechanism for the loss in the *Vorlage* of LXX is unclear, and there is a chance that it was an intentional omission related to the reading of 11bβLXX, since v. 26bMT is the only part of the prayer where the “house of your servant” is unambiguously the house of David. This interpretation is all the more tempting because v. 26bMT is actually the only text missing in OG, as the variant of v. 26aβMT appears in OG in v. 25. On the other hand, it would be difficult to comprehend why this supposed redactor reworking LXX’s *Vorlage* would not simply omit just the word דוד in v. 26. And still, it would be very peculiar that this redactor, while removing the idea of the dynastic promise to David, would leave a quotation of Yhwh’s statement לך בית אבנה לך in v. 27aβ.

After this discussion, I doubt whether one can legitimately speak of an extensive literary edition in 2 Sam 7LXX. The omission of the rhetorical question in v. 5LXX is clearly motivated by theological considerations (see above) and perhaps this change is also related to the variants in v. 16LXX. The origin of the reading of v. 11bβLXX should, however, be ascribed to a later hand. This change *may* be intentional, but it is not clear whether any other intrusion in the chapter is linked to it.

³²⁹ Lust, David, p. 259; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190 (only the first argument).

2.1.2.9 The value of 1 Chr 17 for the text of 2 Sam 7

At the close of this section, I would like to return to the question of the value of specific readings in 1 Chr 17 for reconstructing of the oldest text in 2 Sam 7. It is generally accepted today that the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler was not identical to MT of Samuel, and in many instances it apparently agreed with 4QSam^a and/or with LXX's *Vorlage*. In a chapter devoted to the issue of the agreement of 4QSam^a with Chronicles, E. C. Ulrich concludes that Chronicles belongs to the 4QSam^a/LXX tradition against MT.³³⁰ Thus, the agreements of 4QSam^a with Chronicles are "a subset of the larger pattern 4Q = OG/pL OL C ≠ M." This is supported by Ulrich's quantitative analysis of 2 Sam 6.³³¹ In evaluating the differences, Ulrich concludes that "4Q C agreements are mostly original S readings corrupt in M, or narrative expansions typical of the Palestinian text tradition."³³²

The use of Samuel in 1 Chronicles was studied in detail by S. L. McKenzie who analyzed all the parallel passages in Samuel and Chronicles where 4QSam^a is extant, as well as the passages for which 4QSam^a was not preserved and the text of Samuel and Chronicles "show significant disagreement, especially where Chr has been accused of tendentious change."³³³ Building upon the work of W. E. Lemke³³⁴, McKenzie believes that "one can conclude that Chr is responsible for a variation from S only when no other witness to the text of S agrees with C and the variation attests a demonstrably consistent interest on the part of Chr."³³⁵ The frequent agreements between 4QSam^a and Chronicles (often supported by 1 Reigns) against MT Samuel suggest that in such cases the variation was already present in the Chronicler's source. In the synoptic passages, McKenzie finds only a very small number of tendentious changes in Chronicles, which leads him to conclude that in the passages where the Chronicler decided to borrow from Samuel, he followed his "S *Vorlage* quite closely."³³⁶

This conclusion is accepted by G. N. Knoppers in his commentary on Chronicles, where he says that "[T]here is every indication both in his citation of Samuel and in his citation of Kings that the author [of Chronicles] has generally followed his *Vorlage* closely."³³⁷ This scenario sometimes seems to be presupposed in McCarter's commentary on Samuel as well. With this premise, the text of Chronicles is elevated to the status of nearly a full scale witness to the text of Samuel, enabling one to reconstruct the text

³³⁰ Ulrich, Text, p. 163.

³³¹ Ulrich, Text, p. 193-221.

³³² Ulrich, Text, p. 163.

³³³ McKenzie, Use, quotation from p. 34.

³³⁴ Lemke, Problem, p. 349-363.

³³⁵ McKenzie, Use, p. 27.

³³⁶ McKenzie, Use, p. 72.

³³⁷ Cf. Knoppers, I Chronicles 1-9, p. 70.

of Samuel according to that of Chronicles even in those cases where Chronicles' reading is not supported by any textual witness in Samuel itself.

To be sure, Lemke's and McKenzie's contributions on this matter are definitely important. However, McKenzie's methodological assumption that we should ascribe to the Chronicler only those variants that reflect his ideological concerns may not be fully appropriate to the Chronicler's attitude to his sources. How should we proceed, then, when 1 Chronicles has a different reading than that of Samuel, and the variation cannot be explained by scribal mistake in one of the texts nor by one of the Chronicler's "tendencies"? Should we understand the reading of Chronicles in such cases as a unique witness to Samuel's text used by the Chronicler? And if, for example, Chronicles' reading is shorter, should it be preferred as Samuel's more ancient reading in compliance with the rule *lectio brevior potior*? McKenzie, McCarter and Knoppers do sometimes seem to evaluate the readings along these lines.³³⁸ However, the numerical data on various agreements and disagreements among the witnesses of 2 Sam 7 seem to undermine the relevance of such an approach.

Tables 6 and 7 indicate the number of various patterns of agreement among the witnesses of 2 Sam 7. The second table gives the number of the various agreements in the few passages where 4QSam^a is extant, while the first table presents the data on all the variation units when 4QSam^a is excluded from the survey (this means that the passages included in the second table also appear in the first one). The differences among the witnesses are classified according to their origin as non-intentional, intentional or tendentious.³³⁹ I suppose that such a classification is more objective than the decision about which reading is the most ancient. On the other hand, it goes without saying that this classification already entails a large measure of subjectivity, and, to be honest, it is sometimes more or less based on my understanding of the genetic relation between the witnesses. Yet, since I have indicated my evaluation of the kind of the textual difference at the end of every textual note, the reader may check and assess my classification in each case.

In the tables below, the first figure (without brackets) gives the number of the cases that, in my opinion, fall under this category with a high degree of probability. The second figure in the brackets also includes the more uncertain cases, appearing with a question mark in the textual notes. As we

³³⁸ Knoppers, 1 Chronicles 10-29, p. 662-663, provides the text-critical analysis of 1 Chr 17 with a short introduction where he states that he does not assume "that in those instances in which Chronicles is shorter than or differs from Samuel, that the Chronicler omitted from or rewrote portions of Samuel. The text-critical evidence suggests that the Samuel text used by Chronicler was a typologically more primitive text than either MT or LXX Samuel." In his text-critical notes, he calls some of the readings of 1 Chr 17 *lectiones breviores* in contrast to 2 Sam 7. His primary goal is the reconstruction of the text of Chronicles, not Samuel, but it seems that in these sections Knoppers considers the short readings to be older than the readings attested in the textual witnesses of Samuel.

³³⁹ This classification is explained at the beginning of ch. 2.1, p. 17ff.

have seen, in some instances more causes of the variation could be imagined. These passages are included in bracketed numbers in all categories to which they might belong; consequently the total of the numbers in the brackets for a given pattern may be higher than the actual number of the occurrences of the pattern.

A further problem is created by the passages with three or four variant readings and distinct relations among them. I have included such passages in all the indicated categories, but this procedure is problematic, of course, because it might veil a characteristic relationship that frequently appears between two (disagreeing) elements of the given pattern. This pertains especially to the patterns $SMT \neq SLXX \neq C$; $S \neq CMT \neq CLXX$; and $4QSam^a$ $SMT SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$ on which I will add a few comments pointing to distinct relations between the individual elements. In general, the frequency that I give of categories of differences concerning the patterns with three or four variant readings does not have much value and cannot be used for any calculations, since the table does not present the numbers for specific relations between various disagreeing witnesses.³⁴⁰

Table 6

pattern	total	N	I	T
$S \neq C$	40	1 (4)	31 (35)	4 (5)
$SMT \neq SLXX C$	22	2 (4)	13 (17)	2 (5)
$SMT \neq SLXX \neq C$	18	7 (10)	9 (12)	5 (6)
$SMT C \neq SLXX$	9	1 (4)	4 (7)	(3)
$S CLXX \neq CMT$	11	2 (3)	8 (9)	
$S CMT \neq CLXX$	11	4 (5)	6 (7)	
$SMT CMT \neq SLXX CLXX$	1	1		
$S \neq CMT \neq CLXX$	10	7 (8)	7	
$SMT CMT \neq SLXX \neq CLXX$	6	3 (6)	(2)	(2)
$SLXX CMT \neq SMT \neq CLXX$	1	1	1	
$SMT CLXX \neq SLXX CMT$	1		(1)	(1)
$SMT \neq SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$	5	3	1(2)	1
$SMT \neq CMT$ (Greek texts cannot be evaluated)	8	1	7	

The total of variation units: 143

³⁴⁰ Consider the case of v. 29 $\text{יְבָרַךְ וּמִבְרָכָתוֹ}$ where the pattern of agreement is SMT ($4QSam^a$) $SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$ (ni? [the difference between S and C], i). In *tables 6* and *7*, this variation unit added one *i* (without question mark) and one *n* with a question mark to the patterns $SMT SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$ and $SMT 4QSam^a SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$, but this is, of course, rather arbitrary. With similar cases of more complicated patterns, the important thing is not the number that marks the frequency of categories in the table, but rather the description of the formula in the textual note; the latter is more revealing and may raise the question of whether the given occurrence of the pattern should not be considered a sub-category of another simpler pattern.

Table 7

pattern	total	N	I	T
$S \neq C$	3		3	
$4QSam^a \text{ SMT} \neq \text{SLXX } C$	1		(1)	(1)
$4QSam^a \text{ SMT SLXX} \neq \text{CMT} \neq \text{CLXX}$	2 (3)		2	
$4QSam^a \text{ SMT} \neq \text{SLXX} \neq \text{CMT} \neq \text{CLXX}$	1		1	
$4QSam^a \text{ SLXX } C \neq \text{SMT}$	1		1	
$4QSam^a \text{ SLXX} \neq \text{SMT} \neq C$	1	1	(1)	

$4QSam^a$ in this chapter is very fragmentary and so the data in the second table lack any major informational value.

I count 143 variation units in 2 Sam 7. The first table shows that the most common pattern of agreements in the chapter is $S \neq C$ with 40 occurrences. The vast majority of these variant readings were caused intentionally, but we can hardly find any ideological tendency behind them (31-35 variant readings). Moreover, we can also add to this pattern some textual differences that formally belong to a different pattern but which may, however, be understood in the passages in question as an analogue of the pattern $S \neq C$.

I included among the occurrences of the pattern $\text{SMT} \neq \text{SLXX} \neq C$ the variation unit at v. 5 אֶל־דָּוִד where SMT and SLXX are very close to each other, and where a pronounced difference exists between the texts of Samuel on the one hand and the texts of Chronicles on the other. The real relation between the witnesses in this variation unit could then be expressed by the formula $S^{MT \neq LXX} \neq C$. The difference between S and C in this section is, again, intentional (i), but not “tendentious.” Moreover, there are two occurrences of the pattern $\text{SMT} \neq \text{SLXX} \neq C$ (v. 26 עֲבָדָה דָּוִד; v. 26 יְהִיָּה) where the disagreement between SMT and SLXX denotes the fact that SLXX has a long minus in vv. 26-27. This minus is most likely secondary, and if we were to only take into account the longer texts (i.e. SMT, CMT and CLXX), the formula would again be $S \neq C$. Here again, the difference between SMT and C is intentional (i) but not tendentious. Finally, with one occurrence of the pattern $\text{SMT} \neq \text{SLXX} \neq C$ (v. 8 מִן־הַנִּזְוֶה מֵאַחֶר הַצֵּאֵן), I suspect that SLXX’s reading might not be based on a *Vorlage* different from SMT, while the relationship between SMT and C is again intentional but not tendentious.

The pattern $S \neq \text{CMT} \neq \text{CLXX}$ occurs in ten cases, while seven could be rather expressed as $S \neq C^{MT \neq LXX}$ (v. 11 וְהָיָה לְךָ יְהוָה; v. 15 הִסְרֵתִי; v. 19 וְנָזַת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם; v. 20 לְדַבֵּר אֵלַיָּךְ; v. 21 הַנִּזְוֶה אֶת־עֲבָדָה; v. 26 – the plus וַיֵּאמֶן at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,24MT; v. 29 וּמִבְרַכְתָּךְ יְבָרְכְךָ) and they

can be counted as variants of the pattern $S \neq C$. The difference between S and C is intentional in two or three cases³⁴¹, otherwise it is probably based on non-intentional mistakes in most cases.³⁴²

Also, the occurrence of the pattern $SMT \neq SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX$ in v. 26 $\text{יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ turns out to be close to the pattern $S \neq C$, because 1) the difference of $SLXX$ from other readings in 2 Sam 7 only consists in the fact that $SLXX$ is a part of the large minus in LXX (note that 4QSam^a agrees here with $SMT!$); and 2) CMT and $CLXX$ agree with each other in that they contain the reading where there is no preposition before יִשְׂרָאֵל (even if CMT has further still a reading with a preposition). This main difference between S and C is, of course, intentional.

Another variation of the $S \neq C$ pattern is probably the vast majority of textual differences grouped under the pattern $S \text{ CLXX} \neq CMT$. This pattern occurs in 2 Sam 7 eleven times, while in ten of them, the Greek form of 2 Sam 7 is identical or nearly identical to the Greek text in 1 Chr 17 (v. 2 אֲרָזִים ; v. 5 בֵּית ; v. 5 לְשִׁבְתִּי ; v. 6 וּבְמִשְׁכָּן ; v. 7 שְׁבִטִי ; v. 10 לְעִנּוּתוֹ ; v. 12 וְשִׁכְבָּתִי ; v. 12 מִמַּעַיְדָה ; v. 16 עַד־עוֹלָם ; v. 23 הִלְכּוּ). This situation indicates that the difference between CMT and $CLXX$ in these sections need not be due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* of $CLXX$, but rather an inner-Greek assimilation of $CLXX$ towards $SLXX$. The question of the assimilation in the parallel texts of Reigns and Paralipomena has been hotly debated.³⁴³ While there is no doubt that the phenomenon exists, it is not always clear in which phase of the process of transmission the assimilation occurred. It has been suggested that the translator of Chronicles made heavy use of the Greek text of Samuel-Kings, but others think that the correspondences between the Greek texts may instead be due to correspondences between their Hebrew *Vorlagen*, or, on the contrary, to secondary harmonization between the Greek texts. According to G. Gerleman, 1 Chr 17LXX is one of the passages which have been largely assimilated to their parallel texts in Reigns.³⁴⁴ L. C. Allen finds here three clear cases of inner-Greek assimilation (for the sake of simplicity, I continue to refer to the textual places in 2 Sam 7, as they were enumerated above in this paragraph: v. 6 וּבְמִשְׁכָּן ; v. 7 שְׁבִטִי ; v. 23 הִלְכּוּ).³⁴⁵ Of the other abovementioned occurrences of the pattern $S \text{ CLXX} \neq CMT$, Allen does not refer to v. 2 אֲרָזִים and v. 16 עַד־עוֹלָם . Regarding all other mentioned places, Allen thinks that it is impossible to determine the source of the parallel, while according to M. Rehm³⁴⁶ the assimilation is

³⁴¹ In this connection, cf. also the variation units in v. 27 $\text{אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ and v. 29 אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה .

³⁴² The origin of the variant is, of course, often more or less uncertain. In v. 19 $\text{וְזָאת תֹּזְכָּרֶתָּהּ}$, for example, the reading in Chronicles may in fact be an attempt to make a sense of a reading which was already corrupt in the Chronicler's text of Samuel. The passage is odd in all witnesses.

³⁴³ See especially Allen, Chronicles I, p. 26-31, 175-218.

³⁴⁴ Gerleman, Studies, p. 38.

³⁴⁵ Allen, Chronicles I, p. 193-194.

³⁴⁶ Rehm, Untersuchungen, p. 45.

inner-Greek also in v. 5 לְשִׁבְתִּי and v. 12 וְשִׁבְתָּ. For our purposes, the origin of assimilation is not so important, as long as we accept with Allen that generally “when Par sides with Sam against Chron its text has indeed suffered contamination.”³⁴⁷ This applies to the remaining, eleventh instance of the pattern S CLXX ≠ CMT in v. 4 דְּבַר־יְהוָה where the assimilation probably happened already in the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,3LXX.³⁴⁸

There are thus eleven passages belonging to the pattern S CLXX ≠ CMT. In all of these places, there may be a contamination of 1 Chr 17LXX by 2 Sam 7, which means that these passages may be considered a variant of the pattern S ≠ C. It is worth noting that in eight or nine of the eleven cases the textual difference is intentional but not tendentious.

Another pattern potentially close to S ≠ C is the pattern SMT ≠ CMT under which I grouped the variation units where the Greek readings in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 could not be evaluated for some reason. Typically, for instance, 2 Sam 7,10 reads וְנִטְעָתִי, while 1 Chr 17,9 has וְנִטְעָתִיהוּ. The difference is not merely orthographic, since the pronunciation differs, and yet the difference cannot be expressed in the Greek texts. There are eight places in 2 Sam 7 that belong to this pattern, with seven of them belonging to category “i”. Since the pattern S ≠ C is the most frequent configuration of textual witnesses in 2 Sam 7, it is likely that a substantial part of the occurrences of the pattern SMT ≠ CMT actually belong under S ≠ C (in other words, it would be wrong to assume systematically that the *Vorlage* of SLXX presupposes CMT, although it is, of course, possible).

The second most common pattern in the chapter is SMT ≠ SLXX C with 22 occurrences (in 13-17 of them, the difference is intentional). Concerning the textual difference in v. 23 לְאֶרְצָךְ, which I grouped under the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C, it is clear that the reading of C is merely a slight modification of SLXX, so that this place could be counted as an analogue of the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX C (the difference between SMT and SLXX is probably based on a non-intentional mistake). A relatively large number of textual differences belonging to this pattern correspond to the well-known fact that the Chronicler’s text of the book of Samuel was closer to the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of Samuel than to MT. The most common pattern in 2 Sam 7, however, is clearly S ≠ C. Before drawing any conclusions from this fact, I would like to evaluate the collected numerical data with two methods, the results of which may be more easily tested to determine their statistical significance.

Let us start with the analysis of “binary correlations” developed by A. Hadravová and P. Hadrava during their work on editions of Medieval Latin texts.³⁴⁹ According to this method, all binary correlations (i.e. agreements between two particular witnesses in variation units, irrespective of whether there are other witnesses containing the same readings or not) in a

³⁴⁷ Allen, *Chronicles I*, p. 177.

³⁴⁸ Allen, *Chronicles I*, p. 193.

³⁴⁹ Hadravová – Hadrava, *Metody*, p. 109-114.

given text are counted for all possible pairs of the witnesses and then compared. *Tables 8* and *9* present the numbers of binary correlations extracted from the numbers of the patterns of agreements given in *Table 6*, with the last line of *Table 9* also showing the total number of agreements of individual witnesses with any other witnesses.

Table 8

	SMT SLXX	SMT CMT	SMT CLXX	SLXX CMT	SLXX CLXX	CMT CLXX
SMT SLXX \neq CMT CLXX	40	0	0	0	0	40
SMT \neq SLXX CMT CLXX	0	0	0	22	22	22
SMT \neq SLXX \neq CMT CLXX	0	0	0	0	0	18
SMT CMT CLXX \neq SLXX	0	9	9	0	0	9
SMT SLXX CLXX \neq CMT	11	0	11	0	11	0
SMT SLXX CMT \neq CLXX	11	11	0	11	0	0
SMT CMT \neq SLXX CLXX	0	1	0	0	1	0
SMT SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX	10	0	0	0	0	0
SMT CMT \neq SLXX \neq CLXX	0	6	0	0	0	0
SLXX CMT \neq SMT \neq CLXX	0	0	0	1	0	0
SMT CLXX \neq SLXX CMT	0	0	1	1	0	0
SMT \neq SLXX \neq CMT \neq CLXX (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	72	27	21	35	34	89

Table 9

	SMT	SLXX	CMT	CLXX
SMT		72	27	21
SLXX	72		35	34
CMT	27	35		89
CLXX	21	34	89	
Total	120	141	151	144

The significance of the numbers of binary correlations may be tested by the χ^2 -test³⁵⁰:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^6 \frac{(n_i - np_i)^2}{np_i}$$

Table 10

	n_i	np_i	$(n_i - np_i)^2 / np_i$
SMT SLXX	72	46,333	14,217
SMT CMT	27	46,333	8,068
SMT CLXX	21	46,333	13,852
SLXX CMT	35	46,333	2,772
SLXX CLXX	34	46,333	3,283
CMT CLXX	89	46,333	39,288
Total	278	278	$\chi^2 = 81,48$

Extremely significant for $\alpha = 0,001$ ($> 20,515$; $v = 5$). We may therefore reject the “zero-hypothesis” (H_0) according to which there are no significant relations between the texts.

In order to find why H_0 is to be rejected, we may repeat the χ^2 -test with a table from which we delete the line(s) which we suppose to be the cause of the rejection of H_0 . We start by removing the line CMT CLXX:

Table 11

	n_i	np_i	$(n_i - np_i)^2 / np_i$
SMT SLXX	72	37,8	30,943
SMT CMT	27	37,8	3,086
SMT CLXX	21	37,8	7,467
SLXX CMT	35	37,8	0,207
SLXX CLXX	34	37,8	0,382
Total	189	189	$\chi^2 = 42,085$

Extremely significant for $\alpha = 0,001$ ($> 18,467$; $v = 4$). Now we also delete the line with SMT SLXX and repeat the test again:

³⁵⁰ For the use of statistics in textual criticism of the Bible and particularly the books of Samuel see Polak, Statistics. Polak does not count the binary correlations but rather the numbers of patterns of agreement. In our case, when we compare four witnesses entering in various patterns of (dis)agreement, his method seems to me difficult to apply.

Table 12

	n_i	np_i	$(n_i - np_i)^2 / np_i$
SMT CMT	27	29,25	0,173
SMT CLXX	21	29,25	2,327
SLXX CMT	35	29,25	1,130
SLXX CLXX	34	29,25	0,771
Total	117	117	$\chi^2 = 4,401$

Insignificant. The statistical analysis of the numbers of binary correlations thus confirms the proximity of CMT and CLXX on the one hand, and SMT and SLXX on the other.

It may also be useful to compare the numbers of all possible groups of witnesses in variation units.³⁵¹ As we only count with four main witnesses, the number of the groups consisting of 1-3 members is not too high and the data may be easily presented in a table:

Table 13 (the numbers are extracted from Table 6)

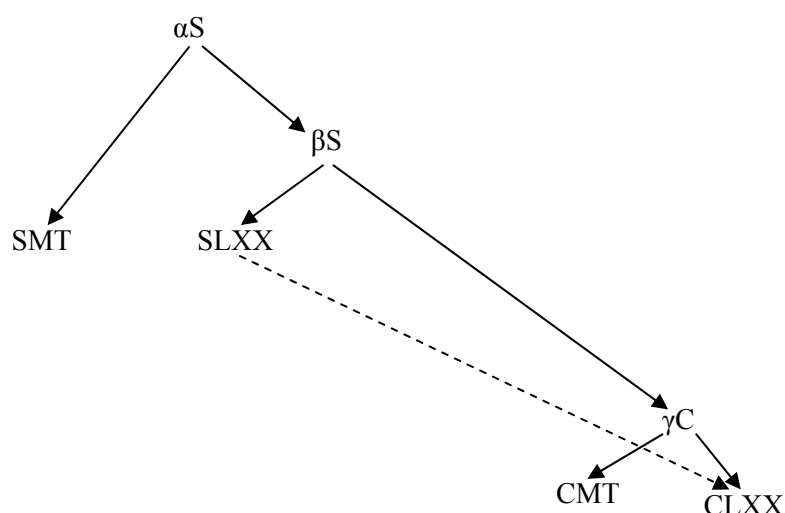
Single readings	
SMT	46
SLXX	38
CMT	26
CLXX	33
Groups of two	
SMT SLXX	50
SMT CMT	7
SMT CLXX	1
SLXX CMT	2
SLXX CLXX	1
CMT CLXX	58
Groups of three	
SMT SLXX CMT	11
SMT SLXX CLXX	11
SMT CMT CLXX	9
SLXX CMT CLXX	22

The statistics indicate the degree of proximity of textual witnesses, not the direction of the textual development. For the definition of the latter, we

³⁵¹ For this method see Vidmanová, Classification; Hadravová – Hadrava, Metody, p. 111-113.

must also take into account the evaluation of individual textual differences. Our analysis of 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 corresponds to an idea of the development of the text of Samuel and Chronicles that may be summarized in the following basic stemma (the forms of the text preceded by a Greek letter are not attested).

Table 14



The table of binary correlations and the table of groups of two witnesses show that a special proximity exists between SMT and SLXX, and between CMT and CLXX. CMT and CLXX are even closer to one another than SMT and SLXX, which may be related to the fact that the book of Chronicles is more recent than Samuel (the textual tradition of Chronicles would therefore have had less time to differentiate than the textual tradition of Samuel). As to the groups of three witnesses, the group SLXX CMT CLXX is distinctly more frequent than the other combinations, which indicates a level of proximity of these three witnesses to each other.³⁵² In this respect,

³⁵² The difference is significant for $\alpha = 0,05$ ($> 7,815$; $v = 3$):

	n_i	np_i	$(n_i - np_i)^2 / np_i$
SMT SLXX CMT	11	13,25	0,382
SMT SLXX CLXX	11	13,25	0,382
SMT CMT CLXX	9	13,25	1,363
SLXX CMT CLXX	22	13,25	5,778
Total	53	53	$\chi^2 = 7,905$

however, it should be stressed again that SLXX is closer to SMT than to CMT and CLXX, and also that MT is not marked by a conspicuously high number of singular readings. These three facts are easy to understand if SMT (together with SLXX) occupies a position in the higher part of the stemma, and Chronicles follow up with the branch of the textual tradition of Samuel on which SLXX is based as well.

Now, the given stemma is very sketchy and does not bring much that is new. Our goal here, however, is not to establish a stemma expressing the textual history of the books of Samuel and Chronicles – such a stemma should be based on a survey of a much larger stretch of text (if not the books in their entirety), and it should include 4QSam^a (and perhaps even 4QSam^b). The given statistical data and the basic stemma that corresponds to them may, however, tell us something important regarding the issue of the use of the text of 1 Chr for the reconstruction of the most ancient text of Samuel. The numbers of the binary correlations as well as those of the groups of witnesses in 2 Sam 7 prove that there is an especially close relationship between the two forms of the text of Samuel, on the one hand, and between the two text-forms of Chronicles, on the other. At the same time, we saw that in 2 Sam 7 the pattern $S \neq C$ clearly represented the most numerous configuration of the main textual witnesses. The significance of this pattern has often been neglected in recent research, since many of its occurrences entail minor (but mostly intentional) variants, and the research rather tends to focus on more striking textual differences, especially in the passages where 4QSam^a is not extant³⁵³. There are 143 variation units in 2 Sam 7, and up to 71 of them may be subsumed under the pattern $S \neq C$ in the larger sense (including the above mentioned analogues). In the vast majority of these places (up to 59), the difference between S and C is intentional but not tendentious.

The most natural explanation for this situation is that the vast majority of *these* differences between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 resulted from an activity in 1 Chr 17; apparently the Chronicler's approach to his source was freer than that of the scribes whose main task was to *copy* the book of Samuel *or* Chronicles. That would mean that in the passages where $S \neq C$ and, at the same time, no specific tendency or scribal mistake is apparent in S, we should not ascribe the same value to the reading of Chronicles as to the reading of Samuel, and we should, more or less automatically, prefer the reading of Samuel.

In the individual occurrences of the pattern $S \neq C$, it is, of course, impossible to prove that the variant in 1 Chr 17 originated with the Chronicler (or a later scribe active in 1 Chronicles). 4QSam^a is unfortunately very fragmentary in 2 Sam 7. It is possible that in some sections where the text of 4QSam^a is missing, the scroll agreed with 1 Chr 17 in a reading which is

³⁵³ See e.g. McKenzie, *Use*, p. 27.

not otherwise attested in Samuel. Yet we may assume that even a more thorough knowledge of the text of 4QSam^a in 2 Sam 7 would not alter the image significantly. Outside 2 Sam 7, the pattern 4QSam^a C ≠ SMT SLXX is sporadically attested.³⁵⁴ Most usually, however, when 4QSam^a agrees with C against SMT, the reading of SLXX agrees with 4QSam^a and C. As we have already noted, Ulrich has concluded that “[t]he 4Q C agreements are thus a subset of the larger pattern 4Q = OG/pL OL C ≠ M.”³⁵⁵ The statistics summarized by F. M. Cross and R. J. Saley after the official publication of 4QSam^a in DJD argue in favour of the proximity of the scroll to “the Hebrew textual tradition reflected in the Old Greek.”³⁵⁶ Unfortunately, Cross and Saley do not deal with the relationship of 4QSam^a to 1 Chronicles, but we may assume that the conclusion quoted by Ulrich was not substantially compromised by the final publication of 4QSam^a.³⁵⁷

We may conclude that in 1 Chr 17 the Chronicler followed his *Vorlage* rather loosely, but most of the new readings in 1 Chr 17 were not caused by an ideological interest on his part. Or, to put it more adequately, the Chronicler followed his *Vorlage* with more freedom than the scribes responsible for various textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7 proper. This, of course, is not surprising since the Chronicler was creating a literary work distinct from Samuel. This fact, however, has obvious consequences for the use of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7: when two variant readings that form the pattern S ≠ C are “synonymous” in a broad sense (i.e. the reading of S or C bears no clear signs of being caused by a secondary ideological tendency, harmonizing assimilation, or a scribal mistake etc.), we should prefer the reading of 2 Sam 7.

2.1.2.10 The most ancient retrievable text of 2 Sam 7

The text different from that contained in the Leningrad Codex B 19^A (L) is underlined. In order to make the differences more visible, I always underline the whole word, even if the difference only concerns e.g. a suffix or the conjunction *waw*. Underlined square brackets [] indicate that L reads a text I omit. Some decisions, especially in v. 23, are very tentative, and the reader should rather read the corresponding textual notes.

³⁵⁴ See Ulrich, Text, p. 151-164, 202-207. Ulrich has counted 3 occurrences in 2 Sam 6 and 6 occurrences elsewhere.

³⁵⁵ Ulrich, Text, p. 163.

³⁵⁶ Cross - Saley, Analysis, p. 46-54 (quotation from p. 54).

³⁵⁷ Note, however, what Cross and Saley, Analysis, p. 53, say concerning the superior unique readings of 4QSam^a in 2 Sam 10,1-24,25 (unique in reference only to MT and LXX): “[m]any of the superior unique readings represent the preservation of lost readings of text – words and sentences lost by *parablepsis* – with the majority of these being corroborated by Chronicles or Josephus, or both” (quotation from p. 53). Unfortunately, they do not give any number of these readings corroborated by Chronicles.

ויהי כי ישב המלך בביתו ויהוה הניח לו מסביב מכל איביו ² ויאמר המלך אל נתן הנביא ראה נא אנכי יושב בבית ארזים וארון האלהים ישב בתוך היריעה ³ ויאמר נתן אל המלך כל אשר בלבבך לך עשה כי יהוה עמך ⁴ ויהי בלילה ההוא ויהי דבר יהוה אל נתן לאמר ⁵ לך ואמרת אל עבדי אל דוד כה אמר יהוה האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי ⁶ כי לא ישבתי בבית למיום העלתי את בני ישראל ממצרים ועד היום הזה ואהיה מתהלך באהל ובמשכן ⁷ בכל אשר התהלכתי בכל בני ישראל הדבר דברתי את אחד שבטי ישראל אשר צויתי לרעות את עמי את ישראל לאמר למה לא בניתם לי בית ארזים ⁸ ועתה כה תאמר לעבדי לדוד כה אמר יהוה צבאות אני לקחתך מן הנה מאחר הצאת להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל ⁹ ואהיה עמך בכל אשר הלכת ואכרתה את כל איביך מפניך ועשיתי לך שם [] כשם הגדלים אשר בארץ ¹⁰ ושמתו מקום לעמי לישראל ונטעתיו ושכן תחתיו ולא ירגו עוד ולא יסיפו בני עולה לענותו כאשר בראשונה ¹¹ ולמן היום אשר צויתי שפטים על עמי ישראל והניחתי לך מכל איביך והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה ¹² והיה כי ימלאו ימך ושכבת את אבתך והקימתי את זרעך אחרך אשר יצא ממעיך והכניתי את ממלכתו ¹³ הוא יבנה בית לשמי וכוננתי את כסא ממלכתו עד עולם ¹⁴ אני אהיה לו לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן אשר בהענותו והכחתיו בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם ¹⁵ וחסדי לא יסור ממנו כאשר הסרתי מעם [] אשר הסרתי מלפניך ¹⁶ ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך עד עולם לפני וכסאך יהיה נכון עד עולם ¹⁷ ככל הדברים האלה וככל החזיון הזה כן דבר נתן אל דוד ¹⁸ ויבא המלך דוד וישב לפני יהוה ויאמר מי אנכי אדני יהוה ומי ביתי כי הביאתני עד הלם ¹⁹ ותקטן [] זאת בעיניך אדני [] ותדבר [] על בית עבדך למרחוק וזאת תורת האדם אדני יהוה ²⁰ ומה יוסיף דוד עוד לדבר אליך ואתה ידעת את עבדך [] יהוה ²¹ בעבור דברך וכלבך עשית את כל הגדולה הזאת להודיע את עבדך ²² על כן גדלת אדני יהוה כי אין כמוך ואין אלהים זולתך בכל אשר שמענו באזנינו ²³ ומי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד בארץ אשר הלך אלהים לפדות לו עם ולשום לו שם לעשות [] גדולת ונראות לגרשך מפני עמך אשר פדית לך ממצרים גוים ואלהים ²⁴ ותכונן לך את עמך ישראל [] לעם עד עולם ואתה יהוה היית להם לאלהים ²⁵ ועתה אדני יהוה הדבר אשר דברת על עבדך ועל ביתו הקם עד עולם ועשה כאשר דברת ²⁶ ויגדל שמך עד עולם לאמר יהוה צבאות אלהים על ישראל ובית עבדך דוד יהיה נכון לפניך ²⁷ כי אתה יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל גלית את און עבדך לאמר בית אבנה לך על כן מצא עבדך את לבו להתפלל אליך את התפלה הזאת ²⁸ ועתה אדני יהוה אתה הוא האלהים ודברך יהיו אמת ותדבר על עבדך את הטובה הזאת ²⁹ ועתה הואל וברך את בית עבדך להיות לעולם לפניך כי אתה אדני יהוה דברת ומברכתך יברך בית עבדך לעולם

2.2 The main issues in the study of 2 Sam 7

In view of the enormous amount of literature that has been published on the topic of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7,1-17, it seems virtually impossible, and even inappropriate, to attempt a detailed history of research up to this point.³⁵⁸ More thorough comments concerning the research of the text's individual issues will follow later, while in this chapter I merely intend to introduce key research trends concerning the historical origin and literary

³⁵⁸ Brief summaries of past research have been provided recently by Oswald, Nathan, p. 17-31, 63-69; Kasari, Promise, p. 14-19; Van Seters, Saga, p. 241-256.

development of 2 Sam 7, the question of dtr activity in the text and the relationship between the two key topics of the chapter, the Davidic dynasty and the temple.

Many hypotheses regarding the literary development of 2 Sam 7 have emerged during the history of research on this chapter. Numerous scholars have attempted to reconstruct various layers within the text that developed from the time of David (or Solomon) until the exilic or post-exilic period.³⁵⁹ T. A. Rudnig, in contrast, dates the basic text of Nathan's oracle to the Persian period (vv. 1-3.11b.16a), while also maintaining that the text has undergone several redactions, thus providing for additional layers within the text.³⁶⁰

One of the reasons for recovering sources or layers within the text is the fact that the themes of temple and dynasty appear in different parts of 2 Sam 7. While the exposition (vv. 1-4) and the first part of Nathan's oracle (5-7) focus on the temple, the second part of the prophecy (8-16) – excluding v. 13, which is often regarded as a late addition – merely concerns the theme of dynasty. Moreover, the motif of temple does not appear in David's subsequent prayer (18-29). Many scholars suggest that Nathan's oracle as we know it today is a combination of two oracles that were originally independent. The re-introduction of the second part of the prophecy with the phrase "thus says Yhwh" (v. 8) seems to support this hypothesis, since it appears as if this were the announcement of a new oracle. Along these lines, F. M. Cross, for instance, has argued that the dtr form of 2 Sam 7 combines Nathan's oracle from the time of David, which is against the building of a temple (vv. 1-7*), with the promise of eternal dynasty, whose oldest core (probably from the time of Solomon) is to be found in vv. 14*.15aLXX.16*.³⁶¹ A variant of this understanding of the development of the chapter can be observed in the attempt by scholars to reconstruct an old prophetic oracle, to which a second oracle was attached as a part of a redactional layer.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ A recent example is Kasari, *Promise*, p. 21-109.

³⁶⁰ Rudnig, *König*, p. 426-446. Rudnig reconstructs a basic re-working in the first part of the oracle (vv. 4-6.7); the second part, he believes, was subject to a number of redactions – first vv. 8a.12.14a.17 were appended, later the rest of the text, in several phases. – For a critique of some of the literary-critical models see Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 63-69.

³⁶¹ Cross, *Myth*, p. 241-261; note, however, that according to Cross the first oracle (vv. 1-7*) probably already continued with "an oath of Yahweh concerning David's seed, now replaced by the 'eternal decree' of verse 7:11b-16" (p. 255). The content of this supposed sequel to Nathan's oracle was probably very close to Ps 132,11f. Cross believes that it was precisely this suppressed/re-worked sequel that was the reason why the Deuteronomist chose this old oracle and combined it with a later promise of a dynasty (most likely) from the time of Solomon. – Two independent oracles are also reconstructed by Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 47-74; 106-107; Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 73, 77-78.

³⁶² So e.g. Pietsch, *Sproß*, p. 15-53, according to whom the oldest text of the chapter, within the given narrative context, consisted of vv. 1a.2-5.8aß-9a.11b-16.17*.18-21.25-27. However, this text already received an old "royal oracle" contained in vv. 11b.12*.14a.15a.16.

A diachronic decomposition of the text according to the criterion of the presence of motifs of temple and dynasty is quite problematic since these themes appear together in a number of other texts of the ancient Near East, notably in inscriptions composed when Mesopotamian kings built or repaired temples. The royal ideology present in these inscriptions creates a virtually “natural” relationship between the temple and the kingship. Building and maintaining temples seems to be a crucial role of a king in respect to the world of the gods, and also secures blessing over the king’s rule from the gods who dwell in the temples. The building of the temple therefore manifests the king’s right to rule.³⁶³ In his groundbreaking work, T. Ishida reveals several similarities between 2 Sam 7 and the Mesopotamian, mostly Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions, and attempts to interpret 2 Sam 7 as a product of a similar royal ideology.³⁶⁴ According to Ishida, Nathan pronounced his oracles (the one prohibiting the building of a temple and the one promising an eternal dynasty to David) separately, but later (after Solomon’s accession to the throne), the prophet himself – or his sons – brought Nathan’s oracle and David’s prayer together to form the text as it currently stands and where the temple and kingship appear in a “natural” relationship. 2 Sam 7 does contain, in vv. 11bβ and 13a, two answers to the rhetorical question of v. 5b, but Ishida rejects the possibility of considering either one of them as secondary, since these are the two that “correspond exactly to the double theme of the royal-dynastic ideology in the ancient Near East, that is, the divine promise of a dynasty and the king’s building of a temple.”³⁶⁵ According to Ishida, the specificity of 2 Sam 7 lies in the fact that, unlike the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, the topics of kingship and the temple are related to different kings in the biblical text. Since the founder of the dynasty was not the one who built the temple, 2 Sam 7 has a twofold role: it is an apology for David’s failure to build the temple and a legitimization of Solomon’s inheritance of the throne and of his temple.

Since one can hardly accept Ishida’s opinion that, in its current form, 2 Sam 7 contains no polemic against David’s intent to build a temple for Yhwh (see below), some scholars have attempted to reconstruct an older form of the text in 2 Sam 7, one that would correspond more to the traditional connection of “the throne and the altar.” This approach has spurred a search for sources and layers present in both parts of Nathan’s oracle. In his seminal commentary, P. K. McCarter distinguishes three layers in 2 Sam 7 7,1-17.³⁶⁶ In the oldest text, consisting of vv. 1a.2-3.11b-12.13b-15a and stemming from the period of Solomon, David announced his intent to build a temple for Yhwh and was rewarded with a dynastic promise. Later, the text underwent a prophetic redaction (vv. 4-9a.15b) that indirectly under-

³⁶³ Whitlam, King, p. 46.

³⁶⁴ Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 85-98.

³⁶⁵ Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 97.

³⁶⁶ McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 220-231.

mined the Davidic dynastic ideology, insofar as it presents the success of David and his family as utterly dependent on God's free will. David could not have earned God's favour by building the temple; the temple is "unnecessary and unwanted", and "David's proposal is uncalled for and presumptuous, an act of royal supererogation."³⁶⁷ The most recent layer in McCarter's model is the dtr redaction from the time of Josiah (vv. 1b.9b-11a.13a.16a, and perhaps further minor intrusions in the text). A few other scholars reconstructed the oldest layer in 2 Sam 7 in a similar way, recently e.g. P. Kasari (vv. 1a.2-5a.8aßbα*.9a.12aαßb.14a.15a.17)³⁶⁸, T. Rudnig (vv. 1-3.11b.16a)³⁶⁹ and O. Sergi (1a.2-3.11b)³⁷⁰. However, a clear limitation of this approach is that the reconstruction of older forms of the text is motivated primarily by an *a priori* notion of what the text should consist of.³⁷¹

Historical-critical studies of 2 Sam 7 are frequently concerned with the extent of dtr influence in the text. M. Noth believed that the chapter could not be dtr, "since neither the prohibition of temple-building nor the strong emphasis on the value of the monarchy are in the spirit of Dtr." Still, even Noth found dtr intrusions in vv. 1b.7a ("judges of Israel").11a.12b-13a.22-24.³⁷² In the research that followed Noth's invention of a Dtr History, a small number of studies have denied that significant dtr activity can be observed in the text, with some scholars even rejecting the dtr origin of v. 13a where the building of the temple for *the name of Yahweh* is foretold.³⁷³ However, the majority of interpreters who accept the hypothesis of the Dtr History in fact go in the other direction, finding more dtr features in 2 Sam 7 than were detected by Noth.

In 1965, D. J. McCarthy published a short article in which he did not rule out the possibility that 2 Sam 7 has undergone some pre-dtr develop-

³⁶⁷ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 227.

³⁶⁸ Kasari, Promise, p. 21-109.

³⁶⁹ Rudnig, König.

³⁷⁰ Sergi, Composition, p. 263-268. On the basis of tradition-historical considerations and without extracting the oldest text from its present form, the original content of the chapter is reconstructed in a similar way by Laato, Star, p. 44. Cf., with some differences, also Levin, Verheißung, p. 251-255.

³⁷¹ Cf. McCarter's qualifying statement on p. 221: "Nevertheless, even if the presence of older material is assumed, it is by no means easy to recover it by the application of standard literary-critical methods to the text, the surface of which seems to have been touched almost everywhere by a Deuteronomistic hand." It must be admitted that, in support of his reconstruction of the oldest text, McCarter also notes that the 3.p.sg. in v. 11b seamlessly follows v. 3, while in the current context, the 3.p. in v. 11b comes as a surprise (p. 223).

³⁷² Noth, History, p. 55-56, 126. In v. 7a, then, Noth reconstructs a dtr intrusion in the text according to 1 Chr 17,6. For more on the textual problem there, see the text-critical note above.

³⁷³ E.g. Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 131-132; Mettinger, King, p. 48-63; Lohfink, Oracle; Caquot – de Robert, Samuel, p. 421-436; Schniedewind, Society, p. 17-50.

ment, but he recommended that the chapter in its current form be added to Noth's list of key dtr passages, in which the author of Dtr History commented on the depicted history in his efforts to combine the available sources into a coherent work.³⁷⁴ According to Noth, the Deuteronomist positioned these "reflexive" passages in the key moments of the history of Israel, and McCarthy believes that 2 Sam 7 works in this manner to mark the rise and the importance of the period of the Davidic monarchy, which is here depicted by the Deuteronomist as standing in contrast to the period of judges (McCarthy refers to vv. 7 and 10-11; in v. 7 he thus reads שפטי ישראל together with 1 Chr 17,6MT). In the following narrative of the history of Israel, McCarthy found another two significant dtr passages that are directly linked to the "programme" announced in 2 Sam 7: 1 Kings 8 contains a dtr commentary on the fulfillment of Nathan's oracle (Solomon built a temple and inherited David's throne), while 2 Kings 17 is a dtr interpretation of the "final failure of the kingship."³⁷⁵

Two chapters in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* by F. M. Cross have been very important for research on this topic.³⁷⁶ Cross believed that two very old prophetic oracles could be reconstructed in 2 Sam 7 (see above), but he regarded the current state of the text as very dtr processed; his list of dtr phrases in the chapter consists of 24 items³⁷⁷, while he understood David's prayer in vv. 19-29 as a completely dtr composition³⁷⁸. Cross accepted McCarthy's claim that 2 Sam 7 should be added to Noth's list of key dtr passages that form the framework of the entire Dtr History, but he located the majority of these structuring passages, including 2 Sam 7, in a different context. As it is well known, Cross distinguished an activity of two dtr writers in the Dtr History: Dtr¹, working in the time of the Judean king Josiah in the 7th c.; and Dtr², who complemented and re-worked the writing of his predecessor around 550 B.C.E. The historical context and the intent of the original Dtr History, as created by Dtr¹, is in Cross's opinion most apparent in the books of Kings, where the history is approached on the basis of two theological concepts: the theology of the covenant, which states that lack of faithfulness and a deviation from the covenant elicits punishment from Yhwh; and the theology of the eternal promises to David, according to traditional Judean royal ideology. Numerous Judean kings deviated from Yhwh's commandments and thus brought a punishment on themselves and their people, but Yhwh never completely rejected Judah because of the promise given to David and because of Jerusalem, which he chose as the place for his temple. The connection of these two themes, ac-

³⁷⁴ McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 131-138.

³⁷⁵ McCarthy, it seems, assumes Noth's notion of a single dtr historian who was active in the exilic period.

³⁷⁶ Cross, *Myth*, p. 219-289.

³⁷⁷ Cross, *Myth*, p. 252-254.

³⁷⁸ Cross, *Myth*, p. 247, 254.

According to Cross, serves as a motivation for Josiah's reformist and imperialist program. The whole of Israel, including the population of the former northern kingdom, should now, *under the leadership of Josiah, the descendant of David*, come back to obey Yhwh again. According to this view, adopted in various forms by several students of Cross, 2 Sam 7 contains very old, pre-dtr sources, but the text was thoroughly dtr processed and the dtr form of the chapter forms a crucial link in the pre-exilic Dtr History.

Some of the major protagonists of the Göttingen school have analyzed 2 Sam 7 in a manner that is somewhat similar to Cross's model, since they also find pre-dtr sources in the text and an extensive (multiple) dtr redaction. T. Veijola³⁷⁹, like Cross, reconstructs two formerly independent pre-dtr oracles behind the contemporary form of the chapter: an oracle against the construction of the temple (vv. 1a.2-5.7) and one promising to David that his successor will be one of his sons (vv. 8a.9.10.12.14-15.17). Only the (exilic) DtrG assembled these oracles and located them in the present narrative context, while he rebranded the second oracle as the promise of an eternal dynasty and appended it with David's prayer (vv. 8b.11b.13.16.18-21.25-29; plus the title עֶבֶד in vv. 5 and 8a). Later DtrN added vv. 1b.6.11a.22-24, which extend the promise to the whole people of Israel. Other scholars adhering to the Göttingen model tend to reach a similar conclusion, although their literary and redactional analyses differ on individual issues.³⁸⁰

John Van Seters devoted a subchapter of his exceptional book *In Search of History* to 2 Sam 7; recently he expanded on and partially altered his position in *The Biblical Saga of King David*.³⁸¹ In a rather radical manner, Van Seters took up McCarthy's opinion that 2 Sam 7 is one of the key texts of Dtr History that the Deuteronomist inserted in the decisive moments of Israel's history. Van Seters believes that the history of David's rise was composed by the (exilic) Deuteronomist, and, in the original form of Dtr History, 2 Sam 7 constituted the peak and, in substance, the conclusion to the story of David (what is known as the Succession Narrative or Court History in 2 Sam 9-20 and 1 Kgs 1; 2,5-9.13-48 is considered by Van Seters a later addition to Dtr History). To the list of dtr phrases used in 2 Sam 7 as established by Cross, Van Seters added a description of the relations between the chapter and the imminent dtr (according to Van Seters) literary context. Van Seters believes the Deuteronomist is the author of 2 Sam 7 in its entirety, and that no older sources can be reconstructed within it.³⁸² He even asserts that "the notion of the Davidic promise of a perpetual dynasty

³⁷⁹ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 72-79.

³⁸⁰ See e.g. Kasari, *Promise*, p. 21-109.

³⁸¹ Van Seters, *Search*, p. 271-277; Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 241-267.

³⁸² Van Seters, *Search*, 272-277. In his later book, *The Biblical Saga of King David*, p. 259-261, Van Seters changed his approach in the sense that he now regarded vv. 10-11aa as a later addition.

is a basic ideological construction that is no older than the Dtr History.”³⁸³ Unlike many other scholars, Van Seters finds no tension between various propositions made within the chapter; he regards Nathan’s oracle as coherent in the respect that it is a generally positive answer to David’s plan to build a house for Yhwh. The meaning of the first part of the (second) oracle (vv. 5-7) is merely a comparison of two historical periods – the time of the judges and the time of the Davidic kingdom. During the temporary rule of the judges (vv. 7.11), Yhwh’s dwelling was transitory, but after the emergence of monarchy, the establishment of a permanent dynasty and the victory over the enemies of Israel, Yahweh will command the first of David’s successors to build him a temple.³⁸⁴ Regarding the relationship between the motifs of kingship and temple in 2 Sam 7, Van Seters actually returns to the interpretation of Ishida, with the only difference being that he does not date the text to the 10th, but rather to the 6th century.

S. L. McKenzie understands the chapter in a similar manner.³⁸⁵ He likewise regards 2 Sam 7 as coherent in its dtr form and detects no polemic against David’s plan to build a temple for Yhwh in the text. McKenzie suggests that the only drawback of David’s proposal was that, from the perspective of the author of 2 Sam 7, the construction was not in accord with Yhwh’s timeline, since he had not yet given his people rest (we have seen above that McKenzie omits v. 1b from the original text of the chapter). “Yahweh was pleased to accept David’s proposal, while also explaining that it was actually David’s son who would build both houses, Yahweh’s and David’s.”³⁸⁶ The dynasty is not depicted as the direct reward for David’s intention to build a temple. However, the fact that Yahweh’s promise was given after the intention was expressed “certainly cements the relationship between temple and dynasty, two institutions that were inextricably linked in the ancient Near East anyway.”³⁸⁷ McKenzie locates the origin of the Dtr History in the exilic period and the Deuteronomist, in his view, did not wish to suggest in 2 Sam 7 or in any other occurrence of the dynastic promise that the Davidic dynasty would rule forever; he rather wished to explain why the Davidides were in power for so long. McKenzie, like Van Seters, regards 2 Sam 7 as the “fountainhead of all texts dealing with the Davidic Promise or covenant in the Hebrew Bible.”³⁸⁸ The first attested form of the Davidic promise thus emerged as an aetiology of the already

³⁸³ Van Seters, *Search*, p. 276.

³⁸⁴ Van Seters, *Search*, p. 273. Manifestly, Van Seters reads שפטי ישראל in v. 7, in agreement with 1 Chr 17,6. Similar comments on the meaning of 2 Sam 7 are given by Schniedewind, *Society*, p. 38-39. However, he dates the text to the time of Solomon.

³⁸⁵ McKenzie, *David*; McKenzie, *Typology*.

³⁸⁶ McKenzie, *David*, p. 223-224.

³⁸⁷ McKenzie, *David*, p. 216.

³⁸⁸ McKenzie, *Typology*, p. 177.

non-existent phenomenon, although McKenzie admits that the use of לעולם may reflect “a glimmer of hope for the future.”³⁸⁹

Van Seters and McKenzie, I believe, rightly observed that we can hardly reconstruct old “pre-dtr” forms of the text in 2 Sam 7 on literary-critical terms, but their interpretation of the meaning of the text is unsatisfactory since, as was also the case with Ishida’s interpretation, the first part of Nathan’s second oracle clearly stands against David’s intention. McKenzie’s suggestion that “Yahweh was pleased to accept David’s proposal, while also explaining that it was actually David’s son who would build both houses, Yahweh’s and David’s” corresponds to the perspective of 1 Kgs 5,17-19 and 1 Kgs 8,17-19, but it has little to do with the meaning of 2 Sam 7 itself.

W. Oswald also considers 2 Sam 7 utterly dtr and a fundamentally coherent text.³⁹⁰ Oswald ascribes nearly all the text of the chapter to the first version of Dtr History that contained only the books of Samuel-Kings; the author of vv. 10-11aa.23-24, focusing on the people of Israel instead of the Davidic dynasty, is a later redactor of the “great” Dtr History (Deut 1-2 Kings 25). Oswald believes that 2 Sam 7 should be read in direct relation to the end of Dtr History in 2 Kgs 25,27-30, which describes the release of Jehoiachin in the Babylonian exile. The specific character of 2 Sam 7 is, in his opinion, utterly determined by Jehoiachin’s situation in Babylon. For instance, he points out that it is not stated in the dynastic promise or in David’s prayer which territorial-political unit David’s descendants would rule “eternally”, meaning that the promise may also be applied to the captive Jehoiachin. Above all, this historical location of 2 Sam 7 allows Oswald to explain the presence of the first part of Nathan’s (second) oracle (vv. 5-7) in a text leading up to the promise of a dynasty. Vv. 5-7, Oswald believes, do not forbid the construction of the temple, they only *free* David of this traditional task as king. David’s rule was possible without the temple, and the same applies to his descendants, e.g. Jehoiachin after the destruction of the temple in 586. The legitimacy of the Davidides is not linked to the existence of the temple, and its destruction does not undermine it in any way.

In my MA thesis from 2003, I reached a very similar conclusion to that of Oswald: 2 Sam 7 is actually a coherent (“dtr”) composition written in the 6th c. B.C.E., and its function was to counter the traditionally close relationship between kingship and the temple, so that after the fall of the temple, it could be possible to hope that the Davidic dynasty would not share the fate of the temple.³⁹¹ Oswald’s book was not yet published at that time, and so we therefore reached a similar conclusion independent of one another. I hope that even after the publication of Oswald’s monograph, my work on 2 Sam 7 may still be useful, since we have reached the same conclusion

³⁸⁹ McKenzie, *Typology*, p. 178.

³⁹⁰ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 17-105.

³⁹¹ Rückl, Trün; similarly *id.*, *Dynastie*.

by following slightly different trajectories and, as an informed reader will realize, we differ on many individual instances. Furthermore, at the present time I believe (unlike Oswald) that the origin of 2 Sam 7 is, beside the “exilic” period, also fathomable during the Persian period *after* Zerubbabel. In the analysis that follows, I will attempt to be most concise where I am closest to Oswald, so as not to repeat his arguments; I then tend to expand on the points where we differ and where I take a different approach.

2.3 The traditional Judean royal ideology as an ideological (and literary) background of 2 Sam 7

2.3.1 Methodological notes

As in the case of other analyses of biblical texts in this book, the following study of 2 Sam 7 primarily uses the traditional instrumentarium of historical-critical philology, which is ultimately based on “slow reading” and which does not require a lengthy explanation here. However, considering the extent and variability of secondary literature already published on 2 Sam 7, I choose to begin my interpretation with a few methodological notes.

Regardless of whether 2 Sam 7 is a homogeneous composition or a text written in several phases, we may hardly doubt that the text had a political dimension at the time when it was composed. In order to understand the function and intention of the text, it seems appropriate to analyze it as an act of political discourse, but in that respect it would be important to know when and where the text was written, what socio-political position was held by its author (or the commissioner?), for whom the text was written, how it was distributed, etc. Under these conditions, we could nearly reach the final point of all historical criticism and read the text “with the eyes of the author(s) as well as those of the (changing) readers.”³⁹² However, we in fact lack precise information on the first immediate context of many biblical texts, which makes the search for answers to at least some of the above questions the very purpose of ongoing historical-critical research. We do not know the precise author of 2 Sam 7, or the authors of its various parts or layers, and as we have seen scholars have attempted to read the text in a variety of contexts.

How should we proceed in a way that makes our historical-critical analysis as “empirical” as possible, i.e. based on the facts that are actually available? I believe that, in seeking to reconstruct the intention behind 2 Sam 7, we might draw inspiration from the reception-historical method of

³⁹² Oeming, *Hermeneutics*, p. 39.

the study of literature, as formulated by H. R. Jauss.³⁹³ Jauss suggests that we can describe the primary effect of a given work on the basis of its relationship to the expectations of its audience, which at the time of the publication of the text follow “from a previous understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the contrast between poetic and practical language.”³⁹⁴ The new literary work is not presented and received as “something absolutely new in an informational vacuum”, it rather prepares the reader, using a number of more or less overt or hidden signals, references and signs, for a particular kind of reception; for instance, by evoking older literary texts and non-literary facts, it leads the reader to a specific emotional mood and “with its ‘beginning’ [it] arouses expectations for the ‘middle and end’.”³⁹⁵ The interaction of the text with the reader’s experience creates a horizon of expectations, which can be certified, altered or denied by the text that follows. In principle, any literary work can be described against the backdrop of the reconstructed horizon of expectations. The ideal cases, however, are those texts that intentionally evoke a certain horizon of expectations, using genre conventions and conventions of other sorts, and then challenge those expectations by doing away with them. As an example of such a text, Jauss mentions *Don Quixote* where Cervantes allows the horizon of expectations of a chivalric romance to emerge, but the text itself is a parody of the genre.

Jauss points out the importance of the method of the history of reception in relation to understanding ancient literature.

Whenever the writer of a work is unknown, his intent not recorded, or his relationship to sources and models only indirectly accessible, the philological question of how the text is ‘properly’ to be understood, that is according to its intention and its time, can best be answered if the text is considered in contrast to the background of the works which the author could expect his contemporary public to know either explicitly or implicitly.³⁹⁶

As I already indicated in my textual note on 2 Sam 7,1b and will explain in detail further below, we can be quite certain in the case of 2 Sam 7 that its

³⁹³ The following paragraphs draw on Jauss’s article *Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory*, *New Literary History* 2 (1970), p. 7-37. W. M. Schniedewind also avows the reception-historical method of Jauss in *Society and the Promise to David*, p. 5-14. In this book, Schniedewind attempts to describe the history of reception of the dynastic promise since the formulation of Nathan’s oracle (in the time of Solomon, Schniedewind believes) until its reception in the Dead Sea scrolls. A reader familiar with Schniedewind’s study will soon understand that my understanding of 2 Sam 7 differs from Schniedewind’s in many respects. Schniedewind actually does not use the reception-historical method for the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 itself.

³⁹⁴ Jauss, *History*, p. 11.

³⁹⁵ Jauss, *History*, p. 12.

³⁹⁶ Jauss, *History*, p. 19.

author, like the authors mentioned by Jauss, intentionally allows for the emergence of a false horizon of expectations in the introduction (vv. 1-3). These expectations are then rejected in the text that follows. In v. 2, David describes the situation in such a manner that Nathan supports his plan in his first oracle (v. 3) without reservations. This oracle itself, then, embodies a false expectation that the text seeks to invoke, while the formulation of the oracle itself enhances the expectation – the prophet announces that Yhwh is with David, and this has been the leitmotif of David's story so far (1 Sam 16,18 [cf. v. 13]; 17,37; 18,12.14.28; 20,13; 2 Sam 5,10; David's career is summarized in a similar manner in 2 Sam 7,9). This false impression, namely that David's plan to build a temple is entirely appropriate, is also supported by 2 Sam 7,1b, which probably constitutes a reference to Deut 12,9-11 where the centralization of the cult is said to follow the gift of rest. Admittedly, an objection to this reading of the first three verses of 2 Sam 7 could be that in an older form of the chapter (as has been reconstructed by some scholars) the contradiction between the expectation brought by the introduction and the following text was less strong than in the current masoretic³⁹⁷ text (this applies for instance to the aforementioned redaction-critical reconstructions of McCarter, Rudnig, Sergi and others). I will try to show in the following explanation that vv. 1-3 were written with respect to the subsequent development of the text, so that the tension between vv. 1-3 and the subsequent text cannot be dealt with in redaction-critical terms.

Does this strategy of evoking a false expectation in 2 Sam 7 have also a different function than an aesthetic one? I believe it does and at this point we are returning to Jauss's idea that the intention of an ancient work can be reconstructed if we read it against the backdrop of the works that the author expects his readers to be acquainted with (either implicitly or explicitly). The various ways in which false expectations are created in 2 Sam 7,1-3 all serve to evoke certain aspects of the relationship between the temple and kingship in traditional (pre-exilic) Judean royal ideology, in order that this traditional form of the relationship can be rejected by means of the text in its entirety. We should thus read 2 Sam 7 against the backdrop of the relationship between temple and kingship in Judean royal ideology. The construction of the text indicates, in my opinion, that the author expects the intended readers to be aware of this aspect of the traditional Judean royal ideology; in this sense, the reception-historical consideration secures a relatively "empirical" nature of my interpretation. Based on the recovery of the basic intention behind the text, we can subsequently attempt to secure its dating and location within a social context, which in turn could lead to a more precise interpretation of the intended function of the text. My reconstruction of the ideological background assumed and polemically opposed

³⁹⁷ As we have seen, 2 Sam 7 has quite different meaning in LXX and in MT. As for the meaning of the text, MT provides an older form of the text than LXX.

by 2 Sam 7 is naturally based on a thorough analysis of the text, but for the sake of the clarity of the argument it is better to place this reconstruction before the analysis of 2 Sam 7 itself.

As mentioned above, Jauss suggests that we may interpret ancient texts against the backdrop of those texts that the author probably had implicitly or explicitly assumed his reader to know. As to the issue of the relationship between the temple and kingship in 2 Sam 7, we can hardly say whether the author expected that his first readers were familiar with specific texts that articulated a traditional relationship between these two motifs. Even if he did, we do not know whether such texts are available today. Nevertheless, texts preserving the traditional form of this aspect of the Judean royal ideology are available, regardless of whether they are direct intertexts of 2 Sam 7 or otherwise. In our work, the method of Jauss cannot be matched by studying 2 Sam 7 against the backdrop of individual texts that the author expected his readers to be acquainted with; we can, on the other hand, study 2 Sam 7 in more general terms against the backdrop of the relationship between the temple and kingship in the traditional Judean royal ideology, which can be reconstructed from the existing texts. Naturally, I do not suggest that the reconstructed relationship between the temple and kingship in the pre-exilic Judean royal ideology had to be understood identically in various social strata and various phases of the existence of the Judean monarchy. What we are reconstructing is the form of the Judean royal ideology that is implicitly presupposed by 2 Sam 7 and which is sufficiently attested in other texts.

2.3.2 *2 Sam 7 and the royal ideology of Mesopotamian royal inscriptions* (T. Ishida, A. Laato, D. F. Murray and W. Oswald)

According to K. W. Whitelam, the use of religion to legitimate royal power is one of the most striking features common to all the early agrarian states of the Near East, India or Central America.³⁹⁸ In the ancient Near East, the particular relationship of the king with the world of the divine is often manifest in the king's building and repair of temples, although this activity is understood differently in individual religious systems. O. Keel notes the basic difference between the understanding of the building of the temple by the king in Egypt and in Mesopotamia: in Egypt, the king builds temples and makes sacrifices to the gods as a son of god, grateful for the divine life the gods have given him, while in Mesopotamia, the king builds the temple as a servant of the gods and as a representative of humanity, that was in fact created to serve the gods. To exemplify this Mesopotamian idea, Keel refers to a Babylonian text depicting the creative work of the god Ea: "He created the king to be custodian of [the temple, / he creat]ed mankind to

³⁹⁸ Whitelam, *King*, p. 46.

discharge [service to the gods].”³⁹⁹ Keel also illustrates this fundamental difference between Egypt and Mesopotamia by reference to iconographic materials. Regardless of these and other differences between various forms of the royal ideology in the ancient Near East, it is clear that the relationship between the temple and the dynasty in 2 Sam 7 should still be approached with this wider context in mind.

Scholars have most often compared the relationship between kingship and temple in 2 Sam 7 to their constellation in the royal inscriptions commissioned by the Mesopotamian kings when the construction or repair works of a given temple were completed. The inscriptions have survived on bricks, sections of the constructions, etc. There are differences between the inscriptions from different periods and parts of Mesopotamia; T. Ishida, comparing the inscriptions with 2 Sam 7, focused primarily on the texts of Neo-Babylonian origin. A typical inscription, according to Ishida, consists of three parts: 1) the name of the king and his titles; 2) a narrative of the divine choice of the king, the divine help and the building of the temple; 3) the king’s prayer for his rule and his dynasty. As an example, Ishida quotes (in an extremely abridged form) an inscription of Nabopolassar (625-605) regarding the reconstruction of Etemenanki, the temple of Marduk in Babylon:

Nabopolassar, the viceroy of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad ... when on the command of Nebo and Marduk ... I subjugated the Assyrians, ... at that time Marduk, the lord, ordered me firmly to found the base of Etemenanki ... as deep as the nether world and to make its top compete with heaven ... I asked the oracle of Šamaš, Adad and Marduk, and the great gods showed me through the decision of an oracle (the place) where I should put my heart and take the measurements into consideration ... I built a temple after the copy of Ebabbarra with joy and jubilation, and I elevated its top as high as a mountain ... O Marduk, my lord, look joyously at my pious work! By your noble command, that will be never changed, may the work, the work of my hand, last for ever! As the bricks of Etemenanki are firm for ever, establish the foundation of my throne for all time to come!⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ Keel, *Symbolism*, p. 269-280, the quotation from p. 269. Keel does not indicate that the two lines are incomplete. The text is a cosmogonic myth to be recited by a *kalû* priest during a ritual for the reconstruction of a temple. The edition in Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, p. 1-59, the quoted section on p. 46-47; English translation in Heidl, *Babylonian Genesis*, p. 65-66. For a study of the text, see Bottéro, *Mythes*, p. 293-299. The restitution of the “temple” at the end of the first line is very likely. The line reads: *[i]b-ni šarra ana za-ni-nu* [...]. Another text, belonging to a ritual executed by a *kalû* priest on the occasion of laying the foundations of a temple, reads *re-’u za-nin eš-’ret* DINGIR.MEŠ *ina ma-a-tú’ ib-bu’-[ú]*, i.e. “‘They nominat[ed] in the lan’d’ the shepherd, provisioner of the sanctuaries’ of the gods” (the subject is Anu, Enlil and Ea); for this text, see Mayer, *Rituale*, p. 438-443.

⁴⁰⁰ Quoted from Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 88; German translation in Langdon, *Königsinschriften*, p. 60-65. For the text, a new translation and commentary, see Da Riva, *Inscriptions*, p. 77-92.

Nabopolassar, unlike David, succeeded in building the temple; nevertheless, Ishida believes that 2 Sam 7 contains all the other main themes of the inscription with the exception of the king's titles. As is the case in the inscription, the defeat of enemies is a condition of the building of a temple in 2 Sam 7. The topic of the building is introduced next – Nabopolassar receives an order from Marduk, while David consults a prophet, but the texts agree that a god's will must be known before the building commences. After this point, the texts vary, as “this theme does not lead to the building of a temple in the prophecy as it does in the inscription.”⁴⁰¹ Instead of granting permission to build, Yahweh reminds David of the good things that he has done for him, and Ishida finds a parallel for this in another inscription of Nabopolassar:

When I was a son of nobody in my youth ... he (i.e. Marduk) appointed me to be the head in the land where I was born, (and) I was designated to be the ruler of the land and the people, he made a good tutelary deity go by my side ... he made Nergal, the mighty one among the gods, go as a messenger by my side, he killed my enemies and overthrew my opponents, as to the Assyrians, who ruled over all the peoples since ancient time and had tortured the people of the land by their heavy yoke, I, the weak and powerless, trusted in the lord of the lords and with the mighty power of Nebo and Marduk, my lords, cut their foot from the land of Akkad and cast away their yoke.⁴⁰²

Ishida finds other motifs of Nathan's oracle – the promise of a dynasty; the building of the temple; the fatherly relationship of God to the son of David, who will build the temple⁴⁰³; the irreversibility of grace – in the prayer of a building inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562):

O Marduk ... you have begotten me (and) entrusted me with the kingship over the entire people ... I am really the king, the provider, the beloved of your heart ... By your command, merciful Marduk, may the temple, which I built, be strong for ever! ... From the west to the east, where the sun rises, may my enemy not be, nor have I adversary! May my descendants rule for ever in it over the black-headed people!⁴⁰⁴

Ishida, besides finding similar topics in the Mesopotamian (primarily Neo-Babylonian) inscriptions and 2 Sam 7, also believes that the inscriptions

⁴⁰¹ Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 88.

⁴⁰² Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 89; Langdon, *Königsinschriften*, p. 66-69. See text, new translation and commentary in Da Riva, *Inscriptions*, p. 77-92.

⁴⁰³ So Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 90; as will be seen below, I believe that in 2 Sam 7, the promise of a father-son relationship between the deity and the king concerns the descendants of David in general.

⁴⁰⁴ Quoted from Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 90; text in Langdon, *Königsinschriften*, p. 120-121.

and 2 Sam 7 contain a fairly similar royal ideology whose basic themes are the divine promise of a dynasty and the building of a temple by a king.⁴⁰⁵

It is doubtful whether the idea of the “divine promise of a dynasty” is as typical of the Mesopotamian royal ideology as Ishida believes. At any rate, the motif of the king’s descendants only appears in the royal prayer in the second part of the texts Ishida adduces, and, unlike David’s prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29, in these inscriptions the king never refers in his prayer to a previous promise of a dynasty given to him by the deity. The important question, however, is whether the issues of kingship and the temple appear in 2 Sam 7 in a similar constellation as in the inscriptions. In order to be in a position to claim that there is a “natural” relationship between the temple and kingship in 2 Sam 7, with the building of the temple serving to legitimate the power of the king, Ishida must prove that Nathan’s oracle contains no polemic against the temple and its function. Ishida interprets the framing of Yhwh’s rejection of David’s intention (vv. 5b-7) with rhetorical questions as evidence that Nathan did not wish to reject the king’s plan directly. The prophet himself agreed with the building (v. 3), but later found out that it could not be done due to antagonisms within the king’s court and therefore reluctantly presented an oracle in which he puts a stop to it.⁴⁰⁶ The passage, according to Ishida, is intentionally ambiguous, since it has to explain a delicate problem, namely that Yhwh rejected the plan of the king who had received his grace. Also the claim that God “did not reside in a house” since the exodus from Egypt – a claim that ignores the temple in Shiloh – is intended to minimize David’s failure by pointing out that nobody had yet been chosen to build a temple.

Ishida’s interpretation of the rhetorical questions in vv. 5-7 is plainly wrong. As will be shown below, the rhetorical questions in vv. 5.7 are, contrary to Ishida’s reading, a stronger response than a direct rejection of David’s intention. But if we cannot exclude from 2 Sam 7 all polemic against David’s plan to build a temple for Yhwh to dwell in, Ishida’s hypothesis that the temple and kingship (Ishida speaks explicitly of a dynasty) appear in the chapter in the same pattern as in the royal ideology contained in the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions collapses. Ishida illustrated very well the oft-mentioned link between kingship and the temple in the ancient Near-Eastern royal ideology in Neo-Babylonian texts. His focus on Neo-Babylonian texts is all the more interesting since in this way we reach close proximity (in temporal and perhaps also spatial terms) to the supposed “dtr” author of 2 Sam 7.⁴⁰⁷ But as a whole, we cannot consider the content of 2 Sam 7 as being analogous to these inscriptions.

⁴⁰⁵ Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 97.

⁴⁰⁶ In the introduction to his book (p. 3-5), Ishida avows a very optimistic understanding of the historical reliability of the biblical historical narratives.

⁴⁰⁷ As is well known, Noth situated the origin of Dtr History within Palestine (Noth, *History*, p. 142). Still, many scholars believe that the work is bound to the exilic circles – for

A. Laato, in his comparison of 2 Sam 7 with Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, focused primarily on Assyrian texts from the 2nd millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium, probably in order to show that the royal ideology contained in these inscriptions could have existed in Israel “already during the time that David planned to build a Temple for Yahweh.”⁴⁰⁸ Laato reaches a similar conclusion to Ishida:

[T]he Akkadian royal inscriptions indicate that the idea of a dynasty is a common theme connected with the building of a temple. The king who builds a house (= temple) for the gods is promised that the gods will build a house (= dynasty) for him. 2 Samuel 7 contains similar ‘exchange’: (David and) Solomon, who (planned and) built a House for Yahweh, are promised that Yahweh will build a house for them, i.e., the dynasty of (David and) Solomon.⁴⁰⁹

Again, there is the question of whether a similar relationship between the building of the temple and the *promise of a dynasty* is actually characteristic of the Assyrian inscriptions. The texts assembled in the volumes of RIMA I-III do not create the impression that the *promise of a dynasty* following the construction of a temple is a common theme in these inscriptions. Laato finds the idea of the promise of an eternal dynasty in the *introduction* to one of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076): “to him [=Tiglath-Pileser] you [the great gods] granted leadership, supremacy, (and) valour, pronounced forever his destiny of dominion as powerful and (the destiny) of his priestly progeny for Eḫursagkurkurra.”⁴¹⁰ The relationship between the building of the temple and the (requested) blessing of the descendants is otherwise primarily apparent in the prayers contained towards the end of the inscriptions, after the building activity has been described, as for instance in this inscription of Shalmaneser I (1274-1245):

When Aššur, the lord, enters that temple and joyfully takes his place of the lofty dais, may he see the brilliant work of that temple and rejoice. May he receive my prayers, may he hear my supplications. For eternity may he greatly decree with his mighty voice a destiny of well-being for my vice-

a summarizing overview of the arguments, see Römer – Pury, *Historiography*, p. 106. If we believe that numerous scribes using “dtr” phraseology and advocating the (evolving) “dtr” ideological concepts were active in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets (and other books) during a long stretch of time, any unequivocal location of the origin of the Dtr History to Palestine or Babylon is problematic. R. Albertz dedicated several pioneering studies to this issue, postulating a cleavage of the dtr “movement” between Palestinian and exilic currents. See primarily Albertz, *Search*, p. 1-17.

⁴⁰⁸ Laato, *Star*, p. 38-45 (quotation from p. 40).

⁴⁰⁹ Laato, *Star*, p. 40.

⁴¹⁰ Laato, *Star*, p. 39; RIMA II, A.0.87.1 col. 1, lines 23-27.

regency and for the vice-regency of my progeny (and) abundance during my reign.⁴¹¹

A blessing of the descendants is among the things that the king demands in connection to the building of the temple and the divine presence within it. Therefore, similar to the Babylonian inscriptions, the Assyrian building inscriptions are not as focused on the issue of an eternal dynastic *promise* as 2 Sam 7. The connection between the building of the temple and the blessing of a king (and his descendants) is, however, obvious. To draw on one more Assyrian example, where the whole inscription is practically reduced to the expression of this relationship, we may quote a somewhat later, short inscription by Adad-nārārī III (810-783):

Adad-nārārī, appointee of the god Enlil, viceregent of Assur, son of Šamšī-Adad (V), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Shalmaneser (III), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur: he (re)built from top to bottom the temple of the god Nabû, his lord, which is within Nineveh, for his life (and) the well-being of his seed and his land.⁴¹²

The basic problem with Laato's hypothesis is similar to that of Ishida's: a "natural" relationship of the *do ut des* type between the building of the temple and a blessing of the king (or, as Laato says, between the temple and the royal dynasty) is to be found in 2 Sam 7 only once we believe that the chapter contains no disagreement with David's plan to build a temple for Yhwh. Unlike Ishida, Laato seems to acknowledge that reading the current form of 2 Sam 7 in this manner raises problems, and therefore he postulates the existence of an older form of the text, one that would contain an identical form of royal ideology to the one that is present in the Assyrian inscriptions. Laato barely at all attempts to reconstruct the older text in literary-critical terms on the basis of commonly used clues, but he postulates its existence primarily on the basis of the very comparison with the Assyrian inscriptions.⁴¹³ As Laato himself admits, "[t]here is not much left from the original core of 2 Samuel 7."⁴¹⁴

D. F. Murray compared the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions with 2 Sam 5,17–7,29.⁴¹⁵ In his view, the inscriptions present a "transtextual

⁴¹¹ RIMA I, A.0.77.1 lines 148-155; see also RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 col. 8, lines 17-38. Both texts adduced by Laato, *Star*, p. 39-40.

⁴¹² RIMA III, A.0.104.14.

⁴¹³ Cf. Laato, *Star*, p. 44: "My hypothesis is based mainly on analogies from the ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, the literary tension between the 'seed' and the pronoun הוא in 2 Sam 7:12-13, and the apparent connection between David's plan to build a house for Yahweh and Yahweh's promise to build a house for David."

⁴¹⁴ Laato, *Star*, p. 44.

⁴¹⁵ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 247-280.

context” of this biblical text, especially in the case of 2 Sam 7, which Murray approaches as “a kind of deformed building text.”⁴¹⁶ He believes that the author of 2 Sam 5,17–7,29, probably writing at the time of the late Judean monarchy, could have been directly or indirectly influenced by Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, or at least by the royal ideology that they contain; Murray therefore concentrates mainly on Mesopotamian texts of that period. Murray provides an admirable amount of material, from which he proves that some of the inscriptions share a common *plot* with 2 Sam 5,17–7,29. He also points to a large amount of individual *motifs* that are common to the inscriptions and the biblical text. The features known from the inscriptions are so pervasive in 2 Sam 7 that Murray regards them as a “constitutive part of the pragmatics of our text, a context of understanding necessary for the rhetorical force (poetics) of the text’s polemic to be fully effective.”⁴¹⁷

Murray provides a valuable insight: 2 Sam 7 cannot be a Judean variant of the royal ideology present in the Mesopotamian building inscriptions, since 2 Sam 7 takes an obviously polemical stance against David’s plan to build a temple, and the relationship between the temple and kingship is different in 2 Sam 7 than in the inscriptions. He is right in claiming that 2 Sam 7 rejects the traditional relationship between the temple and the king’s power; yet I disagree with his description of the polemic in 2 Sam 7.

In Murray’s opinion, the goal of the section 2 Sam 5,17–7,29 (and especially 2 Sam 7) is to offer a religious polemic against the excessive pretensions of the royal power. After David moved the ark of Yhwh to his proximity in Jerusalem in 2 Sam 6, he proceeds to build a temple for Yahweh “in order to locate that god permanently in the royal capital, as it were at the beck and call of the king.”⁴¹⁸ By building the temple, the David of the text wishes to bind Yhwh to him and gain his blessing for himself and his descendants, as, according to the inscriptions, many Mesopotamian kings likewise endeavored. But the author(s) of 2 Sam 7 reject(s) the royal ambition to manipulate God’s blessing in such a manner. Nathan’s second oracle rejects David’s plan and shows that David owes everything to Yhwh, and therefore Yhwh could in no way be indebted to David; the coming dynastic promise is to be an undeserved gift, yet again. A socio-critical dimension of this polemic is, in Murray’s view, revealed in the references to Israel in vv. 8–11. When Yhwh called David away from his herd to become the leader of Israel, he did not do so because of the king himself, but primary for the sake of the people. No matter how profitable Yhwh’s deeds are for David, they are always part of a larger plan regarding the people of God.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, the polemic against the traditional understanding of the deity-kingship relationship is not radical, and it leads to a compromise: neither kingship

⁴¹⁶ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 250.

⁴¹⁷ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 248.

⁴¹⁸ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 309.

⁴¹⁹ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 178–180.

nor dynastic principle is rejected, but the king owes all to God's free choice, and the ultimate goal of all the favour granted to the king and his dynasty is the prosperity of Yhwh's people. The fact that the king is shown his place in an oracle uttered by a *prophet* means that "this powerful polemic which champions the divine prerogative against an overweening royal pretension effectively locates that prerogative for all human purposes in the institution of prophecy."⁴²⁰ That may indicate the social environment in which the text originated.

In my opinion, the polemic against David's intention to build a temple for Yhwh may hardly carry such a sophisticated meaning in 2 Sam 7. Nathan's oracle leads to a proclamation that the Davidic dynasty would rule eternally and Yhwh would not withdraw his favour from David's descendants even if the Davidic kings would be unfaithful to him. That is hardly a critique of the king's position in the religious-political social hierarchy. What use would the alleged critics of the king's ambitions to manipulate God's blessings in his favour have from the proclamation that God's favour is given to the members of the royal dynasty by divine will, eternally and without respect to their achievements and their sins? W. Oswald, as noted above, connects the unusual constellation (different from Mesopotamian building inscriptions) of the themes of temple and dynasty in 2 Sam 7 with the situation of king Jehoiachin in the Babylonian exile after the fall of the temple in 586, which I find more sensible than Murray's interpretation.⁴²¹

2.3.3 *The temple and the kingship in the (pre-exilic) Judean royal ideology*

D. F. Murray regarded the building inscriptions of the Mesopotamian kings as a "transtextual context" of 2 Sam 7 and the chapter itself as a kind of parody of a building inscription. It cannot be ruled out that the author of 2 Sam 7 knew the tradition of the Mesopotamian building inscriptions and perhaps some concrete texts, especially if he worked in the Babylonian exile. On the other hand, it could be noted in this respect that the "natural" relationship between the temple and kingship is also attested in Mesopotamian texts of other genres. So, for instance, the abovementioned texts referring to the creation of the king as provisioner of the temple were part of liturgies recited by the *kalû* priests during the rituals for the construction or restoration of a temple. The relationship between kingship and the temple building is also particularly overt in the Agum-kakrime inscription, which belongs to the genre of "fictional autobiography."⁴²² The text presents itself

⁴²⁰ Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 314.

⁴²¹ For Oswald's comparison of 2 Sam 7 with Mesopotamian building inscriptions see Oswald, Nathan, primarily p. 35-38, 41-44, 84-85.

⁴²² Text in Jensen, *Inschrift*; English translation in Longman, *Autobiography*, p. 221-224, and Foster, *Muses*, p. 360-364. For a discussion of the inscription as fictional autobiography, see Longman, *ibid.*, p. 83-85.

as an inscription of the king Agum-kakrime who reigned in Babylon in the early Kassite period. The king describes his own merits for the return of Marduk and his divine consort Šarpanitum from the land of the Haneans to Babylon, and how he reconstructed and furnished Marduk's temple. Apart from abundant material gifts, the king also dedicated to the sanctuary several craftsmen. The final section, shifting to the third person, contains the blessing of the king, his reign and his offspring (with respect of our study, particularly noteworthy are lines VIII:3-14 "May Sin, the luminary of heaven, grant him royal descent for all time! May the young (hero) Shamash, young (hero) of heaven and netherworld, make firm the foundations of his royal throne for all time!"⁴²³). Various gods are asked for blessings, but particular goodwill may be expected from Marduk because, as the blessings section recalls, the purported author of the inscription is the "good King Agum who constructed the sanctuaries of Marduk" (VII:28-31) and Marduk "loves his reign" (VIII:19). The conspicuous connection of the (re)construction works in the temple with the blessing of the king's rule is particularly noteworthy if the inscription is indeed pseudographic and from a much later period. It indicates that in a given cultural context, this connection may have been deep-rooted and self-evident to the extent that texts that include it might have had other goals than just reinforcing the king's reign. In the present case, the inscription might be authored by the circles connected to Marduk's temple in Babylon, in time of Marduk's elevation under Nebuchadnezzar I or later.⁴²⁴ As a result, Mesopotamian texts do not suggest that the idea of the relationship between temple-building and kingship was linked to a specific genre. It was rather part of a general discourse and could appear in various texts.

Most importantly, however, it would seem adequate to observe 2 Sam 7 against the backdrop of *Judean* texts, because 2 Sam 7 re-signifies the relationship between the *temple of Jerusalem* and the *Davidic king* and thus deals with the traditional *Judean* royal ideology. As an example of the traditional form of Judean royal ideology (at least regarding the relationship between the temple and kingship), which the author of 2 Sam 7 assumes his readers are familiar with and which he polemically critiques, we may use Ps 132. Most scholars consider this psalm to be pre-exilic, usually arguing that the references to Yhwh's anointed in vv. 10.17 presuppose a context of the Judean monarchy and v. 8 reflects the existence of a cultic procession with the ark, which presumably was in the Jerusalem temple until 586

⁴²³ Translation by Foster, *Muses*, p. 363. Longman, *Autobiography*, p. 223, translates the first blessing as "May Sin, the light of heavens, being the seed of kingship, grant him long days", but his understanding of the "seed of kingship" as apposition is certainly incorrect. The two blessings have parallel syntax, and the expression *a-na ūmi arkūti* (lit. "for long days") has the same function in both of them.

⁴²⁴ Borger, *Gott*, p. 17.

B.C.E., but not during the Second Temple period.⁴²⁵ Some argue in favour of a later, probably post-exilic origin of the psalm or at least of its current form.⁴²⁶ These scholars usually substantiate their claim by the presence of *dt*r phraseology and concepts; S. L. McKenzie, for instance, points out the formulations *בעבור דוד עבדך* (v. 10), *מפרי בטןך* (v. 11), a reference to David's *נר* in Jerusalem (v. 17), the notion of the Davidic promise as a vow (the verb *שבַּע* *ni.* in v. 11), the idea that Davidic kings have to observe Yhwh's covenant and commandments (*בריתי ועדתי* in v. 12) and the use of the verb *בחר* for Yhwh's choice of Jerusalem as his dwelling place⁴²⁷; it is a question though, whether these features are specific enough to allow us to speak of the dependence of the psalm on "*dt*r" literature. H. U. Steymans argues in favour of a post-exilic origin in a different way. He believes Ps 132 intentionally avoids using the vocabulary of 2 Sam 6-7 and 1 Kgs 5-9, which, considering the topic of the psalm, would be on hand as reference texts, but it instead uses the vocabulary typical for the Pentateuch, mainly priestly texts. Steymans suggests that in this way, the Davidic tradition is subject to a reinterpretation in whose light David becomes a (mere) founder ("patriarch") of the Zion cult. I personally doubt that Steymans's method, consisting solely of mapping the appearance of selected words in a concordance, could lead to persuasive conclusions regarding the intention of the examined text. I shall return to some of his conclusions later.

Establishing exactly when Ps 132 originated is less important for the present study than it might at first seem. I believe the final form of the psalm, and especially the explicit conditionality of David's covenant, could hardly be pre-exilic. Yet, as for the structure of the relationship between the temple and kingship in the Judean royal ideology, Ps 132 provides a more traditional and older phase than 2 Sam 7. According to Ps 132, Yhwh's favour granted to David and to the dynasty is a reward for the king's merits in establishing the sanctuary and, at the same time, the dynasty is guaranteed by Yhwh's stay at Zion.

The psalmist prays that Yhwh will recall in David's favour "all his affliction" (*כל ענותו* – v. 1) while he was finding the "place" and "dwelling-places" (v. 5) for Yhwh (and his Ark – cf. v. 8). The expression *עֲנוּתוֹ* is best understood with MT as an inf. cs. of pual from II *ענה* + suff. 3. p. sg. The verb II *ענה* in piel (with *נפש* as direct object, usually supplemented by a suffix referring to the subject of the verb: Lev 16,29.31; 23,27.32; Num 29,7; 30,14; Isa 58,3.5; Ps 35,13), pual (Lev 23,29) and hitpael (Ezra 8,21;

⁴²⁵ Both arguments have recently appeared e.g. in Day, *Ark*, p. 65-77, esp. 65-67.

⁴²⁶ E.g. McKenzie, *Typology*, p. 170-172; Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 435-485; Steymans, *David*, p. 403-422; Hosfeld – Zenger, *Psalms 3*, p. 454-468 (with a very useful paradigmatic overview of positions suggested in the previous research on p. 458-459). – Waschke, *Verhältnis*, p. 117-119, tries to reconstruct an old core of the psalm.

⁴²⁷ For occurrences of these and similar formulations and concepts elsewhere see McKenzie, *Typology*, p. 170-171.

Dan 10,12) may denote various forms of religiously motivated self-denial and asceticism, e.g. fasting or abstention from bathing and anointing one's body.⁴²⁸ In Ps 132 the issue is David's pledge not to lie down and allow rest to his eyes until he finds a "place" and "dwelling-places" for Yhwh (vv. 2-5). The verbs used in v. 2 (שבע *ni*. and נדר *qal*) belong to the terminology of religious oaths and vows (see Num 30,2-17, especially v. 14: "Every vow and every binding oath to afflict the soul [כל נדר וכל שבעת אסר לענת נפש], her husband establishes it and her husband annuls it").⁴²⁹

It has been pointed out repeatedly that there are similarities between Ps 132,1-5 and the description of the efforts of the king Gudea during the building of a temple, as it appears in the Sumerian Cylinders of Gudea.⁴³⁰ Gudea's eagerness during the building of the temple is repeatedly illustrated by the fact that he is deprived of sleep, as in Cyl. A xvii.7-9: "For the sake of building the temple of his king, he did not sleep at night, he did not bow the head in sleep at noon"⁴³¹ (similarly Cyl. A vi.9-11; xix.21-23; cf. also xiii.28-29). The similarity to Ps 132,1-5 is obvious. The difference between these texts lies in the fact that Gudea's vigil is caused merely by "practical" demands of the building – the Sumerian text lacks any overt mention of the ascetic dimension of the self-imposed sleep deprivation, a dimension dominant in Ps 132,1-5. In this way, the psalm puts a strong emphasis on the meritorious character of David's undertaking, since the function of this kind of promise, by which a person renounces something that is normally allowed, is often supplicatory in ancient Near Eastern religions, including emerging Judaism; such is clearly the case in Ps 132.⁴³²

At this point, we should return to the syntax of v. 1. It would be a mistake to understand vv. 1a and 1b together with LXX and Vg as a parallelism. Since the prepositions that introduce David and "all his self-denial"

⁴²⁸ For details see Milgrom, *Leviticus* 1-16, p. 1054.

⁴²⁹ Cf. Steymans, *David*, p. 408-409, who believes, however, that the pual of ענה is an allusion to the Day of Atonement, which would, he suggests, associate (along with other features) motifs of repentance and reconciliation with the image of David. It would suit well Steymans's hypothesis that in Ps 132, David is depicted in priestly colours. A modern scholar can postulate the relationship of Ps 132,1 to descriptions of the Day of Atonement in the Pentateuch on the basis of mechanical work with a concordance, but I do not believe that the original intention of Ps 132,1 was to allude to the Day of Atonement.

⁴³⁰ Keel, *Symbolism*, p. 269-272; Averbeck in COS 2.155 (p. 421, 426). Hurowitz, *House*, p. 324-325, adduces several other texts containing the same motif of the "untiring temple builder."

⁴³¹ Translation by Averbeck, COS 2.155.

⁴³² Cartledge, *Vows*, distinguishes between vows, and oaths and obligations. While by means of an oath or an obligation a person pledges his word to do something and he then expects a positive reaction from the deity, with a vow he promises something conditionally, in case the deity fulfills his plea (see mainly p. 14-18). In Ps 132,1-5 then, if we use this distinction, we are dealing with an oath. – For the supplicatory character of David's actions in Ps 132, see also Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalms* 3, p. 460-461.

differ, we should rather regard 132,1 as one of the occurrences of the verb זכר (in qal) with *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*) of the person and with a direct object (or indirect object introduced by the preposition על etc.).⁴³³ This construction appears, among other instances, in prayers asking Yhwh to count certain good deeds of the faithful to their credit (Neh 5,19; 13,14,22; cf. also Neh 13,31, which lacks a direct object, and 2 Kgs 20,3 = Isa 38,3; Ps 20,4; Jer 18,20, which lack a *dativus commodi*).⁴³⁴ The context of Ps 132,1-5 is quite close to Neh 13,14 (“Remember this to my favour, o my God, and do not wipe out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God and for its services.”), and also Neh 13,22 and Ps 20,4 concern the merits for the cult. Various words (not necessarily verbal forms), derived from the cognate roots – *skr* in Phoenician and *dkr* or *zkr* in Aramean –, are used in a similar way in dedicatory or simply supplicatory Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. W. Schottroff, taking up the work of K. Galling, even surmised that the use of the verb attested in the biblical passages mentioned above has been adopted from its usage in dedicatory inscriptions.⁴³⁵ Ps 132,1 should by all means be understood as supplicating Yhwh to remember, in David’s favour, all his self-denial (v. 1), and, implicitly, to reward it accordingly. V. 10 has a similar meaning, with בעבור דוד עבדך corresponding to את כל ענותו of the first verse⁴³⁶, only in v. 10 it is already clear that the blessing that David earned and that Yhwh should remember is related to the kingship of his descendants.

David fulfilled his oath – he found the ark of Yhwh (v. 6) who now has his “dwelling-places” and his (place of) rest (vv. 7-8). In response to this, Yhwh also swore “truth” to David and he will, too, fulfill his own oath (v. 11a), which consists of the dynastic promise (vv. 11b-12). The survival of the dynasty is clearly promised to David in Ps 132 on the basis of his treatment of the ark of Yhwh.

According to vv. 12-14, the rule of the Davidic dynasty is conditioned by loyalty to Yhwh, but it is also guaranteed by Yhwh’s dwelling on Zion. The sons of David will *eternally* (עדי עד) sit (ישבו) on David’s throne (v. 12), *because* (כי) Yhwh chose Zion for his place of residence (למושב – v. 13) and will *reside/sit enthroned* (אשב) here *forever* (עדי עד – v. 14). Because of the conjunction כי at the beginning of v. 13, there is, on the referential level of the proposition, a causal relationship between Yhwh’s dwelling/sitting enthroned on Zion and the persistence of David’s dynasty;

⁴³³ For more on the construction, its variants and occurrences, see Schottroff, זכר, p. 383, 386-387; and primarily Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 218-233.

⁴³⁴ It is doubtful whether 1 Chr 6,42 belongs here. See the discussion in Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 223-226.

⁴³⁵ Galling, Stifter, p. 134-142; Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 218-233; Schottroff, זכר, p. 387. An excellent overview of the relevant epigraphic material may be found in Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 43-89.

⁴³⁶ Cf. Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 225-226.

yet a close relationship between these two realities is also indicated in the way that both are addressed in identical or similar words. A similar poetic procedure is used in the description of the dynastic promise as a reward for David's merits in establishing Yhwh's sanctuary: David's action is depicted as the content of his oath, through which he bound himself to Yhwh (אשר נשבע ליהוה – v. 2), and Yhwh's reaction as an oath, by which God is bound to David (נשבע יהוה לדוד אמת – v. 11).

These linguistic correspondences are by no means accidental; similar poetic procedures that express the relationship between the building of a temple and a rule of a king, using an identical vocabulary in reference to temple and kingship or overtly comparing their characteristics, also appear in Mesopotamian building inscriptions. As an example we may take the abovementioned inscription of Nabopolassar that T. Ishida considered to be especially similar to 2 Sam 7:

At that time my lord Marduk told me in regard to Etemenanki ... to ground its foundation (suḥuṣ-*sà* ... *a-na šu-úr-šu-dam*) on the breast of the nether-world, to make its top compete (in height) with the heavens ... Like the bricks of the Etemenanki, firmly fixed forever after, establish firmly the foundations of my throne (suḥuṣ^{giš} *gu.za-ja šu-úr-ši-id*) for distant days.⁴³⁷

A close relationship between the Jerusalem temple and the Davidic ruler appears in some additional texts of the Hebrew Bible. According to Ps 2,6, Yhwh established a king on Zion, his "holy mountain." In Ps 110,2, Yhwh sends forth the scepter of the king's power from Zion, while in v. 4 the king is called a priest "according to the order of Melchizedek." In Ps 78,68-72, the choice of David and the building of the sanctuary on Zion by Yhwh (!) go hand in hand, and also Ps 122,1-5 indicates that "the temple of Yahweh and the throne of the house of David belong together."⁴³⁸

As K. Galling emphasized, according to the Hebrew Bible, the Davidic kings are responsible for acquiring land for the temple (David – 2 Sam 24), its construction (Solomon – 1 Kgs 5,16-7,51), and repairs and reconstructions (Ahaz – 2 Kgs 16,10-18; Hezekiah – 18,4.16; Josiah – 23) in the pre-exilic period.⁴³⁹ The authors of Kings probably had access to some kind of data on kingly donations to the temple (Abijam and Asa – 1 Kgs 15,15; Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Jehoash – 2 Kgs 12,19). Worth noting are

⁴³⁷ Text and translation follow Da Riva, *Inscriptions*, p. 81, 87-89, which improves on Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 88, and Langdon, *Königsinschriften*, p. 60-65. This inscription of Nabopolassar is very long (written in three columns of a total of 174 lines), and the passage mentioning Marduk's order is located close to the beginning of the inscription, while the prayer for the firmness of the king's rule is at its end. Therefore, the lexical similarities I outlined in the quotation are not so strikingly visible in the whole of the inscription. That, however, does not change the nature of the issue.

⁴³⁸ Keel, *Symbolism*, p. 277; the other examples of this paragraph are also taken from Keel.

⁴³⁹ Galling, *Stifter*, p. 135-137.

the reports on repairs of the temple under Jehoash (2 Kgs 12,5-17) and Josiah (22,3-7), which do follow the orders of the king but are funded by donations from laymen instead of the royal treasury. In Galling's view, it is precisely thanks to the notes contained in these texts, reporting that there were no accounts on the silver collected from laymen (12,16; 22,7 – in this case a procedure ordered by the king!) and that it was not used to manufacture vessels for the temple (12,14), that we may see “that the Crown consistently saw to pass for the only donator.”⁴⁴⁰ From a wider perspective, we could point to many other texts that portray the king's role in the cult, e.g. as making sacrifices, but it is neither possible nor necessary to deal with them here.⁴⁴¹

In the “post-exilic” period, the building of a temple played a key role in the discourse legitimating the position of the Davidide Zerubbabel, or at least this is how it appears in Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra (see especially Zech 4,6-8). During the Second Temple period, various non-royal donators also contributed to the funding of the renovations and repairs of the temple, but that is beyond our topic here. We may note, however, that even under Herod the Great, the close relationship between the temple of Jerusalem and the ruling king is reflected in the date of the celebration of the completion of the temple's renovation, which was held during the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne (Ant. XV § 423).⁴⁴²

It is vital to the following analysis of 2 Sam 7 that the close relationship between the temple of Jerusalem and the Davidic kings is well attested in various texts of the Hebrew Bible, and we may assume that it is an authentic feature of the royal ideology from the period of the kingdom of Judah. This relationship was probably expressed and (re)constituted by numerous instruments of discourse, including texts of various types and functions (historical, liturgical, prophetic etc.), some of which, although possibly in a later form, have been preserved in the Hebrew Bible (for instance Psalm 2 or perhaps the Ark Narrative), and we can suppose the existence of others (royal inscriptions in various areas of the temple precinct etc.). Interpreting this relationship is greatly helped by the fact that Ps 132, regardless of when its current form appeared, contains a version of the royal ideology that is very close to the ideology both presupposed and rejected by 2 Sam 7. We have seen that, from the perspective of Ps 132, the dynastic promise to David was a reward for David's merits for Yhwh's sanctuary on

⁴⁴⁰ Galling, Stifter, p. 136-137. Provided that those aspects of the procedure that are of interest to us were practiced at least at some time during the First Temple period, we do not need to delve into the discussion on the literary relationship of 2 Kgs 12,5-17 and 22,3-7, and the question of their sources. For this, see Na'aman, *Inscriptions*, 337-344, and Lipschits, *Cash-Boxes* (both with further literature).

⁴⁴¹ An excellent overview of these texts and their comparison with non-biblical, ancient Near East sources is provided by Keel, *Symbolism*, p. 276-280.

⁴⁴² The funding of the second temple in general is treated by Galling, Stifter, p. 137-142.

Zion, while Yhwh's presence on Zion guarantees the eternal survival of the dynasty. I would now like to suggest that 2 Sam 7 attempts to refute both: according to this text, the dynastic promise was not a reward for the Davidides' care of the sanctuary, and Yhwh never actually "dwelled" on Zion.

2.4 *A literary analysis of 2 Sam 7*

In its current form, 2 Sam 7 has a transparent basic structure, clearly indicated by macro-syntactic markers.⁴⁴³ The chapter consists of three parts:

1) Vv. 1-3 contain a short exposition, in which the chapter is located in a particular historical context (v. 1, note the formula **ויהי כי** + perfect), and a short dialogue between David and Nathan, where the king proposes to build a temple and the prophet approves of this plan (vv. 2-3).

2) Vv. 4-17 contain Nathan's second oracle together with introductory and final notes that belong to it. Again, the beginning is marked by the formula **ויהי** in v. 4. Nathan's oracle itself falls into three parts. After the messenger formula in v. 5 (**כה אמר יהוה**) follows a section dedicated to the polemic against David's plan to build a temple (vv. 5-7). After the macro-syntactic signal **ועתה** comes a new messenger formula (**כה אמר יהוה צבאות**) in v. 8, introducing a summary of Yhwh's deeds in favour of David and Israel (vv. 8-11a). The third part of the prophecy (vv. 11b-16) is introduced by the sentence **והגיד לך יהוה**, which can perhaps be regarded as a variant of the messenger formula (see below). This passage, containing especially the promise of an eternal Davidic dynasty, is a culmination of the whole of Nathan's prophecy.

3) The last part (vv. 18-29) is David's prayer in response to the dynastic promise.

2.4.1 *2 Sam 7,1-3*

The chapter begins with an image of a blessed David "sitting" in the palace he has built (2 Sam 5,11) for himself in Jerusalem and enjoying the rest from all his surrounding enemies.

The verb **ישב** qal often appears in the expression **ישב על כסא** which means "to reign" or "to seize the reign",⁴⁴⁴ and in some contexts this meaning seems to be carried by the verb **ישב** alone. This is clear e.g. in case of Ps 29,10 or Lam 5,19; other suggested yet more debatable passages are e.g.

⁴⁴³ For a similar, but more detailed description of the text's structure, see Oswald, Nathan, p. 32-33.

⁴⁴⁴ See, for example, 1 Kgs 1 where **ישב על כסא** appears five times in parallel with **ימלך** (vv. 13.17.24.30.35; cf. vv. 20.27.46.48).

Exod 15,15⁴⁴⁵; 2 Sam 5,6⁴⁴⁶; Amos 1,5.8⁴⁴⁷ and Zech 9,5f.⁴⁴⁸; some scholars find a similar use of the cognate verbs in Ugaritic⁴⁴⁹ and Phoenician⁴⁵⁰. It is probable that in 2 Sam 7,1(2) the verb יָשַׁב in connection with the subject המֶלֶךְ conveyed to the first readers of the text the image of David sitting enthroned in his palace.

Some aspects of the debate concerning the motif of David's rest from surrounding enemies in 2 Sam 7,1b were already discussed in the relevant text-critical note. Some scholars propose to omit this half-verse as the result of a scribal mistake, but I believe there is no convincing argument for this, and v. 1b can, on the contrary, be easily explained in connection to the overall function of vv. 1-3.

V. 1b (וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם לֹא מִסְבִּיב מְכַל אִיבֵינוּ) is a dtr phrase, also found in Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1 (shorter forms in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 2 Sam 7,11; 1 Kgs 5,18; cf. also Deut 12,9; 1 Kgs 8,56). It is very likely that 2 Sam 7,1b refers to the command to centralize the cult in Deut 12,9-11:

⁹For you have not yet come to the rest (אֵל הַמְנוּחָה) and to the inheritance that Yhwh your God is giving you. ¹⁰But you will cross the Jordan and live in the land that Yhwh your God is giving you to inherit, he will give you rest from all your enemies around (וְהָיָה לָכֶם מְכַל אִיבֵיכֶם מִסְבִּיב), and you will live in safety. ¹¹Then to the place that Yhwh your God will choose to make his name dwell there, there you shall bring all that I command you: your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the contribution of your hand, and all your choice vows that you vow to Yhwh.

Deut 12,9-11 and 2 Sam 7,1 share not only a common dtr phraseology. In 2 Sam 7, as in Deut 12, the gift of rest is followed by the issue of the place of the orthodox cult. If we read 2 Sam 7,1b with an eye to Deut 12, the lone reference to the gift of rest at the beginning of 2 Sam 7 raises the issue of the construction of a central sanctuary.

The connection between the theme of rest and the building of the temple in 2 Sam 7,1-3 is not given solely by the literary relationship of v. 1b to Deut 12,9-11. A similar connection is to be found in the Former Prophets in 1 Kgs 5,17-19; 8,56 and implicitly also in the juxtaposition of Josh 21,44 and Josh 22 (after the gift of rest in Josh 21,44, the cult is centralized, and the reader is probably supposed to locate the central shrine in Shiloh [18,1]; when the Transjordanian tribes build an altar, the rest of Israel is about to

⁴⁴⁵ Cross – Freedman, Song, p. 248-9.

⁴⁴⁶ Watson, David, p. 501-2.

⁴⁴⁷ Cross – Freedman, Song, p. 248-9.

⁴⁴⁸ Görg, יָשַׁב, col. 1023-1024.

⁴⁴⁹ Dahood, Psalms I, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁰ Van Dijk, Prophecy, p. 68, concerning *KAI I*, 24:13-14.

wage a war against them, but finally the Transjordanian tribes manage to justify themselves by claiming that their altar is no disruption to the centralized cult, as they did not build it for sacrifices, but rather “to be a witness” to their belonging to the community of the altar of Yhwh [vv. 26f., cf. vv. 23.28f.34]). We cannot attend here to the issues of relative chronology of all these texts, but it is worth noting that at least 1 Kgs 5,17-19 could not be the work of the same author as 2 Sam 7 due to the tension between 1 Kgs 5,17 and 2 Sam 7,1b. This might indicate that the connection between rest from enemies and the building of the temple may have been part of a wider discourse of the authors and readers of the so-called Dtr History, and the “prediction” in Deut 12,9-11 was not necessarily always essential for understanding this connection.

One can find variations of this dtr concept in many texts of the ancient Near East. In the narrative component of Mesopotamian building inscriptions, the king’s victory over his enemies often precedes the building of the temple, and the reminder of the defeat of enemies may carry the function of temporal information, as it is the case in our text.⁴⁵¹ Even the Ugaritic cycle of Baal apparently contains the sequence of *victorious battle – the building of a temple*.⁴⁵² Now, in case the defeat of enemies as a precondition of the temple building is a conventional part of various ancient Near Eastern texts, does it mean that this motif could appear in 2 Sam 7,1b without any relation to Deut 12,9-11? Theoretically, it is plausible, but the similarities in the formulations used in 2 Sam 7,1 and Deut 12,9 rather point to a literary connection between the texts, and the easiest way to understand this connection is to suppose an influence of Deut 12,9-11 on 2 Sam 7 (including the possibility that both texts are the work of one author). In the given historical context, David’s plan to build a temple corresponds to the widely shared notion of royal duties, as well as to the “particular” demand of the centralization of the cult as proclaimed by Moses before Israel’s entry into the Promised Land in Deut 12.

Contrary to what is often thought (see the text-critical note), 2 Sam 7,1b fits quite well into its immediate context. In the framework of the whole of the story of David, we may think of the rest from the persecution by Saul (1 Sam 17–27) and the struggles with his successor (2 Sam 2f.); the word *מסביב*, however, and the connection with Deut 12,9-11 (a commandment addressed to all Israel) rather indicate that the enemies in question are external (i.e. non-Israelite). David enjoys the rest after he defeated the Amalekites (1 Sam 30, cf. Deut 25,17-18) and the Philistines (2 Sam 5,17-25). According to 1 Sam 9,16 (cf. also 10,1 and, in relation to David, 2 Sam 3,18), kingship in Israel was established to rescue the people from the Philistines. In 2 Sam 8 and 10, David’s kingdom is at war again, but this

⁴⁵¹ Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 88-89; Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 256-257; Oswald, Nathan, p. 34-35.

⁴⁵² *KTU* 1.1-1.4. The parallel with 2 Sam 7 has been noted by Carlson, David, p. 98.

changes nothing about the fact of rest in 2 Sam 7,1. Further, as I mentioned in the text-critical note, Deut 25,19 shows that the gift of rest was not necessarily understood as an absence of war, such that the author of 2 Sam 7 may not have regarded v. 1 as being in conflict with David's conquests in 2 Sam 8; 10. At least the current form of the books of Samuel creates the impression that David lost this rest only after his sin with Bat-Sheba (2 Sam 12,10: "Now the sword will never depart from your house").

As I already indicated in the introduction, there is a debate in the current research regarding the extent of the Dtr History in various phases of its literary development, with some scholars denying the very existence of the Dtr History as a coherent literary work. A theory that is gaining in popularity is that the dtr redaction first encompassed only the books of Samuel and Kings, and then later incorporated the whole of the Dtr History as outlined by Noth (Deut–Kgs).⁴⁵³ Oswald also promotes this model. He believes 2 Sam 7 (except vv. 10-11aa.23-24) was part of the older composition that included only Samuel and Kings (DtrG [Sam–Kgs] in Oswald's terminology).⁴⁵⁴ Yet if 2 Sam 7,1b refers to Deut 12,9-11, the chapter works with a literary horizon that, in retrospect, goes back to Deuteronomy.⁴⁵⁵ To be sure, this in itself says nothing about whether the books of Joshua and Judges were a part of the context in which the author of 2 Sam 7 regarded his work or whether this scribe was also active in Deut–Judg.

The question of building a temple is therefore present in the text in some manner since the very first verse of the chapter. David then proceeds to act as expected in the given period of history. In the form of antithetic parallelism, he provides Nathan with an impressive comparison of his own dwelling and the dwelling of the "Ark of God." The indecency of the situation is underlined by the comparison of the materials that the two dwellings are built from. David's house is built from Cedar wood, which was popular in the ancient Near East as a building material⁴⁵⁶, but had to be imported to Palestine⁴⁵⁷ (cf. 2 Sam 5,11; 1 Kgs 5,20-24; Ezra 3,7) and was probably a sign of luxury (Jer 22,14f.). The tent curtains were normally made of goat-hair⁴⁵⁸, and therefore usually black (cf. Song 1,5).

The use of the verb יָשַׁב in relation to the ark is a personification, given by the contiguity of the ark and Yhwh. David's speech presupposes the close link between the ark and Yhwh, otherwise there would be nothing outrageous about the comparison. M. Görg wonders whether the verb יָשַׁב

⁴⁵³ E.g. Provan, Hezekiah, p. 158-163; Kratz, Komposition, p. 174-175. Similarly Blanco Wißmann, Rechte, p. 245-248.

⁴⁵⁴ Oswald, Nathan, p. 14-15; cf. also Pietsch, Sproß, p. 42-45, 48.

⁴⁵⁵ Similarly Rudnig, König, p. 433.

⁴⁵⁶ See King - Stager, Life, p. 25-26.

⁴⁵⁷ Liphschitz, Timber, p. 116-118, 122-124, 168.

⁴⁵⁸ Koch, אֶהָל, col. 130; King – Stager, Life, p. 114.

could have the meaning “to sit enthroned” or “to rule”⁴⁵⁹ in this verse as well. While this may at first glance seem exaggerated, we should bear in mind that in the pre-exilic period the verb **ישב** was the most significant term for the description of Yhwh’s sitting enthroned in the temple of Jerusalem, and the ark, understood as Yhwh’s footstool, played a significant role in this concept.⁴⁶⁰ The question of the nature of Yhwh’s presence in the temple will also be thematized in subsequent section of the chapter (vv. 4-8 + 13), where the traditional notion of Yhwh enthroned/dwelling in the temple will be rejected in favour of the temple “for Yhwh’s name.” The use of the verb **ישב** with the ark (metonymically representing Yhwh) as the subject in v. 2, in the context of the comparison with the king sitting enthroned/dwelling in his palace, was probably supposed to evoke the traditional notion of Yhwh sitting enthroned/dwelling in the temple. At the same time, it cannot be deduced from v. 2 how the author understood the relationship between the ark and Yhwh, since the form of David’s speech (the use of metonymy) has, as we shall see, a particular function for the rhetorical strategy of the chapter.

David’s description of the situation calls for a change, and it is clear that the king does intend to alter the state of things and presents this intention to the prophet in order to receive his evaluation. This feature of the text has close parallels in some Mesopotamian building inscriptions where the kings depict how various divinatory techniques were used in order to find out whether the relevant deity agreed with the planned building or re-building of his temple.⁴⁶¹ David’s procedure, therefore, seems to agree with common conventions.

Nathan agrees with David’s plan and calls on the king to do all he wishes, since Yhwh is with him. Divine oracles of a similar type appear in several texts of Hebrew Bible. They consist of an incitement towards an action, usually in the imperative, and an assurance of God’s presence by the addressee of the oracle, expressed by the imperfect of the verb **היה** (**אִהְיָה**) or a nominal sentence (**אִתְּךָ אֲנִי** ; **אִתְּךָ עִמָּךְ** ; **יְהוָה עִמָּךְ** etc.)⁴⁶²; the latter part is usually introduced by the particle **כִּי**.⁴⁶³ The action incited by these oracles is often complex or long-term, or it can experience unexpected obstacles; the addressee is expected to embark on a risky action and is thereby guaranteed God’s *a priori* favour. In 1 Sam 10,7, the task of the addressee (Saul) is for some reason depicted in vague terms: “do what your hand finds to do for

⁴⁵⁹ Görg, **ישב**, col. 1024.

⁴⁶⁰ A classic study regarding this topic is Mettinger, *Dethronement*; see esp. p. 19-37.

⁴⁶¹ For details and examples see e.g. Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 85-87; Oswald, Nathan, p. 36-38.

⁴⁶² A “nominal clause” of the oracle of salvation may have the same form (Isa 41,10; 43,5). On this see Schoors, *God*, p. 42-43, 47. The oracle of salvation and the form of prophetic speech used in 2 Sam 7,3 should not be confused.

⁴⁶³ Gen 26,2-3; 31,3; Exod 3,10.12; Deut 31,7-8.23; Josh 1,2-9; Judg 6,14.16; 1 Sam 10,7; Jer 1,4-10.17-19; cf. also 15,19-21, which, however, also has features of an oracle of salvation.

God is with you” (cf. also 1 Sam 14,6-7). The object of the dialogue between David and Nathan in 2 Sam 7,2-3 is likewise vague and never directly referred to. Scholars often point to the fact that David’s intent in v. 2 to build a temple is described only implicitly and Nathan’s consent in v. 3 does not make David’s plan any more concrete⁴⁶⁴, but little attention has been paid to the function of this vagueness and the implicit character of vv. 2-3 in the whole of 2 Sam 7. I shall return to this question later, in connection with the analysis of the rhetorical question in v. 5b, and towards the end of the chapter when I evaluate the whole rhetorical strategy of 2 Sam 7.

Nathan’s agreement in v. 3 is in contrast to his second oracle in vv. 4-7, where he rejects David’s plan to build a temple. This contradiction is often explained as due to the diachronic development of the text, as I already mentioned in the overview of the history of research. Others believe that both oracles can be read as parts of a single text, if we understand they have a different function and value. Noth⁴⁶⁵ and Cross⁴⁶⁶ believe that Nathan’s first answer cannot be understood as an expression of the prophet’s standpoint, since the first saying is merely a formality, deriving from Nathan’s position as a servant of the king. The genuine oracle of the prophet comes as late as in the fifth verse. That leaves us with the question of why the first oracle is contained in the text at all.

Oswald regards the dialogue in 2-3 somewhat differently.⁴⁶⁷ Nathan is called a prophet in v. 2, but his first oracle is not introduced by the messenger formula, and therefore, according to Oswald, is in no way a proclamation of the word of God, but is merely Nathan’s advice. Oswald finds here a specific notion of the prophet’s function, the prophet being not merely a mediator of the word of God, but also an advisor. In Oswald’s view, even Nathan’s advisory function is a part of his “prophetic” function and has a divinatory character, so that even in this way this feature of the text is in accord with the mentioned Mesopotamian building inscriptions where the kings attempt to find out if the planned building of the temple or its reconstruction is in accord with the will of the relevant deity.⁴⁶⁸

We cannot rule out the possibility that v. 3 reflects the author’s knowledge of the advisory function of the prophets (either real or presented as an ideal in some biblical texts), but it becomes clear from v. 5 that Nathan’s first oracle or “advice” was *not* in accord with God’s will and therefore had no divinatory value. The important point is that v. 3, like every-

⁴⁶⁴ For example McKenzie, David, p. 212-213; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 210-211; Oswald, Nathan, p. 38.

⁴⁶⁵ Noth, David, p. 129.

⁴⁶⁶ Cross, Myth, p. 242.

⁴⁶⁷ Oswald, Nathan, p. 36-38.

⁴⁶⁸ For the advisory role of the prophet, see Oswald, Nathan, p. 265-274. Nathan’s image as an advisor is, Oswald believes, typical mainly of the texts attributed to the History of David’s succession in 2 Sam 12 and 1 Kgs 1.

thing else in the exposition of the chapter in vv. 1-3, adds to the evocation of a false horizon of expectations that will be denied in the following text. V. 1 described David's situation as adequate for the building of the temple and David—as a pious king should—presents Nathan with his wish to build a temple in v. 2. David's intent is only alluded to in the description of the offensive disproportion between the dwelling of David and the dwelling of the ark. This implicit manner of talking is probably used so that not only Nathan, but also (and most importantly) the reader would conclude that the building of the temple was necessary. Nathan's answer is, then, an embodiment of the false expectation that the text purposefully created up to this point, while the formulation of the saying further reinforces this expectation. The oracle is not introduced by the messenger formula, but is nevertheless delivered by a prophet that was approached as such (v. 2) in a situation that requires the knowledge of God's will (cf. the building inscriptions noted by Oswald and others), and who also answers with the help of a form of speech that often appears in the Hebrew Bible in divine oracles, sometimes mediated by a prophet but other times not (see the list above). Furthermore, the fact that Yhwh is with David has so far been a leitmotiv of David's story (1 Sam 16,18 [cf. v. 13]; 17,37; 18,12.14.28; 20,13; 2 Sam 5,10; in this manner, David's career is summarized in 2 Sam 7,9).

Of course, the intended readers of 2 Sam 7,1-3 were probably not entirely ignorant of the historical traditions of the (first) temple of Jerusalem and they knew that the building was usually ascribed to Solomon, not to David. Still, this is not a major contradiction to my description of creating false expectations in these verses; it only shows how complex a relationship between the text and the reader's experience and knowledge of the world can be. I shall return to this problem later, when it becomes clearer what function the false horizon of expectations evoked by vv. 1-3 plays in the rhetorical strategy of 2 Sam 7 as a whole.

2.4.2 2 Sam 7,4-7

In vv. 4-5, there is a quick succession of the word-event formula and the messenger formula, which creates an obvious contrast with the first of Nathan's oracles where nothing of a similar sort is found in the introduction. Following v. 4, it is obvious to the reader that the first oracle did not translate God's will, and an authentic prophecy comes only now. A repetition of the messenger formula in v. 8, the clause *והגיד לך יהוה* in v. 11b α , Yhwh's orders concerning what Nathan should say to David (vv. 5.8) and the concluding remark in v. 17 that the prophet spoke to the king "according to all these words, and according to all this vision" all contribute to this impression.

The oracle itself begins in v. 5b with the following question: *האֵתָה תבְנֶה לִי בַּיִת לְשֹׁכֵתִי*; the understanding of this question often has major importance

for the understanding of the whole of Nathan's oracle. The proposed interpretations differ in relation to the manner in which the interpreters understand the emphasized "you" at the beginning of the sentence, or, more specifically, with whom the pronoun is intended to contrast.

Since J. Wellhausen, most scholars seek the main purpose of the chapter in the contrast of vv. 5b and 11b β : "not David for Yhwh, but Yhwh for David will build a house."⁴⁶⁹ The "you" in v. 5b would then have to be understood in contrast with Yhwh's "I" in the verse and with Yhwh in v. 11b β . Along with this reading often comes the omission of v. 13(a) as an interpolation, and Yhwh's rejection of the temple in vv. 5b-7 is often considered absolute.⁴⁷⁰ Others, e.g. already R. A. Carlson, point out that in both syntax and vocabulary, v. 5b resembles verse 13a rather than 11b β , and the emphasized "you" of verse 5b is regarded in contrast to the "he" of v. 13a. According to Carlson, 2 Sam 7 is not at all a polemic against the temple, but merely a transfer of the building responsibility from David to Solomon.⁴⁷¹ A combination of these alternatives on a diachronic level is very common: a deuteronomistic author/redactor inserted v. 13a into the text, thereby recasting the formerly fundamental rejection of the building of the temple as a temporary postponement.⁴⁷²

There are other suggestions. Cross believed the "you" of v. 5b (which, in his view, is a part of Nathan's authentic oracle that resolutely rejected the temple) contrasts in its immediate context with the Israelite judges mentioned in v. 7, whom Yhwh never criticized for not building a house for him.⁴⁷³ H. Gese believed that the stressed "you" does not refer to David as a concrete historical figure, but to David as *a man*. "You, a man, plan to build a temple for me, the God?", Gese paraphrases. According to him, v. 5 does not contain a resolute rejection of the temple, but a rejection of the building initiated by a man.⁴⁷⁴

It is best to start the interpretation of v. 5b from the observation that this is not a real question intended to solicit new information. Scholars usually call v. 5b *a rhetorical question*, yet it could be perhaps also regarded as *a conducive surprised question*.⁴⁷⁵ In the following analysis, I shall start from the traditional notion of v. 5b as a rhetorical question and then will attend to the possibility of it being a conducive surprised question. We shall see, however, that from the perspective of discourse analysis, it is not so im-

⁴⁶⁹ Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 257.

⁴⁷⁰ Both recently e.g. Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 191-199.

⁴⁷¹ Carlson, *David*, p. 109-113; Fokkeman, *Art III*, p. 216; McKenzie, *David*, esp. p. 213, 223-224; cf. also Van Seters, *Search*, p. 273-274; Pietsch, *Sproß*, p. 18.

⁴⁷² E.g. already Noth, *History*, p. 89.

⁴⁷³ Cross, *Myth*, p. 244. Cross apparently reads שפטי ישראל in v. 7.

⁴⁷⁴ Gese, *Davidsbund*, p. 21. Similarly Ota, *Note*, p. 406; Avioz, *Oracle*, p. 16-23, 35.

⁴⁷⁵ For the distinction of rhetorical questions and conducive questions in biblical Hebrew, see Moshavi, *Types*, p. 38; and esp. *id.*, *Voice*, p. 65-81.

portant whether we understand v. 5b as rhetorical or conducive question and, to a certain extent, it is only an issue of terminology.

Rhetorical questions “have the form of a question but are not designed to elicit information. The intent, therefore, is not to ask for a response but to make an emphatic declaration.”⁴⁷⁶ The addressee must already know the implied answer to a rhetorical question, but the speaker usually believes that the addressee neglects the content of the answer. The persuasive power of a rhetorical question then lies in the fact that the addressee is supposed to conclude the implied answer *on his own*.

In his analysis of rhetorical questions in the book of Job, R. Koops distinguished three levels of implied meaning: *rhetorical*, *conventional* and *pragmatic*.⁴⁷⁷ L. J. de Regt accepted his scheme, but he approaches the conventional level in a somewhat different manner than Koops.⁴⁷⁸ This scheme is not general enough to be useful for an analysis of rhetorical questions overall, but we can use it for 2 Sam 7,5b in the form presented by de Regt. In case of a yes-no rhetorical question, we may distinguish between

- 1) the rhetorical level, at which the negative-positive polarity is reversed;
- 2) the conventional level, at which the rhetorical question refers to a general convention, often a moral one; the addressee’s behavior or attitude is then compared with this convention;
- 3) the pragmatic level at which the conclusion is drawn that certain behavior should follow from certain conditions.⁴⁷⁹

De Regt applies the scheme e.g. to Job 11,7: “Can (ה) you find out the deep things of God? Can (אם) you find out the limit of the Almighty?” (NRSV)

[I]t is implied at the conventional level that the deep things of God are beyond man. At the rhetorical level, then, a negative answer is implied. Pragmatically, it is implied that Job should stop pretending that he can understand God.⁴⁸⁰

The example shows that in order to understand the rhetorical question correctly, a fitting evaluation of the implied message on the conventional level is decisive. Theoretically, it may happen that the conventions of the ques-

⁴⁷⁶ Nida et al., *Style*, p. 39. An overview of definitions of a rhetorical question is provided by de Regt, *Discourse*, p. 52. The rhetorical questions in the Hebrew Bible is a popular topic of research, a wide bibliography is available in Moshavi, *Types*.

⁴⁷⁷ Koops, *Questions*, p. 415-423.

⁴⁷⁸ De Regt, *Discourse*, p. 56-57 and *passim*.

⁴⁷⁹ The scheme is more or less a quotation of the model of Koops (p. 420), but as concerns the conventional level, I use the formulation of de Regt, which he provides after the quotation of Koops’s schema (p. 56).

⁴⁸⁰ De Regt, *Discourse*, p. 56-57.

tion's addressee – be it a partner of a genuine oral dialogue or a reader of a literary text where such a question may be found – would differ from the conventions of the question's "sender" to such an extent that the addressee would not understand the implied meaning of the question at all. A modern scholar interpreting an ancient question is in similar danger, but at least it is possible to exclude such conventions that contradict the formulation of the question, and in general all the implied answers that cannot be implied by the question itself. As said above, the persuasive power of the rhetorical question lies in the fact that it leads the addressee to come to the implied answer by himself. Let us now approach 2 Sam 7,5b from this perspective.

Evaluating the implied message of 2 Sam 7,5b on a rhetorical level is to a certain extent problematic. Some scholars suggest that the answer implied by this rhetorical question is positive, and thus not opposite to the polarity of the question. I shall return to this possibility below, but it is also possible to understand v. 5 as a common yes-no rhetorical question with reversed polarity, as it is also demonstrated by the (secondary) readings of LXX (οὐ σὺ), Syr (ܐܢܬܐ) and 1 Chr 17,4 (לֹא אַתָּה) where we find a negative indicative sentence instead of a rhetorical question.⁴⁸¹ On the rhetorical level, then, it would be implied that David will not build a house for Yhwh (although he planned to do so).

On a conventional level, the implied message is that David as a man is unable to build a house, where the God Yhwh would "dwell." The emphasized "you" at the beginning of the verse is in opposition to the suffixed "I" in לִי and לְשִׁבְתִּי. We have to reject all the interpretations of the question that cannot be derived from the question itself: the emphasized "you" cannot be in a primary contrast to the Israelite judges of v. 7 (even if we would read there שְׁפִטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), since nothing in the question indicates this contrast (while the "you" at the beginning is indeed emphasized).⁴⁸² We also cannot derive from the formulation of the question a contrast of "you" (David, v. 5b) against "he" (Solomon, v. 13), and the emphasis put on "you" in v. 5b therefore cannot carry this meaning.⁴⁸³ These interpretations rob the rhetorical question in v. 5b of all its irony and power. Gese's suggestion to locate the main contrast between David the man and Yhwh the God would be correct if he were not to limit its effect to the subject of the *initiation* of the building. But we do not read in v. 5b "You plan, when a house will be built for me?" (as Gese's paraphrase and interpretation tries to persuade us). Wellhausen correctly perceived the relationship between vv. 5b and 11b, but we shall see that this notion of v. 5b does not have to result in an omission of v. 13.

Here an objection might be raised. According to what follows in v. 6, since the exodus of Israel from Egypt Yhwh has not dwelled in a house, but

⁴⁸¹ For the textual variants see the text-critical note above.

⁴⁸² Pace Cross, Myth, p. 244.

⁴⁸³ Pace Carlson, David, p. 109f.; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 216.

has moved about in a tent and an abode. Is not the real conventional background to the question, on the basis of which David's plan is rejected, the idea of a "nomadic" theologian that Yhwh does not live in a house, but moves about in a tent?⁴⁸⁴ The formulation of the question, however, is not in accord with such an implied message. The question itself does not in any way suggest an opposition of a firm house and a mobile Yhwh, it does not say e.g. *הבית לשבתי תבנה לי*.⁴⁸⁵ The emphasized "you" only posits a contrast of David the builder and Yhwh the dweller of the built house. This implied message on the conventional level of v. 5b is similar to that of Solomon's rhetorical questions in 1 Kgs 8,27: "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heaven cannot contain you; how much less this house that I have built?"

On a pragmatic level, the implied meaning of 2 Sam 7,5b is that David should abandon his intent to build a house for God, which, however, does not mean that one cannot build a temple for Yhwh's name (v. 13).

As we have seen, some scholars regard the bias of the rhetorical question in 2 Sam 7 as positive, since vv. 1-3 indicate that David is about to start building a house for Yhwh. The studies of rhetorical questions in the Hebrew Bible often count on the existence of yes-no rhetorical questions with matched polarity (between the question and the implied answer). De Regt, for example, regards Job 6,26 as a rhetorical question introduced by *ה* and yet still with a positive bias.⁴⁸⁶ In contrast, A. Moshavi writes that rhetorical questions always contain a reversed polarity, and she regards other false questions that are not primarily meant to gather new information as various kinds of conducive questions.⁴⁸⁷ One type of the conducive questions described by Moshavi is that of surprised questions that express the surprise of the speaker over a situation he did not expect.⁴⁸⁸ In these questions the polarity of the implied answer is not the reverse of that of the question (cf. *You are hungry yet again?*). If the conducive surprised question is related to an activity or a stance of the addressee, it usually expresses a criticism of him; if the target is a planned activity, the question is to dissuade the addressee from the activity. (Moshavi mentions 1 Kgs 17,20 and Gen 18,23f. as examples of biblical conducive surprised questions of this kind).

Obviously, 2 Sam 7,5b may be perceived as a conducive surprised question. Yet on a pragmatic level, it is not very important whether we understand v. 5b as a rhetorical question that presents David's intent to build a

⁴⁸⁴ In a pure form, such a nomadic interpretation of Nathan's oracle was suggested by Phythian-Adams, *People*, p. 14-16; he says: "He is the God who walks to and fro amongst and with His People."

⁴⁸⁵ For an emphasized direct object in a rhetorical question cf. Amos 5,25.

⁴⁸⁶ De Regt, *Discourse*, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁷ Moshavi, *Types*, p. 38; and esp. *id.*, *Voice*.

⁴⁸⁸ Moshavi, *Voice*, p. 74-76.

temple as absurd and impossible (i.e. as a rhetorical question with an implied negative answer), or as a conducive surprised question that describes David's actual activity, therefore implying a positive answer, yet at the same time depicting David's activity in such a manner that it would be difficult and shameful for him to confess to the behavior. No matter how we label the question of v. 5b, its rhetorical power lies in the creation of the impression that it sufficed to merely properly name David's plan so that its obvious absurdity comes to the fore.⁴⁸⁹

Now it becomes clearer why David's plan was described only vaguely and implicitly in vv. 1-3. It is only because David did not speak about Yhwh "enthroned/dwelling" under the tent curtain, but rather metonymically spoke about the ark, and Nathan accepted the king's plan using a formula that did not specify the plan in any way, that v. 5 could reject David's plan using a rhetorical (or conducive surprised) question, indicating that once the plan is spoken in full, its absurdity is obvious. This means that vv. 1-3 cannot be separated on a literary-critical basis from the following rejection of David's plan in the first part of Nathan's second oracle, because vv. 1-3 are specifically formulated in relation to the question in 5b. In 2 Sam 7, therefore, we cannot reconstruct a core of the text that preserves a more traditional view of the relationship between the temple and kingship, where a promise of a dynasty (11b or also parts of other verses) would follow after the proclamation of David's intent to build a temple (vv. 1-3*), as was repeatedly proposed.⁴⁹⁰

The argument of v. 5b is in a certain tension with v. 6(.7). As we have seen, v. 5b does not criticize the temple from the position of a "nomadic" theology. V. 6, on the other hand, does create the contrast between Yhwh's "dwelling" in a house (לֹא יֵשְׁבֵתִי בַּבַּיִת) and his mobility in a tent (וְאֹהֶלָּהּ); the tent is such a distinct sign of nomadic life that it can become its symbol – see Judg 8,11). It seems difficult to deny the presence of a theology emphasizing Yhwh's mobility in 2 Sam 7,6. I shall later, during the analysis of v. 13a, return to this tension between v. 5 and v.(v.) 6(f.) and to the question of whether this contradiction is caused by the literary history of the text.

⁴⁸⁹ I would like to emphasize that this conclusion is not an eisegesis derived from modern religious ideas, but the effect that, in my opinion, the author of 2 Sam 7 wants to create. Also the rhetorical question in 1 Kgs 8,27 presents the implausibility of God dwelling on earth as an undoubted premise, although actually, as in 2 Sam 7, the text is trying to impose this very view against others. – Cf. Moshavi's description of this kind of persuasive use of rhetorical questions: "the speaker attempts to convince the hearer to accept the implied answer to the question by implying that the answer is obvious" (Moshavi, *Types*, p. 34.)

⁴⁹⁰ Pace McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 220-231; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 21-109; Rudnig, *König; Sergi, Composition*, p. 263-268. Cf. also Laato, *Star*, p. 44; Levin, *Verheißung*, p. 251-255. For more of these reconstructions see above the overview in ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.

In v. 7, Yhwh's speech continues with another powerful rhetorical question that ridicules David's plan. The question forces David (and the reader who would agree with David's plan of building a temple for Yhwh) to acknowledge that he ignored Yhwh's obvious lack of interest in the house: in *all* places that Yhwh moved in the *whole* of Israel, he did not utter a *single word* to *any* of the tribes of Israel that would incite the building of a temple. The rhetorical impact of the verse is underlined by the fact that Yhwh's hypothetical request is formulated as a plaintive question. V. 7b attempts to create the impression that for the deity to complain in such a manner to the people that they did not build him "a house of cedars" would be ridiculous. This ridicule is transferred onto David who is charged with having assumed such a ridiculous notion of Yhwh (cf. Elijah's suggestions to Baal's prophets on mount Carmel in 1 Kgs 18,27).⁴⁹¹ The rejection of a "house of cedars" at the close of the verse contrasts in its immediate context with the house of David, which is built of the identical material (v. 2); in a wider context it is probably a hint to the temple built by Solomon, where "all was cedar" inside (1 Kgs 6,18).

The clause *בכל אשר התהלכתי בכל בני ישראל* (v. 7aα) probably refers to various movements of the ark prior to its transfer to Jerusalem by David, but we can hardly reconstruct which of the relevant passages in the Former Prophets are presupposed by 2 Sam 7,7.⁴⁹²

In a text-critical note, I defended the reading *שבטי ישראל* in 2 Sam 7,7. Regardless of whether this reading is original or not, it is undoubtedly old, since it is already presupposed in 1 Kgs 8,16. In the latter passage, as well as in Deut 12,5.14; 1 Kgs 11,32 (cf. vv. 13.36) and 2 Kgs 21,7, there is an obvious polemic against the non-centralized cult: only one city of all the tribes of Israel was chosen for the building of the temple. We may suspect that this polemic is also present behind the reference to the tribes of Israel in 2 Sam 7,7. Yhwh has not yet chosen a tribe to build the temple; the successor of David will be chosen as the builder of the temple for the name of Yhwh, but any other building by any other tribe will remain illegitimate.

2.4.3 2 Sam 7,8-11a

V. 8a – with the macro-syntactic signal *ועתה*, a new instruction as to how Nathan should speak to David, and a new messenger formula – introduces the second part of the prophecy. After these introductory formulas, Yhwh's

⁴⁹¹ Cf. Fokkelman, Art III, p. 219-220.

⁴⁹² According to the current form of the Former Prophets, the ark was successively in Gilgal (Josh 3-5), Bethel (Judg 20,26-28), Shiloh (1 Sam 3,3; cf. Judg 18,31) and after the return from the Philistines in Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6,13-21), Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam 7,1f.) and the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam 6,10-12). We could append several other places under the condition that the use of expressions like "before Yhwh" may, at least in some texts, entail the idea of the presence of the ark.

speech itself begins with the emphasized pronoun **אני** that contrasts with the emphasized **אתה(ה)** in v. 5b. The first part of the prophecy opened with an emphasized “you” (introduced by an interrogative particle), followed by a description (unambiguous for the first time) of the deed David wished to do for Yhwh (i.e. to build him a temple); now the second part begins with an emphasized “I” which introduces a summary of Yhwh’s deeds in favour of David. These contrasts are completely in accord with my interpretation of the rhetorical question in v. 5b.

According to v. 8aα-b, Yhwh took David (**לקחתיו**) away from the flocks so that he would be a prince (**נגיד**) over Yhwh’s people Israel. This statement summarizes David’s career, but it could also be a direct reference to 1 Sam 16,11-13 where Samuel makes David be “taken” (note the imperative **וקחני** in v. 11) away from the flock and immediately anoints him as king. The origin of the word **נגיד** need not be discussed at this point; its meaning in 2 Sam 7,8 was correctly described by J. Van Seters.⁴⁹³ In 2 Sam 7, Yhwh makes David a **נגיד** “over my people, over Israel”, and this word appears in all its occurrences in Samuel and Kings in a similar context (1 Sam 9,16; 10,1 [2x in LXX]; 13,14; 25,30; 2 Sam 5,2; 6,21; 7,8; 1 Kgs 14,7; 16,2; 2 Kgs 20,5) – in all of these cases, a **נגיד** is installed by Yhwh to rule over Israel, referred to as Yhwh’s people or heritage (with the exception of 1 Kgs 1,35 where David establishes Solomon to be **נגיד** “over Israel and Judah”).⁴⁹⁴ The word **נגיד** is therefore constantly used in Samuel and Kings “to express the divine choice of a ruler over the people of Israel” and often appears as a counterpart of the choice of Israel by Yhwh.⁴⁹⁵

A *crux interpretum* of verses 9-11a are the perfect forms introduced by the conjunction **ו**.⁴⁹⁶ Following J. Wellhausen⁴⁹⁷ and S. R. Driver⁴⁹⁸, most interpreters understand the forms of waw + suffix-tense in these verses as normal cases of the so-called *perfectum conversivum* or *perfectum consecutivum*, thus expressing the future. The part of the oracle that is oriented towards the future would then begin with the verb **ועשתי** in v. 9. But some scholars understand this verb and other waw-perfects in these verses as so-called *perfecta copulativa* expressing the past tense.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹³ Van Seters, Search, p. 275. For a discussion of the title’s meaning and origin, see the references in Sergi, Composition, p. 271.

⁴⁹⁴ For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the possession of Israel by Yhwh is not mentioned in 1 Sam 25,30.

⁴⁹⁵ Van Seters, Search, p. 275, 312, citation from p. 275. Van Seters ascribes all the occurrences of the word **נגיד** in Samuel-Kings to the Deuteronomist, with the exception of 2 Sam 6,21 and 1,35, which, he believes, belong to the “Court history” (it is not clear, who Van Seters believes to be the author of 2 Kgs 20,5).

⁴⁹⁶ For the references, see Kasari, Promise, p. 43.

⁴⁹⁷ Wellhausen, Text, p. 170f.

⁴⁹⁸ Driver, Notes, p. 275.

⁴⁹⁹ E.g. Rost, Überlieferung, p. 59f.; Buber, Königtum, p. 125f.; Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 285-286; Loretz, Perfectum, p. 294-96; Rudnig, König, p. 442.

Ancient sources already reflect a certain hesitation. The masoretic punctuation does not understand these forms in a uniform manner. The accent in the verbs וְשָׁמְתִי and וְנִטְעַתִּי in v. 10 is transferred to the last syllable, an indication of *perfecta conversiva*. But in the forms וְעָשְׂתִי (v. 9) and וְהִנֵּחְתִּי, the accent remains on the penultimate syllable. The form וְעָשְׂתִי may be, according to the pointing, both *perfectum copulativum* and *perfectum conversivum*, since in the case of verbal forms derived from the roots *tertia hē*, the accent is not transferred to the last syllable in *perfectum conversivum* of qal.⁵⁰⁰ The verb וְהִנֵּחְתִּי is unequivocally punctuated as *perfectum copulativum*, since in the case of hollow verbs the shift of accent in *perfectum conversivum* occurs regularly (cf. e.g. וְהָקִימְתִּי and וְהִכִּנֵּחְתִּי in v. 12).⁵⁰¹ The form וְשָׁכַן (v. 10) is again ambiguous, since the accent is always on the last syllable in the 3rd p.

The form וְעָשְׂתִי is translated with a past tense in LXX (καὶ ἐποίησά), Tg (ועבדית) and Vg (*fecique*), while Peshitta (ܐܝܬܝܢܐ) translates it with a future tense. In v. 10, all versions translate all perfects with a future tense. In v. 11, LXX (ἀναπαύσω) and Vg (*et requiem dabo*) translate the verb וְהִנֵּחְתִּי with a future, Peshitta with a past tense (ܐܝܬܝܢܐ), and Tg with various tenses in various mss (ואנחית or ואניח). It is worth noting that the situation in ancient versions corresponds to some extent to the masoretic punctuation: the unambiguous punctuation of the verbs וְשָׁמְתִי and וְנִטְעַתִּי in v. 10 is matched by the fact that all the old versions translate these verbs with a future tense (the latter, however, also holds true in the same verse for the form וְשָׁכַן, where the punctuation is not unambiguous); the ambiguous form וְעָשְׂתִי corresponds to the differences among the versions; and the accentuation of וְהִנֵּחְתִּי as *perfectum copulativum* agrees with the reading of Peshitta and some mss of Tg.

The problem with the waw-perfects in vv. 9-11a lies basically in the fact that reading them according to the stylistic usage typical of Hebrew Bible prose seems to contradict the given context. On the one hand, should we ignore the masoretic accentuation of וְהִנֵּחְתִּי, it seems most convenient to regard all the waw-perfects in vv. 9-11a as converted perfects and to translate them with the future tense, all the more because in v. 10 four waw-perfects are followed by two negative imperfections (ולא ירגז and ולא יסיפו), as if the text was switching towards imperfections when it is impossible to use *perfectum conversivum* because of the insertion of the negative particle.⁵⁰² The fulfillment of the future-oriented promise ...וְעָשְׂתִי לְךָ שֵׁם (v. 9) may be

⁵⁰⁰ Revell, *Stress and the WAW "Consecutive"*, p. 440.

⁵⁰¹ Revell, *Stress and the WAW "Consecutive"*, p. 439f.; exceptions, not relevant for our text, are presented by Waltke – O'Connor, *Introduction*, p. 521.

⁵⁰² With a change in vocalization (see Isa 55,3), we could consider וְאִכְרַתָּה in v. 9 to be a genuine cohortative and to translate in future from this point.

seen in David's victorious wars in 2 Sam 8, cf. mainly v. 13 ויעש דוד שם.⁵⁰³ In the given phase of history, on the other hand, it sounds quite strange that Yhwh would give a future-oriented promise to appoint a place for his people, plant them and ensure that Israel will reside there.⁵⁰⁴ Even more problematic is the future-oriented understanding of the verb והניחתי (v. 11a), since, according to the first verse of the chapter, Yhwh has already granted rest from the enemies to David. Against these objections, some advocates of *perfectum conversivum* in these verses have come up with a different interpretation of v. 10, according to which the content of the verse would not contradict its wider narrative context; I shall come back later to these suggestions that are based on a specific understanding of the word מְקוֹם and sometimes also of the syntax of the verse.

I have no new arguments for either side of the debate, but I rather incline to those who find copulative perfects in vv. 9-11a. The mentioned problem with a future-oriented understanding of the verb והניחתי in v. 11 is decisive for me. Should we, on the contrary, understand והניחתי as *perfectum copulativum*, then v. 11aβ creates an inclusion with the first verse of the chapter, and therefore the summary of Yhwh's deeds in favour of David and Israel closes with the last blessing that was mentioned before the occurring event. If we consider this verb in v. 11aβ a *perfectum copulativum*, there is no reason not to likewise construe the perfects in v. 10, where it also seems contextually better if the verbs depict events that have already passed. But then it seems most natural to also understand ויעשתי in v. 9 as *perfectum copulativum*. This understanding of the waw-perfects in vv. 9-11a is in a certain discord with the common style of biblical prose, where we observe a very strong tendency towards the use of forms with the conversive *waw* where the syntactic environment allows it. This, of course, leads to a situation where forms with the copulative *waw* are quite rarely used.⁵⁰⁵ However, the existence of the forms with copulative *waw* in the Hebrew Bible is beyond doubt⁵⁰⁶ and Arad ostraca indicate that these forms were more common in the spoken language⁵⁰⁷.

⁵⁰³ This would probably not be altered by the fact that the word שם is often understood in 2 Sam 8,13 as "memorial sign", "stele", or "inscription" (see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 251; Weinfeld, School, p. 193). – Anderson, 2 Samuel, p. 131, regards 2 Sam 8 as a realization of Yhwh's promise that "the sons of wickedness shall not afflict them any more" (2 Sam 7,10), since it was David's success in war that averted this threat.

⁵⁰⁴ The problem is not solved by referring to an exilic origin of the text. Many sections of the Former Prophets address the exilic situation, but they do also carry a meaning in their context within the narrated history of Israel.

⁵⁰⁵ For this characteristic of biblical Hebrew narrative and the understanding of the tense system connected to it, see Blau, Phonology, p. 189-192.

⁵⁰⁶ For some examples see Loretz, Perfectum, p. 295. A list of occurrences of *perfectum copulativum* in Samuel may be found in Fokkelman, Art III, p. 224, who, however, denies their presence in 2 Sam 7,9-11a.

⁵⁰⁷ Blau, Phonology, p. 191.

As already indicated, some scholars attempt to solve the issue of tenses in vv. 9-11 with the help of a counter-intuitive interpretation of *מקום* in v. 10 and also sometimes with a new interpretation of the syntax of the verse. According to A. Gelston, it seems most plausible to understand the waw-perfects in vv. 9b-11a as consecutive perfects with future meaning, but Gelston also acknowledges that the appointment of a place for Israel and its “planting” there can, in the given context, hardly be understood as something that is yet to happen.⁵⁰⁸ Referring to some other biblical passages,⁵⁰⁹ Gelston proposes that we find in the word *מקום* a term for a shrine; a term that would, in our context, denote the future temple that is the true object of the verbs *ונטעתיו* and *לענותו* and the subject of *ושכן* and *ירגו* (instead of *עמי*). Gelston suggests that 4Q174 (called Florilegium or also 4QMidrEschat^a) fr. 1 I,1-2 verifies this proposal, since its quotation of 2 Sam 7,10b-11a^α is followed by an interpretation beginning with “that is the house which...”⁵¹⁰ According to Gelston, the only possible basis for a reference to the temple in the comment is *מקום* in 2 Sam 7,10 (note, however, that this part of the verse is not extant in the scroll). Gelston’s interpretation of 2 Sam 7,10-11a^α was accepted by McCarter who connects the “place” (= the temple) of 2 Sam 7,10 in with the “Deuteronomistic expectation of a chosen place of worship (Deut 12,11; etc.).”⁵¹¹ D. Vanderhooft proposed a renewed version of this hypothesis.⁵¹² While he likewise asserts that *מקום* in 2 Sam 7,10 denotes the temple (although, in the given context, he prefers to translate the word as “sacred place”), he differs from Gelston and McCarter by retaining the traditional view that the object of the verbs *ונטעתיו* and *לענותו* and the subject of *ושכן* and *ירגו* is “my people” (and not the “sacred place”). The originality of Vanderhooft’s contribution lies in a new understanding of the phrase *ושכן תחתיו* which is commonly understood in the sense “they [i.e. the people of Israel] will dwell in their place” (for this meaning of the prepositional phrase, see Exod 10,23; 16,29; Lev 13,23; 2 Sam 2,23; Isa 25,10; Job 40,12), but Vanderhooft believes it means “they [the people] will dwell beneath it [the place].” He also mentions several other more or less likely occurrences where *mqm* means “shrine”, namely in one Philistine, one Phoenician and two neo-Punic inscriptions, and adds that *mqm* “occasionally refers to synagogues in later Hebrew.”

All these suggestions are very problematic, and Gelston’s (and McCarter’s) hypothesis has been thoroughly criticized by Murray.⁵¹³ There

⁵⁰⁸ Gelston, Note, p. 92-94.

⁵⁰⁹ Jer 7,12.14; 1 Chr 16,27 (cf. Ps 96,6) and 2 Sam 16,27. Gelston refers to Ackroyd, Exile, p. 156, who further mentions Jer 33,10-12; Ezra 8,17 and Hag 2,9. Ackroyd, however, correctly notes that “in any given passage, there may well be some doubt whether the reference is to the shrine alone or to the whole ‘place’.”

⁵¹⁰ The text in Allegro, DJD 5, p. 53-57.

⁵¹¹ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 202-204; quotation on p. 203.

⁵¹² Vanderhooft, Dwelling, p. 625-633.

⁵¹³ Murray, MQWM, p. 298-320.

is nothing to indicate that in 2 Sam 7,10 the word **מקום** should be read with an assumed “technical”⁵¹⁴ meaning as a “cultic centre” or a temple; on the contrary, the true term for the temple of Jerusalem in the chapter itself (vv. 5.6.7.13) – and, Murray believes, in the whole Dtr History – is **בית**, and the verbs **נטע**, **שכן**, **רגו** and **ענה** pi. are, with their syntactic functions, much more suitable to **עמי ישראל** than to **מקום** with the meaning of a temple. Vanderhooft likewise suggests that the subject of the verbs **ושכן** and **ירגו** must be **עמי ישראל** because of the adverb **עוד** at the end of v. 10a, since it is hard to say in the given “historical” context that the temple will no longer “shake” (unlike in the past).⁵¹⁵ Murray demonstrated that the “dtr” redaction of Kings never understood **מקום** used in Deuteronomic precepts related to the introduction of a centralized cult as a term for temple. In the Former Prophets, Murray finds fourteen variations of and references to the Deuteronomic concept of the “place” Yhwh will choose for the orthodox cult (cf. e.g. Deut 16,6: **המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך לשכן שמו שם**).⁵¹⁶ Thirteen of them are to be found after the consecration of the temple in 1 Kgs 8, therefore after the fulfilment of the Deuteronomic commandment, and the general term “place” is mostly replaced with more concrete formulations. Since in Kings the term corresponding to the expression **מקום** of the Deuteronomic formula is mostly Jerusalem, it is clear that the author(s) of these passages in Kings understood **מקום** to be, above all else, a reference to a yet-unspecified geographical place.⁵¹⁷ Vanderhooft’s argument based on comparative philology is not devoid of problems either. In the case of the *lmqm* inscription of Ekron (late 7th century B.C.E), it may well be that *mqm* de-

⁵¹⁴ See Gelston, Note, p. 93.

⁵¹⁵ Vanderhooft, Dwelling, p. 630.

⁵¹⁶ For variants of the phrase, see Murray’s table on p. 307.

⁵¹⁷ Murray’s own solution is not as strong as his critique of Gelston’s and McCarter’s hypotheses. “The place”, he suggests, is ultimately a reference to the land, “but the locative aspect of *mqwm* is here subsidiary to the qualitative” (p. 319). Hence we are not dealing with a *past* giving of the land, but a *future* gift of a safe place that is in fact equivalent to safety itself. This, in Murray’s opinion, should solve the problem of the future understanding of **ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל**; the author of 2 Sam 7,10 acknowledges that the Israelites have long since occupied the land, but regards life in the land up until that point as a time of unrest. The author thus expects peace to come only from a future that is connected to the Davidic dynasty. – Murray is undoubtedly correct in perceiving an emphasis on quality of life in the reference to the appointing of a place for Israel; the aspect of a safe life in peace is probably found in more or less all occurrences of the motif of the gift of land in the HB. Still, such a major loss of the local aspect of the word **מקום** as Murray finds in 2 Sam 7,10 seems unlikely to me. Murray bases his interpretation on a comparison of v. 10 with two occurrences of a similar structure in Exod 21,13 and 1 Kgs 8,21. At least the first case is problematic, since in the construction **ושמתי לך מקום אשר ינוס שמה**, the place of the indirect object after **ל** is not occupied by the fugitive who is fleeing the avenger, but rather by the people who are operating as administrators of justice; hence the point is not a promise of safety, but the selection of a place that would later be specified. To advocate that 2 Sam 7,10 refers to the expectation of a future appointment or preparation of a place for Israel seems to me quite impossible.

notes a shrine.⁵¹⁸ However, it can hardly be affirmed that “*mqm* with the meaning ‘sacred place’ is attested” in the Phoenician inscription of Yehawmilk, the king of Byblos (5th-4th century B.C.E). The passage in question reads “and/or if you remove this work, [and/or shift] this [...] with its base upon/from this place (*’lt mqm z*)” (KAI 10,14).⁵¹⁹ Yehawmilk’s stele was located in a shrine, but this does not necessarily mean that *mqm* has this “technical” meaning here. The meaning of “sacred place” or even “sanctuary” seems to be more assured in Neo-Punic inscriptions KAI 119,5.6.7 (the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E)⁵²⁰ and KAI 173,5 (around 180 A.D. or later), yet these inscriptions are very late.

As I already mentioned, it is never quite certain whether the word מקום itself indeed *denotes* a shrine in the biblical passages adduced by Gelston, and likewise in the many other passages added by Vanderhooft.⁵²¹ Vanderhooft’s interpretation of the clause ושבן תחתיו in 2 Sam 7,10 is not especially plausible. Vanderhooft compares 2 Sam 7,10 with the passages that speak of the hiding in the shadow of God’s wings (Ps 17,8; 36,8; 57,2), in the shadow of his hand (Isa 49,2) or simply in his shadow (Ps 91,1). However, while these metaphors of divine protection do work with the possibilities that naturally derive from the used terms, the image of Israel dwelling “under a (holy) place” is very strained. Even if we would accept that מקום acquired the meaning of a “holy place”, the issue is still a place, not a building or a holy mountain. In summary, while it is quite likely that in a few West Semitic inscriptions, *mqm* has the meaning of a “holy place” or a “shrine”, in 2 Sam 7,10 this meaning of מקום is extremely unlikely. The referent of מקום is probably the land, as in 1 Sam 12,8 and elsewhere⁵²².

In the text-critical note on the presence or absence of *waw* in למן (ו) at the beginning of 2 Sam 7,11 (and למימים [ו] in 1 Chr 17,10), I dealt quite thoroughly with the issue of how attempts to solve this text-critical problem may affect our understanding of the literary horizon of 2 Sam 7 (or, at least, of the verses 10-11aα which are often considered an addition). If we regard the reading with the *waw* as more ancient (as I tend to do), it is possible to see a reference to two non-sequential periods of persecution in vv. 10b-11aα, first in Egypt, and then in the time of judges. This image corresponds to that created by the current form of the books usually attributed to the Dtr History: in the beginning, Israel was persecuted in Egypt; after the conquest

⁵¹⁸ For the inscription, see Gitin, *Cult*, p. 289-290.

⁵¹⁹ Translation by S. Segert (COS 2.32).

⁵²⁰ Cf., however, W. Röllig’s commentary in KAI II, *ad loc.*

⁵²¹ Vanderhooft works with the evidence in a rather selective manner. He lists Deut 12,5,11,14,18,26 (p. 629) among the passages where מקום has the connotation of a “sacred place.” And yet the meaning of a “sacred place” in v. 5 is cast into doubt by the use of מקום in v. 3 (to which Vanderhooft makes no reference). V. 13, similarly, makes this use in v. 14 unlikely. – There may be a certain indication of the use of מקום to denote a shrine in Hebrew in Jer 7,12.

⁵²² See Exod 18,23; 23,20; Num 14,40; 32,17; Deut 26,9; Isa 14,2; Jer 7,7; 16,3; 33,12.

of the land, during the time of Joshua, Israel enjoyed rest (Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1), but then a new period of unrest came during the period of the judges⁵²³ (the references to the recurrent periods of peace at the time of judges do not contain the verb נוח or another word of this root, but only the verb שקט – Judg 3,11.30; 5,31; 8,28). 2 Sam 7,10-11aα could, then, be regarded as a summary of the “dtr” understanding of history since the time of Israel in Egypt, throughout the time of the occupation of the land and the period of judges up to the time of David.⁵²⁴ To be sure, this need not mean that the author of 2 Sam 7, or of vv. 10-11aα, was actively at work in all these books of the Dtr History, but it shows at least which literary horizon he likely understood his work as being situated within.⁵²⁵

The question of whether vv. 10-11aα(.β) were a part of the original composition of 2 Sam 7, or a later addition, may prove significant for recovering the original literary context of the chapter. I shall return to this problem later when the basic intent of 2 Sam 7,1-17 becomes clear.

2.4.4 2 Sam 7,11b-17

V. 11aβ forms an inclusion with v. 1b, and the summary of Yhwh’s deeds for David and Israel (vv. 8aβ-11aβ) thus reaches the point of departure for the narrative of the chapter. This serves to emphasize the novelty (or at least importance) of the following promise of a dynasty, with which Nathan’s oracle culminates.

In the chapter dealing with the text of 2 Sam 7, I tried to show that the most ancient available text of v. 11b and the beginning of v. 12 was והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה והיה כי יהוה יהיה לך. I therefore read v. 11b with MT as a promise of a dynasty to David. Most scholars in fact agree on this point, but there is a lively debate on certain aspects of this half-verse. As was the case with the previous waw-perfects, a grammatical interpretation of the form והגיד itself poses a certain problem.⁵²⁶ In the given context, the verb could be understood in connection to the previous waw-perfects, i.e. as another *perfectum copulativum*. This is how T. Veijola understands והגיד; he believes that v. 11b refers to an older promise from Yhwh to David, which is not attested, however, in the previous text.⁵²⁷ Veijola finds a confirmation

⁵²³ For the period of judges as a period of unrest in the dtr understanding of the history of Israel see McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 133. For the period of judges as a dtr literary invention, see Römer, So-Called, p. 136-139.

⁵²⁴ For the search of a summary of the Dtr History see Römer, Problem, p. 245-246.

⁵²⁵ Cf. already Van Seters, Search, p. 276, who suggested that “[t]he Dtr scheme of dividing Israelite history into three periods – the exodus and conquest, the age of the judges, and the rise of the monarchy (1 Sam. 8:8; 10:18-19; 12:6ff.) – is basic to 2 Sam. 7.”

⁵²⁶ An overview of the proposed interpretations of this verbal form can be found in Kasari, Promise, p. 22.

⁵²⁷ Veijola, Dynastie, p. 76.

of this interpretation of *והגיד* in v. 21. Referring to fictional older oracles of Yhwh is, Veijola believes, a common strategy of DtrG, and he finds other occurrences of this strategy in 1 Sam 2,30; 2 Sam 3,9f.; 3,18; 5,2; 7,21; 1 Kgs 2,4.⁵²⁸ Building a “firm house” was foretold to David by Abigail in 1 Sam 25,28, so 2 Sam 7,11b could be a reference to this text, especially since Abigail’s speech is probably the work of the same author as 2 Sam 7 (see below ch. 4).

But in 1 Sam 25, the duration of the dynasty was not announced to David by Yhwh, and to understand 2 Sam 7,11b as a reference to an older dynastic promise seems to be in contradiction to the overall flow of the chapter. Nathan’s oracle clearly culminates with the dynastic promise that seems to emerge as something new after the summary of David’s career in vv. 8-9.11aβ. David also reacts to the promise of a dynasty in his prayer as if it was something new, most prominently in vv. 18-19. V. 18bβ summarizes all the good previously done by Yhwh (“you have brought me thus far”); but according to v. 19, that was not enough in Yhwh’s eyes, and so he (now) also promises David the duration of his dynasty. It seems logical, then, that *והגיד* in v. 11b should have the meaning of a present tense. *והגיד* could be regarded as a *perfectum conversivum* with the present-tense meaning; most scholars believe, however, that the *waw* here only has a coordinative function and the perfectum carries the meaning of a performative, in which case the action described by the verb is identical to the utterance.⁵²⁹ Other perfects of the verb *גיד* hiph. with this meaning may be found in Deut 26,3 and 30,18, possibly even in 1 Sam 3,13.⁵³⁰

The formulation of 2 Sam 7,11 and the immediate context of the verse do not allow to decide with certainty on the grammatical value of the form *והגיד*. It is clear from the context, however, that the dynastic promise to David is announced as something new. Therefore, even if *והגיד* would refer to Abigail’s speech in 1 Sam 25,28, a new situation emerges in 2 Sam 7 in the sense that it is Yhwh who promises the permanent dynasty to David.

Unlike the immediate context of v. 11, Yhwh does not speak about himself in this verse in the first person but rather in the third person. This change has provoked numerous literary-critical considerations. Already L. Rost regarded vv. 11b.16⁵³¹ as the most ancient layer of Nathan’s oracle,

⁵²⁸ Nevertheless, 1 Sam 2,30a probably refers to Deut 18,5 (for more, see below ch. 3); similarly 1 Kgs 2,4 refers to 2 Sam 7 and is not the work of the author of 2 Sam 7 (for this text, see ch. 9).

⁵²⁹ Waltke – O’Connor, Introduction, p. 488-489, work with the category of “instantaneous perfective”, which describes an action as taking place at the moment of speech and of which the performative is a subtype. – This reading of 2 Sam 7,11bα is defended by e.g. Oswald, Nathan, p. 52, with references to previous studies.

⁵³⁰ For the last mentioned example see Oswald, Nathan, p. 52.

⁵³¹ Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 57-9. Rost’s diachronic description of the chapter enjoyed success for quite some time, and was followed e.g. by Noth, *History*, p. 89, and Langlamet, *Review of Würthwein and Veijola*, p. 129, 134.

and several scholars have recently suggested that the core of 2 Sam 7 may be found in vv. 1a.2-3.11b or a similarly delimited text⁵³². O. Sergi, for instance, believes that 11b originally followed directly after v. 3, where Yhwh is also mentioned in the third person.⁵³³ The old text, reconstructed in vv. 1a.2-3.11b, stems according to him from the first half of the 8th century, and in this text David would be honoured by the dynastic promise right after his presentation of the plan to build a temple. The polemic against David's plan in vv. 4-7 is, in Sergi's opinion, the result of a later redaction.

Actually, as we have seen, vv. 1-3 are already formulated in respect to the polemic against David's plan in vv. 4-11a (the summary of Yhwh's favours has a polemical aspect as well), since vv. 1-3 prepare the impact of the rhetorical question in v. 5b. Even the peculiar formulation of v. 11b is best understood as a follow-up to the argumentation begun in the rhetorical question in 5b. The clause 11bβ begins with the direct object בית. This emphasis on the object signals a return to the main theme of the oracle and a direct answer to the rhetorical question in 5b.⁵³⁴ The presence of the subject יהוה at the end of the clause is also marked; the word is superfluous from a grammatical perspective (it is actually missing in LXX)⁵³⁵, since it only repeats (in an emphasized position) the subject expressed in 11bα. The emphasis corresponds to the meaning of the rhetorical question in v. 5b and to the general flow of Nathan's oracle. It confirms our conclusion that the emphasized "you" in v. 5b stands in contrast to the "I" in the same verse (in לי and לשבתי), at the beginning of v. 8aβ, and now with the emphasized יהוה at the end of v. 11. The promise in v. 11b therefore *overturns* David's intention as summarized in the rhetorical question in 5b; Yhwh is building a house for David in contrast to David's attempts to build a house for Yhwh, as already described by Wellhausen regarding the overall meaning of the chapter. The formulation of v. 11b thus follows up on v. 5b, and v. 11b cannot be separated from the previous text. This does not explain, however, why v. 11b, unlike the previous text, speaks of Yhwh in the third person. This shift is not particularly surprising if we understand v. 11bα as a variation of the messenger formula, which, in its usual form of כה אמר יהוה [עבדות] introduces also the first and second part of Nathan's oracle. The third person in v. 11bβ would then be almost necessary because of the conjunction כי.⁵³⁶

It seems then that the contrast between Yhwh and David, expressed in the rhetorical question in v. 5b, is presented further in the text mainly with

⁵³² For this kind of reconstructions see ch. 2.2, p. 123ff.

⁵³³ Sergi, *Composition*, p. 263-268.

⁵³⁴ McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 205, makes a good point with his translation "as for a house..."

⁵³⁵ Arguments for the reading with יהוה are presented in the text-critical note *ad loc.*

⁵³⁶ Similarly and in more detail, the shift to the third person is treated by Oswald, Nathan, p. 51-53.

respect to the ability to do something for the other. David wishes to build a temple for Yhwh but must first receive a list of the deeds Yhwh has already done for him, followed by the promise that Yhwh will secure the kingship of David's family forever. However, if we are to take into account the importance of building a temple in the Judean royal ideology – as we reconstructed it on the basis of Ps 132, where the dynastic promise is a reward for king's care for Yhwh's shrine – it is clear that the specific goal of the rhetoric of 2 Sam 7,5-11 is to show that the dynastic promise, like all the other mentioned favours, is a gift that is not earned by the building of the temple.

This aspect of the prophecy will become more evident once we consider vv. 8-11a as being formally similar to what is known as the "contrasting motif" of the oracle of judgment. Many biblical oracles of judgement are introduced by a list of Yhwh's past deeds in favour of the addressee. C. Westermann calls this reminder of Yhwh's actions as a "contrasting motif", since its function is to create a contrast with the sins of the addressee.⁵³⁷ This feature appears in the Former Prophets exclusively in the oracles of judgment addressed to individuals (1 Sam 2,27-36; 15,16-23; 2 Sam 12,7-12; 1 Kgs 14,7-17; 16,1-4), and Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 is the only passage where this type of summary of Yhwh's deeds appears outside its usual context.

In the oracles of judgment in Samuel and Kings that contain the contrasting motif, the summary of Yhwh's favours is followed by a judgment, while in 2 Sam 7 it is followed by a promise. However, both cases (the judgement and the promise) are related to the issue of the house in the sense of a family or a dynasty. The only text that does not overtly mention the "house" is 1 Sam 15,16f., and yet the withdrawal of the kingship from Saul naturally includes the loss of the throne for the dynasty. In the context of Saul's story, the dynastic aspect of the judgment is in fact the main point of the oracle, since Saul himself will be in power for a long time in the following narrative. Aside from 1 Sam 2,27-36, kingship and a royal dynasty are the issue in all the texts.

Out of the mentioned texts, 2 Sam 7 is the only one to contain a reminder of the favourable dealing with the people⁵³⁸, which may seem somewhat illogical in the given context (many scholars actually believe vv. 10-11aα is a later addition, a point to which I shall return later). However, the most important difference between 2 Sam 7 and other texts lies in what follows after the "contrasting motif." This kind of summary of the favours done by Yhwh for the addressee of the oracle of judgement usually serves as a kind of contrasting foil by which the addressee's lack of gratefulness becomes clearly visible. The contrasting motif therefore serves as a reminder of

⁵³⁷ Westermann, *Grundformen*, p. 111-113, 131-132.

⁵³⁸ For the motif of the "planting" of the people in the land in the context of a contrasting motif see Isa 5,2.

Yhwh's primary and therefore, in a way, "unearned" deeds in the address-ee's favour. Now, when this list of Yhwh's blessings is unexpectedly followed by an oracle of salvation (i.e. a dynastic promise) instead of an oracle of judgement, the unearned character of the new blessing is strongly emphasized, even more since the summary appeared as an answer to David's intent to do something for Yhwh (to build a temple). We may thus conclude that by means of the combined use of the contrasting motif (belonging to the genre of an oracle of judgement) with an oracle of salvation (a dynastic promise), 2 Sam 7 is attempting to counter the causal relationship between the building of the temple and the duration of the dynasty. In terms of the effect of the text, it is, of course, irrelevant whether this hybrid use of the reminder of Yhwh's blessings, usually operating as a "contrasting motif", is conscious or unconscious.

The opposition between Yhwh and David, expressed in the question in 2 Sam 7,5b, is also further developed in v. 13a ("he will build a house for my name"). This verse is almost universally considered dtr, due to the use of *בית לשמי*. According to the traditional view, the Deuteronomic and deuteronomic "theology of the name of God" sought to correct the traditional notion that God sits enthroned/dwells in his temple, in order to replace it with the notion that the temple is for the name of God, thereby promoting a more abstract⁵³⁹, spiritual⁵⁴⁰ or transcendental⁵⁴¹ understanding of God. A few scholars have suggested, however, that the phraseology of God's name in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets is not motivated by attempts to introduce a new understanding of God's presence in the temple.⁵⁴² Recently the existence of a "name theology" in the HB was rejected by S. L. Richter in her work on the formula *לשכן שמו שם* and its variants.⁵⁴³ Richter believes that the Hebrew formula *לשכן שמו שם* is a loan adaptation of the Akkadian expression *šuma šakānu*, while the formula *לשום שמו שם* is a calque of the same Akkadian phrase. The primary meaning of the Akkadian formula is "to claim something as one's own by placing one's name upon it."⁵⁴⁴ The Akkadian idiom appears in many Mesopotamian texts of various genres in connection with conquering kings (e.g. to describe the conquest of a new territory but also as a metaphor of acquiring fame by heroic deeds). Richter regards both Hebrew formulae as equivalents of the Akkadian expression, and believes that in Deuteronomy and Kings, both formulae mainly express Yhwh's sovereignty over the land, the people and the Davidic dynasty, and so have nothing in common with a "name theology."

⁵³⁹ Weinfeld, *School*, p. 191-209.

⁵⁴⁰ Rad, *Deuteronomium-Studien*, p. 129.

⁵⁴¹ Eichrodt, *Theologie I*, p. 275.

⁵⁴² For older discussion see Mettinger, *Dethronement*, p. 38-59.

⁵⁴³ Richter, *History*.

⁵⁴⁴ Richter, *History*, p. 183, 208, 211.

Nevertheless, irrespective of whether Richter has correctly uncovered the origin of the Hebrew expressions *לשכן שמו שם* and *לשום שמו שם* or not, we may hardly doubt that at least in some texts, the phraseology working with the concept of “the name of God” is used in order to challenge the older notion of the temple as a place where Yhwh sits enthroned, and to circumscribe the presence of God in the temple to the presence of his name⁵⁴⁵. This clearly holds true for Solomon’s (“dtr”) speech on the occasion of the consecration of the temple in 1 Kgs 8, as well as for 2 Sam 7. In 1 Kgs 8, the king first recites an old “formula of consecration” (vv. 12f.), describing the newly built temple as a place for Yhwh to dwell in forever (*מכון לשבתך עולמים*). Then, however, by means of a rhetorical question(!), Solomon questions whether God could really dwell (*ישב*) in the temple (v. 27), going on to repeat four times that the actual place of Yhwh’s dwelling (*מקום שבתך* – v. 30; *מכון שבתך* – vv. 39.43.49) is heaven, while the temple is only a place where his name dwells (29.44.48). As has been shown by Mettinger in his classical study, this ambition to reinterpret the nature of Yhwh’s presence in the sanctuary seems to be related to the fall of the temple in 586 B.C.E., and, probably, also the exilic situation of the author(s) of this text.⁵⁴⁶

The same attempt to redefine the function of the temple can be detected in 2 Sam 7. Apart of the interrogative particle, vv. 5b and 13a differ mainly in the pronoun at the beginning and the function of the temple at the end.

<p>האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי הוא יבנה בית לשמי</p>	<p>Do you build for me a house for my dwelling in? He will build a house for my name.</p>
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Taking into account the course of Yhwh’s speech until now, it becomes apparent that the main contrast here lies not between “you” and “he” (because the “you” of 5b was purported to contrast with the divine “I”), but between *לשבתי* and *לשמי*. Hence, the point is not the postponement of David’s plan, nor is it necessary to take out v. 13a as a dtr interpolation incompatible with the rest of the text.⁵⁴⁷ In fact, v. 13a *continues* the polemic against the temple as God’s dwelling place, a polemic which already started in 5b. Vv. 5b + 13a thus present us with the same shift from the temple as God’s dwelling to the temple for Yhwh’s name as is observed in 1 Kgs 8. In contrast, the fact that the house for God’s name will be built by Solomon, and not David, has probably little ideological relevance for the author

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Hulst, *שכן*.

⁵⁴⁶ Mettinger, *Dethronement*, *passim*.

⁵⁴⁷ See above for these rejected proposals. The opinion that a dtr redactor re-branded the principal rejection of the temple as a temporary instruction may be called classical. Actually, 13a rejects the understanding of the temple as a place for Yhwh to dwell with a determination similar to that of the rhetorical question 5b. There is no way to say that in v. 13a the realization of David’s original plan is postponed.

of 2 Sam 7 and ensues merely from a historical tradition which connected the construction of the first temple with Solomon.

2 Sam 7 is therefore in a polemic against two aspects of David's original plan to build a house for Yhwh: Nathan's oracle, for one thing, denies the importance of the temple for the dynastic promise, and secondly it rejects the notion of the temple as God's place to dwell. We have seen that Ps 132 contains both of these features that are rejected in 2 Sam 7, and a royal ideology similar to that contained in Ps 132 appears in many other ancient Near Eastern texts. Numerous scholars ascribe the authorship of large parts of 2 Sam 7, or even the whole chapter, to "dtr" authors or redactors. What does that mean for the date of origin of 2 Sam 7?

Among the scholars who posit the existence of a "dtr school", it has been more or less universally accepted that dtr scribal activity began in the Neo-Assyrian period in 7th century B.C.E. and continued into the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.⁵⁴⁸ The origin of 2 Sam 7 could be imagined in two more clearly delimited historical contexts. It seems most likely that 2 Sam 7 was written during the "exilic period", and the meaning of the connection between the dynastic promise and the polemic against the traditional role of the temple in royal ideology is an attempt to maintain (or promote) the promise after the fall of the temple. The author of the chapter sought to reject the traditional relationship between the temple and kingship so as to preserve hope that the dynasty would not follow the fate of the temple. Both features of the polemic against the traditional functions of the temple can be understood in this context. In the older Judean royal ideology, as described in relation to Ps 132, the Davidic kingship was legitimated, among other things, by the kings' care for the temple and by Yhwh's presence in the temple. Now, after the fall of the temple, the author of 2 Sam 7 claims that the rule of the dynasty has never been legitimated in this manner: the dynastic promise was not given to David in return for his care for the sanctuary and Yhwh never sat enthroned (ישב) on Zion, since the temple was merely a house for his name. This means that the polemic against the temple as a place for God to dwell (5b.13b) is not present in 2 Sam 7 merely because of a theoretical interest in the divine transcendence, but forms an integral part of the whole re-interpretation of the Judean royal ideology for the needs of the given historical situation. In the exilic situation after 586 B.C.E. and regarding the relationship between the temple and kingship in the traditional form of the ideology, the polemic against the temple is itself a "promise" of sorts for the dynasty.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ For a synthesis of the history of dtr scribal activity, see primarily Römer, *So-Called*.

⁵⁴⁹ In this way we may explain the specific combination of the extreme royal propaganda with a resolute rejection of the king's plan to build a temple. But we should emphasize that the rejection of the king's intention to build a temple was probably conceivable for the first readers of 2 Sam 7. Hurowitz, *House*, p. 160-165, refers to Mesopotamian texts in which some kings (usually prior to the origin of the documents) did not receive per-

The formulation of Judean royal ideology in 2 Sam 7 therefore corresponds to the exilic situation of the Davidic dynasty after the fall of the temple. The chapter is a piece of propaganda in favour of the deported Jehoiachin or, more likely, his descendants, and it should be dated after 586 B.C.E. (*terminus a quo*). Regarding a *terminus ad quem*, we might think of the beginning of the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.E., since, at least according to the image created by the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra, the temple played a major role in the discourse legitimizing the leading role of the Davidide Zerubbabel since 520 B.C.E. This dating is more or less in accord with Oswald's, and in a recent article I advocated for it as the only possibility.⁵⁵⁰

Now I believe that the origin of 2 Sam 7 at the time *after* Zerubbabel is also plausible – in a situation when the temple of Jerusalem was restored, but the Davidides could not derive their legitimacy from it. The books of Haggai and Zechariah suggest that there was an alliance between the governor Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua during the reconstruction of the temple. Yet in the context of the Persian rule, the alliance between the Davidides and the (high) priests must have been very fragile, as we can see from some texts in Zechariah. A latent tension between the “Branch” and the high priest Joshua is visible in, e.g., the note in Zech 6,13 that says “peaceable counsel shall be between them both”. One of the structural cleavages between the Davidides and the (high) priests must have been the question of the control over the temple. While the temple and the cult were formally under the control of the king at the time of the monarchy⁵⁵¹, in the Persian period the “reform priests” obviously wished to acquire better control over the temple and the cult.⁵⁵² In Zech 3,7, the high priest is given some power over the temple area, although it is unclear whether the verb דין indicates jurisdiction over matters of temple and cult, or government and administration of the temple.⁵⁵³ In Ezek 40–48 the role of a Davidide prince in the cult is limited, and he is absent from the cult in P. From another angle, the significance of the temple as a symbol of the Davidides' relationship towards Jerusalem may have been jeopardized by the Persian king's

mission to build or repair the temple or another building. Hurowitz even believes that a tradition of “divine refusal” may have developed in Sippar. If the king mentions in his building inscription that the gods previously rejected a plan for building from another king, he merely emphasizes the importance of his own deeds and proximity to the gods in contrast to less successful kings. For the texts mentioning the rejection of the plan to build see also Kasari, *Promise*, p. 59-60, and the references listed there.

⁵⁵⁰ Rückl, *Dynastie*.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. 2 Sam 8,16-18; 20,23-26; 1 Kgs 1,26-27; 4,2-6; 2 Kgs 12,5-17; 16,10-18; 18,4; 22,3-7; 21,3-7; 23,1-24, and notes on the relationship between the Judean king and the temple of Jerusalem in ch. 2.3.3, p. 141ff.

⁵⁵² See Albertz, *Restoration*, p. 1-17, esp. 9-10. The expression “reform priests” is from Albertz.

⁵⁵³ See the discussion in Rose, *Zemah*, p. 68-83.

attitude to the temple.⁵⁵⁴ Persian rulers are presented as sponsors of the Jerusalem temple in various biblical texts. Ezra 1,2-4; 6,3-12 quotes documents according to which it was Cyrus who had already ordered the building of a temple in Jerusalem and a return of the temple vessels taken away by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. also 2 Chr 22,23, Ezra 1,7-11; 5,14-15), and Darius I who later confirmed Cyrus's order and ensured the building's funding from taxes collected in the Transeuphratene; Darius also ordered the Persian administration to provide the priests of Jerusalem with animals and other goods for sacrifices, "that they may offer pleasing sacrifices to the God of heaven and pray for the life of the king and his sons" (Ezra 6,10). Cyrus is also called the builder of the temple in Isa 44,28. Ezra 7,12-26 quotes a document in which king Artaxerxes⁵⁵⁵ gives Ezra his personal gift for the temple of Jerusalem and orders a transfer of "up to 100 talents of silver, 100 cors of wheat, 100 baths of wine, 100 baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much" from the state treasury in the Transeuphratene for the temple. Artaxerxes also released all the priests and other staff of the temple from the duty of paying tax. The authenticity of these documents is questionable, and it is not clear to what extent and from which point the cultic practice corresponded to the priestly texts, but we may suspect that all these texts are in one way or another indicative of a general discourse. M. A. Dandamaev and V. G. Lukonin believe that sacrifices were made in the name of the Persian king in the temple of Jerusalem, as in other temples in the Persian Empire.⁵⁵⁶ The legitimating potential of the temple of Jerusalem for the Davidic dynasty would be significantly reduced at the time when the cult and the temple were understood as the domain of priests under the auspices of Persian rule. We may imagine the origin of 2 Sam 7, which attempts to deny the traditional relationship between the temple and the Davidic kingship, in this context as well.

Now, with respect to these preliminary conclusions on the plausible historical contexts of 2 Sam 7, I wish first to return to some questions that have so far been left unanswered, and then turn to the main themes of vv. 14-17 that were not treated until now: mainly the motif of divine sonship of the Davidic king and the unconditional character of the dynastic promise that is derived from it.

Let us now look again at the problem of v(v). 6(.7). As we have seen, there is a contradiction between the rejection of David's plan in vv 5b.8-13a, where the temple as God's dwelling-place is replaced by the temple

⁵⁵⁴ For the temple policies of the Achaemenids, see Dandamaev – Lukonin, *Culture*, 360-366.

⁵⁵⁵ The much-debated question concerning which of the kings of this name was ruling when Ezra came to Jerusalem is beyond the scope of our study. For a detailed overview of matters related to this, see Dušek, *Manuscripts*, p. 550-593. He concludes that Ezra most likely came to Jerusalem in the 7th year of Artaxerxes II, i.e. in 398 B.C.E.

⁵⁵⁶ Dandamaev – Lukonin, *Culture*, p. 366.

for the name of God, and v(v). 6(.7), where Yhwh's mobility in the tent is placed in contrast to his dwelling in a stable house.⁵⁵⁷ How can we explain this tension? We may imagine that v(v). 6(f.) contain the remains of an older source that originally rejected the temple from the perspective of a conservative (or rather "romanticizing") nomadic ideal. This source would not need to be much older than the rest of the text, since the nostalgic image of an ideal nomadic past could have emerged during various time periods (cf. e.g. Hos 12,10 or the Rechabites in Jer 35).⁵⁵⁸ In any case, it would be difficult to reconstruct an old "pre-dtr" source in 2 Sam 7,6(f.), since the phrase *למיוס העלתי את בני ישראל ממצרים* (v. 6a β) has parallels only in the texts that are usually considered "dtr" or "post-dtr": Judg 19,30; 1 Sam 8,8; 1 Kgs 8,16; 2 Kgs 21,15; Jer 7,25; 11,7; cf. also Deut 9,7.

It is also possible that this tension in 2 Sam 7 was caused by an interpolation in v(v). 6(7).⁵⁵⁹ This possibility could be supported by the expression *באהל ובמשכן* in v. 6, which, in the opinion of some scholars, reflects the influence of the priestly texts of the Pentateuch.⁵⁶⁰ The extent of the interpolation would be hard to delimitate. It is not quite possible to regard the whole of vv. 6-7 as an addition, since in that case, the extensive introduction of the first part of the oracle would be followed merely by the question of v. 5b, which would then be followed by another extensive introduction of the second part of the oracle in v. 8a α , which is more or less a repetition of v. 5a. A more elegant base text is reconstructed by M. Pietsch, who regards vv. 6-8a α as an addition.⁵⁶¹ This interpolation, in any case, could not be dated to a very late period, since v. 7 is presupposed not only in 1 Chr 17 (like 2 Sam 7,6), but also in 1 Kgs 8,16 (see the text-critical note on 2 Sam 7,7). We may imagine v. 6b as a minimal interpolation, but the verb *התהלכתי* in v. 7a is most likely related to the occurrence of *הלך* hit. in 6b. Meanwhile, v. 7a α ⁵⁶² is to be understood as an adverbial sentence introducing 7a β -b. Theoretically, it is possible that a scribe inserted 6b-7a α ,

⁵⁵⁷ Some scholars sought analogies to the ark in Bedouin cultic objects *utfa*, *mahmal* and *qubba*. See Morgenstern, *Ark*; Koch, *אֹהֶל*, col. 133-134; Zobel, *אֹרֶן*, col. 395.

⁵⁵⁸ Although we should take into account the analysis of Staubli, *Image*, p. 252-258, who shows that the so-called "nomadic ideal" was never a programme of the prophetic movement, as it was sometimes claimed. Some texts, though, attest an occasional idealization of some aspects of nomadic life (see e.g. Jer 2,3; Hos 12,10). As far as Jer 35 is concerned, Staubli is right that the point of comparison of Rechabites and Judeans is not a way of life, but rather faithfulness; still, it is clear that the Rechabites present their lifestyle as a matter of principle.

⁵⁵⁹ The whole of vv. 6-7 or their parts were considered to be an addition by Coppens, *Prophétie*, p. 99-100; Campbell, *Prophets*, p. 75-81; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 65-67; Sergi, *Composition*, p. 274-277.

⁵⁶⁰ E.g. Kellermann, *משכן*, col. 68; Pietsch, *Sproß*, p. 49; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 65; Sergi, *Composition*, p. 275-277, 279; Rudnig, *König*, p. 435.

⁵⁶¹ Pietsch, *Sproß*, p. 18-19, 49.

⁵⁶² I delimit v. 7a α from the beginning of the verse up to the segolta.

or perhaps 6-7aα into the text⁵⁶³ (while 7aα would be inserted as an introduction to the older v. 7aβ-b), but I find this scenario quite unlikely.

The abovementioned difficulties with attempts to reconstruct a source or an addition in vv. 6-7 lead us to consider the possibility that the tension between the argumentation in v. 5 and in v(v.) 6(f.) is not a result of the literary development of the text. In his classical work *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, Mettinger showed that both the dtr “theology of the name” and the priestly theology of the mobile “glory” were developed mostly after the fall of the temple, when the concept of Yhwh sitting enthroned in the temple, expressing the divine presence mainly by the verb יָשָׁב, became problematic.⁵⁶⁴ The author of 2 Sam 7 could thus have used both the notion of Yhwh’s name and that of Yhwh moving in the tent and the abode – regardless of the fact that these two concepts are not entirely compatible – in his polemic against the idea of Yhwh sitting enthroned in the temple.⁵⁶⁵ This possibility is all the more likely since 2 Sam 7 apparently critiques the traditional notion of Yhwh’s presence in the temple primarily on account of it being an aspect of the traditional Judean royal ideology.

P was probably written in the Persian period.⁵⁶⁶ Still, P’s influence in 2 Sam 7,6 does not compel us to necessarily endorse the option that the whole of 2 Sam 7,1-17 was written after Zerubbabel’s activity in Judah. First, it cannot be ruled out that the phrase “in a tent and in an abode” is later than the rest of Nathan’s oracle. Second, if P was composed at the beginning of the Persian period as argued by A. de Pury who dates it to 535-530 B.C.E.⁵⁶⁷, 2 Sam 7 could reflect P’s influence and still come from before 520. And third, even if we would place the composition of P to the first decades of the 5th century, the development of the priestly theology of the “mobile” glory moving with Yhwh’s abode is probably connected to the fall of the temple, such that the concept itself may have started to develop in the exilic period before the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple.

⁵⁶³ So Campbell, *Prophets*, p. 75-81.

⁵⁶⁴ Mettinger, *Dethronement*.

⁵⁶⁵ There is also an apparent tension between 2 Sam 7,6-7 and 1 Sam 1-3 where the house of Yhwh (בֵּית – 1,7,24; 3,15) and his temple (הֵיכָל – 1, 9; 3,3) are repeatedly mentioned. If these mentions of Yhwh’s temple in 1 Sam 1-3 had any importance for the author of 2 Sam 7, he probably believed Yhwh was present in Shiloh in a similar manner as he was later in Jerusalem, i.e. he was not *sitting enthroned/dwelling* in that temple either (cf. Jer 7,1-15 where the temple of Jerusalem is referred to as a “house, which is called by my name” [vv. 10.11.13], and Shiloh is called a place “where I made my name dwell at first” [v. 12]). The sojourn of the ark in Shiloh would then be one of the stops on its journey described in 2 Sam 7,6-7.

⁵⁶⁶ De Pury, Jacob, p. 69-70; Nihan, *Torah*, p. 383-394; Guillaume, Land, p. 177-187.

⁵⁶⁷ De Pury, Jacob, p. 69-70. It must be admitted, however, that in de Pury’s view the detailed description of the transportable tabernacle in Exod 26 and 36 is later and was not part of P^g (see p. 70 and the table of contents of P^g on p. 63-65).

We may now return to vv. 10-11aα(.β), considered a secondary addition by many scholars.⁵⁶⁸ The common argument in favour of this exclusion is that while the previous and the following text lists Yhwh's deeds for David (either in the past or in the future), vv. 10-11aα turn the attention to Yhwh's activity for the people of Israel. Some scholars speak of a secondary transfer of the promise to all the people, which would constitute a kind of democratization of the promise. There are actually no literary-critical arguments for the exclusion of vv. 10-11aα(.β). F. Langlamet draws the attention to the reference to "enemies" in vv. 9aβ.11aβ and considers v. 11aβ a *Wiederaufnahme*, but that would mean that v. 9b, which still relates to David, would be a part of the interpolation. What is more, we need not read v. 11aβ as a *Wiederaufnahme* returning to v. 9aβ. In the given context, it is rather better to construe the "enemies" in v. 9aβ primarily as David's adversaries on his way to the throne (Yhwh's "being with David", mentioned in the text immediately preceding, is a leitmotif of the story of David's rise), while the vocabulary of the verse 11aβ indicates that the issue is the "surrounding" enemies of David mentioned in v. 1b. Several other objections may be raised against the exclusion of vv. 10-11aα. First, in the situation after the fall of the temple, it might have been important to loosen not only the connection between the temple and the well-being of the dynasty, but also the link between the temple and the well-being of the people (cf. Lam 5,17-21). In this perspective, the presence of a reminder of the deeds done by Yhwh for Israel before the temple was built is easy to understand. But most importantly, the connection between the well-being of the ruler and that of the land and people is not exceptional at all, and we do find it in the Hebrew Bible as well as in other texts of the ancient Near East. From the viewpoint of royal discourse, it is desirable to connect the motifs of the well-being of the people and of the sovereign as closely as possible. An example of this connection may be found in the dedicatory inscription of Akhayus, king of Ekron (ca. 680-665 B.C.E.), for the temple of the goddess Ptgyh: "The temple (house) that Akhayus, son of Padi, son of Ysd, son of Ada, son of Ya'ir, ruler of Ekron, built for PTGYH, his lady. May she bless him, and prote[ct] him, and prolong his days, and may she bless his [l]and."⁵⁶⁹ Akhayus requests that the goddess might bless him and his land. Given the context, both may be understood as a reward for the building of the temple. Similarly, in the Gudea cylinders the building of the temple is not only connected to the blessing of the king, but also to that of the land and the people (see Cyl. A xi.5-25; Cyl. B xix.12-15). Finally, in Ps 132 the presence of Yhwh on Zion (v. 13) leads both to the eternal duration of the

⁵⁶⁸ Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 130-131; Mettinger, King, p. 51-52; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 22, 29, 43-45, 51-52; Oswald, Nathan, p. 66-68; Rudnig, König, p. 442; Van Seters, Saga, p. 259-261; Sergi, Composition, p. 277-278.

⁵⁶⁹ The translation is that of K. L. Younger in *COS II*, p. 164. The text was published in Gitin – Dothan – Naveh, Inscription, p. 1-16.

Davidic dynasty (vv. 11f.17) and also to the well-being of the people (vv. 15f.).⁵⁷⁰ It is therefore hardly surprising that the story of the founder of the ruling dynasty and the story of the people are also connected in 2 Sam 7.⁵⁷¹ Efforts to form a link between the well-being of Israel, the duration of the royal house and the glory of Yhwh are especially obvious in vv. 22-26, to which I shall return later.

Jehoiachin and his sons in the Babylonian exile and later in the Persian period were in such a situation that it was essential for them to defend the close link between the dynasty and the blessed life in Judah, and thus to persuade their people that a restoration of the Davidic dynasty was in the interest of the whole country. This conception of the restoration of Jerusalem and the country clearly had to be asserted over and against other opinions that could (and did) emerge, as we may see e.g. from the Priestly source which defines "Israel" as a primarily "priestly nation", specific in that it is the only nation of the entire world to know God's true identity (name). This priestly mission could well be fulfilled in the context of the Persian empire, regardless of whether the Davidic dynasty would ever be restored or not.⁵⁷² In 2 Sam 7,10-11aa.22-24.26, then, the reference to the blessing of the people in connection with the blessing of the Davidic dynasty is not a re-interpretation of the dynastic promise for the post-monarchic times.⁵⁷³ On the contrary, it serves the needs of the Davidic discourse.

Likewise, the designation of the king as a son of Yhwh (v. 14a) and the unconditionality of the dynastic promise (vv. 14b-15) should be understood in the given socio-historical context. A great amount of secondary literature was published on the divine sonship of the Judean and/or Israelite king. Scholars mainly asked the following questions: What implications did this designation have for the Judean king (primarily: was he regarded as a god or not)? How did the king become the son of God? And where did the label of the king as the son of God come from, such that it reached the Jerusalem court?⁵⁷⁴ These issues cannot be discussed here in detail. I would only like to point out one aspect of the discussion. With all the different answers given to the abovementioned questions, most scholars agree that the king's divine sonship was a firm part of the Judean royal ideology. It is usually thought that the king was declared Yhwh's son during his coronation or an annual feast. In tune with this view, the motif of the king's divine sonship is understood as a more or less autonomous symbolic structure (this is es-

⁵⁷⁰ The blessing of the land and the people is a consequence of the building of the temple also in Hag 1,2-11; 2,15-19; see also Zech 1,16-17. Cf. also Ezek 47,1-12, describing how water that springs from below the threshold of the temple and flows to Arabah carries blessing wherever it goes.

⁵⁷¹ For this meaning of the passage, cf. already McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 132.

⁵⁷² See Nihan, Torah, esp. p. 386-388; Nihan – Römer, Débat, p. 168-171.

⁵⁷³ Pace Sergi, Composition, p. 277-278.

⁵⁷⁴ For a summary of the research and a comprehensive discussion of the main issues see Collins – Collins, King, p. 1-47.

pecially apparent in the discussion of the motif's origin). This approach may be justified, especially if we locate the emergence of the oldest form of Psalms 2 and 110 (or at least the liturgical sources quoted in them) to the beginning of the monarchic period and if we regard these texts as periodically used in liturgy, whether annually or during the ascension of a new king.⁵⁷⁵ From this perspective, the motif of the king as a divine son is a mythological concept that admittedly does have its ideological-political dimension, but also its own developmental trajectory through various cultures and across the centuries.

In a forthcoming article, I propose a different view on the relevant biblical texts.⁵⁷⁶ The references to the king as Yhwh's son need not be understood as evidence of a concept passed down through the centuries, but rather as individual cases of attempts at extreme sacralization of the Judean king in specific historical contexts.⁵⁷⁷ This approach to the given motif clearly seems to be adequate in the case of 2 Sam 7.

Who exactly is the son of Yhwh according to Nathan's oracle? The noun זרע, to which all the 3rd p. pronouns refer in vv. 12-15, has a primary meaning of "seed" and may denote both a descendant (Gen 4,25; 1 Sam 1,11) and posterity (e.g. Gen 15,5; 22,17). There is a question whether vv. 12-15 speak of an individual descendant of David, i.e. Solomon, or generally of David's royal posterity. The verbs and pronouns referring to זרע are in the singular in vv. 12-15, but the referent of the word does not clearly follow from this, since, as seen in Gen 22,17, זרע may be connected to verbs and pronouns in the singular even in cases where it has a collective meaning.

1 Chr 17 linked the related passage only to Solomon. As already mentioned in the text-critical note, the expression *אשר יהיה מבניך* in 1 Chr 17,11MT perhaps attempts to indicate that David's זרע mentioned in the previous clause should be understood individually as one of David's sons.⁵⁷⁸ In the following verse, after the promise of the divine sonship, the Chronicler omitted the mention of a punishment for the king's sins in harmony with the idealization of Solomon's rule in Chronicles. Had the

⁵⁷⁵ So e.g. Day, *Inheritance*, p. 73-74, 90 (concerning Ps 110); Otto, *Theologie*, p. 34-44, 50-51 (Ps 2,7f.).

⁵⁷⁶ Rückl, *Já mu budu otcem*.

⁵⁷⁷ I was inspired primarily by several recent studies on the Mesopotamian kings that were deified and worshipped during their lives. See mainly Michalowski, *Kings*, p. 33-45; Winter, *Gods*, p. 75-101; Bernbeck, *Deification*, p. 157-169. These authors do not regard the self-divinization of Mesopotamian kings as a static concept or a peak of an autonomous developmental line, but as a historically conditioned and ephemeral phenomenon. The designation of the king of Judah as a son of Yhwh is not entirely comparable with the deification of Naram-Sin and a few kings of the third dynasty of Ur. This is not essential though, since I am concerned mainly with the attempts of these authors to locate this type of power discourse within its historical context.

⁵⁷⁸ 2 Sam 7,12 reads *אשר יצא ממעריך* in MT and *ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου* in LXX. The situation is complicated by the fact that 1 Chr 17,11LXX has a similar text to 2 Sam 7,12LXX. See the text-critical note for details.

Chronicler understood זרע collectively, he would not have had to omit the mention of the punishments, since he does not deny the existence of unfaithful Davidic kings, and when implementing the scheme whereby a good king is rewarded a blessing and the bad king is punished, Chronicles is more thorough than Samuel and Kings. 1 Chr 22,9f. and 28,6 also confirm that for the Chronicler, divine sonship was not tied to the royal function of the Davidides, but was a special distinction of the temple builder Solomon.

In 2 Sam 7, the word זרע is probably used intentionally because of its ambivalence, so that verses 12-15 could be applied both to Solomon and the Davidic dynasty.⁵⁷⁹ The prediction of the building of the temple points to Solomon (cf. 1 Kgs 5,19), and the firm establishment of Solomon's kingship in 1 Kgs 2,12.24.46 sounds like a fulfillment of 2 Sam 7,13b. After Solomon's death, the kingdom is divided, but the Davidides are allowed to keep one tribe despite Solomon's sins. This, too, may be understood as a fulfillment of the promise that, if Yhwh were to punish a Davidic king, he would not take back his favour completely because of his fatherly relationship with the Davidic king (see 1 Kgs 11,34). On the other hand, the expression בית in the sense of a dynasty in 2 Sam 7,11 suggests a collective understanding of the word זרע in the following verses. The terms זרעך and אחרריך and their variations often appear in covenantal texts, where they designate not merely the children of one of the parties, but also a continuous line of generations.⁵⁸⁰ What is more, the assurance that Yhwh would not reject a descendant of David seen as God's son (vv. 14-15) leads to the promise of the eternal dynasty in v. 16, so that Solomon's fate in 2 Sam 7 seems to serve primarily to illustrate Yhwh's fatherly relationship with David's descendants in general.

In 2 Sam 7 then, unlike in 1 Chr 17, the position of the king as Yhwh's son does not express the king's greatness, but rather explains Yhwh's tolerance for the sinful king by the fact that even in times of punishment and crisis, there is between Yhwh and a Davidic king an indissoluble father-son relationship.⁵⁸¹ This specific use of the motif is also seen in the text's lack

⁵⁷⁹ In the history of research, the collective and individual meanings of the verses were often ascribed to various layers of the text. Both possible directions of development were suggested – from the individual to the collective meaning and otherwise. Yet there are no visible formal marks of a diachronic development.

⁵⁸⁰ See Gen 9,9; Gen 17,7-10.19; 35,12; 48,4; Num 25,13; Deut 4,37f.; 1 Sam 24,22; cf. also the Aramaic papyrus APFC 8,9 from Elephantine (460 B.C.E.) אַנְתִּי שְׁלִיטָה בָּהּ מִן יוֹמָא זֶנָּה וְעַד עַלְמָא וּבְנֵיכִי אַחֲרֵיכִי "you have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you" (translation by Cowley, APFC, p. 22); for more analogous formulae from the ancient Near East see Weinfeld, *School*, p. 78; Weinfeld, *Covenant*, p. 199.

⁵⁸¹ Similarly Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 56-57; cf. also Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 65, who believes that vv. 14f. reflect the experiences of the end of 8th c. when the Assyrians invaded and devastated Judah, but, unlike Samaria, Jerusalem was not conquered and the dynasty remained in existence. It is because of these verses that Rost considers the author of the layer they are part of (8-11a.12.14f.17) to be a contemporary of Isaiah.

of interest to ascribe divine sonship to David himself. All this indicates that Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 works only with the aspect of the king's divine sonship that was pertinent to the situation of dynastic crisis characteristic of the 6th or 5th centuries B.C.E, interpreted as divine punishment. The image of divine sonship in 2 Sam 7,14 is an extreme type of discourse. With the real power of the king being severely limited and jeopardized, the discourse attempts to express the king's legitimacy by a figure that presents his right to rule without any relation to the current distribution of power.

This interpretation of vv. 14-15 is in contradistinction to the opinion of many scholars who believe that the king's divine sonship in 2 Sam 7 is an archaic motif that retained its place within the chapter despite the intellectual world of the final redactors of the text. V. 14a forms part of several literary-critical reconstructions of the oldest core of the chapter. Pietsch believes that the oldest text of the chapter within the given narrative context consisted of vv. 1a.2-5.8aβ-9a.11b-16.17*.18-21.25-27; out of this text, he furthermore separates an older prophetic oracle in vv. 11b.12*.14a.15a.16.⁵⁸² Similarly, Kasari finds a prophetic text from David's time in vv. 1a.2-5a.8aβbα*.9a.12aαβ.14a.15a.17.⁵⁸³ In such a reconstructed context, v. 14a would have a different function than the one I suggested above, but such literary reconstructions are very hypothetical and, as I attempted to show in my previous discussion, Nathan's oracle contains no convincing formal signs of the presence of several sources or layers. The inclusion of v. 14a in a postulated oldest layer of the text is also problematic for the reason that the verse does not distance itself stylistically from the whole of the chapter that is influenced by "dtr" phraseology. V. 14a is formulated in a similar manner to the idea repeated in Deuteronomy several times, namely that Israel became the people of Yhwh (7,6; 14,2; 27,9; 28,9). A reciprocal formulation, according to which Yhwh is the God of Israel and Israel is his people, appears e.g. in Deut 29,12⁵⁸⁴, but also in David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,24: ותכונן לך את עמך ישראל (לך) לעם עד עולם ואתה יהוה היית להם לאלהים.⁵⁸⁵ This objection could be raised also against the opinion that 2 Sam 7,14a is a quote from an official liturgy performed on the occasion of a new king's accession to the throne.⁵⁸⁷

The unconditionality of the dynastic promise is also frequently cited as proof of the antiquity of Nathan's oracle. J. J. Collins thinks it significant that 2 Sam 7,14a, as part of the dtr processed text, avoids mentioning

⁵⁸² Pietsch, Sproß, p. 15-53.

⁵⁸³ Kasari, Promise, p. 21-109.

⁵⁸⁴ Other occurrences are found in Exod 6,7; Lev 26,12; Deut 26,17-18; Jer 7,23; 11,4; 24,7; 31,1.33; 32,38; Ezek 11,20; 14,11; 36,28; 37,23.27; Zach 8,8; cf. also Hos 2,25 (the list by Fokkelman, Art III, p. 247).

⁵⁸⁵ The double לך in 2 Sam 7,24MT is probably wrong, see the text-critical note *ad loc.*

⁵⁸⁶ A similarity with dtr "covenantal" formulations has also been pointed out by Waschke, Verhältnis, p. 114; Oswald, Nathan, p. 56. Cf. Levin, Verheißung, p. 252.

⁵⁸⁷ So e.g. Gerbrandt, Kingship, p. 163-164.

Yhwh's "begetting" of the king. He believes the "demythologization" of the royal ideology was carried even further with the reference to a punishment for the sinful king. Following M. Weinfeld⁵⁸⁸, Collins believes the (pre-exilic) Deuteronomist reinterpreted the dynastic promise to David in vv. 14-16 along the pattern of the treaty texts. Despite the inclusion of the threat of punishment, the promise remains unconditional, a fact that Collins explains as a result of the influence of an older form of the Judean royal ideology. The later, exilic edition of the Dtr History understood the promise as conditional (Collins mentions the example of 1 Kgs 8,25).⁵⁸⁹

But the explicit unconditionality, guaranteed by God, of the king's right to a throne, as we find it in v 2 Sam 7,14-15, does not belong among the main features of the royal ideologies of the ancient Near East. On the contrary, in many texts there is a notion of the conditional character of the king's rule. The king Yaḥimilk of Byblos (10th century B.C.E.) says in his inscription, after the reminder of his building activity:

May Baal/Master of Heavens and Baala<ṭ>/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal and the assembly of holy gods of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Yaḥimilk and his years over Byblos/Gubal for (𐤁) [he] (is) the righteous king and just king at the face/before the holy (gods) of Byblos/Gubal (KAI 4, lines. 3-7; similarly also KAI 10, lines 7-9).⁵⁹⁰

Also the Mesopotamian texts that celebrate the king's merits for the cult and the well-being of the land seem to presuppose that the king's power is to some extent conditional upon the right exercise of his function. Of course, this implied conditionality of the king's power is not a consequence of the critique of the royal office "from below", since the authors of the inscriptions were royal scribes. It is rather a "from above" implemented instrument of legitimation that helps the king to present his power as being justly merited. In Weberian terms, 2 Sam 7 construes the Davidic king's authority as extremely *traditional*, while the reigning kings (in ancient Near East) usually seem to present their authority to some degree as also *charismatic*.⁵⁹¹

It is only natural that the ruling king also wished to legitimate his power on account of his being a good king, and thus also to present his blessed rule as merited. The king does not usually have an interest in such presentations of unconditional divine guarantee of his rule that would openly highlight his faults, as is the case in 2 Sam 7,14-15. In the Babylonian exile and in the Persian period, however, these verses make perfect sense: when the

⁵⁸⁸ Weinfeld, *Covenant*, p.

⁵⁸⁹ Collins – Collins, *King*, p. 28-30.

⁵⁹⁰ The translation is by S. Segert, *COS II*, p. 146.

⁵⁹¹ For Weber's types of authority, see Weber, *Typen*.

reality of the loss of power is regarded as a punishment⁵⁹², the author of 2 Sam 7 says that the Davidides have a right to the throne in spite of their sins, because this right is based on their filial relationship with Yhwh. The reference to the punishment of the sinful king is not meant to demythologize the royal ideology, but rather to present the loss of power as nothing more than a temporary punishment, and thereby to integrate the present situation into the royal ideology in order to make that ideology more convincing. The explicit unconditionality of the promise is thus not due to the influence of an older version of the Judean royal ideology, but on the contrary to a specific situation of the royal house in the Babylonian exile or in the Persian period.

Finally, the emphasis of 2 Sam 7 on the eternity of the dynastic promise (the chapter includes six uses of *עד עולם* and two of *לעולם*) should also be understood in connection with the situation of the Davidic dynasty in the Babylonian exile and later.⁵⁹³ During the existence of the Judean monarchy, the kings' rule was no doubt legitimated, among other things, by their origin in the Davidic dynasty, as was common in the ancient Near East. But in the normal circumstances, the reigning kings probably had no specific interest in promoting the issue of "eternal dynasty", or at least the interest was not as exclusive and extreme as in 2 Sam 7.⁵⁹⁴ The dynastic substantia-

⁵⁹² The precise meaning of *בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם* is unclear. There are basically three types of interpretation of these punishments: 1) The "rod of men" and "stripes of the sons of men" are means of punishment. Therefore Yhwh will punish a sinful king by making other people attack his country (so Polzin, David, p. 83); 2) Yhwh will punish the king, who is his son, with usual methods of punishment among people, i.e. without cancelling the father-son relationship (so Weinfeld, Covenant, p. 192f.; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 207); 3) Yhwh will punish the king like any other man (cf. the translation of the Complete Jewish Bible: "I will punish him with a rod and blows, just as everyone gets punished"). – What matters is that the whole of vv. 14b-15 allows for the possibility of punishment of a sinful Davidic king, yet it excludes the fatal punishment of taking the kingdom away from the house of David. As Oswald, Nathan, p. 80, says, the "human" dimension of the punishment primarily denotes its temporal nature.

⁵⁹³ Some scholars believe that the expressions *עד עולם* and *לעולם* in 2 Sam 7 cannot be translated as "for eternity" or "forever" (e.g. Eslinger, House, p. 46-8; Murray, Prerogative, p. 194; McKenzie, Typology, p. 176-178). According to McKenzie, for instance, the author of 2 Sam 7 (i.e. the exilic Deuteronomist) did not wish to say that the Davidic dynasty would rule forever, but rather to explain why the Davidides were in power for so long; 2 Sam 7 is not, then, in conflict with the exile with which the narrative of the Dtr History ends. Eslinger and McKenzie argue e.g. with the help of the oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36, according to which Yhwh formerly promised to the Elides that they would serve as his priests *עד עולם*, but this promise would now be cancelled due to the sins of Eli's sons and his meekness towards them. – Actually, it is precisely in 1 Sam 2,30 where *עד עולם* obviously has the meaning of unlimited duration; if it were otherwise, the prophet would not have to announce the cancellation of the promise. This text will be discussed in ch. 3. For the meaning of *עולם* see Jenni, *עולם*, p. 230; Barr, Words, p. 69f.

⁵⁹⁴ That does not mean that the king would not care whether his descendant would or would not reign. Kings' interest to secure the rule of their dynasty is well attested in various

tion of the claim for power gained enormous importance for those members of the dynasty whose power was endangered or made virtually impossible.⁵⁹⁵ The emergence and employment of the motif of the promise of eternal dynasty may easily be pictured in various moments or periods within the history of the Judean monarchy— consider e.g. the conspiracy against the queen Athaliah and the accession of the (presumed) Davidide Jehoash, or, over a longer period of time, the period of the second half of the 9th century and the beginning of the 8th century B.C.E. when three consecutive monarchs – Athaliah, Jehoash and Amaziah – were murdered by conspirators.⁵⁹⁶ We might also think of the so-called Syro-Ephraimite crisis, when the Aramean Resin and the Israelite Pekah launched their armies against Jerusalem and, according to Isa 7,6, sought to install an otherwise unknown “son of Tabeel” on the Judean throne. From the tradition-historical perspective, the dynastic promise in 2 Sam 7 *might* have its prehistory, but this is not reflected in the various layers of the text composed during the Neo-Babylonian or Persian period. The “kairos” of the motif of eternal Davidic covenant clearly came only after Jehoiachin with his court (597) and later also the blinded Zedekiah (587) were taken away to the Babylonian captivity, and the Davidides’ reign in Judah was, therefore, severely questioned.

Let us now return once more to vv. 1-3 whose function may now be described in the context of the whole of 2 Sam 7,1-17. In vv. 1-3, David’s plan is presented as appropriate to the situation, and the prophet Nathan approves it as such. All this is supposed to make the reader form a certain horizon of expectations that will be rejected in the following text. However, as already noted above, the intended readers of 2 Sam 7 probably knew that the building of the first temple was attributed to Solomon. Vv. 1-3 therefore evoke a horizon of expectations that is in accordance with literary and ideological conventions, but also contrary to some of the readers’ knowledge. This fact indicates that the collapse of the false expectations in 2 Sam 7 does not only have an aesthetic function that would be entirely consumed at the moment of surprise, but primarily a critical function. The goal of vv. 1-3 is to actualize an ideological concept in the reader’s mind that would be rejected in the following text.

texts of the ancient Near East. The prayers at the end of the building inscriptions, for instance, sometimes contain a plea for a blessed (sometimes even “eternal”) reign of the king’s descendants, cf. e.g. the abovementioned conclusion to inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562) “May my descendants rule for ever in it over the black-headed people!” (Langdon, *Königsinschriften*, p. 121; the English translation follows Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 90). Also the Assyrian royal oracles may contain a promise of the rule of a king’s descendants, as in the case of SAA 9 2.3, 16: “Your son and grandson shall rule as kings before Ninurta.” But in these texts, the issue of the “eternal dynasty” never has an exclusive and dominant place as in 2 Sam 7.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Kasari, *Promise*, p. 41.

⁵⁹⁶ So Sergi, *Composition*, p. 267-268.

This procedure used by the author of 2 Sam 7 corresponds to the general tendency of the so-called Dtr History, and biblical historiography in general, to present a “gnomic vision of the past” which has no alternative⁵⁹⁷. Should ideology in such a historiographical work be promoted primarily through narration of “historical events”, it may be difficult to carry on a direct polemic against different opinions without the creation of an *anagram*, i.e. a text that would, aside from its own position, also evoke an image of the rejected position in the mind of the reader. That is why 2 Sam 7, unlike Ps 89, does not simply contain the dynastic promise with no connection to the temple. 2 Sam 7 presents the dynastic promise to David in relation to the king’s plan to build a temple precisely in order that it could break the traditional relationship between kingship and the temple.

Scholars have sometimes suggested that the goal of 2 Sam 7 is, among other things, to explain why David as the founder of the dynasty did not build the temple.⁵⁹⁸ I am not convinced that this fact was necessarily seen as problematic. On the other hand, my conclusions regarding 2 Sam 7 *do not mean* that David was in no way connected to the temple of Jerusalem in the pre-exilic period. On the contrary, we may speculate that the founding legend of the first temple of Jerusalem (or one of such legends) related to David was the Ark Narrative, ending with David’s transfer of the ark to Jerusalem. This *hieros logos* of the temple of Jerusalem had a strong legitimizing potential for the Davidic dynasty. The relationship of kingship and the shrine in this legend probably had the “natural” structure similar to that contained in Ps 132, although we can hardly determine whether, or since when, some form of the dynastic promise was a part of this legend, as is the case with Ps 132.⁵⁹⁹ 2 Sam 7 seeks to legitimate the Davidic dynasty independent of its relationship with the temple, yet the location of Nathan’s oracle after the end of the Ark Narrative in 2 Sam 6 hints at the legitimating, pro-Davidic aspect of the older cultic legend depicting the arrival of the ark in Jerusalem.

2.4.5 David’s prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29

The text of David’s prayer is largely repetitive and in some sections also obscure and possibly damaged in all of the textual witnesses (see the text-critical notes above); its basic structure and meaning are quite clear though.

Using three macro-syntactic signals ועתה (vv. 25.28.29), the prayer is divided in four parts.⁶⁰⁰ In the first one (vv. 18-24), David humbly ap-

⁵⁹⁷ For this characteristic of the Dtr History see Römer, *Problem*, p. 249; *id.*, *So-Called*, p. 36.

⁵⁹⁸ E.g. Ishida, *Dynasties*, p. 97.

⁵⁹⁹ Waschke, *Verhältnis*, p. 119, believes that a pre-dtr text containing the sequence of the transport of the ark to Jerusalem and the dynastic promise may be behind 2 Sam 6 and 7.

⁶⁰⁰ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 32-33.

proaches Yhwh and praises his powerful deeds for Israel and himself; in the second part (vv. 25-27) the king pleads with Yhwh to keep his promise. The third (v. 28) and fourth part (v. 29) to some extent repeat the sequence of the first two parts – again, David praises Yhwh and then reminds him of his promise and pleads for its fulfillment.

As in the previous text, some scholars seek to reconstruct a pre-dtr core in verses 18-29, but the prayer is considered a dtr composition also by some of the scholars who reconstruct a pre-dtr text in vv. 1-17⁶⁰¹. Others have suggested that the prayer is far later.⁶⁰²

Generally, the form and the content of David's prayer correspond well to both the exilic and post-exilic contexts, as is also the case with the previous vv. 1-17, although some elements of the prayer rather support the later dating. Van Seters remarked that David's prayer in v. 27 is labeled by the term *תְּפִלָּה*, usually used to denote a lament or a plea, while in this case Van Seters regards it as a "prose hymn".⁶⁰³ Actually, the prayer has many elements of a lament⁶⁰⁴:

- David recalls past magnificent deeds of God (for David – v. 18; for Israel – vv. 22-24); for this, cf. Ps 44,2-4; 74,12-17; 83,10-13 etc.
- On ten occasions, David designates himself as Yhwh's servant. With the help of this self-designation, belonging to the phraseology of the lament, the praying person invokes Yhwh as his master, expecting protection and help.⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Ps 123; 143,12 ("for I am your servant"), etc.; from God's side, the corresponding expression is "you are my servant" as an oracle of salvation (Isa 41,9; 44,21). In David's prayer, every use of the word "servant" is a reminder of Yhwh's commitment.
- An appeal to fulfill the promises already given by Yhwh (2 Sam 7,25.27-29), for which cf. Ps 89,36.50.
- A plea to Yhwh to intervene for his own name's sake (2 Sam 7,26), for which cf. Ps 31,4; 54,3; 79,9f; 109,21; 143,11; etc.

The fact that David in 2 Sam 7,18-29 implores Yhwh for what he had just been promised is easily understood in view of the fact that the promise is not realized at the time of the text's origin.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰¹ Cross, *Myth*, p. 247; Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 78-79; Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 475; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 87-90. Also for this section, the largest list of dtr features is presented by Cross, *Myth*, p. 252-254. For vv. 22-26 see also McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 237-238.

⁶⁰² According to Levin, *Verheißung*, p. 251, the prayer shows that the *terminus ad quem* for literary additions in the books of Kings (sic) is the composition of the Chronicles in the first half of the 3rd c. B.C.E. More careful and detailed is the discussion of the prayer's late origin by Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 68-75.

⁶⁰³ Van Seters, *Search*, p. 273.

⁶⁰⁴ This is also the form of Psalms 89 and 132.

⁶⁰⁵ Westermann, *עֲבָד*, col. 192.

⁶⁰⁶ Similarly already Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 78-79; Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 78-79.

As mentioned above, verses 22–24 (or 22b-26) are often excluded from the whole of the prayer as a later addition.⁶⁰⁷ Those who attempt to reconstruct the pre-exilic form of the prayer argue for the exclusion of these verses with their *dtr* language. A closer look at McCarter’s list of *dtr* phrases used in vv. 22b-26 shows that this argument is to some extent problematic. If the predominant proof of the “*dtr*” nature of an expression be its presence in Deuteronomy, we may *a priori* expect that vv. 22-24, which recall Yhwh’s deeds for the people of Israel, would include more of such “*dtr*” expressions than the rest of the text dedicated to the dynastic promise, which is barely thematized at all in Deuteronomy (see below for Deut 17,20). Moreover, McCarter (building on Cross’s list) considers as evidence of *dtr* activity in v. 25, among other things, the twofold use of the verb *דבר* *pi.* for denoting Yhwh’s promise, but we find this verb with such a meaning in vv. 19.28.29 as well.

However, the main argument for excluding vv. 22-24(26) is usually the sudden shift of attention towards the people of Israel. What meaning does this digression have in the whole of the prayer? Oswald believes that there is a kind of “rivalry” between Yhwh’s deeds for Israel and the dynastic promise.⁶⁰⁸ We have seen, however, that the connection of the well-being of the sovereign with that of the people appears frequently in ancient Near Eastern texts including the Hebrew Bible; additionally, although we have little information on the Davidides in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, we may suppose that they had, in their current socio-political position, an imminent interest in emphasizing the tie between “Israel” and the dynasty.

As many scholars observed, David uses an identical terminology when describing Yhwh’s conduct towards the people and towards the dynasty. According to v. 24, Yhwh established (*ויתכונן*) for himself the people of Israel to be his people forever (*עד עולם*), which stands in parallel with Yhwh’s establishment of the Davidic family’s eternal right to reign (vv. 12.13.16; in v. 13, the verb *כון* is in *poel* as in v. 24; *hiphil* appears in v. 12, and *niphal* in vv. 16 and 26). In v. 23, David offers the reminder of how Yhwh made a name for himself by redeeming Israel from Egypt, whereas according to vv. 25-26, Yhwh’s name is to be made magnificent by the fulfillment of his dynastic promise given to David, while the duration of the dynasty will be proof of Yhwh’s blessing of Israel (v. 26aβ)! As J. P. Fokkelman says: “He [= David] suggests that the best guarantee for God’s renown is his continued support of David’s house. And he implies, moreover [...]: so Israel shall be saved at the same time, as the people of

⁶⁰⁷ Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 49-50, 73; Noth, *History*, p. 55; Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 74; Pietsch, *Sproß*, p. 29, 43-45, 51-52; Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 66-67; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 88-89. – Mettinger, *King*, p. 51-52, and following up with him McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 237-238, find an addition in vv. 22b-26.

⁶⁰⁸ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 66.

God.”⁶⁰⁹ Yhwh’s deeds for Israel are not in tension with the blessing of the Davidides, conversely their recollection in vv. 22-24 is utterly subject to a pro-Davidic rhetoric. This function of vv. 22-24 questions the idea that it is a later addition, especially since there are no formal indices for such a claim.⁶¹⁰

Admittedly, the content of vv. 22-23 may indicate their relatively late origin. V. 22 contains a monotheistic confession *כי אין כמוך ואין אלהים זולתך*. But since we find several similar statements in Deutero-Isaiah, e.g. twice in the oracle on the vocation of Cyrus (Isa 45,5-6), even the origin of the formulation in 2 Sam 7,22ba before the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.E. is not unfathomable.⁶¹¹ The monotheistic confession in v. 22 itself does not force us to date David’s prayer or merely vv. 22-24 to a later period then vv. 1-17, even if we were to decide to situate the latter before Zerubbabel’s activity in Judah.

In v. 22bβ, the monotheistic confession is expanded by the relative sentence *בכל אשר שמענו באזנינו* whose meaning is not entirely clear. What did David and the other Israelites hear? With regard to the previous paragraph, it is worth noticing that in Deutero-Isaiah’s monotheistic passages, incentives for *hearing* the message appear repeatedly (Isa 40,21.28; 46,3.12; 48,1.12.14.16)⁶¹², and the fact that only Yhwh via his prophets is able to announce (hiphil of *שמע*) future events (41,22.26; 42,9; 43,9.12; 44,8; 45,21; 48,3.5-8) serves as an argument for the non-existence or inability of other gods. If 2 Sam 7 was written in the 6th century in Babylon, in circles close to the royal family, these parallels between 2 Sam 7,22 and some texts in Isa 40-55 would not be surprising.

However, the “hearing” of Israel in 2 Sam 7,22 can also be understood differently. The whole of 2 Sam 7,22-23 has a striking parallel in Deut 4,7-8.34-35(.39). In the latter text, vv. 7-8 present an “incomparability saying” in the form of two rhetorical questions introduced by the particle *מי*. Similar to 2 Sam 7,23, the incomparable entity in Deut 4,7-8 is Israel, but the point of comparison is different in the two passages. In Deut 4,7-8, the singularity of Israel is based on the fact that her God is close to her and her law is just. Deut 4,32-34 calls on Israel to ask whether similar events to those experienced during the exodus also occurred in a different time or whether

⁶⁰⁹ Fokkelman, Art III, p. 250.

⁶¹⁰ The 1st person pl. in v. 22bβ may hardly be used as an argument, since David in that case speaks as a member of his people and refers to a common knowledge. In this part of the speech, the use of the 1st p. sg. would be inappropriate.

⁶¹¹ The notion of a more or less coherent collection or composition of Isa 40-55, ascribed to an anonymous prophet at the end of the Neo-Babylonian period, was questioned during the last twenty years by a number of redaction-critical studies that only date smaller or larger parts of the text to the time of Cyrus. Since the Cyrus oracle contains some parallels with the Cyrus Cylinder, it was probably composed during Cyrus’s rule. For a recent overview of the history of research on Deutero-Isaiah, see Macchi, *Deutéro-Esaïe*, p. 188-200.

⁶¹² In some other passages is it unclear what is the people incited to hear.

they were heard of (שמע niph'al in v. 32), while v. 34 especially is very similar to 2 Sam 7,23 (even if the former is introduced by the particle ה and the latter by מי).

Now, according to Deut 4,34, Yhwh performed his great deeds of salvation before Israel's eyes (לעיניך); Israel was shown (hoph'al of ראה in v. 35) these things in order that she might know that Yhwh is God and there is no other. References to the "seeing" (vv. 3.9.35.36; cf. also vv. 12.15) of Yhwh's deeds and "hearing" of his words (vv. 10.12.33.36) on Horeb constitute an appeal to the Israelites' personal experience. This is emphasized in vv. 3.9.34 where Israel is reminded that she witnessed these events with her own eyes.⁶¹³ The Israelites are then supposed to pass the knowledge of these events on to their descendants (v. 9). A certain analogy to seeing with "one's own eyes" in Deut 4 is to be found in 2 Sam 7,22b β in the sentence "according to all that we have heard with our ears." However, a call to a past personal experience and to "seeing with one's own eyes" is a far more sensible argument than calling to "hearing" a narration of some events "with one's own ears."

2 Sam 7,22-23 could therefore be dependent on Deut 4. The author of 2 Sam 7,22-23 would have borrowed the construction of the argument for Yhwh's singularity from Deut 4,34-35. However, since David cannot refer to his experience of the exodus, the scribe would transform seeing "with one's own eyes" to "hearing with one's own ears." Precisely the artificiality of the reference to "one's own ears" indicates that it may be a modification of a more effective and natural figure of speech. Additionally, the author of 2 Sam 7,23 formulated this rhetorical question in a way that does not formally express the incomparability of Yhwh but rather that of Israel, a move that forms part of a broader strategy of equating the well-being of the people with that of the dynasty (see above).

Within Deuteronomy, Deut 4 is clearly a relatively late text, and some scholars believe that parts of it are dependent on P. E. Otto, for instance, states that "Dtn 4,16b-19a legt [...] im wörtlichen Zitat Gen 1,14-27 (P) aus."⁶¹⁴ In Deut 4,32, the expression "God created" (ברא אלהים), instead of "Yhwh created", may be influenced by the priestly texts as well (cf. Gen 1,1.21.27; 2,3; 5,1).⁶¹⁵ While Deut 4 might have undergone a literary development⁶¹⁶, v. 32 can hardly be separated from v. 34 which is vital for us.

If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct and 2 Sam 7,22-24 depends on Deut 4 in a form that presupposes P, it seems somewhat difficult to date

⁶¹³ Admittedly, the generation that Moses addresses in Deut 4 is not identical to the generation that left Egypt, at least in the current context of the Pentateuch. The author of Deut 4, however, includes Moses' audience among the "witnesses" to the exodus.

⁶¹⁴ Otto, *Recht*, p. 44.

⁶¹⁵ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, p. 70; Otto, *Recht*, p. 44; Veijola, *Deuteronomium*, p. 115.

⁶¹⁶ For a short presentation of the debate and the references to further literature, see Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, p. 60-63.

these verses before 520 B.C.E. There are basically three possible conclusions: we may join those who see vv. 22-24(26) as an interpolation; or, with C. Levin and H.-P. Mathys, regard the whole of David's prayer as a later addition; or we may date vv. 1-17 together with the prayer to the end of 6th or to the 5th century B.C.E. I find the first option problematic, since vv. 22-24 fit easily into the rhetorical flow of the prayer and there are no formal indices that would indicate that the verses are secondary in relation to the rest of the prayer. Actually, the declaration of v. 28aα **ועתה אדני יהוה** could be understood as a variation of the monotheistic confession in v. 22.⁶¹⁷ The second possibility could also be supported by the fact that the books of Samuel might have been enriched by other prayers, some of them related to the Davidic dynasty, in a relatively late phase of their literary development (see ch. 5 below). Still, the prayer is so much in tune with the general authorial intention of vv. 1-17 that their common origin seems to be most plausible.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Pietsch, Sproß, p. 30.

3. 1 Samuel 2,27-36

The oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36 forms part of the introduction to the books of Samuel describing the decline of the Shilonite priesthood, Samuel's childhood and his becoming a prophet in Shiloh. After the sins of Eli's sons are depicted in 1 Sam 2,12-17.22-26, an anonymous man of God comes to Eli and announces the demise of his priestly family and its replacement by the family of a new "faithful" priest.

At first glance, the oracle only seems to subtly hint at the Davidic dynasty by mentioning Yhwh's anointed in v. 35. Several scholars have noted, however, that 1 Sam 2,27-36 contains numerous linguistic parallels to 2 Sam 7 and other occurrences of the dynastic promise to David, and some have even suggested that the theme of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is in fact dealing with the fate of David's dynasty.

According to G. Auld, the introductory chapters of Samuel do not have only a literal meaning, but are also meant to prefigure the events described later in the books of Samuel and Kings.⁶¹⁸ The characters of 1 Sam 1-4 should be understood as typical of other characters of these books, in particular Saul and members of the Davidic family. However, the flood of parallels discovered by Auld can hardly be integrated in a coherent typological system – for example the phraseology of the Davidic promise is used in 1 Sam 2,27-36 for both Eli's family and the new priestly family that is to replace the Elides. Nevertheless, Auld points out one especially marked set of analogies: in the whole context of Samuel and Kings, the demise of Eli's priestly family and the end of the temple in Shiloh prefigure—in Auld's view—the extinction of David's dynasty and the fall of the temple of Jerusalem. If Auld is right, the description of the monarchic period is introduced in 1 Sam 2,27-36 with a warning that even the promise of an *eternal* dynasty (cf. v. 30) may be annulled. This qualification particularly concerns the promise of the Davidic dynasty whose repeated occurrences in the books of Samuel and Kings would appear to be intentionally relativized from the outset.

Similarly, S. Frolov considers 1 Sam 2,27-36 an anti-deuteronomic and anti-deuteronomistic text which, with the help of dtr phraseology and dtr notions, aims to "subvert the Deuteronomic principles of cultic organization and the deuteronomistic notion of eternal Davidic dynasty."⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁸ Auld, *King*, p. 31-44.

⁶¹⁹ Frolov, *Man*, p. 58-76. Cf. also Loader, *Haus*, p. 55-66, and *id.*, *Intertextuality*, p. 397-398, who thinks that 1 Kgs 2,27—interpreting Abiathar's banishment by Solomon as accomplishing what was stated in 1 Sam 2,27-36—is meant to draw the reader's attention to the (potential) parallel between the fates of Eli's and David's descendants. According

These claims are worth considering and, even if I myself do not ultimately agree with them, I nevertheless grant that 1 Sam 2,27-36 is of relevance to the study of the Davidic promise in the books of Samuel. The two opening chapters of 1 Samuel have recently received a thorough treatment by J. Hutzli⁶²⁰, and my understanding of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is largely dependent on his work. In what follows I will concentrate on those aspects of the text which are of interest to our study, but a basic discussion of the general meaning of the text cannot be avoided.

3.1 The text of 1 Samuel 2,27-36

The interpretation of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is fraught with textual problems. In his book about 1 Samuel 1–2, Hutzli has offered a textual commentary referring to and discussing *all* the variant readings of the major textual witnesses (MT, 4QSam^a and LXX) to 1 Sam 1–2.⁶²¹ For the most part I agree with his evaluation of the variants in 1 Sam 2,27-36, and there is no need to repeat his detailed analysis. For the sake of clarity, I will mention in the following notes the more significant problems, especially those where I believe that a text different from MT should be read. Many slight differences which do not affect the text's meaning are left undiscussed, even in sections where MT is probably secondary.

Verse 27:

MT ^להִלֵּא נְגִילָתִי; LXX ἀποκαλυφθεὶς ἀπεκαλύφθην (in agreement with Syr and Tg^{-Ms}); Vg *numquid non aperte revelatus*, corresponding to ^להִלֵּא נְגִילָתִי, but the Latin text does not have to presuppose a different *Vorlage* than MT – Jerome could have felt that 27bβ, if it is to be understood as a rhetorical question, should be seen to have a positive bias in view of the context.

1 Sam 2,27-36 has been compared to other passages in the Former Prophets where a man of God (1 Kgs 13,1-3), a messenger of Yhwh (Judg 2,1-5), a prophet (Judg 6,7-10) or Yhwh himself (Judg 10,11-16) blame Israel for their apostasy from Yhwh.⁶²² Furthermore, 1 Sam 2,27-36 has a

to 1 Sam 2,27-36, the privileges that were formerly promised to Eli's house *forever* will be revoked because Eli honored his sons above Yhwh. In 1 Kings 2 we find several references to the promise of the permanent existence of the Davidic dynasty, yet these are in Loader's opinion relativized by the intertextual hint in 1 Kgs 2,27 to 1 Sam 2,27-36. If the king arouses Yhwh's disdain, the promise to the Davidides may be nullified in the same way as was the promise given to the Elides. It is not clear to me whether Loader supposes that this warning only appears with the work of the author of 1 Kgs 2,27, or it is already present in 1 Sam 2,27-36 itself.

⁶²⁰ Hutzli, *Erzählung*.

⁶²¹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 118-129, 138-139 concern 1 Sam 2,27-36.

⁶²² E.g. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 21.

similar structure to the oracles of judgment addressed to an individual in 1 Sam 15,16-23; 2 Sam 12,7-12; 1 Kgs 14,7-17; 16,1-4. Among all these oracles we find one example in each type where the “contrasting motif” is introduced by the interrogative particle הלא (Judg 10,11; 1 Sam 15,17).

The rhetorical question in 1 Sam 2,27MT introduced by ה (“Did I reveal myself to the house of your father...?”) does not make much sense within the context, since its implied answer would be negative. If the interrogative particle was introduced into the text by mistake, it probably resulted from a dittography of the preceding ה (and maybe also from the fact that the motif of contrast may start with a rhetorical question). Yet more likely, the addition of ה in MT is a correction made for theological reasons: as a scribe did not find in the Pentateuch any precedent for Yhwh’s revelation to the house of Eli’s father, he turned the sentence into a rhetorical question with a negative bias.⁶²³ The reading of LXX, Syr and Tg is more ancient.

Verse 28:

MT אָתוּ; LXX τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς σου; in 4QSam^a the editors reconstruct אָתוּ אַתְּ בֵּית אֲבִיךָ on account of spatial measurements⁶²⁴. Hutzli believes that the scribe of LXX’s *Vorlage* added “the house of your father” because of “Pharaoh’s house” appearing in the previous verse.⁶²⁵ MT’s reading would thus be more ancient. However, MT could also be a facilitating correction. The pronominal אָתוּ may be understood as referring to the “father” alone, which ensures that the idea is avoided that the entire house of Eli’s father has been elected “to be Yhwh’s priest” (cf. the sg. at the end of 28aα).

A few words later, MT reads לִי לְכֹהֵן, 4QSam^a לִי לְכוֹהֵן, but LXX ἐμοὶ ἱερατεύειν. The difference between MT and LXX consists only in vocalization, with LXX reading the infinitive לְכֹהֵן. The order of the words corresponds to the reading of MT and 4QSam^a⁶²⁶, but in this way the whole house of Eli’s father is elected to be a priest. Obviously, the present problem is related to the previous one. In LXX Yhwh unequivocally elects the whole house, and correspondingly the house is elected to exercise the priestly function (לְכֹהֵן), not to be *a priest*. From the three readings of MT, LXX and 4QSam^a, it is the long (reconstructed) reading of 4QSam^a which is the most difficult and probably the most ancient. Both MT and LXX facilitate the difficult text. LXX reads the verb לְכֹהֵן in place of לְכוֹהֵן, while

⁶²³ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 118-119, finds here an intentional correction in MT as well. Cf. Driver, *Notes*, p. 36, who says that the question creates an impression “as though the fact asked about were doubtful.” Driver does not think, however, that this reading is secondary.

⁶²⁴ Cross et al., *DJD XVII*, p. 46.

⁶²⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 120. As argued by Hutzli (p. 119) and others before him, in v. 27 the longer reading אָתוּ אַתְּ בֵּית אֲבִיךָ, attested in 4QSam^a and LXX, is likely to be more ancient than MT’s short reading. The latter is a result of parablepsis owing to homoteleuton.

⁶²⁶ See the parallels in Driver, *Notes*, p. 36.

MT replaces **את בית אביך** by **אתו**, relating the sentence to Eli's father as an individual or at least making the dissonance less obvious.⁶²⁷

MT **אֶפֹּד לְפָנַי**; 4QSam^a **אֶפֹּד**; LXX εφουδ. Syr has the short reading as well, but **מִנְיָ** appears at the end of the previous clause. The reading of LXX/4QSam^a is shorter⁶²⁸, but as noted by Hutzli, there is no manifest reason for an addition of **לְפָנַי** in proto-MT. Hutzli assumes that LXX/4QSam^a has omitted **לְפָנַי** for dogmatic reasons, under the influence of the current practice during the Second Temple period when common priests were not allowed to appear before Yhwh.⁶²⁹ This could again be related to the fact that in LXX (and presumably in 4QSam^a too), v. 28a unequivocally describes the activity of the whole house of Eli's father. However, some doubts about this explanation could be raised by the fact that in 1 Sam 1,9.11.14; 2,11.21 it is, on the contrary, MT who omits **יהוה / לפניך / מפני יהוה** in order to preclude Hannah (or the "boy Samuel" in 2,21) from appearing "before Yhwh." Hence the scribe who would omit **לְפָנַי** in 2,28 LXX/4QSam^a would not object to allusions to an old "unorthodox" practice remaining in the text, with Hannah and the boy Samuel appearing "before Yhwh", but he would get rid of the text in which Yhwh is said to have himself elected (the whole of) Eli's house to bear the ephod before him.

At the end of the verse, LXX adds εἰς βρῶσιν. The editors of 4QSam^a reconstruct **לֹאכַ** as well, noting that "there is just room for it if we calculate the line at maximal length."⁶³⁰ The longer reading could appear under the influence of Lev 6,9-11; 10,12-15; 24,9; Deut 18,1 (cf. also Sir 45,21-22). Yet, as pointed out by Hutzli, it is also possible that proto-MT omitted **לֹאכַל** in order to attenuate once more the promise given to Eli's clan.⁶³¹ This would correspond to the addition of the interrogative particle in **הֲנִגְלָה נְגִלְתִּי** in v. 27MT.⁶³²

⁶²⁷ The problem with this interpretation is, however, that MT would not replace "the house of your father" with the "father", but with a pronoun, which does not unequivocally avoid the supposed problem. It can also be imagined that the oldest reading is the one attested in MT; later a scribe would develop **אתו** in **את בית אביך** (in imitation of vv. 27 and 28b), thus creating the reading probably contained in 4QSam^a, whose difficulty would subsequently be facilitated by LXX.

⁶²⁸ It is followed for example by McCarter, 1 Samuel, p. 87; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 23.

⁶²⁹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 120. According to Exod 28,12, Aaron (i.e. the high priest) should have two stones with the names of the sons of Israel placed on the ephod to bear them before Yhwh.

⁶³⁰ Cross et al., *DJD XVII*, p. 46. Of course, the final **ל** could belong to the word **ישראל**.

⁶³¹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 120; LXX's reading was considered more ancient already by Smith, *Samuel*, p. 22,24.

⁶³² In this verse, Hutzli also ascribes to the same revision the shift from **καὶ ἐξελεξάμην** in LXX (**ואבחרו**) also appears in a rabbinical quotation) to **וַיִּבְחַר** in MT. See *ibid.*, p. 119.

Verse 29:

The verse contains considerable variants. The first half of the verse has a significantly different meaning in MT and in LXX, with 4QSam^a probably agreeing with the latter. MT: לָמָּה תִּבְעֲטוּ בְּזִבְחִי וּבִמְנַחְתִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי מֵעוֹן. 4QSam^a [] ולמה תביט בזבחי ובמנחתי. LXX καὶ ἵνα τί ἐπέβλεψας ἐπὶ τὸ θυμίαμά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν μου ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμοῖ. Syr לחם חלבם למה אתון אנסין בנכסת קדשי ובקרבני. Tg כוכבם סכמם ופסגה תה מוכרם. Vg *quare calce abicitis victimam meam et munera mea quae praecepi ut offerrentur in templo*. Syr, Tg and Vg probably do not presuppose a Hebrew text different from MT and only bear witness to an effort to understand the proto-MT in a way that makes sense.

תביט in 4QSam^a corresponds to ἐπέβλεψας in LXX. Unfortunately, the end of the half-verse is missing in 4QSam^a, and it is not entirely clear what is presupposed by ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμοῖ in LXX. In order to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of LXX, scholars frequently used v. 32aαMT since it seems to be related to 29a, especially to its LXX/4QSam^a form (cf. צר נבט and צר). Particularly influential was Wellhausen's view that v. 32aαMT (missing in LXX) is a variant of v. 29a.⁶³³

Cross et al. reconstruct as the original text of v. 29a צרת עין ... למה תביט "why do you look ... with selfish eye?", where צרת is the construct state of the substantive צרה. They write:

In v 29a, צוית is a simple corruption of צרת (ignoring *matres lectionis*). Waw and reš regularly are confused in the script of the third century BCE (...). In v 32aM (...), צר מעון is again a simple corruption of צרת עין. Mem and taw are easily confused in the fourth century. In addition, waw and yod were virtually interchangeable in the Late Hasmonaean and Early Herodian eras.⁶³⁴

Ehrlich, followed by Schulz and Hutzli, reconstructs צר עין where צר is an adjective.⁶³⁵ The advantage of Cross's reconstruction is that צרת allows for a clear explanation of the shift to צוית. On the other hand, as pointed out by Hutzli, the advocates of the reading צרת עין do not adduce any evidence for the existence of this expression. The phrase צר עין, meaning "selfish", is attested in rabbinic literature since the Mishna.⁶³⁶ One way or another, the *Vorlage* of LXX (and perhaps 4QSam^a as well) probably read something resembling this. The variants of the main witnesses are summarized in the following table.

⁶³³ Wellhausen, Text, p. 49.

⁶³⁴ Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 43; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 87.

⁶³⁵ Ehrlich, Randglossen, p. 175-176; Schulz, Das Erste Buch Samuel, p. 49; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 121. In v. 32, the conjecture is accepted in BHK³. For other emendations of vv. 29a.32aα, see CTAT I, p. 148-149. The authors of CTAT I themselves try to explain the meaning of MT, which they consider to be the original reading.

⁶³⁶ Levy, Wörterbuch 3, p. 639-640; Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1071; Ehrlich, Randglossen, p. 175-176.

Table 15 – 2 Sam 2,29a

למה תבעטו בזבחי ובמנחתי אשר צויתי מעון	MT
ולמה תביט בזבחי ובמנחתי [צר(ת) עין]	4QSam ^a
ἀναιδεῖ ὁφθαλμοῖ = עין (ת) צר	LXX

Which is the more ancient reading? Regarding the number of the verb, (תביט x תבעטו), ἐπέβλεψας), *CTAT I* says that the sg. is a syntactical simplification, perhaps because of the sg. ותכבד in 29b.⁶³⁷ On the other hand, the plural in MT could be regarded as a contextual assimilation because the preceding course of events in the chapter gives the impression that it was only Eli's sons who infringed cultic regulations, while Eli himself reproached them for their misdeeds (in MT, the guilt of Eli's sons is stressed in v. 22bβ, missing in 4QSam^a/LXX).⁶³⁸ From this point of view, the sg. in LXX is all the more *lectio difficilior* since LXX in 1 Sam 1,14αα creates a more positive picture of Eli than MT, the latter being probably more ancient than LXX in 1 Sam 1,14αα.⁶³⁹ According to 1 Sam 1,14MT Eli harshly reproached Hannah on account of her supposed drunkenness, whereas according to LXX it was Eli's servant (τὸ παιδάριον) who rebuked her. (Admittedly, it cannot be known with certainty whether Eli was already expurgated in this way in LXX's *Vorlage*; unfortunately, the verse did not survive in 4QSam^a.)

As to the verbal root, *CTAT I* argues again in favour of MT: “La rareté de בעט (qui ne réapparaît qu'en Dt 32,15) opposée à la platitude de cette variante [תביט in 4QSam^a/LXX] rend très probable qu'elle n'est rien d'autre qu'une modernisation...” But this kind of argument based on the frequency of a word in the Hebrew Bible may be confusing, since it does not say anything about the usage of the word in (later) times when it could have entered the text. The verb בעט and its derivatives are well attested in Rabbinic Hebrew (already in the Mishna)⁶⁴⁰, so that the shift from תביט to תבעט in the later history of the text is not as difficult to imagine as might appear at first glance. Even so, תבעט remains a *lectio difficilior*. However, it can still be secondary, especially if the shift to it occurred as a result of other earlier changes in the verse. Indeed, this is precisely what most likely happened. Provided that MT's plus in 32αα is indeed an addition dependent on 29a, 32ααMT seems to presuppose the change of עין into מעון in 29a, but

⁶³⁷ Similarly already De Boer, I Samuel I-XVI, p. 62.

⁶³⁸ Similarly already Schulz, Das Erste Buch Samuel, p. 49.

⁶³⁹ For 1 Sam 1,14, see Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 68, 150.

⁶⁴⁰ Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 180-181. Note that according to Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 569-570, the meaning of the verb in Deut 32,15 and in 1 Sam 2,29 is completely different from its meaning in later Hebrew, as well as from the meaning of its Aramaic and Arabic cognates.

not yet the loss of the word **צַר** nor the change of the verb **נָבַט** into **בָּעַט** (see *infra* for more details).

The phrase **אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי מַעוֹן** in 29a β is difficult and frequently considered incorrect.⁶⁴¹ If **מַעוֹן** is to be understood here as “dwelling”, we would expect something like **בַּמַּעוֹן**⁶⁴² or **לַמַּעוֹן**.⁶⁴³ H. Seebass suggested that this word should be vocalized as **מַעוֹן**, translated as “because of the guilt”, which does not seem very helpful.⁶⁴⁴ *CTAT I* again considers MT to be more ancient, affirming that $\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\ \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}$ in LXX is undoubtedly inspired by **תְּבִיט**, which replaced the more ancient **תְּבַעַט** at the beginning of the verse. Having rejected the reading **תְּבִיט**, it would, still according to *CTAT I*, be a mistake to accept $\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\ \delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\tilde{\omega}$. Yet, as we have seen **מַעוֹן** appears in MT’s plus 32a together with the verb **נָבַט** (and the word **צַר**), which may indicate that in v. 29 (against the description given by *CTAT I*) it was precisely the emergence of the word **מַעוֹן** that later provoked the change of **תְּבִיט** into **תְּבַעַט** as well as other changes. As to the meaning of **מַעוֹן**, *CTAT I* follows E. Dhorme, who in his translation understands it in vv. 29.32 as “accusatifs adverbiaux à valeur temporelle, au sens ‘à demeure’”.⁶⁴⁵ This seems, however, rather arbitrary (the references to Ps 90,1 and Deut 33,27 are inappropriate).

מַעוֹן as it appears in v. 29a could hardly be the correct reading. The word itself is relatively rare; not including its occurrences as a proper name, it appears 18 times in MT, perhaps once in Sir 50,2 and about 20 times in Qumran texts.⁶⁴⁶ Apart from 1 Sam 2,29.32, it is used seven times in the HB to denote God’s dwelling⁶⁴⁷, out of which it designates an earthly dwelling only in 2 Chr 36,15 and Ps 26,8, maybe also in Ps 68,6 and Zech 2,17. In the Pentateuch **מַעוֹן** appears only once in Deut 26,15, and this in the sense of Yhwh’s heavenly dwelling. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, too, when **מַעוֹן** designates God’s dwelling, it is mostly a heavenly dwelling. It thus appears that in “biblical” Hebrew as well as in the Qumran texts, the word **מַעוֹן** can on no account be considered a “technical term” for Yhwh’s sanctuary. This being so, the highly idiomatic use of the word (without a modifying noun or a possessive pronoun) in 1 Sam 2,29 (and 32) seems very strange. In my opinion, v. 29aMT in its present form cannot be defended. Rather than postulate the conjecture **בַּמַּעוֹן** or **לַמַּעוֹן**, it seems better to pre-

⁶⁴¹ For an argument against the present form of MT, see particularly Driver, Notes, p. 37-38.

⁶⁴² So Driver, Notes, p. 37-38.

⁶⁴³ So Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 33, who believes that **לַעֲמִי** at the end of the verse was originally **לַמַּעוֹן** as a marginal correction of **מַעוֹן**; subsequently the correction entered the text in the wrong place.

⁶⁴⁴ Seebass, Text, p. 76-82; his proposition was adopted by Eslinger, Kingship, p. 131, 443.

⁶⁴⁵ *CTAT I*, p. 149.

⁶⁴⁶ For various meanings of the word, see Preuss, **מַעוֹן**, p. 449-452.

⁶⁴⁷ Deut 26,15; 2 Chr 30,27; 36,15; Ps 26,8; 68,6; Jer 25,30; Zech 2,17.

for the reading of 4QSam^a/LXX whose residues – or echoes – (the verb נבט and צר) may also be found in 32aMT (see *infra*).

In v. 29 מעון is attested by MT, Tg, Vg and indirectly in Syr; in v. 32 it is attested by MT, LXX^L, LXX^A, Aq, Sym, Th, Vg, Tg (somewhat indirectly) and Syr. In both verses the idiomatic use of מעון is missing in 4QSam^a and in OG. This distribution may be connected to the fact that neither in the HB nor in the Dead Sea Scrolls is מעון a common term for the temple, but it becomes such a term in Rabbinic Hebrew⁶⁴⁸.

Verse 29b contains two other conspicuous textual problems, but since I have been unable to arrive at a clear conclusion concerning them, and furthermore since the choice of the text in these passages does not affect the following interpretation of the text, I will mention them only in passing. First, MT reads להבריץכם, i.e. a hiph. from ברא – “fatten.” According to DCH, this is the only such occurrence (it exists, however, in rabbinic Hebrew⁶⁴⁹). 4QSam^a has להבריד, thus a hiph. from ברך; similarly, LXX read ἐνευλογεῖσθαι which, however, may presuppose a niphal (להברך). Moreover, Syr. reads ܠܗܒܪܝܕܝܟܡ, presupposing the root ברר “to choose” in Hebrew; Tg has לאוכלותהון, corresponding to the Hebrew להברותם, i.e. hiph. from ברה “to cause to eat” + the 3. p. pl. pronoun.⁶⁵⁰ Similarly, Vg. reads *ut comederetis*, reflecting לברותכם or rather (through an inexact translation) להברותכם. I tend to consider MT the best reading, even if, as noted by many scholars, it is problematic because of its expression of reflexivity by the unusual combination of a hiphil and a pronominal suffix. In any case, whichever of the abovementioned readings we follow, the accusation refers to the cultic transgressions described in 1 Sam 2,(13)15-17.

At the end of the verse, MT reads לעמי (cf. Syr ܠܥܡܝ, Tg עמי, Vg *populi mei*), while LXX has ἐμπεσοῦν μου (= לפני). The preposition ל in MT seems unfitting⁶⁵¹, and consequently some scholars prefer LXX's reading.⁶⁵² It is also plausible, however, that the more ancient reading was עמי, to which ל was attached owing to dittography. לעמי would then survive in MT because it is not impossible grammatically⁶⁵³, while in LXX's *Vorlage* it would have been changed into the easier לפני, perhaps under the influence of לפני in vv. 28.30.

Verses 31-33:

These verses contain several textual problems which should be analyzed together. They are summarized in the following table:

⁶⁴⁸ See Levy, Wörterbuch, v. 3, p. 185; Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 814.

⁶⁴⁹ Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 192.

⁶⁵⁰ להברותם is thought to be the original reading by McCarter, I Samuel, p. 87-88.

⁶⁵¹ Driver, Notes, p. 38;

⁶⁵² Dietrich, Samuel, VIII/12, p. 115; Cf. also Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 122.

⁶⁵³ Jenni, Lamed, p. 45-46, counts לעמי in 1 Sam 2,29 among the occurrences where the preposition ל is used to “reidentify” an entity. In this sense, the preposition could be translated into English as “that is (to say)”, “in fact”, “namely” or “in short.” The preposition could also be understood as stressing the genitive relation of the second member of the appositional phrase ישראל לעמי to the *nomen regens* מנחת.

Table 16

וְגִדַּעְתִּי אֶת־זֶרַעְךָ וְאֶת־זֶרַע בֵּית אָבִיךָ מִהָיוֹת זָקֵן בְּבֵיתְךָ:	MT	31aβ-b
[וגדעת]י	4QSam ^a	
וגדעתי את זרעך ואת זרע בית אביך	LXX	
וְהַבְטַחְתָּ צָר מְעוֹן בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־יִיטִיב אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל	MT	32a
cf. v. 29	4QSam ^a	
cf. v. 29	LXX	
וְלֹא־ יִהְיֶה זָקֵן בְּבֵיתְךָ כָּל־ הַיָּמִים:	MT	32b
[ולוא] יהיה לך זקן בביתי כול [הימים]	4QSam ^a	
ולא יהיה לך זקן בביתי כל הימים	LXX	
וְאִישׁ לֹא־אֲכָרִית לְךָ מִעַם מִזְבְּחִי	MT	33aα
[מזבחי]	4QSam ^a	
ואיש לא אכרית מעם מזבחי	LXX	
לְכָלוֹת אֶת־ עֵינֶיךָ וְלֹא־דִיב אֶת־נַפְשְׁךָ	MT	33aβ
[לכולות א]ת עיניו ו	4QSam ^a	
לכולות את עיניו ולאדיב את נפשו	LXX	
וְכָל־מִרְבֵּית בֵּיתְךָ יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים:	MT	33b
[יפולו] בחרב אנשים	4QSam ^a	
וכל מרבית ביתך יפולו בחרב אנשים	LXX	

The retroverted readings of LXX follow the orthography of MT.

The first difference in v. 31aβ concerns the vocalization of the word זרע. While MT vocalizes אֶת־זֶרַעְךָ וְאֶת־זֶרַע בֵּית אָבִיךָ “your arm and the arm of your father’s house”, LXX reads τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ τὸ σπέρμα οἴκου πατρὸς σου, that is “your seed and the seed of your father’s house” (corresponding in masoretic vocalization to זֶרַעְךָ and זֶרַע).

More importantly, vv. 31b-32a are lacking in both 4QSam^a and LXX. V. 32aMT is very difficult to understand, and even scholars considering the longer text as more ancient often propose that it be emended in some way. Ancient versions apart from OG translate v. 32a in various ways⁶⁵⁴, but they probably do not offer any witness to a text older than MT⁶⁵⁵.

⁶⁵⁴ LXX^L, LXX^A, VL, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Syr, Tg and Vg are conveniently assembled in Pisano, Additions, p. 243, 247.

⁶⁵⁵ Pace Seebass, Text, who based his emendation mainly on the reading of Tg.

In v. 32b 4QSam^a/LXX, יהיה is followed by לך, which is lacking in MT; furthermore, while MT reads בְּבִיתְךָ, 4QSam^a/LXX have בביתי. Consequently, the meaning of the clause in MT is very different from that of 4QSam^a/LXX. According to MT “there will not be an old man in your house (= family) all the days”; according to 4QSam^a/LXX “you will not have an old man in my house (= temple) all the days.”

By contrast, in v. 33a לְאֶחָדָם is followed in MT by לך which is lacking in LXX. The editors of 4QSam^a reconstruct it here without making any comment on their decision.

In 33aβ, MT reads עֵינֶיךָ and נִפְשֶׁךָ, while LXX presupposes עֵינָיו and נִפְשׁוֹ. 4QSam^a has עֵינָיו. From the following three words, only the first letter of the first word survived on the scroll, but it is highly probable that the Qumran text agreed with LXX in the second part of the clause as well, reading נִפְשׁוֹ.

Finally, MT has an odd construction יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים in v. 33b, whereas 4QSam^a/LXX read יָפֻלוּ בַּחֲרָב אֲנָשִׁים.

To start with, we may note that בביתי in v. 32b of LXX/4QSam^a could be considered more ancient than בביתך of MT because the latter might be explained as a harmonization with ביתך in vv. 30.33 and with זרע and זרעך in the immediately preceding v. 31. It seems, however, that this shift in MT is not due to an isolated half-conscious harmonization, but rather belongs to a larger set of changes in the text. Hutzli explains the differences between MT and 4QSam^a/LXX in vv. 31-33 by suggesting that they are the result of an anti-Elide reworking in MT.⁶⁵⁶ In the text of 4QSam^a/LXX, Yhwh’s judgment of the Elides will result in them losing their leading position in the temple – there will be no elder priests among Eli’s descendants (זֶקֶן is interpreted by Hutzli by means of 2 Kgs 19,2 = Isa 37,2 and Jer 19,1). According to MT, the Elides will (always?) die an untimely death (linking up with M. Tsevat⁶⁵⁷, Hutzli understands vv. 31-

⁶⁵⁶ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 123-126, 147-148.

⁶⁵⁷ Tsevat, *Studies*, p. 192-216. Tsevat considers the masoretic form of the text, announcing to Eli’s family the punishment by the *kareth* sanction, to be original, and he dates it before 965 B.C.E. This is, of course, highly questionable. The so-called *kareth* punishment occurs in priestly texts (including HC) and the book of Ezekiel, but its definition as premature death only appears in the Talmud. According to *y. Bikkurim* 2,1, the sinner should die before he is fifty years old (more exactly, the text says “in the age of fifty”); in *b. Mo’ed Qatan* 28a, there is a discussion whether it is before (or, again, at) 50 or before 60. To assume this meaning of the *kareth* punishment in the HB texts, and then to allege that this notion is contained in 1 Sam 2,31-33, is highly doubtful. Hutzli’s opinion that the *kareth* motif only appears in the text as a result of a textual revision makes more sense, since in this way we get much closer in time to the Talmudic notion of *kareth* as premature death. Still, even if vv. 31-33MT certainly announce the premature death of members of Eli’s clan, the author of this reworking did not necessarily have to think in terms of the *kareth* punishment as understood in the Talmud. A scribe in the textual line behind MT could have been incited to interpret the punishment of vv. 31-33 as premature death simply because of the occurrence of the word זֶקֶן.

32MT as a description of the so-called *kareth* sanction). Hutzli prefers the reading of 4QSam^a/LXX because it corresponds to the one exception to the punishment, i.e. that one man (from the Elides, at least according to MT!) will not be removed from Yhwh's altar (v. 33). The motive for the revision in MT may have been the impression that, according to the more ancient text attested by 4QSam^a/LXX, the Elides were allowed to serve as priests of lower rank. In order to exclude this possibility, a copyist of proto-MT made the Elides suffer the *kareth* sanction.

I agree with Hutzli's analysis in the main. Several changes in MT are undoubtedly related to MT's understanding of the word זקן in the simple sense of "old man." Consequently, the judgment in MT is that Eli's descendants will not reach old age. For that reason the more ancient בביתי becomes בביתך in 32bMT, and at the same time לך disappears from this verse (as observed by Hutzli, לך would not make any sense in MT). In 33MT ימותו אנשים changes into יפולו בחרב אנשים, meaning probably "they will die as men", that is to say they will not reach old age. The use of the word אנשים in opposition to זקן (i.e. as a designation of men who had not reached an old age) is not standard.⁶⁵⁸ Yet it is understandable in the context of MT, even if the opposition איש : זקן was an *ad hoc* invention of proto-MT's reworker. To sum up, we may observe in MT an attempt to bring the text into harmony with the alleged meaning of the judgment that there will not be an old man in Eli's clan.

Regarding the difference in 33aβ between עיניך...נפשך in MT and עיניו...נפשו in 4QSam^a/LXX, Wellhausen is right that MT's reading creates a tension in vv. 31-34MT.⁶⁵⁹ Since according to v. 34 the death of Hophni and Phinehas will be a sign for Eli of the impending judgment and not yet the realization of the judgment itself announced in vv. 31-33, verse 33 has to describe a different event to that of v. 34.⁶⁶⁰ Yet, considering the fact that

⁶⁵⁸ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 127; Hutzli also points out that the more ancient reading בחרב אנשים has a parallel in בשבט אנשים in 2 Sam 7,14.

⁶⁵⁹ Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 48-50.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. the similar use of a sign in 1 Kgs 13,1-3; 14,7-16 (the sign is the death of Jeroboam's son, even if the term "sign" is not used); 2 Kgs 20,4-11 (= Isa 38,4-8); Isa 7,10-17; Jer 44,20-30 (sign in vv. 29f.). For the motif of the sign, see Westermann, *Grundformen*, p. 113f. As Westermann says, the function of the sign is to give credibility to an oracle that is meant to be fulfilled after a longer period of time. It has to be admitted, however, that in other passages (e.g. 1 Sam 10,1LXX) the sign may not serve to prefigure and confirm the fulfillment of the prophecy in the distant future, but rather to attest the divine origin of an event; see the discussion in Childs, *Exodus*, p. 56-60. On the other hand, even the case of 1 Sam 10,1LXX is not as clear as Childs suggests it, since the sign could serve here to confirm that Saul truly will reign over Yhwh's heritage. At any rate, even if there are a few cases where the sign is not unequivocally separated in time from the predicted events themselves (Exod 3,12; 2 Kgs 19,29 = Isa 37,30), it will become clear from the following discussion that in our text the death of Hophni and Phinehas on the same day was very probably originally meant to *prefigure* the destruction of the whole of Eli's house.

the coming of the sign is already said to be the cause of Eli's death, the description of Eli's poor existence in v. 33MT does not make sense.⁶⁶¹ V. 33 was thus originally meant to refer to the massacre of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22), and the one man left is Abiathar, which also agrees with 1 Kgs 2,27.⁶⁶² The faithful priest of v. 35 can then only be Zadok. In v. 33aβ it is thus necessary to read עִינִי and נִפְשׁוּ together with 4QSam^a/LXX.⁶⁶³

In v. 33, there remains the question of לֵךְ in 33aαMT, not translated in LXX.⁶⁶⁴ Hutzli suggests connecting this plus of MT with the focus of 33aβMT on Eli (עִינִי and נִפְשׁוּ), and thus to consider it as part of the activity in proto-MT.⁶⁶⁵ It must be admitted, however, that v. 33aαLXX looks somewhat incomplete in the given context. If we identify the man that is not destroyed in 4QSam^a/LXX with Abiathar, and if we consider 33a in 4QSam^a/LXX as a unit which cannot be further dismantled diachronically, the presence or absence of לֵךְ in 33aα has no influence on the meaning of the verse.⁶⁶⁶

Most attention has been paid to MT's plus in vv. 31b-32a. At first sight it could seem that 4QSam^a/LXX has been affected here by parablepsis owing to the similarity of מַהֲיֹת זֶקֶן בְּבֵיתָךְ and וְלֹא יִהְיֶה זֶקֶן בְּבֵיתָךְ (4QSam^a and LXX read בְּבֵיתִי).⁶⁶⁷ Yet, as noted by Pisano, in the case of usual parablepsis, the first of the two identical or similar expressions should remain in the text, and the second one should fall out together with the text in between them; here, however, the second member is preserved.⁶⁶⁸ In spite of this, the majority of scholars including Pisano himself have considered MT as more ancient. The authors of *CTAT I* believe that the difficulty of וְהַבִּטְטָ צֶרֶךְ provoked a facilitating omission of this clause.⁶⁶⁹ Besides, as against the argument of the advocates of LXX and 4QSam^a that 31b-32a is made up from doublets (see *infra*), the authors of *CTAT* point out that 32aβ is not

⁶⁶¹ Differently Fokkeman, Art IV, p. 146, who defends MT of 32a and 33b as "the plainest example of Eli as a corporate personality."

⁶⁶² *CTAT I*, p. 149f., considers MT's reading as more ancient and at the same time identifies the "man" with Abiathar, surmising that the passage reflects the "ancient mentality" according to which Abiathar's banishment will torment Eli even if he has already died by the time it will happen.

⁶⁶³ We may leave aside the question of who, if anybody, is meant by the remaining man in MT.

⁶⁶⁴ As noted earlier, the editors of 4QSam^a reconstruct לֵךְ in this place but they make no comment concerning their decision.

⁶⁶⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 127.

⁶⁶⁶ Of course, LXX's reading without לֵךְ in 33aα could cause one to speculate that originally the "man" did not have to be a member of Eli's clan. If so, 33aα would not describe an exception from 33b.

⁶⁶⁷ So Driver, *Notes*, p. 41; Smith, *Samuel*, p. 24; Seebass, *Text*, p. 77. Cf. also de Boer, *I Samuel I-XVI*, p. 53.

⁶⁶⁸ Pisano, *Additions*, p. 243-244.

⁶⁶⁹ *CTAT I*, p. 148-149; the same was already suggested by de Boer, *I Samuel I-XVI*, p. 53.

a doublet, and is thus in their view most likely original.⁶⁷⁰ Similarly, Pisano admits that v. 32a β is obscure, but he thinks that it would be a mistake to exclude it from the text on this basis alone.⁶⁷¹ In his view, MT is primarily a judgment against Eli himself and his sons, while 4QSam^a/LXX focuses on the withdrawal of priesthood from Eli's future line. Pisano believes that the prophecy was originally directed specifically against Eli and his sons (with a fulfillment in ch. 4), and later it was reworked so that it applied to the withdrawal of the priesthood from Eli's clan (1 Sam 22 and 1 Kgs 2,26f.). Since the theme of the whole section 1 Sam 2,12-36 is the decline of Eli's family as opposed to Samuel's rise, Pisano believes that in the narrative's original form the "faithful priest" in v. 35 was intended to be identified with Samuel, and the prophecy was, in accordance with the general course of the section, directed against Eli and his sons.⁶⁷² MT is thus in Pisano's view *lectio difficilior*, and at the same time it fits better into its immediate context. Therefore it is probably more ancient.

By contrast, Wellhausen considered the text attested by LXX to be more ancient.⁶⁷³ He starts with the observation that according to v. 32aMT Eli is supposed to witness the disaster announced to the house of his father in v. 31a. In this case, the fulfillment of the announced judgment has to be sought in the events described in 1 Sam 4. Wellhausen is convinced, however, that in reality the judgment announced to Eli comes to fulfillment in the massacre of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22) and in Abiathar's expulsion by Solomon (1 Kgs 2,26f., with v. 27 explicitly presenting this event as the fulfillment of Yhwh's word against Eli's house). Moreover, apart of the tension with 1 Kgs 2,27, 1 Sam 2,32MT introduces a tension into the oracle itself. The events of 1 Sam 4 are designated in 2,34 as a mere *sign* (אֵימָה) of the impending disaster, and already the accomplishment of this sign in ch. 4 brings death to Eli. Hence in the original version of the oracle Eli could not witness the fulfillment of the judgment pronounced in v. 31, but only the witness of the sign announced in v. 34. Wellhausen concludes from these observations that v. 32a as it runs in MT is incorrect. Moreover, v. 32a, missing in LXX, resembles the wording of v. 29aLXX (and now of 4QSam^a as well), which leads Wellhausen to think that 32a is most likely identical with 29a (the latter being in the correct place). Finally, v. 32a occurs in MT between two variants (וְלֹא יִהְיֶה זֶקֶן בְּבֵיתֶךָ 31b; וְלֹא יִהְיֶה זֶקֶן בְּבֵיתֶךָ 32b) of an old gloss which, still according to Wellhausen, originally appeared in the text as a consequence of applying v. 31 to Hophni's and Phinehas's death. In LXX (and 4QSam^a) the gloss appears only once. With

⁶⁷⁰ CTAT 1, p. 148-149.

⁶⁷¹ Pisano, Additions, p. 243-248.

⁶⁷² So already Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, p. 14, even if in v. 33a β he reads עֵינָיו and נִפְשׁוֹ (he identifies the one man left standing with Ahitub, brother of Ichabod (see 1 Sam 14,3; 22,20)).

⁶⁷³ Wellhausen, Text, p. 48-50.

the entry of 32a into the text, the relationship between 31a and 32b was disrupted and the gloss was reintroduced into its original place in 31b.⁶⁷⁴

The arguments in favour of the shorter reading of LXX/4QSam^a seem more convincing. As the reading of 4QSam^a/LXX cannot be considered a result of parablepsis, the repetition in 31b.32bMT has high chances of being a case of *Wiederaufnahme* caused by redaction. Vv. 31b-32a would then be an interpolation.⁶⁷⁵ Pisano thinks that the reading of 4QSam^a/LXX resulted from a *deliberate* omission of 31b-32a, yet even then it remains to be explained why the scribe preserved the second version of the doublet in 32a and not the first one in 31b. Several scholars noted that the presence of a *Wiederaufnahme* does not necessarily indicate an insertion of secondary material.⁶⁷⁶ As R. F. Person says, “[i]t is rather a technique which alerts the reader that the text will return to a previous topic after an interruption, whether that interruption was caused by a redactional insertion or simply the same author’s change of topic.”⁶⁷⁷ Regarding 1 Sam 2,31b-32b, it is probable that the *Wiederaufnahme* was created as part of the redactional treatment of the text because:

- the shorter text is attested – vv. 31b-32a are missing in 4QSam^a and LXX;
- 32aa seems to be somehow connected to 29a (Wellhausen termed it a “variant”), and in both verses the same corruption of עין into מעון has apparently taken place. Yet the reason for the shift from עין to מעון is certainly far from self-evident, and it is difficult to imagine that the same change occurred in both verses by mere coincidence. It is more likely that 32aa was inspired by 29a only after מעון appeared in 29a. This, in my view, is the most important argument for the secondary character of 32aa. The plus was introduced into the text after or simultaneously with the change of עין into מעון in 29a, but before the loss of צר and the verb נבט in 29a, because these words still appear in 32a.

⁶⁷⁴ The shorter text of LXX/4QSam^a is also preferred by Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 44; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 88-89, (who, however, rather surprisingly accepts MT’s form of v. 32b); Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 123-124. Cf. also Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 146.

⁶⁷⁵ It is sometimes suggested that the use of *Wiederaufnahme* as a literary technique is particularly common in Samuel. Pisano, Additions, *passim*, pays special attention to the pluses whose absence in one of the textual witnesses may be explained as the text’s corruption by homoioteleuton. He calls these passages “haplogenic.” In his view, numerous “haplogenic” pluses in LXX (with which 4QSam^a sometimes agrees) as against MT are the result of an activity in LXX (or rather its *Vorlage*) whose scribe added to the text a passage which he ended with the phrase or merely the word that also precedes the insertion. Contrary to that, the majority of MT’s haplogenic pluses as against LXX are explained by Pisano as cases of real “haplography” in LXX or its *Vorlage*. See, however, the critical remarks on Pisano’s thesis in Gordon, Haplography, p. 131-158.

⁶⁷⁶ See above all Person, Reassessment, p. 239-248, and the literature cited by him, to which we may add Long, Repetitions, p. 385-399.

⁶⁷⁷ Person, Reassessment, p. 239.

As we have seen, MT's version of the text shows traces of a reworking which directed the oracle more specifically against Eli himself (cf. the 2nd p. suffixes in 33a β , and לך in 33a α , perhaps connected with the former change). If this evaluation is correct, v. 32a (והבטת צר מעון בכל אשר ייטיב (את ישראל) could also be part of this reworking according to which Eli will witness the fulfillment of the announced judgment, and not only the sign of the judgment as it was the case in the older text attested in 4QSam^a/LXX. At this point, we should return to Pisano's claim that MT's focusing of the judgment on Eli fits better into the immediate context of the passage. Pisano says:

Because of the juxtaposition of the Elide downfall with young Samuel's growth in stature within the entire section 2:12-36, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, at least at one time in the narrative, the "faithful priest" of v. 35 was intended to mean Samuel. The fact that the LXX and 4Q form shifts the emphasis away from the punishment of Eli's house through the death of Hophni and Phineas to the extinction of the Elide priesthood with the concomitant rise of Zadok's star may be the indication that a later harmonization was worked into the text. It is, moreover, more natural to expect that a text should fit in to its own immediate context rather than that it should agree with some later material.

This argument is methodologically problematic. It can hardly be said about Samuel that Yhwh built him a "firm (priestly!) house." The promise that "he shall walk before my anointed forever" does not make much sense in relation to Samuel either.⁶⁷⁸ Therefore, v. 35 in the present form of both MT and LXX (the verse is very poorly attested in 4QSam^a) can by no means relate to Samuel. At the same time, we have no evidence in v. 35 permitting us to reconstruct a more primitive text easily applying to Samuel. It follows that MT's form of vv. 27-36 will suit well its immediate context only after we understand v. 35 in a way which is in complete contradiction with its present form, and this in the absence of any redaction-critical reasons. Moreover, as indicated above, this text, supposedly better fitting into its context, will itself be full of tensions, since v. 34 would then describe as a sign the event that should be the actual fulfillment of the judgment.

The meaning of MT's plus (or of its original wording) and the way it entered into the text are difficult to ascertain. In Hutzli's view, if we read in 32a α עין (an expression taken over from the original wording of v. 29), v. 32a intends to say this: Since Eli jealously looked at Yhwh's sacrifice (v. 29), he will have to watch with jealousy all the good things that an

⁶⁷⁸ So already Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 49, in reaction to Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, p. 14. Pisano himself admits elsewhere (on p. 31) that the identification of the faithful priest with Samuel "does not appear to be the final intention of this passage."

unspecified person will do for Israel.⁶⁷⁹ In the given context, however, it is completely unclear who this benefactor of Israel might be. This in Hutzli's view may indicate that v. 32a is a gloss originally supposed to be inserted somewhere else, perhaps after v. 33MT where Israel's benefactor could be identified with Samuel. Yet to postulate an original destination of the gloss after v. 33 is unnecessary, since, as pointed out by Fokkelman with reference to 1 Sam 20,13, the hiph. of יטב does not necessarily have a causative-transitive meaning.⁶⁸⁰

The problem with Hutzli's and similar explanations is the supposition that at a given phase of the text's development, both 29a and 32a were in order, and later the same change of עין into מעון occurred in both of them. Since this shift may hardly be deliberate, one is forced to suppose that both verses were corrupted (v. 29 more strongly than v. 32), and by coincidence the same change from עין to מעון occurred in both of them. As I have suggested above, it is more probable that the plus 31b-32a was inserted into proto-MT only after the change of עין into מעון happened in 29, or perhaps simultaneously with this first phase of corruption in 29 (in 32a, unlike 29, the words נבט and צר were preserved). If we understand מעון in the sense of a dwelling place or an abode, at least the clause 32aa (והבטת צר מעון) makes relatively good sense as part of the alterations in proto-MT which directed the judgment more specifically against Eli, so that he is now supposed to experience it. The "distress of the dwelling" may be identified with the loss of the ark in 1 Sam 4, which will result in Eli's death. The second part of the half-verse remains enigmatic.

It follows that, as to the consonantal text⁶⁸¹ of vv. 31-33, 4QSam^a/LXX give more ancient readings than MT with all of the more important textual differences. The oldest text that we can reconstruct from actually attested readings may be identified with the retroversion of LXX as it appears in Table 16 above, plus perhaps לך attested in MT in 33aa.

I have the impression, however, that already the text's older form attested in 4QSam^a/LXX is not entirely smooth. We have observed the proto-MT's effort to edit the text in order that the word זקן makes sense in its plain meaning "old man". As suggested by Hutzli, the proto-MT's scribe may have been guided by the desire to prevent the impression that the Elides can perform lower priestly functions. But it is possible, too, that the scribe of proto-MT felt that the word זקן did not make much sense in the text he had before him. In view of this, I would like to suggest now a tentative emendation of the text.

As the judgment in 4QSam^a/LXX consists of Eli's not having זקן in Yhwh's house, it was suggested that we understand זקן as a designation of a leading priestly position.⁶⁸² In 2 Kgs 19,2 (= Isa 37,2) and Jer 19,1 we find indeed the expression זקני הכהנים. The noun זקן

⁶⁷⁹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 124. A similar interpretation, but with a different reconstruction, has already been suggested by Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, p. 13.

⁶⁸⁰ Fokkelman, *Art IV*, p. 571.

⁶⁸¹ For the moment we shall leave aside the question of the vocalization of זרע and זרעך.

⁶⁸² Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 125.

has the original meaning “old” only in one third of its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, and most often it is used in the sense of “elder.” In this sense, it is as a rule determined by a dependent genitive, though sometimes the genitive may accompany only some occurrences of the word in the given textual unit. There are even a few texts where זקן is used without the determining genitive, while probably designating a leader of a social unit.⁶⁸³ In our text, a kind of substitute for the determining genitive could be seen in the adverbial of place בביתו. Nevertheless, this determination seems somewhat obscure because we have no occurrence of a phrase like, for example, זקן בית יהוה. Even the attested expression זקני הכהנים (2 Kgs 19,2 = Isa 37,2; Jer 19,1) is so rare that it is improbable that the original author of 1 Sam 2,32 would wish to express himself in such an elliptical way. Moreover, v. 33aα describing the exception from the coming judgment does not address the leading function of the one man who remains, but simply his priestly function (לך [מעם מזבחי]). In a similar way, v. 35 foretells, in antithesis to the judgment against the Elides, the establishment of a new priest and his family. Most importantly, when the fulfillment of the prophecy is described in 1 Kgs 2,27, it runs like this: “Solomon expelled Abiathar from being priest to Yhwh (וַיִּגְרֹשׁ שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת אֲבִיָּתָר מִהִיּוֹת כֹּהֵן לַיהוָה), to fulfill the word of Yhwh that he had spoken concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.” As Abiathar’s expulsion by Solomon was already described in 1 Kgs 2,26, v. 27 appears to be a reformulation of Abiathar’s destiny with particular regard to 1 Sam 2,27-36. One may therefore ask whether the author of 1 Kgs 2,27 did not read כהן instead of זקן in 1 Sam 2,32a, the entire half-verse running as follows: ולא יהיה לך כהן בביתו כל הימים.

Unfortunately, I do not know of any cases of interchanges ז/כ and ק/ה. However, both of them are plausible provided that they happened relatively early. The interchange ז/כ in Aramaic script⁶⁸⁴ is not very likely but may be imagined before the development of the medial form of *kaph*, or at least in the time when the vertical line of the medial form curves to the left on the bottom or forms a small hook, but does not yet form a broad base. The curving of the downstrokes in *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe* and *šade* starts at the end of the fifth century B.C.E. and the distinction of the medial and final forms of these letters becomes more evident in the fourth and the third centuries.⁶⁸⁵ The broad base first appears in the Egyptian cursive; in the semiformal scripts it appears in the early second century B.C.E., and in the formal script in the Hasmonean period.⁶⁸⁶

The interchange ה/ק may be imagined in Aramaic script as well. It most likely would have happened during the time when *qoph* had no tail or merely a short one, when its head was broad and the left stroke joined to the right of the end of the horizontal line of the head. As regards *he*, the interchange is more probable in the time when the upper stroke is horizontal, almost horizontal, or gently ascending from the right to the left, but not markedly slanted. The downstroke of the *qoph* was generally short during the 5th century; forms with both short and long tail can be found from the 4th and 3rd centuries. So, for instance, the *qoph* in 4QSam^b (dated by Cross to the late 3rd century) has a short tail; its head is rather narrow but open, the latter feature facilitating the confusion with *he*.⁶⁸⁷ At the beginning of

⁶⁸³ 1 Kgs 21,8.11 (the expressions ... אשר הישבים בעירו and הזקנים ... אשר בעירו make clear, however, that the “elders” of the town are concerned); 2 Kgs 6,32; 1 Chr 21,16; Ezra 10,8 (but see v. 14); Ps 107,32; Joel 1,2.14 (yet both occurrences are in parallel with the genitive phrase כל יושבי הארץ); in a few places it is unclear whether the stress falls on the age or leading position – e.g. Job 12,20; Isa 3,2; Ezek 7,26.

⁶⁸⁴ Paleographical notes are dependent on Cross, Manuscripts, p. 147-172; *id.*, Development, p. 133-202; Naveh, Development.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. however, the case of 4QEx^f from the 3rd c., where the medial and final *kaph* are not distinguished.

⁶⁸⁶ Cross, Development, p. 150, with examples in his fig. 1.

⁶⁸⁷ See the table in Cross, Development, p. 137.

the 2nd c., the tail began to become longer, in the cursive as well as in the formal script. Though some Hasmonean manuscripts use short tail (e.g. 4QDeut^c), in the majority of them it grows radically longer. Furthermore, the tail tends to move leftward, so that it joins with the left tick of the head.⁶⁸⁸ All these developments of the 2nd century make the confusion with *he* less likely. As regards *he*, in some texts in the extreme cursive from the first half of the 5th c. the upper stroke becomes almost horizontal, and the horizontal stroke is common in the extreme cursive at the end of the 5th c.⁶⁸⁹ In the formal cursive, the upper stroke is usually oblique in the 5th c., but the examples of the horizontal stroke exist as well.⁶⁹⁰ In Aramaic papyri from Wadi Daliyeh, the upper stroke tends to be slanted in the manuscripts from the first half of the 4th c., while in the texts from the second half of the century it rather tends to be horizontal (in one manuscript, the upper stroke even goes up from the right to the left).⁶⁹¹ In the third-century formal script of Qumran, the crossbar is horizontal or gently inclined down or up.⁶⁹² In addition, in the 3rd c. the joint of the left downstroke and the horizontal bar moved leftward⁶⁹³, which increases the resemblance with *qoph*.

It follows that if the supposed change from כהן to זקן had been caused by a copyist's error, it would most likely have happened before the beginning of the 2nd c., perhaps during the 4th-3rd c. This is in agreement with the fact that the mistake would have had to have appeared before the translation of 1 Samuel into Greek, usually dated to the 2nd c. B.C.E.⁶⁹⁴

1 Kgs 2,27 may also be useful for the analysis of 1 Sam 2,31aβ. The majority of scholars prefer MT's vocalization זָרַע and זָרַע because it agrees better with the verb גָּדַע.⁶⁹⁵ זָרַע is then understood as a metaphor of power. On the other hand, McCarter is right that the following verses agree better with LXX's reading τὸ σπέρμα (= זָרַע / זָרַע).⁶⁹⁶ Hutzli deduces from 1 Sam 2,31 and from a frequently suggested emendation in Mal 2,3⁶⁹⁷ that there existed a fixed phrase גָּדַע זָרַע meaning "to cut off the priestly arm."⁶⁹⁸ While not impossible, it is fairly hypothetical. 1 Sam 2,27-36 and Mal 1,6-2,9 have much in common, and at some point of their creation or transmission there may have been a direct literary relationship between them.⁶⁹⁹ In such a case 1 Sam 2,31 and Mal 2,3 would not be two independent occurrences of the postulated phrase גָּדַע זָרַע. Besides that, the promise וְגִעְרָתִי לָכֶם בְּאֵכָל in Mal 3,11 seems to be intended, at least in MT, to contrast with 2,3, which may be an argument against the emendation in 2,3.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁸⁸ Cross, *Development*, p. 172, 187.

⁶⁸⁹ Naveh, *Development*, p. 26.

⁶⁹⁰ Naveh, *Development*, p. 29.

⁶⁹¹ Dušek, *Manuscripts*, p. 469.

⁶⁹² Cross, *Development*, p. 147.

⁶⁹³ Cross, *Development*, p. 142.

⁶⁹⁴ Grillet – Lestienne, *Premier livre des Règles*, p. 75, 77, 106, 115, 119; Dorival – Harl – Munnich, *Bible*, p. 83-111.

⁶⁹⁵ Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*², p. 14; Driver, *Notes*, p. 38; Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*, p. 117; Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/12*, p. 115.

⁶⁹⁶ McCarter, *1 Samuel*, p. 88; so already Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*¹, p. 13 (yet in the 2nd edition from 1864, p. 14, he follows MT); Smith, *Samuel*, p. 24.

⁶⁹⁷ MT: מִן הַזֶּרַע אֲחִיזָרַע; LXX: ὁ σπέρμα ἁφ' ὧν ἀφ' ὧν τὸν ὄμιον. On the basis of LXX, the majority of scholars reconstruct the original readings גָּדַע and זָרַע. As regards גָּדַע, it would first become גָּרַע, perhaps reflected by LXX, and then by metathesis גָּרַע of MT (see commentaries).

⁶⁹⁸ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 123.

⁶⁹⁹ Tsevat, *Studies*, p. 203-205, considers Mal 1,6-2,9 dependent on 1 Sam 2,27-36.

⁷⁰⁰ Tsevat, *Studies*, p. 209-216.

In 1 Kgs 2,27, the fulfillment of the prophecy against Eli is described in the following manner: ויגרש שלמה את אביתר מהיות כהן ליהוה. Again, being aware that it is a matter of speculation, we can ask if the original reading in 1 Sam 2,31 was not ויגרשתי את זרעך ואת זרע בית אביך. The interchange ד/ר is very frequent, and the interchange ש/ע is attested as well⁷⁰¹. If this suggestion would be correct, LXX would reflect the original vocalization of זרע, agreeing well with the following description of the judgment. The vocalization would have been later changed in order to correspond better to the verb גרע (the verb was no doubt present in the text before the translation of 1 Samuel into Greek). Yet, at the moment when the shift from ויגרשתי to ויגרשתי וגדעתי happened, the possibility to vocalize זרע as “arm” may already have played its part.

The conjectures זקן → כהן in v. 33 and וגדעתי → ויגרשתי in v. 31 are hypothetical but far from arbitrary or unfounded. The attested readings are problematic, the emended words make good sense in the context of the prophecy, and, most importantly, both emendations are based on 1 Kgs 2,27 which is a summary of the oracle 1 Sam 2,27-36. As noted above, the fact that Solomon’s expulsion of Abiathar was already described in 1 Kgs 2,26 suggests that the repetition in v. 27 is intended to be a reformulation of Abiathar’s fate with special regard to 1 Sam 2,27-36. There is thus some probability that the author of 1 Kgs 2,27 used formulations taken over from 1 Sam 2,27-36.

Verse 36:

MT ויכבדוֹ לֶחֶם; missing in LXX^B.⁷⁰² In 4QSam^a, remains of a letter appear before לֶחֶם. According to the text’s editors it could be a *mem*, which, together with the space requirements, leads them to affirm that 4QSam^a had the same reading as MT.⁷⁰³ Hutzli may be right that the shorter reading is more likely to be older.⁷⁰⁴ The addition of the “morsel of bread” may be a harmonization with the bread at the end of the verse.

MT אֶתְהָהָנוּת; LXX μίαν τῶν ἱερατειῶν σου. As noted by Hutzli, LXX makes clear that Elides want to serve in ranks of a different priestly family.⁷⁰⁵ Hutzli is of the opinion that proto-MT’s reviser wished to remove any trace of the idea that the two priestly families would collaborate.

MT לֶחֶם פֶּתִי; LXX^{LN} φαγεῖν ἄρτον κυρίου; the word κυρίου is missing in LXX^{BA}, but it appears in VL^M. Hutzli’s evaluation seems correct.⁷⁰⁶ The longer reading should not be understood as a secondary assimilation to legal texts because the expression יהוה לֶחֶם does not occur anywhere in the HB, in contradistinction to לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים appearing in Lev 21,6.8.17.21.22; 22,25 (אֱלֹהִים always with a pronominal suffix). More importantly, it is difficult to find a motive for the expansion in LXX, while the omission of

⁷⁰¹ Delitzsch, *Schreibfehler*, p. 119.

⁷⁰² Several Septuagintal witnesses, including LXX^{AOI} and VL^M, contain the longer reading in accordance with MT. In Greek, this longer reading is probably secondary; see Kahanen, *Problem*, p. 125-127, for details.

⁷⁰³ Cross et al., *DJD XVII*, p. 46.

⁷⁰⁴ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 128. Contra de Boer, *I Samuel I-XVI*, p. 53.

⁷⁰⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 128-129.

⁷⁰⁶ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 129.

יהוה may be well explained. Its author probably wanted to reject the idea that Elides can eat food from sacrifices. The reading of LXX^{BA} is therefore most likely an assimilation to proto-MT.⁷⁰⁷

3.2 Linguistic and thematic parallels between 1 Samuel 2,27-36 and the dynastic promise to David

As mentioned above, some scholars believe that the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is to contest the promise of an eternal Davidic dynasty. The linguistic and thematic parallels between 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7, as well as other formulations of the Davidic promise, are obvious.⁷⁰⁸ The word בית is a key word in 1 Sam 2,27-36 as well as in 2 Sam 7 and other references to the promise of the Davidic dynasty. 2 Sam 7 plays on the two meanings of the word בית, both that of the “house” (vv. 1.2.5.6.7.13) and of the “dynasty” [vv. 11.16.18.19.26.27.29(2x)]. Similarly, in 1 Sam 2,27-36 the word בית refers to the family (or dynasty) of Eli (vv. 30.33.36)⁷⁰⁹, the family of his “father” (vv. 27.28.30.31), the family the new “faithful priest” (v. 35) and the temple (v. 32LXX/4QSam^a).⁷¹⁰

More importantly, Eli’s house and the house of his father were originally promised to walk before Yhwh forever (ביתך ובית אביך יתהלכו לפני עד – 1 Sam 2,30). Similarly, David’s descendants are promised to rule forever עד עולם – 2 Sam 7,13.16(2x).25. = 1 Chr 17,12.14.23⁷¹¹; 2 Sam 22,51 = Ps 18,51; 1 Kgs 2,33.45; Ps 89,5; Isa 9,6; cf. also לעולם – 2 Sam 7,29(2x) = 1 Chr 17,27(2x); 2 Chr 13,5; 1 Kgs 9,5; Ps 89,29.37; Ezek 37,25,⁷¹² עד העולם – 1 Chr 17,14; ברית עולם – 2 Sam 23,5; עד עדי – Ps 132,12; לעד – Ps 89,30; כל הימים – 1 Kgs 11,36 (cf. v. 39); 2 Kgs 8,19 = 2 Chr 21,7. The formulation whereby the Elides are supposed to perform their functions *before Yhwh* (לפני עד עולם) forever has a parallel in the promised existence of Davidic kingship *before Yhwh* forever (2 Sam 7,16LXX; 7,29 = 1 Chr 17,27; 1 Kgs 2,45; cf. 2 Sam 7,26 = 1 Chr 17,24).

Yhwh has chosen (בחר) Eli’s father (or the house of Eli’s father) out of all the tribes of Israel to be his priest. David has also been chosen (1 Sam

⁷⁰⁷ The reading of LXX^{LN}/VL^M was considered more ancient already by Smith, Samuel, p. 24.

⁷⁰⁸ Comparisons of 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 have been provided by Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 153-154; Brettler, Composition, p. 610-611; Caquot – de Robert, Samuel, p. 55; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 176-177.

⁷⁰⁹ Plus 31bMT.32bMT. However, 31bMT is missing in LXX and 4QSam^a, the shorter text being probably more ancient. In 32bMT, the reading בביתי of LXX/4QSam^a is preferable.

⁷¹⁰ Furthermore, v. 27 mentions the “house of Pharaoh.”

⁷¹¹ Cf. also 1 Chr 22,10.

⁷¹² Perhaps also 1 Chr 28,4.7. The Chronicler may, however, have thought here only of the lifelong rule of David and Solomon.

16,8-12; 2 Sam 6,21; 1 Kgs 8,16 = 2 Chr 6,5f; 1 Kgs 11,34; 1 Chr 28,4; Ps 28,4; 78,67-70; 89,20; cf. 1 Chr 28,5f.10; 29,1 about Solomon and Hag 2,23 about Zerubbabel). Yet as we will see, the phraseology of 1 Sam 2,28 has more specific parallels elsewhere.

The phrase *וַאִישׁ לֹא אֲכַרִּית (לְךָ) מֵעַם מִזְבְּחִי* (1 Sam 2,33) resembles the phraseology of those passages in which it is said that a man of David will never be cut off from the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25 = 2 Chr 6,16; 1 Kgs 9,5 = 2 Chr 7,18; Jer 33,17). However, the formulations are not exactly the same since in 1 Sam 2,33 the verb *כָּרַת* is in hiphil, while in the other mentioned passages it appears in niphil. Neither is this parallel exclusive to these occurrences, as the same “nonextermination” formula is used regarding the Levitical priests (Jer 33,18) and Jonadab, the son of Rechab (Jer 35,19).

Most of the members of Eli’s house are destined to die by the “sword of man” (*בַּחֶרֶב אֲנָשִׁים* – 4QSam^a/LXX). According to 2 Sam 7,14 the Davidic king will be punished for his eventual sins by the “rod of men” (*בַּשֶּׁבֶט* (אֲנָשִׁים)).⁷¹³

It has also been pointed out that the establishment of the “faithful priest” is described in 1 Sam 2,35 with the verbal form *וְהָקִימְתִּי* which in 2 Sam 7,12 (par. 1 Chr 17,11) is used for the installment of David’s descendant(s) on the throne, cf. also 2 Sam 23,1; 1 Kgs 15,4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; Ezek 34,23. But again, the verb *קִים* hi. can also be used to describe the vocation of people into other functions as well.⁷¹⁴

Perhaps the most specific parallel in 1 Sam 2,27-36 to the dynastic promise of David is the use of the expression *בֵּית נְאֻמָּן* (v. 35) to describe the priestly family that is to replace the Elides. Except for our text, this expression always appears in connection with the permanence of the Davidic dynasty (1 Sam 25,28; 2 Sam 7,16; 1 Kgs 11,38). Apart from this, *נְאֻמָּן* appears in the context of the Davidic promise in Ps 89,29.38 and Isa 55,3, cf. also 1 Kgs 8,26 (par. 2 Chr 6,17); 1 Chr 17,23f.; 2 Chr 1,9.⁷¹⁵

G. Auld points out many other linguistic and thematic links between the opening chapters of 1 Samuel and the remainder of Samuel-Kings.⁷¹⁶ For instance, he notes that when Eli appears for the first time as an actor within

⁷¹³ Brettler, *Composition*, p. 610.

⁷¹⁴ Prophets (Deut 18,15; Jer 29,15; Amos 2,11 – here also Nazirites), judges or saviours (Judg 2,16.18; 3,9.15), Solomon’s adversary (1 Kgs 11,14.23), a king of northern Israel (1 Kgs 14,14), “watchmen” (Jer 6,17), “shepherds” (Jer 23,4 – here, in fact, Davidides may be concerned), a nation that will oppress Israel (Amos 6,14), Chaldeans (Hab 1,6) and a bad shepherd (Zech 11,16); cf. also the call-up of the Teacher of justice in CD 1,11 and elsewhere in this text. For more see J. Gamberoni, *קִים qûm*, p. 589-612.

⁷¹⁵ Numerous scholars think that the use of *נְאֻמָּן* ni. in Isa 7,9 is an allusion to the dynastic promise to David as well. See for example: Würthwein, *Jesaja* 7, 1-9, p. 47-63; Wildberger, *Jesaja* 1-12, p. 270-272, 283-285; Becker, *Jesaja*, p. 37-38, 41-42, 49-52; Beuken, *Jesaja* 1-12, p. 199-200.

⁷¹⁶ Auld, *King*.

the scene, he is depicted in 1 Sam 1,9 as sitting on a סִדְדָּן. Later on, having learned of the capture of the ark by the Philistines, he falls from the סִדְדָּן and dies (4,18). As the word סִדְדָּן usually designates the royal throne, it constitutes in Auld's view another hint to the fact that Eli's and his house's destiny anticipates that of the Judean royal dynasty. Similarly, the fate of the temple in Shiloh is for Auld above all an anticipation of the later destiny of the Jerusalem temple as described in Kings.⁷¹⁷

As already mentioned, I find it problematic that the numerous parallels between 1 Sam 1–4 and the following texts of Samuel-Kings observed by Auld do not amount to any *system*. The section at 1 Sam 1–4 can hardly be read such that its individual characters and events unequivocally correspond to other, later characters and events. This applies even for the relatively clear linguistic parallels in 1 Sam 2,27-36. The Davidic promise is analogous to the ancient promise of eternity to the house of Eli's father (vv. 28.30, cf. also 33aα), as well as to the promise of a sure house to the new priestly dynasty that is to replace Eli's family (v. 35).

The possibility cannot be excluded, of course, that the abrogation of the eternal promise given to Eli's house (v. 30) incited some of the ancient readers of the book of Samuel to consider whether, by analogy, one could not infer that the similar promise made to David could also be rendered invalid. This may have been especially likely since the story of Eli and Samuel constitutes a prologue to the history of the kingship in Israel. Nevertheless, already the discussion of the textual history of 2 Sam 2,27-36 has shown that the ancient readers understood the text to be, above all, relevant to questions of priesthood as per its plain-face meaning. According to most scholars, these priestly matters were indeed the primary theme of the text in its original form.

3.3 *A case for the unity of 1 Sam 2,27-36*

As we have seen, the extant forms of 1 Sam 2,27-36 bear witness to considerable textual development of the passage. The main witnesses present us with numerous variations, the most important being probably the secondary addition of vv. 31b-32a in MT as against the more ancient text represented by 4QSam^a and LXX. On the other hand, once we read 1 Sam 2,27-36 in its text-critically reconstructed form, I see no reason to posit any considerable literary growth within the chapter. This is in disagreement with a few recent studies which seek to identify several layers within the oracle against the Elides.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁷ Similarly, Frolov, Man, p. 71-72, believes that Shiloh is a cipher for Jerusalem and, more generally, for the dtr concept of centralized cult entrusted to one priestly family.

⁷¹⁸ Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 123-125, 140-153; Leuchter, Something.

In his commentary, W. Dietrich has offered perhaps the most detailed reconstruction of the development of the text, distinguishing in the text an old pre-dtr core which forms part of a “Narrative about the Elides (and the Ark)”, then a dtr redaction by DtrP, and finally a “spätere Glossierung” in 31b-32a.⁷¹⁹ The pre-dtr text consisted of vv. 27abα.28b-29.30bβ.31aβ.32b⁷²⁰, the dtr redaction appears in vv. 27bβγ-28a.30abα.31aα.34-36. This reconstruction is very speculative, since it is based almost exclusively on the observation that 1 Sam 2,27-36 contains phraseology and vocabulary usually considered dtr, together with other vocabulary which does not appear in typically dtr texts.⁷²¹ Dietrich then simply removes the dtr elements and deems the remainder to be the older text. In the absence of other literary-critical arguments, such a procedure is highly questionable – it might be relevant only under the condition that the “dtr” phraseology in Samuel would be exclusively used by the “true” deuteronomists who were unable to use any other language. Even within a Göttingen-school frame, such a combination of “dtr” and non-dtr language could be explained by positing a “post-dtr” origin of the text. As a matter of fact, we will see below that the oracle contains a late modification of an expression usually regarded as dtr. Moreover, the older form of the oracle reconstructed by Dietrich would begin in v. 28b with the verb *ואתנה*, which is impossible; Dietrich is thus forced to postulate here a more ancient form *נתתי*.⁷²²

Other scholars have based their redaction-critical observations on the position of v. 34, with H. J. Stoebe for example suggesting that this verse must be understood as the conclusion of an earlier form of the oracle, which would imply that vv. 35-36 constitute a later addition. However, this does not seem very convincing. It is repeatedly stressed already in the first part of the oracle that both the former promise (vv. 27n.30) and the present judgment (v. 31) concern not only the house of Eli himself but also the house of his father. It is thus clear within this part of the oracle already that the aim of the text is to deny the priestly function to some larger entity than just Eli’s family serving in Shiloh, and hence that it addresses a larger context than just the story of Eli and his sons in 1 Sam 1–4. In this way the first part of the prophecy prepares the announcement of the rise of the new house of a faithful priest with which the whole oracle culminates.⁷²³

Hutzli agrees with Stoebe that the position of v. 34 in the middle of the oracle is unfitting because one would expect the motif of the sign to come

⁷¹⁹ Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 123-125, 140-153.

⁷²⁰ Cf. the translation of the reconstructed text *ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷²¹ Similar criticism applies to Leuchter, Something.

⁷²² Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 142.

⁷²³ The same objection must be raised against the suggestion of Nelson, Role, p. 136-141, according to whom v. 35 is a dtr addition where a new interest in a new priestly line becomes visible. As we have seen, the theme of the substitution of one priestly house by another is most likely present already in the first part of the oracle. – For other arguments in favour of the basic unity of the oracle, see Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 172-175.

at the end of the prophecy.⁷²⁴ Moreover, Hutzli presents a case for the secondary origin of all references to Hophni and Phinehas in 1 Samuel, and proposes a “Hophni-Pinchas’-Ergänzungsschicht” in 1 Sam 1,3b; 2,25bβ. 34, the verses mentioning Hophni and Phinehas in 1 Sam 4, and 1 Sam 14,3a. He then connects this layer with a few other passages in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and 1 Samuel mentioning the names of the priests related to the ark.⁷²⁵ As to 1 Sam 2,34, this conclusion seems problematic. First, as indicated by 1 Kgs 14,12, the sign does not have to appear uniquely at the end of the oracle. Moreover, the relationship between the sign in v. 34 and the judgment proper in vv. 31-33 is far from arbitrary since the death of Hophni and Phinehas announced in v. 34 serves to *prefigure* the massacre of Elide priesthood in Nob proclaimed in vv. 31-33. There is no such motivated relationship between Eli’s sons’ death and the subservient status of the remaining Elides to the new priestly house as it is described in vv. 35-36. It is thus natural that the sign comes after vv. 31-33, and not at the end of the whole oracle, especially if vv. 35-36 sound more like a dynastic promise to the new family than a judgment over the Elides. Finally, as argued by Hutzli and other scholars⁷²⁶, 1 Sam 14,3a and its genealogical link between the Elide priesthood of Shiloh and the priests of Nob is most likely secondary and redactional. On the other hand, the association of the priest-hoods of Shiloh and Nob is mainly based on 1 Sam 14,3a, which, for that reason, can hardly be posterior to 1 Sam 2,27-36*. It would be very difficult to understand the slaughter of the priests of Nob in 1 Sam 22 as a fulfillment of 1 Sam 2,31-33 without this genealogical link. It is thus preferable to ascribe 1 Sam 14,3a to the same hand as 2,27-36 (including v. 34). This also means that at least some of the genealogical information in 1 Sam 4 is either contemporary with or prior to 2,27-36. In sum, there is no conclusive evidence of several layers in 1 Sam 2,27-36. I will therefore treat it as a unity in the following discussion.

3.4 Priestly and messianic dynasties in 1 Sam 2,27-36

The historical context of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is most likely the jostling of two priestly groups for power. Since the 19th century, various scholars have identified the house of Eli’s father with the Levites and the house of the new faithful priest (v. 35) with the Zadokites. In his recent book, Hutzli took up this line of thought and located 1 Sam 2,27-36 in the context of a conflict between these groups in the exilic and post-exilic period. In the following paragraphs I will build on his analysis.

⁷²⁴ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 172-173, 182.

⁷²⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 182-188.

⁷²⁶ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 39-42; Mommer, *Samuel*, p. 9-10; Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/12*, p. 125.

The oracle begins with a reminder of Yhwh's revelation to the house of Eli's father in the time of Egyptian subjection (v. 27), probably hinting at Yhwh's revelation to Moses⁷²⁷ (Exod 3 etc.) as a representative of the Levites (cf. Exod 2,1; 6,16-26). As noted by Hutzli, Yhwh revealed himself to the "house of your father", not to the "father" himself, which means that the "father" in question is not Moses but rather Levi, and the "house" designates the Levites in general (cf. the expression *בית לוי* in Exod 2,1, in the story of Moses' birth).⁷²⁸ The reference to the "house" of Eli's father in 1 Sam 2,27 might also correspond to Yhwh's revelation to Moses and Aaron (Exod 5,3; 6,13.26; 7,8; 9,8; 12,1.28.43.50; cf. also 1 Sam 12,8; Exod 6,16-26 describes the Levitical origin of both Moses and Aaron, the latter is designated as a Levite also in 4,14). Yet the question remains as to which of the adduced passages from the book of Exodus were known to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 at that time.

According to 1 Sam 2,28 Yhwh elected the house of Eli's father out of all the tribes of Israel to be his priest. We have already noticed the possible parallel with the election of David. Apart of this, the phrase *בחר מכל שבטי ישראל* and its variants frequently refer to Yhwh's election of the place of the legitimate, centralized cult.⁷²⁹ There is, however, one passage in the HB apart from 1 Sam 2,28 where a tribe or a clan is elected out of all the tribes of Israel: Deut 18,5 which describes the election of the Levites to the priestly service. 1 Sam 2,28 thus very probably alludes to Deut 18,5⁷³⁰, which confirms that the house of Eli's father is meant to designate the Levites.⁷³¹ The assertion that Yhwh has given to the house of Eli's father all the *אש*⁷³² of the children of Israel may, too, be a direct reference to Deut 18,1 accord-

⁷²⁷ Cross, *Myth*, p. 196-197; Caquot – de Robert, *Samuel*, p. 54; and several others.

⁷²⁸ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 169. The "house of your father" was identified with the "clan of Levi" already by Smith, *Samuel*, p. 22; more recently Mommer, *Samuel*, p. 9; Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/12*, p. 125; similarly Hertzberg, *Samuel*, p. 37, 39; differently McCarter, *I Samuel*, p. 89, according to whom the "house of your father" designates "the house of Moses". Cross, *Myth*, p. 196-206, considers the Shilonite priesthood as Mushite (i.e. derived from Moses), but he seems to equate the Mushites with Levites.

⁷²⁹ Deut 12,5.14; 1 Kgs 8,16 (= 2 Chr 6,5); 11,32; 14,21 (= 2 Chr 12,13); 2 Kgs 21,7 (= 2 Chr 33,7).

⁷³⁰ Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/12*, p. 148.

⁷³¹ On the contrary, Auld, *King*, p. 31, considers Deut 18,5 dependent on 1 Sam 2.

⁷³² Following the lead of LXX, the word has traditionally been translated as "offering made by fire" on the basis of the supposed cognation with the word *אש* "fire." This etymology has been repeatedly questioned, most influentially by Hofstijzer, *Feueropfer*, p. 114-134, according to whom the Hebrew *אֲשֶׁה* is etymologically related to the Ugaritic *itt*, which would exclude the etymological relation of *אֲשֶׁה* to *אש*. It is clear that in some places, for example Lev 24,7.9, *אֲשֶׁה* may hardly be considered an "offering made by fire." On the other hand, some scholars point out that if the word appears in connection with the burning of the sacrifice on the altar, it may well be that the authors of these passages already supposed a relation between *אֲשֶׁה* and *אש*, even if etymologically the words are unrelated. For more references to the problem, see Nihan, *Torah*, p. 151-152.

ing to which אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה are supposed to be eaten⁷³³ by “the Levitical priests, all the tribe of Levi”.⁷³⁴

Due to the sins of Eli’s sons and Eli’s own indulgent attitude, the election of the house of Eli’s father will now be cancelled, Eli’s family will be violently punished and the priesthood will be given to another family. Whichever way we read v. 29⁷³⁵, it no doubt refers to the violation of priestly rules as they are described in 1 Sam 2,15-17. By taking a portion from the sacrifices before the burning of the fat, Eli’s sons (at least according to the author of v. 29) also took the fat (חֶלֶב – vv. 15-16) which, as the best part (רֵאשִׁית in MT or ראש in 4QSam^a – v. 29), should belong to Yhwh.⁷³⁶ Eli himself was guilty of failing to take firm measures against his sons (he honoured them more than Yhwh). His rebuke of the sons in vv. 23-25 was probably considered insufficient by the author of v. 29.⁷³⁷

In 2,30 the man of God quotes Yhwh’s older promise that “your house and the house of your father will walk before me forever.” According to Veijola, this is one of the instances of DtrG’s favourite technique of referring to fictive former promises (other examples adduced by Veijola include 2 Sam 3,9f.; 3,18; 5,2; 7,11; 7,21; 1 Kgs 2,4).⁷³⁸ Nevertheless, 1 Sam 2,30a may refer to Deut 18,5 as well, especially if we suppose that the author of 1 Sam 2,30 may have known Deut 18,5 in the form attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX (and presupposed most likely also by 11QT^a 60,10-11), which runs כִּי בּוֹ בָחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִכָּל שְׂבִטֶיךָ לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ. ⁷³⁹ Here the Levitical priests are promised to stand “before Yhwh” (לַעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה – cf. also Deut 10,8), much like the promise in 1 Sam 2,30 to “walk before me” (יִתְהַלְכוּ לִפְנֵי). In both cases the priestly office is dynastic (Deut 18,5: הוּא וּבָנָיו; 1 Sam 2,30: בֵּיתְךָ), and the promise is supposed to last forever (Deut 18,5: כָּל הַיָּמִים; 1 Sam 2,30: עַד עוֹלָם).

As we saw above, it is probably 4QSam^a and LXX which provide the more ancient reading in vv. 31-33. According to this shorter form of the text the judgment on the Elides consists of their being divested of the leading priestly function (so Hutzli⁷⁴⁰), or, if my tentative emendation is correct, in their deprivation of the priesthood in general. The violent death (4QSam^a/

⁷³³ For εἰς βρῶσιν in 1 Sam 2,28LXX, see the text-critical note *supra*.

⁷³⁴ Cf. also Josh 13,14MT. These three passages are the only occurrences of אֲשֵׁה in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets. All other occurrences are in the priestly texts.

⁷³⁵ See the text-critical notes *ad loc*.

⁷³⁶ For the parallelism between חֶלֶב and רֵאשִׁית, see Num 18,12. The reading ראש of 4QSam^a (and maybe of LXX as well) does not necessarily change the meaning of the text; for the meaning “finest, best, supreme” of ראש, see Beuken – Dahmen, ראש, p. 257.

⁷³⁷ Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 170.

⁷³⁸ Veijola, Dynastie, p. 76.

⁷³⁹ This is the form of the verse in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In LXX the first אֱלֹהֶיךָ is missing, and it reads לַשְׂרָה in agreement with MT. For more on LXX’s reading, see Wevers, Deuteronomy, p. 294-295; for the text of 11QT^a, see Schiffman, Septuagint, p. 288-289.

⁷⁴⁰ Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 124-125, 170.

LXX: (יָפֹלוּ בַּחֶרֶב אַנְשֵׁים) of the majority (מֵרַבִּית) of Eli's house predicted in v. 33 refers to the slaughter of the priests of Nob at Saul's command (1 Sam 22,6-23), and the one man destined to survive (v. 33a) is Abiathar who escaped the Nob massacre and ran to David (1 Sam 22,20).

As a substitute for the Elides (=Levites) Yhwh will now raise up for himself a faithful (נֶאֱמָן) priest for whom he will build a sure house (בֵּית נֶאֱמָן). The new priest is probably Zadok whom, according to 1 Kgs 2,35, Solomon appointed as priest instead of the Elide Abiathar (cf. the genealogy in 1 Sam 4,19-22; 14,3; 22,20).⁷⁴¹ Hutzli notes that the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is close to that of Ezek 44,6-31 where the Levites are relegated to the function of temple servants, while the priestly service proper may be performed only by the Zadokites.⁷⁴²

We have seen that the most specific linguistic parallel between 1 Sam 2,27-36 and the dynastic promise to David is the promise of a sure house to the new priestly family in v. 35. This fact in itself weakens Auld's argument that the decline of the seemingly eternal Elide dynasty anticipates the fall of the Davidic dynasty. Moreover, the new priest (or his house) is promised to walk before Yhwh's anointed all the coming days, which apparently presupposes the existence of a "messianic" dynasty. It could be claimed that the promise only concerns the person of the faithful priest (i.e. Zadok) walking before Yhwh's anointed until his death, but this does not seem likely. The whole prophecy leads to the description of the miserable destiny of the descendants of Eli's family in contrast with the blessing of the faithful priest's family (vv. 35f.). In v. 36 the grammatical referent of the pronominal suffix in לוֹ is identical with the subject of וְהִתְהַלַּךְ in v. 35, and the prediction in v. 36 most likely refers to the distant future (the time of king Josiah or later). Therefore, the real referent of the pronominal suffix in לוֹ in v. 36, and most probably also the referent of the subject of וְהִתְהַלַּךְ, cannot be (only) Zadok. Similarly, the parallel between, on the one side, the (cancelled) promise to Eli's house and the house of his father that they will walk before Yhwh forever (יִתְהַלְכוּ לִפְנֵי עַד עוֹלָם – v. 30), and, on the other, the promise to the new priest or his house that he/they will walk before Yhwh's anointed all the coming days (וְהִתְהַלַּךְ לִפְנֵי מְשִׁיחִי כָּל הַיָּמִים) indicates that v. 35bβ construes a permanent priestly dynasty in service of a royal dynasty.⁷⁴³ As noted by several scholars, the shift from לִפְנֵי in v. 30 to

⁷⁴¹ The identification of the new priest with Zadok is nearly unanimously accepted, but other suggestions exist as well: Eslinger, *Kingship*, p. 137-142, identifies the faithful priest with Samuel. Frolov, *Man*, p. 69-70, deduces from the combination of 1 Sam 14,3 and 2 Sam 18,7 that Zadok was thought to be Eli's descendant; 1 Sam 2,27-36 then is, in Frolov's view, most likely not directed against an obscure priestly family of Eli but (among others) against the Zadokite dynasty who controlled Yhwh's cult in the post-exilic period.

⁷⁴² Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 181.

⁷⁴³ Cf. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 43: "... die göttlich legitimierte Dynastie einen göttlich legitimierten geistlichen Sukzessionsträger zur Seite haben soll..."

לפני משיחי in v. 35 is most likely intentional and supposed to express the subordinate relationship of the Zadokite priestly dynasty to the Davidic dynasty.⁷⁴⁴ Consequently the oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36 may hardly be read as anticipating the fall of the Davidic dynasty. 1 Sam 2,35f. construes the Zadokite dynasty as an analogy to the Davidic dynasty, but the latter is supposed to continue, with the priestly power subordinated to the power of the anointed. 1 Sam 2,27-36 presupposes the validity of the dynastic promise to David.

3.5 The historical context of 1 Samuel 2,27-36

Some scholars date 1 Sam 2,27-36 or at least its first version very early (to early monarchic period or even earlier).⁷⁴⁵ However, the majority of scholars consider the oracle against the Elides to be a relatively late text, which was inserted into the pre-existing context of 1 Samuel 1ff*.⁷⁴⁶ It was pointed out in this connection that there is a tension between v. 29 and vv. 12-17. In v. 29 the accusation is directed against Eli (see the sg. in 29a 4QSam^a/LXX), but vv. 12-17 only describe the sins of Eli's sons.⁷⁴⁷ In 2,22-25 Eli even tries to reform his sons.⁷⁴⁸ Moreover, the oracle as a whole is in tension with the information that immediately follows, namely that "the word of Yhwh was precious in those days, the vision was not frequent" (1 Sam 3,1).⁷⁴⁹ According to M. Brettler the passage contains elements of so-called "Late Biblical Hebrew".⁷⁵⁰

Several scholars noted the presence of dtr language and ideology in the passage.⁷⁵¹ As regards the linguistic features, Veijola adduces the expres-

⁷⁴⁴ Campbell, 1 Samuel, p. 54; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 178; cf. also Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 149.

⁷⁴⁵ E.g. Tsevat, Studies; Caquot – de Robert, Samuel, p. 55-56; Rendsburg, Leads, p. 35-46; Leuchter, Something, finds traces of dtr (probably Josianic) redaction in the text, and yet he situates the basic text in the pre-monarchic period! Also Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 39, believes that the dtr redaction has adapted an old text.

⁷⁴⁶ Smith, Samuel, p. 21-22; Wellhausen, Composition, p. 236-238; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35-37; McCarter, 1 Samuel, p. 89-91; Stolz, Samuel, p. 35f.; Brettler, Composition; Mommer, Samuel, p. 8-14; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 34; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 167-181; according to Frolov, Man, 1 Sam 2,27-36 is an integral part of a post-dtr composition Judg 19-1 Sam 8.

⁷⁴⁷ Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 169-170. Cf. already Stolz, Samuel, p. 35.

⁷⁴⁸ Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 27; Mommer, Samuel, p. 9.

⁷⁴⁹ Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35.

⁷⁵⁰ Brettler, Composition, p. 609-610. Cf., however, the critical remarks of Rendsburg, Leads, p. 35-46. I do not find Rendsburg's critique very convincing.

⁷⁵¹ Wellhausen, Composition, p. 237; *id.*, Prolegomena, p. 126, 142, 147; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35-37; McCarter, 1 Samuel, p. 89-93; Stolz, Samuel, p. 35f.; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 24; Römer, Väter, p. 277-279; Mommer, Samuel, p. 11-12; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 34; Brettler, Composition, p. 609-610. The presence of dtr elements is denied by Caquot – de Robert, Samuel, p. 53-56.

sions ואיש לא אכרית לך מעם מזבחי (v. 30), יהוה אלהי ישראל (v. 33) and the use of בית as a key word (vv. 27.28.30.31.32.33.35.36). McCarter adds בהיותם במצרים עבדים לבית פרעה (v. 27 4QSam^a/LXX, cf. primarily Deut 6,21; and also 5,15; 16,12; 24,18.22), and כאשר בלבבי ובנפשי (v. 35), with a reference to the “Deuteronomic cliché” בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך (Deut 4,29; 6,5; 10,12; 26,16; 30,2.6.10). Frolov points out that the expression ובחר אתו מכל שבטי ישראל (v. 28) has close parallels in Deut 12,5.14; 18,5; 1 Kgs 8,16; 11,32; 14,21; 2 Kgs 21,7.⁷⁵² P. Mommer also regards as dtr the “raising up” (קום hi.) of a person by Yhwh (e.g. Josh 5,7, for further references see the comparison of 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 above) and the motif of the “building of a house” in the sense of establishing a dynasty (Deut 25,9; 2 Sam 7,27; 1 Kgs 11,38)⁷⁵³. Dietrich considers the expression התהלך לפני יהוה used in 1 Sam 2,30 a dtr “Floskel”.⁷⁵⁴ As for literary techniques, Veijola points out the similarity of the reminder of a past promise to Eli’s house (v. 30) to Solomon’s recollection of Yhwh’s promise to David (1 Kgs 2,24). Moreover, Veijola argues that the way in which the individual predictions of the oracle faithfully correspond to the events occurring in the following text is a typical technique of DtrG. McCarter, for his part, compares our text with the oracle of an anonymous man of God in 1 Kgs 13,1-3. As to ideological concepts, Veijola notes that the idea of an eternal priestly dynasty (1 Sam 2,30.35) is parallel to the dtr idea of the Davidic eternal dynasty.

According to Frolov, 1 Sam 2,27-36 works with phraseology, literary techniques and concepts that are close to dtr texts, and yet the oracle serves an anti-dtr purpose, and is chronologically post-dtr.⁷⁵⁵ Frolov argues that 1 Sam 2,27-36 is an assault on dtr concepts of Davidic royal and Zadokite priestly dynasties, with the Elides representing the Zadokites (cf. 1 Sam 14,3 and 2 Sam 18,7) and being at the same time a cipher for the Davidides. We have seen, however, that a challenge to the Davidic promise can hardly be found in 1 Sam 2,27-36, since v. 35 presupposes a permanent subordination of the new priestly dynasty to Yhwh’s anointed. The purpose of the unmistakable parallels between the “sure house” of the new priest and the Davidic dynasty is not to question the Davidic promise but to shape the promise to the new priestly dynasty according to the promise to David.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵² Frolov, Man, p. 64.

⁷⁵³ Mommer, Samuel, p. 12, refers to other texts, but there is no connection between בנה and בית in the sense of dynasty in them.

⁷⁵⁴ Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 124, 150. Dietrich refers to 1 Kgs 2,4; 3,6; 8,23; 9,4; 2 Kgs 20,3, but only the last passage has the verb in hitpael, all the others using the qal. Moreover, in 1 Sam 2,30 the phrase denotes the performance of priestly function, while in all the passages adduced by Dietrich it expresses a king’s religious and ethical conduct.

⁷⁵⁵ Frolov, Man.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. Brettler, Composition, p. 611, according to whom 1 Sam 2,27-36 stresses that the institution of Zadokite priesthood is as eternal as David’s dynasty.

The current form of 2 Sam 8,17 is most likely later than 1 Sam 2,27-36.⁷⁵⁷ It is clear, after all, that 1 Kgs 2,27(+ 2,35), explicitly quoting 1 Sam 2,27-36, does not know 2 Sam 8,17 as it stands today, or at least does not consider Zadok's father Ahitub to be identical with Eli's great-grandson of the same name mentioned in 1 Sam 14,3 (the latter possibility was adopted by Ezra 7,1-5).

Hutzli notes that 1 Sam 2,27-36 might be considered "spät-dtr" in respect to its language, yet he considers such a designation to be of little meaning within such a text that aims, among other things, to deny the election of the Levites for the priestly service announced in Deut 18,1-8. Hutzli thus terms the text "post-dtr."⁷⁵⁸ The importance of the distinction between late dtr and post-dtr texts depends on our understanding of what "deuteronomism" in the Former Prophets means.⁷⁵⁹ As explained in the introduction, I do not presuppose the existence of a "dtr" school defined in more or less institutional terms. Moreover, I endeavor not to use the term "dtr" in a redaction-critical sense in order to ascribe texts to "dtr" redactions of Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets, but rather to express a text's intrinsic affinity to Deuteronomy. From this point of view, 1 Sam 2,27-36 not only contains a few dtr phrases, but the very way it handles Deut 18,1-8 may be considered an "alignment"⁷⁶⁰ with Deuteronomy. 1 Sam 2,27-36 is structured in relation to Deut 18,1-8. However, Deut 18,1-8 is not construed here as an unchangeable law, but rather as an historical event of the Levites' election which is now annulled. 1 Sam 2,27-36 thus works with Deut 18,1-8 as part of a historiographic narrative.

The peculiar phrase ⁷⁶¹כֹּאשֶׁר בְּלִבִּי וּבְנַפְשִׁי יַעֲשֶׂה in 1 Sam 2,35 might suggest that the oracle was composed in a rather late phase of development of "dtr" phraseology. In Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets we frequently meet the demand to love Yhwh and serve him, or to keep the commandments and the like ⁷⁶²בְּכָל לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל נַפְשְׁךָ. The use of the merism in these passages serves to express the requirement of "complete and total devotion"⁷⁶³ to Yhwh. An Israelite is to serve Yhwh with all the parts of his or her personality. 1 Sam 2,35aβ expresses the new priest's complete loyalty to Yhwh as well, but the enumerated components of personality belong

⁷⁵⁷ See already Wellhausen, Text, 176-177.

⁷⁵⁸ Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 268-269.

⁷⁵⁹ For this question, see the methodological notes in the Introduction.

⁷⁶⁰ For the view that the dtr character of the Former Prophets is a result of a long process bringing these books into alignment with themes and language of Deuteronomy, see now esp. Nihan, Deutéronomiste, p. 418-435, and the works he refers to.

⁷⁶¹ The clause is formulated slightly differently in other witnesses, see, Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 127-128. The differences do not affect the point I am making here.

⁷⁶² With diverse variations, e.g. various suffixes and various verbs: Deut 4,29; 6,5; 10,12; 11,13.18; 13,4; 26,16; 30,2.6.10; Josh 22,5; 23,14; 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,48; 2 Kgs 23,3.25.

⁷⁶³ Fabry, לֵב, p. 431.

to Yhwh, not to the priest. Obviously, the original (and more logical) use of the merism is the one concerning the person who is asked to fulfil the requirements. This older form of the phrase expresses that the obliged person should not fulfil the requirements “half-heartedly.” 1 Sam 2,35aß thus seems to be an “incorrect” or “degenerated” use of a “dtr” phrase, which to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 was a familiar and already somewhat depleted linguistic cliché.⁷⁶⁴

A few other passages in Samuel may be ascribed to the author of our text with more or less probability. The author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 must also be responsible for either 2,26 or 3,1.⁷⁶⁵ More importantly, 1 Sam 3,11-14 or at least a part of it must be the work of the same (or later) hand as well, since the passage in its present form clearly alludes to 2,27-36.⁷⁶⁶ In respect of the course of events in 1 Samuel 3, we have to suppose that vv. 11-14 in their current form have replaced another oracle.⁷⁶⁷ Detailed surveys of the vocabulary common to 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 3,11-14 have been provided by Dietrich⁷⁶⁸ and Hutzli⁷⁶⁹: קום hiph. (3,12; cf. 2,35); בית עלי or ביתו [3,12. 13.14 (2x); cf. 2,30.32.33.36]; ולכן (3,14; cf. 2,30); בזבח ובמנחה (3,14; cf. 2,29); עד עולם (3,13.14; cf. 2,30); קלל (pi. 3,13; cf. 2,30 qal). In spite of this, Hutzli follows Veijola in ascribing 2,27-36 and 3,(11).12-14 to two different writers.⁷⁷⁰ They both argue that 2,27-36 points to a more distant future than 3,11-12. In their view, the latter only alludes to the massacre in Nob, while the former goes further in predicting Abiathar’s rescue and the miserable life of Eli’s descendants. This, however, seems to neglect v. 3,14 which obviously envisages the ongoing existence of Eli’s descendants and predicts that they will bear the consequences of their sin *forever*, a conclusion entirely in agreement with that of 2,27-36. Both oracles are therefore interested, above all, in the consequences of the Elides’ sins in the distant future (i.e. the time these texts were written), namely the disqualification of the Elides (= Levites) from the (higher) priesthood. Hence, in all likelihood 1 Sam 2,27 and 3,11-14 were written by the same author.⁷⁷¹ Let us also

⁷⁶⁴ This, of course, does not mean that all occurrences of the original use of the merism are older than our text.

⁷⁶⁵ Mommer, Samuel, p. 13, tends to ascribe 1 Sam 2,26 to this same author. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 35, by contrast considers 3,1a part of the frame of 2,27-36.

⁷⁶⁶ McCarter, *I Samuel*, p. 98 (“The oracle has been largely revised in light of the insertion of the episode in 2:27-36.”); Mommer, Samuel, p. 13.

⁷⁶⁷ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 38; Mommer, Samuel, p. 13. Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/12*, p. 122. We may leave aside the question of whether v. 11 was or was not part of the original oracle. See the discussion in Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 200.

⁷⁶⁸ Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/13*, p. 172.

⁷⁶⁹ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 175; cf. also Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 38-39.

⁷⁷⁰ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 38-39, 42-43, ascribes 1 Sam 2,27-36 to DtrG, and 3,11-14 to DtrP; Klein, *I Samuel*, p. 31; Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 175-176.

⁷⁷¹ According to Dietrich, *Samuel VIII/13*, p. 171-174, DtrP has reworked 1 Sam 2,27-36 and written 3,12-14.

recall, for the sake of comprehensiveness, that the writer of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is probably also responsible for the connection between Eli and the priests of Nob formed via the genealogy of 1 Sam 14,3a.⁷⁷²

Concerning the date of 1 Sam 2,27-36 in terms of absolute chronology, scholars sometimes consider “Josiah’s reform” as the *terminus a quo*, since 1 Sam 2,36 seems to allude to the situation mentioned in 2 Kgs 23,9.⁷⁷³ Yet, given that 1 Sam 2,27-36 is most likely somehow linked to the dynastic promise to David as formulated in 2 Samuel 7,1-17, which we have dated to the 6th or 5th c. B.C.E., 1 Sam 2,27-36 must, too, be from the “exilic” period at the earliest. There were conflicts among various priestly groups in the exilic and post-exilic periods, and as noted by Hutzli, the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 seems to be close to that of Ezek 44,10-16.⁷⁷⁴ Here too, the Levites are relegated to the function of the temple servants because of the “abominations” they committed, and they are no longer permitted to approach Yhwh and perform the priestly service proper (vv. 10-14). From now on, only the Zadokites may serve as priests (vv. 15-16). Yet unlike 1 Sam 2,27-36, the Zadokites are considered part of the Levites in Ezek 44,10-16. It is unsure, however, whether this difference is original, since the Levitical origin of the sons of Zadok in Ezek 44,10-16 is based on only one occurrence of the word הלויים in v. 15. This word *might* be an interpolation.⁷⁷⁵ The opposition *Zadokites* x *Levites* also appears in Ezek 48,11-13 where the Levitical origin of the Zadokites is not apparent (cf. however 40,46; 43,19). The similarity of the oracle against the Elides to Ezek 44,10-16 becomes even more obvious if we take into consideration the parallel between Ezek 44,10-14 and 1 Sam 3,13-14 (as we have seen, the latter

⁷⁷² Cf. Mommer, Samuel, p. 9-10. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 39-42, also ascribes to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 (DtrG) the verses 14,3a.18b (and the name Ahijah in the first part of the verse); 22,18bγ.19. Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 184, believes that 1 Sam 14,3a makes part of his “Hophni-Pinchas”-Ergänzungsschicht, to which he also ascribes 2,34. See above for the arguments against considering 1 Sam 2,34 and 14,3a later than the main body of 1 Sam 2,27-36.

⁷⁷³ See, for instance, Smith, Samuel, p. 23-24; Garbini, *Osservazioni*, p. 51; Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 37; McCarter, *1 Samuel*, p. 91,93; Stolz, Samuel, p. 36; Klein, *1 Samuel*, p. 28; Mommer, Samuel, p. 10; Cartledge, Samuel, p. 59; Campbell, *1 Samuel*, p. 54 (only for vv. 35-36); Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 150-152. Some of the mentioned scholars postulate an older oracle behind the present form of the text. The attempt of Breitenbach, Samuel, to date the text to the time of Hezekiah seems arbitrary.

⁷⁷⁴ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 181; Cf. already Klein, *1 Samuel*, p. 28.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Rudnig, Heilig, p. 288, who calls the designation הלויים הכהנים before בני צדוק a *contradictio in adiecto*, “weil direkt nach der Identitätsformel, die zwischen Priestern und Leviten ein Gleichgewicht herstellt, der Exklusivanspruch der Zadokiden zu stehen kommt, zumal in einem Grundsatprogramm, das auf die Abwertung der Leviten zielt!” He does not, however, consider the possibility that הלויים might be an interpolation, and so explains the appearance of the “Gleichsetzungsformel” only by the fact that it was a fixed traditional formula. If so, it was used in this instance entirely without thought!

probably stems from the same author as 2,27-36). According to Ezek 44,12 (cf. v. 10) Yhwh raised his hand (to take an oath)⁷⁷⁶ against the Levites so that they will bear their guilt (עונם).⁷⁷⁷ According to 1 Sam 3,14 Yhwh swore that the guilt (עון) of Eli's house would never be atoned. There may even be a literary relationship between these texts.

Unfortunately, the use of Ezek 44,10-16 (and 48,11-13) for a more precise dating of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is rather difficult. Ezek 44,10-16 is part of the composition of Ezek 40-48* that describes the program of the restoration of the temple, the prince and the land, foreshadowed already in 37,25-28. Recent research distinguishes several layers in Ezek 40-48⁷⁷⁸, and the dating of Ezek 44,10-16 depends, on the one hand, on how one evaluates the relative chronology of the alleged layers within Ezekiel 40-48, and on the other hand on their relationship to P and (post-)priestly texts in Numbers dealing with the delimitation of the tasks and rights of the priests and the Levites (Num 4,5-20; 16-18). In practice such a procedure is quite complicated and the results overly hypothetical.⁷⁷⁹ Moreover the disputes over the authority of various priestly groups may have dragged on for quite some time⁷⁸⁰. As regards 1 Sam 2,27-36, we may perhaps make the following conclusions. The whole of 1 Sam 2,27-36 + 3,11-14 obviously reflects an ongoing power struggle. If the affiliation of the Zadokites with the Levites in Ezek 44,15 is *not* a late interpolation, 1 Sam 2,27-36 (which does not [yet?] know about the Zadokites' Levitical origins) is probably older than Ezek 44,10-16.

Another clue for the dating of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is v. 35bβ, according to which the new priest and his descendants (see above) will walk forever before Yhwh's anointed. If the shift from יתהלכו לפני עד עולם (v. 30) to והתהלך לפני משיחי כל הימים (v. 35) is indeed deliberate and its purpose is to defend the subordinate status of the (high) priestly dynasty in respect of the royal dynasty, our text should be dated to a period of a Davidic-Zadokite alliance, when there was, at the same time, at least a latent rivalry between the Davidic and Zadokite dynasties for the leading position in Judah⁷⁸¹. It is often supposed that for at least some of the Persian period there existed a kind of "diarchy" in Judah, with power somehow divided between the high priest and the governor.⁷⁸² This situation is suggested by both biblical and extra-biblical information about Persian period Judah; let us briefly recall at least the following:

⁷⁷⁶ Duke, Punishment, p. 69, denies that נשאתי ידי עליהם has the meaning of an oath here. Nevertheless the comparison of vv. 12-13 to Ezek 36,7 indicates that also in 44,12 Yhwh raises his hand to take an oath.

⁷⁷⁷ It must be admitted, however, that ונשאו עונם in v. 12 is not present in LXX.

⁷⁷⁸ See above all Rudnig, Heilig.

⁷⁷⁹ See the detailed discussion in Rudnig, Heilig, p. 204-215 and especially p. 280-304.

⁷⁸⁰ See e.g. the survey of the situation in the books of Numbers, Ezra and Nehemiah in Rudnig, Heilig, p. 299.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 28.

⁷⁸² For a survey of the evidence, see e.g. VanderKam, Joshua, p. X, 1-111.

- According to Ezra 3,2 the altar of the God of Israel was built by “Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brothers the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and his brothers.” Similar situations are described in Ezra 3,8; 5,2; Hag 1,12.14.
- The appeals to build the temple in the book of Haggai are addressed to “Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah” and to “Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest” (Hag 1,1; 2,2.4).
- Zech 4,14 mentions “two sons of oil standing by the Lord of the whole earth” who in view of the context are usually identified with Zerubbabel and Joshua. Irrespective of whether this identification is correct, there are clearly *two* leading figures who, as noted by J. C. VanderKam⁷⁸³, are equal.
- Similarly, Zech 6,12-13MT speaks of the Branch who will sit and rule on his throne, and about a priest who also will be on his throne; and that there will be peace between these two figures. (In LXX the priest does not sit on the throne, and only is at the right hand of the Branch, so that it seems that the two figures are not equal. Nonetheless, their latent rivalry is apparent even here from the following note that there will be “peaceful counsel” between them.) Cf. also the plural “crowns” in v. 11 (MT vocalizes as pl. even נְהַעֲטָרוּ in v. 14; this, however, seems to be secondary⁷⁸⁴).
- Finally, the Judeans / Jews from Elephantine wrote in their letter APFC 30 = TAD A4,7 (APFC 31 = TAD A4,8 is another copy of the same text) to Bigvai, the governor of Judah, written on the 26th of November 407 B.C.E., that they already sent a similar letter “to your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanès the brother of ‘Anani, and the nobles of the Jews”⁷⁸⁵ (APFC 30,18-19 = APFC 31,17-18). This passage shows at least that the Jews in Elephantine thought that not only the governor, but also the high priest of Jerusalem (and the others mentioned) might have had political influence on the situation in Elephantine.⁷⁸⁶

As indicated by the last example, the notion of a diarchy may be somewhat too simple since there may have been other sources of power besides the functions of the governor and the high priest. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent the authority of the priest extended beyond the cultic sphere. The situation certainly was not uniform during the Persian period as a whole. In actual fact, the strongest image of a dual leadership is mainly

⁷⁸³ VanderKam, Joshua, p. 37. Cf. VanderKam’s interpretation *ibid.*: “The two ‘sons of oil’, who are not named but, given the context, are thought to be Joshua and Zerubbabel, are emblematic of the restored priesthood of Zadok and house of David.”

⁷⁸⁴ For the arguments see VanderKam, Joshua, p. 41.

⁷⁸⁵ The translation is that of Cowley, APFC.

⁷⁸⁶ Similarly VanderKam, Joshua, p. 58.

found within a few texts in Zechariah, and this may reflect the program of the proponents of Davidic-Zadokite alliance rather than describe a sustained historical reality. The fact remains, however, that there was a governor in Judah in addition to the high priest, probably for the most part of the Persian period.

When seeking for the historical context of 1 Sam 2,27-36, undoubtedly the most intriguing situation is that where there is, besides the Zadokite priest, a governor who may be designated as *messiah* (v. 35). It is highly unlikely that 1 Sam 2,27-36 could regard someone other than a descendant of the Davidic dynasty as being the messiah. Given that v. 35 presupposes the existence of a priestly dynasty side by side with the “messianic” dynasty, and that the founder of the priestly dynasty is Zadok who served in time of David and Solomon, the messiah is almost certainly meant to be a member of David’s family.

Of course, the most fitting context is the time of Zerubbabel who, according to 1 Chr 3,19, was a Davidide⁷⁸⁷ and is also mentioned in several texts alongside the high priest Joshua. We have even seen that Zech 6,13 implicitly allows one to suppose some level of tension between the high priest (Joshua is mentioned in v. 11) and the Branch, tension which is perhaps present in 1 Sam 2,27-36 as well.

It is most noteworthy that the books of Haggai and Zechariah when describing the ruler (sometimes expressly and other times implicitly referring to Zerubbabel) pick up the notions of pre-exilic royal ideology, yet without ever using the title “king.”⁷⁸⁸ In Hag 2,23 Zerubbabel is designated Yhwh’s servant whom Yhwh will make a seal because he has chosen him. Admittedly, “Yhwh’s servant” it is not a particularly specific designation. Still, it is remarkable that whenever it appears in connection with David,⁷⁸⁹ “the context almost always involves election and the perpetual continuation of the dynasty.”⁷⁹⁰ Also, the verb בחר frequently appears in connection with David (1 Sam 16,8-10; 2 Sam 6,21; 1 Kgs 8,16 = 2 Chr 6,6; 1 Kgs 11,34; 1 Chr 28,4; Ps 78,70; cf. also Jer 33,24 and Deut 17,15). The idea that

⁷⁸⁷ According to 1 Chr 3,17-19MT Zerubbabel was the son of Pedadiah, the son of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin). According to Ezra 3,2.8; 5,2; Neh 12,1; Hag 1,1.12.14; 2,2.23 Zerubbabel was the son of Shealtiel who was Jehoiachin’s firstborn son (1 Chr 3,17). In both cases Zerubbabel is presented as Jehoiachin’s grandchild. Zerubbabel’s Davidic origins are occasionally questioned, see e.g. Miller – Hayes, *History*, p. 456; Pomykala, *Dynasty*, p. 46. Admittedly we would not know about Zerubbabel’s Davidic origin were it not for the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 3. Nonetheless, this information along with the royal and Davidic connotations in Zerubbabel’s portrayal in the books of Haggai and Zechariah (see below) indicate that he was very probably considered to be from David’s family. Whether he belonged biologically to David’s dynasty is, of course, subsidiary.

⁷⁸⁸ A more detailed treatment of these texts can be found in Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 435-485, especially p. 448-466.

⁷⁸⁹ 2 Sam 3,18; 7,5.8 = 1 Chr 17,4.7; 1 Kgs 11,13.32.34; 14,8; 2 Kgs 19,34 = Isa 37,35; 2 Kgs 20,6; 2 Chr 6,42; Ps 18,1; 36,1; 78,70; 89,4.21; 132,10; 144,10; Jer 33,21f.26.

⁷⁹⁰ Ringgren – Rütterswörden – Simian – Yofre, עבד, p. 394.

Yhwh will make Zerubbabel a “seal” is probably meant to arouse royal (or “messianic”) connotations as well. Jer 22,24 describes king Jehoiachin as a “seal” that Yhwh will tear off from his hand, and Hag 2,23 may directly respond to this text. Zech 3,8 describes the Branch (צֶמַח) as Yhwh’s servant. This term has obvious genealogical connotations that correspond well to the expectations linked to the future of the Davidic dynasty. The word צֶמַח already appears in Jer 23,5, according to which Yhwh will raise up for David צֶמַח צְדִיק. With regard to Phoenician צֶמַח צְדִיק (KAI 43,11) and בֶּן צְדִיק (KAI 16), this expression may be understood as “legitimate sprout, legal heir.”⁷⁹¹ The original referent of the promise in Jer 23,5-6 is Zedekiah⁷⁹² who after the elimination of Jehoiachin and his sons (Jer 23,24-30)⁷⁹³ becomes a new scion of David’s family, who is supposed to stand at the origin of a new royal line (Zedekiah is Jehoiachin’s uncle). By contrast, Ezek 17, hostile to Zedekiah, declares that all the fresh shoots of his sprout will wither (Ezek 17,9), a “prediction” that corresponds well to the report of 2 Kgs 25,7 concerning the execution of Zedekiah’s sons. Apart from Zech 3,8, צֶמַח also appears in the book of Zechariah at 6,12, according to which he is the one who will build Yhwh’s temple. The following verse says that he will be endowed with majesty (הוֹד), sit on the throne (בִּסֵּא) and rule (מֶשֶׁל qal). Furthermore, one of the crowns (עֲטָרָה) mentioned in v. 11 is probably made for the Branch; it seems, however, that it is this crown which is finally deposited in the temple (v. 14). The royal connotations of the crown⁷⁹⁴, throne and the rule are evident; majesty is a royal attribute as well (1 Chr 29,25 – הוֹד מַלְכוּת; Ps 21,6; 45,4; Jer 22,18; Dan 11,21 – הוֹד

⁷⁹¹ Ringgren, צֶמַח, p. 412.

⁷⁹² Cf. above all the allusion to Zedekiah’s new name in v. 6; moreover, the words צְדִיק and צְדִיקָה occur in v. 5. In this way, the root צְדִיק appears as a characteristic of the new king three times in these two verses. The majority of scholars acknowledge that the text hints at Zedekiah. They often think, however, that Zedekiah only serves here as a contrast for the promised king who “will actualize much more effectively than did Zedekiah the royal ideal expressed in the name” (Ringgren, צֶמַח, p. 412). This, however, may hardly be the original meaning of the text. Behind the present form of Jer 21,11-23,6 we should look for a more ancient collection of oracles about Judean kings (see the heading in 21,11LXX), leading to the oracle 23,5-6 celebrating Zedekiah’s enthronement (vv. 5-6 may have passed through some later editing, for this see e.g. Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 461). If Zedekiah were not the referent of these verses, he would not be mentioned in the collection dedicated to the kings at all! – Later on, Jer 23,5-6 was reworked in 33,15-16 (a text missing in LXX), here already with no relation to Zedekiah.

⁷⁹³ For the sons see above all 22,30LXX which later was attenuated by the insertion of 22,30aβ in MT.

⁷⁹⁴ Admittedly the word עֲטָרָה itself does not necessarily designate a royal crown (see Kellermann, עֲטָרָה, p. 18-28), and it is certainly not a technical term linked to the Davidic dynasty, as is stressed by Gosse, Gouverneur, p. 155-159. עֲטָרָה designates a royal crown in 1 Sam 12,30 = 1 Chr 20,2 (cf., however, LXX of both verses); Ps 21,4; Jer 13,8; Ezek 21,31 (here the ruler has the title נָשִׂיא – see v. 30); cf. also Isa 62,3. In our context, standing alongside the other allusions to the Davidic royal dynasty, the word עֲטָרָה is likely to have royal connotations as well.

מלכות), and temple building is one of the tasks and prerogatives of ancient Near Eastern kings as well (see ch. 2.3, p.131ff.). In the context of post-exilic Judah, the building of the temple by the Branch may refer to 2 Sam 7,13a, if we accept the earlier dating of the latter. Zech 4,6-10 names Zerubbabel explicitly as builder of the temple.

It is impossible to enter here into the discussion of whether or not the Branch is identical with Zerubbabel (as is believed by most scholars).⁷⁹⁵ I suppose that at least during some phase of the development of the text, he was considered identical with the Branch. However, irrespective of whether the Branch is Zerubbabel or not, the adduced texts from Haggai and Zechariah obviously follow up with pre-exilic royal ideology and ascribe royal attributes to Zerubbabel and to the Branch. Among other things, the ruler is legitimated by his being from the Davidic dynasty. This is particularly noticeable in the use of the expression *צֶמַח*,⁷⁹⁶ but may also be discerned in the terminology of the last oracle of the book of Haggai about Zerubbabel. In all of these texts, the title “king” is clearly avoided. That may be due to the need for caution in relation to the Persian powers⁷⁹⁷ (even if Hag 2,22 does not seem very careful), but it may also be simply due to the fact that Zerubbabel (or another Davidide) was *not* a king, and the propaganda could refer to his noble origin but not to his non-existent royal function.

This brings us to the question of how these texts relate to the Persian powers. Admittedly, Hag 2,21-23 links Zerubbabel’s ascension to an overthrow of the “throne of the kingdoms” and to a “destruction of the strength of the kingdoms of the nations.” The other texts mentioned above, however, do not suggest that the power of the Davidides in Judah was in conflict with Persian interests. Zerubbabel was made governor by the Persians, and according to N. Na’aman there was nothing exceptional about it: “These governors enjoyed a high esteem among the inhabitants of the province, thanks to the prestige of their dynasties. The Persian king and his officials took advantage of their prestige, sent them executive orders and let them enforce them upon their subjects.”⁷⁹⁸ Hence, the legitimation of the gover-

⁷⁹⁵ A brief survey of research can be found in Rose, *Zemah*, p. 17-21. Rose himself argues that *צֶמַח* is not identical with Zerubbabel.

⁷⁹⁶ Several scholars note that the designation *צֶמַח* may hint at Zerubbabel’s Babylonian name *Zēr-Bābili* (seed of Babylon). This would perhaps somewhat obscure the word’s reference to Zerubbabel’s Davidic descent. A special case is the suggestion of Lemaire, *Zorobabel*, p. 50-52, that *צֶמַח* was Zerubbabel’s Hebrew name (the word is attested as a name in Arad inscription 49, see Aharoni, *Arad*, p. 80-82.) Even this, however, would not prevent the symbolic use of the name, as can be seen in Zech 6,12.

⁷⁹⁷ So e.g. Vermeulen, *Symbolique*, p. 460, 465, 468.

⁷⁹⁸ Na’aman, *Vassals*, p. 403. Cf. Lemaire, *Zorobabel*, p. 53-54, who gives examples of territories inside the Persian empire administered by local dynasties. The comparison to Zerubbabel is complicated by the fact that in the great majority of Lemaire’s examples (Phoenician cities, Chypriot cities, Cilicia) the dynasts used the title “king.” They were therefore kings of vassal kingdoms, which probably was not the case of Zerubbabel. A

nor by reference to his royal origin does not necessarily suggest hostility towards the Persian Empire; it may on the contrary be in the Empire's interest.⁷⁹⁹

Returning now to 1 Sam 2,27-36, we may speculate whether the use of the title *messiah* here was also an attempt to maintain the pre-exilic Davidic ideology while at the same time avoiding the word *king*. The title *messiah* is mainly used to express Yhwh's particular relationship with the given person (mostly kings). This is clear already from the fact that the word מָשִׁיחַ appears almost always in the Hebrew Bible as part of the syntagma יהוה משיח (with יהוה often replaced by a pronominal suffix; 2 Sam 23,1 has משיח אלהי יעקב).⁸⁰⁰ In the books of Samuel (the term משיח does not appear in Kings), this particular relationship of the anointed to Yhwh comes to the fore in the scenes where he is considered (ideally) inviolable, though at the mercy of his enemies and thus without real power (1 Sam 24,7.11; 26,9.11.23; 2 Sam 1,14.16; 19,22). The title משיח is therefore not used to express the king's power, but rather to substantiate the divine source of his exceptional status. It thus seems a suitable term for fostering the claims of the descendants of a dynasty that was divinely elected in the past but has no royal power in the present. Now, to determine whether the title "anointed" was indeed systematically used in this way in Samuel (or elsewhere) as a part of postexilic Davidic propaganda would require a thorough study of all the relevant passages, which cannot be undertaken here. It is clear, however, that the use of משיח in 1 Sam 2,35, perhaps comparable to the mentioned maneuvers in Haggai and Zechariah, fits well into the context of a pro-Davidic redaction in the postexilic period.⁸⁰¹

However, the period of Zerubbabel's activity in Yehud is not the only possible historical context for 1 Sam 2,27-36. First, there may have been other members of the Davidic family who held the office of governor in Yehud. There has been a long scholarly discussion as to whether Sheshbazzar (mentioned only in Ezra 1,8.11; 5,14.16; he is called הנשיא in 1,8, and פָּחָה in 5,14) could be identified with Jehoiachin's son Shenazzar (1 Chr 3,18).⁸⁰² What is more, Lemaire has suggested that *hnnh*

noteworthy exception is (the family of) Pixodaros, satrap of Caria and Lycia (see Metzger et al., *Stèle*).

⁷⁹⁹ Similarly Lemaire, *Zorobabel*, p. 55.

⁸⁰⁰ The only exceptions are Lev 4,3.5.16; 6,15 where המשיח is an attribute of הכהן, and Dan 9,25.26 where the "anointed" is the high priest as well.

⁸⁰¹ It goes without saying that the use of the term מָשִׁיחַ as it appears in Samuel has to be differentiated from the use of the verb מָשַׁח in such passages as 2 Sam 2,4.7; 5,3.17; 19,11; 1 Kgs 5,15; 2 Kgs 11,12; 23,30 etc., where it denotes a juridical act. See Seybold, *מָשַׁח*, p. 43-54.

⁸⁰² See the summaries of the debate in Japhet, *Sheshbazzar*, p. 94-98, and VanderKam, *Joshua*, p. 6-8.

from the bullae and impressions on store-jars *yhwd/hnnh*⁸⁰³ might be identical with Hananiah from 1 Chr 3,19, perhaps indicating that Zerubbabel's son Hananiah succeeded his father in the function of governor.⁸⁰⁴

Furthermore, the idea of a Davidic-Zadokite alliance—and together with it the *scheme* of a “diarchic” rule in Judah—could also have existed at the time when the post-exilic Davidides did *not* hold the function of the governor and were only an aristocratic Judean family. Here a mention of the genealogy of post-exilic Davidides in 1 Chr 3,17-24 is in order. As is well known, the passage is full of textual problems, affecting among other things the question of how many generations after Jehoiachin (called Jeconiah here) the genealogy encompasses. While MT may be read as recording at least eight generations after Jehoiachin (with אָסֵר in v. 17 understood as Jeconiah's epithet – “the prisoner”, and 21b read as it stands in MT, i.e. as an enumeration of Hananiah's clans), LXX counts fourteen. If we accept that Jehoiachin became king in 598 B.C.E. at the age of eighteen (2 Kgs 24,8), this would mean that he was born in 616 B.C.E. Assuming twenty years as an average gap between generations in the ancient world⁸⁰⁵, we may conclude that according to the minimal number of generations in MT, the last generation enumerated in 1 Chr 3,24 reached adulthood in approx. 436 B.C.E. (616 – [9 x 20]), while according to LXX it was around 316 B.C.E. (616 – [15 x 20]). These figures are, of course, approximate at best, since if the genealogy was constructed at the time of the final generation, there may have been errors and/or deliberate manipulations from the beginning, in addition to the changes that were later introduced during its textual history. Yet all this notwithstanding, the passage implies that deep in the 5th or even 4th century, the Chronicler or a scribe before or after him (if the passage is based on a source or it is an interpolation as is sometimes suggested) had access to a post-exilic genealogy of the Davidic family (or a family who *claimed* Davidic origin, which, in fact, comes to the same effect). If we do not suppose that the author of the genealogy invented it *without any purpose*, it is probably somehow related to the milieu of the family itself. Similarly, the book of Samuel, too, may have been edited by a scribe close to the Davidic family who sought to defend their interests (as well as those of the Zadokites) at a time much later than that of Zerubbabel.

To sum up, the association of the Zadokite priestly dynasty and a “messianic” dynasty in 1 Sam 2,36 suggests a comparison with the description

⁸⁰³ For the bullae, see Avigad, *Bullae and Seals*, p. 4-5; for the impressions on the store-jars, see *ibid.*, p. 21-28.

⁸⁰⁴ Lemaire, *Review of Avigad*, p. 130; *id.*, *Zerobabel*, p. 56. Edelman, *Origins*, p. 26-30, thinks that the person of the bullae might be Hananiah son of Zerubbabel, but she does not believe that he served as governor. She rather identifies him with Hananiah from Neh 7,2. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals*, p. 5, believes that *hnnh* of the bullae was “a governor's officer in charge of fiscal matters.”

⁸⁰⁵ The case for this figure is made by Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 329-330.

and/or the program of a Davidic-Zadokite alliance in the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra. Most prominently, one would think of the cooperation between Zerubbabel and Joshua (Hag 1,1.2.12.14; 2,2.4; Ezra 3,2.8; 5,2), but a text with such a program could have been written later as well. Regarding the literary development of the book of Samuel, it may be noteworthy that in 1 Sam 2,27-36 we have a *pro-Davidic* text addressing the issues of the post-exilic period, while using some dtr clichés.

4. 1 Samuel 25,28

In 2 Sam 7 Yhwh promises via the prophet Nathan that he will build a “firm house” for David. Yet this has already been “foretold” to David by Abigail in 1 Sam 25,28. The terminology of v. 28aa (up to the *rebia*) perfectly corresponds to the vocabulary of 2 Sam 7,11MT.16 (אמן, עשה, qal, niphal, בית; cf. also 2 Sam 7,26.27.29). Abigail’s speech and 2 Sam 7 also contain other common features. In 1 Sam 25,30 Abigail predicts that Yhwh will deal with David “according to all the good that he has spoken concerning you” (ככל אשר דבר את הטובה עליך). David then adopts similar vocabulary in his prayer in 2 Sam 7,28 (ותדבר על⁸⁰⁶ עבדך את הטובה הזאת). In the same verse, Abigail says that Yhwh will appoint David as prince over Israel (וצוד לנגיד על ישראל). According to 2 Sam 7,8, Yhwh told David that he “should be prince over my people Israel” (להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל). The verb צוה piel in the sense of “appointing” someone to an office appears in 2 Sam 7,7.11.⁸⁰⁷ Also, the destruction of David’s enemies, as is wished by Abigail for David in 1 Sam 25,26.29, could be compared to 2 Sam 7,1.9.11.

It is generally recognized that 1 Sam 25,28 points to the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7, or at least to its core. If we consider 2 Sam 7,1-17 to be a coherent text, then the anticipation of the dynastic promise in 1 Sam 25 is either the work of the same author or of a later one. I tend to prefer the first option. At any rate, there is no reason to believe that 1 Sam 25,28.30 *imitates* the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7 with a radically different intention to that of the promise itself.⁸⁰⁸ On the contrary, 2 Sam 7 and 1 Sam 25, together with some other texts in Samuel and Kings, create what appears to be a coherent system in which the history of Judah and Israel is viewed through the prism of fulfilled and unfulfilled dynastic promises.

Whether vv. 28.30 are original to 1 Sam 25 or the result of a later redaction is a debated question. The issue of the literary development of the chapter cannot be discussed here in detail; I shall make only a few points.⁸⁰⁹ Following a thorough narratological analysis, M. Peetz reaches the conclusion that, apart from the framing vv. 1 and 43f., 1 Sam 25 contains a homogeneous, skillfully constructed narrative.⁸¹⁰ Like many before her, Peetz observes that 1 Sam 25 forms part of a triptych contained in 1 Sam 24-26, where on three occasions David gives up attempting to use violence against

⁸⁰⁶ So LXX and 1 Chr 17,26; 2 Sam 7MT reads אל. See the text-critical note above.

⁸⁰⁷ As noted by Van Seters, *Search*, p. 276.

⁸⁰⁸ Differently Van Seters, *Saga*, 186-190.

⁸⁰⁹ For an overview of the history of research see Peetz, *Abigajil*, p. 1-24; for the older discussion see also Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 49, 54-55.

⁸¹⁰ Peetz, *Abigajil*, p. 207-208.

his enemies and allows Yhwh to act on his behalf. By killing Saul, the anointed of Yhwh (ch. 24 a 26), and by exterminating the house of Nabal (ch. 25) David would commit a sin and therefore cause himself damage. Indeed, in chapter 25 we read of the most far-reaching consequences of David's non-violence, since the massacre of the house of Nabal would, according to vv. 26.28.30-31, be an obstacle to the rule of David's descendants. In the current form of the chapter, it is clear that these very verses, where Abigail averts the danger posed to the Davidic dynasty and simultaneously saves her house, form the very point of the story as a whole. Peetz shares with Van Seters the opinion that without vv. 26.28-34, the story would be "rather trivial", and thereby they cannot be omitted from the chapter as a later addition.⁸¹¹ On the other hand, Peetz believes that the episode about David and Abigail existed in an oral tradition before it received a literary treatment by the author of the "court narrative" after the fall of the northern kingdom in the 8th century.⁸¹²

Reconstructing a much shorter original text of the chapter is indeed difficult. Veijola's original text without the verses he considers to be *dtr* additions (vv. 21-22.23b.24b-26.28-34.39a) may be coherent, but it is a flat "historical" report, devoid of the literary appeal that characterizes the text in its current form.⁸¹³ The connection with the chapters both previous and following would be more or less lost in the reconstructed chapter, since 1 Sam 25 would in no way thematize the fact that David did the right thing when he did not help himself "using his own hand." Still, even in the reconstructed version of the chapter, Yhwh himself kills Nabal after David ceases the assault on Nabal's house.

The excision of the majority of Abigail's speech also seems problematic when we compare 1 Sam 25 with the dialogue between David and the wise woman of Tekoa in 2 Sam 14,4-20. These texts share several similarities in terms of phraseology and content.⁸¹⁴ In both texts we find a woman, designated in the introduction as being "of good understanding" (1 Sam 25,3; cf. v. 33) or "wise" (2 Sam 14,2), who comes to David with a plea. The women in both cases fall on their faces upon meeting David and bow down (1 Sam 25,23: ותפלו על פניה ותשתחו ארץ; 2 Sam 14,4: ותפל על אפיה ותשתחו ארצה). Abigail introduces her speech with a courtesy profession of guilt (2 Sam 25,24: בִּי־אָנִי אֲדֹנָי הָעֶזְרָא), which serves to secure the possibility that she might continue speaking and convince David that *his* plan is not

⁸¹¹ Van Seters, *Search*, p. 267; Peetz, *Abigajil*, p. 207. Now also Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 189.

⁸¹² Peetz, *Abigajil*, p. 221-232. Peetz takes the idea of the "court narrative" from Dietrich, see e.g. Dietrich, *Monarchy*, p. 298-316.

⁸¹³ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 47-55. Similarly, Dietrich, *Verschöpfung*, p. 247, finds a redactional reworking in vv. 17b.25a*.26.28b-34.39a*, yet he ascribes it to the author of his "court narrative." –Veijola is right that especially vv. 21-22 do seem like an interpolation. For a detailed analysis of these verses see Peetz, *Abigajil*, p. 131-139.

⁸¹⁴ A thorough list of the parallels is provided by Lyke, King, p. 111-119; Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 188.

good (not the least for his own interests). In 2 Sam 14, after David has heard the Tekoite's case, he promises her that he will make a decision and sends her home. However, the woman implores David for an immediate answer, beginning her urging (which also will, in the end, ensue into a reproach) with a profession of guilt similar to that of Abigail (v. 9: *עלי אדני (המלך העון ועל בית אבי*). In both texts the critique of David's behaviour is also introduced by another courtesy phrase in which the woman designates herself as David's servant and requests permission to continue her speech (1 Sam 25,24: *ותדבר נא אמתך באזניך*; 2 Sam 14,12: *תדבר נא שפחתך אל אדני (המלך דבר*). Finally, a minor agreement may be seen in David's instructions to both women to go "into your house" (1 Sam 25,35; 2 Sam 14,8).

The most prominent feature shared by the two texts seems to be the presence of the character of the wise woman, who is able to manipulate David's conduct through her refined speech. However, if together with Veijola (and Dietrich) we omit from Abigail's speech those parts in which she tries to convince David that exterminating Nabal's house would cause damage to himself, precisely this most striking parallel is lost from 1 Sam 25. In Veijola's primitive text, David would decide not to attack Nabal's house for the sole reason that Abigail brought him the goods that he asked for. And yet, Veijola does not excise from his basic text Abigail's designation as a clever woman (v. 3), her confession of guilt (v. 24) and David's sending of Abigail into her house in peace (v. 35). Hence, some individual parallels to 2 Sam 14,4-20 remain even in Veijola's short reconstructed text. This fact testifies against this literary reconstruction.⁸¹⁵

Admittedly, in the story as we have it Abigail deals with David on two levels. On the one hand, she simply brings David the goods he requested. In her speech, however, she not only explains why she did not deliver her gifts earlier, but also tries to avert the calamity that threatens her house by an ostensible concern for David's kingship. The two levels of Abigail's action need not be separated into two textual layers of different origin. The comparison with 2 Sam 14 may indicate that it is precisely this capacity to deal with powerful David on two levels that proves Abigail's and the Tekoite's wisdom. In 2 Sam 14, the Tekoite woman moves on two levels as well, and unlike Nathan in 2 Sam 12, she does not reveal her story to be a parable until David himself identifies it as Joab's intrigue. Instead, having drawn David's attention to the fact that he himself does not behave in accordance with the judgment he passed in her case (vv. 13f.), the Tekoite goes back to her original case without questioning its reality (v. 16) and concludes her speech with an ambiguous wish that the word of the wise king may bring peace (v. 17).

⁸¹⁵ In this connection, we should mention that apart from Abigail's speech, there are other features that 1 Sam 25 has in common with 2 Sam 7, although these similarities are not specific to the given texts. To point out the most interesting, *ככל הדברים האלה* is used in both 1 Sam 25,9.12 and 2 Sam 7,17 (=1 Chr 17,15); otherwise the phrase is to be found only in Jer 27,12; 38,27.

However, in spite of the problems with a *literary-critical* reconstruction of the more ancient version of 1 Sam 25, it does seem likely that the chapter is based on an older tradition, written or oral. In the context of the current form of the books of Samuel, the central point of 1 Sam 25 is that David did not sin by shedding innocent blood, a deed which would have had fatal consequences for the rule of his descendants. But the plot and the characters are far too colourful and ambivalent for the whole story to be an illustration of Davidic dynastic ideology. It is easy to imagine, for instance, that in the older cycle of the stories of David's rise, the main focus of the chapter was David's marriage to Abigail, the widow after the Calebite Nabal, since this marriage may have been seen to reinforce David's influence in the Judean South, where he was later anointed as a king in Hebron.⁸¹⁶ The author of 1 Sam 25 therefore probably affixed his dynastic ideology onto an older legend of the Davidic cycle, but the *text* of the older form cannot be reconstructed.

Let us come back to the motif of David's dynasty in 1 Sam 25. In order to understand the role that the chapter plays in building the theme of the dynastic promise in Samuel-Kings, we have also to take into account 1 Sam 13b-15a. 1 Sam 25,30b (וצוד לנגיד על ישראל) uses a similar vocabulary to that of 1 Sam 13,14 (ויצוהו יהוה לנגיד על עמו), the construction צוה pi. + direct object + ל + נגיד appears in the HB only in these two sections (a very similar vocabulary is also found in 2 Sam 6,21 and 1 Kgs 1,35). Samuel's speech in 1 Sam 13,13-14 contains expressions that also have parallels in 2 Sam 7. It is mainly the case of the clause found in 1 Sam 13,13bβ כי עתה ⁸¹⁷הכין יהוה את ממלכתך על ישראל עד עולם, to which we may compare primarily 2 Sam 7,12b (והכינתי את ממלכתו) ⁸¹⁸, 13b (וכנגנתי את כסא ממלכתו עד) ⁸¹⁹, 16b (כסאך יהיה נכון עד עולם); the expression על ישראל is also found in 2 Sam 7,8.26 (cf. v. 11; this expression, of course, is by no means specific). The clause ויצוהו יהוה לנגיד על עמו in 1 Sam 13,14 has a parallel in 2 Sam 7,8b (להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל); as already mentioned, the verb צוה piel is used in a similar manner in 2 Sam 7,7.11. The proximity of these three passages – 1 Sam 13,7b-15a; 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 7 – is not merely formal, since they share the common topic of the dynastic reign. The goal of 1 Sam 13 and 1 Sam 25 is to explain why Saul's dynasty was repudiated for the mere reason that its founder made a burnt offering for Yhwh against

⁸¹⁶ This aspect of the narrative was emphasized by Willi-Plein, Frauen, p. 352-355. See already Levenson – Halpern, Import, p. 507-518, who consider 1 Sam 25 to be a historical source for the study of David's marriage politics.

⁸¹⁷ The majority reading of MT is אל. The reading of LXX ἐπι, supported by other versions and some masoretic mss, is better.

⁸¹⁸ Apart from 1 Sam 13,13 and 2 Sam 7,12, ממלכה is the direct object of the hiphil of בן only in 2 Chr 17,5.

⁸¹⁹ LXX reads τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ in accordance with 1 Chr 17,12.

the prophetic order while, in contrast, David's dynasty was allowed to rule "eternally" despite the numerous wrongs committed by its members.

1 Sam 13,7b-15a (and probably also 4b) is obviously a redactional interpolation into the description of Saul and Jonathan's struggle with the Philistines in chapters 13-14.⁸²⁰ 1 Sam 13,8 refers to 10,8, creating the impression that only seven days passed between Samuel's anointing of the king and the episode narrated in 1 Sam 13,7-14. This clearly contradicts the fact that in 1 Sam 9-10,16 Saul is a youth (בְּחֹר – 9,2), while in chapters 13-14 he has an adult son, Jonathan. 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a forms a kind of negative version of 1 Sam 25 + 2 Sam 7, describing Saul as a tragic hero⁸²¹ who only narrowly missed the gift of the dynastic promise. In 1 Sam 10,8 Samuel orders Saul to descend to Gilgal and wait there for Samuel for seven days. Samuel would then come, perform both burnt and peace offerings and give Saul additional orders. In 1 Sam 13, in a tense situation preceding a battle against the more numerous Philistines, Saul awaits Samuel in Gilgal for seven days, but as the prophet does not arrive, the king performs the burnt offering himself. Yet, "as soon as he had finished offering the burnt offering" (v. 10), Samuel arrives and declares that if Saul had followed his order, Yhwh would have made his kingship an eternal one (v. 13)⁸²²; now, however, Yhwh will establish someone else to be the prince of his people. But Saul's story is far from over by then. The punishment does not consist in an immediate loss of power, but rather in the inability of *Saul's descendants* to receive the kingship.

In 1 Sam 25,24-31 Abigail succeeds in persuading David that the attack on the house of Nabal could have fatal consequences for David's future reign and that of his descendants. Abigail believes that Yhwh will build a firm house for David, since David fights the wars of Yhwh and no evil has been found in him throughout his days. Yhwh will surely establish David as the prince of Israel (v. 30), but should David massacre the house of Nabal, he would be guilty of bloodshed (vv. 26.31.33), which, according to v. 31, would be to him "an obstacle and stumbling block." The quoted translation of McCarter's is probably in accord with the meaning of this

⁸²⁰ See e.g. McCarter, *I Samuel*, p. 228-230; Van Seters, *Search*, p. 257-258; Wagner, *Geist*, p. 146-159.

⁸²¹ Saul's tragic features were recently emphasized by Adam, *Hero*, p. 123-183, who goes so far as to find influences of Greek drama in the stories concerning Saul. Adam's description of the episode of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7-13a is intriguing, but I wonder how he can separate 13,7b-13a (non-dtr) from vv. 13b-14 (dtr). Where, then, would the tragic consequences of Saul's actions in vv. 7b-13a lie?

⁸²² LXX's reading τὴν ἐντολήν μου ἣν ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος is probably older than the harmonizing (cf. also v. 14) and more orthodox MT אֶת־מִצְוַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָ. It is not entirely clear whether Saul's fault mainly consists in the lack of respect shown to the prophet's order when he failed to await the prophet's arrival, or in the fact that he performed a burnt offering as if he were a priest. See Wagner, *Geist*, p. 156-159, 352-353, who believes that Saul is rejected for both of these reasons.

ous nature of a number of characters – Saul is more of a tragic hero than a negative character, Abigail speaks as if her main concern was the blessing for David and his descendants, thereby manipulating with David for her own benefit, etc. However, we cannot read these texts as reproducing, more or less faithfully, traditional oral legends⁸²⁸, since, as we saw, they also contain a reflection on the nature of the Davidic dynastic promise.⁸²⁹ Scholars sometimes explain this peculiar combination in literary-critical terms, ascribing various aspects of the text to its various layers. Yet as already mentioned, the available solutions are not satisfactory. It is likely that at least 1 Sam 25 is based on an older tradition, but we cannot reconstruct this tradition in literary-critical terms.

Van Seters explains the combination of ideological, pro-Davidic utterances with distinctly “literary” features (e.g. the moral ambivalence of several characters, including David himself) in quite a few of David’s stories by claiming that these texts (which, according to Van Seters, form the so-called *Court History* or *David Saga* secondarily added to Dtr History) seek to parody the pro-Davidic dtr ideology.⁸³⁰ Yet, while Van Seters now regards 1 Sam 25 as a part of the *David saga*,⁸³¹ it is not at all clear that texts like 1 Sam 25 are primarily critical of the Davidic traditions.

1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 may be understood as “serious entertainment”, in which the scribe interprets, in a more or less entertaining manner, the traditions of the fall of Saul’s kingdom and the long reign of the Davidic dynasty.⁸³² Yet even these texts, despite their entertaining nature, contain a pro-Davidic ideological dimension and may have advocated for the actual interests of the Davidides in the exilic or post-exilic period. The combination of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 explains, in accord with 2 Sam 7,15, why the fate of the Davidic dynasty cannot be identical to that of the dynasty of Saul. Much like Saul in 1 Sam 13, the Davidides could have lost Yhwh’s חסד in 1 Sam 25, but this was no longer possible after 2 Sam 7.

It may even be argued that in 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the “entertaining” form does not undermine the ideological import of the texts but rather facilitates the expression of the ideology. As observed by J. Mukařovský, extra-aesthetic values present in art-works are usually not felt to be as mandatory as the practical values expressed in texts whose intention is purely communicative.⁸³³ Therefore, the dominance of the aes-

⁸²⁸ The proximity of a number of David’s stories to oral tradition was emphasized by Gunn, *Story*.

⁸²⁹ Cf. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 50, who believes that vv. 23b.24b-26.28-34.39* “are on a very abstract level.”

⁸³⁰ See mainly Van Seters, *Saga*.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 186-190.

⁸³² For the description of some biblical texts as serious entertainment see Davies, *Scribes*, p. 142-151.

⁸³³ Mukařovský, *Function*, p. 87.

thetic function weakens the weight of the other practical values present in the text, making the text in a way “autonomous”. This, of course, holds true especially in social contexts that accept the autonomy of the aesthetic value. Admittedly, the books of Samuel were written in an environment in which the aesthetic function was probably not clearly differentiated from other functions. Nevertheless, it may be supposed that even in such a context the deployment of the aesthetic function in a work may have led to a greater tolerance for when other practical, e.g. ethical or religious, values were not observed within that work. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the legendary narratives with strong aesthetic function in Samuel were less adjusted to “dtr” demands – and from this point of view contain more heterodox elements that are not explicitly rejected – than the books of Kings whose style is more historiographic.⁸³⁴ It would, however, be too simplistic to believe that the aesthetic function can only weaken the ideological values expressed in the literary work. Indeed, for various reasons, it may sometimes be difficult or disadvantageous to formulate an idea explicitly. In such situations, the autonomizing (i.e. “weakening”) effect of the aesthetic function may allow for a problematic idea to be expressed.

This may also be the case in 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25. Biblical authors were clearly able to describe Yhwh’s conduct in general categories. 2 Sam 7,14f., for instance, depicts Yhwh’s relationship to Davidic kings as a stable attitude: Yhwh will punish those kings who have sinned, but he will never take his favour (i.e. the kingship) away from them. As we have seen, 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 construct a particular idea concerning Yhwh’s approach to royal dynasties. However, a straightforward and unambiguous depiction of the concept exemplified in these texts—that a dynasty’s stability or disappearance depends exclusively on whether or not a promise concerning its stability was issued—could seem unconvincing, if not scandalous. Yet, in the aesthetic context of the two “entertaining” narratives, the peculiarity of this idea is weakened by the “autonomizing” effect of the aesthetic function.

⁸³⁴ The differences between Samuel and Kings are emphasized by Hutzli, Relationship.

5. 2 Samuel 22,51

The theme of David's eternal dynasty appears in two poetic texts at the close of the books of Samuel, namely in the last verse of the psalm found in 2 Sam 22 (=Ps 18) and in "David's last words" (23,1-7). Since the beginning of the 19th c., chapters 21–24 of 2 Samuel have generally been regarded as an "appendix" to Samuel, but with scholars disagreeing as to the particular stage of the formation of the book at which these texts were inserted into their present context, and whether this happened in one or several stages.⁸³⁵ Scholars often point out the chiasmic arrangement of these texts (and sometimes conclude as a result that 2 Sam 21–24 were appended to 2 Sam 20 in one single stage). Occasionally, however, this arrangement is considered to be purely formal, since the materials collected in 2 Sam 21–24 seem to be very disparate; moreover, the connection between these materials and the narrative context is, at least in some cases, rather unclear.⁸³⁶

The separation of 2 Sam 21–24 from the surrounding chapters is usually based on some specific features of these texts, but it is also connected to more general hypotheses regarding the formation of the books of Samuel and the Former Prophets. The principal argument is most often that ch. 21–24 break the narrative continuity between 2 Sam 20 and 1 Kgs 1–2.⁸³⁷ However, there is no particularly clear narrative continuity between 2 Sam 20 and 1 Kgs 1. It seems that the separation of 2 Sam 21–24 is, to some extent, linked to the popularity of the hypothesis that one of the sources of

⁸³⁵ For an excellent review of research on these chapters, see Klement, Samuel, p. 17-60.

⁸³⁶ See Klement, Samuel, p. 17-21. The chiasm is tripartite; in the introduction to his study (p. 17), Klement describes it as follows:

A	Narrative	<i>Famine on account of King Saul's guilt</i>
B	List	Names: Conquerors of four Philistine giants
C	Poetry	<i>David's song of thanksgiving</i> : victory over all his enemies
C'	Poetry	<i>David's last words</i> , promise of blessing for the dynasty
B'	Lists	Names: David's heroes, deeds and names
A'	Narrative	<i>Plague on account of King David's guilt</i>

The chiasmic arrangement of 2 Sam 21–24 is more convincing than many other "discoveries" of this literary structure by exegetes in the past decades. It is somewhat problematic though that the chiasmic structure is ascribed to a portion of the text which usually is separated from the rest of Samuel on the basis of a diachronic consideration and which most likely never existed as a unit apart from its present context. – It should be noted that Klement himself disagrees that ch. 21–24 are "appendices" and considers them an integral part of Samuel.

⁸³⁷ So recently e.g. Van Seters, Saga, p. 428.

the book of Samuel was the so-called Succession Narrative contained in (approximately) 2 Sam 9–20 + 1 Kgs 1–2.⁸³⁸

The psalm of 2 Sam 22 was preserved in two (basic) versions, since it also appears in the book of Psalms in Ps 18.⁸³⁹ While there are many differences between the two versions, the variants “are scribal in origin”; 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 represent two genetically-connected versions of one literary composition.⁸⁴⁰ The song is composed of three basic parts⁸⁴¹: vv. 2-20 are expressions of thanksgiving for salvation from enemies; vv. 21-28 describe the psalmist’s moral purity as the reason why Yhwh helped him, concluding that God treats every man according to his merits (vv. 26-28); in vv. 29-51, the psalmist portrays himself as a mighty (royal) warrior, praising Yhwh who granted him force, power and military victories. Some scholars believe that the psalm was composed of two older, originally independent songs, which were employed in the psalm in two principal parts, i.e. vv. 2-20 and 29-51.⁸⁴² The psalm contains a few archaic or archaizing features, and for this reason many scholars date the psalm, or at least its sources, very early, sometimes even considering Davidic authorship for some parts of the text.⁸⁴³ There is no doubt that especially the description of the theophany in vv. 8-16 contains traditional poetic imagery, the origin of which is lost in unfathomable past and which has parallels in Ugaritic texts.⁸⁴⁴ The present

⁸³⁸ The boundaries of the Succession Narrative were never entirely clear. For the basic form of the hypothesis, see, Rost, *Überlieferung*. A subsequent history of research is presented by Dietrich – Naumann, *Samuelbücher*, p. 169-227. – Van Seters denies the existence of the *Succession Narrative* as traditionally understood, but even his *Saga*, encompassing the texts of the so-called *Court History*, finishes in 1 Kgs 2.

⁸³⁹ For an overview of research on Ps 18, see Adam, Held, p. 30-36.

⁸⁴⁰ McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 473.

⁸⁴¹ The following description of the psalm’s structure is adopted from McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 473-474; it is described in a similar manner by many other scholars, including Vesco, *Psaume 18*, p. 11-12, 54; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, p. 262; Auwers, *Rédaction*, p. 23; Kwakkel, *Righteousness*, p. 269; Gray, *Psalms 18*, p. 56, etc.

⁸⁴² E.g. Spoer, *Versuch*; Schmidt, *Psalmen*, p. 27; Baumann, *Struktur-Untersuchungen*, p. 131-136; Vesco, *Psaume 18*, p. 54; Lescow, *Stufenschema*, 181-202; Watts, *Psalms*, p. 116; Auwers, *Rédaction*, p. 23 (with numerous further references); cf. also Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 146-148 (the delimitation of the supposedly original songs differs somewhat according to the view of each individual author). The breaking down of the song into older sources is criticized by Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 186-187. For a good overview of the questions related to the possible sources of Ps 18 / 2 Sam 22, see Kwakkel, *Righteousness*, p. 262-269 (with further references).

⁸⁴³ Cross – Freedman, *Studies*, p. 85, and *passim* in p. 82-106; Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 185-186; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, p. 172; McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 474-475.

⁸⁴⁴ For some examples of these parallels, see e.g. McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 466-467. It must be noted, however, that the description of the theophany in vv. 8-16 is often considered to be an insertion – see e.g. Spoer, *Versuch*, esp. p. 149-151; Baumann, *Struktur-Untersuchungen*, p. 132-133, 136; Vesco, *Psaume 18*, p. 39, 54, and the discussion in Kwakkel, *Righteousness*, p. 265-266.

composition, however, is manifestly late⁸⁴⁵, as is demonstrated, for instance, in the occurrence of a monotheistic confession in v. 32 **כִּי מִי אֵל** **מְבַלְעָדִי יְהוָה וּמִי צוּר מְבַלְעָדִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ**. In McCarter's view, this verse is dependent on Isa 45,5, since in the latter a monotheistic formula is followed by an utterance addressed to Cyrus "I gird you, though you did not know me" (**אֲזַרְךָ וְלֹא יָדַעְתָּנִי**), and a similar text follows the monotheistic confession in 2 Sam 22,33 as well: **הָאֵל מְאֻזְרִי**⁸⁴⁶ **חֵיל**. Note that as far as the monotheistic formula itself is concerned, 2 Sam 22,33 finds a closer parallel in Isa 44,8 **הִישׁ אֱלֹהִים מְבַלְעָדִי וְאֵין צוּר בִּלְיָדַעְתִּי**.

Numerous parallels also exist between 2 Sam 22 and Hannah's prayer in 1 Sam 2,1-10.⁸⁴⁷ According to J. P. Fokkelman, 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22 use more than 30 common terms; in Hannah's song, these terms represent about 40 words out of a total of 114 words.⁸⁴⁸ More important are the striking thematic parallels. Both texts contain a monotheistic confession. Unlike 2 Sam 22,32, the confession in 1 Sam 2,2 does not involve rhetorical questions. Still, the two confessions are largely formulated in a similar manner: according to both texts there is no god except Yhwh and there is no "rock" like "our God."⁸⁴⁹ Both texts contain the motif of the "reversal of the destinies" (1 Sam 2,4-8; 2 Sam 22,28; in fact, the whole psalm portrays the reversal of the king's destiny, with its first part being dedicated to the psalmist's salvation from the hands of his enemies [vv. 2-20] and its third part to his military victories [29-51]). Both texts contain a description of a theophany (1 Sam 2,10; 2 Sam 22,8-16).⁸⁵⁰ And both texts have a "messianic" conclusion where the words **מְשִׁיחוֹ** and **מַלְכוֹ** form a parallel construction. The "messianic" conclusion is somewhat unexpected in both sections. In 1 Sam 2,10, this ending of the song is in tension with the immediate narrative context where the theme of royal power does not seem to have been addressed at all. In 2 Sam 22,51, the motif of Yhwh's favour (**חֶסֶד**) towards David's dynasty appears only after the psalmist says that he will praise Yhwh among the nations in response to his salvation. While in vv. 49-50 David addressed Yhwh in the 2nd person, v. 51 speaks about David, his

⁸⁴⁵ For the late origin of the psalm, see especially Mathys, Dichter, p. 146-157, and cf. already Spoer, Versuch.

⁸⁴⁶ So 4QSam^a, LXX^L (= OG), Syr, Vg and Ps 18,33. 2 Sam 22,33MT has **קִמְעוֹץ**.

⁸⁴⁷ More details in Watts, Psalm, p. 23-24, 26, 106 (with further references); Mathys, Dichter, p. 126-157; Eynikel, Lied, p. 57-72 (with references to other studies on p. 59).

⁸⁴⁸ Fokkelman, Art, p. 354.

⁸⁴⁹ In 1 Sam 2,2, there are several differences between MT, 4QSam^a and LXX. For the analysis of the variants, see Tov, Editions, p. 442; Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 37-38; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 91-93. These textual differences are not very important for the present study. As pointed out by Tov and Hutzli (p. 42), LXX's reading *δικαίος* does not necessarily presuppose a different *Vorlage* than **צוּר**, since LXX avoids on principle the literal translation of **צוּר** when it designates God.

⁸⁵⁰ For the legitimizing function of the theophany in these and other "redactional" texts, see Mathys, Dichter, p. 137-139.

posterity and Yhwh in the 3rd person (note, however, that the psalm contains several instances of similar switches). These (and other) common characteristics in Hannah's prayer and David's psalm suggest that both songs were composed for their present context in Samuel, although their author(s) used older traditional motifs and perhaps also (parts of) older poetic texts.⁸⁵¹ In support of this hypothesis, H.-P. Mathys argues that 2 Sam 22 contains numerous motifs which reference the events of David's life, as depicted in the previous text. 1 Sam 2,1-10 may, too, contain allusions to the narratives of the books of Samuel.⁸⁵²

J.-L. Vesco has presented an exhaustive list of the possible parallels between Ps 18 and the stories told in Samuel (and other texts as well).⁸⁵³ Unfortunately, it is difficult to know in the case of most of these parallels whether the text of the song really was formulated (or at least reworked) with an eye to the corresponding passages in Samuel, or if the correspondences only become apparent when we read the song in the "Davidic" context. It is most likely, however, that the former holds true in the case of v. 51, which refers to the Davidic dynasty. 2 Sam 22,51 is not a dynastic promise of the kind found in 2 Sam 7. It does refer, though, to Yhwh's eternal favour to David and to *his posterity*, using the vocabulary known from 2 Sam 7: **עַד עוֹלָם**, **זֶרַע**, **חֶסֶד**.⁸⁵⁴ In view of the period in which the

⁸⁵¹ Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 126-157. Cf. also Watts, p. 39, 116, who believes that 2 Sam 22 was composed for its context in Samuel using older sources, but does not think that Hannah's song was written for its present setting. Opposingly Vermeylen, *Loi*, p. 414. Kwakkel, *Righteousness*, p. 262-269, concludes that the original pieces that were used in Ps 18 were rewritten to such an extent that they can no longer be precisely delimited. He does not address the question of whether the psalm was composed for 2 Sam 22.

⁸⁵² Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 126-157; Mathys regards 2 Sam 22 as a short "commentary" on the books of Samuel. Cf. also Watts, *Psalm*, p. 104-107, who also notes the parallels between the description of David in 2 Sam 22,21-25 and the way he is depicted in 1 Kgs 9,4; 11,33.38.

⁸⁵³ Vesco, *Psaume 18*, p. 5-62, esp. 26-52.

⁸⁵⁴ The verse contains one interesting textual difference – in place of **לְדוֹר**, 2 Sam 22LXX^L reads **τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς γενεάν**. This reading is no doubt based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* that read **לְדוֹר לְדוֹר**, and thus formed a parallel with **עַד עוֹלָם** at the end of the verse. However, this reading is not without problems, since when **לְדוֹר** is used to express "eternity", it is normally part of the phrases **לְדוֹר וְדוֹר** (Ps 10,6; 33,11; 49,12; 77,9; 79,13; 85,6; 89,2.5; 102,13; 106,31; 119,90; 135,13; 146,10; Prov 27,24 [qere]; Isa 34,17; Lam 5,19; Joel 4,20), **לְדוֹר דְּוֹר** (Ex 3,15; Prov 27,24 [ketib]), **לְדוֹר דּוֹרִים** (Isa 51,8), or **מְדוֹר לְדוֹר** (Isa 34,10). In these cases, however, the translation repeats the word **γενεά** as well, the only exception being Isa 34,10 which is unique also in Hebrew (1QIsa^a has the same phrase as MT). Therefore, 2 Sam 22LXX^L in the present form is most likely incorrect. One might speculate that originally **לְדוֹר** was followed by **וְדוֹר**, with the second part of the latter eventually falling out owing to homoioteleuton (= 2 Sam 22LXX^L). Then **לְדוֹר** would have disappeared as well, either because it was considered to be a doublet or again through homoioteleuton. Alternatively, one may imagine that the original text read only **לְדוֹר וְדוֹר** (as part of the second colon), without **לְדוֹר**. Later on, an alternative reading **לְדוֹר** would emerge, and 2 Sam 22LXX^L would contain a conflate text. Or, on the contrary, **לְדוֹר לְדוֹר** may simply be a secondary doublet that evolved from **לְדוֹר**. This pos-

psalm was composed, it seems very likely that v. 51 presupposes the existence of 2 Sam 7.⁸⁵⁵ As Hannah's prayer and David's psalm both lead into a "messianic" (in 2 Sam 22, overtly Davidic) conclusion, it would be a mistake to consider 1 Sam 2,10 or 2 Sam 22,51 secondary redactional additions.⁸⁵⁶ It is more likely that the songs were inserted to provide a messianic framing of Samuel.⁸⁵⁷ This in turn increases the probability that at least some of the other parallels between the psalm and the portrayal of David's life in Samuel, as discovered by Vesco and Mathys, were indeed intentionally crafted by the author/redactor of the song.

Mathys's view that David's song in 2 Sam 22 was composed for its present context in Samuel implies that Ps 18 takes the song over from here.⁸⁵⁸ This is not, however, a generally accepted view. K.-P. Adam and F. Hartenstein believe that the depiction of the theophany in Ps 18,8-16* corresponds to pre-exilic notions of the temple and universe, while 2 Sam 22 is a revision that reflects later ideas of both the universe and the place of Yhwh's dwelling (see below for details).⁸⁵⁹ This idea cannot be neglected, and we must therefore briefly pause to examine whether one version of the song may be considered more ancient than the other. Yet, since it would be disproportionate to analyze here all textual differences between 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18, I will mainly concentrate on a few differences which seem significant for reconstructing the text's history, as well as on those which are most important in Adam's and Hartenstein's argumentation.

Admittedly, one could ask whether it is at all appropriate to analyze the differences between 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 in terms of textual criticism. Is there a literary relationship between 2 Sam 22 as part of Samuel, and Ps 18 as part of the Psalter? Or do 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 rather represent two versions of a widely known, perhaps orally transmitted song that was only later inserted into the two books without there being a literary connection

sibility is by far the most likely. ולזרעו makes much more sense after the proper name "David" than after only "his anointed," since the point is the continuation of a specific – Davidic – messianic line, as the emphasis placed on "his offspring" precisely shows. Yet, as far as we preserve the word לדור, the presence of לדור ודור ("to generation and generation") is hardly defensible, especially in respect of the following ולזרעו; this separates David from his offspring, thus precluding the possibility that "David" designates the whole dynasty.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 51.

⁸⁵⁶ Mathys, Dichter, p. 129; contra Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 54; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 120-123 (he, however, believes that 1 Sam 2,10b is an addition as well). Cross – Freedman, Studies, p. 106, exclude only the last colon (לדור ולזרעו עד עולם) from the original text.

⁸⁵⁷ Cf. Watts, Psalm, p. 106, 112, 115: "[The two songs] expound a basic theme with poetic claims that cannot be misunderstood: Yahweh's purposes were accomplished through David" (quotation from p. 106).

⁸⁵⁸ Mathys, Dichter, p. 153-154;

⁸⁵⁹ Adam, Held, p. 55-66; Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 129-136. Cf. also Auwers, Rédaction; Vermeylen, Loi, p. 414-416, who, on other grounds, also argue that the original context of the song is the Psalter.

between these larger wholes?⁸⁶⁰ In this latter case, it might be methodologically inappropriate to speculate on why a scribe might have changed a reading that was present in the other version, especially if we ascribe an important role to the oral transmission of the song.

However, it may safely be assumed that there is a direct literary relation between the superscription of Ps 18 and the narrative introduction of the song in 2 Sam 22,1-2a:

2 Sam 22,1-2aMT: וַיִּדְבֹר דָּוִד לַיהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת בַּיּוֹם הַצֵּל יְהוָה אֹתוֹ
מִכַּף כָּל־אֹיְבָיו וּמִכַּף שָׂאוֹל: וַיֹּאמֶר

And David spoke to Yhwh the words of this song on the day when Yhwh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul. He said:

Ps 18,1-2aMT: לַמְנַצֵּחַ | לַעֲבֹד יְהוָה לְדָוִד אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר | לַיהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת
בַּיּוֹם הַצֵּל יְהוָה אֹתוֹ מִכַּף כָּל־אֹיְבָיו וּמִיַּד שָׂאוֹל: וַיֹּאמֶר

For the choirmaster. By the servant of Yhwh, by David who spoke the words of this song to Yhwh on the day Yhwh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul. He said:⁸⁶¹

Several factors favour the priority of 2 Sam 22,1-2a:

1) Ps 18,1 (+ the first word in v. 2) has a different form to the other historical references in the superscriptions of the Davidic psalms. In MT, the historical superscriptions occur in Ps 3, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142, and according to some scholars also in Ps 7. As emphasized by B. S. Childs, all of these superscriptions have a similar syntax, except of Ps 7 and 18. “The infinitive construct, introduced by the preposition *bē*, occurs in a noun clause. Then the subsequent coordinate or subordinate clause reverts to the use of the finite verb (Pss. lii, liv, lx).”⁸⁶² Childs may be right that the expression *עַל־דְּבָרֵי־כֹשׁ בְּיָמֵי־י* in the superscription of Ps 7 does not refer to an historical event when David composed the psalm but rather indicates the manner in which it was sung. This would be in accordance with other occurrences of the conjunction *עַל* in the Psalm superscriptions (cf. especially 62,1). The superscription would originally mean that the psalm is to be sung “according to the words of Cush the Benjaminite.” In this case, the superscription of Ps 18 would be the only one where the reference to the historical context does not begin with an inf. cs. with the preposition *ב*, but instead with a relative verbal clause developing the word “David” contained in the standard formula *לְדָוִד*, with David being the subject in the dependent clause. This, of course, may well be explained by the

⁸⁶⁰ So Craigie, Psalms, p. 172; Gray, Psalm 18, p. 55. Cf. also Cross – Freedman, Studies, p. 82.

⁸⁶¹ We may disregard a few minor variants present in some witnesses of the two passages.

⁸⁶² Childs, Titles, p. 138-139.

fact that the superscription in Ps 18 is based on the narrative introduction of the song in 2 Sam 22, which begins with וַיִּדְבֹּר דָּוִד.⁸⁶³

2) The content of the superscription of Ps 18 is also exceptional. All the other references to the events of David's life in the superscriptions connect a given psalm with a particular scene from David's story (this applies even to the brief and somewhat vague superscriptions in Ps 63 and 142). According to the superscription of Ps 18, David sung this song "on the day Yhwh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." This formulation is peculiar, since according to the books of Samuel, Yhwh delivered David from Saul's hand on different days to those when he delivered him from other enemies. Should we infer that David sung the song on several occasions? The dissimilarity to the other historicizing superscriptions is again most likely due to the fact that the superscription originated in 2 Sam 22. There the song appears after 2 Sam 21,15-22, which describes several victories of David's servants over the Philistines, while in the first episode David's life is saved thanks to Abishai's intervention. Each of these episodes is introduced by a formula that situates the event within the larger narrative context of David's *vita* (e.g. v. 15 "And there was war again between the Philistines and Israel"), as though their position in ch. 21 corresponded to the chronology of David's life (cf. the note in v. 15 that David was weary). David's song praising Yhwh for delivering him from all enemies is thus logically inserted after 2 Sam 21,15-22 (the section 23,8-39 has the form of a list of David's heroes who are arranged according to their importance and whose heroic deeds relate to various phases of David's life). At the same time, however, the song functions as a kind of summary statement of thanksgiving at the close of David's story, such that the author of 2 Sam 22,1 deemed it necessary to explicitly mention David's noted enemy Saul.

3) The opening of Ps 18 with the word וַיִּאֲמַר is utterly exceptional. It is, of course, due to the position of 2 Sam 22 in the narrative context.⁸⁶⁴

Therefore, at least as far as the "superscription" is concerned, Ps 18 is dependent on 2 Sam 22. In spite of this, it may be theoretically imagined that the relationship between the "bodies" of the songs themselves is different, and the superscription was only secondarily added to Ps 18 on the basis of 2 Sam 22.⁸⁶⁵ It seems more likely, however, that the *basic* influence, i.e. the literary dependence, went in the same direction in the case of the body of the song as with the superscription.

This, of course, does not imply that all textual differences present in the most important textual witnesses (2 Sam 22MT, 2 Sam 22LXX [with OG mainly preserved in LXX^L], 4QSam^a, Ps 18MT and Ψ 17) correspond to

⁸⁶³ Similarly Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 121.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. also the conclusion that Wilson, *Editing*, p. 184-185, draws concerning the comparison of Ps 106,47f. and 1 Chr 16,35f.

⁸⁶⁵ This is argued by Auwers, *Rédaction*, p. 27; cf. also Adam, *Held*, p. 153-155, 190-191.

one pattern. Some readings contained in Ps 18 may be more ancient than corresponding readings attested in the textual witnesses of 2 Sam 22. For example, 2 Sam 22,38a reads **אֲרֹדֶנָּה אֹיְבֵי וְאֲשָׁמִידֵם** (“I pursue my enemies and destroy them”), while Ps 18,38 has **אֲרֹדֶנָּה אֹיְבֵי וְאֲשִׁיגֵם** (“I pursue my enemies and overtake them”).⁸⁶⁶ The verb **נָשַׁג** frequently appears with the verb **רָדַף**, as is the case here in Ps 18. Furthermore, in 1 Sam 30,8 both verbs appear in a passage that may be considered an intertext of v. 38 as it appears in Ps 18. 1 Sam 30,8 runs as follows: “And David asked of Yhwh, saying ‘Shall I pursue (הֲאֲרֹדֶנָּה)⁸⁶⁷ after this band? Shall I overtake (הֲאֲשִׁיגֵנּוּ) it?’ And he said to him: ‘Pursue (רָדַף), for you shall surely overtake (הֲשִׁיג) and you shall surely rescue.’” The verb **וְאֲשִׁיגֵם** in Ps 18 thus *may* be a better reading than **וְאֲשָׁמִידֵם** in 2 Sam 22. This, however, would not exclude the possibility that Ps 18 is literary dependent on 2 Sam 22, since the text(s) of 2 Sam 22 might have developed after the song was borrowed from Samuel and inserted into the Psalter. At any rate, it is likely significant that in 2 Sam 22 / Ps 18 the best reading is rarely absent from all the most important witnesses of 2 Sam 22 (MT, 4QSam^a, LXX).⁸⁶⁸

In several other passages, Ps 18 probably contains a reading that is more ancient than 2 Sam 22MT, yet this older reading is attested in 2 Sam 22LXX (most often in the Lucianic text, presumably corresponding to OG) and also once in 4QSam^a. In these cases, the innovation was only introduced into 2 Sam 22MT, which, of course, does not call into question the literary dependence of Ps 18 on 2 Sam 22. For example, in v. 33: 2 Sam 22MT **חֵיל מְעוּזִי חֵיל**; LXX^L **ὁ περικυκλιζόμενος μοι δύνανται** (similarly Vg and Syr); LXX rell **ὁ κραταίῳ με δυνάμει**; 4QSam^a **[חֵיל] מְעוּזִי חֵיל**; Ps 18MT **הַמְּאַזְרֵנִי חֵיל**; Ψ 17 **ὁ περιζώνων με δύνανται**. The reading of 2 Sam 22,18MT is probably due to a scribal mistake, facilitated by the influence of the metaphors used in the two previous verses (**מָגֵן** and **צוּר**). According to *CTAT I*, the reading of 2 Sam 22MT is original, while the reading of 4QSam^a, LXX^L, and Ps 18 is a facilitating assimilation to v. 40. *CTAT* is right that syntactically, the clause **הָאֵל מְעוּזִי חֵיל** is not incorrect (cf. Num 25,12; Ezek 16,27; Hab 3,8). However, the word **חֵיל** would be used here in a totally exceptional context. Another case of a similar type appears in v. 44: 2 Sam 22 **תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי חֵיל**; LXX^L **ἔθου με** (similarly in Tg and Syr); Ps 18MT **תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי חֵיל**; Ψ 17 **καταστήσεις με**. In view of the following preposition **ל** and the context, the reading **תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי** is obviously more ancient.⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁶ In both passages, LXX corresponds to MT. **וְאֲשָׁמִידֵם** is also in 4QSam^a.

⁸⁶⁷ MT reads **אֲרֹדֶנָּה**, but LXX's reading **εἰ καταδιώξω** is better; see Hutzli, Retuschen, p. 111-112.

⁸⁶⁸ Other cases might be **וּדָא** in Ps 18,11, **וּבְרָקִים** in Ps 18,15 (see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 457, who argues in favour of the Psalm's reading by the presence of the rare verb **רָבַב** “shoot [a bow]”; note, however, that the Psalm's reading is attested in Samuel in Syr) and **וְעֵינַיִם רְמוּת תִּשְׁפִּיל** in Ps 18,28MT.

⁸⁶⁹ Here, *CTAT I*, p. 309, acknowledges that the reading of the Psalm has greater chance of being the original. Furthermore, *CTAT I* accepts that LXX^L most likely represents OG,

Admittedly, the analysis of the textual units where LXX^L (presumably most often corresponding to OG) agrees with Ps 18 against 2 Sam 22MT is somewhat hampered by the fact that LXX^L often reads a text identical to Ψ 17.⁸⁷⁰ This suggests that the Greek translation of 2 Sam 22 made use of the Greek text of Ψ 17. As this may have led to a contamination of 2 Sam 22LXX by the text of Ψ 17, we may not be sure in the case of these passages whether 2 Sam 22LXX^L reflects its Hebrew *Vorlage* or only borrows the text of Ψ 17. In addition to this, various contaminations may also be present in other witnesses.

Despite these complexities, it may be argued that the song of Ps 18 is dependent on 2 Sam 22 not only in its superscription but also in its body. In this regard, a textual difference in v. 5 seems especially revealing. The situation is as follows: 2 Sam 22MT מְשַׁבְּרֵי מוֹת; 2 Sam 22LXX^L σπντρμμοι ὑδάτων; 2 Sam LXX^B (and practically all other mss) σπντρμμοι θανάτου; Ps 18,5 חֲבִלֵי מוֹת; Ψ 17,5 ὠδοὺς θανάτου.

The word מְשַׁבְּרֵי matches the parallel word וְנַחֲלִי in the second half of the verse, but the expression מְשַׁבְּרֵי מוֹת (“breakers of death”) looks somewhat odd. The reading of LXX^L, which probably presupposes מִשְׁבְּרֵי מִים (cf. HALOT under מְשַׁבֵּר), best fits the context.⁸⁷¹ מוֹת developed from מִים through scribal error⁸⁷², perhaps also under the influence of the following verse. מְשַׁבְּרֵי מוֹת was later considered problematic and changed into חֲבִלֵי מוֹת in Ps 18,5. Owing to the parallel between מִשְׁבְּרֵי מִים and נַחֲלִי בְלִיעַל, the depiction of the distress in v. 5 is a perfect match with vv. 17f., which describes the psalmist’s salvation: according to v. 17, Yhwh drew him “out of many waters” (מִמֵּי רַבִּים)⁸⁷³, while v. 18a states that Yhwh rescued him from “my strong enemy (-ies)” (מֵאִיבֵי עֵז).

As far as the shift מְשַׁבְּרֵי → חֲבִלֵי is concerned, several causes may be identified. חֲבִלֵי may be an assimilation to the following verse which begins with the expression חֲבִלֵי שְׂאוּל, standing in parallel with מוֹת (מִוֹ)קְשֵׁי מוֹת in the

which was based on a *Vorlage* different from MT (since OG uses here a different verb than Ψ). However, CTAT I believes that in this and other passages of 2 Sam 22, the *Vorlage* of OG had a reading assimilating to Ps 18, so that we should rather respect two diverse textual forms of the song as attested in MT of Samuel and the Psalms. Now, this general approach may only seem satisfactory if we have no idea at all of the literary history that have led to the presence of the song in both the Psalms and the book of Samuel. If we consider that a redactor of the Psalter took over the song from Samuel (or even that the song was composed for its context in Samuel), all “original” readings preserved in Ps 18 must be reinserted back into 2 Sam 22.

⁸⁷⁰ For a list of the passages where 2 Sam 22LXX^L agrees with Ps 18 against 2 Sam 22MT, see Busto Saiz, Text. If I understand him well, Busto Saiz tends to consider these readings in LXX^L to be a result of a proto-Lucianic revision based on a Hebrew text.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. Emerton, Sheol, p. 217, who recognizes that v. 5 refers to “overwhelming waters,” though he preserves the reading מוֹת.

⁸⁷² Even though the interchange of *mem* and *taw* is not very well documented. For possible occurrences, see Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 118.

⁸⁷³ For the use of the expression “many waters”, see May, Connotations.

same verse.⁸⁷⁴ However, a scribe responsible for the shift also could have understood מִשְׁבְּרִי as st. c. of מִשְׁבֵּר – “cervical opening” and so substituted it with a contextually preferable synonymous reading חֲבִלִי from חֲבַל – “labour pains” (this is how the word is construed in Ψ 17,5f.).

No matter the exact mechanism of the shift מִשְׁבְּרִי (Sam) → חֲבִלִי (Ps), this textual difference may be quite telling of the relationship between the forms of the songs in 2 Sam 22 and Psalm 18. In this variation unit, the most ancient text is preserved only in 2 Sam 22,5 LXX^L (= OG). Yet the mistake מִים → מוֹת already occurred in Samuel, since the latter reading is attested 2 Sam 22MT. In the textual line behind MT of Samuel, the reading מוֹת must have appeared very early, before the insertion of the song into the Psalter, where this reading is not only attested but even provoked the shift מִשְׁבְּרִי (Samuel) → חֲבִלִי (Psalm 18). Therefore, the situation in this variation unit suggests that 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 are not two ancient “synonymous” forms of a song incorporated into two different contexts, with each of them having a separate (more or less independent) development. On the contrary, Ps 18 was taken over from 2 Sam 22, and in this passage, the text of Ps 18 already reflects a secondary variant that appeared in part of the textual tradition of Samuel (proto-MT).

Finally, we need to devote some space to Adam’s and Hartenstein’s thesis that 2 Sam 22,7-16 bears the marks of a systematic reworking of the more ancient text attested in Ps 18.⁸⁷⁵ In their view, the description of the theophany in Ps 18,8-16* corresponds to pre-exilic notions of the temple and to pre-exilic cosmology. The cosmic dimension of the temple in Ps 18 is the same as that which is found in 1 Kgs 8,12f: Yhwh dwells in the temple in “thick darkness” (or “heavy cloud”) (עֲרֶפֶל), or during the theophany he moves on the “thick darkness” in order to help the psalmist (Ž 18,10 / 2S 22,10). The sphere of Yhwh’s power is thus the meteorological phenomena of the atmospheric sky, but the frontiers of this sky are not defined with any precision. In 2 Sam 22,7-16, Adam and Hartenstein identify a series of subtle shifts that aim, first, to localize Yhwh in heaven alone (much like the shift that occurs in 1 Kgs 8,14-66, as against vv. 12f.), and, second, to inject into the text another cosmology of Mesopotamian origin, i.e. the image of the universe composed of separated layers (as it is also systematically presented in Gen 1), so as to enlarge Yhwh’s field of activity. In my opinion, however, it cannot be demonstrated that 2 Sam 22 went through a systematic reworking of this kind. In some cases, the shift described by Adam and Hartenstein is too sophisticated, and thus their description too subjec-

⁸⁷⁴ Kraus, Psalmen, p. 283, prefers to read מִשְׁבְּרִי מוֹת in Ps 18,5 explaining the reading חֲבִלִי מוֹת by the influence of v. 6. Similarly Dahood, Psalms I, p. 105, Schmuttermayr, Psalm 18, p. 45-46. This, however, is problematic, since nothing suggests that the reading מִשְׁבְּרִי ever existed in Ps 18 (and it is probably not original in 2 Sam 22, either).

⁸⁷⁵ Adam, Held, p. 55-66; Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 129-136.

tive. On other occasions, they do not succeed in demonstrating that a given expression really has the meaning that they ascribe to it.⁸⁷⁶

The most remarkable shift described by Hartenstein is that which would have had to have occurred in v. 8. The situation is as follows: 2 Sam 22MT מוסדות השמים; 2 mss and a rabbinic citation מוסדות הרים; similarly Syr and Vg; Ps 18,8MT ומוסדי הרים. In Hartenstein's opinion, the "foundations of the mountains" fit the implicit cosmology of Ps 18,8-16. This cosmology includes the "heaven" above with meteorological phenomena, and the "fertile land" below with rivers and mountains. The cosmic consequences of Yhwh's theophany affect the human world (תבל – v. 16) whose foundations (i.e. the foundations of the mountains and earth – vv. 8,16) tremble before Yhwh's power.⁸⁷⁷ The expression מוסדות השמים has analogues in Sumerian an.úr or Akkadian *išid šamē* (both meaning "foundation of heaven") designating the "horizon", i.e. the lowest part of the sky – the place where the earth and the sky meet, and a strip of the sky above the horizon.⁸⁷⁸ In Hartenstein's view, the expression מוסדות השמים implies the idea of a universe composed of layers, with other heavenly regions located above the sky, since there must be other, still-higher structures above the "foundations."⁸⁷⁹

It may be objected, however, that in this case, the phrase מוסדות השמים would *not* have an identical meaning to Mesopotamian an.úr = *išid šamē*. In fact, the terms an.úr = *išid šamē* designate the lowest part of the sky, i.e. the horizon, and as such stand in opposition to the terms an.pa = *elāt šamē* which mean the "top of heaven", i.e. the zenith.⁸⁸⁰ Both these terms normally designate a part of the visible sky; they are not used to distinguish the sky from the layers above it.⁸⁸¹ For the description of the heavenly layers, other expressions are used. The firmament, for example, as the lowest, visible part of heaven, above which the Mesopotamians located one or more layers, may be called *pāni šamē*, i.e. "face of heaven."⁸⁸² Hartenstein is right that the expression מוסדות השמים evokes a larger horizon than ומוסדי הרים. Nevertheless, the textual differences in vv. 8 and 14 cannot be easily

⁸⁷⁶ In the following discussion I will mainly concentrate on Hartenstein's article, which is more detailed than the comments found in Adam's book. If I understand well, this section of Adam's book is partly dependent on Hartenstein's article, although both were published in the same year.

⁸⁷⁷ Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 132-133; cf. also Adam, Held, p. 59-60.

⁸⁷⁸ Horowitz, Geography, p. 233-236; Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 133-134.

⁸⁷⁹ Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 134; Adam, Held, p. 60.

⁸⁸⁰ Horowitz, Geography, p. 233-238, 252, 260-261.

⁸⁸¹ Hartenstein thus correctly explains the meaning of the Mesopotamian phrases an.úr and *išid šamē* (p. 133-134) but then he ascribes a *different* meaning to מוסדות השמים (p. 134). Similarly also Adam, Held, p. 60.

⁸⁸² Horowitz, Geography, p. 241. However, cf. Horowitz's notes concerning the terms *šupuk šamē/šipik šamē, šupuk burūmū* (p. 41) that might perhaps designate the "foundations of the heaven" in the sense of the sky, serving as a foundation for other invisible heavenly spheres.

explained as a reworking in Samuel that would have aligned the text with the model of a layered universe, in contrast to the more ancient cosmology of Ps 18. Moreover, the question remains whether it is the larger horizon implied by *מוסדות השמים* or if it is the reading *ומוסדי הרים* that better fits the context of the song.

In fact, both readings make good sense in the theophanic context. Several things would seem to indicate, however, that the reading of Ps 18 is secondary.

A momentary glance at the textual apparatus of BHS shows that the manuscript traditions of Ps 18 and 2 Sam 22 influenced each other in various versions of the text.⁸⁸³ In the discussed variation unit, the influence went solely from Ps 18 to 2 Sam 22. Two masoretic mss, a rabbinic citation, Syr and Vg have “foundations of the mountains” in 2 Sam 22. This may indicate that the shift from the “foundations of the heaven” to the “foundations of the mountains” was easier than the other way around, perhaps because the notion of the “foundations of the heaven” could not be understood by all the scribes (as noted by Hartenstein, the term *מוסדות השמים* appears only here in the whole HB, and its sole conceptual analogue in the HB is perhaps the “the pillars of heaven” in Job 26,11).⁸⁸⁴ Admittedly, apart from Ps 18,8, *ומוסדי הרים* only occur in Deut 32,22,⁸⁸⁵ yet a mountain is perhaps more easily compared to a construction than the sky, such that it may seem more natural to speak of its foundations.

This situation somewhat complicates Hartenstein’s thesis that the reading of 2 Sam 22 reflects a later conception of the world which would correspond, moreover, to the creation myth in P (Gen 1). If this were to be the case, this conception of the universe should perhaps be more current and comprehensible for later scribes than the conception that is reflected in the original text of Ps 18. Apparently, however, the supposed connection of the “foundations of the sky” to the “canonical” conception of the creation was not obvious to the scribes who suppressed this reading in various witnesses of 2 Sam 22.

As already mentioned, the shaking of the foundations of the mountains does make good sense in the theophanic text. Nevertheless, the reading

⁸⁸³ This phenomenon is not self-evident and it would deserve a deeper study. It seems, for example, that the manuscript tradition of 2 Sam 22 in various versions is more influenced by Ps 18 than the ms tradition of Samuel usually is by parallel texts in 1 Chronicles.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf., however, also Am 9,6 where Yhwh “founds his vault upon the earth” (provided that the word *אֲנִידָה* really means here the “vault” (see Bartelmus, *šamayim*, p. 209). Cf. also *מוסדי הרקיע* in 4QInstruction^d (= 4Q418) frg. 69 II,9, and *מוסדי רקיע* in 11QShirShabb (= 11Q17).

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. also Isa 14,32, according to which Yhwh founded Sion (*יסד* pi.), and the expression *קצבי הרים* (Jon 2,7) that probably means “foundations of the mountains” as well. Furthermore, *יסודי הרים* occur in 1QH^a 11,31, and *ואושי בומותה* (“and the foundations of its heights”) in 4QBer^a 5,4. A paraphrase of Deut 32,22 appears in 1QH^a 4,13.

“foundations of the heaven” seems to correspond better to what is described in the remaining text of both Ps 18 and 2 Sam 22. For if we construe הֵיכָל in v. 7 as Yhwh’s heavenly palace, 2 Sam 22,8-17 will read like a description of Yhwh’s journey from heaven (or through the heavens) to help the psalmist. First, the foundations of heaven start to shake (v. 8) because Yhwh became angry and his appearance terrifying (v. 9).⁸⁸⁶ Subsequently, Yhwh bows the heavens and comes down (v. 10), journeys through the air (vv. 10f.), shrouds himself with clouds (v. 12), and finally thunders from heaven (v. 14) and helps the psalmist from on high, drawing him out of many waters (v. 17). It may be noted that v. 10, where Yhwh “bows” the heavens, suggests that the text may, indeed, reflect to some degree the Mesopotamian idea that heaven is composed of several layers, with gods living in the sphere (or spheres) above the sky. However, this perspective was not introduced into the song secondarily, since Yhwh’s bowing of the sky appears in v. 10 both in Ps 18 and 2 Sam 22.

Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear what exactly Yhwh’s “bowing of heaven” designates here. Bartelmus distinguishes two conceptions of heaven in the HB that were originally fundamentally different – first, heaven as a created entity, much like in Mesopotamian cosmology, and second, heaven as the place of God’s dwelling or God’s domain. For Hartenstein, heaven is God’s domain in Ps 18,7-16, and, accordingly, he interprets Yhwh’s action of bowing the heaven down in v. 10 as storm clouds quickly falling before the wind. However, when used in connection with heaven, the verb נטה usually serves to describe Yhwh’s creative activity – he stretched the heaven out (Job 9,8; Ps 104,2; Isa 40,22; 42,5; 44,24; 45,12; 51,13; Jer 10,12; 51,15; Zech 12,1). In Bartelmus’s view, all passages that include this idea come from the exilic or post-exilic period and presuppose a Mesopotamian conception of heaven. Admittedly, in 2 Sam 22,10 / Ps 18,10 and Ps 144,5 (which is most likely dependent on Ps 18), the verb נטה has a different meaning. Nevertheless, these passages may represent a further development of the concept of Yhwh stretching out the heavens, in combination with the more traditional notion of heaven as Yhwh’s domain. Since Yhwh stretched out (נטה) the heavens at the time of creation, he can now bow it down (נטה) at theophany. Indeed, Bartelmus believes that the texts in which heaven is the object of Yhwh’s activity beyond that of creation also presuppose the notion of heaven known from Mesopotamian cosmology, or at least a combination of the two aforementioned conceptions. He does not mention 2 Sam 22,10 / Ps 18,10, but this group of texts no doubt includes

⁸⁸⁶ To be precise, the first half of the parallelism in v. 8 speaks of the shaking of the earth. Still, it is perhaps not an accident that the foundations of heaven appear in the second place, such that Yhwh’s manipulation with the heaven in vv. 8 and 10 follow one after the other. (On the other hand, “heaven” in v. 8 can, clearly, be interpreted as the result of assimilation with v. 10.)

passages such as Isa 13,13; Hag 2,6.21 (cf. also Joel 2,10; 4,16), i.e. descriptions of theophanies not far removed from 2 Sam 22,8-16.

Hartenstein further argues that the ending *וְהָיָה* in *מוֹסְדֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* in 2 Sam 22,8 (compared to *מוֹסְדֵי הָרִים* in Ps 18,8) is due to harmonization with *מִן־הַסִּדּוֹת תִּבֵּל* in 2 Sam 22,16 = Ps 18,16. This harmonization would aim at stressing the parallel between the foundations of heaven and earth. Indeed, at first glance, the ending *וְהָיָה* in 2 Sam 22 seems to testify to the secondary character of this reading. However, the difference *מוֹסְדֵי* : *מוֹסְדֵי* in v. 8 may also be explained in a different way. If the reading *הָרִים* is secondary (which I tend to believe), it could have appeared in Ps 18,8 under the influence of Deut 32,22 – “For a fire is kindled by my anger, and it burns to the depths of Sheol, devours the earth and its increase, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains (*הָרִים*).” In this case, the ending *וְהָיָה* could be due to this influence as well.

All in all, the reading *מוֹסְדֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* seems to me better, although its priority cannot be proved with any certainty. At any rate, contrary to Hartenstein’s opinion, the textual difference *מוֹסְדֵי הָרִים* : *מוֹסְדֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* does not constitute a strong argument for the direction of development from Ps 18 to 2 Sam 22.

Hartenstein identifies another secondary shift in 2 Sam 22,7b, which reads “he heard my voice from his temple and my cry into his ears (*וְשָׁמַעַי וְשָׁמַעַי לִפְנֵי תְבוּאָה בְּאֶזְנוֹי*).” We find at the end of verse 6 of Ps 18 *וְשָׁמַעַי לִפְנֵי תְבוּאָה בְּאֶזְנוֹי* (“and my cry before him came into his ears”). Hartenstein considers the reading *לִפְנֵי תְבוּאָה* in Ps 18 a “tempelbezogene Aussage”, while the shorter text in 2 Sam 22 is, in his view, part of the revision according to which Yhwh does not dwell in the temple but rather in his heavenly palace.⁸⁸⁷ Now, it is true that the word *לִפְנֵי* would refer to the temple if it were construed as a locative adverbial referring to the place where the psalmist cries for help.⁸⁸⁸ This, however, stands in tension with the second third of the verse, according to which Yhwh heard the psalmist’s voice “from his temple/palace” (*מִהִכְלוֹ*). After all, Yhwh’s reply “from the temple/palace” connects well with the portrayal of the psalmist’s distress – he is entangled by the cords of Sheol etc., and thus, at least on this metaphorical level, not in the temple.⁸⁸⁹ Therefore, *לִפְנֵי* is most likely a directional adverbial expressing where the psalmist’s prayer “comes” to (cf. Ps 79,11; 88,3; 119,170; similarly with the preposition *אֶל* Ps 102,2; Jon 2,8). In any case, given that

⁸⁸⁷ Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 131; Adam, Held, p. 58, 60.

⁸⁸⁸ MT’s accentuation seems to understand the text in this way. Note that Hartenstein himself does not construe the text in this way, since he translates “und mein Schreien wird vor sein Angesicht hineingehen, in seine Ohren” (Wolkendunkel, p. 131; italics by H.; similarly Adam, Held, p. 58, 60).

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. Jon 2,3-8 where a similar portrayal of distress is accompanied by the psalmist’s (i.e. Jonah’s) desire to see Yhwh’s temple again (v. 5). And similarly to 2 Sam 22 / Ps 18, Jonah’s prayer comes to Yhwh (*וְתִבּוּאָה אֵלַי תִּפְלָתִי*), i.e. to his (here most likely earthly) temple (v. 8).

לפניו is a directional adverbial, Yhwh's "temple/palace" and the place "before him" in Ps 18,7 may theoretically designate the heavenly palace as well as the earthly temple. The problem is, however, that in Ps 18,7 לפניו is later followed by באזניו, and this combination of two directional adverbials seems very clumsy (and, moreover, illogical).⁸⁹⁰ McCarter argues that the long reading in Ps 18,7 "conflates" the reading of Samuel (באזניו) with a variant that read לפניו תבוא but not באזניו.⁸⁹¹ Yet, as the reading with only לפניו תבוא is not attested at all, we may rather surmise that the longer, apparently conflating variant came into existence directly by the simple insertion of לפניו תבוא. The addition might have been provoked by the apparent incompleteness of the short reading of 2 Sam 22, with no verb in v. 7bβ. Under the influence of the phrase attested in Ps 79,11; 88,3; 119,170 (cf. 102,2; Jon 2,8) the verb תבוא was added together with לפניו, although the presence of the latter creates some tension with באזניו. Therefore, regardless of whether לפניו refers to the earthly temple or not, it is secondary.

Additional evidence of the song's supposed reworking in 2 Sam 22 is, in Hartenstein's view, the reading מן שמים in v. 14, as against the reading בשמים in Ps 18MT (Hartenstein does not address the fact that Ψ 17,14 reads ἐξ οὐρανόθεν). Hartenstein construes the reading מן שמים as specifying that Yhwh thundered "*from' the space above the foundations of heaven.*"⁸⁹² This interpretation is very subjective, if not arbitrary. It seems to me hardly possible to draw such far-reaching conclusions from the minimal difference between מן שמים and בשמים, since Yhwh's thundering would be situated in the heavens in any case. As regards the question of the priority of מן שמים or בשמים, I tend to prefer the former because it may be read in parallel with ממרום, "from on high", in v. 17, and it generally accords well with the portrayal of Yhwh's descent to help the psalmist in vv. 7-17.

To sum up, Hartenstein's arguments for the priority of the text of Ps 18 and for the presence of a systematic revision in 2 Sam 22 are not very convincing. Although we could not pay attention to all the textual differences in 2 Sam 22 / Ps 18, this short overview suggests that Ps 18 is dependent on 2 Sam 22. This matches well with Mathys's opinion that David's song contained in 2 Sam 22 was composed (perhaps on the basis of older sources) for its present context in Samuel. And as already noted above, the intended function of this psalm, together with Hannah's prayer, was most likely to create a messianic framing of Samuel.

Poetic texts of the kind we have in 2 Sam 22, working with traditional formulas and imagery, are difficult to evaluate from redaction-critical and

⁸⁹⁰ A similar reading also appears in 2 Sam 22,8Syr, but this is probably due to the influence of Ps 18. Similarly, Vg in Samuel probably ads *veniet* for stylistic reasons under the influence of Ps 18.

⁸⁹¹ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 456. Cf. also Cross – Freedman, Studies, p. 89, 98.

⁸⁹² Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, p. 134; italics by H.

socio-historical points of view. Perhaps the emphasis on the motif of the “reversed destinies”, which is probably connected to the destiny of the Davidic anointed, might give us a clue. Neither 1 Sam 2,1-10 nor 2 Sam 22 is concerned with a messiah who “comes” (cf. e.g. 1QS 9,11; J 4,25) or one whom God will “raise” (Ps. Sol. 17,21.41), but a messiah who is (still) there, yet (or at least potentially) in a degraded position. After all, Hannah’s prayer with its motif of the elevation of the poor on the throne of glory among the nobles (1 Sam 2,8) forms an inclusion not only with the end of Samuel, but also with Jehoiachin’s amnesty in the Babylonian court at the end of Kings. It thus seems that even 2 Sam 22,51 and 1 Sam 2,10, much like other mentions of the dynastic promise in Samuel, might have defended real political interests of the Davidic family at a time when they did not hold power, or when their power was largely reduced.⁸⁹³

Some scholars believe that 2 Sam 22 / Ps 18 transfer the Davidic promises to the whole people. J. Vermeylen, for instance, argues that משיח in v. 51 no longer designates David, but rather the members of the Jerusalem community of the Persian period who reclaim David as their “ancestor.”⁸⁹⁴ The position defended by Adam seems somewhat obscure. In his view, the redaction that supplemented Ps 18 with vv. 1aα.51 (thereby connecting the psalm explicitly with David) reflects and takes up the restorative hopes that were pinned on Zerubbabel in early post-exilic times, although the redaction was in fact carried out much later, most likely in Ptolemaic times.⁸⁹⁵ Yet Adam simultaneously argues that precisely this redaction, which was responsible for Ps 18,1aα.51, transferred the Davidic traditions to the whole people.⁸⁹⁶ In much the same vein, the insertion of the song into 2 Sam 22 would have served to emphasize that Yhwh himself is savior (cf. the plus in v. 3). Therefore, Adam concludes, in the perspective of 2 Sam 22, the “earthly kingship” would be a rival to the kingship of Yhwh.⁸⁹⁷

I do not find these suggestions very compelling. The Davidization of the Psalter may have served various purposes that cannot be discussed here. It is, however, most unlikely, that the connection of 2 Sam 22 / Ps 18 with David and his dynasty in v. 51 would aim at reinterpreting the Davidic promise as concerning (merely) the people, and not the royal dynasty. No matter whether the song in its final shape was composed for its context in Samuel or for a collection of Psalms, many scholars would agree that it is at least to some degree a composite text, and v. 51 (or at least its last colon) is regularly ascribed to the final phase of the song’s formation.⁸⁹⁸ However, apart from the superscription, v. 51 is the only verse in the song that plainly connects the speaker with David, and Yhwh’s help to the speaker with

⁸⁹³ Cf. Hollis, Hymns, who compares 2 Sam 22 with Merneptah’s “Israel stela.” She concludes that both of these hymns aim at stabilizing the kingship. I cannot, of course agree with Hollis when she seems to accept the idea of Berlin – Brettler, Psalms, p. 1299, that Ps 18 “may be one of the oldest psalms in the Psalter, dating most likely from the tenth century BCE.”

⁸⁹⁴ Vermeylen, Loi, p. 417; *id.*, Symbolique, p. 481.

⁸⁹⁵ Adam, Held, p. 155-157, 183, 189.

⁸⁹⁶ Adam, Held, p. 153, 173, 176.

⁸⁹⁷ Adam, Held, p. 198.

⁸⁹⁸ See e.g. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 120-123, for whom the song’s final form is the work of DtrN, or Adam, Held, p. 145-184, who, on the contrary, considers the addition of Ps 18,1aα.51 to be part of a Psalter redaction.

the support of David's offspring. It is thus highly unlikely that an *addition* of this verse, which thereby becomes the song's culminating point, would be a *widening* of the validity of David's promise to the whole people. As soon as we make room for the possibility that in the time when the song acquired its final shape there still was a group who claimed Davidic origins for themselves, the conclusion of 2 Sam 22 with v. 51 should rather be construed as an application of more or less universal images of suffering and salvation that appeared in the previous verses to describe the fate of the Davidic dynasty.⁸⁹⁹

It is worth noting that David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,22 contains a monotheistic confession not unlike from 1 Sam 2,2 and 2 Sam 22,32. Could these three prayers have been written by the same author?⁹⁰⁰ To be fair, there are clear differences between 2 Sam 7,18-29 and the other two prayers, for example in their language. This, however, may be due to different functions of these texts in the book and to the manner they were composed. While David's prayer in 2 Sam 7 is a free, original prosaic composition intimately linked to its context, 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22 are poetic texts working with traditional formulas and imagery. The themes of the latter texts largely exceed their immediate context, and their combining effect amounts to putting the whole book in Davidic "messianic" light. At any rate, the *three* texts have in common the militant defense of Davidic prerogatives, and they are the only texts in Samuel that contain overt monotheistic formulations⁹⁰¹.

⁸⁹⁹ Note that with 2 Sam 22,44MT's reading וְעַמּוֹ, David's "people" would even be included among the threats from which Yhwh saved him. It is not clear, however, whether this reading is the most ancient.

⁹⁰⁰ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 120-121, and Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 155-156, believe that the same author may be responsible for 1 Sam 2,10b and 2 Sam 22,51.

⁹⁰¹ Cf. however, also 1 Sam 12,21.

6. 2 Samuel 23,1-7

Similar in part to the text treated in the preceding chapter, David's "last words" in 2 Sam 23,1-7 are likely a product of the "Davidization" of a traditional poetic composition. Most interpretations of this text, which seems to be corrupt in all witnesses, adhere to one of two rather divergent positions. On the one hand, there are scholars who consider 2 Sam 23,1-7 to be a piece of early Hebrew poetry. In attempting to reconstruct and interpret the original text, which they tend to ascribe to David, these scholars often resort to Semitic texts from the 2nd millennium B.C.E., notably those from Ugarit.⁹⁰² Other scholars, for example H.-P. Mathys, take as their starting point the location of the poem among the "annexes" to Samuel in 2 Sam 21-24, while also acknowledging certain connections between 2 Sam 23,1-7 and David's story as depicted in Samuel.⁹⁰³ From this perspective, David's last words are a late composition written for the present literary context, perhaps on the basis of older "sources."⁹⁰⁴

The interpretation of the text and its literary development is to a large extent determined by the answer to the following question: whose destiny is described in vv. 6-7? I believe that vv. 3b-4.6-7 may contain an old proverb, difficult to date, about a good and a bad ruler. Vv. 6-7 would thus originally have portrayed the destiny of the bad ruler, designated at the beginning of v. 6 as בליעל (a "worthless man"; subsequently the text speaks about these people in the plural) and standing in contrast with the just and God-fearing ruler of vv. 3b-4. However, the present form, or rather forms, of the text may also invite the reader to understand vv. 6-7 in opposition to v. 5: while v. 5 depicts the blessing of David's house, vv. 6-7 describe the grim fate of his enemies.⁹⁰⁵ In McCarter's masterful reconstruction of v. 5, it is already 5b β that relates to David's adversaries.⁹⁰⁶ As mentioned above, I tend to think that vv. 3b-4.6-7 are based on an older source, but McCarter's reconstruction is attractive since it integrates all the difficult elements of v. 5.

⁹⁰² E.g. Olmo Lete, *Oracle*, p. 414-437.

⁹⁰³ Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 157-164.

⁹⁰⁴ For the late character of the text, see also Tournay, *Paroles*, p. 481-504. – Not all interpretations of 2 Sam 23,1-7 correspond to one of the positions described above. Most notable is the detailed and stimulating treatment by Steymans, *Psalm 89*, p. 396, 409-410, who simply dates the poem to the time of the Judean monarchy.

⁹⁰⁵ Cross, *Myth*, p. 236, regards v. 5 as part of the original text, but vv. 4 and 6f. contain, in his view, a contrast "between the consequences of righteous rule and evil rule."

⁹⁰⁶ McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 478.

The supposedly traditional proverb received in vv. 3b-4.6-7 was originally unrelated to Davidic dynastic ideology, but its meaning was completely transformed by the addition of v. 5, which advocates the interests of the Davidic dynasty. The reinterpretation of the proverb probably occurred when it was inserted into its present location in 2 Sam 23. The connection between vv. 1-3a and the older proverb is difficult to ascertain. The proverb might have been ascribed to David at the same moment that it was connected to the Davidic dynasty by means of v. 5. But it may also be imagined that David, as an archetype of a Judean and Israelite king (the latter exclusively from the Judean point of view), was already considered to be the author of the general proverb that contrasts the good and the bad ruler. The latter possibility might find some support in the doublet found in v. 1, where in v. 1a David's saying is first introduced "in prose" as David's last words, and in v. 1b the poem itself begins by ascribing the "oracle" (אָרָא) to David.

2 Sam 23,1-7 contains several difficult textual problems, the solutions for which depend to a large extent on how one understands the whole section and its literary development. For the sake of clarity, I will first comment on vv. 3b-4.6-7, where arguably an older proverb was used, before returning to v. 5, which is the work of a "pro-Davidic" redaction. In this way, the textual and literary analysis will to some extent be merged. This can hardly be avoided with texts of this nature that are heavily corrupted and which are thought to have undergone a literary development. It is even possible that "literary" and "textual" developments did, indeed, intertwine in the text's transmission history, since the scribes copying these verses as part of Samuel might have secondarily amended them with elements present in a variant of the original proverb that they knew from the oral tradition.

Admittedly, the reconstruction of the proverb in vv. 3b-4.6-7 is hypothetical, and it may be that its precise wording is impossible to recover. On the other hand, the original meaning of these verses seems to clearly "show through" David's last words in their present form.⁹⁰⁷ The most important textual witnesses in this section are MT, LXX (in this part of Samuel, OG's readings should be looked for in the Lucianic text) and 4QSam^a. A part of v. 7 is also attested in 11QPs^a (= 11Q5) but this fragment contains only one content variant against MT, and the meaning of this variant reading is rather unclear.⁹⁰⁸ In the following notes, I only mention important textual differences that have a bearing on the text's meaning.

V. 3b is composed of two parallel members, each of them beginning in MT with the word מוֹשֵׁל. In place of the first occurrence of the word, LXX^B reads παραβολήν εἰπόν, while LXX^L has ἄρξον (4QSam^a is not attested

⁹⁰⁷ For a defense of "content criticism", see Knauf, *Archaeology*, p. 275-276.

⁹⁰⁸ See Sanders, *DJD IV*, p. 48.

here); in place of the second מוֹשֵׁל, 4QSam^a has מִשָּׁל, LXX^L ἄρχε, VL^M *incipite*.⁹⁰⁹ Hence, in both sections the adduced Greek readings presuppose the shorter form that in the latter section is also attested in 4QSam^a. As far as the orthography is concerned, the defective reading is undoubtedly more ancient than the developed one. Still, MT correctly construes the form as a participle, since after the introduction contained in vv. 1-2, particularly after the affirmation that the word of Yhwh's spirit is on David's tongue, we may expect an utterance that is addressed to a third party and is not merely a commandment by Yhwh to David himself (cf., however, Isa 51,16; 59,21).⁹¹⁰

Given the reading of the participle מִשָּׁל(ו) in v. 3b, the verse refers in a general way to a righteous and pious ruler⁹¹¹, and v. 4 describes metaphorically the consequences of his rule. In MT, the first word of v. 4 is introduced by a *waw*, which would mean that the predicate of the main clause in vv. 3b-4(?) already begins with the second colon of v. 3b.⁹¹² LXX^L, however, reads ὥς φῶς at the beginning of v. 4, similarly VL^M, Syr and Vg. The shorter reading is obviously preferable, because in MT the characterization of the ruler is strangely heterogeneous: while v. 3b identifies the ruler's justice to his piety, v. 4 figuratively describes the consequences of his just rule.⁹¹³ Originally v. 3b does not constitute a nominal clause but a two-member synonymous parallelism. V. 4 compares the good ruler to the morning light, while the consequences of his rule are likened to the grass sprouting from the earth after the rain, but the exact wording of the original

⁹⁰⁹ V. 3b in LXX^B is manifestly corrupt: παραβολὴν εἰπόν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πῶς κραταιώσητε φόβον χριστοῦ. For the origin of the corrupted text see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477.

⁹¹⁰ Similarly McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477. Otherwise Cross, Myth, p. 235-236, and Cross et al., DJD XVII, according to whom the short reading, understood as an imperative, is original.

⁹¹¹ Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 396-398, reads in v. 3b the participles מוֹשֵׁל in agreement with MT, yet also considers the possibility that we may have here the verb מִשָּׁל I with the meaning "to pronounce a parable." When exploring the latter case, Steymans translates the text as "der über den gerechten Menschen einen Spruch vorträgt, der über Gottesfurcht einen Spruch vorträgt." In this way, the figurative language of v. 4 would *only* concern David's house mentioned in v. 5, not the "ruler" of v. 3b. This seems to me practically excluded because of the beginning of v. 5 כִּי לֹא בָן; vv. 4-5 as a separated unit describing David's house would be formulated in an extremely awkward way. Steymans finally rejects this interpretation for metrical reasons.

⁹¹² Exceptionally the text is indeed understood in this way, cf. Noll, Faces, p. 163, 171, translating "One who rules as a righteous man, Is ruling as a God-fearer; Like morning light [when] the sun rises."

⁹¹³ The *waw* at the beginning of v. 4 might have been added by a scribe who construed the original defective reading מִשָּׁל as an imperative. Later on, however, it was precisely in the proto-masoretic textual tradition that these verbal forms were again correctly understood as participles and written *plene*. – Otherwise Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 418-419, assuming that the omission of the *waw* in the versions "derives from their ignorance of the syntactic function of the emphatic *w*."

text and the details of its syntax are not entirely clear.⁹¹⁴ The whole of vv. 3b-4 constitutes a summary of the royal ideal of the ancient Near East, according to which a righteous and pious king brings blessings to his people and his land.⁹¹⁵

The proverb continues in v. 6 with a description of a bad ruler, called בליעל and compared to a thorny bush (קוץ). Thorns or thorny bushes in the HB are usually metaphors of uselessness (Isa 32,13; Jer 4,3; 12,13; Hos 10,8), and the flammability of bushes is often an image of the brisance of God's punishments (Ps 118,12; Isa 33,12). In addition to 2 Sam 23,6-7, there are two other texts in the HB where a thorny bush or thorns are an image of a bad king. In 2 Kgs 14,9, the Israelite king Jehoash probably quotes an older fable in which a thorn bush asks a cedar to make his daughter available to his son, and yet a beast passes by and stamps on the thorn bush. Jehoash likens the thorn bush's exaggerated ambition to the desire of the Judean king Amaziah to wage war between Judah and Israel. A story still closer to 2 Sam 23,6-7 is Jotham's fable in Judg 9,8-15. Here an olive, a fig and a vine refuse to abandon their original mission and become kings among trees ("to wave above the trees"), and yet a thorny bush accepts the kingship by saying: "If in good faith you are anointing me king over you, then come and take refuge in my shade; but if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon." Jotham's fable was originally independent and was only secondarily connected to the story of Abimelech's rule depicted in Judg 9. The original meaning of the fable is not entirely clear. It is usually understood as a critical depiction of kingship itself, but some scholars believe it is merely a warning of the consequences that befall those people who, despite being able to serve as leaders, abandon their proper role in society. It is also unclear whether v. 15b was a part of the fable in its independent form. In any case, the fable as it now stands compares the (bad) king to a useless thorny bush, and the consequences of his reign are compared to a fire coming out from the bush. It is unsure whether the fire in the original fable was intended to also illustrate the violent death of the bad king. In v. 20, however, the fable is clearly applied in this way to Abimelech's fate.

⁹¹⁴ Primarily, it seems that v. 5bβ lacks a verb, and therefore it was proposed to read in v. 4 מגיח (ptc. hiph. of גיח, allegedly meaning "to cause to sprout", see HALOT *ad loc.*) instead of מנגיח. Further, while MT reads יָרַח, LXX^L has καὶ ἀνατελεῖ, the same reading is provided by VL^M (*et oriatur*), and καὶ is also in other Greek mss. The mentioned variants reflect זרח, where זרח could be understood as the substantive זָרַח meaning "sunrise." V. 4a would then be a two-member parallelism where אור would be parallel to זָרַח as in Isa 60,3. But MT's יָרַח־שָׁמֶשׁ is an asyndetic relative clause and does not necessarily need to be corrected. For more details on the text of the verse see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477-478; Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 418-420.

⁹¹⁵ For the king's justice and for his being a representation of the powers of life, see Keel, Symbolism, p. 279-290.

The violent death of a bad king is the main theme of 2 Sam 23,6-7. The passage dedicated to the bad ruler begins with the word **וּבְלִיעֵל** in MT. 4QSam^a has the same reading. LXX^L reads *καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ* (“and the remaining”), which is an inner-Greek corruption for *καὶ οἱ λοιμοὶ*, a reading in agreement with MT (the plural is probably merely a result of the fact that “worthless men” are referred to in the plural in the following text)⁹¹⁶. The conjunction is missing in LXX^B, probably due to a secondary understanding of **בליעל** as a subject of the final clause of v. 5 (*ὅτι οὐ μὴ βλαστήσῃ ὁ παράνομος*; for McCarter’s proposal to read the beginning of v. 6 as two words **על ובל**, see below). All the worthless men are like a thorny bush thrown away⁹¹⁷ and “are not taken (niphāl **יָקָחוּ**) in hand.” The following verse, which expands on this idea, should be read: **וְאִישׁ לֹא יַגֵּעַ בָּהֶם אִם לֹא** – “and nobody touches them except with iron and the shaft of a spear and with fire they are entirely burned (in their shame / in their sitting enthroned?).” The meaning of the verse is obvious, yet the text is unclear in several of its details. MT has **יִמָּלֵא** at the beginning of v. 6aβ (not **אם לא**) and does not read the negative particle **לֹא** before **יַגֵּעַ**. Most scholars follow MT in these places. The niphāl **יִמָּלֵא** is usually understood as “he is (will be) armed with” or “he will arm himself.” A certain parallel to this expression may be seen in 2 Kgs 9,24: **וַיְהִי מָלֵא יָדוֹ בַּקֶּשֶׁת**. HALOT, however, translates the phrase in the last mentioned passage as “to set the arrow on the bow”, for this cf. Zech 9,13 and similar expressions in Akkadian (AHw 598a) and Syriac (Payne Smith 274a).⁹¹⁸ LXX^L has *ἐὰν μὴ* in 2 Sam 23,7aβ, reflecting **אם לא**, which is probably the more ancient reading.⁹¹⁹ If we read **אם לא** in v. 7aβ, it is necessary to read with LXX^B the negative particle **לֹא** in the previous clause, regardless of the fact that in this part of Samuel the old Greek readings are usually found in the Lucianic text. It should be emphasized, though, that whether we accept the above mentioned reconstruction or follow MT, the verse will mean essentially the same thing.

At the end of the verse in MT, there is the difficult expression **בְּשִׁבְתָּ**. LXX’s majority text reads (*εἰς*) *αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν*, and LXX^L has *ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν*. Many believe **בְּשִׁבְתָּ** could mean something like “on the spot.”⁹²⁰ This word is clearly related to the name of David’s first warrior in v. 8, who is called **יִשָּׁב בְּשִׁבְתָּ** according to MT, *Ιεβοσθε* in LXX^B and *Ιεσσααλ* in LXX^L (cf. VL^M *Iesbael* and the Syriac version of Jacob of Edessa **ܝܫܒܒܬܐ**); in 1 Chr 11,11, his name is **יִשָּׁבֶנֶם** in MT and *Ιεσεβααλ* in

⁹¹⁶ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 478.

⁹¹⁷ **מָגֵד** is usually understood as a hophal of **גָּדַד** I, but it can also be the verb **גָּדַד**, as suggested by Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 433.

⁹¹⁸ Also McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479, doubts that **יִמָּלֵא** could be understood as “he will arm himself.”

⁹¹⁹ So also Tournay, Paroles, p. 502.

⁹²⁰ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479.

LXX. The original name was obviously אֲשַׁבְעֵל (י)שבעל, perhaps written at some moment as יִשְׁבֵּעֵל. 2 Sam 23,8LXX^B reflects the corrected (or rather theologically evaluated) form אִישְׁבֶּשֶׁת or perhaps יִשְׁבֶּשֶׁת. This reading was later corrupted in MT to give the form יִשָּׁב בַּשָּׁבֶת. As for the expression בַּשָּׁבֶת in 2 Sam 23,7MT and its variations in Greek texts, many scholars suggest omitting it because they consider it to be the result of contamination with v. 8.⁹²¹ This solution is tempting, yet a certain problem is posed by the text of LXX^L (closer to OG than LXX^B in this section of Samuel). Here v. 8 still includes Ιεσβααλ, reflecting the original form of the name, but at the end of v. 7 it reads ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν reflecting בַּבְּשָׁתָם. This reading, according to which worthless men (i.e. bad rulers in the original proverb) are burnt “in their shame” seems meaningful; the contrast between justice (cf. v. 3b) and shame also appears in Dan 9,7-8 and perhaps also Zep 3,5. As part of the final text, where vv. 6-7 describe primarily the fate of David’s enemies, בַּבְּשָׁתָם at the end of the verse would have an interesting parallel at the end of Psalm 132, which reads “His [i.e. David’s] enemies I will clothe with shame, but on him his crown will shine.” We may also hypothetically consider the possibility that the original reading at the end of v. 7 was בַּשְׁבֶּתָם, i.e. “in their dwelling/sitting enthroned.” In the original proverb v. 7 is a reference to the violent death of a bad king, and the verb יִשָּׁב could connote the royal function of the “worthless men.” The meaningless name of David’s first warrior in v. 8MT would then emerge under the influence of the last word of v. 7.

In spite of these textual problems in v. 7, the meaning of the verse is quite clear: it expands on the metaphor of a bad king as a thorny bush, which according to v. 6b cannot be held in the hand. The bush may be touched only by “iron” or “the wooden part of a spear” and it is then burned in the end. In dealing with a bad king, it is appropriate that he be killed. The proverb 3b-4,6-7 contrasts a good and bad ruler (presumably kings), while both are compared to something else: a good king to dawn, possibly life-bringing rain (cf. ὥς ὑετὸς in LXX^L) or growing grass (cf. כֹּדֶר [שֶׁא] in 4QSam^a and ὥς βοτάνη in LXX^L, identically VL^M *quasi herba*), a bad king to a thorny bush. The charm and the point of the proverb is found primarily in its second part, or rather in the combination of the first and the second part. Despite textual problems in v. 4, it is obvious that the descriptions of a righteous and pious king primarily express the well-being of the land and the people under his rule. Subsequently, the bad ruler (בַּלִּיעֵל) is compared to a thorny bush and the reader (or, probably, the listener in the first instance), under the influence of vv. 3b-4, may well imagine the consequences of the rule of a thorny bush (cf. Jotham’s fable, especially its end depicting the doom of the cedars of Lebanon as a consequence of the bush’s rule).

⁹²¹ E.g. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479, believes that the last word in v. 7 arose from a marginal note.

Although the bush is straightaway labeled as מִן־הַבֹּשֶׂת (thrown away?), v. 6b continues on formal grounds as a description of the bush that is the subject of יִקְחוּ, even though the actual issue now is the conduct *towards* the bush.⁹²² In v. 7a, the bush is not even the subject of the verb (it is again in v. 7b, but the verb is in niph'al, as it was already in v. 6b). The charm of verses 6b-7a lies in their contrast between form and message. The text seems to contain a banal fact that the thorny bush should be touched with an iron or wooden instrument rather than by a mere hand, but this is actually a defense of a king's murder, presented as the necessary consequence of the king's bad reign.

If my reconstruction of the original, traditional proverb contained in vv. 3b-4.6-7 is correct, its main point was to explain and defend the murder of a bad king. Unlike the "subversive" potential of vv. 6-7, vv. 3b-4 are no more than a collection of commonplaces of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology. A proverb of this kind in its original form could hardly have become part of the official literature of the royal court. On the other hand, it is likely that the proverb originated and circulated among the people close to the court. The proverb reconstructed in 2 Sam 23,3b-4.6-7 defends the murder of a king, but it contains (unlike Jotham's fable) no polemic against monarchy itself. Kings were murdered quite often in both Israel and Judah,⁹²³ and conspiracies were probably frequently organized by people who were close to the king (it is repeatedly said that kings were murdered by their servants). It would therefore not be wholly surprising if a certain defense of regicide found its way into the unofficial "high" folklore of the Judean or Israelite court. In the books of Kings, the murder of a king and the extermination of his house are often justified by referring to the king's unorthodox (i.e. "non-deuteronomistic") religious practice and unjust rule (1 Kgs 14,10-14; 15,27-30; 16,9-13; 21,17-29; 2 Kgs 9,24-10,17.30).

Let us now focus on v. 5 which refers to the "house" of David. The way we understand the connection between this verse and the previous description of a righteous and pious ruler will depend on our understanding of the first words of the verse כִּי לֹא בֵן. These words have indeed been interpreted in two contrasting manners over the history of research. It is nevertheless

⁹²² The verb is in the plural; according to v. 6a "all" (the worthless men) are like bushes. I speak of "a bush" for the sake of simplicity.

⁹²³ The Israelite kings murdered by conspirators were: Eshbaal (2 Sam 4,5-12), Nadab (1 Kgs 15,27f.), Elah (16,9-10), Zimri (1 Kgs 16,18 – suicide when surrounded by conspirators); Jehoram (2 Kgs 9,11-28; 10,9), Zechariah (15,10.15); Shallum (15,14); Pekahiah (15,25); Pekah (15,30). In Judah, the following rulers were murdered: queen Athaliah (11,4-16.20), Joash (12,21-22), Amaziah (14,19-20); Amon (21,23). Jehoia-kim's very timely death (24,6) might be unnatural as well, but see the careful discussion in Lipschits, Jehoia-kim. The books of Kings also mention the murders of Hazael, king of Damascus (2 Kgs 8,15), Sennacherib, king of Assyria (19,37), and the Judean governor Gedaliah.

obvious that the dynastic ideology of this verse varies significantly from the moral of the original proverb, as reconstructed in vv. 3b-4.6-7.

V. 5a in MT is **כִּי־לֹא־כֵן בֵּיתִי עִם־יְהוָה**. LXX^B (οὐ γὰρ οὕτως⁹²⁴ ὁ οἶκός μου μετὰ ἰσχυροῦ) and LXX^L (ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως ὁ οἶκός μου μετὰ Θεοῦ) clearly presuppose a similar text. MT understands **לֹא** as a negative particle, in accordance with LXX. Therefore, according to both MT and LXX, David says that his house is not “like this with God.” Most scholars believe, however, that David must surely be saying the opposite. The sentence is often understood as a rhetorical question: “For is not my house thus with God?”⁹²⁵ Perhaps most scholars believe, however, that the particle **לֹא** has emphatic-asseverative meaning here. E.g. McCarter translates v. 5a “Surely my house is like this with God!”⁹²⁶ Yet both of these readings of v. 5a are problematic on linguistic and content-related terms.

Rhetorical questions unIntroduced by an interrogative particle **ה** are attested in the HB. GKC § 150a mentions possible examples, some with the negative particle **לֹא** (e.g. 2 Kgs 5,25; Lam 3,28). However, after the particle **כִּי**, a negative rhetorical question introduced merely by the negative particle **לֹא** would be an utter rarity, while the phrase **כִּי לֹא** occurs in the HB on approx. 240 occasions.

A key study on the Semitic asseverative and optative particles beginning with *l* was published 30 years ago by John Huehnergard.⁹²⁷ He suggests that there were two particles beginning with *l* in proto-Semitic: the independent particle **lū/law* that marked the hypothetical nature of the statement and introduced e.g. unreal conditional sentences, and the asseverative proclitic particle **la-* that emphasized the predicate or other elements of the sentence. What we observe in biblical Hebrew largely agrees with these conclusions. There is the independent particle **לֹא**, in some cases written as **לֹא־** or **לֹא־**. This particle has optative meaning (Num 14,2); it introduces an unreal condition (Gen 31,42) or a concessive sentence (in this case, the particle is preceded by the conjunction **ו**). Some believe **לֹא** could also have emphatic meaning. However, in most of the proposed cases, it is usually written with *aleph* and vocalized as a negative particle, and therefore the sentences can also be understood as rhetorical questions. Huehnergard believes that the only relatively probable occurrence of the emphatic **לֹא** in the HB is Gen 50,15, yet even in this case Huehnergard suggests that we should understand the particle in accord with its common function of introducing conditional sentences.⁹²⁸ Hebrew probably also knew the assevera-

⁹²⁴ Most mss read οὕτως which is probably more ancient.

⁹²⁵ So already Driver, Notes, p. 359. Further e.g. Mettinger, King, p. 280-281; Tournay, Paroles, p. 496.

⁹²⁶ McCarter, II Samuel, p. 476, 482; Similarly Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 420-421.

⁹²⁷ Huehnergard, Asseverative, p. 569-593. The paragraph is based on this study.

⁹²⁸ Huehnergard, Asseverative, p. 570-571; for other suggested cases see Sivan – Schniedewind, Letting, p. 209-226, esp. 219-226.

tive proclitic particle ל, which is vocalized in the masoretic text as the preposition ל (its relatively secure occurrences are Ps 89,19; 119,91; Eccl 9,4).⁹²⁹ Some scholars believe that the emphatic *lamed* is written in some texts as לא and vocalized as a negative particle.⁹³⁰ The existence of such cases cannot be ruled out, but we have to take into account that the asseverative ל is a proclitic particle. Therefore the likelihood of it being written as לא and confused with a negative particle is weaker than with the optative particle לו.

In analyzing 2 Sam 23,5 we must bear in mind that the phrase לא בן is not unusual (17 occurrences in the HB + 1 occurrence of ולא בן)⁹³¹. The meaning of the phrase is not always clear, but in most occurrences it agrees with the way LXX translates it in 2 Sam 23,5. The phrase usually functions as a predicate of nominal (infrequently also verbal) sentences that express that the subject of the sentence does not (or should not) agree with the circumstances described in the preceding text. A typical example is Joab's answer to the wise woman of Abel of Beth-maacah in 2 Sam 20,15: לא בן הדבר "the matter is not so." Another illuminating example is Num 12,6-8: "And he said, 'Hear my words: If there is a prophet among you, I Yhwh make myself known to him in a vision; I speak with him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses (לא בן עבדי משה). He is faithful (or permanent[ly]?) in all my house. With him I speak mouth to mouth..." This understanding of the phrase לא בן comes to mind in 2 Sam 23,5 as well, and while many scholars believe otherwise, it easily corresponds to a wider literary context of the passage. Let us now focus on several details of v. 5, assuming preliminarily that the (original) meaning of לא בן may correspond to the masoretic vocalization and the usual function of the phrase.

According to v. 5a, David's house "is not like this with God", i.e. by God's judgment. The preposition עם is used similarly in 1 Sam 2,26; 2 Sam 6,22 and especially Job 25,4: ומה יצדק אנוש עם אל – "And how can man be righteous with God?" Also the Aramaic proverb of Ahiqar no. 78 (according to Lindenberg's numeration) is close to our passage: הקימני אל בצדיק עמך ל [...]"Establish me, o El, as a righteous man with you! To(?)..."⁹³² The expression לא בן in 2 Sam 23,5 should probably be related primarily to the righteous and pious character of the good ruler mentioned in v. 3b. In the Aramaic saying the speaker pleads that El establish him as righteous "with Him"; Job doubts that man could be righteous "with God/El"; finally,

⁹²⁹ Huehnergard, *Asseverative*, p. 590-592.

⁹³⁰ Various more or less persuasive examples and bibliographical references are to be found in Sivan – Schniedewind, *Letting*, esp. p. 219-226. Sivan and Schniedewind believe that there may have been an independent asseverative particle ל in Hebrew.

⁹³¹ Gen 48,18; Exod 10,11; Num 12,7; Deut 18,14; 2 Sam 18,14; 20,21; 23,5; 2 Kgs 7,9; 17,9; Job 9,35; Ps 1,4; Prov 15,7; Isa 10,7; 16,6; Jer 23,10; 48,30.

⁹³² The text and translation follows Lindenberg, *Proverbs*, p. 176; cf. also the saying n. 50 (lines 139-140).

David confesses in 2 Sam 23,5 that his house is not righteous and pious “with God/El.” J. M. Lindenberg adduces several West-Semitic names in which the root *šdq* is linked to El⁹³³, and it is possible that also in 2 Sam 23,5 the divine name אל reflects some notion of the traditional relationship between justice, justification and El.

In respect of the following text in v. 5b, the word כי at the beginning of v. 5a should be understood as a concessive conjunction, and not as an emphatic particle. V. 5a therefore means “although my house is not so with God.”⁹³⁴

כי at the beginning of v. 5b, on the other hand, is probably emphatic. According to the masoretic accentuation, the words ברית עולם form a genitive phrase “covenant of eternity.” This phrase appears quite often in the HB (Gen 9,16; 17,7.13.19; Exod 31,16; Lev 24,8; Num 18,19; 1 Chr 16,17; Ps 105,10; Isa 24,5; 55,3; 61,8; Jer 32,40; 50,5; Ezek 16,60; 37,26), with עולם usually functioning as an attribute. The compound may therefore also be translated as “eternal covenant”⁹³⁵, and this is undoubtedly the meaning of the expression in 2 Sam 23,5.⁹³⁶

What are the contents of the covenant? And who participates in it, and in what position? H. U. Steymans has recently provided a thorough discussion of these questions.⁹³⁷ He points out that 2 Sam 23,5 is the only passage in the HB where ברית is the object of the verb שים. Biblical texts usually use the verb כרת for establishing a covenant, or, mostly in P and Ezekiel,

⁹³³ Lindenberg, *Gods*, p. 111.

⁹³⁴ For כי as a concessive conjunction see HALOT. 2 Sam 23,5a is understood similarly by Noll, *Faces*, p. 167.

⁹³⁵ Admittedly, we may consider the possibility that עולם is an adverb in several of these passages.

⁹³⁶ Pace Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 388, 396-407, who claims on the basis of a metrical analysis of the poem that עולם in the original form of 2 Sam 23,5 is a divine title and therefore the subject of the clause, translated by Steymans as “ja, einem Bund hat der Ewige mir gesetzt.” – But the Hebrew עולם, as Steymans notes, is formally not an adjective. According to Steymans, the word functions as a substantive, and “[ein] Gottesepitheton steht hier in Parallele zur Gottesbezeichnung El im parallelen Halbvers 5a” (p. 388). Yet precisely in such an independent position, the substantive עולם would need to be translated as “eternity”, not “der Ewige.” Some scholars, for instance Cross, *Myth*, p. 236, believe that Yhwh’s epithet עולם was indeed originally the name of a different deity (“Eternity”). The existence of the West-Semitic god *’ālāmu is indeed attested. Van der Toorn, *Eternity*, p. 312-314, believes that the biblical theonym El-olam may be “an attempt at domesticating this god [= Olam] by turning him into a manifestation of El.” On the other hand, after a review of the relevant texts, he concludes “there is no biblical text which uses the abstraction ‘eternity’ as a divine designation.” All this, together with the common meaning of the phrase ברית עולם in the abovementioned passages, and also the fact that the notion of a covenant established forever in David’s favour is attested elsewhere (Ps 89,3-5.20-38; Jer 33,14-26; 2 Chr 13,5; 21,7), makes Steymans’s interpretation highly unlikely.

⁹³⁷ Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 385-411.

the verb קוּם *hiph.*⁹³⁸ With its meaning “to set a covenant”, the phrase שִׁים בְּרִית corresponds to the Neo-Assyrian formula *adê šakānu* and to the Aramaic שִׁים עֲדִי known from the Sefire treaty (8th century B.C.E.). According to Steymans, the prepositional phrase לִי in 2 Sam 23,5 does not mean “with me”, but rather “to my benefit” or “as far as I am concerned.” Steymans compares the situation described in v. 5 among other things to the preamble of Esarhaddon’s vassal treaties, where the king establishes a covenant with (*issi*) his vassals regarding (*ina muḥḥi*) his son Ashurbanipal, such that after Esarhaddon’s death, the Assyrian vassals will accept Ashurbanipal as their king and remain faithful to him. In 2 Sam 23,5 God “sets” the treaty in David’s favour, and Steymans believes that it is not clear who is the bound member of the treaty.⁹³⁹ Steymans affirms that it need not be Yhwh and therefore wonders whether it might be some people, e.g. the elders of Israel, with whom David made a covenant in Hebron according to 2 Sam 5,3. At any rate, Steymans thinks it typical of 2 Sam 23,5 that the obligated party is not named. In Ps 89, Yhwh establishes a covenant in David’s favour and Yhwh is also the bound party (see especially vv. 2-5.29-38). This leads Steymans to the conclusion that the metaphor of Yhwh establishing a covenant for David in this psalm is more developed than in 2 Sam 23,5. The original form of the poem in 2 Sam 23,1-7* (Steymans wishes to reconstruct it by literary-critical means) would therefore represent an older stage of “the Davidic covenant” than Ps 89.⁹⁴⁰ Steymans provides no particular dating for 2 Sam 23,1-7*, but surmises that the text stems from the monarchic period.⁹⁴¹ V. 5 with בֵּיתִי refers to Nathan’s oracle, but it is, in Steymans’s view, independent of 2 Sam 7 in its *dtr* form; the author of the original poem in 2 Sam 23,1-7* merely knew the tradition of Yhwh’s promise to David’s “house.”⁹⁴²

The thorough analysis of 2 Sam 23,1-7 provided by Steymans is enriching, but I find some of his conclusions to be problematic. The vassal treaties of Esarhaddon are a good illustration of the structure of a conclusion of a treaty, where the initiator of the treaty need not be either the bound party

⁹³⁸ There are also other, rarely attested constructions, for which see the dictionaries.

⁹³⁹ Steymans draws on Greimas’s actantial model to analyze various treaty texts or texts that use the metaphor of the treaty. According to this model, the maker of the treaty is the “subject”, the treaty an “object”, the bound party the “sender”, and the beneficiary of the treaty is the “receiver”; the witnesses, usually gods, before whom it is established, are “helpers.” I have some doubts about this marshalling of the participants, but that is beside the point. The main issue is Steymans’s emphasis on the fact that the maker of the treaty need not be identical with neither the bound party nor the party in whose favour the treaty is concluded, and yet may also be identical to any one of them. If we accept Steymans’s application of the actantial model to the conclusion of a covenant, we may say that the identity of the “sender” is unclear in 2 Sam 23,5 (so Steymans on p. 391).

⁹⁴⁰ Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 410-411.

⁹⁴¹ Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 396, 409-410.

⁹⁴² Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 407.

or the one who benefits from it. In a number of contractual documents known from the HB and other ancient Near Eastern literature, including genuine treaties and contracts, the person establishing the treaty is simultaneously one of the parties of the treaty, or a member of a wider group who is acting as a party (in the terminology of Steymans he is either the “sender” [Adressant] or the “receiver” [Adressat]). Steymans gives great importance to the fact that “[d]er Adressant bleibt in 2 Sam 23,5 eine Leerstelle.”⁹⁴³ But is this really the case? Is it meaningful to speak of a covenant without mentioning the party who is bound by it? The fact that a treaty concerns at least two parties is generally one of its most basic structural features, and a description of a treaty normally entails the giving of information about the identity of its relevant parties. If, for instance in narrative texts, one of the parties is not explicitly named, it is usually because the identity of this party is obvious from the context. The HB contains many passages where the initiator of the covenant is one of the parties. It was unnecessary in these cases to say *explicitly* that the initiator (the subject of the phrase ל ברית ל) is one of the parties, since the intended readers were informed enough about the relationships entailed by the covenant from both the literary and non-literary context to make this connection. A typical example is Exod 23,31-33:

...for I will give the inhabitants of the land into your hand, and you shall drive them out before you. You shall make no covenant with them and their gods (לא תכרת להם ולאליהם ברית). They shall not dwell in your land, lest they make you sin against me; for if you serve their gods, it will surely be a snare to you. (ESV)

In the covenant that Israel is forbidden to grant to the indigenous inhabitants of the land, Israel would be the superior party. Yet while the inhabitants would constitute the inferior party, they would at the same time benefit from the covenant, since it would allow them to stay in the land on certain conditions (cf. also Exod 34,12.15; Deut 7,2; Judg 2,2). It could be argued that the text does not state explicitly that Israel, aside from instituting the covenant, is also one of its parties, but it is immediately clear from a number of indicators that this is indeed the case.

Similarly, 2 Sam 23,5 does not need to mention explicitly the bound party since this is in fact Yhwh, who is also at the same time the one who “sets” the covenant. This conclusion is also confirmed by the text that follows until the end of v. 5b α . While the versions contain textual variants and the meaning of the text is somewhat obscure, it clearly speaks of the fulfillment of the covenant; while MT and LXX^B qualify the covenant as “observed” (וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ; πεφυλαγμένην), LXX^L considers that God will observe it

⁹⁴³ Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 391.

(καὶ φυλάξει αὐτήν – reading the same text as MT but understanding it as a conversive perfect + pronominal suff. of 3rd p. sg. fem.).⁹⁴⁴ We may hardly imagine that v. 5 would underscore that the Davidic covenant will be fulfilled while leaving open by whom.

The metaphor of Yhwh's covenant with David is therefore no less developed in 2 Sam 23,5 than in Ps 89; it is merely more elliptic. If we may conclude anything about the relative chronology of Ps 89 and 2 Sam 23,5 from a comparison of their description of the participants of the Davidic covenant, I would prefer a conclusion that is in fact the opposite to that of Steymans's, since the elliptic expression of the concept of the Davidic covenant presupposes a general knowledge of its structure.

2 Sam 23,5 actually never mentions the content of the covenant established by Yhwh in favour of David. Yet the elliptic nature of 2 Sam 23,5aβ probably does not ensue (merely) from the fact that the author expects his intended readers to know the concept of the Davidic covenant, but primarily from the literary context of the verse in the books of Samuel. The content of the Davidic covenant according to 2 Sam 23,5 is the unconditional dynastic promise given to David in 2 Sam 7, which also corresponds to the role of the promise exemplified in 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25. Should we extract David's last words from the current literary context and regard them as an expression of the Davidic dynastic ideology of the early monarchic period, perhaps even formulated by David himself, it would seem curious that he should say that, by God's assessment, his house does not suit the notion of the good ruler. However, in the context of Samuel and even more in the whole of Samuel and Kings or the so-called Dtr History, we could hardly imagine David claiming in 2 Sam 23 that his *house* is righteous and pious before Yhwh. This is even clearer when we consider the historical situation in which *the whole* of Samuel and Kings, including the last chapters of the latter, were likely read for the first time (i.e. in the Neo-Babylonian or the Persian period). The mere fact that David himself, towards the end of his life, compares the royal ideal with his "house" is noteworthy. When David says in 2 Sam 23,3-5 that his house is not righteous and pious before God, we may, when considering his life story, relate this statement to the bloody history of David's family as it was narrated in 2 Sam 9–19. It is more likely, however, that the reference to the "house" reflects a negative (or partially negative) evaluation of a number of Davidic

⁹⁴⁴ The preceding text differs according to the witnesses: MT ערוכה בכל – "fully set forth?" (so McCarter); LXX^B ἐτοίμη ἐν παντί καὶ ὅ; LXX^L ὁσσοὶ με ἕως ὅδε ἐν πᾶσιν (cf. VL^M *paratum salvere me usque in omnibus*). The reading of LXX^B could be retroverted as עת בכל, but it seems more probable that καὶ ὅ is a result of an inner-Greek corruption of καὶ introducing the following word (the *waw* of MT's וְשִׁמְרָה is otherwise unreflected in LXX^B). LXX^L might reflect עני עד כה בכל להושי(י). The words עד כה seem to be a corruption of ער(ו)כה. McCarter (*ad loc.*) notes that in v. 5bβ, LXX^L has a different reading in place of MT's יִשְׁעִי. "It may be that the addition here arose from a recensional correction in the margin there."

kings in the book of Kings. 2 Sam 23,3b.5 includes a faithful paraphrase of the unconditional dynastic promise given to David in 2 Sam 7 – *regardless* of whether or not David's house is righteous and pious, God established an eternal covenant with David (cf. 2 Sam 7,14-15). The formulation of 2 Sam 23,5 also corresponds to what we observed in 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25, where the gift of the dynastic promise played a decisive role. In both cases, the promise given to the founder of the dynasty is valid even if his descendants are not righteous before God.⁹⁴⁵ The text of 2 Sam 23,5b β is probably damaged, yet the words **כִּי כָל יִשְׁעִי וְכָל חַפְצִי** in MT may, in accord with the overall meaning of the verse, express that the Davidides' claim to royal power is based solely on the dynastic promise given to David.⁹⁴⁶

What is the relation of vv. 1-3a to the reconstructed proverb in v. 3b-4.6-7 and to the pro-Davidic redaction in v. 5? It may be that David, as the exemplary king, was ascribed the traditional proverb about a good and bad ruler, and vv. 1(b)-3a were a part of this text that was originally transmitted orally. I find it more likely, however, that the verses are a part of a pro-Davidic reworking of the proverb in connection with its inclusion at the end of the books of Samuel. Numerous scholars have noticed that the combination of David's song in 2 Sam 22 and his last words in 23,1-7 has a parallel at the end of the Deuteronomy, where Moses performs a song before the assembly of Israel (31,30-32,43) and then in chapter 33 blesses Israel "before his death" (v. 1). The songs are actually introduced in a very similar manner – Deut 31,30: ... **וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה בְּאָזְנוֹ כָּל קֹהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת**; 2 Sam 22,1: ... **וַיְדַבֵּר דָּוִד לַיהוָה אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת**. According to Mathys, 2 Sam 22-23 deliberately constructs an image of David according to the image of

⁹⁴⁵ Similar to his treatment of 2 Sam 22,51, Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 478-479, interprets David and his house in 2 Sam 23,1-7 as a symbol of the post-exilic temple community. This seems very unlikely, however, since David in v. 5 compares his "house" to the portrayal of a good ruler contained in vv. 3b-4. The issue is then whether David's "house" fits the criteria of a model ruler, rather than of a model Israelite.

⁹⁴⁶ Conversely, the end of the verse is entirely unclear. We may speculate that MT's reading **כִּי לֹא יִצְמַח** could have originally been a supralinear or marginal variant to v. 6b **כִּי לֹא בִיד יִקְחוּ**, and it later entered the text in the wrong place. – A very elegant reconstruction of the text of vv. 5b β -6a α was suggested by McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 476, 478, who reads, on the basis of a combination of textual witnesses and a new word division, **כִּי בְלִי שְׁעִי וְבְלִי חַפְצִי בִי בִל יִצְמַח וְבִל יֵעַל** "But the man who shows no regard for me, he who does not favour me, will not sprout and will not grow up." McCarter's reconstruction is relatively speculative as it assumes a large concentration of scribal errors and adjustments which are not reflected in any witness. Yet his solution is also tempting since it allows us to sensibly explain nearly all the elements of verse 5b β . McCarter's text would not allow my reconstruction of the orally transmitted proverb in vv. 3b-4.6-7, since in his text, verses 5b β -7 depict only the fate of David's adversaries. On the other hand, my interpretation of v. 5, which refers to David's house and the Davidic covenant, could remain intact even if we were to accept McCarter's text.

Moses in Deut 31-33.⁹⁴⁷ This fact may also have an impact on our evaluation of 2 Sam 23,1b-3a. The beginning of the poetic introduction of David's last words in v. 1b α is nearly identical to the beginning of the formula that introduces Balaam's oracles in Num 24,3.15. The formula *n'm PN bn PN wn'm hgbr* ..., followed by the titles of the author of the oracle, may be traditional (cf. also Prov 30,1), and the similarity of 2 Sam 23,1b α and Num 24,3.15 need not betray a literary relationship. But if it holds true that the author/redactor who composed 2 Sam 22,1-23,7 was inspired by the end of Deuteronomy (ch. 31-33) and copied the introduction of David's song nearly word for word from Deut 31,30, it is also possible that the same author formulated 2 Sam 23,1b-3a in accordance with the model of Num 24,3.15.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁷ Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 154-155; similarly also Vesco, *Psaume* 18, p. 55; Watts, *Psalm*, p. 106-109, 116; Adam, *Held*, p. 154, 190-191.

⁹⁴⁸ Vv. 1-3a contain certain text-critical and philological problems that we need not discuss in detail here; I shall only mention in passing those of greatest importance. At the end of v. 1b α , MT reads עַל הַקִּים , while 4QSam^a has אֵל הַקִּים in agreement with LXX^L $\text{ὁ ἀνέστυχεν ὁ θεός}$ and VL^M *quem suscitavit Deus*. The word עַל was interpreted by some scholars as a divine name, probably a short form of the name עֲלִיֹן "Most High". For the discussion see CTAT I, p. 310; Olmo Lete, *Oracle*, p. 415-416 (with further literature); Noll, *Faces*, p. 165-166; Schmidt, *Al*, p. 14-17. According to Cross et al., *DJD* XVII, p. 186, "the corruption of the phrase in [MT] was owing to the well-known interchange of אֵל and עַל , rooted in the falling together of the two with the weakening of the laryngeals and the subsequent colouring of the associated vowels (both pronounced with 'e-class' vowels) in late Hebrew." The case here is not one of confusion or a fusion of two prepositions. Thus, if the difference is the result of an accidental mistake, it should be due primarily to the phonetic likeness of the words. This may therefore indicate that the books of Samuel were dictated copies during some phase of their process of transmission. – In v. 1b γ MT reads זִמְרוֹת , LXX^L ὁ ψαλμὸς ; VL^M *psalmus*. The Greek text translates a *Vorlage* without *waw*, which supports those scholars who read here $\text{זִמְרַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ as a divine epithet. So e.g. Olmo Lete, *Oracle*, p. 416, "the Defense of Israel"; McCarter, *II Samuel*, p. 477, 480, "the stronghold of Israel." In 2 Sam 22,2-3 we find several metaphors of Yhwh, as e.g. a "fortress", "rock", etc. However, precisely the comparison of 2 Sam 23,1 with 22,2-3 shows that while in 2 Sam 22 (where David thanks Yhwh for salvation from his enemies) these metaphors work well, an expression such as "the darling of the stronghold of Israel" (so McCarter) seems very peculiar in 2 Sam 23,1. MT's vocalization, which gives the reading "the darling of the songs of Israel" is no doubt more meaningful, and it may even be understood as an allusion to 1 Sam 18,7 where the women of Israel sing about David's victory over the Philistines (cf. also 21,12; the link is suggested, among others, by Waschke, *Königsvorstellung*, p. 136). For the interpretation of זִמְרוֹת as "singer of psalms", see Tournay, *Paroles*, p. 485-486. – In v. 3a, MT reads יִשְׂרָאֵל לִי , while LXX^L has Ἰακώβ ἐν ἐμοί [ביעקב]. More interesting than the question of whether or not the reading יִשְׂרָאֵל or יעקב is more ancient (I am inclined to think the former is older) is the fact that in both cases the preposition corresponds to the last letter of the previous word. It seems that the change of the name also caused the change of the preposition. It may be an intentional alliteration, or an unintentional assimilation. The latter would, again, point to the oral element in the history of transmission of Samuel.

7. 1 Kings 2,24.33.45

Various references to Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7) are found in the books of Kings. Some passages refer to or somehow follow up on 2 Sam 7, but without referencing the dynastic promise. Several texts refer to Nathan's oracle mainly as predicting the building of the temple by a descendant of David (primarily 1 Kgs 5,17-19; 6,11-13MT[?]; 1 Kgs 8,15-21). Since it is difficult to examine the stance of these texts on the dynastic promise, I shall leave them aside.⁹⁴⁹

There are also the texts of 1 Kgs 2,12; 2,35LXX and 2,46MT, which state that Solomon's kingship was firmly established (niph. of כִּוֵּן) after his accession.⁹⁵⁰ These verses may be understood as a fulfilment of the prophecy in 2 Sam 7,12f., which promises that Yhwh will make firm (hiph. and polel of כִּוֵּן) the kingship and the throne of David's descendant. The parallel is especially close between 2 Sam 7,12 and 1 Kgs 2,10-12, since in both texts the kingship of David's successor is firmly established after David "sleeps" with his fathers (while in v. 46MT and the emended v. 35LXX "the kingship is firmly established in Solomon's hand" after he eliminates his adversaries). Still, it remains unclear how the supposedly genetic relationship between 1 Kgs 2,12(.35LXX.46MT) and 2 Sam 7 is to be understood. Evaluating this relationship depends on a more general interpretation of the first two chapters of 1 Kings. Should 1 Kgs 2,12 (and vv. 35LXX.

⁹⁴⁹ In the case of 1 Kgs 6,11-13MT (the verses are missing in LXX), we might think that the author deliberately avoided referencing the eternal character of David's dynasty, which would of course reflect his view on the issue (I considered a similar elimination of the dynastic promise in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7LXX – see. ch. 2.1.2.8, p. 100ff.). In other cases, e.g. 1 Kgs 8,15-21, a suggestion of this kind would be too hypothetical if it was based merely on the analysis of the given text and not on a wider consideration of the formation of Kings.

⁹⁵⁰ In v. 35LXX, this reading is based on a (very likely) conjecture. According to the masoretic form of the verse, Solomon set Benaiah over the army in place of Joab, and he put Zadok the priest in place of Abiathar. Between the two symmetric halves of the verse LXX has the plus καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κατορθοῦτο ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which may be retroverted into והממלכה נכונה בירושלם. The word בירושלם is most likely a corruption of ביד שלמה (so already Burney, Notes, p. 25, followed by many others; by contrast, Schenker, Septante, p. 38-39, believes that Jerusalem is the original reading here; see van Keulen, Versions, p. 47, for further references). V. 35LXX is thus based on a Hebrew textual tradition that once included here the same phrase as is contained in v. 46MT; in the latter context, however, it is absent from LXX. The question of which context constitutes the original setting of the phrase is complicated, not the least by the fact that both verses are followed in LXX by large pluses. See van Keulen, Versions, p. 46-60, for a detailed discussion and further references.

46MT) be part of a pre-dtr source⁹⁵¹, 2 Sam 7,12f. could have been formulated with respect to this older text. Scholars more often believe, however, that 1 Kgs 2,12.35LXX.46MT were formulated from the outset with some form of Nathan's oracle in mind, whether they are on the same redactional level or a later one.⁹⁵² Yet since 1 Kgs 2,12.35LXX.46MT do not include the theme of the duration of the Davidic dynasty, we can leave them aside as well.

In all the texts from Samuel that we have studied so far, the permanence of the Davidic dynasty is never dependent on the righteousness of David's descendants or their loyalty to Yhwh. In this sense, the dynastic promise is unconditional. According to 1 Sam 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the *edict* of the promise itself is conditional, but this is a different issue than the conditionality of the *subsequent validity* of the promise. In the context of Samuel, 1 Sam 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 actually underscore the unconditional nature of the promise after it was given. Similarly, 2 Sam 7,14 refers to the possibility of the punishment of a sinful king only in order that the dynasty's loss of power in the Neo-Babylonian (and Persian?) period could be understood as an episode encompassed in the eternal validity of the unconditional promise. Also according to 2 Sam 23,1-7, the validity of the "Davidic covenant" is explicitly unconditional.

In Kings, however, the promise appears in both conditional and unconditional forms. In this and the following chapter I will first discuss the passages in Kings that seem to understand the promise as being without condition, and will subsequently devote one short chapter to the passages in Kings where the permanence of the Davidic dynasty seems to be conditional on the kings' behaviour.

1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 contain three related references to the dynastic promise to David. In these passages, the promise is not conditional and the terminology builds on 2 Sam 7. All these texts appear in the section that describes the way Solomon dealt with his adversaries once he ascended the throne. Following the work of Rost, the basic text of this unit is usually considered to constitute the end of an old "Succession Narrative" which served as a major source for the dtr redaction of David's story in 2 Sam 9–20 and 1 Kgs 1–2.⁹⁵³ It is often thought, however, that the Succession Narrative evolved across several literary stages before being inserted into the

⁹⁵¹ Following Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 84, 89, 91, 1 Kgs 2,12.46MT are often considered part of the Succession Narrative. Bietenhard, *General*, p. 359-363, considers both verses to be part of the oldest "war-report" contained in 2 Sam 2–3; 10–12; (20); 1 Kgs 1–2, out of which the Succession Narrative later evolved. She believes the (anti-Solomonic) report was written during Solomon's reign (p. 328-321). See *ibid.*, p. 202-203, for further references.

⁹⁵² Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 127; Blenkinsopp, *Succession Narrative*, p. 58. Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 327-331, ascribes 2 Sam 7 and 1 Kgs 2,10-12 to the Deuteronomist, while v. 46 is in his view part of the later David Saga (p. 285, 338, 358).

⁹⁵³ Rost, *Überlieferung*, p. 82-139, esp. 86-89.

dtr composition.⁹⁵⁴ Van Seters, on the other hand, considers vv. 13-46 to be the final section of his *David Saga*, which is post-dtr.

The first part of the section (vv. 13-25) depicts Solomon's removal of Adonijah. Adonijah asks Bathsheba to intercede on his behalf to Solomon so that he might marry David's former "nurse", Abishag. Bathsheba (naively?) does what Adonijah asks, but the king (mis?)interprets the request as an indication that Adonijah wishes to seize the kingship, and pronounces a double oath that Adonijah must die (vv. 23f.). V. 24 runs as follows: "And now as Yhwh lives, who has established me, and set me on the throne of David my father, and who has made him⁹⁵⁵ a house as he had spoken, this day shall Adonijah die." The vocabulary is obviously close to the occurrences of the dynastic promise in Samuel. The phrase עָשָׂה לוֹ בַּיִת has parallels in 1 Sam 25,28 and 2 Sam 7,11 (cf. v. 27, where the verb is בָּנָה). The mention of David's throne has a parallel in 2 Sam 7,16. Finally, the use of the hiphil of כָּוַן in 2 Kgs 2,24 may be compared to its occurrence in 2 Sam 7,12 (cf. also the polel in vv. 13,24 and the niphil in vv. 16,26).

In the following text Solomon first banishes Abiathar (vv. 26f.) and then turns to Joab (vv. 28-35). In accordance with David's instructions (vv. 5f.) Solomon presents Joab's execution as a purging of David's house of the guilt incurred by the blood of Abner and Amasa, whom Joab murdered. Solomon declares that David did not take part in their assassination, and now (obviously in connection with Joab's execution – see v. 31) David's house will be definitively cleansed from this guilt. The blood of Abner and Amasa will turn back on the head of Joab and his descendants, while "for David and for his descendants and for his house and for his throne there shall be peace from Yhwh forevermore" (v. 33). Much like v. 24, this verse refers to David's house (cf. 2 Sam 7,11.16.18.19.25.26.27.29; 1 Sam 25,28; 23,5) and throne (cf. 2 Sam 7,16MT), yet unlike v. 24 it refers to the descendants of David (וְלִזְרְעוֹ – cf. 2 Sam 7,12; 22,51). Yhwh will grant his peace to these entities עַד עוֹלָם (cf. 1 Sam 13,13; 2 Sam 7,13.16.25.26.29; 22,51; 23,5; cf. also 1 Sam 2,35). Again, while the individual terms used in 1 Kgs 2,33 are not at all specific, it is clear that the passage consistently uses the vocabulary that is known from the relevant passages in Samuel.

Once more in compliance with David's wishes (2 Kgs 2,8f.), Solomon seeks and finds a pretext to kill Shimei (vv. 36-46). In the first stage, the king forbids Shimei to leave Jerusalem under threat of death, which Shimei explicitly agrees to. However, three years later Shimei violates the ban as he travels to Gath in order to seek there his two fugitive slaves. Having learned of this, Solomon summons Shimei and has him executed. In an

⁹⁵⁴ See e.g. Bietenhard, *General*, p. 211-252 and *passim*, with further references. As far as vv. 13-46 are concerned, Noth, *Könige*, p. 9-11, suggests that vv. 13-35* and 36-46 constitute two successive pre-dtr additions to the primitive Succession Narrative which originally concluded with David's death and Solomon's succession.

⁹⁵⁵ Reading לוֹ in place of לִי. See ch. 2.1.2.7, p. 98ff., for this conjecture.

accusatory speech Solomon reminds Shimei that he broke the restriction that he had accepted (and is thus himself responsible for his death). At the same time, however, the king makes clear that Shimei's death shows that Yhwh turned the harm Shimei did to David on his own head. Therefore, Solomon continues, "King Solomon shall be blessed, and the throne of David shall be established before Yhwh forever" (v. 45). The second part of the sentence – *וּבְסֵא דָּוִד יִהְיֶה נִבּוֹן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עַד עוֹלָם* – is a very close paraphrase of 2 Sam 7,16MT, cf. also v. 26b. 1 Kgs 2,45 does not mention David's dynasty (*בֵּית*). But since Solomon refers here to the stability of David's throne in the time after David's death, he undoubtedly means the firm rule of the Davidic dynasty.⁹⁵⁶

These linguistic and thematic parallels indicate that 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 presuppose and refer to 2 Sam 7. As the formulation of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 is from the exilic period or later, Solomon's utterances in 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 could not belong to any older form of the Succession Narrative. Two basic alternatives seem plausible: these verses might constitute additions to an older form of the Succession Narrative, or the whole depiction of Solomon's accession is so late that it can presuppose 2 Sam 7. The first possibility was classically defended by Veijola, while the alternative position is strongly argued for by Van Seters.

According to Veijola, the final section of the Succession Narrative was largely reworked by DtrG in 1 Kgs 1,30*.35-37.46-48; 2,1-2.4aαb.5-11.24.26b-27.31b-33.37b.42a*.43a*.44-45.⁹⁵⁷ The basic (ancient) text of 1 Kgs 2 constituted a "report without embellishments" of how Solomon got rid of his political adversaries after his ascension. The dtr redaction justifies both theologically and morally Solomon's acts with the help of, among other things, the motif of Yhwh's goodwill to the Davidic dynasty. As Nathan's dynastic prophecy is fulfilled through Solomon's ascension, his opponents must die.

By contrast, Van Seters believes that in the Dtr History the end of David's story and the transition to Solomon's rule consisted merely of 1 Kgs 2,1-4.10-12, while the rest of 1 Kgs 1-2 only appeared with the creation of the later David Saga.⁹⁵⁸ The whole saga in 1 Sam 17 – 2 Sam 20; 1 Kgs 1-2 is, in Van Seters's view, designed above all as "consistent subversion of the royal ideology of Dtr."⁹⁵⁹ In agreement with this, all appeals to Nathan's oracle that appear in 1 Kgs 2 are meant as parodies of the Davidic royal ideology.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 75, who attributes 1 Kgs 2,45 to DtrG and considers it parallel with 2 Sam 7,26b. In his opinion, the words *בֵּית* and *בְּסֵא* function as synonyms in dtr phraseology.

⁹⁵⁷ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 16-29; similarly Kasari, *Promise*, p. 193-213, who, however, ascribes to DtrN¹ most of what Veijola ascribed to DtrG.

⁹⁵⁸ Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 267-268, 327-340.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

We do not need to enter here into the details of Veijola's notion of the development of 1 Kgs 1–2. As far as the references to Nathan's oracle in 2,24.33.45 are concerned, Veijola's understanding of these verses as additions is plausible but not necessary. The oath in v. 24 does, indeed, constitute a kind of doublet with the oath in v. 23, and v. 24 can be easily removed from the text. The report of Joab's execution may too be read without vv. 31b–33. However, there are no conclusive literary-critical arguments for their excision. With regard to Solomon's speech to Shimei, the secondary character of vv. 44f. might be somewhat clearer because of the "groundless repetition of the introduction of the direct speech"⁹⁶⁰ (cf. v. 42). Still, the repetition is not completely out of place, since it is preceded by a quotation of Shimei's direct speech embedded in Solomon's speech. In the case of Shimei, Veijola's reconstruction is problematic in one further respect. As mentioned above, Veijola believes that the primary text of 1 Kgs 2 only contained a report of Solomon's ruthless elimination of his adversaries, while the theological-moral justification of the king's actions was only added by DtrG. Some of the killings are justified also by the fact that they were suggested by David to Solomon before David's death (vv. 5–9). Logically, Veijola ascribes vv. 5–9 to DtrG as well. However, as regards Shimei, without vv. 8f. it is not clear from the immediate context why Solomon looked for a pretext to get rid of him, nor why he needed to first create a situation in which the execution of Shimei could be justified. Indeed, 1 Kgs 1,8 even creates the impression that Shimei belonged to Solomon's party.⁹⁶¹

More importantly, I cannot see such a large break as that described by Veijola between the alleged basic report and the theological justification of Solomon's acts in vv. 24.31b–33.44–45. In all three places, it is Solomon himself who in direct speech appeals to the dynastic promise, and Van Setters is thus right that Solomon appropriates the promise to his own benefit. Therefore, in this respect both Solomon's eradication of his opponents and his use of the dynastic promise to his benefit display the same will to power and political cunning.⁹⁶²

In this way, Solomon's use of the dynastic promise resembles 1 Sam 25 where Abigail also uses the permanence of David's dynasty to her own benefit. As mentioned in ch. 3, Van Setters also ascribes 1 Sam 25 to the David Saga. We saw, however, that in 1 Sam 25 the dynastic promise does not seem to be mocked, and although it is included as serving the needs of an ambivalent literary character, it does not fail to support the Davidic royal ideology.

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹⁶¹ Though it is, of course, not necessary to identify Shimei in 1,8 with Shimei killed in 2,36–46. Another Shimei in Solomon's service is mentioned in 4,18.

⁹⁶² For a critique of the mechanical distinction of pro-Solomonic and anti-Solomonic layers in the Succession Narrative, see Blenkinsopp, Succession Narrative.

Blatant appropriation of Nathan's oracle is particularly obvious in 1 Kgs 2,24, where Solomon interprets *his* accession, and consequently Adonijah's exclusion from kingship (and later death), as the fulfillment of Nathan's prophecy. The dynasty would, of course, also continue in the case of Adonijah's accession, but this does not mean that the author of this verse considered Solomon's utterance to be false. The king's declaration is in complete agreement with the narrator's assertion in v. 12. Solomon's appeal to the dynastic promise, aiming to legitimate his position, is part of the "realistic" style of 1 Kgs 1–2. From this, however, we cannot conclude that the author did not believe in the validity of the promise or that he would have doubted the fact that Solomon's ascension was the beginning of the fulfillment of the promise.

Van Seter's interpretation of 2 Kgs 2,24.33.45 as mere parody is further questioned by v. 27. The legitimization of Solomon's behaviour by an appeal to Nathan's oracle does, indeed, sound somewhat "unreliable."⁹⁶³ This, however, cannot be affirmed in the case of v. 27 where it is the *narrator* who justifies Abiathar's banishment with reference to the oracle against the Elides (1 Sam 2,27-36; Van Seters does not exclude 2 Kgs 2,27 from the Saga⁹⁶⁴). 1 Kgs 2,27 may hardly be considered a parody, and it is difficult to imagine that the intended readers of 1 Kgs 2 were meant to understand the justification of Abiathar's banishment in a manner that was radically different from the justification of the execution of Solomon's other opponents (it seems to me to be especially improbable if these texts are to be situated on the same redactional level). V. 27 is probably not put into the king's mouth because the prophecy in 1 Sam 2,27-36 was pronounced too long ago and in a context too distant in the past for Solomon to credibly quote it. A comparable state of affairs appears in Kings with the notices that state that the death of a particular king of Israel represents the fulfillment of an oracle of judgment pronounced against the founder of the dynasty that the king belonged to. In 1 Kgs 15,27-30 and 16,11-13, in the context of the short reports of conspiracies against Nadab and Elah respectively, the fulfillment notices have the form of narrator's comments. By contrast, in the context of the vivid narrative of Jehu's plot, a few fulfillment notices are put into Jehu's mouth (2 Kgs 9,25f.36f.; 10,9f.; on the other hand, v. 17 has again the form of a narrator's commentary). With all three of them, but especially that of 10,9f., Jehu is clearly depicted as referencing Elijah's oracle (1 Kgs 21,20-24) to support his increasingly strong position on the way to kingship. This, however, does not imply that the author of Kings did not regard Jehu's actions as fulfilling Elijah's prophecy.

Finally, 1 Kgs 2,31-33.44f. display a similar "ideology of the founder"⁹⁶⁵ and similar concerns as those of 1 Sam 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25. In

⁹⁶³ For the category of a narrator's reliability, see Rimmon-Kenan, *Fiction*, p. 103-106.

⁹⁶⁴ Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 174, 330-331.

⁹⁶⁵ The term comes from Ash, Jeroboam.

1 Sam 25 Abigail prevents David from “shedding blood without cause” (ולשפך דם חנם – v. 31), which could later present an obstacle for his reign and that of his descendants. Similarly, according to 1 Kgs 2,31-33 the guilt for the blood that Joab shed without cause (דמי חנם אשר שפך יואב – v. 31; cf. already 2 Sam 3,28f.) is removed from David’s house via Joab’s execution. As for Shimei’s death, it demonstrates, according to Solomon’s words, that Yhwh heaps on Shimei the harm that Shimei did to David. Therefore, David’s dynasty will not be threatened by Shimei’s curses (cf. 2 Sam 16,5-13), and David’s throne will endure forever.

On the whole, 1 Kgs 2* displays a similar mixture of aesthetic and ideological aspects as is observed in 1 Sam 25. 1 Kgs (1–)2 is probably based on an older tradition, yet the motif of the dynastic promise in 2,24.33.45 is not mechanically appended to the older text, but is, on the contrary, organically integrated. For this reason, the literary-critical excision of the motif from the text is methodologically problematic, even though the text may, in fact, be read without the passages that refer to the dynastic promise. A similar state of affairs in 1 Sam 25 led us to surmise that the older tradition on which the text is based could have been an oral one. Similar to 1 Sam 25, the promise of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty is expressed in 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 by an ambivalent character who uses it to his own benefit. This “realism” makes the text more vivid and thereby more artistically appealing. At the same time, however, both 1 Sam 25 and 2 Kgs 2,13-46 manifest a similar interest in the “ideology of the founder”, according to which the fate of a dynasty depends on Yhwh’s evaluation of its founder. As we saw in the treatment of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the aesthetic aspect of the narrative does not necessarily stand in opposition to its propagandistic interests. In our case, the “autonomizing” effect of the aesthetic function may rather serve to somewhat blunt the eccentricity of the extreme form of the ideology of the founder. The treatment of the theme of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty in 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 is thus fully compatible with 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 7 on linguistic, ideological and rhetorical terms.

8. 1 Kgs 11,29-39; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19

Ahijah's prophecy to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11,29-39 includes a reference to the endurance of the Davidic dynasty. This motif is also found in the connected passages mentioning the ⁹⁶⁶נִיר, for whose sake Yhwh did not bring doom on Judah despite the sins of the Davidic kings (1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19).

Before we discuss the connections between these texts and the dynastic promise to David, a text-critical note on Ahijah's prophecy is in order. In 1 Kgs 11,29-39, LXX frequently preserves a text that is different from MT. In v. 38, where Yhwh promises Jeroboam to build him a sure house as he has built for David, MT includes a significant plus in vv. 38b β -39, which is absent from LXX^B. The shorter text may be more ancient, as has been suggested by several scholars.⁹⁶⁷ More importantly, however, the narratives about Jeroboam contained in 1 Kgs 11-12; 14MT appear in a very different form in the so-called "supplement" in 3 Reigns 12,24a-z.⁹⁶⁸ In 24o, the "supplement" also includes a variant version of the sign of the torn garment and the oracle on the division of the kingdom, i.e. a counterpart to 1 Kgs 11,29-39MT. However, the prophet's name in 24o is not Ahijah but Shemaiah, and the oracle does not include a dynastic promise. It is impossible to enter here in a detailed text-critical discussion of the whole "supplement." It is undoubtedly based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*, but I remain convinced by the arguments of S. McKenzie and Z. Talshir that the supplement was composed after 1 Kgs 11-12; 14 (note, however, that the supplement may conserve some individual readings that are more ancient than those in MT).⁹⁶⁹ I will, nevertheless, add a few remarks on the "supplement's" v. 24o. It runs as follows:⁹⁷⁰

καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγένετο πρὸς Σαμαϊαν τὸν Ἐνλαμει λέγων λαβὲ σεαυτῷ ἱμάτιον καινὸν τὸ οὐκ εἰσεληλυθὸς εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ ῥῆξον αὐτὸ δώδεκα

⁹⁶⁶ The meaning of the word is uncertain; I will briefly come back to it below.

⁹⁶⁷ So e.g. Knoppers, Nations, p. 191.

⁹⁶⁸ Following McKenzie, Kings, p. 21-40, I adopt writing the term "supplement" with quotation marks as a means to express its conventional nature. The term itself is thus not meant to describe how the "supplement" became part of 3 Reigns.

⁹⁶⁹ See McKenzie, Kings, p. 21-40; Talshir, Story. The opposite view is defended by Schenker, Jeroboam; *id.*, Septante, p. 155-157; Thomas, Hezekiah, 280-213, among others. Cf. also Kucová, Assembly, who however concentrates on vv. 24n ^{β} .p-u of the "supplement."

⁹⁷⁰ Apart of a few readings based on other mss, the text corresponds to LXX^B. The text I provide is identical to that which is adopted by McKenzie, Kings, p. 23.

ρήγματα καὶ δώσεις τῷ Ιεροβοαμ⁹⁷¹ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ τάδε λέγει κύριος λαβὲ σεαυτῷ δέκα⁹⁷² ρήγματα τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι σε καὶ ἔλαβεν Ιεροβοαμ καὶ εἶπεν Σαμαιας τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ισραηλ βασιλεύσεις⁹⁷³

The word of the Lord came to Shemaiah the Enlamite saying, “Take a new garment that has never been washed and tear it into twelve pieces. You shall give them to Jeroboam and you shall say to him, ‘Thus says the Lord, “Take ten pieces to dress yourself”’” So Jeroboam took them. Then Shemaiah said, “Thus says the Lord, ‘You shall reign over the ten tribes of Israel.’”⁹⁷⁴

Similarly to other sections of the “supplement”, some scholars have defended the priority of Shemaiah’s prophecy in 3 Reigns 12,24^o over Ahijah’s oracle in 1 Kgs 11,29-39. However, the supposed precedence of a given section of the “supplement” over its counterpart in 1 Kgs 11–12; 14MT may mean several things:

1) It is possible to argue that LXX’s *Vorlage* that included the “supplement” represented in this regard an older textual form than MT. This is argued, for instance, by A. Schenker, who generally considers MT of Kings to be an edition based on an older form of the book reflected in LXX.⁹⁷⁵ The author of the new edition in MT would thus have suppressed the “supplement” and added 14,1-20.⁹⁷⁶ This issue can be studied by means of *textual* criticism.

2) However, OG and already its *Vorlage* contained both 1 Kgs 11–12 and the “supplement.” In OG’s *Vorlage*, the same events were therefore related twice, and it may be argued that a more primitive edition of the book only contained the “supplement.” This edition would, however, be largely dissimilar to the form of the book that is attested in both MT and LXX: for example, Thomas believes that the “supplement” was part of the first edition of Kings, which culminated with the account of Hezekiah; such an edition would have been written early in Manasseh’s time.⁹⁷⁷ Here we are on the level of *redaction* criticism.

3) It may be argued that the “supplement” served as a *source* for 1 Kgs 11–12; 14. The source would somehow have survived in parallel to the transmission of Kings. It would then have later been inserted into an exemplar of the book behind the textual line leading to the *Vorlage* of OG. If so,

⁹⁷¹ LXX^L adds δέκα ρήγματα.

⁹⁷² So all mss except LXX^B which has δώδεκα.

⁹⁷³ So LXX^L. The word is absent from LXX^B as well as from all other mss. Talshir, Story, p. 107 considers the word βασιλεύσεις to be secondary.

⁹⁷⁴ The translation is by McKenzie, Kings, p. 26. For the retroversion in Hebrew, see Talshir, Story, p. 103-107.

⁹⁷⁵ Schenker, Septante, esp. p. 153-154, and *passim*.

⁹⁷⁶ So Schenker, Septante, p. 154-157.

⁹⁷⁷ Thomas, Hezekiah, p. 266-318. Cf. also Schenker, Septante, p. 153-155, and *id.* Jeroboam.

the original text of the book of Kings would be represented by 1 Kgs 11–12; 14, yet, thanks to the “supplement,” we would be able to observe how the author(s) of Kings reworked this source. Some scholars might also judge this source to be more historically reliable than 1 Kgs 11–12; 14.

4) A variant of point 3). 1 Kgs 11–12; 14 would be original in Kings, the “supplement” being a collection of *individual sources* that resemble more or less the sources used by the author(s) of the book.⁹⁷⁸

Evidently, as we descend to more and more ancient phases of the text’s (pre)history (from textual criticism to redaction criticism to source criticism), the argumentation will probably become more and more speculative and subjective. I believe, however, that the basic differences between 1 Kgs 11,29-38 and 3 Reigns 12,24^o are best explained if we assume that 3 Reigns 12,24^o is dependent on 1 Kgs 11,29-38.

In 1 Kgs 11,29-38 the oracle allotting the ten tribes of Israel to Jeroboam is proclaimed by Ahijah. Later in ch. 14, Ahijah also pronounces the oracle of judgment against Jeroboam and his dynasty. In 3 Reigns 12,24^o, the allotment of the ten tribes is announced to Jeroboam by Shemaiah, who later in v. 24^y proclaims that the division of the kingdom happened according to God’s will (cf. 1 Kgs 12,22-24MT). If the development went from 3 Reigns 12,24^o to 1 Kgs 11,29-38, there would have been no *need* to change the prophet’s name. On the other hand, the change of the name was practically inevitable if the development went in the reverse direction: since Ahijah’s prophecy of judgment already appeared in 3 Reigns 12,24^{k-m}, it would be strange if now the same prophet appointed Jeroboam as ruler over the ten tribes in v. 24^o.⁹⁷⁹ In the same vein, the author of the “supplement” had to suppress the dynastic promise to Jeroboam in v. 24^o, since the judgment over Jeroboam’s descendants already appeared in v. 24^m.⁹⁸⁰

Another difference concerns the oracle’s connection to Solomon. The link with Solomon is essential in 1 Kgs 11,29-38: the oracle is pronounced in the context of Solomon’s rule and depicts Jeroboam’s rise to the reign

⁹⁷⁸ Cf. Knoppers, Nations, p. 172-174, who believes that the “supplement” is “an aggregate of individual units.” As regards the oracle to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11 and 3 Reigns 12,24^o, Knoppers argues that it better fits the context of 1 Kgs 11 than that of 3 Reigns 12 but 3 Reigns 12,24^o nevertheless “represents a more archaic form of the encounter between a prophet and Jeroboam” (p. 182-185). A similar view of the supplement might, at least partially, also be a corollary of the approach taken in Kucová, Assembly. She believes that the editor of 1 Kgs 12,1-19MT “expanded an originally shorter text, similar to the one that can be found in 3 Kingdoms 24n^b.p-u. This shorter text would have had a more archaic design and would represent an older stage of the textual development of the Hebrew tradition about the assembly at Shechem.” According to this older text, Jeroboam would not play any role in the gathering at Shechem. Kucová also considers Shemaiah’s oracle in v. 24^o to be a secondary insertion in the story (p. 201).

⁹⁷⁹ Similarly Talshir, Story, p. 230.

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. Talshir, Story, p. 227.

over the ten tribes as divine punishment of Solomon. By contrast, in the “supplement” the oracle appears only after Solomon’s death, in the context of the actual division of the kingdom in the time of Rehoboam’s rule in Jerusalem (3 Reigns 12,24*β-u*). The prophecy makes much more sense in 1 Kgs 11, since the whole symbolic act is based on a pun concerning the “garment” (שלמה) and Solomon’s name (שלמה).⁹⁸¹ This is particularly clear in vv. 30f., where Ahijah’s *tearing of the garment* (שלמה) into twelve pieces and Jeroboam’s taking of the ten pieces is explained as *Yhwh’s tearing of the kingdom from Solomon’s* (שלמה) *hand*.⁹⁸² This aspect of the motivated relation between the form of the prophetic sign and its meaning is completely lost in 3 Reigns 12,24*o*. Instead, v. 24*o* adds that the garment has never been washed. This decorative detail is most likely borrowed from Jer 13,1.⁹⁸³ It plays no role in the meaning of the prophetic sign, thereby only underlining a certain depletion of the meaning that the garment originally had in the prophecy. Despite all this, one might always argue along the lines referred to under 4) above that v. 24*o* more or less represents an old form of the oracle, perhaps originally connected with Solomon. This, however, would be a rather desperate way out. It seems much more probable that 3 Reigns 12,24*o* depends on Ahijah’s oracle in 1 Kgs 11 (whose original form, of course, was not necessarily identical to MT).

1 Kgs 11,29-39; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 have played a key role in the discussion of what function the Davidic promise fulfills in the books of Kings. The passages with נִיר, occurring in the negative evaluations of the Judean kings Abijam (1 Kgs 15,4) and Jehoram (2 Kgs 8,19), were traditionally understood as references to Nathan’s oracle in 2 Sam 7.⁹⁸⁴ However, N. Lohfink questioned this interpretation of 1 Kgs 15,4 and 2 Kgs 8,19.⁹⁸⁵ In his opinion, 2 Sam 7 is a text nearly untouched by dtr redaction. The Deuteronomist (Dtr1) instead presents his understanding of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. Here, certain conditions are placed on the promise and it primarily refers to the position of the Davidic kings on “the throne of Israel.” Israel in this case denotes all the twelve tribes; when the northern tribes separate from Judah because of Solomon’s sins, it is a kind of “fulfilment” of the prophecy and an invalidation of the dynastic promise. In 1 Kgs 11, however, the Davidides are given another, new promise of eternal נִיר in Jerusalem. It is this promise that is referred to in 1 Kgs 15,4

⁹⁸¹ The pun in 1 Kgs 11 was noted by Weippert, *Ätiologie*, p. 349-350, but it seems to have been neglected in the text-critical debate.

⁹⁸² Note that in the whole of Sam–Kgs, this is the only passage in which a prophet’s garment is designated by the word שָׁלֵמָה. In 1 Sam 2,19; 15,27; 28,14 Samuel always wears a מָעִיל, while Elijah and after him Elisha wear an אֶדְרֵת in 1 Kgs 19,13.19; 2 Kgs 2.8.13f. (cf. also Zech 13,4). Before inheriting Elijah’s אֶדְרֵת, Elisha wears unmarked בְּגָדִים in 2 Kgs 2,12.

⁹⁸³ Talshir, *Story*, p. 106, 229.

⁹⁸⁴ See e.g. von Rad, *Deuteronomistic Theology*, p. 214-215.

⁹⁸⁵ Lohfink, *Oracle*.

and 2 Kgs 8,19, as opposed to Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, which, according to the Deuteronomist, had been invalid for a long time by the time of Abijam and Jehoram. The starting point of Lohfink's argumentation is a thorough text-critical analysis of 2 Kgs 8,19. In MT, the verse runs as follows: וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהִשָּׁחִית אֶת־יְהוּדָה לְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר־לוֹ לָתֵת לוֹ גֵּיר לְבָנָיו כָּל־הַיָּמִים. Lohfink concentrates primarily on the question of the presence of the first לוֹ which is missing in LXX^B and the majority of the other Greek mss (but not in ms A nor in LXX^L); in the parallel text of 1 Chr 21,7, לוֹ is missing in MT and Vg. Lohfink considers the shorter reading to be more ancient, which means, in his opinion, that 2 Kgs 8,19 does not refer to Yhwh's oracle to David, but to Ahijah's oracle in 1 Kgs 11,36.

However, Lohfink underestimated the importance of 1 Kgs 11,38 in his evaluation. In this verse, Yhwh promises to Jeroboam that if he acts according to Yhwh's will, as David did, Yhwh will be with Jeroboam and will build him a firm house, as he did for David: וְהָיָה אִם תִּשְׁמַע⁹⁸⁶ אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר אֶצְוֶךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ בְּדַרְכֵי וְעָשִׂיתָ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי לְשׁמֹר חֻקֹּתַי וּמִצְוֹתַי כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה דָּוִד עַבְדִּי וְהָיִיתִי עִמָּךְ וּבִנִּיתִי לְךָ בַּיִת נָאֲמָן כַּאֲשֶׁר בִּנִּיתִי לְדָוִד [וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ אֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל]⁹⁸⁷. The phraseology corresponds to 2 Sam 7 and other passages that touch on the dynastic promise in Samuel. As for נָאֲמָן בַּיִת, cf. 2 Sam 7,16, further 1 Sam 2,35; 25,28 (בַּיִת also appears in 2 Sam 23,5). In 2 Sam 7,11 the building is expressed by the verb עָשָׂה, but the verb בָּנָה appears in 2 Sam 7,27. For Yhwh's "being with Jeroboam", cf. 2 Sam 7,3.9. In the previous verse (1 Kgs 11,37), Yhwh promises to Jeroboam that he will "take" him (וְאַתָּךְ) to rule over Israel; similarly, according to 2 Sam 7,8, Yhwh took David (לְקַחְתִּיךָ).⁹⁸⁸

It is difficult to read the reference to a firm house built for David in 1 Kgs 11,38 as anything other than a description of the state of affairs at the time of Ahijah's prophecy. David's house stands firm in agreement with the dynastic promise given in 2 Sam 7. The building of a similar house is now being promised to Jeroboam in the northern kingdom.⁹⁸⁹ Verse 36, promising the existence of a גֵּיר for David in Jerusalem throughout all the

⁹⁸⁶ LXX reads φυλάξῃς which may correspond to תִּשְׁמַר.

⁹⁸⁷ The text in square brackets is missing in OG. As noted above, the shorter text is to be preferred.

⁹⁸⁸ For other parallels between David and Jeroboam, see Ash, Jeroboam, p. 18, according to whom Jeroboam begins his career as *David redivivus*.

⁹⁸⁹ Leuchter, Jeroboam, tries to reconstruct Ahijah's authentic oracle in which the prophet would announce to Jeroboam that he would become king over the whole of Israel (including Judah). Leuchter includes v. 38b in the reconstructed old oracle and believes that the appeal to the house of David is part of the text's aim to transfer the Davidic "covenant" to Jeroboam. – In view of our analysis of 2 Sam 7, Leuchter's reconstruction of a very ancient oracle that would include 1 Kgs 11,38b cannot be supported. But even if we put aside the date of origin that he suggests for the original text, I do not believe that v. 38b expresses the shift of David's "covenant" to Jeroboam; the two houses are rather meant to exist in parallel.

days, can then only be a reformulation of the dynastic promise proclaimed by Nathan. The reformulation marks the geographic limits of the validity of the Davidic promise. According to v. 36, Yhwh gives one tribe to Solomon's son, "so that my servant David may always have a נִיר before me in Jerusalem"; according to the parallel v. 32, one tribe remains for Solomon "for the sake of my servant David."⁹⁹⁰ In 1 Kgs 15,4, Yhwh gives to Abijam a נִיר "for David's sake" and according to 2 Kgs 8,19 Yhwh did not destroy Judah for Jehoram's sins "for the sake of David his servant, since he promised to give (him) a נִיר to him to his sons⁹⁹¹ all the days."

What does *למען דוד* mean? A comparison of 1 Kgs 11,32; 15,4 and 2 Kgs 8,19 (each containing variations of this expression) with 1 Kgs 11,38 indicates that the issue at stake is David's loyalty to Yhwh. This accords with the fact that in 1 Kgs 11,32 and 2 Kgs 8,19, the formula is *למען עבדי דוד* and *למען דוד עבדו* respectively. 1 Kgs 15,4 reads only *למען דוד*, but the following verse explains this expression most clearly: "because David did what was right in the eyes of Yhwh and did not turn aside from anything that he commanded him all the days of his life (except in the matter of Uriah the Hittite)"^{992 993}.

The eternal existence of David's נִיר in Jerusalem is therefore motivated by David's loyalty and by the promise that Yhwh already made concerning the existence of the נִיר (2 Kgs 8,19). On the level of the larger narrative, this theology of history is by no means unique to the book of Kings: it corresponds perfectly to the point of view of the book of Samuel concerning the decisive role of the dynastic promise, as we have observed it mainly in 1 Sam 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 23,5.⁹⁹⁴ From this perspective, it is irrelevant whether or not 2 Kgs 8,19 in its original form contained the first *לֹא*. Although the terminology of v. 19b refers to 1 Kgs 11,36, the latter verse itself is merely a reformulation of Nathan's oracle for the time after the separation of the northern tribes from the Davidic kingdom. The eternal

⁹⁹⁰ In both verses, the Davidides are left with one tribe also for the sake of Jerusalem, chosen by Yhwh. It must be noted, however, that v. 32 may be an addition, as several scholars have argued; see e.g. Knoppers, *Nations*, p. 186-187 (with further references). If so, it might have been inspired precisely by 1 Kgs 15,4 and 2 Kgs 8,19.

⁹⁹¹ MT reads *לְבָנָיו*. 1 Chr 21,7 has *וּלְבָנָיו* which seems easier. Many suggest to reconstruct *לפניו* with the help of 1 Kgs 11,36, to which the verse undoubtedly refers.

⁹⁹² The bracketed text is missing in LXX^B.

⁹⁹³ 1 Kgs 11,34MT obviously understands the expression in this manner, yet the last clause of the verse is missing in OG and is probably secondary. Cf. also 1 Kgs 11,12f.

⁹⁹⁴ The emphasis placed on the importance of David's loyalty in these texts is one of the major contributions of Lohfink's article. Lohfink believes that David's loyalty, from the dtr perspective, is the only permanent basis of Yhwh's favour toward the Davidic dynasty. David was rewarded with the dynastic promise for his loyalty (Lohfink infers this from 1 Kgs 3,6). Furthermore, it was David's loyalty that again determined Yhwh's treatment of Judah and David's descendants after the promise announced by Nathan ceased to be valid. – As suggested above, 1 Kgs 11,38 indicates that the author of 1 Kgs 11,29-38* considered the promise to be valid even after Solomon's failure.

existence of David's נִיר in Jerusalem is by all means a fulfilment of Nathan's oracle.⁹⁹⁵

The meaning of the word נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 is disputed.⁹⁹⁶ It was traditionally understood as a by-form of נֵר, that is "light" or "lamp."⁹⁹⁷ This understanding of the word is also reflected in some ancient translations – Vg *lucerna*, Syr ܠܚܐ, LXX in 2 Kgs 8,19 and 2 Chr 21,7 ὁ λύχνος. In more recent times, there has been a widespread tendency to view נִיר in these passages as a loan-word from Akkadian *nīru(m)*.⁹⁹⁸ The latter's literal meaning is "yoke" and it is often used in Assyrian annals as a metaphor of "dominion" (this usage is already attested in an el-Amarna letter).⁹⁹⁹ Ben Zvi believes that נִיר in the passages examined above literally means "fertile field/fertile fief/dominion," as it does in Jer 4,3; Hos 10,12; Prov 13,23 (21,4).¹⁰⁰⁰

However, the notion that נִיר is a "yoke" is problematic. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor point to the fact that the metaphorical use of Akkadian *nīru* has a "negative connotation" since it "describes the imposition of a vassal relationship upon the king's subjects."¹⁰⁰¹ Ben Zvi noted that although the meaning "dominion" would make sense in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7, its use in these passages would nevertheless be peculiar if the basic meaning of the Hebrew נִיר would be "yoke", such that נִיר would be synonymous with עֹל. "[T]he yoke needs to be related to an object (i.e., a bearer). In other words, a yoke is not an attribute of the king who imposes it but is a situation/object imposed ... upon someone."¹⁰⁰² The word עֹל is used metaphorically, like *nīru* in the Assyrian texts, in Lev 26,13; Deut 28,48; 1 Kgs 12,4.9-11.14; Isa 10,27; 14,25; 47,6; Jer 2,20; 5,5; 27,12. Note that Isa 10,27 and 14,25 refer to the yoke of Assyria, but use the word עֹל instead of the alleged loan-word נִיר. Ben Zvi's view that the passages in question use in a metaphorical way a word that originally denoted a "fertile field" is plausible. Still, I find it most likely that נִיר meant "light" or "lamp", as per the traditional view. MT reads נִיר consistently in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7, but this does not mean that it must be

⁹⁹⁵ In this connection, we should at least mention 2 Kgs 19,34 and 20,6. These passages, where Yhwh saves Jerusalem from Assyria for his own sake and for the sake of David, resemble to some extent the passages with נִיר. It is not entirely clear whether these texts refer to the dynastic promise to David. For a detailed analysis of 2 Kgs 19,34; 20,6 and their context, see Provan, Hezekiah, 117-130.

⁹⁹⁶ For a good overview of the proposed meanings, see Ben Zvi, *Lamp*, p. 19-30.

⁹⁹⁷ Noth, *Könige*, p. 243-244, 261-262, and many others.

⁹⁹⁸ This interpretation is argued in detail by Hanson, *Song*, p. 297-320. For further references, see Ben Zvi, *Lamp*, p. 21.

⁹⁹⁹ For examples see Hanson, *Song*, p. 312-313.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ben Zvi, *Lamp*. This meaning is also accepted by Sergi, *Women*, p. 196 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cogan – Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁰² Ben Zvi, *Lamp*, p. 29. Cf. Görg, *Machtzeichen*, p. 366, who still accepts a modified version of Hanson's suggestion.

the original and correct vocalization of the word. As H. U. Steymans notes, 2 Sam 22,29 contains נִיר, while Ps 18,29 reads נִיר.¹⁰⁰³ It is therefore quite possible that נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 was originally *nēr* written *plene*. נִיר = “light” is used in a similar way in 2 Sam 21,17 and Ps 132,17 as a metaphor of the Davidic kingship.¹⁰⁰⁴ The meaning “light” is obvious in 2 Sam 21,17 because of the connection with the verb כָּבַהּ *pi*. The use of נִיר in Ps 132,17 stands closer to our passages. The verse reads: “There I will make a horn to sprout for David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed” – שָׁם אֶצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן לְדָוִד עֵרֶכְתִּי נִיר לְמִשְׁחִי. The word נִיר (= light) is the object of the verb עֵרַךְ, as in Lev 24,4 and Exod 27,20f., where the word clearly designates “light.” In Ps 132,17 the establishment of light לְמִשְׁחִי is parallel to making to sprout a horn לְדָוִד, and it is clear from the context that the issue is the survival of the Davidides’ royal power. In 1 Kgs 11,36 and 2 Kgs 8,19, the continuation of the Davidic dynasty in Judah is described as a further existence of *David’s* נִיר. Should there be a chance to prove that Ps 132,17 is *independent* of 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7, the use of נִיר in the psalm would be a strong argument in favour of the interpretation of נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 as “light.” Yet the testimony of Ps 132,17 is important even if the use of נִיר in the psalm depends on the examined passages in Kings, since it is likely that the first reception, close to the time in which the received passage originated, at least reflects a correct understanding of the meaning of words used in the original text.

To what is the duration of David’s dynasty in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 compared? Noth suggested that נִיר refers to a lamp burning in a house and showing that there are people who live inside.¹⁰⁰⁵ According to 1 Kgs 11,36 (and perhaps, originally, even 2 Kgs 8,19 – see above), David’s נִיר should be for all the days *before* Yhwh. This location of נִיר is reminiscent of Exod 27,20f. and Lev 24,2f., according to which the priests are charged with keeping the light burning before Yhwh. The examined passages in Kings may be inspired by cultic practice without necessarily depending on Exod 27,20f. or Lev 24,2f. Both a burning lamp and a fire are comprehensible metaphors of duration, since a fire must burn continually or it dies out. Note, in this connection, what the wise woman of Tekoa says in a speech that serves as a parable describing David’s family: “Thus they would quench my coal that is left” (וַכְּבוּ אֶת גַּחְלִתִּי אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאַרָה) – 2 Sam 14,7). נִיר – light in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 therefore seems to serve primarily as a metaphor of the very *survival* of the Davidic kingship, which is in perfect accord with the historical context of the occurrences of the motif of the Davidic promise in Samuel.

¹⁰⁰³ Steymans, David, p. 415.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Hanson, Song, p. 318-319, believes that Ps 132,17 and perhaps even 2 Sam 21,17 originally contained נִיר = “yoke.” His arguments are utterly unconvincing.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Noth, Könige, p. 261.

If נִיר is originally *nēr* written *plene*, how should we explain the shift to the vocalization נִיר? Tg translates נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 as מלכו “kingship.” In Num 21,30 Tg Onqelos reads פסקת מלכו where MT has וַיִּנָּקֶם אֲבָדֶד. Vg reads here *iugum ipsorum disperiit*. In Aramaic, there is a noun נִיר denoting “yoke”, and so the translation מלכו is probably derived from the fact that the translators understood the Hebrew נִיר as the Aramaic נִיר – “yoke.”¹⁰⁰⁶ Hanson notes in respect of Vg’s reading in Num 21,30 that Jerome consulted rabbinic authorities concerning difficulties in the Hebrew text.¹⁰⁰⁷ Vg’s reading therefore may be due to the influence of Aramaic as well. The masoretic vocalization נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 may have its origin in the same tradition influenced by the existence of נִיר “yoke” in Aramaic.¹⁰⁰⁸

Let us return to the dynastic oracle given to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11,37f. Commentators sometimes consider this promise to be conditional, in contrast to the promise given to David in 2 Sam 7.¹⁰⁰⁹ Yet, according to 1 Kgs 11,38, it is only the building of a dynasty that requires Jeroboam’s loyalty; there is no mention of any condition on the subsequent duration of the dynasty. We are therefore confronted again in 1 Kgs 11,37f. with the same concept as is found in Samuel (mainly 1 Sam 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25): the piety of the founder of the dynasty is a significant factor in determining its duration.¹⁰¹⁰ Jeroboam wastes his chance, like Saul did. A similar view of the merits of the founder of a dynasty is also found in 2 Kgs 10,30; in this case, however, without the presence of the motif of an “eternal” dynasty.¹⁰¹¹

As far as the “ideology of the founder” is concerned, Ahijah’s oracle is entirely compatible with the concept of the Davidic promise found in Samuel. As we will see in the next chapter, the conditional formulation of the Davidic dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 is not compatible with the meaning of the promise in Samuel, and these passages could hardly have been written by the author of 2 Sam 7. Moreover, 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 use different vocabulary to that which is found in the relevant passag-

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Hanson, Song, p. 305.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Pace Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 25-27.

¹⁰⁰⁹ E.g. Mullen, History, p. 252, 261.

¹⁰¹⁰ See already Nelson, Redaction, p. 115; Knoppers, Nations, p. 202-203; and above all Ash, Jeroboam, according to whom the connection between Jeroboam and the “sins” ascribed to him in 1 Kgs 12 may be completely artificial and based solely on the Deuteronomist’s ideology of the founder. “[T]he logical consequence of the ideology of the founder suggests that for the Deuteronomist Jeroboam was the *Unheilsherrscher* primarily because he was the first king of the Northern Kingdom. The cultic practices at Bethel and Dan, so heinous to the Deuteronomist, had to be credited to Jeroboam, regardless of his historical connection to them” (p. 22).

¹⁰¹¹ As noted above, I leave aside vv. 38bβ-39, which are missing in OG and are probably secondary. For a detailed discussion of these verses, see Nelson, Redaction, p. 115-116, who advocates for their originality.

es in Samuel and 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45. The problem is, however, that the condition of building a dynasty in 1 Kgs 11,38a is formulated in a manner quite similar to the condition in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, and also to the rejection of Solomon in 11,11. Does this mean that Ahijah's oracle—with its promise to Jeroboam, its reference to David's firm house (v. 38) and its prediction of the preservation of David's נִיר in Jerusalem (together with the remaining passages referring to נִיר in 1 Kgs 15,5 and 2 Kgs 8,19)—is on the same (later) redactional level as the conditional reformulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5?¹⁰¹² Such possibility cannot be excluded. Let me note, however, that the mutual proximity of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 is greater than the similarity between these texts and 11,37f. (and 11,11-13); in addition to the specific formulation of the dynastic promise with the verb כָּרַת niph., 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 use the image of “walking before Yhwh”, both of which are not present in 1 Kgs 11. Therefore we may consider the possibility that a “nomistic” redactor, who inserted 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, also reworked the primitive version of Ahijah's oracle that was already in the book's older version.

As will be seen in the concluding chapter of this study, the dynastic promise in 2 Sam 7, and most likely also at least some of the other texts in Samuel that refer to it, belong to the same redactional level as the oracles against the dynasties of northern Israel and related fulfilment notices (1 Kgs 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 Kgs 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17). Following McKenzie and Oswald, I believe that this redaction is probably responsible for the first composition of Samuel and Kings.¹⁰¹³ Similarly, Blanco Wißmann has argued that the first edition of Kings had to contain at least some prophetic texts, including a basic form of 1 Kgs 14 which he finds in vv. 1-2ba.3-7aa.10*.11-13.(14?).17f.¹⁰¹⁴ Another redactor(s) later edited the chapter and added the whole of Ahijah's oracle in 11,29-39. The latter is, in Blanco Wißmann's view, marked from the outset by the secondary idea of the people's sin of idolatry, while the first edition of Kings focused on the prophets' role in the change of dynasties.

This view of 1 Kgs 11 and 14 is not entirely convincing. For the major part, Blanco Wißmann's reconstruction of the basic text of ch. 14 is not based on literary-critical indices. This is most evident in the case of v. 2bβ, which he has to suppress only because it refers back to ch. 11. As a matter of fact, the suppression of this verse even affects the clarity of the narrative

¹⁰¹² Kasari, *Promise*, p. 133-134, 176-177, 198-199, 227-229, ascribes to DtrS all the conditions in the conditional formulations of the Davidic promise in Kings, as well as 1 Kgs 11,38. Cf. also Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 194-198, who considers all of 1 Kgs 11,29-39 to be secondary.

¹⁰¹³ McKenzie, *Kings*, p. 41-80; Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 94-101; cf. also Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 29-30, 194-204.

¹⁰¹⁴ Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 194-204.

in ch. 14 itself, since without the reference to the previous encounter of Jeroboam and Ahijah (and without 11,29-39*), it is much less clear why Jeroboam has to send his wife to the prophet instead of going himself (cf. 1 Sam 28 where Saul disguises himself in order to consult a necromancer). Even Jeroboam's fear, that Ahijah's oracle will not be favourable if the prophet knows that it concerns the king's son, perfectly matches the narrative's present context, as the reader understands that Jeroboam did not fulfill the condition of the dynastic promise that Ahijah announced to him in ch. 11.¹⁰¹⁵ Hence the basic intrigue of the whole narrative in 1 Kgs 14,1-18 seems to be quite strongly anchored in its present context and to presuppose some form of Ahijah's oracle in 1 Kgs 11.

Furthermore, it is also problematic to remove the accusation in 1 Kgs 14,7aβ-9, since the other oracles against the dynasties, that presumably were part of the first edition of Kings (1 Kgs 16,1-4; 21,20-24), always include an accusation (in 1 Kgs 16,2, the charge has several points similar to the one in 14,7aβ-9). One of the reasons Blanco Wißmann considers the accusation in vv. 7aβ-9 to be secondary is the comparison of Jeroboam to David. However, as will be argued in the conclusion, the parallel histories of Israelite and Judean royal dynasties as told in Sam-Kgs constitute an attempt to explain why the Davidic dynasty must have a different fate to that of all the other dynasties that ruled in Israel (including Saul's). And as the dynasty's fate always depends on its founder's piety, it makes good sense that both 1 Kgs 11 and 14 would explicitly compare the founder of the first post-Davidic dynasty to David. To sum up, it seems that if the first edition of Kings included the oracle against Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 14, Ahijah's first prophecy to Jeroboam would also have been included in 1 Kgs 11. This, of course, does not mean that both texts could not later pass through secondary reworkings.¹⁰¹⁶

Finally, Blanco Wißmann's view that 1 Kgs 11,29-39 is focused from the outset on the people's sin of idolatry is highly questionable as well. The basic meaning of both the prophetic sign and the accompanying oracle is clearly the transfer of power from the Davidic dynasty to Jeroboam and, eventually, his dynasty. The guilt of the whole people only appears in v. 33MT which runs as follows: **יֵעָן אֲשֶׁר עֲזָבוּנִי וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַעֲשֵׂתֶרֶת אֱלֹהֵי צִדְנִי לְכַמּוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵי מוֹאָב וּלְמַלְכָּם אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי-עַמּוֹן וְלֹא־הָלְכוּ בְּדַרְכֵי לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי וַחֲקָתִי וּמִשְׁפָּטִי כְּדוֹר אָבִיו:** Quite obviously, however, this verse in MT is

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. Noth, *Könige*, p. 310-319, who believes that the core of 1 Kgs 14,1-18 is an old prophetic narrative. Consequently, he argues (p. 313) that the text contains no statement as to why Jeroboam feared Ahijah, and he speculates that Ahijah, being from Shiloh, was a representant of the ark tradition, and therefore could not approve of Jeroboam's cultic measures.

¹⁰¹⁶ In 1 Kgs 14, for example, several scholars have argued for the secondary character of vv. 15f. which enlarge the judgment to the whole of Israel – see e.g. Würthwein, *Könige* 1, p. 174, 178 (spätdtr); Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 194-195.

problematic for several reasons. First, the words *וּחְקָתִי וּמִשְׁפָּטִי* look like an addition, and they are indeed absent from LXX. The shorter text is preferable.¹⁰¹⁷ Another problem is the tension between the 3rd p. pl. of the verbs *וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ*, *וַיִּלְכְּוּ* and the pronominal suffix of the 3rd p. sg. in *אָבִיו* at the end of the verse on the other. Noth resolved this difficulty by considering the words *כְּדֹד אָבִיו* to be an addition.¹⁰¹⁸ But it is hard to imagine why a scribe would add such a meaningless text to the verse in MT's form. It seems much more likely that the verbs were originally in the 3rd p. sg., as they still are in LXX. Later on, a scribe turned them into plural forms under the influence of the (presumably late) passages referring to the guilt of the whole people. The pronominal suffix in *כְּדֹד אָבִיו*, however, had to remain in singular, given the meaning of the phrase.¹⁰¹⁹ Therefore, the original text of 1 Kgs 11,29-38 did not refer to the people's guilt at all. All assessments, promises and punishments were only related to the kings and their dynasties. Besides, we may note that the shorter text in LXX looks in general less "nomistic" than MT (in addition to *וּחְקָתִי וּמִשְׁפָּטִי* missing in v. 33LXX, v. 34LXX lacks an equivalent of *אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצֻּוֹתַי וּחְקָתַי*).

All in all, 1 Kgs 11,29-39 may have passed through a secondary reworking. For instance, the whole of v. 32 may be an addition, as suggested by several scholars,¹⁰²⁰ while some of the other secondary elements in MT can be easily detected through a simple comparison with LXX. Nevertheless, it seems that a basic text of Ahijah's oracle in 1 Kgs 11,29-38 was part of the same redactional level as at least some of the texts in Samuel referring to the Davidic promise (including 2 Sam 7) and the oracles against the dynasties of northern Israel. The question of the redactional (in)coherence of all the examined texts will be further discussed in the conclusion.

¹⁰¹⁷ So also Noth, *Könige*, 260-261; Knoppers, *Nations*, p. 188.

¹⁰¹⁸ Noth, *Könige*, p. 243, 260-261.

¹⁰¹⁹ Blanco Wißmann's view that 11,33MT may be accepted as it stands, since the concept of the common fate of the king and the people appears also in other late passages in Kings, is not very convincing. After v. 32 (or 31, for that matter), it is not even clear enough to whom the plural refers to.

¹⁰²⁰ See e.g. Knoppers, *Nations*, p. 186-187 (with further references).

9. 1 Kings 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9

1 Kings contains three passages in which the Davidic dynastic promise is said to be dependent on the pious behaviour of David's descendants: 1 Kgs 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9. These texts employ different terminology to that which is found in the dynastic promises in Samuel. It also differs from the texts discussed so far in the book of Kings.

According to 1 Kgs 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9, Yhwh promised to David that a man of his lineage will never be "cut off" from the throne of Israel. In addition, in 1 Kgs 9,5 Yhwh promises to Solomon that he will establish Solomon's royal throne over Israel forever. While this promise echoes 2 Sam 7,12f., the throne in 1 Kgs 9,5 is the object of the verb קוּם hiph., not of hiphil or polel from כָּן as in 2 Sam 7,12f. (cf. also 1 Sam 13,13; 2 Sam 7,16.26; 1 Kgs 2,12.24.45f.; note, however, that קוּם hiph. is used in 2 Sam 3,10). Commentators differ in their interpretation of the promise that David's heir will not be cut off from the throne of Israel. In particular they disagree as to the extent to which these passages cohere with the promise in 2 Sam 7.

Let us first attend to the dependence of the promise on the pious behaviour of the descendant. Could it be that this condition was added secondarily? In 1 Kgs 2,4MT the condition, introduced by the conjunction וְאִם and stretching to the half of the verse, seems to be an interpolation because of the second לֵאמֹר in the verse (i.e. the one which introduces the promise itself). The second לֵאמֹר is missing in LXX^L which in this section should be closer to OG than LXX^B, but the shorter text may be a stylistic adjustment. Similarly, the shorter reading may also be secondary in Vg. If the reading that contains the second לֵאמֹר is original and not a mistake, then v. 4aβγ (from the segolta on) is an addition that emphasizes the conditional nature of the dynastic promise.¹⁰²¹ However, even after the excision of 4aβγ, the promise would have remained conditional because of v. 3. Kasari reconstructs the text of DtrH in vv. 1-2.4α(up to עָלֵי).b, but the resulting text is rather clumsy.¹⁰²² It therefore seems impossible to reconstruct by means of literary criticism an unconditional dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4.

The situation is similar in 1 Kgs 9,1-9. Kasari attempts to reconstruct the older text in vv. 1a.2.3a*.5,¹⁰²³ but there are no literary-critical reasons for the reconstruction of an unconditional promise in v. 5. The aim of the

¹⁰²¹ The condition is regarded as an interpolation by e.g. Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 22; Vermeylen, *Symbolique*, p. 440; Kasari, *Promise*, p. 198-199.

¹⁰²² Kasari, *Promise*, p. 198-206.

¹⁰²³ Kasari, *Promise*, p. 174-187. He ascribes the older text to DtrN¹ and the rest to DtrS.

whole of vv. 1-9 is to highlight that divine favour is conditional, whether it is directed towards a dynasty or to a people.

In 1 Kgs 8,25 we may more easily imagine that the condition introduced by the adverbial *קִי* was secondarily added to the text.¹⁰²⁴ It could be argued that the emphasis on the conditional nature of the promise contradicts the rhetorical flow of the prayer (vv. 22-53), since the prayer is in fact a lament and a plea for forgiveness. However, there would remain a contradiction in the prayer between the pleas for forgiveness and for a just payback (vv. 32.39) even after the exclusion of v. 25b. Since the paraphrase of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 8,25 is formulated in a very similar manner to 2,4 and 9,5, where it is accompanied by a condition, it is likely that the condition is original to the promise in 1 Kgs 8,25, especially since there are no persuasive indices in favour of a diachronic dismantling of the verse.

Substantial attention has been given to the origin and meaning of the three above-mentioned occurrences of the conditional dynastic promise, since the texts play a major role in the debate about the formation of the Dtr History. At first sight, it may seem obvious that the conditional formulations are not the work of the same author as the unconditional promise made to David in 2 Sam 7. Noth ascribed the conditional formulations to an exilic Deuteronomist, while he regarded 2 Sam 7* as a pre-dtr text.¹⁰²⁵ By contrast, Cross argued that 2 Sam 7 was strongly influenced by a dtr redaction, with the dynastic promise forming one of the major topics of the pre-exilic Dtr History. Cross then ascribed the conditional formulations of the dynastic promise to the exilic Dtr2.¹⁰²⁶ Veijola believed that DtrG was responsible for the basic form of 2 Sam 7 and for its current literary context, although the chapter was later modified to some extent by DtrN. The latter was in Veijola's view also the author of the conditional promise in 1 Kgs 2,4aβγ; 8,25; 9,4-5.¹⁰²⁷

Some scholars believe that there is no conflict in the formulation of the promises in 2 Sam 7 and in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, since the conditional promise relates to the Davidides' rule over the whole of Israel (or only the north), and so not to their rule in Judah.¹⁰²⁸ This position was recently adopted by Oswald, who suggested that 2 Sam 7 forms a coherent system with references to the dynastic promise to David in Kings. Oswald admits, however, that the terminology of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 may suggest that these texts originated later.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁴ So e.g. Kasari, *Promise*, p. 133-134, with further references. Cf. already Cross, *Myth*, p. 287.

¹⁰²⁵ Noth, *History*, p. 56-57. Similarly Lohfink, *Oracle*, p. 438-440, according to whom the conditional formulations of the promise come from the pre-exilic Dtr1.

¹⁰²⁶ Cross, *Myth*, p. 287.

¹⁰²⁷ Veijola, *Dynastie*, p. 22, 25, 29, 141-142. Veijola only treats the first passage in detail.

¹⁰²⁸ Nelson, *Redaction*, p. 99-105; Friedman, *Egypt*, p. 167-192; cf. also McKenzie, *Kings*, p. 137-138.

¹⁰²⁹ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 92-98.

I believe both types of interpretation of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 are correct to a certain extent. The division of the kingdom announced to Solomon in 1 Kgs 11,11-13 and to Jeroboam in 11,29-39 seems to be presented as a consequence of Solomon's failure to meet the conditions of the dynastic promise.¹⁰³⁰ 1 Kgs 11,9 mentions Yhwh's double revelation to Solomon, while the second revelation in vv. 4-5 includes, among other things, a formulation of the conditional dynastic promise. In this sense, the division of the kingdom is a negative "fulfilment" of the conditional dynastic promise found in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. On the other hand, in all three passages the promise is presented as a paraphrase or a direct quote of the dynastic promise given to David concerning his descendants in general. It is only in Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 that such a promise is made. Oswald argues that the promises to David and to Solomon have different objects. The interpreter must therefore not be confused by the formulations of the promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 that "wish to create the impression" that they are citing a promise given to David.¹⁰³¹ But why do these passages wish to create such an impression, if not, as traditionally believed, to reinterpret the promise given to David in 2 Sam 7?

The conditional dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 is therefore probably a secondary reformulation of the dynastic promise given to David. Such a reformulation, on the one hand, demonstrates the tragic consequences of a failure to comply with Yhwh's commandments via the example of Solomon. On the other hand, as an interpretation of 2 Sam 7, it explains the Davidic dynasty's loss of power in the exilic and post-exilic period.

However, if the intention of the author of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 was to explain the fall of the Davidic dynasty, it is remarkable that the conditional formulation of the promise does not appear at the end of Kings.¹⁰³² The book never announces a definitive loss of power of the Davidic dynasty, not even in those texts where the fall of the temple, Jerusalem, and Judah are announced (cf. e.g. 2 Kgs 21,12f.).¹⁰³³ This may be related to the ambivalence of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. In the immediate context of these texts, the conditional reformulation of the dynastic promise explains the Davidides' loss of power over northern Israel; on the other hand, as a reinterpretation of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, the passages 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 may elucidate the fall of the Davidic kingship in general. A certain rever-

¹⁰³⁰ Nelson, *Redaction*, 99-105; Lohfink, *Oracle*, p. 440.

¹⁰³¹ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 95. Nelson, *Redaction*, p. 102, believes that 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 refer to an oracle other than 2 Sam 7.

¹⁰³² So McKenzie, *Kings*, p. 138. McKenzie wrote this study at a time when he was still a defender of Cross's model. He concluded that 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5—whether secondary to Dtr1 or not—were definitely not authored by Dtr2, the author responsible for 2 Kgs 23,26–25,26. The absence of a conditional Davidic promise at the end of Kings is remarkable, even if we do not accept Cross's model.

¹⁰³³ For a detailed discussion, see Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 97-98.

ence towards the concept of the Davidic dynasty in Kings, apparent even after the inclusion of these passages, need not be due to the actual influence of the Davidides. It could instead betray the importance that the Davidic ideal had already acquired. At the same time, it may also indicate that this redaction is not driven by actual anti-Davidic political interests, representing rather an attempt to *explain* the apparent unfulfillment of the dynastic promise. In any case, 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 cannot be understood as a part of the same authorial/redactional level as 2 Sam 7.

As we saw in ch. 2.4, p. 148ff., the idea that the king's reign is somewhat conditional on his piety and justice is not uncommon in the ancient Near East. The particularity of 2 Sam 7 and its parent texts consists in the restriction of this condition to the *edict* of the dynastic promise alone. In contrast, 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 specify that the king's rule is conditional upon "law" observance (cf., above all, 2,3; 9,4). According to Blanco Wißmann, the idea that the king is obliged to observe a codified law became a historiographical topos only in the Persian period.¹⁰³⁴ This date for the writing of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 accords well with our dating of the older formulations of the promise to the end of Neo-Babylonian or the beginning of the Persian period.

¹⁰³⁴ Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 139-144. In his opinion, the relevant late passages in Kings as well as Deut 17,14-20 are comparable in this respect to the Demotic chronicle, probably from the 3rd c. B.C.E.

10. Royal Dynasty in Deuteronomy 17,14-20

In the books traditionally assigned to the Dtr History, it is only in Samuel and Kings that the dynastic promise to David is found. However, in the book of Deuteronomy there is the so-called “Law of the King” (Deut 17,14-20), according to which the king should obey the law in order that “he may prolong the days over his kingdom, he and his sons, in Israel” (v. 20). It seems reasonable to suppose that this reference to the durability of a royal dynasty might, among other things, allude to the theme of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty.

As the dynasty is only mentioned in the last verse of this text, it is unnecessary to include here a complete study of Deut 17,14-20. The question of the historical context of the passage will, however, require a brief discussion of the text in its entirety.¹⁰³⁵

10.1 A case for the (relative) unity of Deut 17,14-20

It is often affirmed that Deut 17,14-20 is not the work of a single author.¹⁰³⁶ Yet any reconstruction of older layers in this text is ultimately unconvincing, with several scholars now pleading in favour of a basic unity of the King’s Law.¹⁰³⁷

Some commentators¹⁰³⁸ postulate that the text’s literary development began with a set of prohibitives in vv. 16f.: the king may not have too many horses, too many wives, or too much gold and silver. Thus the text would have constituted a kind of “Königsspiegel”, most likely limited to vv. 16a¹.17a¹.17b and analogous to the precepts for the judges in Deut 16,19-20¹⁰³⁹. This original set of prohibitives is usually considered to be pre-dtr

¹⁰³⁵ For a recent discussion of the entire passage, see foremost Achenbach, p. 216-233. On many counts, I agree with Achenbach’s conclusions.

¹⁰³⁶ Bibliographical references to several literary-critical reconstructions may be found in Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 216. References to individual problems follow in the notes below.

¹⁰³⁷ Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 69-85; Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 216-219 and *passim*.

¹⁰³⁸ Rabast, *Recht*, p. 10f.; Gerstenberger, *Wesen*, p. 67-68; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p. 270; Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 66; Zobel, *Prophetie*, p. 110, 117. Cf. also Merendino, *Gesetz*, p. 180-181, 185, 404; Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, p. 181.

¹⁰³⁹ However, Deut 16,19f. is written in the 2nd person, whereas Deut 17,16f. in the 3rd person. Rabast (*ibid.*) reconstructs a pre-dtr form of the *Königsspiegel* formulated in the 2nd person. Gerstenberger compares Deut 17,16f.* with the sets of prohibitives in Lev 21 and Deut 23 (*ibid.*, p. 38-39, 68-68).

by those who believe in this original core's existence, but this reconstruction is very hypothetical.

As a matter of fact, there are very few literary indices in Deut 17,14-20 that would allow for a well-founded diachronic analysis. The most conspicuous tension in the text is between v. 15a and 15b. According to the first half of the verse, the people should appoint as king only the person whom Yhwh chose, which means that the choice is entirely by God's power. By contrast, v. 15b contains a practical precept describing the circle of persons from which the people may themselves appoint a king. Many scholars have considered this tension between 15a and 15b to be due to the diachronic development of the text. Some considered 15b to be secondary¹⁰⁴⁰, while for others an addition is to be found in 15aβ (אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך בן) ¹⁰⁴¹. I am not convinced, however, that *this kind* of inconsistency must necessarily indicate redactional seams. A concept or ideology may itself contain inconsistencies and tensions, whether the text in which it appears was written by one author or more. In the present case, the tension between vv. 15a and 15b may simply be due to the "inconsistent" purpose of a scribe who, on the one hand, accepted the idea—widespread in the royal ideology of the ancient Near East—that the king must be divinely elected, yet, on the other hand, desired to limit who might be eligible to become king in Israel. After all, this kind of inconsistency is, as a rule, present in royal ideologies where the accession to the throne is presented as the result of divine election, and yet at the same time organized by other, more controllable means.¹⁰⁴²

Several scholars consider v. 16aα²βb to be a later insertion (in fact, 16b is sometimes considered even later than 16aα²β).¹⁰⁴³ As R. Albertz recently summarized: "The sentence deviates from the surrounding terminology. This is not a general restriction on royal power, but a very special prohibition of a specific act of foreign policy. In closing, the statement reverts to the general theme of V. 16aα¹, the acquisition of horses, but with the collective singular סוס instead of the plural used before. Here then is a clear case of a varying *Wiederaufnahme*."¹⁰⁴⁴ These arguments for separating v. 16aα²βb are not entirely convincing. As noted by C. Schäfer-Lichten-

¹⁰⁴⁰ Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118; Horst, Privilegrecht, p. 108-109; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 115-116 (if I understand him well); Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 224-225.

¹⁰⁴¹ Koch, Geschichte, p. 216; Boecker, Beurteilung, p. 49; Merendino, Gesetz, p. 180; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 271. According to García López, Roi, p. 284-285, both 15aβ and 15b are additions by different hands.

¹⁰⁴² Cf. B. Lincoln's reflections on the combination of dynastic and charismatic elements in Achaemenid kingship, in Religion, p. 33-49.

¹⁰⁴³ Merendino, Gesetz, p. 180, 407; García López, Roi, p. 286-287; Rütterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 60; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 117, 143-144; Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 225-226; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 180; Albertz, Legislation, p. 280-281. — V. 16bβ is presented as a previously-proclaimed word of Yhwh, but there is no such word uttered by Yhwh in the HB. For various suggestions as to the intended point of reference of this "quotation", see commentaries and references cited in Albertz, Legislation, p. 281.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Albertz, Legislation, p. 280.

berger¹⁰⁴⁵, the same shift from סוסים to סוס appears in 2 Kgs 6,14f., a passage which can hardly be dismantled into several layers. As to Albertz's description of vv. 16-17 as a set of general descriptions, from which v. 16aα²βb deviates because of its quality of "special prohibition", the situation seems to me to be more complicated. The basic structure of vv. 16f. is given by the threefold parallelism formed by the three restrictions on the multiplication of horses, women, and silver and gold (16aα¹.17aα.17b). Each time, the first two restrictions are followed by an expansion in vv. 16aα²βb.17aβ. Now, if we mark off v. 16aα²βb as a later addition since it is a "special prohibition", the text we obtain in vv. 16-17* will be formed by an almost perfect threefold parallelism, if not for the disturbing clause 17aβ after the second element. This being so, it seems logical to go all the way with those who exclude v. 17aβ from the primitive text as well, and reconstruct an original shape of vv. 16-17* that is formed exclusively by the parallel prohibitives.¹⁰⁴⁶ All this, however, is quite speculative. It is, therefore, preferable to assume that the author of v. 16-17 was willing to briefly expand the basic restrictions in the ways he considered most fitting. Moreover, both 16aα²βb and 17aβ may be understood as substantiating the prohibitions which precede them: the king shall not multiply his horses, and (so) he will not cause the people to return to Egypt; he shall not have multiple women, and (so) his heart will not turn away. If we read vv. 16aα²βb.17aβ in this way, the specificity of v. 16aα²βb is of little importance for diachronic analysis.

Scholars also often assume that vv. 18f. constitute an addition.¹⁰⁴⁷ They point to the exceptional formulation of the third prohibition (v. 17b: not too much gold and silver) in its present form: unlike the other prohibitions, it is not followed by an explanation. However, v. 20aα perhaps makes more sense if attached to v. 17 as an explanation rather than in its present position after v. 19.¹⁰⁴⁸ This argument does not work if vv. 16aα²βb and/or 17aβ are considered later additions. Yet even Albertz, who scrubs out v. 16aα²βb, argues in more general terms that "the prohibitory legislative goal in v. 20 to prevent the king's hubris would be better inserted directly after the restrictions (vv. 16-17)."¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁵ Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 75.

¹⁰⁴⁶ So e.g. Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 60-61; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 117; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 180.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 119; Alt, Heimat, p. 254; G. Seitz, Studien, p. 233; von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 119; Nicholson, Deuteronomy, p. 93, 111-112; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 273-274; García López, Roi, p. 287, 296; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 61-64; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 119; Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 226; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 179-180; Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.

¹⁰⁴⁸ It is also often pointed out that these verses understand the Torah to be a written document. This fact alone, however, is not an argument for assigning vv. 18f. to a different level to the rest of Deut 17,14-20. (For a similar criticism, cf. Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.)

¹⁰⁴⁹ Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.

The problem with these suggestions is that v. 20aβ seems to presuppose vv. 18-19. This is why Steuernagel considers vv. 20aβb to be an addition on the same level as 18-19.¹⁰⁵⁰ At this moment, however, the reconstructed process becomes very complicated. The interpolator must have inserted vv. 18-19 after v. 17b and thereby separated v. 17b from 20aα. He would then have continued after his insertion with the more ancient 20aα (starting in the middle of the sentence, with a subordinating conjunction!), and then inserted another addition in 20aβb. I am not sure this is the most probable reconstruction of the redactional process. Be that as it may, I will not use vv. 18-19 in my discussion of the possible date of the text's origin. The question of whether or not they are an original part of the text may therefore theoretically remain open, even if I tend to see them as part of the original text.

The question of v. 20b is more important, since it is this final motivation of the King's Law which is, above all, the interest of this chapter. As we have seen in the previous paragraph, v. 20aβb is considered to be an addition by Steuernagel, and similar opinions were expressed by a few other scholars.¹⁰⁵¹

However, the secondary character of v. 20b cannot be proved on the basis of the supposed secondary character of v. 20aβ, since the secondary nature of v. 20aβ is highly hypothetical. Admittedly, vv. 19f. present a rather long series of final clauses, but this in itself cannot not be used as a decisive argument in diachronic analysis.¹⁰⁵² Moreover, the motivation in v. 20b is not on the same level as the finite clauses in 20aα (and 20aβ). It therefore does not constitute a real doublet.¹⁰⁵³ Whereas the final clauses in 20a still belong to the part of the text describing the king's behavior as required by the Law, v. 20b motivates the king to act in this way by promising him a long life and reign (for similar constructions in Deuteronomy, see 5,29; 6,1-2; 30,6). Hence, there is no compelling reason to separate v. 20b from the rest of the law.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁵⁰ Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*, p. 119; similarly Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p. 274; García López, *Roi*, p. 286-287. – Yet cf. Albrecht, *Legislation*, p. 279, who on the contrary says that vv. 18-19 “only underline what is already said in v. 20aβ, that the king is subjected to the rule of law.” Similarly Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 226-227, ascribes v. 20aβb to DtrN and vv. 18f. to a still later DtrN².

¹⁰⁵¹ García López, *Roi*, p. 287, 295. According to Zobel, *Prophetie*, p. 118, the final motivation in v. 20b was added “während einer späteren deuteronomischen Überarbeitung”; Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 226-227, 237, ascribes v. 20aβb to DtrN's revision of the King's Law (the original form being, in his view, from DtrH's pen). Cf. also F. Horst, *Privilegrecht*, p. 109; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy*, 111-112.

¹⁰⁵² Similarly Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 80, quoting Exod 8,18; Josh 11,20; Isa 65,8; Jer 44,7f.; Ezek 20,9.14.22 as examples of similar constructions.

¹⁰⁵³ Pace Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 226-227.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For the suggestion of von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, p. 119, that the words “he and his children” are a later addition, see below.

To sum up, it seems unlikely that Deut 17,14-20 went through major literary developments. Yet, even if it could be proved that the text was interpolated in vv. 16 and 18f., it would not affect our discussion of the passage. The issues that are important for our study are clear: it is very difficult to assume the existence of an independent, pre-dtr Königsspiegel; it is impossible to separate the historicizing introduction from the law itself; and there is no conclusive evidence to separate v. 20b from the rest of the law.

10.2 The purpose and origin of Deut 17,14-20

The debate about the historical context of Deut 17,14-20 is very rich, not the least because, as it was noted by G. Seitz, the Law of the King was used more frequently than other Deuteronomistic laws to ascertain a date for the book of Deuteronomy in general.¹⁰⁵⁵ The discussion of the historical context of this law is closely related to the question of whether or not it was meant to function as a “real law.” We may therefore use this issue to schematically summarize the various approaches to Deut 17,14-20.

One kind of approach to Deut 17,14-20 is well represented by P. Dutcher-Walls. She tried to explain the restrictions imposed on the king’s ability to acquire horses, wives and riches (16aa.17aa.17b) with reference to the context of 7th century Judah.¹⁰⁵⁶ With an eye to Judah’s internal political situation, the prohibitions would aim at circumscribing the king’s capacity to exclude other parties from power; in view of the international context, the prohibitions would serve to defend Assyrian interests while, at the same time, securing the survival of the Judean monarchy on the periphery of the Assyrian empire. Dutcher-Walls confined her analysis to vv. 16aa.17aa.17b. She therefore does not say whether she considers the “dynastic blessing” in v. 20 to have originated in the same context as these verses. Other scholars, however, are of the opinion that the blessing in v. 20 was part of the pre-exilic law that attempted to limit the king’s powers.¹⁰⁵⁷ In such a context, the purpose of the conditional formulation of the dynastic promise would be to force the king to obey the law. The concerned dynasty would surely have been that of the Davidides, who were in power at the time. However, the designation of the dynasty as potentially long-lasting but not

¹⁰⁵⁵ Seitz, *Studien*, p. 231. A recent attempt along these lines may be found in Albertz, *Legislation*, p. 271-296.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Dutcher-Walls, *Circumscription*, p. 601-616.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Seitz, *Studien*, p. 231-235; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p. 270, 274; García López, *Roi*, p. 295; Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 50-66, 89-93; Knoppers, *Deuteronomist*, p. 335; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, p. 225. Numerous scholars consider the “Law of the King” in general to be pre-exilic, without saying anything specific about v. 20, e.g. Levinson, *Re-conceptualization*, p. 511-534.

eternal could also refer to the dynastic changes in northern Israel, as was suggested by R. Nelson.¹⁰⁵⁸

A number of scholars find more or less the same meaning as Dutcher-Walls in Deut 17,14-20, but date it to the exilic or even later period, sometimes stressing the law's utopian character.¹⁰⁵⁹ But in this later setting, an entirely different meaning of the text may be imagined. Deut 17,14-20 is one of the Deuteronomic laws where the possession of the land and other events mentioned in its historicizing introduction form the point from which the law becomes relevant and valid. According to Lohfink, "in many cases, these texts are not real 'laws' but proleptic sections of the [Deuteronomistic] historical work: corresponding texts later in the work record whether or not the requirements were carried out" – cf. for example Deut 25,19 (destruction of the Amalekites) and 1 Sam 15.¹⁰⁶⁰ Lohfink counts Deut 17,14 as one of these Deuteronomic prolepses, with 1 Sam 8-12 being the corresponding text. In the same vein and more radically, T. Römer described Deut 17,14-20 as "a table of contents of the accounts about monarchy in Judges, Samuel and Kings", introducing "the story of the failure of monarchy as related in the exilic edition of the book of Samuel and Kings."¹⁰⁶¹ The dynasty alluded to in v. 20 would therefore in the first place be that of David. Yet the final conditional blessing would in fact be a confirmation of the death sentence; since, as it will be seen in the subsequent narrative, the Davidic kings did not keep the law, their kingship must have had to come to an end.

Thus it is clear that the question of whether Deut 17,14-20 was intended to function as a law (in pre-exilic Judah or after the expected restoration) or was only meant as a prolepsis of the events described in the books of Samuel and Kings is important to our study. If the former holds true, v. 20 contains a conditional dynastic promise, while in the case of the latter, the conditional benediction only functions as an explanation of the disappearance of the Davidic dynasty. I will now look more closely at those elements in the text which may establish its date of origin, and then return to the meaning of v. 20 in its historical context.

10.2.1 The historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14

The book of Deuteronomy in its current form constitutes Moses' farewell speech to the children of Israel. It is proclaimed by Moses in the Transjordan, before his death and before the people set out to conquer the land un-

¹⁰⁵⁸ Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, p. 225.

¹⁰⁵⁹ E.g. Horst, *Privilegrecht*, 108-113; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 69-85. Cf. Davies, *Josiah*, p. 65-77, especially p. 73-74.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Lohfink, *יש*, p. 368-369; *id.*, *Kerygmata*, p. 96-97.

¹⁰⁶¹ Römer, *So-Called*, p. 79-80, 139-141.

der Joshua's leadership. This "historical" context of Moses' speech is not created exclusively by the narrative framing of Deuteronomy at the beginning, the end and several other places of the book where an anonymous extradiegetical narrator comes into play without Moses' mediation. Rather, *Moses' oration itself* contains many passages which, time and time again, bring the context of the speech to the reader's attention¹⁰⁶². In particular, several laws are introduced by protases called "historicizing introductions" which, unlike the protases of the casuistic law, do not describe a legal case but present the entry into the land (or other later circumstances) as a presupposition for the validity of the given law. These laws imply that Israel is not in the land at the time when the law is proclaimed.¹⁰⁶³ Deut 17,14a is such a historicizing introduction, meaning that at least the introduction to the Law of the King presupposes the shape of the Deuteronomy as Moses' speech before Israel's drive into the Cisjordan.

The emphasis that is placed on this context of Moses' speech suggests that Israel's situation in the book was of particular relevance to the implied recipients of the text. In Deuteronomy, the motif of the promised land becomes an elaborate theologumenon. Several scholars have noticed that the situation of the Israelites in the desert before the entry into the land echoes the situation of the exiled community waiting to – or being encouraged to – enter the land again.¹⁰⁶⁴ This may suggest that the massive historicizing of the Deuteronomic code, while presumably linking up with an older exodus tradition, originated in the exile.¹⁰⁶⁵

R. Albertz has recently questioned this conclusion. He asks if "there ever [was] a Deuteronomic legal corpus that was not stylized as a speech of Moses just before the occupation of the land, so that we can regard all historicizing remarks in the laws as secondary."¹⁰⁶⁶ Such a question cannot be comprehensively addressed here; I will therefore only make one comment on this score. It is true that some of the passages that arguably belong to the oldest form of the book are not entirely free of the characteristic traits of the book's current form as Moses' speech: for example, of the three forms of the commandment of centralization in Deut 12, the oldest (supposedly pre-exilic) is usually located in vv. 13-18(19)¹⁰⁶⁷ which are relatively free

¹⁰⁶² Lohfink, *Kerygmata*, p. 90. Lohfink mentions the following places: 6,1.18f.; 7,1f.17-24; 8,1.7.20; 9,1-6; 10,11; 11,5.8-12.22-25.29.31f; 12,1f.10.29; 15,4; 17,14; 18,9-14; 19,1f.14; 21,1; 23,21; 25,19; 26,1; (27,2-4.12); 28,21.63; 29,1-7; 30,16-18. A mere glance at these passages indicates that they cannot be the work of one author.

¹⁰⁶³ Seitz, *Studien*, p. 95-101.

¹⁰⁶⁴ E.g. Römer, *Search*, p. 117-118.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. already Lohfink, *Kerygmata*, p. 91, according to whom the presentation of the Deuteronomic laws as Moses' speech before the entry into the land of Canaan presupposes the narrative context of the Dtr History. See also Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 56-69; Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Albertz, *Legislation*, p. 276.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See Römer, *Maison*, p. 49-80.

from historicizing literary form; the audience is well established in cities (v. 18), and it is unclear who is the speaker. Yet even here, the historicizing fiction is not entirely absent, since the wording of the centralization formula (v. 14a) expects the election of the “place” in the future (במקום אשר יבחר יהוה), as is always the case in Deuteronomy, but never in Kings. It seems to me, however, that the difficulty that this and similar passages pose for the reconstruction of a pre-exilic *Urdeuteronomium*, supposedly not formulated as Moses’s speech, cannot be a reason to deny that the developed structure of Israel’s “non-natural” relationship with the land, as it is present in the historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14 and elsewhere in the book, presupposes the Babylonian exile.

The historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14a is therefore exilic at the earliest. This, admittedly, does not necessarily mean that *all* the Law of the King originates from the same time as the introduction. On the other hand, as already observed by Seitz, verse 15, where the law itself begins, may hardly be dissociated from the introduction in v. 14.¹⁰⁶⁸ As a matter of fact, there are no concluding source-critical indices that would enable us to dissociate the historicizing introduction from the King’s Law itself.¹⁰⁶⁹

10.2.2 Deuteronomy 17,14-20 and the beginnings of monarchy in Israel (1 Samuel 8–12)

The people’s desire to have a king, anticipated in Deut 17,14, is realized in 1 Sam 8,5 when the elders of Israel ask Samuel to appoint a king for them. There are strong resemblances between Deut 17,14 and 1 Sam 8,5, suggesting some kind of dependency between them.

Deut 17,14b	אשר סביבתי	ככל הגוים	אשימה עלי מלך	ואמרת
1 Sam 8,5		ככל הגוים	שימה לנו מלך לשפטנו	... עתה ויאמרו

Cf. also 1 Sam 10,19: ותאמרו לו כי מלך תשים עלינו. We may imagine three possibilities: Deut 17,14 and 1 Sam 8,5 may both be the work of one author¹⁰⁷⁰, or one passage may be dependent on the other. Most scholars¹⁰⁷¹ believe that 1 Sam 8,5 hints at Deut 17,14; according to some other scholars¹⁰⁷² Deut 17,14 depends on 1 Sam 8,5.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Seitz, Studien, p. 232.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 54-55; Albertz, Legislation, p. 278.

¹⁰⁷⁰ According to Särkiö, Weisheit, both verses were written in two stages by two authors – DtrH and DtrN.

¹⁰⁷¹ Alt, Heimat, p. 264; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 271; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 58; Mullen, History, p. 199, 203; Nihan, Instauration, p. 154, 165, 169; and *id.*, Loi, p. 43-72; Albertz, Legislation, p. 276-277.

¹⁰⁷² Staerk, Deuteronomium, p. 19; Dietrich, History, p. 322-323; Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 222-224.

It is a difficult issue to decide. Perhaps the most thorough treatment in favour of 1 Sam 8–12's dependence on Deut 17,14-20 is that of C. Nihan in his article "De la loi comme prétexte." Nihan details how 1 Sam 8–12 uses Deut 17,14f. as an intertext that is *necessary* for understanding the events related to the establishment of the monarchy in Israel. In Nihan's view, both the text (i.e. 1 Sam 8–12) and the intertext (Deut 17,14f.) come from the exilic Deuteronomist.¹⁰⁷³ Inspired by the works on intertextuality by M. Riffaterre, Nihan describes 1 Sam 8–12 as a text indicating to its readers that it may be properly understood only in connection with another text. 1 Sam 8–12 contains various intratextual anomalies ("ungrammaticalities within the idiolectic norm"), which cannot be explained from their context alone (i.e. the structure of the text itself), and which are due to the fact that the text works with an absent intertext (Deut 17,14f.). The reader notices the ungrammaticalities in the structure of the text, and to explain them, he is forced to create the text's relationship to the intertext. In such a case, the text's reference to the intertext is nothing secondary ("a felicitous surplus"); it belongs to the text's own coherence and is essential for establishing the text's meaning.

The following notes on the relationship between Deut 17,14-20 and 1 Sam 8–12 are to a large extent based on Nihan's analysis of 1 Sam 8–12 in his article "Le(s) récit(s) dtr de l'instauration de la monarchie en 1 Samuel." But, unlike him, I am not convinced that 1 Sam 8–12 necessarily presupposes the Law of the King in Deuteronomy. Rather, I am under the impression that the literary influence goes from 1 Sam 8–12 to Deut 17,14-20.

The existence of the Deuteronomic King's Law assures that an informed reader of 1 Sam 8–12 will always read this text in connection with Deut 17,14-20. However, the description of the origins of the monarchy in Israel in 1 Samuel does not clearly presuppose the knowledge of Deut 17,14-20. On the contrary, the story in 1 Sam 8–12 often proceeds as if the Deuteronomic Law of the King does not exist. If one did not know Deuteronomy in its present form, the narrative in 1 Samuel would not lead the reader to understand that the establishment of monarchy in Israel was counted with from Moses' time. On the synchronic level of reading it may even be said that the knowledge of Deut 17,14-20 and the necessity to read 1 Sam 8–12 in light of Deut 17,14-20 bring numerous interferences into 1 Sam 8–12.

Throughout 1 Sam 8–12, Samuel acts without awareness that Moses anticipated the institution of monarchy in Israel.¹⁰⁷⁴ The people's request for a king (1 Sam 8,5) annoys Samuel (v. 6) and he, (12,12.17.20) as well as Yhwh (8,7f.; 12,17f.), consider the people's request to be an act of apostasy.

¹⁰⁷³ Nihan, *Loi*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. already Dillmann, *Bücher*: "in den Verhandlungen über die Einführung des Königthums 1 Sam 8 ff. [wird] von keiner Seite auf vorhandene gesetzliche Bestimmungen darüber zurückgegriffen." Now also Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 223.

sy.¹⁰⁷⁵ As a warning, Samuel announces to the people the “Law of the King” (משפט המלך – 1 Sam 8,9.11; cf. משפט המלכה in 10,25), in which he outlines the various forms of oppression that will result from kingship. In the plot of 1 Sam 8, this משפט המלך has a clear function – the people’s desire for a king was provoked by the “abuse of authority” by Samuel’s sons in their office of judges, in particular by their greediness. Kingship, however, will produce injustice on a far greater scale. However, this “Law of the King” completely contradicts Deut 17,14-20, which endeavors to limit the growth of royal power and the king’s “hubris” (the latter stemming from the former).¹⁰⁷⁶ How could Samuel inform the people about the oppressive משפט המלך had he known the Mosaic law against it?

Similar conclusions arise when we compare the function of the people’s demand in Deut 17,14 and in 1 Sam 8,5. G. Knoppers rightly observed that while all offices in Deut 16,18-18,22 are “divinely mandated”, kingship is established on the people’s request subsequently granted by Yhwh.¹⁰⁷⁷ The prophet is “raised” (קום hiph. – 18,15.18) by Yhwh and the Levitical priests chosen (18,5) by him. As to the local judges and officers, the people themselves should appoint (נתן) them, but on the basis of Yhwh’s primary commandment. It is only kingship that is said to be established as an initiative of the people (although the king will be subsequently elected by Yhwh – v. 15).

The people’s request in Deut 17,14 might seem to be formulated as if to stress the exogenous character of kingship in Israel – the people desire to have a king “like all the nations around me.” To follow the practices of the surrounding peoples is always evaluated in a very negative way in dtr texts (Deut 6,14; 13,8; Judg 2,12; 2 Kgs 17,15)¹⁰⁷⁸. The same holds true for the practices of the nations which Israel is supposed to wipe out: in the sur-

¹⁰⁷⁵ In 1 Sam 12,19 the people themselves confess the sin of having requested a king. Nihan, *Loi*, p. 64-66, assumes that Samuel and Yhwh’s anger is provoked by the failure of the elders and the people to ask for the king exactly according to the formula from Deut 17,14; they rather add the motivation “to judge us” (vv. 5f.20). As a result, they (unlike the formulation in Deut 17,14) violate Yhwh’s prerogatives (cf. already Mullen, *History*, p. 199). – Yet this procedure, allegedly adopted by the author of the composition 1 Sam 8–12, would be subtle up to unintelligibility, especially if, as it seems, its author would later obscure it in 1 Sam 12,1.12.13.17.19 where the sin of the people simply consists of their demand of a king.

¹⁰⁷⁶ As already noted by Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Knoppers, *Deuteronomist*, p. 334. Similarly Albertz, *Legislation*, p. 278

¹⁰⁷⁸ In the first three of these texts, we find the phrase “from the gods of the peoples who are around you (them)” (מאלהי העמים אשר סביבותיכם הם). The nations are thus always designated by the word עמים. In 2 Kgs 17,15, we do not have this phrase; the nations are designated here as גוים, and the meaning of the clause is somewhat obscure – Israel and Judah are blamed for going “after the nations.” Moreover, the whole sentence in 15bβ-δ is most likely a secondary addition, as it is indicated by the fact that ואחרי modifies once more the verb וילכו, in spite of the fact that the verb ויהבלו is between them. – Note that Deut 17,14, too, speaks about גוים. The variants of the phrase “הגוים אשר סביבת” + pronominal suffix” also appear in Lev 25,44; Neh 5,17; 6,16; Ezek 5,7(2x).14.15; 11,12 (cf. also Ezek 5,6; 36,7.36; 37,21).

rounding context of Deut 17,14, Israel is warned not to imitate these nations (Deut 18,14; cf. also vv. 9.12). Yet as to the Law of the King in Deut 17,14-20, the phrase “like all the nations around me” introduces an irritating disturbance (at least for a reader adept in dtr texts), since Yhwh here *approves* the people’s abhorrent request. U. Rüterswörden is entirely right when he says that Deut 17,14 does *not* present the people’s request as apostasy from Yhwh; in the law of the king, we learn nothing about the sharp contradiction between human and divine kingship that is asserted in 1 Sam 8.¹⁰⁷⁹ The wording “I will set a king over me like all the nations around me” in Deut 17,14 is therefore difficult to explain if we consider Deut 17,14-20 to be a primary “dtr” text, which does not depend on another text. On the other hand, this wording may be explained by the fact that the author of the King’s Law adopted here a formulation used already before him in 1 Sam 8¹⁰⁸⁰, in order to introduce the anticipated constitution of the kingship in Israel in agreement with the later “historical events.” However, the author of Deut 17,14 had to omit the people’s request that the king “judge us” (לשפוטנו) that is found in 1 Sam 8, since in Deuteronomy the task of judging was already assigned to judges in the immediately antecedent text 16,18-17,13.¹⁰⁸¹

By contrast, in 1 Sam 8 the people’s request is well integrated into the plot. The people’s desire for a king is condemned by both Samuel and Yhwh (1 Sam 8,6-8; 12,12.17f.20); the phrase “like all the nations” is no doubt intended to demonstrate the perversity of the request, in agreement with the usual evaluation in dtr texts of any imitating of the “nations”.¹⁰⁸² This clearly transpires from, among other things, the escalation of the people’s perversity in 1 Sam 8,20 where they want no less than to *be* like all the other nations (והיינו גם אנחנו ככל הגוים).¹⁰⁸³ Moreover, the people’s request for the king in the introduction of 1 Sam 8 corresponds to the development of the chapter, which, as described by Nihan¹⁰⁸⁴, emphasizes the people’s responsibility for the rise of kingship. Despite Samuel’s warning, the Israelites did not abandon their desire for a king; on the contrary, they

¹⁰⁷⁹ Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 58. The same already in Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Similarly Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸¹ So also Dietrich, *History*, p. 323. It is not necessary to study here in detail the Law of the Judges in Deut 16,18-17,13. Together with other scholars, I think that this text (or at least its core) is older than the Law of the King.

¹⁰⁸² Dietrich, *History*, p. 22-33, distinguishes in 1 Sam 8 between an older dtr text which is by no means negative towards the kingship (vv. 1-5.20b.-22a) and two later layers in vv. 6-20a, which are critical or even hostile towards the kingship. I am unconvinced by this literary analysis. For arguments against it, see Nihan, *Instauration*, p. 152-154.

¹⁰⁸³ So Nihan, *Instauration*, p. 156 (with further references). Nihan (*ibid.*, p. 155) may also be right when he says that the people’s infidelity is meant to be evident in 1 Sam 8,20 when the people wrongly ascribe Yhwh’s function in the “holy war” to the king (cf. Josh 23,3.10; Judg 4,14; 2 Sam 5,24); on this, see already Boecker, *Beurteilung*, p. 32-34.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Nihan, *Instauration*, p. 155-156.

obstinately persisted in their foolishness (a similar development may be found in ch. 12). Furthermore, this focus in 1 Sam 8–12 on the people's *request* for a king seems to be linked to the name of the first (unsuccessful) king: the people ask (שאל – 1 Sam 8,10; 10,22; 12,13.17.19) for a king, and they receive Saul (שׂאול). The use of the root שאל is particularly striking in Samuel's speech in ch. 12 where the people finally realize how evil it was to ask for a king (vv. 13.17.19). It seems symptomatic as well that the older tradition of the establishment of the first king in Israel in 1 Sam 9,1–10,16*; 11*; 13–14* does not include this pun concerning Saul as the king who had been requested by Israel.

In summary, the plot in 1 Sam 8–12 unfolds as if there had not been a Law of the King stemming from the time of Moses. On the contrary, the reader's knowledge of this law brings disturbances into 1 Sam 8–12. The wording of the people's request for a king fits perfectly the plot of 1 Sam 8–12 but is surprising in Deut 17,14. All this suggests that the King's Law in Deut 17,14–20 presupposes the existence of the composition 1 Sam 8–12 and tries to anticipate the origin of the monarchy as it is described in Samuel.

10.2.3 Deuteronomy 17,16–17 and Solomon

Apart from the somewhat general requirements to read in the Torah every day, to fear Yhwh and to keep all the words of the Law, the only specific stipulations of royal power in the King's Law are found in the prohibitions of Deut 17,16–17. As has been frequently noted, these statutes are probably related to the description of Solomon's rule in 1 Kings. If we read 1 Kings 1–11 through the prism of Deut 17,14–20, Solomon appears as the first king who exemplarily violated all the stipulations of the Deuteronomic Law of the King: he had many horses (1 Kgs 5,6; 10,25–29), much gold and silver (9,14.28; 10,2.10.14–25), and many (foreign) wives (11,1–4) who were ultimately responsible for turning his heart away. As in the previous section, there is a question of whether Solomon's portrait (at least in one of its layers) deliberately mirrors the Deuteronomic Law of the King¹⁰⁸⁵ or if it is the law that is formulated in light of an already existing “dtr” depiction of Solomon's rule.

Before addressing this question in detail, we should note the peculiarity of the isolation of the link to the Law of the King in the books of Kings to Solomon alone. As correctly noted by Knoppers, the accumulation of wealth, horses and women is by no means a common criterion for evaluating the kings of Israel and Judah in the Sam–Kgs.¹⁰⁸⁶ It was even argued that Deut 17,14–20 contains a concept of kingship that is different from that of the Dtr History.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁵ So e.g. Brettler, *Structure*, p. 91–97; Mulder, *1 Kings 1–11*, p. 547.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Knoppers, *Deuteronomist*, p. 337.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Albertz, *Legislation*, p. 276–278, 290–292.

The composition of the history of Solomon's rule shall not detain us here. It is regularly noted that Solomon's wealth is judged positively in at least one layer of the text:¹⁰⁸⁸ for example, Yhwh reveals himself to Solomon in Gibeon at the beginning of Solomon's rule and rewards the king's pious request of an "understanding heart" by promising him "wealth and glory" in addition (1 Kgs 3,4-15). For some scholars, the summary of Solomon's riches in 1 Kgs 10,14-29 is critical of the king, at least in the present form of the passage.¹⁰⁸⁹ However, even in this section Solomon's wealth is explicitly presented in parallel with his wisdom: "King Solomon excelled all the kings of the earth in wealth and in wisdom" (10,23, see also vv. 24f.).¹⁰⁹⁰ Explicit criticism of Solomon starts only in ch. 11 in connection with his foreign wives.

A real parallel to the Deuteronomic Law of the King is constituted by 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10, where on a small space we find in quick succession the themes of all three prohibitions from Deut 17,16f. – gold and silver, horses and (foreign) women. There are also linguistic parallels: Deut 17,17 commands the king not to acquire many wives lest his heart turns away (ולא ירבה לו נשים ולא יסור לבבו), and it is said of Solomon that he "loved many foreign women" (נשים נכריות רבות) (1 Kgs 11,1), namely 700 princesses and 300 concubines, who in the end "turned away his heart" (ויטו נשיו את לבו – v. 3, cf. vv. 2.4.9; the verb is different than in Deut 17).¹⁰⁹¹ According to 1 Kgs 10,28f., Solomon imported horses from Egypt;¹⁰⁹² Deut 17,16 especially warns the king against acquiring many horses from Egypt.

As mentioned above, the description of Solomon's riches in 1 Kgs 10,14-29 was unlikely intended as a criticism of the king, but was rather meant to arouse admiration. It cannot be said with certainty whether this positive portrayal of Solomon was originally followed by an admirative description of the king's large harem. When looking for such a positive layer in the section dealing with Solomon's women, we should most likely reconstruct it from the beginning of v. 11,1MT (והמלך שלמה אהב נשים) and v. 3aMT (ויהי לו נשים שרות שבע מאות ופלגשים שלש מאות): "King Solomon

¹⁰⁸⁸ So e.g. Knoppers, *Deuteronomist*, p. 337-344, considering already this older layer as dtr. This paragraph follows Knoppers's line of reasoning.

¹⁰⁸⁹ So e.g. Brettler, *Structure*, p. 87-97. Brettler believes, however, that the passage originated within a source in which the king's wealth served to illustrate his wisdom.

¹⁰⁹⁰ For several authors, this verse presents the fulfillment of Yhwh's promise given to Solomon in Gibeon: Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 207; Knoppers, *Deuteronomist*, p. 339.

¹⁰⁹¹ Apart from Solomon's case, the idea that a foreign woman had a detrimental religious effect on a king is found twice in the book of Kings with regard to Ahab (1 Kgs 16,31f.; 21,25). Yet it is only in the case of Solomon that the foreign women are said to have turned his heart away. A detailed analysis of how the author(s) of Kings viewed the foreign wives of the Judean kings, see Sergi, *Women*.

¹⁰⁹² It has been frequently assumed that 1 Kgs 10,28f. originally mentioned a land called Mušri (located somewhere in Cappadocia, north of Cilicia) instead of Egypt (see e.g. the apparatus of BHS). This Cappadocian Mušri is now considered to be a scholarly invention; see Tadmor, *Que*, p. 143-150; Na'aman, *Notes*, p. 100-101.

loved women. He had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines.¹⁰⁹³ Actually, this reconstructed text entirely corresponds to the reading of LXX in 11,1a.¹⁰⁹⁴

While the positive layer in the description of Solomon's harem is hypothetical, it can nevertheless be supported. The preceding positive description of Solomon's wealth emphasizes the huge quantity of his possessions, sometimes in lists of articles of a similar kind: for example, 1 Kgs 10,16-17 describe the shields of זהב שחוט (beaten gold?), the numbers of the shields and the weight of the gold used for them; vv. 18-20 describe the ivory throne overlaid with זהב מופז (finest gold?); and v. 21 continues by saying that Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and the vessels of the House of the Forest of Lebanon were of the זהב סגור (refined gold?), while silver was not considered to be anything in Solomon's days.¹⁰⁹⁵ Similarly, v. 26 gives the numbers of Solomon's chariots (1,400)¹⁰⁹⁶ and horses (12,000). The following section about the king's harem also begins with a similar numerical list of Solomon's wives (700) and concubines (300) (1 Kgs 1,1aLXX = 1a+3aMT). It seems probable that this information originally had the same purpose as that of Solomon's other possessions: namely, to illustrate the king's greatness.¹⁰⁹⁷ A particular stylistic feature in 11,1a supports this. In the section about Solomon's wealth in 1 Kgs 9,10-10,29, he is several times called "king Solomon" (המלך שלמה – 9,11.15.26.28; 10,13[2x].16.21.23).¹⁰⁹⁸ This designation is more solemn than just "Solomon" or "the king" and so emphasizes Solomon's greatness, as is apparent

¹⁰⁹³ A similar reconstruction of an older text in 1 Kgs 11,1-13 is defended by Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 212-224 (vv. 1a*.3a – DtrH, but Särkiö at the same time says that "vor-dtr Material in der Schicht des DtrH stellen V. *1a.3a dar." [p. 219]). Cf. also Noth, Könige, p. 244-249, who finds pre-dtr sources in vv. 3a.7a, or Römer, So-Called, p. 150-151, reconstructing an original sequence 1*.3a.4.5-7*.9-13. – For the view that 1 Kgs 11,1-10 stems from one author, see Knoppers, Nations 1, p. 145 and references cited there.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The reading of LXX is considered preferable by BHS; Knoppers, Nations 1, p. 140-141. – Barrick, Loving, p. 432, thinks that ἡ φιλογύναιος represents אהב נשים רבות. If so, the word רבות from v. 1aMT could perhaps be included in our reconstruction; see, however, Knoppers, *ibid.*, p. 140-141.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Other numbers concerning Solomon's gold already appear in 1 Kgs 9,14.28; 10,20; 10,14, cf. also 10,25.

¹⁰⁹⁶ 4000 in LXX^B. For an argument in favour of this reading, see Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 209.

¹⁰⁹⁷ So e.g. Noth, Könige, p. 246-248. One might even speculate that already the original positive notice about the number of Solomon's women contained some information about their origin. Such a text would have been analogous with the statements concerning the provenance of other Solomon's possessions (see 1 Kgs 9,10.14.28; 10,2.10-12.14f.22.25.28f.). Cf. Sweeney, Kings, p. 155, who notes that the list of nations in 1 Kgs 11,1 does not coincide with the list in Deut 7,1 enumerating seven Canaanite nations with which Israel is forbidden to intermarry. Given that there is apparently a relationship between 1 Kgs 11,2 and Deut 7,1-6, the differences in the lists may indicate "a secondary redactional effort to apply the Dtr injunction to Solomon rather than an original author's effort to demonstrate Solomon's violation of this command."

¹⁰⁹⁸ The expression appears numerous times in previous chapters as well.

in 10,13a¹⁰⁹⁹. It is therefore logical that the passages that are critical of Solomon in ch. 11 do not use this title. Yet 11,1a includes precisely this formula, supporting the idea that the reference to Solomon's many women originally illustrated the king's greatness. Furthermore, it is largely agreed that the reading of LXX and Syr "blessed are your wives" in 1 Kgs 10,8 is more ancient than MT's reading referring to Solomon's men¹¹⁰⁰; this also suggests that the text was not hostile to Solomon's women in some phase of its development.

Later, a "dtr" redactor reinterpreted the information about Solomon's harem in 1 Kgs 11, so that in the final text it serves as a criticism of Solomon. (As a matter of fact, according to some scholars the chapter contains several dtr layers critical of Solomon.¹¹⁰¹ For our study, it is unnecessary to discuss these suggestions in detail.) Central to this criticism is the citation of a word of Yhwh that is violated by Solomon: the king loved (or took in LXX) many foreign women "from the nations concerning which Yhwh had said to the children of Israel: 'You shall not go in to them, and they shall not go in to you, for surely (LXX: lest...) they will turn away your heart after their gods'" (1 Kgs 11,1-2). Surprisingly, the redactor does not refer to the Law of the King in Deut 17,17 ("and he shall not multiply to himself wives, lest his heart turn away"). Instead, the reference is to Deut 7,3f. and Josh 23,7,12, i.e. the stipulations addressed to Israel in general, rather than to the king alone. This is especially curious given the unmistakable connection between 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10 and Deut 17,14-20. It follows, therefore, that the author of the final form of 1 Kgs 11,1-2 did not know the Deuteronomic Law of the King; the influence went again from 1 Kgs 10-11 to Deut 17,16-17. The latter verses were most likely written with regard to Solomon's wealth and downfall as portrayed in 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10.¹¹⁰²

It should also be noted that the clause *וְלֹא יִסּוּר לִבּוֹ* in Deut 17,17a¹¹⁰³ is an ellipsis. It is therefore impossible to deduce from this text alone "from what" or "in which direction" the king's heart should not "incline." Neither is Deut 17,17a clear enough when read in connection with Deut 7,3-4. According to the latter "you shall not intermarry with them: you will not give your daughter to his son, and you will not take his daughter for your son. For that will turn your son away from me, and they will serve other gods..." In Deut 7, the problem is intermarriage with foreigners in general, and not the quantity of women. Only when Deut 17,17a is read in connection with 1 Kings 11, does it become clear why, "from what" and "to what" many women turn away the king's heart: according to 1 Kings 11, Solomon had many women, including foreigners, and these turned his heart toward

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. the translation of NJB: "besides those presents which he gave her with a munificence worthy of King Solomon."

¹¹⁰⁰ E.g. Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 185. Otherwise Mulder, 1 Kings 1-11, p. 518.

¹¹⁰¹ Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 212-224.

¹¹⁰² Similarly Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 229-230.

other gods. Therefore, again the elliptical expression in Deut 17,17a likely presupposes the more complete formulations in 1 Kgs 11,1-10.¹¹⁰³

To conclude this section, I would like to point out that all the mentioned passages concerning the prohibition of intermarriage (Deut 7,3f.; Josh 23,7.12-13; 1 Kgs 11,2) are, in all probability, relatively late; in the terminology of the Göttingen school, they are ascribed to the so-called nomistic redactors (DtrN)¹¹⁰⁴, while in Römer's model they fall within the phase of dtr scribal activity during the Persian period¹¹⁰⁵. If 1 Kgs 11,2 hints at Deut 7,3f. and Josh 23,7.12, but arguably does not know Deut 17,17, the Law of the King should, indeed, be dated relatively late. In view of the preceding analysis, and in the context of the current discussion on the redactional history of Deuteronomy and Former Prophets, any date earlier than the last quarter of the 6th century seems impossible.¹¹⁰⁶ A later origin, however, is certainly plausible. If, for example, we follow P. Davies¹¹⁰⁷ in placing the main bulk of Deuteronomy in the 5th century, we will be obliged to shift the date of the King's Law considerably, given its position in the relative chronology of various "dtr" texts as described above.

It is difficult to be more precise in dating the text in terms of absolute chronology without entering into the question of Deuteronomy's origin in general, a problem which cannot be discussed here. I will nevertheless add one more tentative suggestion.

In terms of structure, the closest text to Deut 17,14-20 in all of Deuteronomy is 12,20-25(28).¹¹⁰⁸ Both texts begin with the conjunction כִּי followed by the historical introduction. This then leads into the converted perfect וַאֲמַרְתָּ which, for its part, introduces Israel's direct speech expressing an intention. This intention will be conceived by the Israelites only in the future, and precisely in the circumstances that were described in the historical introduction. The verbs used are in sg. of cohortative. Subsequently, Israel's desire is sanctioned; the verbs used are in the 2nd p. sg. impf. The approval is in either case emphatic: according to Deut 12,20b "you will eat meat according to all the desire of your soul"; in Deut 17,15,

¹¹⁰³ Cf. the reading of the Temple Scroll where the ellipsis is mitigated: וְלֹא יִסְיְרוּ לְבָבוֹ מֵאַחֲרֵי (11Q19 LVI 18-19). – Cf. already Gerstenberger, *Wesen*, p. 67, who notes that an object is missing in Deut 17,17aβ. He believes the clause is a late interpretation, but there is no reason to single it out, unless we postulate with Gerstenberger an original series of prohibitives in vv. 16-17 (for which see *supra*).

¹¹⁰⁴ Särkiö, *Weisheit*, p. 214, 223-224; Pakkala, *Monolatry*, p. 94-98, 140, 154.

¹¹⁰⁵ Römer, *So-Called*, p. 150, 170, 172.

¹¹⁰⁶ Cf. Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 219: "... frühestens aus der Periode des Beginns der Perserherrschaft nach 539 v. Chr..."

¹¹⁰⁷ Davies, *Josiah*.

¹¹⁰⁸ Cf. also the remarks by Merendino, *Gesetz*, p. 179-180; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 71.

figura etymologica (שׁוּם תְּשִׁים) is used¹¹⁰⁹. This general authorization is followed by several “procedural regulations” which nail down the way the affair in question should be pursued. Among these instructions, we find one qualification whose fulfillment seems to be fundamental (the prohibition of the consumption of blood in Deut 12,23-25 and the prohibition of the accumulation of horses, women and silver in 17,16f.). This stipulation is in both texts introduced by the particle רק. Lastly, in both passages a blessing that concerns their descendants motivates the Israelites to follow the instructions: according to Deut 12,25 (and 28), the people should do what is right in Yhwh’s eyes so that all goes well with them and their children after them; according to Deut 17,20, the king must not turn aside from the commandment, “in order that he may prolong the days over his kingdom, he and his sons, in Israel.”¹¹¹⁰

While Deut 12,20-28 cannot be discussed here in detail, one suggestion as to its origin should be noted. A. Rofé argued that this text seeks to harmonize the Deuteronomic permission of profane slaughter (Deut 12,15) with Lev 17,3-7 where, on the contrary, any slaughter of cattle, sheep and goats outside the central sanctuary is prohibited.¹¹¹¹ This interpretation of Deut 12,20-28 was later adopted and modified by Römer.¹¹¹² If this understanding of Deut 12,20-28 is correct, Deut 12,20-28 must be later than the Holiness Code which, following Nihan’s argumentation¹¹¹³, was written in connection with the first publication of the Torah at the end of the 5th century B.C.E.

Can the proximity of Deut 12,20-25(28) and Deut 17,14-20 be useful for the dating of the Law of the King? Specifically, can we infer that both texts are from the same time or even the same hand? Such a conclusion seems uncertain; structural similarities in texts can result from scribal habits which may have been handed down for tens or even hundreds of years. Yet, in view of the position of Deut 17,14-20 in the relative chronology of texts currently considered “dtr” (see previous paragraphs), we should not exclude the possibility that Deut 17,14-20 was written by the same author as the post-H text Deut 12,20-25(28).

In addition, the comparison of Deut 17,14-20 to Deut 12,20-25(28) leads to a more general conclusion regarding the similar functions of these texts. Both texts seem to approve and authorize a practice or an institution which already was radically questioned and is therefore no longer a mere matter of course (in the case of profane slaughter, we know that it was

¹¹⁰⁹ It could be argued that the figura etymologica already emphasizes the point of the next (subordinate) clause, i.e. that the king must be chosen by Yhwh. In any case, the fact remains that Israel’s intention expressed in v. 14 is approved of.

¹¹¹⁰ To be sure, the “democratic” form of the promise concerning all the people appears elsewhere in Deuteronomy as well: 4,40; 5,29; 6,2; 11,21.

¹¹¹¹ Rofé, *Deuteronomy*, p. 8.

¹¹¹² Römer, *Centralization*, p. 171.

¹¹¹³ Nihan, *Torah*, p. 545-575.

questioned in Lev 17,3-7). Deut 17,14-20 thus probably presupposes a discussion about legitimacy or suitability of kingship in Israel.¹¹¹⁴

It should be mentioned at the close of this section that Albertz recently arrived at a very different conclusion concerning the date of origin of the King's Law to that which is proposed here.¹¹¹⁵ His suggestion is based on his analysis of Deut 17,16a²βb. In Albertz's view, this text constitutes a later addition to the law that is concerned with a more specific behavior of the king than the rest of the prohibitions in vv. 16-17 (yet, as we have seen, the relationship of 17,16a²βb to its context may be understood differently).¹¹¹⁶ For these reasons, Albertz searches for a specific historical context for this insertion. Together with numerous other scholars, Albertz is convinced that the prohibition 17,16a²βb concerns the exchange of Judean mercenaries sent to Egypt in return for Egyptian horses and chariots. He further believes that the prohibition has a specific historical event in view, which he identifies with a supposed military arrangement between Zedekiah and Psammetichus II established during Psammetichus's Nubian campaign in 593/2: "Zedekiah supported Psammetichus II's campaign against the old Ethiopian rival in the south...; he sent a large group of Judean soldiers. In return Psammetichus II delivered horses and chariots to Zedekiah in order to strengthen his military power for an encounter with the Babylonians."¹¹¹⁷ Considering the date of the insertion of Deut 17,16a²βb, Albertz says that it "can be narrowed down to between 594 and 590 B.C.E.," which further leads him to argue that this date constitutes a "*terminus ad quem* of most of the Deuteronomic legislation."

There are a few problems with this thesis. First, it is not at all sure that v. 16a²βb is a later addition to the Law of the King. Albertz's arguments for a relationship between this stipulation and the supposed military arrangement between Zedekiah and Psammetichus II during the Pharaoh's Nubian campaign in 593/2 seem plausible. But this connection does not constitute a reliable reason to date the text between 594 and 590 B.C.E. The text could have been written at any time after this date, as long as it was remembered that Judean mercenaries were sent to Egypt in exchange for the king's horses. As we may deduce from the letter APFC 30 = TAD A4,7 written by the Jews in Elephantine, they knew in 407 B.C.E. that their ancestors were in Egypt "already in the days of the kings of Egypt" (APFC 30,13 = APFC 31,12; APFC 30 reads king, but APFC 31 has the plural; conversely, APFC 31 reads "day"), before "Cambyases came into Egypt" (*ibid.*). Moreover, the Letter of Aristeas still mentions that the first Jews coming to Egypt had been sent there "as allies/auxiliaries to fight against

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118.

¹¹¹⁵ Albertz, Legislation.

¹¹¹⁶ See the discussion above.

¹¹¹⁷ Albertz, Legislation, p. 288.

the King of the Ethiopians together with Psammetichus.”¹¹¹⁸ And the Temple Scroll correctly develops Deut 17,16 into “only he will not multiply the cavalry to himself and he will not cause the people to return to Egypt on account of war (למלחמה) in order to multiply to himself the cavalry and the silver and the gold...” (11Q19 LXVI 15-16).¹¹¹⁹ Admittedly, neither the letter from Elephantine nor the Letter of Aristeas describes Judean soldiers being exchanged with Egypt for horses for the king of Judah. Nonetheless, these passages show that some circumstances of the Judeans’ arrival in Egypt, arguably at the beginning of the 6th c. B.C.E., were remembered for a long time. Thus, there is no reason to believe that Deut 17,16a²βb, supposedly alluding to Zedekiah’s deal with Psammetichus II, could only have been written during Zedekiah’s reign. In fact, if this verse really is somehow connected to the involvement of Judean mercenaries in Psammetichus II’s Nubian campaign in 593/2, this date only constitutes a *terminus a quo* for Deut 17,16a²βb.

10.3 Royal Dynasty in Deuteronomy 17,20

In Deut 17,20, the king’s obedience to the Law is motivated by the long duration of his days, and also the days of his sons as kings in Israel. The expression “האריך ימים” in the sense “to prolongate (one’s) days” (most often meaning “to live long”) occurs 20x in the HB, out of which 14x in Deut–Kgs (11x in Deuteronomy itself).¹¹²⁰ It frequently appears in parenetical contexts, as a motivation for obedience of various commandments. Apart from Deut 17,20, it is never said that *somebody and his sons* should prolongate their days (even if occasionally, the sons seem to be included in the “you” addressed in Moses’ speech – see e.g. Deut 6,2). The specific interest in the prolongation of the son’s days in Deut 17,20 therefore indicates that here we encounter the theme of the duration of a royal dynasty.

In the “royal context,” the expression appears in the HB with Solomon in 1 Kgs 3,14 (“And if you will walk in my ways to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David your father walked, then I will prolong your days.”).¹¹²¹ A related phrase also appears also in the royal Psalm 21,5 (“you gave him length of days [אָרְךָ יָמִים]).

¹¹¹⁸ For the discussion of the identity of Psammetichus, see Albertz, *Legislation*, 284-289.

¹¹¹⁹ According to García Martínez, *Temple Scroll*, p. 931-932, the Temple Scroll may be dated to the mid-second century B.C.E. Note, however, that scholars usually suppose that the author of the Temple Scroll took the King’s Law from an older Midrash to Deuteronomy, dating back to the Maccabean period. See García Martínez, *ibid.*, p. 932.

¹¹²⁰ The occurrences are: Exod 20,12; Num 9,19; Num 9,22; Deut 4,26.40; 5,16.33; 6,2; 11,9; 17,20; 22,7; 25,15; 30,18; 32,47; Josh 24,31; Judg 2,7; 1 Kgs 3,14; Pro 28,16; Eccl 8,13; Isa 53,10.

¹¹²¹ In Deuteronomy, the subject of the verb is either the potentially blessed man or the days, while in 1 Kgs 3,14 it is God.

As noted by Weinfeld¹¹²² and Rütterswörden¹¹²³, the expression “to prolong (one’s) days” also appears in several West-Semitic inscriptions, frequently with respect to a king.

It occurs in several Phoenician royal inscriptions:

KAI 4 – The inscription of Yaḥimilk, king of Byblos, ca. 950 B.C.E.

l. 3-6: יארך . בעל שמם . ובעל <ת> (4) גבל . ומפחרת . אל גבל (5) קדשם . ימת .
יחמלך . ושנתו (6) על גבל

... May Baal/Master of Heavens and Baala<t>/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal and the assembly of holy gods of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Yaḥimilk and his years over Byblos/Gubal...¹¹²⁴

KAI 6 – The inscription of king Elibaal, king of Byblos, ca. 900 B.C.E.

l. 2-3: תערך . בעלת .] גבל [(3)]ימת . א[לבעל . ושנתו . על [גבל]

... May Baalat/Mistress [of Byblos/Gubal] prolong [the days of E]libaal and his years over [Byblos/Gubal].

KAI 7 – The inscription of Šipitbaal, king of Byblos, the end of 10th c. B.C.E.

l. 4-5: תערך . בעלת גבל (5) ימת . שפטבעל . ושנתו . על . גבל

... May Baalat/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Šipitbaal and his years over Byblos/Gubal.

KAI 10 – The inscription of Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, ca. the middle of the 5th c. B.C.E.

l. 8-9: תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומלך (9) מלך גבל ותחוו ותארך ימו ושנתו על גבל

... May the Mistress of Byblos/Gubal bless Yehawmilk, king of Byblos/Gubal, may she keep him alive, and may she prolong his days and his years upon Byblos/Gubal...¹¹²⁵

The phrase attested in KAI 6 and KAI 7 may be reconstructed in the inscription of Abibaal, king of Byblos (ca. 925 B.C.E., KAI 5,2), and a similar expression, using a genitive phrase instead of the verb with a direct object, appears in:

KAI 26 – The Phoenician inscription of Azatiwada, an agent of Awariku, king of the Danunians, from ca. the end of the 8th – the beginning of the 7th c. B.C.E. (A III 5; C III 20):

A III 4-6: לתתי בעל כרנתריש וכל אלן כרת לאזתוד ארך ימם ורב שנת

... may Ba'al KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city give Azatiwada length of days and multitude of years...¹¹²⁶

¹¹²² Weinfeld, School, p. 345.

¹¹²³ Rütterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 65-66.

¹¹²⁴ The translation is by S. Segert, COS II, p. 146.

¹¹²⁵ The translation is by S. Segert, COS II, p. 151.

¹¹²⁶ The translation is by K. Lawson Younger, COS II, p. 150.

In Aramaic, cognate phrases are attested in:

KAI 226 – The tomb inscription of Si'gabbar, priest of Sahar, early 7th c. B.C.E.

l. 3: שְׁמִי טַב וְהֵאָרַךְ יוֹמִי

... He gave me a good name and prolonged my days...¹¹²⁷

*The bilingual (Assyrian-Aramaic) inscription of Hadad-Yith'i, king / governor¹¹²⁸ of Guzan, Sikan and Azran, ca. third quarter of the 9th c. B.C.E.*¹¹²⁹

Aramaic text, l. 7-8: לַחַיִּי : נִבְשָׂה : וְלִמְאָרַךְ : יוֹמוֹהָ (8) וְלִכְבֵּר : שְׁנוֹהָ

... So that his (= the king's) soul may live, and his days be long, and to increase his years...¹¹³⁰

Cf. the Assyrian text, l. 10-11: *ana bulluṭ¹¹³¹ napšāti-šú arāk ūmē-šú (11) šúm-ud šanāti-šú*

... For the life of his soul, the length of his days, the prolongation of his years...

In this inscription, however, the Aramaic text has a genitive phrase where the *nomen regens* is the infinitive of peal of אָרַךְ; the Assyrian text also has a genitive phrase where the *nomen regens* is the infinitive of the G stem of *arāku(m)*.¹¹³¹

To these inscriptions, we may now add one Philistine inscription:

*The inscription of Akhayus, king(?) of Ekron, ca. 680-665 B.C.E.*¹¹³²

l. 4: וְתֵאָרַךְ יִמָּהּ

... And may she (= the goddess *Ptgyh*) prolong his days...

¹¹²⁷ The translation is by P. K. McCarter, COS II, p. 185.

¹¹²⁸ Hadad-Yith'i is called "governor" (*šākin māti*) in the Assyrian text, and "king" (*mlk*) in the Aramaic text. For the discussion of his status, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, Statue, p. 109-112.

¹¹²⁹ For the text, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, Statue.

¹¹³⁰ The translation is by A. Millard, COS II, p. 154.

¹¹³¹ For the Aramaic form, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, Statue, p. 31, 55; for other occurrences of cognate Akkadian expressions, see *ibid.*, p. 19, 69; and CAD I.2., arāku; these expressions appear in various contexts.

¹¹³² The text was published in Gitin – Dothan – Naveh, Inscription, p. 1-16. Akhayus's title in the inscription is שֵׁר עֶקְרָן. It is surprising that he is not called מֶלֶךְ עֶקְרָן. For the discussion of the title used in the inscription, see *ibid.*, p. 11 and K. Lawson Younger in COS II, p. 164.

In Deut 17,20, the prolongation of the king's and his sons' days "over his kingdom" serves as a motivation for the king's obedience to the law. This "dynastic blessing" in Deut 17,20 is therefore essentially conditional, and may therefore be compared to the conditional formulations of the dynastic promise to David in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. As we have already seen, the idea that a king's power is dependent upon his obedience to a god's will is *not* an uncommon feature of ancient Near Eastern royal ideologies; this may also be observed in the adduced inscriptions. In Yaḥimilk's inscription, for instance, the prayer for prolongation of the king's days and years over Byblos is followed by a justification: "for (כ) [he] (is) the righteous king and just king at the face/before the holy (gods) of Byblos/Gubal"¹¹³³ (KAI 4, l. 6-7; a similar justification appears in Yehawmilk's inscription – KAI 10, l. 9). The long life and rule of Yaḥimilk and Yehawmilk over Byblos are presented as *merited*, thus implicitly conditional on Yaḥimilk's and Yehawmilk's qualities as kings. The prayer for a long life and reign was apparently part of the traditional phraseology of the West-Semitic royal inscriptions in the 1st millennium B.C.E. It is therefore not surprising that the author of Deut 17,14-20 used the prolongation of the king's days over his kingdom as a motivation for the king's obedience to the Law.

However, Deut 17,20 seems exceptional in another respect. All the adduced inscriptions speak about the prolongation of the days of individuals, usually a king, in one case a priest (KAI 226). The same use of the formula appears in 1 Kgs 3,14 where Yhwh conditionally promises to Solomon that he will prolong his days, and in Ps 21,5 where a king is given אָרְךָ יָמִים. Deut 17,20 is the only place where the expression appears in connection with the idea of a royal dynasty.¹¹³⁴ It seems obvious that the concept of the "prolongation of one's days", as it is attested in various West Semitic languages, had originally been used in respect of an individual's life, and its application to the duration of a dynasty in Deut 17,20 is a secondary development, most likely *ad hoc*.

In fact, the king's obedience to the Law could well be motivated by the long reign of the king himself, without any mention of his sons. The application of the phrase האֲרִיךְ יָמִים to the duration of a royal dynasty is somewhat clumsy, and therefore in all likelihood reflects a specific situation and purpose.¹¹³⁵ Given our previous conclusions as to the date of origin of Deut

¹¹³³ Translation by S. Segert, COS II, p. 146.

¹¹³⁴ Admittedly, the Deuteronomic passages like e.g. Deut 5,33 most likely conceive of the life of Israel as a *nation*, thus a period encompassing several generations. Still, the specifically dynastic focus found in Deut 17,20 is lacking in these passages.

¹¹³⁵ Cf. von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 119, who considered the words "he and his children" to be an addition "in a somewhat clumsy style." According to him, the introduction of the dynastic thought into the King's Law should be considered an *interpretatio judaica* of the Law which originally reflected conditions in the northern kingdom where kingship "had a charismatic basis." – In my view, the innovative use of the expression האֲרִיךְ יָמִים

17,14-20, it seems reasonable to suppose that this innovative use of the expression reflects the author's awareness of the end of the Davidic kingship, or at least his awareness of the fact that the reign of the Davidic dynasty has been radically questioned.¹¹³⁶ The expression **בְּקֶרֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל** at the end of the verse should perhaps be seen in this context. It is sometimes assumed that the usual, neutral expression is "to reign over Israel" – **מֶלֶךְ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל**, and that the use of the preposition "in the middle" (**בְּקֶרֶב**) instead of "over" (**עַל**) in Deut 17,20 stresses the author's rejection of monarchical absolutism.¹¹³⁷ This, however, seems unlikely; vv. 14f. have no problem referring to the establishment of a king "over Israel", with the preposition **עַל** being used three times in the people's request as well as in the legislator's answer. More plausibly, the expression **בְּקֶרֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל** in the conditional dynastic promise in v. 20 simply reflects the fact that the author is thinking here in terms of the very existence (or non-existence) of a ruling dynasty "in Israel."¹¹³⁸

We may now come back to the question of whether Deut 17,14 was intended to be a law or rather an introduction to the history of monarchy in Israel and an explication of its failure.¹¹³⁹ To deny any positive legal purpose of Deut 17,14-20 seems difficult. Even if the text is written in the post-monarchical period, it may seek (among other things) to draw some basic prescriptions for the case that there would (again) be a king in Israel.¹¹⁴⁰ This may be indicated for example by the Law's insistence that the king cannot be a foreigner. Also the comparison of the structure of Deut 17,14-20 and Deut 12,20-28 suggests that both texts may have a similar purpose in conceding and regulating something that was previously contested.

On the other hand, there is a very strong aspect of anticipation in Deut 17,14-20. We have seen that v. 14 is composed with an eye to the narratives about the establishment of kingship in 1 Sam 8–12. Deut 17,16-17 also presupposes and anticipates 1 Kgs 10,14–11,10. The innovative use of the expression **יָמֵי הָאָרֶץ** in v. 20 has an anticipating aspect too. The scribe

does not need to be understood as a result of a superposition of several layers in Deut 17,20. Cf. also Merendino, *Gesetz*, p. 181-182.

¹¹³⁶ Let me note, for the sake of clarity, that this line of reasoning is not affected by the fact that the phrase **יָמֵי הָאָרֶץ** also appears outside royal contexts. My point is that it apparently belonged to the phraseology describing the blessings of a good king (e.g. in royal inscriptions) in various West Semitic languages, and that the term normally (in various contexts) expressed the length of an individual's life, or the length of a specific period of an individual's life, but not the duration of a dynasty.

¹¹³⁷ E.g. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua*, p. 85.

¹¹³⁸ Cf. how the preposition **בְּקֶרֶב** is used to express the presence or absence of various phenomena in Deut 1,42; 6,15; 7,21; 13,2.12.15; 16,11; 17,2; 18,2; 19,10.20; 23,15.17; 26,11; 28,43; 29,10; 31,17.

¹¹³⁹ The latter possibility was suggested by Römer, *So-Called*, p. 79-80, 139-141.

¹¹⁴⁰ Similarly Achenbach, *Königsgesetz*, p. 218-219.

modifies the expression in order that the king's obedience to the Law becomes the condition not only of his long reign, but also the duration of his dynasty. Meanwhile, Deut 17,14-20 is not governed by the idea of a decisive edict of the dynastic promise: the prolongation of the king's rule and the lasting of his dynasty are conditional on his continuous obedience, since the king is obliged to read and observe the law all the days of his life. In this way, *the dynastic blessing in v. 20 serves to explain the end of the disobedient Davidic dynasty.*

In this respect, Deut 17,20 corresponds to the use of the conditional dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. Taking into consideration our conclusions concerning the relative chronology of Deut 17,14-20 and other texts in Samuel–Kings, especially the fact that Deut 17,14-20 is of a later origin than several texts traditionally assigned to DtrN, it seems most probable that Deut 17,20 takes up the “negative” use of the conditional dynastic promise from 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5.

11. Conclusion

Much of the present study confirms a point already made by Veijola in his ground-breaking work *Die Ewige Dynastie* nearly forty years ago: the books of Samuel and Kings do not contain a text referring to the promise of an eternal Davidic dynasty that can be dated to the pre-exilic period. To be sure, the *idea* of the promise could have existed in pre-exilic Judah. However, we cannot reconstruct an old core of any text in 2 Sam 7 or in the books of Samuel and Kings overall that contains such a promise and would have originated in the monarchic period. Of the texts that have been examined here, some *may* come from the time of the Babylonian exile of the royal house; others probably originated in the Persian period.

Much like Oswald, I see the major argument for dating 2 Sam 7,1-17 to the “exilic” period in the connection between the *dynastic promise* and the *rejection* of the traditional relationship between kingship and the temple. The aim of this connection could be the attempt to retain (or promote) the promise of a dynasty at the time after the fall of the temple. From this perspective, the *terminus a quo* of the text’s origin would be 586 B.C.E., and the *terminus ad quem* would be the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.E., because, contrary to what we have in 2 Sam 7, the discourse seeking to legitimate the leadership of the Davidide Zerubbabel seems to, yet again, entail the traditional function of the temple.

However, some other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel cannot be dated to the Neo-Babylonian period or even to the beginning of the Persian period. We have seen that 2 Sam 7,22-23 is probably dependent on Deut 4,7-8.32-34(.39), while Deut 4,32 may reflect the influence of the priestly texts (cf. Gen 1,1.21.27; 2,3; 5,1). If so, 2 Sam 7,22-24 could hardly have been written before 520 B.C.E. Since there are no relevant literary-critical arguments in favour of excluding vv. 22-24 from David’s prayer, I am inclined to date the entirety of the prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29 to the period after the composition of P. Moreover, since 1 Sam 2,27-36 reflects the conflict of interest between Levitical and the Zadokite priests, it is more plausibly dated to the time after the reconstruction of the temple. The juxtaposition of the Zadokite priestly dynasty with the “messianic” dynasty in 1 Sam 2,36 is reminiscent of the description and/or program of the Davidic-Zadokite alliance in the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra. These books mention the cooperation of the governor Zerubbabel with the high priest Joshua. But a text that supports such an alliance could also have been written later than the last decades of the 6th century.

Nathan’s oracle itself in 2 Sam 7,1-17 could have also emerged at the time that followed the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple. A rejection

of the traditional relationship between the kingship and the temple could also have been beneficial for the Davidides at the time when, on the one hand, the temple of Jerusalem was reconstructed, but, on the other hand, the Davidides could not use it to gain legitimacy, since the cult and the temple were regarded as the domain of the priests under the auspices of Persian authority.

If we try to understand the emergence of the examined texts according to the most economical redactional model, two alternative solutions may be suggested. If we date 2 Sam 7,1-17 to the time before 520 B.C.E., the references to the dynastic promise to David in the books of Samuel can be attributed to two authors/redactors, whom we may call *Dynastic Redaction 1* (DR1) and *Dynastic Redaction 2* (DR2). On the basis of thematic and linguistic analogies, the author of 2 Sam 7,1-17 (DR1) may also be thought to be responsible for 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the texts that primarily emphasize, in accordance with 2 Sam 7,14-15, the unconditional nature of the dynastic promise once it is given. In the books of Kings, 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 and also 1 Kgs 11,29-38* and 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 could be ascribed to DR1.

David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29, on the contrary, probably did not emerge before the 5th century B.C.E. Therefore it should be ascribed to a different redaction (DR2). Another prayer of David in 2 Sam 22 has some similar features to 2 Sam 7,18-29: both prayers defend the right of the Davidides to an eternal royal power and, together with Hannah's song in 1 Sam 2,1-10, they are the only three texts in Samuel that contain an overt monotheistic confession (1 Sam 2,2; 2 Sam 7,22; 22,32), which, in addition, is formulated in a relatively similar manner in the three texts. There are obvious differences between these prayers, but these can be related to their different genres and functions in the book of Samuel, and perhaps also to the use of older poetic traditions in 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22. It is not inconceivable that all three prayers are the work of a single author/redactor.

2 Sam 23,1-7 in its present form was probably composed for the end of the books of Samuel, much like 2 Sam 22. Based on their common location in the "additions" to Samuel and other shared features, it seems best to attribute their final composition to the same author.¹¹⁴¹

What remains is 1 Sam 2,27-36, which probably should be dated to a time after 520 B.C.E. However, the text does not contain specific clues that would indicate that it is the work of the author of 2 Sam 7,18-29; 2 Sam 22 and 2 Sam 23,1-7. The oracle against the Elides may therefore be ascribed to DR2 merely because such a grouping would allow us to achieve the most economical redactional model. The book of Kings would not contain any reference to the dynastic promise ascribed to this redaction. It seems proba-

¹¹⁴¹ Tournay, Paroles, stresses the common points in the two texts.

ble, however, that at least 1 Kgs 2,27 was written by the same author as 1 Sam 2,27-36.

The second possible model may even be simpler. Should we date Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7,1-17 somewhat later than Zerubbabel's activity in Jerusalem, perhaps to the beginning of the 5th century B.C.E., we may imagine that all the texts in Sam-Kgs where the promise appears in the unconditional form are the work of one redactor (DR).

While some might question whether we should seek the most economical model, I believe there is good reason to do so: however surprising it may seem given the period in which the examined texts originated, all the references to the dynastic promise to David in Samuel and Kings (except 1 Kgs 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9) may be regarded as a defense of actual political interests of the ex-royal family in the exilic and/or post-exilic period.¹¹⁴² In this respect, the analyzed texts show an essential proximity to one another that can be used as a certain argument for seeking as simple a redactional model as possible, instead of viewing these texts as a series of more or less independent scribal additions.

As we have seen, there is nothing to indicate that any of these texts in Samuel transfer the validity of the promise to the whole of Israel (no matter how Israel is delimited). The connection between the wellbeing of the ruler and that of the land and people is unexceptional in ancient Near Eastern texts – for obvious reasons, the sovereign would have been motivated to discursively connect his rule to the wellbeing of his subjects. Moreover, in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, the Davidides must have had an imminent interest to emphasize the tie between "Israel" and the dynasty. It also seems unlikely that the studied texts referring to the Davidic promise should anticipate the coming of a future ideal king, without some connection to the historical figures at the time when the texts were written. It would, of course, be problematic to relate the traditional and vague imagery of 2 Sam 22 (and 1 Sam 2,1-10) with concrete historical events. The fact remains, however, that these texts do not correspond to the expectation of a messiah who "will come" or will be "awakened" by God. They rather hope for the "elevation" of a messiah who is still present.¹¹⁴³

Unlike Samuel, the book of Kings contains sections where the power of the Davidic kings is explicitly conditional upon the eternal loyalty of Da-

¹¹⁴² We have to admit that while in some cases the defense of actual political interests of the Davidides is obvious, with other texts our conclusion is based to some extent on their postulated relationship to the texts of the first type.

¹¹⁴³ Linville, Israel, p. 104, writes that the book of Kings in general has a complex attitude to the monarchic past, and it can hardly be understood as "a political programme centring on a claimant to David's throne." In this respect, Linville observes that "to celebrate the memory of David and Solomon and the great Israelite Empire is not the same thing as advocating the return to monarchic rule." However, our analyses have shown that at least some of the studied texts are *specifically* concerned with the continuous prerogatives of the Davidic dynasty.

vid's descendants to Yhwh (1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5), and these texts also formulate the dynastic promise in a different manner to 2 Sam 7. These passages cannot be ascribed to the same author(s) as the other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel–Kings. Observations of this kind have been evaluated within various models of the Dtr History in the past decades. As noted by Kasari, most (though not all) scholars quickly rejected Noth's idea of one author of the entire Dtr History (Dt–Kgs). Noth's theory became prominent primarily as a hypothesis that these books form a series that had a common redactional history. Today, some scholars also criticize this aspect of the hypothesis. E. A. Knauf, for instance, does not oppose the existence of various “dtr” texts in the books of Former Prophets. But in his opinion, these books together with Deuteronomy never formed a single literary work that was written by one author or a homogeneous group.¹¹⁴⁴ As for Samuel and Kings, it is usually thought that their mutual relationship is closer than that between Sam–Kgs and the other books of the classically delimited Dtr History. A hypothesis that only the books of Sam–Kgs formed the oldest version of the Dtr History has gained some prominence over the past years.¹¹⁴⁵ By contrast, E. Eynikel and J. Hutzli stressed the differences between Samuel and Kings, surmising that the first pre-exilic “dtr” redaction(s) of Kings did not affect the books of Samuel.¹¹⁴⁶

The results of our research confirm a certain redactional unity of Sam–Kgs; but they also indicate that, from a certain point, the books had a different history of transmission. Theoretically, the books might also have separate developments before they were linked by the “dynastic redaction.” The references to the dynastic promise in Kings that are compatible with Nathan's oracle (1 Kgs 2,24.33.45; 11,36-38*; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19) may be ascribed to the same redaction as 2 Sam 7, irrespective of whether we ascribe all the references to the dynastic promise in Samuel to one or two authors. Oswald, building on the work of McKenzie, ascribed the oracles against the dynasties ruling in northern Israel to the same author as 2 Sam 7, an author that he considers to be responsible for the first redaction of the books of Samuel and Kings (DtrG).¹¹⁴⁷ McKenzie demonstrated that all the utterances against the northern dynasties and the related fulfillment notices (1 Kgs 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 Kgs 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17) are likely to be the work of one “dtr” author, though in the case of the fulfillment notices this author could draw on other historiographical sources that described the deaths of the kings.¹¹⁴⁸ McKen-

¹¹⁴⁴ Knauf, *Historiography*, p. 388-98.

¹¹⁴⁵ E.g. Provan, *Hezekiah*, p. 158-163; Kratz, *Komposition*, p. 174-175.

¹¹⁴⁶ Eynikel, *Reform*, p. 362-364; Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 222-254; *id.*, *Relationship*, p. 505-519.

¹¹⁴⁷ Oswald, *Nathan*, p. 94-101.

¹¹⁴⁸ McKenzie, *Kings*, p. 61-80. In this book, McKenzie still held the view that the Dtr History stems from the time of Josiah. He later turned to the exilic dating – see e.g. McKenzie, *Kingship*, p. 286-314.

zie noticed that the oracles against the dynasties of Jeroboam and Baasha are addressed to their founders, although they are fulfilled long after the announcement. The latter also applies to the oracle against Ahab's dynasty, although, unlike the addressees of the other oracles, he is not the founder of his dynasty. This corresponds to the concept we observed mainly in 1 Sam 13,7b-15a (Saul); 1 Sam 25; 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 11,32.36; 15,4f.; 2 Kgs 8,19 (David); 1 Kgs 11,37f. (Jeroboam); 2 Kgs 10,30 (Jehu), according to which the piety of the founder is the main criterion for the declaration of the promise of the endurance to the dynasty. Hence, both dynastic promises and judgments against dynasties in Sam-Kgs depend on the piety of the dynasty's founder (or, in case of Ahab, another "prominent" member; note that Omri's dynasty is called "Ahab's house" in 2 Kgs 8,18.27; 9,7-9; 10,10f.30; 21,13).

This conception of the history of the Judean and Israelite kingdoms is by no means "unbiased." We have observed that in Samuel, the focus on the importance of the eternal dynastic promise to *David as founder of the dynasty* is largely determined by the historical situation of the Davidides after the loss (or radical downfall) of their power in the 6th and 5th c. B.C.E. Now it seems that the entire concept in Sam-Kgs of the history of Israelite and Judean royal dynasties is connected to this situation. The whole of Sam-Kgs was reworked (or maybe rather constituted) by this redaction to form an "apology of the Davidic dynasty" that dates back to the 6th or 5th c. B.C.E.¹¹⁴⁹

Some of the most remarkable features of Sam-Kgs seem to be connected to this pro-Davidic agenda in the exilic / post-exilic period. In his recent book, Blanco Wißmann emphasized the prophetic character of Kings.¹¹⁵⁰ In his opinion, this feature of Kings reflects the rejection of technical divination and the endorsement of prophecy in the time after the fall of the kingship.¹¹⁵¹ While prophecy, with its critical potential, was proved right via the fulfilment of its oracles of judgment, technical divination, which was closely linked to the institution of kingship, lost any relevance. Now, prophecy certainly became very important during the exilic period and later; biblical historiography also became more prophetic in character, conforming to the image of Yhwh and his prophets that is constructed by the prophetic books. Nevertheless, in Sam-Kgs as redacted (or composed) by the (first) "dynastic redaction", the critical potential of prophecy was masterfully appropriated to support the interests of the Davidic dynasty. The chief function of the prophets in these books is to announce the dynastic oracles, including the oracles of judgment. But the whole concept of the history that unfolds ac-

¹¹⁴⁹ The expression "Apologie der Davididen" is used by Oswald, Nathan, p. 101. For the system of prophetic oracles in Sam and Kgs see p. 94-101.

¹¹⁵⁰ Blanco Wißmann, Rechte, p. 187-204.

¹¹⁵¹ Blanco Wißmann, Rechte, p. 202.

according to these oracles primarily serves to establish the eternal validity of the Davidic promise.

What is the literary horizon of the dynastic redaction? Oswald calls the author of his “Davidic apology” DtrG and believes that the first version of the Dtr History comprised only the books of Samuel and Kings.¹¹⁵² However, the text of Nathan’s oracle does not necessarily point in this direction. The issue of the dynastic promise to David appears only in Sam–Kgs (as a matter of fact, an allusion to the motif probably appears in Deut 17,20, yet, as we saw, this text is very late). On the basis of the study of the Davidic promise in Sam–Kgs, we cannot say whether the author of these texts was active in the previous books of the so-called Dtr History. We have seen, however, that 2 Sam 7,10-11aα may have summarized the history of Israel with help of motifs of rest and oppression in accordance with the image formed by the books of the so-called Dtr History, including (at least) the books of Deut–Kgs. The author of these verses conceived his work in a literary horizon of traditionally delimited Dtr History, or a horizon even wider (Exod–Kgs). Oswald regards these verses as a secondary addition, but I do not find his arguments convincing. Moreover, 2 Sam 7,1b most likely refers to Deut 12,9-11. Finally, 2 Sam 7,6-7 give a vague account of the period since the exodus from Egypt until the time of David.

All this indicates that the “dynastic redactor”, whether active in other books or not, approached his work within a broader narrative whole. The question of whether the author of the dynastic oracles in Sam–Kgs was also the first compiler of these books, as suggested by Oswald, cannot be answered solely on the basis of our study of the Davidic promise in Samuel and Kings. Nonetheless, it does seem to be a very likely possibility. Blanco Wißmann recently studied the texts in Kings that evaluate either the kings or the people, including the religious judgment formulae in the prologues to the reigns of individual kings and the prophetic oracles against the northern dynasties. He concluded that the differences in the judgment formulae are not due to different redactions of the book.¹¹⁵³ At the same time, Blanco Wißmann demonstrated that the oracles of judgment against the northern royal dynasties follow the same criteria as the criteria used in the formulae, and that the same author therefore most likely wrote these two kinds of texts.¹¹⁵⁴ As the religious judgment formulae belong to the very basic structuring element of Kings, namely the regnal frames composed of the prologues and epilogues of individual kings’ reigns, their author is at the same time the author of the first version of the book itself. As we saw, this author is also responsible for the passages referring to the unconditional dynastic promise to David in Samuel and Kings (or at least for the older group of these texts). The differences between Samuel and Kings stressed by Hutzli,

¹¹⁵² Oswald, Nathan, p. 101.

¹¹⁵³ Blanco Wißmann, Rechte, esp. p. 58, 239-241.

¹¹⁵⁴ Blanco Wißmann, Rechte, p. 187-199.

namely the weak presence of the so-called “dtr” elements in Samuel¹¹⁵⁵, might suggest that Samuel existed in some form before it was connected to Kings. In this case, the “dynastic redaction” of Samuel would have been the first to link Samuel and Kings in one literary composition. I am, however, more inclined to accept the traditional view that the author of Kings was at the same time the redactor of Samuel, composing the latter of various sources.¹¹⁵⁶

At any rate, there may be little doubt that the books of Samuel and Kings formed a coherent composition at some point of time. However, the conditional formulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 indicate that, at one moment in the development of Samuel and Kings, these books had a different history of transmission: the book of Samuel was unaffected by the redaction that explained the downfall of the Davidic dynasty with the help of a conditional formulation of the promise. The conditional formulations in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 must have appeared in the text before the composition of Chronicles, since 1 Kgs 8,25 has a parallel in 2 Chr 6,16. We can surmise that this redaction was limited to the book of Kings because the redactor copied only the scroll (or scrolls?) of Kings, but not the scroll of Samuel.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that the conditional promise first appears in 1 Kgs 2,3-4. In the Lucianic manuscripts of LXX, 2 Reigns ends with a report of David’s death in 1 Kgs 2,11; the *kaige* section βγ ends at the same place. 1 Chronicles also ends with the death of David in 29,28-30. J. Treballe argued on the basis of this evidence that the boundaries between the sections *kaige* and non-*kaige* in the books of Reigns reflect a division that differed from the division of the books in MT; and it is this non-masoretic division that was received in the Chronicles.¹¹⁵⁷ According to R. F. Person, if I understand him well, the division in 1 Kgs 2,11 is older than the division of the books in MT.¹¹⁵⁸ However, the occurrences of the secondary conditional formulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 indicate that the division of books known from MT is older than the one attested in the Lucianic mss of LXX. Also the location of what is usually considered to be additions in 2 Sam 21–24, including David’s last words in 23,1-7, testify to the ancient origin of the division attested in MT.¹¹⁵⁹

The question of the division between 2 Sam and 1 Kgs brings us to a final point concerning the period in which the “dynastic redactions” in Sam–Kgs originated. We have seen that the oracle against the Elides in 1 Sam 2,27-36 is fulfilled, among other things, by Solomon’s banishment of Abiathar in 1 Kgs 2,26-27. The oracle of the man of God against the Elides

¹¹⁵⁵ Hutzli, *Erzählung*, p. 222-254; *id.*, *Relationship*, p. 505-519.

¹¹⁵⁶ So Wellhausen, p. 262-263; Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 29-30.

¹¹⁵⁷ Treballe, *Divisions*, p. 96-108.

¹¹⁵⁸ Person, *History*, p. 90.

¹¹⁵⁹ Mathys, *Dichter*, p. 156.

could have been composed with a view to the older text describing Abiathar's fate in 1 Kgs 2,26; the fulfilment notice in 1 Kgs 2,27, however, necessarily presupposes the oracle. It seems most likely that the same scribe authored the oracle *and* the fulfilment notice, as was also the case with the oracles against the royal dynasties. The oracle against the Elides probably presupposes the existence of the temple and other aspects of the situation of the Persian period. Should we accept the earlier one of the two dates for 2 Sam 7 proposed above, and should DR1 also encompass the dynastic oracles of promise and judgment in Kings, the fulfilment notice in 1 Kgs 2,26-27 would force us to admit that the second pro-Davidic redaction of Samuel (DR2?)¹¹⁶⁰ affected Kings as well. While this is not implausible, we may also regard 1 Sam 2,27-36 + 1 Kgs 2,26-27 as a part of the primary system of prophecies promising blessing and doom to royal dynasties. After all, the oracle against the Elides includes a decision regarding the future of the dynasty that is based on the evaluation of a long-gone ancestral figure (though not exactly a founder in this case). If 1 Sam 2,27-36 were a part of the basic system of dynastic prophecies in Sam-Kgs, it would probably be necessary to accept the second suggested date of 2 Sam 7,1-17. Nathan's oracle, together with the current organization of Sam-Kgs by means of dynastic oracles, would then probably date back to the beginning of 5th century B.C.E.¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁶⁰ As we have noted, the relation of 1 Sam 2,27-36 to 2 Sam 7,18-29; 22,51 and 23,1-7 is unspecific.

¹¹⁶¹ Cf. Blanco Wißmann, *Rechte*, p. 222, 250-251, who dates the first redaction of Kings in the time of Nabonidus or later, most likely between 550-520 B.C.E., and Wagner, *Geist*, p. 356-383 and *passim*, who argues for the composition of Samuel in the last third of the 6th c.

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BBLA = *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes und Altertumsbunde*.

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Résumé

Le livre étudie la promesse dynastique à David dans les livres de Samuel et Rois (ainsi que la « loi sur le roi » en Dt 17,14-20). Une grande attention est portée sur les problèmes textuels de certains des passages étudiés, notamment 2 S 7 dont le sens diffère dans les principaux témoins textuels (TM, LXX^B, LXX^L, 1 Chr 17TM, 1 Chr 17LXX). Même si le texte de 2 S 7 le plus ancien que l'on peut reconstruire n'est pas identique au TM, ce témoin représente bien le sens de base original du chapitre. La question de la valeur du texte de 1 Chr 17 pour la reconstruction de celui de 2 S 7 est examinée plus spécifiquement. Il y a beaucoup de différences « synonymiques » entre 2 S 7 et 1 Chr 17 qui ne peuvent pas être dues aux « erreurs » ou au contraire aux changements « tendancieux » (motivés par ex. idéologiquement) dans l'une des deux traditions. L'étude statistique des accords entre les témoins mène à la conclusion qu'une évaluation « au cas par cas » de ces différences synonymiques déboucherait sur des décisions arbitraires, et que la grande majorité de ces différences est en réalité due à l'approche relativement libre du Chroniste vis-à-vis de sa source.

La mise par écrit de 2 S 7,1-17 peut être envisagée dans deux contextes historiques différents. A l'époque « exilique », le but de lier la promesse dynastique à une polémique contre la signification traditionnelle du temple dans l'idéologie royale pourrait être de préserver – ou plutôt d'établir – la validité de la promesse après la chute du temple. Mais il paraît aussi plausible que 2 S 7,1-17 ait été écrit après l'activité de Zorobabel (à la fin du 6^e ou au début du 5^e s.?), à une époque où le temple de Jérusalem était déjà reconstruit, mais les Davidides ne pouvaient pas en tirer de légitimation car le culte et le temple étaient considérés comme le domaine des prêtres sous l'égide du pouvoir perse. On peut supposer que l'auteur de 2 S 7,1-17 est aussi responsable de 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a et 1 S 25, c'est-à-dire des textes qui, en accord avec 2 S 7,14-15, soulignent le caractère inconditionnel de la promesse une fois que celle-ci a été donnée. Dans le livre des Rois, 1 R 2,24.33.45; 11,29-38*; 15,4; 2 R 8,19 peuvent aussi être attribués à la même rédaction. Similairement à 2 S 7,1-17, ces textes ont pu être rédigés aussi bien à l'époque néo-babylonienne qu'à l'époque perse. Néanmoins, d'autres références à la promesse dynastique en Samuel (1 S 2,27-36; 2 S 7,18-29; 22,51; 23,1-7) ne peuvent pas être datées à l'époque néo-babylonienne (ni même au tout début de l'époque perse). Théoriquement, ces textes pourraient appartenir à la même couche rédactionnelle que 2 S 7,1-17, à condition que l'on accepte la plus récente des deux datations envisagées pour l'oracle de Nathan. Si on retient au contraire la datation plus haute pour le premier groupe de textes, il faut alors considérer que le second groupe a été ajouté plus tard (en une ou plusieurs étapes). Dans tous les cas, l'ensemble de ces textes peut être considéré comme défendant les intérêts politiques concrets de la famille anciennement royale, à l'époque exilique et/ou post-exilique. Cela ne vaut pas pour 1 R 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, où le pouvoir des rois davidiques est explicitement conditionné à la loyauté permanente des descendants de David envers Yhwh; ces derniers passages ne peuvent pas être attribués au(x) même(s) auteur(s) que les autres mentions de la promesse dynastique en Samuel-Rois. Pour autant, cette rédaction en Rois n'a pas nécessairement été provoquée par des intérêts politiques anti-davidiques; elle représente plutôt un essai d'*expliquer* le non-accomplissement de la promesse.

En renouant avec W. Oswald (et en nous basant sur le travail de S. McKenzie), nous attribuons aussi au même auteur que 2 S 7,1-17 les oracles contre les fondateurs des dynasties (ou, dans le cas d'Akhab, un autre membre « prééminent » d'une dynastie) qui ont régné au Nord sur le Royaume d'Israël, ainsi que les notices d'accomplissement de ces oracles (1 R 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 R 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17; la promesse donnée à Jéhu en 2 R 10,30 appartient également à ce groupe). Les promesses dynastiques et les oracles de jugement contre les dynasties en S-R dépendent en effet tous deux de la piété du fondateur de la dynastie. Cette conception de l'histoire des royaumes de Juda et d'Israël comme une *histoire des dynasties royales*, se déroulant en fonction de l'évaluation du fondateur de la dynastie, est largement déterminée par la situation historique des Davidides après la perte (ou le déclin radical) de leur pouvoir au 6^e et 5^e s. av. n. è. L'auteur de ces textes est le premier auteur du livre des Rois, et probablement aussi le premier rédacteur de Samuel (même si ce dernier aurait pu exister dans une forme antérieure). Sur la base de sources plus anciennes, ces livres ont été composés à l'époque néo-babylonienne ou, plus probablement, à l'époque perse.

Summary

This book is a study of the texts referring or alluding to the dynastic promise to David in the books of Samuel and Kings (and the “Law of the King” in Deut 17,14-20). Attention is paid to the textual problems of some of the studied passages, especially 2 Sam 7 which has different meanings in the most important textual witnesses (MT, LXX^B, LXX^I, 1 Chr 17MT, 1 Chr 17LXX). Although the most ancient retrievable text of 2 Sam 7 is not to be identified with MT, this text form corresponds to the original basic meaning of the chapter. Special attention is given to the value of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7. There are many “synonymous” differences between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17, which cannot be explained as resulting from “mistakes” or “tendentious” (e.g. ideologically motivated) changes in one of the two traditions. A statistic study of the patterns of agreements among the witnesses leads to the conclusion that evaluating *these differences* “case by case” would lead to arbitrary decisions; the great majority of *these differences* are a result of the Chronicler’s relatively free approach to his source.

The emergence of 2 Sam 7,1-17 may be construed in two historical contexts. In the “exilic” period, the purpose of the dynastic promise being linked to the polemic against the traditional significance of the temple in royal ideology might be to preserve – or to establish – the validity of the promise after the fall of the temple. Alternatively, 2 Sam 7,1-17 might have been written at the time *after* Zerubbabel (at the end of the 6th / beginning of the 5th c.), during the period when the temple of Jerusalem was restored, but the Davidides could not derive their legitimacy from it, since the cult and the temple were understood as the domain of priests under the auspices of Persian rule.

The author of 2 Sam 7,1-17 may also be thought to be responsible for 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the texts that primarily emphasize, in accordance with 2 Sam 7,14-15, the unconditional nature of the dynastic promise once it is given. In the books of Kings, 1 Kgs 2,24.33.45; 1 Kgs 11,29-38*; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 could be ascribed to this hand as well. All these texts could have been written in both the Neo-Babylonian and Persian period, similarly to 2 Sam 7,1-17. However, some other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel (1 Sam 2,27-36; 2 Sam 7,18-29; 22,51; 23,1-7) cannot be dated to the Neo-Babylonian period (or even the very beginning of the Persian period). Theoretically, these texts could belong to the same redactional layer as 2 Sam 7,1-17, but only in case we adopt the later one of the two suggested dates of its origin. In contrast, if the earlier date is accepted for the first group of texts, the second group must have been added later (in one or several stages). At any rate, whereas all these texts may be regarded as a defense of actual political interests of the ex-royal family in the exilic and/or post-exilic period, this does not hold for 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 where the power of the Davidic kings is explicitly conditional upon the eternal loyalty of David’s descendants to Yhwh. These passages cannot be ascribed to the same author(s) as the other references to the dynastic promise in Samuel–Kings; on the other hand, this redaction in Kings was perhaps not driven by actual anti-Davidic political interests, representing rather an attempt to *explain* the unfulfillment of the dynastic promise.

Following W. Oswald (and building on the work of S. McKenzie), we ascribe the oracles against the founders of the dynasties (or, in the case of Ahab, the dynasty’s other “prominent” member) ruling in northern Israel and the related fulfillment notices (1 Kgs 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 Kgs 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17) to the same author as 2 Sam 7,1-17 (the promise to Jehu in 2 Kgs 10,30 belongs here as well). Hence, both dynastic promises to and judgments against dynasties in Sam–Kgs depend on the piety of the dynasty’s founder. This conception of the history of the Judean and Israelite kingdoms as a history of royal dynasties, unfolding according to the evaluation of the dynasty’s founder, is largely determined by the historical situation of the Davidides after the loss (or radical downfall) of their power in the 6th and 5th c. B.C.E. The author of these texts is the (first) author of the book of Kings, and probably also the first redactor of Samuel (though the latter might have existed in some form earlier). These books were composed on the basis of older sources in the Neo-Babylonian or, perhaps more likely, Persian period.