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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2 Samuel 21-24

structure, context and meaning in the Samuel conclusion

Klement, Herbert H.

Award date:
1995

Awarding institution:
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2 Samuel 21-24:
Structure, Context and Meaning
in the Samuel Conclusion

Herbert H. Klement ✓

Coventry University

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 1995

Coventry University
in collaboration with Wycliffe Hall, Oxford

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ABSTRACT

The examination of the final chapters of the books of Samuel offered here proceeds initially from an unease about the frequent pejorative appraisal of them as an unsuitable, late addition that is out of place in its context. Taking a cue from the recent interest in initial and concluding texts in the context of literary and "Canonical" methods, the work attempts to describe this text complex, with its six chiastically arranged units, in terms of its literary function as a concluding text in relation to the rest of the preceding book.

Following remarks of W. Brueggemann and J. Flanagan, the ring structure is further compared with other groups of texts in the Samuel corpus. The specific, overarching macrostructure which is thus perceived is structured not according to linear-chronological principles but according to patterns of parallelism and chiasmus. This observation of a concept of order that is distinct from modern western convention is understood, following Emma Brunner-Traut, as deriving from an "aspectival" perception of reality. By means of this kind of reading, many inner relationships open up, binding the closing chapters to the other parts of the book in such a way that it is shown to be a unified literary work.

The two poetic texts are shown to stand in a complex relationship with the four other songs of the books of Samuel. The allusion to the prophet Gad belongs in a series of six encounters between David and prophets, arranged as a set of three pairs. The two lists of soldiers are interpreted by analogy with the double lists of the sons and ministers of David. The final contrast, in the closing chapter, between the two kings, Saul and David, and the polarity—expressed in the tension between centre and periphery—between rule of Yahweh and sin of the kings, both mirror and finally draw together the main themes of the book.

These relationships suggest that the appraisal of the closing chapters as a late addition is in need of revision. It will be argued that they should be interpreted in close connection with the rest of the book.

PREFACE

While the initial motivation for the present work arose primarily from an interest in historical issues, the focus altered in the course of the work in favour of questions of biblical historiography. The impetus for this came from Dr J.G. McConville. He guided my studies in Samuel in encouraging and stimulating ways, and followed the production of the manuscript from its early stages to its completion. I owe him special thanks, not least for his warm welcome into his home during my visits to England. I am grateful too to Dr R.T. France and the staff of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, for the opportunity to study there. My thanks are due also to Prof. R.P. Gordon, who read substantial parts of the work and made helpful suggestions, and to the Rev. Peter Beale, who assisted in the translation of the text from German to English in the space of a few months. Naturally, responsibility for the views adopted in the thesis is solely mine.

My wife, Rita Klement, gave essential support and encouragement to the project. I dedicate this work to her in love.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years increased attention has been devoted to the narratives of the books of Samuel. Since the publication of R.A. Carlson's *David, the Chosen King*[i] and D.M. Gunn's *Story of King David*[ii] there have appeared a large number of studies which have considered the texts of Samuel worthy of fresh consideration. This newer interest in the books of Samuel concentrated especially on the analysis of the technique of story-telling, the type of literary portrayal found in these exciting stories about the origins of the monarchy in Israel. Narrative texts such as those offered by the books of Samuel are excellently suited to rendering methods of literary analysis in concrete and clear terms.

One might have thought that this subject had been finally exhausted with the publication of J.P. Fokkelman's massive four-volume *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel*[iii]. If in this study attention is once again focused on the literary structure of Samuel, this is because this so clearly suggested itself from the question posed by the subject. The peculiar nature of the concluding chapters of Samuel had seldom been the object of an original study. Nonetheless it is this more recent interest in the literary forms of the portrayal which has increased awareness of the boundaries of literary units, and thus of the significance of beginnings and endings in determining the interpretation of those units. This requires a fresh investigation of this conspicuous group of texts at the conclusion of Samuel, particularly since studies so far have to a large extent failed to understand its form and function.

This study seeks, therefore, within the framework of a literary enquiry, to understand the chapters 2 Sam.21-24 in their function as the conclusion of the Samuel corpus. To this end an opening chapter will give an overview of main emphases of the interpretation of this group of texts in the last two centuries. It was the biographical interest in brilliant

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i **R.A. Carlson**, *David, the Chosen King: A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel*, Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell 1964.

ii **David M. Gunn**, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation*, JSOT.S 6, Sheffield, edition ^{2}1982 (=1978).

iii **J.P. Fokkelman** NAPS I, II, III, IV, Assen: Van Gorcum 1981 onwards.

personalities characteristic of the era of Romanticism that started to have a decisive influence on the exegesis of stories about David as a history-forming personality. The subsequent search for layers of literary sources for the present text or for complexes of compressed literary traditions has on each occasion left its mark on the history of the interpretation of Samuel. The current state of research is characterized on the one hand by a great multitude of different approaches, with no particular direction of research in a position to be granted a leading rôle, and on the other hand by a trend towards predominantly synchronic literary interpretations. It is this approach which forms the starting-point for the fresh investigation being undertaken in this original study.

The second chapter investigates the connections of the Samuel Conclusion with the rest of the Samuel corpus, initially following the approaches of research up to now. These are extended and applied to further textual areas. This leads on to an original suggestion for a macrostructuring of Samuel in its present form, which incorporates the concluding chapters. The form of chiastic arrangement of the text which is evident in 2 Sam.21-24 becomes a key to the understanding of the principles of construction which the arrangement of the text demonstrates from its own viewpoint.

The third chapter takes as its starting-point the location of the concluding chapters in the Samuel corpus which has been worked out, and takes a fresh look at the message contained in the six sections of 2 Sam.21-24. It seeks to understand it as an integrated message. In this way finally the most important themes of the book are brought together.

The fourth and final chapter seeks carefully to summarize the most important results of the preceding interpretation. Further problems which might be raised in consequence are outside the scope of this study, and have not been tackled. The study limits itself to the question of the function of 2 Sam.21-24 as concluding chapters of Samuel. A consequence of the investigation carried out in this study is that the interpretation of Samuel as a coherent literary unit incorporating 2 Sam.21-24 may be regarded as a legitimate one.

1. HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF 2 SAM.21-24

1.1 The Peculiar and Unusual Character of the "Appendix"

Many exegetes who have looked into 2 Sam.21-24 have been to a greater or lesser degree put off by the peculiar character of this group of texts. They have felt that there is too much diversity between the different forms which have been placed side by side here in a stark and disconnected fashion: stories about Saul and David, lists of events, anecdotes and poetic texts are all mixed up together. Any coherence between the individual genres does not appear immediately recognizable, with a too stark juxtaposition of lyric poetry alongside the lists of names of worthy soldiers set out like an account-book.

The disconnected juxtaposition of the different genres is intensified by the fact that also in terms of content it is difficult to see how the individual sections might be made to relate to one another internally. What does the list of giant-killers in 2 Sam.21.15ff have in common with the previously recounted famine and the vendetta of the Gibeonites against the family of Saul? How does the psalm of thanksgiving in 2 Sam.22, singing the praises of the purity of David's hands, fit in with the plague with its seventy thousand victims among the people, imposed on account of David's census, which is described in 2 Sam.24? Alongside the disparity of form of the texts there is also a disparity of content, in that at first glance one can hardly speak of a unified textual coherence.

This impression of randomness of form and content is then aggravated when one observes an elaborate construction of the individual units, each of which is so disparate in genre and theme, into three pairs each connected to one another, surrounding one another in parallel. A classical ABCCBA-pattern emerges in the arrangement of the elements of the text:

A	History	Famine on account of Saul's guilt, vendetta + punishment + resolution
B	List	Conquerors of four Philistine giants from Gath
C	Poetry	David's song of thanksgiving for victory over all his enemies
C^1	Poetry	David's "last words", promise of blessing for the dynasty
B^1	Lists	David's heroes, deeds and names
A^1	History	Plague on account of David's guilt, census + sacrifice + resolution

As pairs of texts the individual sections are now seen to have an internal relationship and coherence with one another in terms of both genre and content. Thus in both the flanking historical sections it is a matter of the king's sin and the consequent suffering of the people. The outcome in each is different: atonement is brought about on one occasion through the punishment running its full course, on the other through a specific sacrifice. In both the lists worthy warriors of David are honoured by name, soldiers on whose bravery and loyalty the king could rely. The psalms also both give expression to something unifying, thanks for wars which have been brought to a victorious conclusion, and final words looking forward to a future full of hope and the survival of the dynasty. Thus the disparity of content and form which has been observed appears to exist solely between the text rings which are to be read in pairs, and in this way is reduced to three groups, the interrelation of which is not immediately recognizable. Nonetheless the ABCCBA-structure binds the individual sections into a formal relationship, the significance of which as regards content is to be investigated.

In quantitative terms as well the three pairs of texts are now conspicuously seen to be very similar. They are not equal, but in each consist, as Fokkelman[1] has observed in his detailed study of the books of Samuel, of a relatively longer and a relatively shorter text, which are arranged alternately in chiastic form:

A	History	shorter
B	List	shorter
C	Poetry	longer
C^1	Poetry	shorter
B^1	Lists	longer
C^1	History	longer

A literary structure which is so all-embracing can hardly be regarded as a matter of chance. As a form which is clearly intentional it demands that we seek to find in it a meaning which might reveal an understanding of the reconciliation of the texts, and also govern the exegesis of the individual sections. The elaborate arrangement suggests a connection between the texts and a way in which they are to be interpreted. Thus Robert P. Gordon starts from an intended symmetry in 2 Sam.21-24[2]: "The effect of this symmetry, once it is discerned and interpreted, is to give prominence to the psalm and poem in the centre, and thereby to God and his beneficent activity on behalf of the David who is harassed and threatened in the flanking sections of the 'Samuel Appendix' " (74). And Robert Polzin warns[3]: "Such an obvious configuration should lead us to suspect the denomination of chapters 21-24 as a miscellaneous conglomeration of appendages".

This immediate impulse on the basis of the formal character of the arrangement of the text to look for a coherent meaning is, however, called into question by the previously observed more or less random putting together of texts of great diversity, with the result that until now exegesis of the text has seldom got as far as a synchronic view of the coherence of the text based on its structure. Despite the observed literary schema, therefore, J.P. Fokkelman concludes that, although "arrangements like this increase richness of meaning and form the basis for a more precise interpretation", this in his opinion exceptionally does not apply to

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1 Thus described in **J.P. Fokkelman**, *NAPS* III, 12f

2 **Robert P. Gordon**, "Simplicity in the highest cunning: Narrative Art in the Old Testament". *SBET* 6 (1988) 69-80.

3 **Robert Polzin**, *David and the Deuteronomist*, Bloomington, Indianopolis: IUP 1993, 202.

the constitution of the present text: "The concentric nature of the six units remains one of outward appearances and their ring composition gives an unalterable impression of artificiality, even though the passages in A-A[1] and B-B[1] take each other into account."[4] In support of this Fokkelman also quotes David Damrosch[5], who explains concerning our passage that its form does indeed represent an ancient structure of oral transmission, but it is an example "where a unified oral tradition is certainly not present". According to him conventions of oral tradition have exercised their cultural influence on the written form through chiastic arrangements. He maintains that it is unnecessary to assume a direct preliminary oral stage. Ring compositions were an important mnemonic aid, by which suspense and resolution could be expressed in the context of speeches and events. In this case of the conclusion of Samuel, however, the technique of ring composition was used solely "as the natural organizational method even though literacy has replaced the need for aids to oral memory and even though no special dramatic movement is being created" (237). Damrosch refers to Meir Sternberg's[6] comment on the passage, that "it is suggestive that the most conspicuous and large-scale instance of chiasm in Samuel applies to a hodgepodge that has the least pretensions to literariness and, even with the artificial design thrown in, hardly coheres as more than an appendix. Granted that form can produce or imply an artistic function, it still cannot enthrone one regardless of context, which includes the matter enformed and the rules governing their union."

The difficulties of recognizing, despite the formal artistic structure, an impression of unity in the conclusion to Samuel are increased by observations of an entirely different sort concerning the chronological arrangement of the individual sections. It is only the two poetic texts which give rise to the impression of having been placed at the conclusion of this book in a meaningful and correct fashion. The last words of David as well as the hymn of gratitude for help and victory over all his enemies form a fitting finale to a "Life of David" or the

4 **J.P. Fokkelman**, *NAPS* III, 13.

5 **David Damrosch**, *The Narrative Covenant: Transformation of Genre in the Growth of Biblical Literature*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987, 237.

6 **Meir Sternberg**, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Bloomington: IUP 1985, 40f.

finally successful installation of the kingship in Israelite society. The other texts, however, seem to be chronologically hopelessly out of place. It has long been remarked that as far as its content is concerned ch.21.1ff would make more sense if placed before ch.9.1ff. Similarly national distress on account of the guilt of an ancestor in the lifetime of David can only be made plausible if placed at the very beginning of his reign. The killing of Saul's sons has in any case already been assumed in Shimei's curse, and David blamed for it (2 Sam.16.5ff). Also the clashes with the Philistines make more sense at an earlier stage in David's reign in Jerusalem or Hebron, or even during Saul's lifetime (2 Sam.23.14), but in any case before the clashes with the Ammonites, than they do in connection with David's "last words", which can be associated with a deathbed situation. In the case of the atonement for guilt because of the census, it is also difficult to understand that there was not yet anywhere in Jerusalem which was the obvious place of sacrifice, but instead it first had to be pointed out by an angel —a situation which must seem incomprehensible and remarkable coming after the setting up of the ark of "the Lord of hosts who sits enthroned on the cherubim" (2 Sam.6.2)[7]. The census also makes the most sense if placed not at the end of the reign, but immediately following the conclusion of the great battles (ch.8) and before the bringing of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem (ch.6), and so also before Absalom's rebellion, thus providing among other things a plausible motive for this to be supported by all the people. Chronologically the individual sections seem like postscripts to already previously recorded events[8]. If up until this point the texts of the Samuel corpus seemed to conform to a roughly chronological structure, this is definitely not true of the details of the closing chapters.

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7 Thus already **Carl Heinrich Cornill**, 1905, 125: "....die Errichtung des Altars auf der Tenne Arawnas geht für mein Empfinden der Einholung der Bundeslade auf den Zionsberg voraus." In the same context 1 Ch.21.29f refers to David's custom of offering sacrifice in Gibeon.

8 Cf below the complex literary-critical sequence in **Karl Budde**, which wishes to take into account this very impression of chronological confusion.

1.2 Suggestions for resolving the matter of the composition of the Samuel Conclusion

The difficulties which we have observed have in the course of the history of exposition given rise to a multitude of suggestions for resolving the matter of the composition of this passage. On examination it will not surprise us to find here again the principal trends current in Old Testament exegesis of the past two hundred years[9], which explain the phenomenon of this group of texts from the perspective of their time, and reconstruct the factors of their origin each time in agreement with their all-embracing hypotheses.

Already fundamental for the critical interpretation of the books of Samuel were the works of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn[10], who in his trendsetting *Einleitung*[11], from a synoptic comparison of the books of Samuel/Kings with Chronicles concluded that both these works were based on an ancient document which he entitled "Short Life of David" (Kurzes Leben Davids—KLD)[12]. This document was said to have been published in different versions, in which it was necessary to take into account various additions and glosses through oral traditions. This *KLD* is seen as having been supplemented in both books in each case by

9 Cf. *i.a.* the summary in **Hans Joachim Stoebe**, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*, KAT VIII.1, Gütersloh: Mohn 1973, 23-83; cf. **R.E. Clements**, *A Century of Old Testament Study*, Cambridge: Lutterworth 1992 [= ^{2}1983]; **Hans Joachim Kraus**, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Neukirchener ^{4}1988 [= ^{3}1982]; **Henning Graf Reventlow**, *Hauptprobleme der alttestamentlichen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt: WBG 1982.

10 1752-1827, regarded, building on Semler and Herder, as "founder of modern Old Testament criticism" (thus **T.K. Cheyne**, *Founders of OT Criticism*, 1893 [1971], 13).

11 **Johann Gottfried Eichhorn**, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Jena ^{2}1790.

12 "Dem Geist der beyden Lebensbeschreibungen [Sam./Kgs & Chr.—HK] ist eine andre Vermuthung viel gemäßer, daß in beyden ein altes kurzes Leben Davids zu Grund liegen möge, das beyde Male bloß durch eingeschaltete Erzählungen erweitert und bereichert worden ist" (465).

different compilers according to the various material available to them at the time[13]. In terms of content Eichhorn finds his bearings for this reconstructed *KLD* in those texts which are to be found in common both in Chronicles and Samuel. Since the story of the census appears in both, it, or the basis of the story which is common to both books, will have been contained in the *KLD*, but not Amnon's rape of his sister, the Bathsheba/Uriah story, nor Absalom's rebellion, which are only to be found in Samuel[14]. The lists of soldiers also appear both in Samuel and in Chronicles, but in this case Eichhorn assumes that they came not from the *KLD*, but had possibly been added later from "recruitment lists"[15]. In the same way David's subsequently inserted victory hymn in 2 Sam.22 must have been circulated in several copies. Eichhorn does not comment on the striking form of the chiastic arrangement.

In Eichhorn's approach what turns out to be conspicuously and in its effect historically significant is the reconstruction of the source texts as biographies[16]. For him not only the present books of Samuel/Kings and Chronicles are "biographies", but also the sources which he has reconstructed are as a matter of course assumed by him to belong to the same genre. Alongside the *KLD* Eichhorn postulates an appendix to the *KLD* in a similar style, which

13 "In den ältern Zeiten, als die historische Kunst noch nicht erwachsen war, besonders bey den Hebräern pflegte ein Geschichtsschreiber nicht sowohl den Inhalt der Quellen, die er austrug, mit seinen Worten vorzutragen, als seine Quellen in Extenso zusammen zu leiten " (469). In the expression "da die historische Kunst noch nicht erwachsen war" **J.G. Eichhorn** shows himself to be in agreement with the philosophy of history of J.G. Herder, Reimarus, Heynes and Lessing (cf. **Hans Joachim Krauss**, *Die Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener ^{4}1988, 135ff), who regarded history as organic development analogous to the phases of human life. For Herder childhood was regarded as a "Goldenes Zeitalter", and for Israel it was the time of special closeness to its God.

14 The idea which later led to the formulation of the thesis of an independent "Thronnachfolgegeschichte", that in the case of the Bathsheba/Absalom section we have a unit which from a literary viewpoint is unconnected to the whole, appears here for the first time, based on the absence of that section from Chronicles.

15 "Die Verzeichnisse der Helden Davids (2 Sam XXIII,8 und 1 Chron. XI,10ff) mußten sich auf Musterrollen finden" (**J.G. Eichhorn**, 474; 467).

16 See n. 12.

gives a biographical overview of Solomon[17]. In Eichhorn's view the coherence of Samuel through to 1 Kgs 11 is so extensive that he would like to ascribe them to a common author. He does, though, reckon on a division of the two books having already been undertaken by the "Ordnern" (468). For the first book of Samuel, though, he notes a "Gegensatz zwischen einer anscheinend älteren königsfreundlichen....und einer jüngeren königsfeindlichen Darstellung", which he seeks to unravel by literary-critical method.

That the collecting together of the stories may possibly, as we shall elaborate, be determined by some other governing interest than that of a biographical presentation incorporating the beginning and ending of the subject's life, is not discussed by him. This almost self-evident arrangement of the biblical sources according to their form as biographies of the significant kings can be understood in the light of the philosophical movement of his time. As an admirer of Herder, Eichhorn shared his concept of history with its concentration on the significance of free individuals, which understands history as "eine reine Naturgeschichte menschlicher Kräfte, Handlungen, Triebe nach Ort und Zeit". Therefore Herder's requirement for the writing of history is: "Setzet lebendige Menschenkräfte in bestimmte Verhältnisse ihres Ortes und Zeitmaßes auf die Erden, und es ereignen sich alle Veränderungen der Menschengeschichte"[18]. The idea of the creative genius set forth in Germany in the second half of the 18th century by Lessing, Bodmer, Herder, Lavater and others, as one who "nicht Mustern folgt, sondern selber Muster schafft"[19], had become common property. The "Geniezeit", the "Zeit des Sturm und Drangs" and Romanticism[20] all emphasize the significance of the individual. With his concentration on "lives" Eichhorn is thus following uncritically the spirit of his age.

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17 "Wenn mich meine Untersuchungen nicht triegen (sic!), so war ihm eine kurze Lebensbeschreibung von Salomo angehängt, die mit jenem nach einerley Plan und von einerley Verfasser gearbeitet war" (473). "Denn das zu Grund liegende Leben Davids geht erst im Anfang des ersten Buchs der Könige zu Ende; ihm war ein kurzes Leben von Salomo angehängt, das mit jenem gleiche Schicksale scheint gehabt zu haben: also bis zum ellften (sic!) Kapitel des ersten Buchs der Könige läuft einerley Arbeit fort" (496).

18 **Johann Gottfried Herder**, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1784-91, 145 & 148

19 "Geniezeit", article in *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon* 10, Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut 1981, 61-62

20 Phases in the history of ideas in the second half of the 18th century in Germany, represented by Lessing, Herder, Reimarus, Goethe, Schiller i.a.

At this point we must ask whether it is proper to project an interest in biographical facts backwards to the biblical books themselves and their putative early forms. Is it the interest in the individual with the biographical boundary-dates of his birth and death which really governs the form and selection of this type of literature, or does not the asking of this question elevate the bringing together of the texts to the principal motif? For Eichhorn focusing on the essentials of a biography gives him the excuse to claim the sections up to 1 Kgs 2.12 as self-evidently part of his *KLD*, since a "life" cannot be concluded before the report of the subject's death[21]. Also the hypothetical source-documents are reconstructed in such a way that they suffice to form the framework of a biography. The classification of 1 Kgs 1-2 with the Davidic material of the book of Samuel on the basis of an understanding of history which is slanted in a biographical direction[22] has until now remained the common property of exegesis, no longer often discussed within the scope of exegesis.

While Eichhorn's *KLD* is in his view to be dated at some time in the period between Solomon's death and the fall of Samaria[23], in the case of the joint publication of the two books of Kings and Samuel as separate works, possibly by the same author, he assumes an exilic date of writing.

In summary, in Eichhorn there are already to be found many essential elements of the later exegesis of the conclusion of Samuel. He regards as responsible for it an author during the exile, who has written both the book of Samuel and that of Kings. He sees it as having a literary identity and to be dated earlier the Davidic material which is common with Chronicles, excluding 2 Sam.9-23 but including 1 Kgs 1.1-2.12. The literary independence

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21 This argument stands even if the thesis of *"Kurzes Leben Davids"* as an independent document is abandoned, e.g. **De Wette**, 1808, 14ff

22 "Man muß aber auch ferner sagen, daß kein Schriftsteller David's Leben nur bis wenige Schritte vor seinem Ende beschrieben haben kann, als ein solcher, der entweder dieses Ende selbst nicht mehr erlebte, oder sich auf Quellen beschränkt sah, die nicht weiter als bis zu einem vor David's Tode gelegenen Zeitpunkt reichten", **E. Nägelsbach**, "Bücher Samuelis", article in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* XIII, Gotha 1860, 408

23 He regards as decisive for the dating the use of the formula "to this day" in 1 Sam.30.25 (Ziklag belongs to Judah), 2 Sam.6.8, 2 Sam.4.2 (Beeroth to Benjamin); 13.18 (Tamar's dress) and 1 Ki.12.19.

of the chapters making up the later so-called "Thronfolgegeschichte" is excluded from the synoptic comparison with Chronicles. Significant parts of 2 Sam.24 in his opinion originally belong to it. The lists of warriors he regards as insertions by a later hand from other ancient sources, and the same applies to the poetical texts.

De Wette has already come out against this thesis of a "Short Life of David"[24]. Whereas in the case of Eichhorn there was no special treatment of 2 Sam.21-24, De Wette maintains that in these chapters we are dealing with an appendix[25], and a similarity with the closing chapters of the book of Kings is noted.

1.2.1 The Samuel Conclusion and Traditional Literary Criticism

Right at the beginning of the discussion about the sources of the Pentateuch is to be found the assumption that these might also be found in the other historic books of the OT. This thought was first expressed by Johann Jacob Stähelin[26]. In Samuel Stähelin found two parallel sources, the older[27] of which he linked with the "J" source of the Pentateuch; in Stähelin's view it originated in the time of Samuel. Its author had regard particularly to the tribes in the central regions of the country, and that is where he will have lived. If it was not Samuel himself, it was one of his pupils or contemporaries. In the second book of Samuel there is in Stähelin's view a more recent source included, which represents David as king

24 **Wilhelm Martin Leberecht De Wette**, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Halle: Schimmelpfennig & Co. 1808; photographically reproduced edition, Darmstadt: WBG 1971. He energetically counters the method of putting forward a thesis, the inconsistencies of which are ascribed to periods of revision. The assumption of a revision "ist hier aber um so willkürlicher, da die erste, worauf sie sich gründet, die Hypothese jener Lebensbeschreibung Davids noch nicht erwiesen ist. Leere Hypothese auf leere Hypothese!" (14)

25 **W.M.L. De Wette**, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Berlin ^{4}1833.

26 **Johann Jacob Stähelin**, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, die Bücher Josua, Richter, Samuelis und der Könige.* III. Berlin 1843, 103ff. Ibid., *Spezielle Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.* Elberfeld 1862. The idea of looking for the pentateuchal sources also in the historical books had already appeared in **Gramberg**, *Kritische Geschichte*, 1830.

27 1 Sam.3; 7.2-8.22; 10.17-12.25; possibly 14.47-52; 17 (part); 18.1-8, possibly 12-19 (part); 20; 26; 27; 29; 30).

(2 Sam.1-8) and private individual (9-20). It seems obvious to Stähelin that this source, which in itself is uniform, is organized thematically, and yet does not follow chronological guidelines[28]. Chapters 21-24 are said to be postscripts which the author of the source had in part previously discovered in written form, and which he added as a conclusion of his work, probably in line with long established Semitic conventions with lists of worthy travelling-companions[29]. Their author comes from Judah and writes at the time of Hezekiah. Significant in Stähelin is on the one hand the classification as an appendix, though not in a pejorative sense, but for him as being clearly recognizable as the finale of the journey of a great one, with psalms and the naming of his most important travelling-companions, items which had been so intentionally and carefully put in their correct place by the author of the whole book of 2 Samuel (i.e. the second source)[30].

The search for the sources of the book of Samuel, in parallel to the hypotheses developed for the Pentateuch, progressed in the following years. The discussion revolved around how these source-documents were to be properly characterized and where the scissors should be applied to divide up the individual sources.

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28 **J.J. Stähelin**, 1843, 130: "Von IX-XX stellt der Verfasser den David als Menschen dar, er schildert ihn in seinem Privatleben, giebt Nachrichten über Vorfälle, die sich in seiner Familie ereignen, wogegen er ihn I-VIII als König dargestellt hatte, und wie er I-VIII sächlich Verwandtes mit einander verbindet, ohne die Chronologie zu berücksichtigen, so auch IX-XX ohne Beachtung der Zeitfolge." Cf. **R.A. Carlson** 1964, who similarly distinguishes "David under the blessing" and "David under the curse".

29 **J.J. Stähelin**, 1843, 131: "....die er wenigstens zum Theil, XXII u. XXIII.1-7 schriftlich vorfand, er fügt ein Verzeichnis der Helden Davids bei, wie auch Abulfeda am Schlusse des Lebens Mahomeds noch seine Beamten und hauptsächlichsten Gefährten aufführt, und wie auch Elmacin gegen das Ende jedes Chalifen noch eine Übersicht seiner ersten Beamten giebt."

30 Comparison of the lists of names in the book of Samuel with the much later early Islamic texts is interesting insofar as the lists of names referred to here fulfilled a sort of legal function, in that they guaranteed participation in privileges or donations, or were significant for the later legitimization of extra-koranic traditions. A similar significance for the lists in the conclusion of Samuel cannot be proved, but can hardly be ruled out. Cf. **A Guillaume**, *The Life of Mohammad*, London: OUP 1955; **A.J. Wenzinck & J.H. Kramers**, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, Leiden: Brill 1941; **J. Robson**, "Hadith", *The Encyclopædia of Islam* III, New Edition, Leiden: Brill 1971, 23-28

For Abraham Kuenen, for instance, Judges to 2 Kings formed an interconnected work which was to be divided into Judges, Samuel and Kings only on grounds of its extent[31]. This unity is to be called into question neither on grounds of stylistic differences nor by the appendices found in Jdg.17-21 and 2 Sam.21-24, which "in een doorloopend verhaal misplaatst zouden zijn, doch als aanhangsel tot eene geschiedenis—van Israël onder de richters, van David—aaleszins verklaarbaar en gerechtvaardigd sijn" (337). Consequently he regards 2 Sam.21-24 as having been clumsily inserted by a later editor[32], clumsily, because "hij de laatste beschikkingen van David losmaakte van diens lebensgeschiedenis en als inleiding liet voorafgaan aan de verhalen over Salomo" (436). The separation of David's death from the books of Samuel is seen, as had been the practice since Eichhorn, as awkward, and having been dictated by the assumption that the biographical interest must as a matter of course lie behind the selection and division, and therefore the report of his death from 2 Kgs 2 is to be included with the Davidic material. Thus the chapters 2 Sam.21-24 are classified in a way that obscures their interrelation, as their function as closing chapters is acknowledged, but they take second place to the primary interest in the biographical key dates, and are consequently regarded as being on the whole rather negative and disruptive.

If Eichhorn had regarded 2 Sam.24* as belonging to the context, it is Klostermann's judgment that the "Paralipomena" of 2 Sam.21-24 "zum Theil an frühere Stellen der Erzählung gehören und den buntesten Inhalt bieten, als gelte es Reliquien zusammenzuraffen und vor dem Verluste zu sichern"[33]. According to Klostermann the editing of our present

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31 **Abraham Kuenen**, *De Boeken des Ouden Verbonds: Eerste Deel: De Thora en de Historische Boeken des Ouden Verbonds.* Amsterdam ²1884. "Aan den anderen kant mag men niet beweren, dat Richt I - 2 Kon XXV één aaneengeschakeld geheel uitmaken, dat om zijn al te grooten omvang in drie—en nog later in vijf—boeken zou zijn gesplitst" (337). Thus Kuenen is certainly to be regarded as a precursor of Noth's thesis of a "Deuteronomic historical work".

32 **A. Kuenen**, to distinguish him from the Deuteronomic redaction, calls him the "canonicken redactor" (439)

33 **August Klostermann**, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige.* Nördlingen: Beck'sche Buchhandlung 1887, XXIII.

books of Samuel have on the one hand separated 1 Sam.1-7 from the book of Judges[34] and moved forward the account of the first kings, and on the other hand also separated 1 Kgs 1-2 from 2 Sam.13.1-19.20, so that the original book represented the section from 1 Sam.8 to 2 Kgs 2. Klostermann sees 2 Sam.13.1-19.20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 as the beginning of what is a literary unit of its own, in principle anticipating the later influential thesis of Rost concerning the history of royal succession as a free-standing literary unit: the contemporary raconteur[35] of the events of 2 Sam.13.1-19.20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 "sonnt sich an Salomos Königsherrlichkeit; was er vergegenwärtigt, ist das Drama, das mit Salomos Inthronisation als dem letzten Akte schließt".

Julius Wellhausen[36] also expresses himself in a way which is very similar to that of contemporary discussion. He sees the material of Samuel as being divided into three main sections: Part I: 1 Sam.1.1-14.51; Part II: 1 Sam.14.52-2 Sam.8.18; and Part III: 2 Sam.9-1 Kgs 2. Like others since Eichhorn, he argues that 1 Kgs 1-2 should be read as a continuation of 2 Sam.20[37], and therefore joins De Wette in removing 2 Sam.21-24 as an appendix. For Wellhausen the focus of unity of 2 Sam.9-1 Kgs 2 is the successor to the

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34 **A. Klostermann** considers that 1 Sam.1-7 originally belonged to the book of Judges, the texts from 1 Sam.9 to 2 Sam.4.12 being the first book of Kings, concerning Saul and his dynasty. From 2 Sam.5.4f to 1 Kgs 2.11 he finds a second book, "David und sein Haus", in 1 Kgs.2.12-12.24 he finds the third book dealing with Solomon, while the fourth is regarded as being the chapters which follow under the title of the double shrine. Subsequent editorial rearrangements were responsible for the "jetzige Durcheinander" of the texts.

35 For **A. Klostermann** this is "kein anderer als Ahimaaz, der Sohn Zadoks" (32).

36 **J. Wellhausen**, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.* Berlin: Reimer, ^{3}1899.

37 **J. Wellhausen** gives more detailed reasons for his view that 1 Kgs 1-2 belongs to the Samuel texts. Among other things, the great similarities in the conduct of Adonijah and Absalom (1 Kgs 1.5f; 2 Sam.14.24) are seen as supporting the idea of one and the same author. In 1 Kgs 1.23 Nathan bows down on his face before the king in favour of Solomon, just as Joab does in favour of Absalom (1 Kgs 1.23; 2 Sam.14.22,23). **J. Wellhausen** sees parallels of language in the expression *the news came* (1 Kgs 2.28; 2 Sam.13.30), the reference to the *mule* (1 Kgs 1.33; 2 Sam.13.29; 18.9), the statement that something is *from the Lord* (1 Kgs 2.15; 2 Sam.16.10; 17.14) and the reference to time *at the end of .... years* (1 Kgs 2.39; 2 Sam.13.23; 14.28; 15.7). In addition there are significant similarities in the scenario of the royal banquet (1 Kgs 1.9; 2 Sam.13.23ff; 15.10), and Nathan's preference for the son of Bathsheba (1 Kgs 1.11f; 2 Sam.12.1ff,25). There are parallels between the individuals and groups respectively involved: Nathan, Bathsheba, Solomon, Joab, Abiathar, Jonathan (1 Kgs 1.42; 2 Sam.17.17), Zadok, Benaiah, the Cherethites and Pelethites.

throne, and 1 Kgs 1-2 is regarded by him as the third step, following 2 Sam.13f and 15-20 to form the finale of 2 Sam.12: "Wie Isaak den Inhalt des Lebens Abrahams ausmacht und David seit 1 Sam.15 den der Regierung Sauls, so nimmt ähnlich, wenn auch in geringerem Grade, Davids Beerbung schon bei seinen Lebzeiten das Interesse der Erzählung in Anspruch und mit Salomos Thronbesteigung endigt seine Geschichte"[38]. The argument from literary coherence is present here also in the assumption that the orientation of these texts must be a primarily biographical one, in this case not only because of the mention of the end of a life which is essential to a biography, but above all because of the securing of the royal succession as fulfilment of the personal aim in life of the king.[39]

The sections which form the "Appendix" are not regarded by Wellhausen as a coherent unit. The event of 2 Sam.21.1-14 has already been assumed in 2 Sam.16.7f. 2 Sam.21.7 is recounted more fully in 2 Sam.9. He regards 2 Sam.24 as very different from 2 Sam.9-20, its popular and mythological character being reminiscent of the Jehovist and the book of Judges. The two lists of warriors in 21.15-22 and 23.8-39 Wellhausen does not consider to have a formal coherence, even though they are now connected. The first with the four similarly-structured individual fights with giants; the second he divides into one with three warriors (23.8-12) and one with thirty (23.18-39). 23.13-17 he regards as a still later addition which disrupts the order. Similarly he judges the poetic texts of 2 Sam.22 and 2 Sam.23.1-7 to be "[an] möglichst unpassender Stelle eingeschaltet"[40]. In his view no guarantee of their age can be made, as they stood completely outside any historical context.

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38 **J. Wellhausen**, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.* Berlin: Reimer, ^{3}1899, 258.

39 It is evident that this can also be seen in a different way: seing the reference to the king's infirmity and death as a prerequisite to the enthronement, the culmination of his life in terms of a summary of high points and achievements and companions on his journey rather than of weakness.

40 His conviction that 1 Kgs 1-2 belong with the Samuel texts makes 2 Sam.21-24 appear as a disruption, and therefore the placing of poetic prayers in this "unsuitable" location seems to him to be doubly lacking in style.

For Thenius/Löhr[41] the parts of the appendix taken as a whole have never stood between other Samuel texts. In his view neither poetical texts nor lists of warriors have any place in a history of David which, like Eichhorn, he regards as a biography[42]. Here, too, the idea of a fixed form for a biography becomes the criterion which determines source-critical conclusions. As "redaktionelle Zuthaten steht der Anhang II 21-24. Derselbe ist dazu bestimmt, das Samuelbuch von dem der Könige zu trennen"[43].

Literary-critical research[44] has been in a way summed up[45] in Budde's commentary on Samuel[46]. He reconstructs a history of the text in seven stages: according to this (1) two sources which orginally ran in parallel are reconstructed from the material of the book of Samuel: these are seen as related to the "J" and "E" sources familiar from pentateuchal criticism. The book of Samuel thus formed from the two sources (2) has then (3) been altered by means of a far-reaching Deuteronomic redaction. This is supposed to have

41 **Otto Thenius**, *Die Bücher Samuels*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1842, ^{2}1864 and ^{3}1898, edited and revised by Max Löhr.

42 Not only the poetical passages, but also the lists of warriors "passen nicht wohl in eine Darstellung, wo alles, was erzählt wird, nur dazu dient, die Persönlichkeit Davids zu charakterisieren" (^{3}1898, LXVIII).

43 **Thenius/Löhr** ^{3}1898, LXVII.

44 A bibliography of the exegesis of Samuel since the patristic period is to be found in **Alfons Schulz**, *Die Bücher Samuel: Das zweite Buch Samuel*, Münster: Aschendorff 1920, 294-311. Apart from those already referred to, the following amongst others may be mentioned: **C.A. Graf**, *De librorum Samuelis et Regum compositione, scriptoribus et fide historica*, dissertation Strasbourg 1842; **C.H. Cornill**, "Zur Quellenkritik der Bücher Samuelis", *Königsberger Studien: Historisch-philologische Untersuchungen*, Königsberg 1887, 23-59; **W.G. Blaikie**, *The Second Book of Samuel*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1888; **K. Budde**, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, Giessen 1890; **Henry Preserved Smith**, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, Edinburgh: Clark 1899; **Wilhelm Nowack**, *Die Bücher Samuelis übersetzt und erklärt*, Göttingen 1902; **I. Benzinger**, *Jahwist und Elohist in den Königsbüchern*, BWANT 27, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1921 (traces sources through to 2 Kgs 17);—finally pentateuchal sources have been found as far as 1 Kgs 12 by **Gustav Hölscher**, *Geschichtsschreibung in Israel*, Lund: Gleerup 1952; and **Baruch Halpern**, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel*, HSM 25, Chico 1981, recognizes in Samuel both before and after two continuous sources A and B.

45 Thus *i.a.* **Otto Eissfeldt** in his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen: Mohr ^{3}1964, 359: "Einen gewissen Abschluß hat, wie schon berührt wurde (325f), diese kritische Arbeit durch Buddes, auf anderer und eigene Vorarbeiten gestützten Kommentar von 1902 gefunden." Cf. **Walter Brueggemann**, "2 Sam.21-24: An Appendix of Deconstruction", *CBQ* 50 (1988) 383-397; **Arnold A. Anderson** 1989, 248: "Most scholars accept Budde's explanation of the redactional process with greater or lesser modification."

46 **K. Budde**, *Die Bücher Samuel*, Tübingen/Leipzig: Mohr 1902.

removed individual sections which might have cast a negative light upon David. Afterwards in a further revision (4) these are said to have been reinserted, albeit by a post-Deuteronomic hand. This took place, however, no longer in the original chronological order. Thus 2 Sam.21.1-14, which in the pre-Deuteronomic book of Samuel preceded ch.9, and 2 Sam.24, assumed to be originally after ch.6, were inserted after 2 Sam.8. Next (5) chh.9-20, which belong together, instead of being appended to them, were said to have been pushed in between them, with the result that the lists of 2 Sam.8.15-20 and 2 Sam.20.23-29 were "inadvertently" included twice. Afterwards (6) there were inserted the registers which are now in 2 Sam.21.15ff and 23.8ff, and which in the proto-Deuteronomic book of Samuel probably followed 2 Sam.5. Not until a very late date were these (7) also "burst apart", with the insertion of the two poetical pieces 2 Sam.22 and 2 Sam.23.1-7, which had previously had no place in the book of Samuel.

To summarize, it can be established that literary-critical research has been almost unanimous in regarding 2 Sam.21-24 as an appendix which only attained its then form in the latest phase of redaction history after passing through many stages of development. This was encouraged by the interpretation of the Samuel texts as a biography of David. The genre of the texts having been defined in these terms, the rules applicable to a biography became an apparatus of redaction-historical reconstruction. As long ago as Eichhorn these texts included the account of the end of the subject's life which is normally to be expected in a biography, and 1 Kgs 1-2 must therefore on these premises clearly be included with the stories of David. This even more so, since there was also a connection of form between them. For 2 Sam.21-24 this means that they were regarded as a self-contained unit which disrupted the context and obscured the understanding of the whole. Thus the work of the editors is regarded with a total lack of understanding. Consequently dismissive judgments concerning the compilation of the text and the work of the editors are frequently to be found.[47]

47 **Thenius/Löhr**, ^{3}1898: "passen nicht wohl"; **A. Klostermann**: "Durcheinander der Texte"; **Abraham Kuenen**, ^{2}1884: "misplaatst zouden zijn"; **H.P. Smith**, 1899, XXVI: "the curious appendix"; **J. Wellhausen**, ^{3}1899: "möglichst unpassend"; **M. Noth** ^{2}1957, 62: "Konglomerath von Zusätzen", to **G. Fohrer**, 1986, 116: "Die beiden letzten Ergänzungen [2 Sam.22; 23.1-7, HK] haben die Anhänge in

1.2.2 The Samuel Conclusion and the "Succession Narrative"

1.2.2.1 Rost's Theory

The immediate context of the closing chapters is formed by the section of text which, since the publication in 1926 of Leonhard Rost's[48] work *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, has generally been identified as a narrative of the line of succession. Rost emphatically declined to accept the traditional continuous pentateuchal sources as extending to the book of Samuel[49], and argued for groups of traditions which were independent, self-contained, and already fixed in their literary form, instead of parallel source-strands. Such originally independent groups in the book of Samuel were, he concluded, an account of the ark[50], the report of the war with the Ammonites[51] and, although it is multi-layered, the tradition of the confirmation of the dynasty in 2 Sam.7. In 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 as well, there was in Rost's view a literary source which was consistent in its content, style and theology, the principal concerns of which involved David's line of

ein buntes Durcheinander verwandelt, das die spätere Abtrennung der Samuelbücher und das Hinüberziehen des Schlusses der Thronfolgegeschichte in I Kön 1-2 begünstigt hat"; and **Robert Polzin** 1989, 15 on Van Seters, 1983, 290.361: "The present form of the History [Deuteronomic History, HK] has been *damaged* by the *artless efforts* of some post-Deuteronomic hands, which have *severely disrupted* its once fairly unified pages, most notably by inserting the Court History (2 Sam.9-20, 1 Kings 1-2) into the larger story line, a move that produces, in Van Seters' view, a *hopelessly confused* picture of David in the final form of the story" (italics HK).—A worthy appendix is acknowledged by **Cornelius Jakob Goslinga**, *Het Eerste Boek Samuel*, Kampen: Kok 1968, 10: "Het slotgedeelte van het boek, cap 21-24, geeft niet een voortzetting van het geschiedverhaal, maar kan beschouwd worden alse een waardevol aanhangsel, dat in een zestal stukken proza en poëzie een aanvulling geeft of de geschiedenis van Davids leven en regering."

48 **Leonhard Rost**, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, BWANT 42, Series 3d Vol. 6, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1926.

49 **L. Rost** summarizing (1926, 138): "Daß dieses Ergebnis nicht gerade geeignet ist, die von Hölscher und Eißfeldt übernommene These Cornills und Buddes zu stützen, daß auch in den Samuelbüchern, ja schließlich noch in den Büchern der Könige, Jahvist und Elohist als Hauptquellen zu betrachten sind, liegt auf der Hand."

50 1 Sam.4.1b-21*; 5.1-12*; 6.1-7.1*; 2 Sam.6.1-20*

51 2 Sam.10.6-11.1; 12.26-31

succession[52]. In line with this thematic arrangement Rost also considers that the report of Michal's childlessness (2 Sam.6.16,20ff) and an early form of the confirmation of the dynasty (2 Sam.7.11b,16....) are to be included within the succession source, their author having not only already known the account of the Ammonite war and used it as a framework for his subject, but also already discovered the story of the ark.

No specific reasons are given by Rost for the excision of the final chapters of Samuel, although they are situated in the middle of the section he is considering, but instead it is set forth as a self-evident fact which does not need to be substantiated. Only on account of the close interrelation of content between 2 Sam.9 and 21.1-14, which can be observed in many aspects, does he argue against Budde that the two sections, despite their thematic associations, are too different in their theology and style to be able to be ascribed to a common "J" source[53], as Budde had proposed in his explanation of the text. Apart from that the very existence of the closing chapters, let alone their significance within the narrative of the royal succession as defined by him, does not get a mention. The already long-established assessment of the closing chapters as a curious interruption and an uncouth editorial atrocity was naturally thus further substantiated as a result of the succession narrative theory. The texts 2 Sam.21-24 are too anachronistic to fit into a literary sequence with 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2.

Even though Rost's development of the theory of the royal succession narrative did not give rise to any entirely new ideas[54], it did constitute a starting-point for further research. Until now it has succeeded in establishing itself with the majority of expositors, albeit with

52 Expressed definitely only in 1 Kgs 1.13,17,20,24,27,30,35. Because since Eichhorn this chapter has been seen as concluding the "Life of David", Rost decided that this inquiry into the legitimacy of Solomon's claim to the throne which introduces the book of Kings made its decisive mark on the material as far back as 2 Sam.9.

53 **L. Rost**, 1926, 83.

54 *Vide supra* **J.G. Eichhorn** (2 Sam.9-20, because they are missing in Chronicles), **Klostermann** (2 Sam.13-1 Kgs 9), **K. Budde, J. Wellhausen. C. Steuernagel**, 1912, 325f, 354, spoke of David's family history in 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2.

variations, as an essential element in the interpretation of Samuel[55], including the concurrent attitude which regards it as self-evident that no account is to be taken of the sections 2 Sam.21-24.

1.2.2.2 *Tendenz*-Criticism

If Gerhard von Rad understood and commended the book of the royal succession, in contrast to the style of heroic sagas in the book of Judges, as an example of the most ancient Israelite historical writing[56], this view has been increasingly called into question. Amongst others, notably the inauguration lecture of Lienhard Delekat in Bonn on the subject "Tendenz und Theologie der Salomo-Erzählung"[57] sparked off a wide-ranging discussion of the matter.[58] According to Delekat the work, which like von Rad he assumes to have been set out within the parameters described by Rost, was written with a bias which was critical of the monarchy

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55 This was considerably assisted by the positive further development of the theory by **Gerhard von Rad**, "Die Anfänge der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel" 1958. **G. v.Rad** recognized in the literary unit as defined by Rost, as distinct from the "Heldensagen" of the era of the Judges, the most ancient piece of Israelite historical literature. He sees the succession narrative as a masterly testimony from the time of Solomon's Enlightenment. Since nothing is known of a division of the kingdom, this date is the *terminus ad quem*.—**Peter R. Ackroyd** 1981: The theory of the history of royal succession "has achieved something of the status of 'critical orthodoxy' " (338).—Cf. on the history of research **Gillian Keys**, *The So-Called Succession Narrative: A Reappraisal of Leonhard Rost's Interpretation of II Samuel 9-20 and I Kings 1-2*, Theological Dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast 1988, ch.2.

56 **G. v.Rad**, "Die Anfänge der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 32, Weimar 1944, 1-42, reproduced ibid., *Gesammelte Studien zum AT* (Tb 8), Munich: Kaiser [1958] ^{4}1971, 67-98;—ibid., *Theologie des AT*, Munich: Kaiser ^{9}1987, 324ff (reprint ^{4}1962).

57 Post-doctoral ceremonial lecture on 11/7/1964, subsequently published: **Lienhart Delekat,** "Tendenz und Theologie der Salomo-Erzählung", *Das ferne und nahe Wort: FS L. Rost,* ed. **F. Maas**, BZAW 105. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann 1967, 26-36.

58 **R.N.Whybray**, *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9-20 and I Kings 1 and 2.* SBT 2/9, London: SCM 1968; **Ernst Würthwein**, Die Erzählung von der Thronfolge Davids—theologische oder politische Geschichtsschreibung? Zürich: TVZ 1974; **Timo Veijola**, *Die ewige Dynastie. David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung.* Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1975; **François Langlamet**, "Pour ou Contre Salomon? La Rédaction Prosalomonienne de I Rois, 1-2", *RB* 83 (1976) 321-379, 481-528.

and anti-David rather than pro-Solomon[59]. The court intrigues based on "stories of the bedroom" do not support, but rather undermine the legitimacy of David's successor. The book was intended to destroy loyalty to Solomon and its aim was the overthrow of the king[60], who had come to power without any word or confirmation from Yahweh, as the illegitimate heir of a king, who by his despicable behaviour had shown himself to be worse than the rejected Saul or Uriah the Hittite. The succession narrative, therefore, also included condemnation of Yahweh's historical dealings in favour of David, though not without a trace of hope of deliverance from slavery to the monarchy.

For Delekat this monarchy-critical bias agrees both with 1 Sam.8 & 12, where the installation of the king is described as the beginning of slavery to the monarchy, and also 2 Sam.24, in which he sees a fragment of a book of the prophet Gad, which in his opinion is evidence of the continuation of an anti-king opposition under Solomon[61]. For the interpretation of the "Appendix" it should at least be emphasized that for Delekat there is a literary affinity between the royal succession narrative and 2 Sam.24, which he defines as critical of the monarchy. Apart from this the question of the "Appendix" is, as usually when Rost's theory is accepted, not discussed.

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59 In this **Lienhard Delekat** refers *i.a.* to the adage of **J. Wellhausen** (*Prolegomena*, 1905, 259), according to which in a pro-Davidic approach the least edifying conditions of the court would be reported, such as the "Palastintrige, durch die Salomo auf den Thron gelangte, mit einer beinahe boshaft erscheinenden Unbefangenheit vorgetragen", and to **Karl Barth** (*KD* IV.2, 1955, 524f), who in 2 Sam.11 sees David presented as "kummervoll klein, halt- und würdelos". Delekat's theories were taken up by **J. van Seters**, 1983, for whom among others they support the theory that 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 were only inserted post-Deuteronomically into the Deuteronomic narrative.

60 "Es ist wohl nicht zuviel gesagt, daß die Erzählung ganz konkret auf den Sturz Salomos zielt. Salomo ist nicht gestürzt worden. Aber der Versuch wurde gemacht. Jeroboam, der spätere König Nordisraels, erhob sich gegen Salomo und mußte nach Ägypten fliehen." **L. Delekat** 1967, 31.

61 Delekat's interpretation, which understands the Succession Narrative as political propaganda, is in line with the novel by the GDR author **Stefan Heym**, *Der König David Bericht*, Frankfurt/Main: Fischer 1990 [=1972].

1.2.2.3 Criticism of Rost's Approach

In more recent discussion it cannot be overlooked that the consensus concerning the royal succession theory no longer appears so assured as once it may have done. Rost's theory has been rejected[62] by, among others, Johannes Schildenberger, Sigmund Mowinckel and R.A. Carlson. Schildenberger[63] read 2 Sam.10.1-21.14 taken together as "Gefährdung und Sicherung des Königtums", and 2 Sam.21.15-24.25 throughout as "Rückschau auf Davids Herrschaft". Both lists of David's officials (8.15-18; 20.23-26) are followed by an account of David's behaviour towards the house of Saul (9; 21.1-14), a striking parallel which he considers as marking off the boundaries of different sections of the text in the construction of the book.

To Mowinckel[64] Rost's hypothesis seems "very weak, to say the least" (10). In his view the most ancient Israelite historical writing is a history of Solomon (1 Kgs 11.41), which is in essential agreement with our texts from 1 Kgs 1 on. 1 Kgs 1-2 had the air of a beginning rather than an end. It was only later, following the era of Solomon that the Davidic material had been gathered together.

A completely different route is taken by Carlson[65], who follows the traditio-historical approach of the school of Ivan Engnell[66]. The book of Samuel appears to him to be the

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62 Advocates of the continuous pentateuchal sources such as **G. Hölscher** have not taken up the theory. Cf. **Hannelis Schulte**, *Die Entstehung der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1972, 138: "Wenn wir den Hauptbestand der II. Samuelbuches unter dem Titel 'David-Geschichten' zusammenfassen, so geschieht das in bewußter Ablehnung von Rost's Begriff der 'Thronfolgegeschichten'. Dieser Ausdruck ist nicht nur das Ergebnis einer falschen Abgrenzung, sondern auch einer fehlerhaften Bestimmung dessen."

63 **Johannes Schildenberger**, "Zur Einleitung in die Samuelbücher", *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia*, ed. R.P. Athanasio Miller. SA 27/28. Rome: Herder 1951, 130-168.

64 **Sigmund Mowinckel**, "Israelite Historiography", *ASTI* 2 (1963), 4-26.

65 **R.A. Carlson**, *David, the Chosen King: A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel.* Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell 1964.

66 **Ivan Engnell**, *Gamla Testamentet: en traditionshistorik inleding.* 1945: The OT stories had over a period of centuries been transmitted exclusively orally, and in this way preserved throughout the exile, not being enshrined in writing until after the exile. Consequently exegetical insights must be in accordance with the rules governing oral transmission.

product of a deuteronomic redaction of an older Davidic epic; in 2 Sam.2-8 and 9-24 he recognizes two textual sequences which relate to one another as "David under the blessing" and "David under the curse", without requiring the existence of a preliminary literary "succession narrative". For him the material of the succession narrative is far too closely bound up in the wider context of Samuel/Kings to make out a probable case for an independent literary unit. He does, it is true, also see a thematic balance in the account of the struggle of the heirs to the throne Amnon/Absalom (2 Sam.13-20) and that of Adonijah/Solomon (1 Kgs 1-2), which therefore are to be regarded as connected in terms of content and style. However, he does not use this as an excuse to ignore chh.21-24, which in his view are also to be seen as an insertion, but instead it becomes the starting-point for a discussion of the connecting strands. Thus 2 Sam.24 is thematically linked with 1 Kgs 1 among other things by "sacrificial terms", and 2 Sam.20 and 21.1-14 by the theme of "misfortune", which constantly falls upon David through the Benjamites, Sheba and Saul in the form of rebellions and famine. In Carlson's view the outer text-ring of the "Appendix" (2 Sam.21.1-14 & 24) originally formed a unity. However, he considers it likely "that they were introduced between 2 Sam.20 and 1 Kgs 1 at an early stage for reasons of traditionist technique, as a retarding element in a complex, the principal factor of which was the motif of succession to the throne"[67].

As well as not taking this theory into consideration at all, one finds also that sympathetic examination and reception are met by an increasing scepticism leading to rejection[68].

67 **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 197.

68 **H.J. Stoebe**, 1973: "Von vornherein muß aber schon zweifelhaft sein, ob der Zusammenhang zwischen 2 Sam.20 und 1 Reg. 1 u 2, mit dem Rost seine These begründet, tatsächlich besteht.... Ebenso läßt der Tenor von 2 Sam.9-20 diese Fragestellung als zu eng und einseitig erscheinen."—**Charles Conroy** 1978, 5: bases the separation of the section 2 Sam.13-20 on the "doubts and problems which have recently arisen concerning the Succession Narrative hypothesis. The extent of the literary unity to which 2 Sam.13-20 belongs is no longer clear."—**Robert P. Gordon**, 1986, 21: "The precise demarcation of these narratives from the material surrounding them is a matter of some delicacy.... Whether it is legitimate at all to treat the last two named ['History of David's Rise', 'Succession Narrative', HK] as if they originally enjoyed independent status is, in the present writer's opinion, a debatable issue."—**G. Keys**, 1988, 263 concludes: "We have argued that the author of these chapters [2 Sam.10-20, HK] was also the compiler of the book, that he employed the material now found in II Sam.2-9 and 21-24 as a framework for chh.10-20, and used II Sam.1 to link this to the Samuel/Saul/David material in I Samuel." —**Randall C. Bailey** 1990, 33: "It became clear that Rost's specific conclusions have all been called into question in various ways by both supporters and his opponents" and "Rost's theory of a pre-Dtr TSN [Throne-Succession-Narrative, HK] must be abandoned."

Ackroyd[69] regards the succession narrative theory, which "has acquired something of the status of 'critical orthodoxy'", as misleading. In his view the material is not recognizable as a separate unity in terms of either its content or its historical context. He suspects that "dividing the 'succession narrative' from the remainder and treating it as having a distinguishable unity and function could seriously misrepresent its nature" (385), and warns against the assumption "that there is an identifiable unit to be described as the 'succession narrative', when in reality, such a unit is to be seen rather as the product of a too narrow reading and too great a desire to find uniformity where there is in reality diversity and richness" (396). Fokkelman[70] comments that "the 'Thronfolgegeschichte' theory....has crippled OT science for almost 50 years", and for him there is no succession narrative as a literary unit[71]. Understanding of the text is not helped by any "pigeonhole mentality which at one point invokes and isolates a 'Thronfolge-Erzählung' and, at another, perceives an 'Aufstiegsgeschichte Davids'.... and decrees that this was written 'with the intention of legitimizing David's succession of Saul'"[72]. As well as this categorical rejection, even when the basic idea of an independent literary source document is still accepted, opinions diverge ever more and more[73] in the discussion of its scope and boundaries[74], as well as its literary

69 **P.R. Ackroyd**, "The Succession Narrative" (so-called)", *Int* 35 (1981), 388.

70 **J.P. Fokkelman**, *NAPS* I 1981, 418: regards 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 as a uniform, but not independent, literary area.

71 **J.P. Fokkelman**, *NAPS* III 1990, 10: "I would like to repeat it just once more, because I keep coming across the old erroneous description in specialist literature—that the so-called Succession Story (or History) does not exist."

72 **J.P. Fokkelman**, *NAPS* II 1986, 3: "We saw that, falling prey in this way to what literary theory calls the 'intentional fallacy'" (3). **J. Van Seters** 1983, 264: "Nevertheless, subsequent scholars have become so convinced that such a work existed that literary criticism of the books of Samuel has usually been tailored to accommodate the theory."

73 Cf **G. Keys** 1988, 52, summarizing her review of research: "The main areas of debate are its extent, unity, theme and genre and purpose."

74 Often understood as 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2, but cf. i.a. **L. Rost** 1926: also 2 Sam.6.16,20ff; 7.11b,16....;—**J.P. Ridout** 1971: plus 2 Sam.7; **James W. Flanagan** 1972: sees a two-fold redaction, with a court history of David, 2 Sam.9-20 without 2 Sam.11.2-12.25 or 1 Kgs 1-2, being expanded into the succession narrative.—**David M. Gunn** 1978: plus 2 Sam.2-4, together with a thematic link with 1 Sam.26, 2 Sam.3; 21.15-17(!);—**J. Van Seters** 1983: 2 Sam.2.8-4.12; 9-20; 1 Kgs 1-2;—**G. Keys** 1988: only 2 Sam.10-20, without 2 Sam.9 and 1 Kgs 1-2; **Gwilyn A. Jones**, 1990, 15: regards the Succession Narrative as "a continuous narrative that was constructed as a unit", with "2 Sam.7 forming most likely an appropriate introduction to the whole complex."—**Heinrich Schnabl** 1988: 2 Sam.9-21.14 and 1 Kgs 1-2.

objective[75]. The hypothetical character of an independent royal succession book must therefore, despite its sympathetic approval[76] over many years by the majority of Old Testament scholars, continue to be emphasized.

1.2.2.4 Abandonment of the Inclusion of 1 Kings 1-2

With the interpretation of Samuel being preoccupied with defining a succession narrative as a literary source, the connection with the opening chapters of the book of Kings which had been postulated since Eichhorn was also considered scarcely worth discussing. Implicit in this theory is an evaluation of the conclusion of Samuel which is still more strongly negative than under the literary-critical perspective of the turn of the century. It is only in more recent discussion that the close literary connection between the Samuel material and the beginning of the books of Kings has been called into question. Sigmund Mowinckel, in his work on Israelite historiography, had opposed a direct link between 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2. He regards the opening chapters of the book of Kings not as a conclusion, but as the starting-point of the account of Solomon[77]. Joachim Stoebe agrees with him, asking

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75 As far as intention is concerned, opinions vary amongst others between pro-Solomonic propaganda (**L. Rost** 1926; **R.N. Whybray** 1968; **P. Kyle McCarter** 1984), objective writing of history (**G. v.Rad**), writing biassed against David, aimed at overthrowing the monarchy (**L. Delekat** 1964), wisdom instruction (**R.N. Whybray** 1968), novellæ (**D. Wilhelm Caspari** 1909 & 1926; **Hugo Gressmann** 1910) and pure entertainment (**D.M. Gunn** 1978), no single intention (**P.R. Ackroyd** 1981), theological biography (**G. Keys** 1988); cf. also **Kiyoshi K. Sacon** 1982.

76 Cf. **Siegfried Herrmann**, "King David's State", *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature*, FS G.W. Ahlström, ed. W. Boyd Barrick & John R. Spencer. JSOT.S 31. Sheffield: *JSOT* 1984, 261-276: "It is surprising to find modern authors creating the impression that biblical authors wrote these 'works' [i.e. SN, HDR] as two separate and closed literary units and, one could almost say, had these titles in mind. Apparently the fact that the established sequence of chapters and their nomenclature are modern and somewhat artificial products has almost been forgotten" (163).

77 **S. Mowinckel**, "Israelite Historiography", *ASTI* 2 (1993), 11: "The latter chapters in no wise give the impression of having been conceived as a continuation of 2 Sam.9-20. Nothing in these chapters prepares us for the information in 1 Kgs 1.1 that David 'was old and stricken in years'; on the contrary, even in 2 Sam.14.20 we have the impression that he still stands in his full strength. 1 Kgs 1-2 gives the impression of having been written as the beginning of a history rather than as a finale." S. Mowinckel considers the source named in 1 Kgs 11.41 as *sēp̄er dibrê liš^{e}lōmōh* to be the earliest Israelite historical document, beginning with 1 Kgs 1-2 or a summary of it. It was only after this that the stories of David were assembled in writing, not *vice versa*.

critically in his commentary if there is any connection at all[78]. Conroy is unable to find the theme of succession to the throne in the chapters on Absalom which he has investigated, and it seems to him to have been artificially introduced from 1 Kgs 1-2 into the texts dealing with Absalom's rebellion[79]. McCarter sees a significant difference between 1 Kgs 1-2 and 2 Sam.9-20 in that Solomon, apart from the reference to him "as a newborn baby", stands at the centre of apologetic interest only in 1 Kgs 1-2. In Samuel we are concerned with David, and the author of 1 Kgs 1-2 has elaborated on the Davidic matter which was already available[80]. Moshe Garsiel does not go as far as rejecting Rost's theory completely, but does not consider it to be of any use for his interpretation[81]. Gillian Keys[82], following on from the groundwork done by Mowinckel, Conroy and Ackroyd[83], argues fully and convincingly on grounds of style, language, content, intention and structure for a reading of the chapters 2 Sam.10-20 without 1 Kgs 1-2. The question of succession to the throne in particular may indeed be central to 1 Kgs 1-2[84], but is not to be projected back from there to the chapters 2 Sam.9-20. In these chapters we are in her view dealing with other main emphases, not so much succession to the throne but much more a theological evaluation of

78 **H.J. Stoebe** 1973; ibid. 1994: "So bildete dann den Ansatzpunkt für meine Kommentierung von Kap 9-20 die Einsicht, die ich schon 1968 in Rom vorgetragen hatte, daß 1 Reg 1 u. 2 nicht die, jetzt leider durch den Einschub von 2 Sam 21-24 abgetrennte, organische Forsetzung von 2 Sam 20 (19) bilde, sondern eine selbständige Salomogeschichte einleite" (9). Cf. earlier **H.J. Stoebe**, "Geprägte Form und geschichtlich individuelle Erfahrung im AT", *VTS* 17, Leiden: Brill 1969, 212-219.

79 **Charles Conroy** 1978.

80 **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 12.

81 **Moshe Garsiel** 1985, 149: "....according to our theory the story of Adonijah and Solomon does not belong to the literary framework of the book of Samuel."

82 **G. Keys** 1988, 68ff.

83 **P.R. Ackroyd** 1981.

84 For the significance of these chapters as an introduction to the book of Kings cf. i.a. **Kim Jan Parker**, "Repetition as a Structuring Device in 1 Kings 1-11", *JSOT* 42 (1988) 19-27: "The narrative tension within 1 Kings 1-11, therefore.... can now be seen as having a unity and integrity of its own" (24).

David[85]. In view of this multiplicity of critical queries[86] the question of a new assessment of the so-called "Samuel Appendix" is also again an open one.

1.2.3 The Samuel Conclusion in the Setting of the "Deuteronomistic History"

1.2.3.1 Noth's Theory of a Deuteronomistic History

If the discussion about the succession narrative forms the narrower textual context for an interpretation of the final chapters of Samuel, the broader horizon of the discussion is concerned with their position in the structure of the Deuteronomistic History. In his striking ring structure Budde had already allocated the "Appendix" to the latest phases of editing, and this assessment had been strengthened by the interpretation of the surrounding texts as succession narrative. With the publication of Martin Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*[87] there was not at first any fundamental change of approaches to the interpretation of the closing chapters of Samuel. According to Noth the books from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings

85 On the question of the biographical necessity of the death report, **Mowinckel** has emphasized that this genre did not exist in Israel: "Scholars have often maintained that the saga-writer has drawn upon different 'prophet biographies'. Against this is true that a biographical literature never existed in old Israel. What did exist, however, were orally transmitted prophet tales and legends, originally independent of each other, and sometimes loosely connected in tradition complexes, as for example the Elisha legends in 2 Kgs 2ff." **(S. Mowinckel** 1963, 19; cf. **Mowinckel**, *Studien zum Ezra-Nehemiabuche II*, Oslo 1964, 86ff).

86 Cf. also the Ph.D. dissertation of **Amos Azriel Frisch**, *The Narrative of Solomon's Reign in the Book of Kings*. Ramal-Gan/Israel: Bar-Ilan University 1986 (English abstract): "We adopt the view that the narrative begins with I Kings 1:1, since chapters 1 and 2 describe the beginning of Solomon's reign.... In our opinion, the narrative ends only at 12:24, when Rehoboam obeys the prophet and cancels his war against the rebels" (1f). He analyzes the construction as follows:

A	1.1-2.46	*Beginning* of Solomon's Reign: *Struggles* for the Throne
B	3.1-15	Solomon and the Lord: Loyalty, Promise of Reward
C	3.16-5.14	The *Glory of Solomon*: Wisdom, Rule, Riches, Honor
D	5.15-32	Towards Temple-Building: *Hiram of Tyre, Corvée*
E	**6.1-9.9**	**Building and Dedication of the Temple**
D^1	9.10-25	*Hiram of Tyre, Corvée* for Building Projects
C^1	9.26-10.29	The *Glory of Solomon*: Trade, Riches, Wisdom, Honor
B^1	11.1-13	Solomon and the Lord: Disloyalty, Announcement: Punishment
A^1	11.14-12.24	*End* of Solomon's Reign: *Rebellion*, Kingdom divided.

87 **Martin Noth**, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. Halle 1943; ^{2}1957. **O. Eissfeldt** calls **M. Noth** the "Vater des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes", *Einleitung* ^{3}1964, 323.

were to be distinguished from the remaining Tetrateuch, and consequently also to be interpreted from different literary standpoints. An author, not a compiler, in the exile had set forth the tradition of Israel in a coherent narrative. Thus his work had essentially consisted in the preparation of a chronological framework and the historical structure, recognizable in the placing of speeches reflecting the history of the time at central points in the different periods (e.g. Josh.23; 1 Sam.12, 1 Kgs 8)[88]. The individual pieces of material were, however, already available in the form of blocks, such as the succession narrative. It is not, however, always possible to fix with certainty the division between the already available material and the work of the author of the Deuteronomistic History.

With this no new impetus was given towards a positive reassessment of the Samuel "Appendix". The passage was rather seen as having been inserted at the latest stage, when the unified work was broken up into the canonical books, to conclude the canonical complex. In this way the original coherence of the Deuteronomistic History was destroyed, and must only now be painstakingly reconstructed again. From the standpoint of this hypothesis as well, the pejorative and negative verdicts on the work of the redactors retain their validity.

Noth's theory of a complete unified work, the Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk—DtrG) met with much approval following its publication in 1943. It went on to provide what was undoubtedly the most commonly adopted interpretation model[89] for the understanding of these books. However, here too the discussion about the character and objective of the work becomes increasingly diffuse. Researchers' opinions as to what the

88 The work of the Deuteronomist himself are said to be: Deut.1.1-3.29 (4.1-40); 31-34; Josh.1; 8.30-35; 12; 23; Jdg.3.7-11; 1 Sam.7.2-8.22; 10.17-21ba (21bb-27a); 12.1-25; 1 Kgs 5.15-32; 8.14-66; 9.1-9; 11.1-13,38-43; 21.21,22,24-26; 2 Kgs 10.28-33; 17.7-20; 21.1-18; 23.21-27; 25.27-30.
The author of the Deuteronomistic History was said to have had already available: Deut.4.44-30.20; Josh.2-11; Jdg.2.6-12; 1 Sam.1.1-4.1à; 4.1b-7.1; 9.1-10.16; 10.27b-11.15; 13.2-2 Sam.2.7; 2 Sam.2.8-20.25; 1 Kgs 1-2; 3.4-15,16-28; 4.1-5.8,9-14; 6-7; 8.1-13; 9.10-14; 9.15-10.29; 11.14-37.

89 For discussion of the research see i.a.: **Ernst Jenni**, "Zwei Jahrzehnte Forschung an den Büchern Josua bis Könige", *ThR.NF* 27 (1961) 1-32, 97-146; **A.N. Radjawane**, "Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Sein Ziel und Ende in der neueren Forschung", *ThR* NF 50 (1985) 213-249; **Mark O'Brien**, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypotheses: A Reassessment*, Freiburg (Switzerland) University Press 1989; **Horst Dietrich Preuss**, "Zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk", *ThR* NF 58 (1993) 229-264, 341-395;—**Claus Westermann**, *Die Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments: Gab es ein deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk?*, ThB 87 AT. Gütersloh: Kaiser 1994.

DtrG actually is continue at present to be a long way off from any growing consensus. Noth still started off with a single author who himself compiled and put in order the essential parts of the DtrG from the controlling standpoint of a theological explanation for the fall of Jerusalem as a necessary act of Yahweh's justice. The acceptance of his approach led first to a calling into question of the theological objective. According to this the principal interest is not to be seen in the explanation of contemporary experience in terms of judgment, but was much more a matter of also demonstrating the faithfulness of Yahweh to his promise despite the experience of his judgment. Emphasis was placed on the presence, shining through from the background, of the unconditional promise of the dynasty for David in 2 Sam.7[90], and in this way the theological orientation was altered, by focussing on the promise of a future full of hope for the house of David, in a more optimistic direction. With the recording of Jehoiachin's pardon as the finale of the whole DtrG a door was opened for a new future for the Davidic kingdom.

1.2.3.2 Diversification of the DtrG Hypothesis

Subsequent discussion took up the theme of this tension between the two strands of opinion, with the juxtaposition of trust in the faithfulness of Yahweh to his promise and the perspective of judgment. This tension was seen as conflictual, and resolved by means of source-critical investigation[91]. Instead of stemming from a single author, the DtrG must, it is claimed, be regarded as the product of complex and opposing redactions. In this way there developed, alongside further support for the acceptance of a uniform work of a single

90 **G. v.Rad**, "Die deuteronomistische Geschichtstheologie in den Königsbüchern", *Gesammelte Studien zum AT.* ThB 8, Munich: Kaiser 1958, 189-204 (= Deuteronomium-Studien, Part B, *FRLANT* 40, Göttingen 1947);—**Hans Walter Wolff**, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomischen Geschichtswerkes", *Gesammelte Studien zum AT.* ThB 22. Munich: Kaiser 1964, 308-324 (= *ZAW* 73 [1961] 171-186).

91 If a variation of the blessing-curse polarity is present here, then a splitting-up of this polarity can only be regarded critically. Cf. **James Gordon McConville**, "Narrative and Meaning in the Book of Kings", *Biblica 70* (1989) 31-49;—idem, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomic Theology*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1993.

author[92], what were essentially two further lines of thought[93], the one understanding the DtrG as multi-layered, and the other seeing it as a work put together out of blocks of material with various concluding points.

The Göttingen school[94] is representative of those advocating the "layer" model[95]. According to this the DtrG came about in this way: first loosely connected material was collected by an exilic historian "DtrH" which was then, by means of a "DtrN" (Dtr-Nomist) redaction, made into a continuous cord of narrative and a stricter chronological order. In Samuel and Kings there is to be found a further revision "DtrP", recognizable in its contents by a bias towards

92 Apart from **M. Noth** e.g. with different dating: **Hans-Detlef Hoffmann**, "Reform und Reformen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung", *ATHANT* 66, Zürich TVZ 1980; H.-D. Hoffmann considers the DtrG (Deut.-2 Kgs) to be a systematically constructed narrative of reforms of worship, and goes further than M. Noth: "Stärker als bislang angenommen ist der Dtr eigenschöpferisch, 'schriftstellerisch' tätig gewesen, hat selbständig formuliert und literarisch gestaltet, statt, wie man bisher annahm, auf weite Strecken einfach 'Quellen' zu Wort kommen zu lassen" (316).—Also, arguing in a completely different way, **J. van Seters**, *In Search for History*, New Haven 1983, who likewise assumes that there is no compiler, but rather an independently composing writer after the pattern of Herodotus, responsible not only for the DtrG but also for Gn.-2 Kgs. **Lyle M. Eslinger**, *Into the Hands of the Living God*, JSOT.S 84, Sheffield: Almond 1990: Josh.-2 Kgs as the work "of one author".

93 **H.D. Preuss** regards this three-fold division of the approaches to DtrG research, suggested by **H. Weippert**, as helpful in indicating the broad direction of the research, but not all approaches can be incorporated into it (**H.D. Preuss** 1993, 394).

94 **Mark O'Brien**, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: a Reassessment*, Freiburg (Switzerland) University Press 1989, speaks of the "Smend school" formulated by **Rudolf Smend** and his pupils **T. Veijola** and **Walter Dietrich**.—**R. Smend**, "Das Gesetz und die Völker: ein Betrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte", FS G. v.Rad, *Probleme biblischer Theologie*, ed. **H.W. Wolff**, Munich 1971, 494-509;—Idem, *Die Entstehung des AT*, Stuttgart ^{4}1989.—**W. Dietrich**, "Prophetie und Geschichte: eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk", *FRLANT* 108, Göttingen 1972;—Idem, "David, Saul und die Propheten: Das Verhältnis von Religion und Politik nach den prophetischen Überlieferungen vom frühesten Königtum in Israel", *BWANT* 7/2, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1987;—**T. Veijola**, *Die ewige Dynastie*, Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1975;—Idem, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Helsinki 1977; **W. Dietrich & Th. Nauman**, *Die Samuelbücher*, EdF 287, Darmstadt: WBG 1995.

95 Already independently stated prior to **M. Noth**, but not published until later: **Alfred Jepsen**, *Die Quellen des Königbuches*, Halle/S. 1953 (Manuscript completed in 1939). **A. Jepsen** assumes two sources and three redactions: a synchronistic source (S), and alongside it a document of annals directed towards the temple and worship (A), which were brought together in about 580 by a priestly redactor (R^1), revised in about 550 by a nebiistic redactor (R^2), this being followed about 40 years later by a levitical redaction written in a Midrash-like style (R^3).

prophetic utterances, which was however already in DtrN[96]. All three phases are to be located during the exile[97], and thus within a relatively short period of time[98].

We may take as representative of the "block" model[99] the theory of Frank Moore Cross[100], according to which the DtrH[101] was composed in two phases. A first Dtr[1] is said to have been composed as a propaganda document favourable to the king, in the context of and in support of Josiah's reform, and to make Josiah's rule appear like a return of David's heyday. This document is said to have been enlarged and revised following the disaster of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by means of a second redaction Dtr[2], which called the monarchy fundamentally into question and incorporated sections anticipating the exile[102]. Cross's theory of a two-fold redaction has been widely acclaimed[103] and found further support[104].

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96 **François Langlamet**, "David 'Fils de Jessé': une édition prédeuteronomique de l'«Histoire de la Succession»", *RB* 89 (1982) 5-47 favours a second, significantly extended, edition of the Succession Narrative, the substance of 1 Sam.17.12 to 1 Kgs 2.46, said to have been discovered by the exilic DtrH (Smend school).

97 According to this system DtrG is the final product, and DtrH the first step prior to the further revisions by DtrP and DtrN.

98 But cf. **Christof Hardmeier**, "Umrisse eines vordeuteronomistischen Annalenwerks der Zidkijazeit: Zu den Möglichkeiten computergestützter Textanalyse", *VT* 40 (1990) 165-184.

99 With variations, **A.D.H. Mayes**, *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomic History*, London 1983; **Norbert Lofink**, "Kerygma des DtrG", FS H.W. Wolff, *Die Botschaft und die Boten*, ed. Joachim Jeremias & Lothar Perlitt, Neukirchen 1981, 87-100.

100 **Frank Moore Cross**, "The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History", idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard 1973, 274-289.

101 As *Deuteronomistic History*, corresponds to the DtrG of Noth and the Smend school.

102 According to **F.M. Cross** this includes Deut.4.27-31; 28.36f, 63-68; 29.27; Josh.23.11-13.15f; 1 Sam.12.25; 1 Kgs 2.4; 6.11-13; 8.25b, 46-53; 9.4-9; 2 Kgs 17.19; 20.17f.

103 In the English-speaking world Cross's model provides the dominant pattern of interpretation. The *TRE* article "Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk/Deuteronomistische Schule" (*TRE* 8, Berlin 1981, 543-552) by **Wolfgang Roth** on the other hand, apart from a brief half-sentence mention of **F.M. Cross**, deals exclusively with the development of the theory of the Smend school.

104 I.a. **Richard D. Nelson**, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOT.S 18, Sheffield: JSOT 1981; **Richard D. Friedman**, "The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works", *HSM* 22, Chico: Scholars 1981;—idem, "From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr[1] and Dtr[2]", *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. **B. Halpern & J.D. Levenson**, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1981, 167-192; **Jon D. Levenson**, "From Temple to Synagogue: 1 Kings 8", *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. **B. Halpern**

The state of DtrG research cannot at present be regarded as uniform[105]. Both its limits[106] and its construction[107], and with that its purpose, are interpreted in very different ways. While Helga Weippert had concluded[108] in her review of research that "die gegenwärtige Wissenschaftssituation wohl am ehesten als 'polyphon' zu klassifizieren sei", H.D. Preuss[109] complains at the end of his comprehensive review of the literature on the subject: "Die Forschung driftet auseinander. Bei einem 'integrated' oder 'close reading' kann der Interpret natürlich alles das finden, was ihm selbst wichtig ist; bei historisch-kristischen Fragen findet er meist das, was der Schule entspricht, der er sich zurechnet. So bestehen die einzelnen Schulen und Modelle nebeneinander her, jeder Alttestamentler bastelt nicht nur seine eigene Pentateuchtheorie[110], sondern bald (?) auch sein Bild des DtrG. Die methodischen Reflexionen betr. Schichten, Vorlagen usw. bleiben—soweit sie überhaupt genauer auf gegenteilige Meinungen positiv kritisch und weiterführend eingehen—systemimmanent"[111].

& **J.D. Levenson**, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1981, 143-166; **Brian Peckham**, "The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History", *HSM* 35, Atlanta: Scholars 1985; **I.W. Provan**, "Hezekiah and the Books of Kings: A Contribution to the Debate about the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History", *BZAW* 172, Berlin/New York: 1988; **Steven McKenzie**, "The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History", *VTS* 42, Leiden: Brill 1991.

105 **H.D. Preuss** concludes his survey of the research by quoting **Albertz**: "Das Blockmodell verwandelt sich, je genauer es ausformuliert wird, unter der Hand zum Schichtenmodell mit all dessen methodischen Schwierigkeiten. Das Schichtenmodell, das bis heute nicht endgültig ausformuliert ist, scheint sich ebenso im Dickicht willkürlicher Textaufteilungen zu verstricken wie weiland die Quellenhypothese des Pentateuchs. Drei durchlaufende Redaktionsschichten zu isolieren, die stilistisch und sachlich eng beieinanderstehen, überfordert bei weitem die recht grobe literarkritische Methodik" (**R. Albertz** 1989, 40).

106 Cf. i.a. **L.M. Eslinger** 1990, who limits the DtrG to Joshua–2 Kings, and **J. van Seters** 1983, who includes Genesis to 2 Kings under a single author.

107 Cf. e.g. **Alexander Rofé**, "Ephraimite versus Deuteronomistic History", *Storia e Tradizioni di Israele*, FS J.A. Soggin, ed. D. Garrone & F. Israel, Brescia: Paideia 1991, 221-235, argues for two phases, with an "Ephraimite history" (more passive and receptive in its style) which he recognizes between Josh.24 and 1 Sam.12 being incorporated into the DtrG (more active in its style).

108 **H. Weippert** 1985, 217.

109 **H.D. Preuss** 1993, 394.

110 **H.D. Preuss** is referring to **Klaus Koch**, *VT* 37 (1987), 448.

111 **H.D. Preuss** 1993, 245: "Aus dem Nachwort von Th. Römer, der sich in seinen Hauptthesen nicht geschlagen gibt, sei zuerst der (wohl leider zutreffende) Hinweis aufgenommen, daß literarkritische Arbeiten nicht oder nur innerhalb von 'Schulen' konsensfähig sind."—The fact that the methodology of traditional layer analysis and its implicit acceptance of a reconstructable growth-process in the books of Kings, which form the starting-point for all approaches to the DtrG, can also be fundamentally called into question by comparison with Assyrian royal annals, has been pointed out by **Hans Jürgen Tertel** ("Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of OT Narratives", *BZAW*

1.2.3.3 Alternative Approaches to the DtrG Hypotheses

The formation of these entirely different models leads on the one hand to attempts to find compromise solutions[112], while on the other hand there is the spread of a certain scepticism[113] as to whether there is any further usefulness in the DtrG hypothesis[114]. Thus in his review[115] of Mark O'Brien's "Reassessment" E.S. Gerstenberger portrays the mood regarding the state of research rather wittily: "Ist das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk noch zu retten? Nach so vielen scharfsinnigen und widersprüchlichen literarischen Analysen denkt mancher Experte «Requiescat in pace—1943 bis 1993—ein erfülltes Leben für ein Hypothese!»", and then goes on to expect no resounding success for the rescue attempt under review. It also needs to be taken into account that Noth's approach has for a long time not received universal acclaim. In 1986 Georg Fohrer still puts forward in his introduction to the Old Testament[116] a hexateuchal theory according to which the pentateuchal sources are to be

221, Berlin: de Gruyter 1994) with respect to the key chapters 2 Kgs 22 & 23; cf. **Herbert H. Klement**, "Text-Recycling assyrisch und biblisch: Zur fälligen Revision der Literarkritik", *JETh* 9, Wuppertal: TVG 1995—but see in context: **Reinhard Wonneberger**, "Redaktion: Studien zur Textfortschreibung im AT entwickelt am Beispiel der Samuel-Überlieferung", *FRLANT* 156, Göttingen: V&R 1992, who endeavours, despite the loss of agreement among the researchers, to justify afresh a diachronic reading.

112 Cf **M. O'Brien**, 1989. **H.D. Preuss** suggests combining **R. Smend**'s DtrH before the exile with **F.M. Cross**'s Dtr^1, leaving out the DtrP, and on the other hand giving **F.M. Cross**'s Dtr^2 a nomistic character, thus making it more like the DtrN of the Smend school, which was in any case seen as multi-layered. In this suggestion the concepts of a single author (i.a. **M. Noth, L. Eslinger, J. van Seters, H.D. Hoffmann**) are not yet incorporated.

113 Also discernible in the terminology, according to **H.D. Preuss** (1993) 229 e.g.: "Deuteronomystik", "'Allheilwort' deuteronomistisch" (**Joachim Ernst Waschke**, *ZAW* 99 [1987] 157), "pandeuteronomistische Tendenzen" (**Hans-Christoph Schmitt**, *BN* 34 [1989] 37), "Sich ausbreitender Deuteronomisticismus" (**Klaus Koch**, *VT* 37 [1987] 451). **Rainer Albertz** 1989, 37 on the term "deuteronomistic": it remains "oft eigenartig schwebend und diffus; sie verdeckt mehr die literaturgeschichtlichen Probleme, als daß sie sie erklärt".

114 This solution carries little conviction for: **Charles Conroy**, *1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings*, Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier 1983, 14: "Since discussion among scholars still continues about these theories, the present commentary will usually speak rather vaguely of 'the Deuteronomists' without intending to opt for one or other of the theories."

115 **Erhard S. Gerstenberger** in *BZ* 39NF (1995) 114-115: "Hat O'Brien das DtrG gerettet? Ich habe Zweifel daran."

116 **Georg Fohrer**, *Vom Werden und Verstehen des Alten Testaments*, GTB 1414. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn 1986; cf. idem, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Heidelberg ^{12}1979, 211: "Schließlich lassen sich die Bücher Richter–Könige nicht als Teile eines von einem deuteronomistischen Verfasser oder Redaktor zusammengefügtes Werk verstehen."

found up to Jdg.2.5. The remaining books, Judges, Samuel and Kings, are according to this theory distinct and to be looked at individually. Judges with its cyclical style is said to have been deuteronomistically revised, Kings with a more linear historical approach to originate directly from a deuteronomistic hand, while in the books of Samuel only a slight deuteronomistic influence is to be observed. There can be no question of a uniform work with one author[117].

This declaration of dissent of Georg Fohrer to the idea of a uniform historical work, despite the long-standing agreement of majority opinion, is shared by Claus Westermann in his latest publication, which asks: "Gab es ein deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk?"[118]. As well as those posed by Fohrer, he takes up the more or less critical questions raised by Artur Weiser, Otto Eissfeldt and Rolf Rendtorff, which still remain, and postulates the necessity of re-opening the examination of the theory. Such examination must be based more firmly than before on the processes not of literary but of oral tradition. Careful distinction needs to be drawn between the narratives and their theological meaning[119]. As far as the depiction of history is concerned, the representations of the individual biblical books are very different, nor are they contemporaneous in their origins[120]. An historical work like Noth's DtrG without the foundation history of the Exodus is in his view difficult to imagine. The

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117 **G. Fohrer**, 1986, 41f, partly following **G. v.Rad** in his critical questions;—**Alexander Rofé**, "Ephraimite versus Deuteronomistic History", *Storia e Tradizioni di Israele*: FS J.A. Soggin, ed. Daniele Garrone & Felice Israel, Brescia: Paideia 1991, 221-235, takes up again the theories of A. Kuenen and C.F. Burney and argues for an Ephraimite historical document from Josh.24 to 1 Sam.12, which has a different theological conception from the DtrG.

118 **Claus Westermann**, *Die Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments: Gab es ein deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk?*, Gütersloh: Kaiser 1994.

119 **C. Westermann**, "Zur Bedeutung der mündlichen Überlieferung für die Exegese", *ThB* 21 (1993) 175-182: "Doch ist die Deutung in den verschiedenen Büchern ganz verschieden, sie ist im Richterbuch ganz anders als im Josuabuch.... Dabei ist eine Steigerung der Deutung zu erkennen. In den früheren Büchern sind es meist einzelne Sätzte, so ein Teil der Verheißungen in den Vätergeschichten. Höhepunkt ist die deuteronomistische Deuteschicht, die sich über die Geschichtsbücher vom Exodus an erstreckt in einer theologisch geprägten Sprache" (179f).

120 **C. Westermann** agrees with Eissfeldt: "Auf jeden Fall aber ist die Annahme Eißfeldts ein gewichtiges Argument gegen ein gleichzeitiges Entstehen aller Teile von Exodus bis 2 Könige und gegen einen Autor des Ganzen. Mir scheint es ausgeschlossen, daß diese Erzählungen in 1/2 Samuel in ihrer faszinierenden Lebendigkeit gleichzeitig mit Deutetexten sind, in denen nur verallgemeinernd und theoretisch geredet wird." (**C. Westermann** 1994, 19).

references back to the Exodus in the historical books are too significant for this event to have been overlooked in such a comprehensive work. For Westermann the problem of the missing beginning is solved when the theory of a DtrG is abandoned: "An seine Stelle tritt dann eine mit Ex und Num beginnende Reihe von Geschichtsbüchern, die an zwei Stellen von Gesetzessammlungen unterbrochen sind. In dieser Reihe beginnt die Geschichte Israels mit dem Buch Exodus und sie erstreckt sich bis zum Ende dieser Geschichte in 2 Könige."[121] Each book is seen as having its own origin, and it is assumed that the material has been strongly affected by oral transmission, and a deuteronomistic revision is only to be looked for in the arrangement of the Dt-texts.

The theological autonomy of the books of the DtrG is also not ruled out in relation to the books themselves by J. Gordon McConville in his presentation of deuteronomic theology[122]. Alongside the undoubtedly large number of features connecting the books, there are in his view significant differences to be discerned, e.g. in the importance given to central deuteronomic questions in the individual books, such as the fulfilment of the promise concerning the land in Joshua and Judges (cf. Deut.9.1-6) or the answer given to the question of the central sanctuary in Joshua and Kings. Thus deuteronomic theology is seen as a sort of dialogue within the tradition which connects the different books of the DtrG, which is however carried on differently in the respective books[123]. This degree of independence of the canonical books in their theological orientation, which is obvious in comparison to Deuteronomy, among others[124], must also be taken adequately into account in conjunction with the accepted number of fundamental theological convictions shared by the books.

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121 **C. Westermann** 1994, 38f. The two blocks of law texts are: I. Ex.21-40 & Lev. & Num.1-10; II: Deut.12-28 with Deut.1-11 & 29-30.

122 **J. Gordon McConville**, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomic Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1993.

123 **J.G. McConville**, "1 Kings 8.46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope", *VT* 42 (1992) 67-79. **J.G. McConville** understands 1 Kgs 8.46-53 to be in dialogue with Deut.30.1-10, and not vice versa.

124 In "Narrative and Meaning in the Books of Kings", *Bib* 70 (1989) 31-49 **J.G. McConville** dissents both from the two-fold redaction theory and from the layer model, pleading for a uniform theological orientation for the book, which differs from Deuteronomy but shows similarities with Judges.

Support for a re-examination of the possibility that the books of the DtrG should be regarded as autonomous has also been given by Barry G. Webb in his detailed study of the book of Judges[125]. The differences to be observed, for instance, in the black-and-white moralism in the assessment of good and bad kings in Kings, the complex depiction of the characters of Samuel, Saul and David in Samuel, and the again entirely differently portrayed figures of the judges in Judges, lead him among others to emphasize the books' autonomy: "These and other marked differences are perhaps better accounted for in terms of an edited series of books than in terms of a series of more-or-less arbitrary units concealing an originally unified work... One of the implications of my work is that it may be time to re-open the question of how the Deuteronomic History as we have it came into existence" (211).

Hendrik J. Koorevar comes to similar conclusions in his investigation of the macro-structure of the book of Joshua[126]. He distinguishes four principal sections, each bounded by an initiative of Yahweh and a confirmatory announcement of its fulfilment[127]. According to his analysis the theological focal point of the book is to be located in the third section with the setting-up of the sanctuary in Shiloh[128]. Jerusalem as city of Yahweh has no place at all in the book of Joshua, and Shiloh is not only not rejected, but in the final literary form is

125 **Barry G. Webb**, *The Book of the Judges: An Integrated Reading*, JSOT.S 46, Sheffield: JSOT 1987. Similarly **Lillian R. Klein**, *The Triumph of Irony in the Book of Judges*, JSOT.S 68, Sheffield: Almond 1988, 11: "I regard the work as an entity and credit the work of perhaps many hands to a single author, whom I call just that."

126 **Hendrik Jakob Koorevaar**, *De Opbouw van het boek Jozua*, Dissertation in Theology, Brussels, Leiden-Heverlee: Centrum voor Bijbelse Vorming België 1990.

127 Principal sections with their theme-words: *'abar*—to cross 1.1-5.12; *laqaḥ*—to take up 5.13-12.24; *ḥalaq*—to distribute 13.1-21.45; *'abad*—to serve 22.1-24.33. Yahweh's initiatives: 1.1-9; 5.13-6.5; 13.1-7 (20.1-6); concluding confirmatory announcements: 5.1-12; 11.16-12.24; 21.43-45; 24.29-33.

128 **H.J. Koorevaar** recognizes a ring-structure in the portrayal of the division of the land, in the centre of which is the erection of the sanctuary of Shiloh (cf. **Yehuda T. Radday** 1981, 59):

13.8-33	A	Transjordan for 2½ tribes
14.1-5	B	The basis of the distribution
14.6-15	C	Beginning: *Caleb's* inheritance
15.1-17.18	D	The *lot* for Judah and Joseph
18.1-10	E	**The tent of meeting at Shiloh and apportionment of the land**
18.11-19.49	D^1	The *lot* for the remaining seven tribes
19.49-51	C^1	End: *Joshua's* inheritance
20.1-6	B^1	God's fourth initiative: cities of refuge
20.7-21.42	A^1	Cities of refuge and of the Levites

expressly moved to the position of central theological interest by means of the æsthetic-numerical structure. This prompts Koorevaar to date completion of the whole book in its macro-structure prior to the building of the temple in Jerusalem. It seems to him that the book of Joshua with its uninterruptedly optimistic view of the gift of the land can only be interpreted, on account of its unified structural make-up, as uniform and autonomous in its literary form. Neither the hexateuchal theory nor a DtrG theory can be convincingly combined with the results of his structural analysis (293).

Joel Rosenberg[129] also pleads for the books of Samuel to be studied as a unity in their own right. In his view the Masoretic "parcelling of books" gave Samuel, within the bounds of its specific literary character[130], a suitable beginning and conclusion of its own: "the two most widely accepted results of source-criticism—Leonhard Rost's notion of a tenth-century B.C.E. 'Succession History' (2 Sam.11–1 Kings 2 [sic!]) and Martin Noth's notion of a sixth- or fifth-century 'Deuteronomistic History' (Deut.–2 Kings) have tended to obscure the literary character of the Samuel books by depriving them both of their autonomy as books and of the commonality of texture and perspective that unites them with most other books of the Hebrew Bible." Rosenberg recognizes a unity of literary structure in Samuel: "Samuel stands as a single 'argument', one we can variously view as prophetic, Deuteronomic, or sapiential in origin, but whose consistency transcends alleged sources and books."

1.2.3.4 The Samuel Conclusion and DtrG Hypotheses

According to the differing concepts of the DtrG, so also the conclusion of Samuel is assessed differently. For Noth 2 Sam.21-24 along with Josh.13-22; 24 and Jdg.1.1-2.5; 13-16; 17-21 were regarded as insertions into the completed DtrG, associated with the subsequent division of the work into individual books. Thus any theological influence on the arrangement of his

129 **Joel Rosenberg**, "1 and 2 Samuel", *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter & F. Kermode, Cambridge (Mass.): HUP 1987, 122f.

130 **J. Rosenberg** 1987, 123: "The same careful interplay of poetic fragment, folkloric tradition, archival notation, and elaborated narrative that inform biblical literature as a whole.... can be found in Samuel...."

DtrG is excluded. The discussion about the DtrG is not in contrast to the theory of a succession narrative which is independent in its literary form. But this does also leave the evaluation of the "Appendix" as a redaction which has caused tremendous damage.

In a different way from Noth, and following Rost's theory, Timo Veijola assumes in his book on the deuteronomistic portrayal of David's dynasty that the concluding chapters of Samuel belonged to the DtrG from the outset, and like all the rest of the DtrG book, had gone through the various phases of editing[131]. All three phases of revision are represented: DtrH, DtrP and DtrN. DtrH is said to have connected 2 Sam.21.1-14 and 2 Sam.24 together, and also effected the separating off of 2 Sam.20 by the list of David's officials in 2 Sam.20.23-26. The lists of warriors in 21.15-22 and 23.8-39 are ascribed at the latest to DtrN. Since no DtrP revision can be made out, Veijola assumes that these two lists had also been put in their place between 2 Sam.21 and 24 at the first stage of DtrH. The psalm in 2 Sam.22 is said to have been placed into its framework and revised (22.22-25) by DtrN, who inserted both psalms into DtrH[132]. DtrP is said to be essentially responsible for the prophetic revision, critical of the monarchy, of the originally pro-king DtrH version of 2 Sam.24, whereby the account of Yahweh's anger against Israel has been changed into one of David's guilt. The "erhebliche Nähe zu der Nathan-David-Episode (2 Sam.11.27b-12.15a), die von DtrP erweitert und an ihrer jetzigen Stelle untergebracht worden ist, macht es äußerst wahrscheinlich, daß auch die prophetische Bearbeitung in 2 Sam.24 ihre Existenz demselben Verfasser (DtrP) verdankt" (115).

131 **T. Veijola** 1975; followed by **Rainer Bickert**, "Die Geschichte und das Handeln Jahwes: Zur Eigenart einer deuteronomistischen Offenbarungsauffassung in den Samuelbüchern", *Textgemäß: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des AT*, FS E. Würthwein, ed. A.H.J. Gunneweg & O. Kaiser, Göttingen 1979. Taken up approvingly in **R. Smend**, *Einleitung*, ^{4}1989; followed by **W. Dietrich** 1987; **Otto Kaiser**, "David und Jonathan: Tradition, Redaktion und Geschichte in 1 Sam 16-20—ein Versuch", *ETL* 66/4 (1990) 281-196.

132 **T. Veijola** 1975, 122 also ascribes Deut.31.32 to DtrN: "Das Abfassen von Psalmen war nach diesem Redaktor kein königliches Privileg, denn er hat auch Mose kurz vor dessen Tode einen langen Psalm vortragen lassen. Die Parallelisierung beider Figuren ist mit Händen zu greifen"; cf. **T. Veijola**, "David und Meribaal", *RB* 85 (1978) 338-361.

It seems remarkable that here in Veijola the "Appendix" does not appear as a postscript, but as connected throughout with the surrounding material (the Bathsheba story) in terms of theme and intention. Such a relationship becomes clear, because the theory of an independent Succession Narrative was not insisted upon as an all-dominating presupposition of the investigation. In a different way from defining blocks of text as separate literary units, the layer model is obviously in a better position to allow for a linear connection through the blocks and describe common features.

For R.E. Friedmann[133], interpreting within the framework of the Cross school, 2 Sam.24.14 belongs to Dtr^1. The block model is able to incorporate the unity of the Succession Narrative as a block belonging to Dtr^1 relatively without problems. For Brian Peckham everything from 2 Sam.20-24 is ascribed to Dtr^2 [134].

It is obvious that with a view of the books of the DtrG which allows them a greater theological autonomy an essentially different and greater weight can be apportioned to the closing chapters from that of previous approaches. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate that such a view can lead throughout to positive results.

1.2.4 The Samuel Conclusion and Approaches based on Literary Studies

A strong new impetus to reach a fresh evaluation of the closing chapters of Samuel is connected with the advent of a form of exegesis geared to literary studies[135]. James

133 **R.E. Friedmann**, 1981.

134 **Brian Peckham**, "The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History", *HSM* 35, Atlanta: Scholars 1985. He subdivides the book: 1 Sam.1-7; 8-15; 16-2 Sam.2; 3-12; 13-19; 20-24. In chapters 11; 12; 13; 15; 18 & 19 there are extracts which go back to Dtr^1, but the present arrangement stems from Dtr^2.

135 Anthology of the history: **Paul R. House**, *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in Old Testament Literary Criticism*, Winona Lakes: Eisenbrauns 1992; ed. **David J.A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl & Stanley E.Porter**, *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in celebration of forty years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*, JSOT.S 87, Sheffield: JSOT 1990; **John Barton**, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, London ^{2}1988 [=1984]; **Tremper Longman III**, *Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation*, Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation 3, Grand Rapids/MI: 1987.

Muilenburg's paper "Form Criticism and Beyond"[136], presented in 1968 before the Society of Biblical Literature, is regarded as the stimulus for the wider application to biblical texts of literary methods of analysis[137]. Muilenburg had proposed employing these methods to extend the observation of forms and genres in biblical literature to the structure and construction of a composition. In this way rhetorical features and structural markers such as sequence, narrative technique, poetic structure, parallelism, repetitions, chiasmus, key words, series etc. are to be described and evaluated (10f). Muilenburg had carefully explained his search for new ways of exegesis on the basis of dissatisfaction with the methods of historical-critical study employed up to then, as had also Brevard S. Childs[138] in the development of the "canonical approach". Common to both approaches[139] is the starting-point with the final form of the text, i.e. it is not the preliminary stages determined or assumed by source-criticism which are considered as the foundation of the interpretation, but rather the accepted text in its redactional final form. Such an approach also moves the interpretation of concluding chapters more strongly into the field of vision.

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136 Published in *JBL* 88 (1969) 1-18.

137 Thus **R.N. Whybray**, "On Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative*", *JSOT* 27 (1983) 76: "...that the stimulus to this line of research came notably from James Muilenburg, who ... pointed out the limitations of current and earlier methods of biblical criticism and stimulated a whole generation of younger scholars by proposing a 'new' method which he called 'rhetorical criticism'."—**Tremper Longman III** 1987, 116: "an event that has since become a touchstone for holistic and literary approaches." Whybray also names L. Alonso Schökel as a pioneer of the new approach: **Luis Alonso Schökel**, *Das Alte Testament als literarisches Kunstwerk* [originally published as *Estudios de poética hebrea*, Barcelona: Juan Flors 1963], Cologne: Buchem 1971; **David M. Gunn**, "New Directions in the Study of Biblical Narrative", *JSOT* 39 (1987) 65-75 also mentions alongside **James Muilenburg** the approach of **Luis Alonso Schökel** as influential for **David J.A. Clines** and himself. Certainly the "Amsterdam School" inspired by **Martin Buber** and **Franz Rosenzweig** ought also to be mentioned here, cf. i.a. **M. Buber**, *Leitwortstil in der Erzählung des Pentateuch: die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung*, Berlin 1936;—**M.A. Beek**, "Verzadigingspunten en onvoltooide lijnen in het onderzoek van de oudtestamentische literatuur", *Vox Theologica* 38 (1968) 2-14;—**K.A. Deurloo**, "Exegese naar Amsterdamse traditie", *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oude Testament*, ed. A.S. van der Woude, Kampen 1968, 188-198;—**K.A. Deurloo & R. Zuurmond**, *De Bijbel maakt school: een Amsterdamse weg in de exegese*, Baarn 1984.

138 **Brevard S. Childs**, *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, Philadelphia 1970; idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London: SCM 1979; idem, *Old Testament Theology in Canonical Context*, London: SCM 1985; idem, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, London: SCM 1992.

139 The closeness of these two approaches is not only in terms of time: **John Barton** ^{2}1988, 96, 100f, sees the approach of **B.S. Childs** as a variation, albeit with independent and theological foundation, of the "literary approaches": "...it can carry its case only if it accepts the limitations of becoming purely a technique for a *literary* reading of the Old Testament text." (96).

The changes which have taken place since the advent of this approach to Bible exegesis have proved to be far-reaching. David M. Gunn sums up[140]: "Plainly things have changed. The study of narrative in the Hebrew Bible has altered dramatically in the past ten years, at least as far as professional biblical studies is concerned. That is now a truism... So striking is the change, it has led me on more than one occasion to suggest that 'literary criticism' was becoming, has become perhaps, the new orthodoxy in biblical studies" (65). Even if this assessment is not generally shared[141], since Muilenburg exegesis which proceeds synchronically and is geared to literary criteria has firmly established its place as a scientific discipline. So much has been published[142] that it is no longer necessary to give specific reasons to justify the methodical procedure.

David Jobling[143] writes: "The publication of Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative*[144] is a considerable event, not only for the book's intrinsic value, but as a marker of the 'paradigm shift' in biblical studies from a predominantly historicist to a literary or more generally synchronic approach" (87). L. Alonso Schökel argues, with express reference to

140 **D.M. Gunn**, "New Directions in the Study of Biblical Hebrew Narrative", *JSOT* 39 (1987) 65-75.

141 Cf. **James Barr**, "The Literal, the Allegorical, and Modern Biblical Scholarship", *JSOT* 44 (1989) 3-17 and **B.S. Childs**, "Critical Reflections on James Barr's Understanding of the Literal and the Allegorical", *JSOT* 46 (1990) 3-9.

142 Cf. i.a. **Robert Alter**, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, New York: Basic 1981; idem, *The World of Biblical Literature*, London: SPCK 1992; **J.P. Fokkelman**, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis*, SSNL 17, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975; **R.C. Culley**, *Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative*, Philadelphia: Fortress 1976; idem, "Exploring New Directions", *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. D.A. Knight & G.M. Tucker, Philadelphia 1985, 167-200; **David Jobling**, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Three Structural Analyses in the Old Testament (1 Sam.13-31, Num.11-12, 1 Kg.17-18)*, JSOT.S 7, Sheffield: JSOT 1978;—idem, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible II*, JSOT.S 39, Sheffield: JSOT 1986; **J. Licht**, *Storytelling in the Bible*, Jerusalem: Magnes 1978; **Adele Berlin**, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative*, Bible and Literature 9, Sheffield: Almond 1983; **Meir Sternberg**, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Bloomington: IUP 1985; **Meir Weiss**, *The Bible From Within: The Method of Total Interpretation*, Jerusalem: Magnes 1984; **D. Dambrosch**, *The Narrative Covenant: Transformations of Genre in the Growth of Biblical Literature*, San Francisco: Harper & Row 1987; **Shimon Bar-Efrat**, *Narrative Art in the Bible*, JSOT.S 70/Bible and Literature 17, Sheffield: Almond 1989; **David M. Gunn & Danna Nolan Fewell**, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible*, Oxford: OUP 1993.

143 **David Jobling**, "Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative*", *JSOT* 27 (1983) 87-99.

144 **Robert Alter**, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, New York: Basic 1981.

Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*[145], for a juxtaposition of diachronic and synchronic approaches. Some of his colleagues, indeed, regarded the taking up of exegesis based on literary studies as "nothing less than a *confrontation with the entire historical-critical work*"[146]; he himself makes out a careful case for recognition and respect to be given to a paradigmatic distinctiveness, and for the acceptance of a juxtaposition of the differing approaches. Mark L. Powell argues in a similar way as he makes out a case for a juxtaposition: "Although the two methods cannot be used simultaneously, they can be used side by side in a supplementary fashion"[147]. John Barton also expresses himself in support of a plurality of exegetical possibilities. The idea that there was a single method of Bible study by which one might decipher the meaning of the biblical texts is regarded by him as unfounded: "I try to argue....that all of the methods being examined have something in them but none of them is the 'correct' method which scholars are seeking"[148]. The struggle to justify the methodology in biblical exegesis which is geared to literary studies[149] has

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145 **Thomas Kuhn**, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago 1962, 1970. German version: *Die Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp ^{10}1989.

146 **L. Alonso Schökel**, *"Of Methods and Models", Congress Volume Salamanca 1983*, VT.S 36, Leiden 1985, 3-13; cf. **David Robertsen**. *The Old Testament and the Literary Critic*, Philadelphia 1975, 63-67.

147 **M.A. Powell**, *What is Narrative Criticism?* Minneapolis: Fortress 1990, 89.

148 **J. Barton** ^{2}1988, 5 describes and expounds: literary criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, the "canonical" approach, structuralistic approaches, new criticism, and quite simply "reader-oriented" exegesis. Cf. **P. Miscall** 1986, xviii: "Literary critical study of biblical narrative is not the *method* that can replace others and finally produce the true and total meaning of the Bible. That may be a dream of certain interpretative modes, but it produces only more readings, more texts, not the final reading."

149 I.a. **D.M. Gunn**, "New Directions in the Study of Biblical Narrative", *JSOT* 39 (1987) 66: "It is no exaggeration to say the truly assured results of historical critical scholarship concerning authorship, date and provenance would fill but a pamphlet."—**L. Alonso Schökel**, "Of Methods and Models", *Congress Volume Salamanca 1983*, VT.S 36, Leiden 1985, 7: would like to neutralize the danger of a "cold war" of exegetes under the slogans "You are analysing works which never existed" and the reply "You are reconstructing a process which never took place": "The cold war of mutual condemnation can easily heat up and degenerate into a desire to destroy the opponent"—**Fred W. Burnett**, "Postmodern Biblical Exegesis: The Eve of Historical Criticism", *Semeia* 51 (1990) 51-80 introduces his article by observing the accumulation of apocalyptic terms used in describing the present state of criticism: abyss, labyrinth, nihilism.... A tense mood reigns in which "almost any issue which is chosen will make some people reach for their guns". In his view traditional historical criticism with regard to the "postmodern readings" is no longer to survive inviolate, but is in need of fundamental metamorphosis.

subsequently abated: "In a way, *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (1987), edited by Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, signaled an end to literary criticism's search for acceptance", observes Paul R. House in his short portrayal of its twenty-year history[150].

The present study takes up the stimulus of this discussion for the interpretation of the closing chapters of Samuel[151]. It takes as its starting-point the final form of the Samuel complex[152], without thereby abandoning the general justifiability and necessity of asking diachronic and historic questions[153]. However, if priority is given to a synchronic method of reading, the

150 **P.R. House**, "The Rise and Current Status of Literary Criticism of the Old Testament", *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in OT Literary Criticism*, ed. idem, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1992, 19; cf. **Robert Morgan & John Barton**, *Biblical Interpretation*, Oxford: OUP 1988, 286: "Our third suggestion has been that a *literary* framework, which includes the results of historical and linguistic research, is today the more promising for the study of religion and for theology than the *historical* framework.... The main reason for this preference is that literary approaches offer more scope for making connections with a theory of religion. That is because they allow a large range of legitimate interpretations of the Bible. Historical study is a valuable control against the chaos of arbitrary interpretations, but its passion for a single correct answer, were it attainable, would leave the Bible looking more fragmented than ever." I have given a résumé in: **H.H.Klement**, "Beobachtungen zu literaturwissenschaftlichen Ansätzen in alttestamentlicher Exegese", *JETh* 7, Wuppertal: TVG 1993, 7-28.

151 Cf **R. Rendtorff**, "Zwischen historisch-kritischer Methode und holistischer Interpretation": idem, *Kanon und Theologie: Vorarbeiten zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Neukirchen: Neukirchner 1991, 23-28: "Gegen die traditionelle Literarkritik hege ich allerdings insofern ein großes Mißtrauen, als sie, wie gesagt, zur Produktion selbstgemachte Texte führt" (25). "Zweifellos hat das Paradigma der in Deutschland entwickelten 'Literarkritik', innerhalb dessen die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft mehr als ein Jahrhundert gearbeitet hat, seine allgemeine Anerkennung verloren" (28).

152 Cf. **H.J. Stoebe**, "Überlegungen zur Exegese historischer Texte, dargestellt an den Samuelbüchern", *TZ* 45 (1989) 290-314: "Wenn ich richtig urteile, berühren sich meine Absichten in vieler Hinsicht mit denen Childs in seiner Schätzung des kanonischen Textes für die Auslegung des Alten Testaments. Ich unterscheide mich, und das ist nun doch wesentlich, daß ich die Endgestalt nicht in dem Masse als normativ ansehen kann, daß ich nicht mindestens das Recht zu einer Hinterfragung offen ließe" (314).

153 Cf. e.g. the programmatic reflections of **R.W.L. Moberly**, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*, JSOT.S 22, Sheffield: JSOT 1983, 22: "One must not allow a kind of schizophrenia within the biblical exegete whereby he does his historical-critical research on the one hand and his literary and theological exegesis on the other, and either does not see how, or feels himself under obligation, to bring together these two approaches to form a coherent understanding of the text. The phœnix of a conservatism which simply studies the final text and eschews any kind of historical criticism might swiftly arise from the ashes. The responsible interpreter must deal with every aspect and dimension of the text he is seeking to interpret"; cf. **V.P. Long** 1989, 18.

relevant questions take on a new and different form from what they would have if the reverse order was followed[154].

The principal criteria for identifying literary disunity in a text include, as is known, units labelled as doublets, and also gaps and tensions in the text, and the feeling that its present state may be understood as the result of a process of growth controlled by reconstructible mechanisms[155]. Looked at from points of view of literary studies, however, the necessary meaningfulness of these criteria, which are often considered to be self-evident, cannot often be confirmed. For the assessment of tensions or interruptions in a text, literary assessment gives rise to openness to a number of possible interpretations and functions in the literary structure. Monocausal conclusions involving preliminary literary forms and textual growth, which one observes are often reached by diachronic exegetes, appear to be too narrow a point of view[156]. The conjecture used in the traditional separation of sources, that

154 Cf. **Robert Polzin**, "Criticism and Crises within Biblical Studies", *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, New York: Seabury 1980, 1-23: "The priority of synchrony....over diachrony is not in rank but only in operation." Polzin quotes Krystyna Pomorska (1971): "If we move in the opposite direction, basing synchronic analyses on historical studies, 'we always run a risk of applying ready-made theories to something not suited to them' (276). 'A literary work represents a complex phenomenon whose *process* is as significant as its anthological nature. But it seems impossible to study the process before knowing the nature of the product' " (6).

155 An investigation of the idea of developing texts is greatly to be desired; in the meantime cf. **E. Güttgemanns**, *Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser ^{2}1971, 120-137, who has shown that the literary assumptions of Romanticism concerning gradual processes of growth through folk traditions, which had an influence on theology at the beginning of this century in the shaping of form-historical methodology, have been long overtaken in modern linguistics. **H.J. Tertel** 1994, 85ff, 116f, comes to ask similar questions of principle: Whereas from a traditional literary-critical way of looking at things complex texts with many side-issues which could possibly be regarded as inessential to the main line of thought are considered to be obviously the result of an often multi-layered process of development, Tertel's analyses call the plausibility of this assumption into serious doubt. When compared with the well-examined circumstances in the Assyrian documents, narratives of a complex character with many active supporting rôles indicate rather a close proximity to the originals.

156 Cf. i.a. **M. Sternberg** 1985, 186-229: "Gaps, Ambiguity, and the Reading Process"; cf. also **H.J. Tertel** 1994, 85ff, 16ff; he concludes, on the basis of his empirical study of the transmission of texts in the Assyrian royal annals, that the presence of gaps and discrepancies in an extract cannot in any way be regarded exclusively as a starting-point for source reconstruction. Apart from the emphatically to be admitted possibility that they might already have been present in the original version of the text, they can be explained just as well by omission as by addition or by alteration of the text. Solely to trace back the possibility of the redactional compilation of source texts and layers goes considerably beyond the range of tenable opinions. The probability of an accurate reconstruction of preliminary forms on the basis of evidence contained in the text must—in the case of the Assyrian texts which can be verified by checking—be estimated as approaching nil.

so-called doublets indicate narrative variations from a common original, thus cannot be maintained. Instead of this R. Alter speaks of "Biblical type-scenes" which point to the presence of conventions of story-telling, but not necessarily to the identity of the incident being recorded[157].

Justification for a fresh study of the Samuel Conclusion appears to be more than adequately provided by the results of this résumé of research[158]. The approach which is being followed here will attempt, starting with the question of the function in Samuel of the closing chapters, to demonstrate possible lines for a fresh interpretation. The validity and limits of so-called postmodern approaches[159] cannot be fully discussed here. The direction of the search for meaning in this approach will, moreover, not be seen only in the unavoidable interaction of the reader with the text, but much more in the intended meaning of the present form of the

157 **R. Alter**, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, New York: Basic 1981, 47ff: "Biblical Type-Scenes and the Uses of Convention". It is interesting that **H.J. Tertel** 1994 has upheld this interpretation in his empirical study of the transmission of texts in the Assyrian royal annals, where distinct incidents of war were increasingly assimilated in the course of the processes of transmission, i.e. early versions which had been passed on with characteristic wording and forms showed themselves to be the richest in details, whereas later ones were schematized: "We cannot *a priori* assume that two similar narratives constitute alternative versions of one story. In the light of the literary development of Assyrian annals the assimilation of originally different accounts with common features seems more probable" (133).

158 Cf. **R. Polzin** 1980, 13: "For if I have been at pains...to underline my conviction that historical critical analysis is essential to an adequate scholarly understanding of the Deuteronomic History, it is my pessimistic view that almost two centuries of research on Deuteronomy and the other books it introduces...have produced no hypothesis that can be described as historically or literarily adequate."

159 Cf. **D.M. Gunn** 1987, 69: "Meaning is also and always the manipulation of the text by the reader. 'Readers make sense' as Edgar McKnight nicely puts it (1985:12). There is no poetics, however discriminating, that will settle the question of meaning.... There is no objective, ideologically sterile reader to appropriate an ideological prescription embedded in the text"; ed. **Garry A. Phillips**, "Poststructural Criticism and the Bible: Text/History/Discourse", *Semeia* 51 (1990), and especially: **F.W. Burnett**, "Postmodern Biblical Exegesis: The Eve of Historical Criticism", 51-80;—**G.A. Phillips**, "Exegesis as Critical Praxis: Reclaiming History from a Postmodern Perspective", 7-49.—On criticism cf. i.a. **Eric Donald Hirsch**, *The Aims of Interpretation*, Chicago: UCP 1976 and **Anthony C. Thistleton**, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading*, London: Harper Collins 1992. The approach followed here starts from the assumption that biblical texts were not produced without an objective, the intended meaning of a text is made clear by internal criteria such as e.g. the selection of scenes, concepts, information, style, or by a sequence or structural composition, without the need for the unavoidable involvement of the reader to dominate the results of discovering the meaning of the text (cf. i.a. **M. Sternberg** 1985, 475-478: "The Rhetorical Repertoire").

texts, which is recognizable in the composition and sequence of the texts.[160] This intended meaning inherent in the text will be tentatively ascribed to the author of the text in its present form.

The starting-point for this treatment of the subject is found in observations of Walter Brueggemann on the connection of the Samuel Conclusion with other parts of Samuel, following on from the studies of Childs and Flanagan. The approaches which are there put forward for an integrated interpretation will be further extended in application to a structure of the Samuel corpus from which the "Appendix" takes its structural position. In a further chapter, taking into account the insight gained into their structure and location, an interpretation of the closing chapters will be given.

160 Cf. i.a. **John Barton**, "Classifying Biblical Criticism", *JSOT* 29 (1984) 19-35.

2. STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CONCLUDING CHAPTERS TO THE SAMUEL CORPUS

2.1 The Concluding Chapters and Chiastic Structure

2.1.1 Structural Comparison of 2 Sam.5-8 with 2 Sam.21-24

2.1.1.1 The Question Posed by Brueggemann: "Deconstruction?"

In the title of his significant article[164] "2 Samuel 21-24: An Appendix of Deconstruction?" Walter Brueggemann applies himself to the question of the rhetorical intention of the Samuel Conclusion. He begins by identifying as the impetus for his investigations the works of R.A. Carlson and a comment by David Gunn. Carlson[165] had understood the "Appendix" in terms of deuteronomic criticism of the prevailing royal ideology. From David Gunn came the suggestion that the whole "Appendix" should be taken as "intended to serve as a 'deconstruction' of David". Brueggemann understands by this "that the literature seeks to dismantle the high royal theology which has been enacted elsewhere in the narrative, and historically in the Jerusalem establishment" (385). In this way the question of the theological relevance of the "Appendix" in relation to other sections of the book of Samuel was opened afresh.

It is this article which will serve as the starting-point for further investigations into the structural location of the concluding chapters of Samuel. In it Brueggemann applies himself in a new and stimulating way to the function and meaning of the Samuel Conclusion. Following on from his investigations, further suggestions for the structuring of the Samuel corpus will be put forward. Finally, in the next main chapter, on the basis of the structural location of the Samuel Conclusion deduced in this way, we shall attempt a fresh description of the intention of this section, which will take up again Brueggemann's original question.

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164 **Walter Brueggemann**, "2 Samuel 21-24: An Appendix of Deconstruction?", *CBQ* 50 (1988) 383-397.

165 **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 194-259.

2.1.1.2 The "Appendix" and B.S. Childs's "Canonical Context"

Brueggemann's method in tackling the question of the implicit intention of the "Appendix" methodically, is to relate it first to the wider context of the book of Samuel. He does this by building on the suggestions of Childs and Flanagan.

According to Brevard S. Childs's approach there are to be found in the "Appendix" (2 Sam.21-24) and the psalm of Hannah (1 Sam.2.1-10) the two essential poles from which the whole of the intervening book receives its theological alignment in its canonical form. It is to these framing texts, therefore, that a key rôle in the interpretation of the book in its canonical form is to be given[166]. Hannah's psalm interrupts the flow of the narrative in order to praise the great God who brings life out of barrenness and directs the course of history according to his criteria. It is the activity of this God, who "brings low [and] also exalts", who "will judge the ends of the earth", who "will give strength to his king", which will be the subject of the following narratives in the book of Samuel: "Chapter 2 offers an interpretative key for this history which is, above all, to be understood from a theocentric perspective."

While Childs finds this function for Hannah's psalm—providing a theological disposition for the book which follows—already described in Carlson's work[167], there is no equivalent treatment of the concluding chapters: "The significance of this appendix for the reading of the whole narrative has seldom been pursued"[168]. In its central part, in 2 Sam.22 & 23, in which many of the motifs of Hannah's psalm reappear, he recognizes the same theocentric perspective, now in retrospect. The focal point of the rhetorical intention is not David, but God, who rescued David from all his enemies. Therefore Childs prefers to see the "Appendix" as a theological retrospect on the career of David. He sees it as forming with

166 **B.S. Childs**, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London: SCM 1979, 272f.

167 **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 246ff.

168 **B.S. Childs** 1979, 272f. In particular, he regrets the playing-down of the significance of the concluding chapters in the theories of Budde and Rost. As "the one highly welcomed exception" he mentions **Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg** ^{4}1968, together with **Karl Gutbrod** 1965-8.

its ring-structure the key to the canonical understanding of the Samuel corpus as a whole: "In sum, the final chapters, far from being a clumsy appendix, offer a highly reflective, theological interpretation of David's whole career adumbrating the messianic hope, which provides a clear hermeneutical guide for its use as sacred scripture."

Consequently Brueggemann wishes to bring together and develop further the two approaches which are superficially in tension, that of Carlson and Gunn based on the tendency of the content, and that of Childs concerning their relevance as concluding chapters for the whole book. A further comparison is provided him by the investigations of James W. Flanagan into the structure and theological significance of 2 Sam.5-8 under the title "Social Transformation and Ritual in 2 Samuel 6"[169].

2.1.1.3 Flanagan's Analysis of 2 Sam.5-8

In his analysis of the far-reaching significance of the transfer of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem, applying to it social-scientific questions, James Flanagan has put forward observations concerning the structure of the unit 2 Sam.5.13-8.18. Flanagan sees the substance of the content of the central texts as being emphasized by its artistic literary formation as a unit of six parts in three pairs. Thus the section is seen as having a formal chiastic structure similar to that of the chapters of the Appendix. Brueggemann suggests that these two similarly structured textual units should be compared with each other. As this is to be undertaken below, it is first necessary to summarize Flanagan's observations.

Starting from an appraisal of the sociological conditions of the first Israelite iron age as a time of social, political, economic and religious change, James Flanagan considers the bringing of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem to be an extraordinarily significant factor in

169 **James W. Flanagan**, "Social Transformation and Ritual in 2 Samuel 6", *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth*, FS D.N. Freedman, ed. C.L. Meyes & M. O'Connor, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983, 361-371.

the legitimating of David's claim as successor to the rule of Saul[170]. From the point of view of social science the most important question in the establishment and stabilizing of the new authority is that of complete legitimation. For David it was a matter not only of the claim to authority for a new dynasty to replace the house of Saul, but also still that of the justification of the institution of monarchy itself. Thus the question of legitimation was a doubly acute one.

In periods of social transition there is, according to Flanagan, between the phases of "separation" and "reaggregation" that of "liminality"[171]. This latter is characterized by uncertainties: "Conspiracy, rivalry, and violence, the hallmarks of transitional periods, are intensified by indeterminate succession patterns" (364). When a society is established afresh[172] the religious rite plays a central rôle[173], and especially when it is a matter of acknowledging the power of the state. In 2 Sam.6.14-19 the ritual to legitimate David's authority is described in terms of a peace-offering with procession, liturgical dress and ceremonial dances. This episode is in his view one of three (along with 1 Sam.11.14f and 1 Kgs 8.63f) in which a *šᵉlāmîm*-offering is mentioned in connection with a scene of inauguration[174].

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170 Cf. similarly **Philip Davies**, "Jerusalem", *Creating the OT: The Emergence of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Stephen Bigger, Oxford: Blackwell 1989, 169-183.

171 **J.W. Flanagan** 1983, referring to **A. van Gennep**, *The Rites of Passage*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1960, original edition 1909.

172 As with ordinary rites of passage in society: puberty, betrothal, marriage, death and other dramatic human experiences.

173 **J.W. Flanagan** 1983, referring to **Meyer Fortes**, "Ritual and Office in Tribal Society", *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*, ed. Max Gluckman, Manchester University Press 1962, 53-88, who "has in fact claimed that entry into or exit from critical stages in life is always marked by ritual and ceremony which mediate the transitions occurring at that time" (Flanagan 367).

174 According to **Baruch Levine**, *In the Presence of the Lord*, Leiden: Brill 1974. **Levine** mentions two further extra-biblical examples: from *Enuma Elish* (4th Table) the *šulamanu* in connection with the transfer of power following the victory of the god-hero Marduk over Tiamat, and the royal ritual at the investiture of Tukulti-Ninurta (c.1220-1150 B.C.) before Assur in a temple in connection with divestiture of the royal insignia (humiliation before the deity), procession, re-robing and *šulamanu*. **J.W. Flanagan** 1983 comments: "The use of parallel cultic terminology, the ritual humiliation, and the proclamation of the leader's divine election in 2 Samuel 6 leaves little doubt that the investiture of David and relocation of the ark in Jerusalem took place within a ritual setting. Throughout the scene, divine power was manifested in event (e.g. Uzziah's death, 6.7) and word (dialogues, 6.12; 7.5)."

In the relocation of the ark to Jerusalem Flanagan sees the actual end of Saul's rule and the transition to confirmation of the new order. "It was here that the structures of the former state no longer held sway and the new state of Davidic dynasty had not yet been fully established" (368). Thus Flanagan understands 2 Sam.6 as "the pivot of the sacred" in the open, ambivalent phase of the transition between release from the claims of the old power and the new confirmation of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. This transition is presented as very far-reaching and comprehensive, involving religious, social, political and geographical aspects[175].

The transformation took place in a twofold way as a transition from a "segmental tribal organization of the Yahwistic community" to a "centralized territorial governance", and simultaneously as a change of rule from the "northern leadership of the house of Saul" to the Judaic family of Jesse and the house of David. The former is executed through the transfer of the ark as the symbol of the tradition of the tribal community[176], the latter through the rôle of Michal[177]. Her childlessness is not only seen as reflecting her own personal tragedy, but must also be understood as the definitive destiny of the family of Saul, for which there can be no possibility of a return to the throne.

The central significance of this section for the establishment of the Davidic rule is seen by Flanagan as being emphasized in literary form by the artistic construction of the context, which is seen in the section 2 Sam.5.13-8.18. He understands it as "a single literary unit

175 Cf. **C.L. Seow**, "Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance", *HSM* 44, Atlanta: Scholars 1989, according to whom David's transfer of the ark is depicted very speculatively (E.v. Nordheim, review *BZ* 37NF [1993] 96f) as a religio-political drama after the pattern of Baal as a "march of the divine warrior"; cf. **J.M. de Tarragon**, "David et l'arche: II Samuel IV", *RB* 86 (1979) 514-523.

176 Cf. **Georg Hentschel**, *1 Samuel*, Neue Echter Bibel, Würzburg: Echter 1994: "Der Erzähler, der die bisherigen Beziehungen Davids zur Tochter Sauls in der Augstiegsgeschichte (1 Sam.18.20-27; 19.10b-17; 2 Sam.2.13-16) als bekannt voraussetzte, stand offensichtlich auf seiten Davids...." (39). By putting back the victory of David to 2 Sam.8.1-14 "wollte man demonstrieren: Die bisherige Hegemonie der Philister konnte nur von jemandem gebrochen werden (8.1), der so wie David um die Lade besorgt war."

177 Cf. **J.W. Flanagan**, "Succession and Genealogy in the Davidic Dynasty", *The Quest for the Kingdom of God*, FS G.E. Mendenhall, ed. H.B. Huffmon and others, Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982, 35-55. By his marriage David was able to make valid claims on Saul's throne on the basis of the law of inheritance. Cf. **J.D. Levenson & B. Halpern**, "The Political Import of David's Marriages", *JBL* 99/4 (1980) 507-518.

woven together by content and structure from originally separate sources." He regards as "literary devices" first the chronological order of the events, then the "ascending dominance" of the narrated content, and finally the striking structure which places each pair of sayings in binary opposition. Even though there may remain unevennesses of detail[178], great value is to be given to "the compilers' skill in weaving the horizontal and vertical transitions into a single fabric". He regards as unmistakeably recognizable three groups arranged in parallel:

A	5.13-16	List	—David's sons, born in Jerusalem
B	5.17-25	Victories	—over the Philistines
C	6.1-23	Ark of YHWH-Ṣ^{e}b̲ā'ôṯ in Jerusalem	
C^{1}	7.1-29	Promise of the dynasty for David	
B^{1}	8.1-14	Victories	—over all the neighbouring nations
A^{1}	8.15-18	List	—David's ministers

In this ring structure David's sons and the "members of the cabinet" are related to each other, as are the victories, first the initial ones over the Philistines, and then the decisive victories over all the other neighbours as well, which gave rise to the extended kingdom. In the centre stands the already described important cultic legitimation of David's rule by means of the transfer of the ark, "the symbol of the old tribal confederation headed by Saul", which in the parallel is "balanced by the oracle establishing the Jerusalemite, Davidic dynasty".

Although David had first been able to establish a natural right of succession to Saul as his son-in-law (2 Sam.3.13f; 1 Sam.17.25; 18.17-27), this legitimation is, due to the mention of Michal's childlessness, significantly downgraded in favour of his own personal legitimation in contrast to the family of Saul: "In the compilers' view, by transferring the ark to Jerusalem, David symbolically linked himself to and laid claim to the ancient northern traditions associated with the tribal league and Saul, while the pronouncement of the dynastic oracle transferred perpetual custody of those traditions to David and his house in

178 Cf. 7.1 with 8.1-14; 5.17-25 with 8.1.

Jerusalem" (367). In this way David appears in the end as king, not in any way by the grace of Saul, but as king according to the will of Yahweh, without any further need of legitimation through connections with the family of Saul.

2.1.1.4 The Samuel Conclusion in the Context of the Book of Samuel

Flanagan's observation of the six-part ring structure in 2 Sam.5-8 then leads Brueggemann[179] to suspect that the entirely similarly constructed six units in 2 Sam.21-24 might have found their form as an intentional contrast to those described by Flanagan. Thus the "Appendix" is to be read intertextually in relation to other texts of the Samuel corpus. Whereas 2 Sam.5-8 provides a very positive and comprehensive legitimation of the Davidic rule, in the case of the "Appendix" he examines whether David Gunn's assumed tendency of "deconstruction" might be appropriate to a theology that is critical of leadership. Brueggemann is inclined to agree, though not in an absolute sense: "The deconstruction that operates here is not a deconstruction of everything about David and about kingship, but it is the dismantling of a certain David, a David too certain, a David who believes in, acts on, and is defined by ideological claims that are regarded as alien to the older memory" (395).

Brueggemann does not carry out a detailed correlation of the above-mentioned groups of texts[180], but he encourages the undertaking of this comparison. In his view both sections are constructed of six elements and arranged chiastically. However, he cannot discern for 2 Sam.21-24 an internal coherence and dynamic in the same way as Flanagan has demonstrated it for 2 Sam.5-8. 2 Sam.5-8 is seen as a "literary enactment across the threshold from traditional Yahwism toward 'centralized supra- and extratribal administration, which signaled class and social distinctions' ". For Brueggemann the "Appendix" reverses this direction "as a dramatic invitation to go back across that threshold to an egalitarian

179 **W. Brueggemann** 1988, 385.

180 "It is too early in my thinking to correlate this material more closely with that of 2 Sam.5-8, but I suggest that this set of six elements intends to counter that set of six elements" (395).

covenantal mode of life". What chapters 5-8 regard as a new achievement is rejected in chapters 21-24 as a mistaken development. The "Appendix" shows that "the new Davidic world of guaranteeing oracle (7.1-17), imperial wars (8.1-14), and bureaucratic power (8.15-18)" has been a mistaken development. The theological tendency of the concluding chapters does not affirm any exalted royal ideology, but rather expects from the ruler a humble attitude which is ready to entrust itself to Yahweh and expect everything from him alone.

In this sense Brueggemann agrees with Childs that such a demeanour, as is recognizable at the end in the portrayal of David in 2 Sam.24, corresponds with Hannah's similar attitude in 1 Sam.1: "These narratives of Hannah and David petitioning and being heard provide an *inclusio* for the Samuel narrative about power and transformation of power. The power approved is empty-handed waiting for inversions that make full" (397).

Brueggemann's article on the concluding chapters seems remarkable in many respects, but he represents a great exception in suggesting that this group of texts in their present location and formal structure should not be depreciated as unconnected textual remains which have been loosely added at a later date, but rather be connected in regard to their content with other sections of the Samuel corpus and discussed in the light of this relationship. The often observed but seldom interpreted ring structure is not regarded as an empty form. For Brueggemann it is an intentional setting, as a counterpart to the corresponding ring structure of 2 Sam.5-8. The ring-structure of these latter chapters focuses on the thematically and theologically central chapters about the beginnings of the shrine of the ark at Jerusalem and thus of Jerusalem as the city of Yahweh, bound closely together with the promise of an eternal dynasty for the house of David. At the same time Brueggemann, in this following Childs, respects the "Appendix" in its function as concluding chapters in balance with the introduction of the book of Samuel. In this way, too, he takes account of the context of the book of Samuel itself.

These suggestions will be further elaborated below, beginning with the method employed in assembling the material into a structural context. Whether Brueggemann is further to be followed in his evaluation of the intention of the "Appendix" as "deconstructive" will be shown by the further investigation in the next main section.

2.1.2 Recurring Structural Elements in the Book of Samuel

2.1.2.1 Three Double Lists of the New Nobility

Brueggemann's suggestion of the structural relationship between 2 Sam.21-24 and 2 Sam.5-8 is to be positively accepted. If the chiastic structure of six units observed by Flanagan is placed in correlation with that of the "Appendix", as well as the thematic question about the understanding of the kingdom implicit in each case, there are also other formal correspondences. It is conspicuous that in both units use is made of lists of persons. While the "Appendix" in its central ring has two units with lists of worthy soldiers, in the outer ring of the unit 2 Sam.5-8 there is correspondence between two compilations of David's sons or ministers. Having remarked on this formal connection we cannot ignore the fact that it is not only the list of soldiers in the "Appendix" which is found in two units, but the two other registers also appear in a double form. The sons of David are divided into two series based on the seats of government in Hebron and Jerusalem:

2 Sam.5.13-16	Sons of David born in Jerusalem
2 Sam.3.1-5	Sons of David born in Hebron

The table of responsible ministers of David's empire also features—to the frequent confusion of the exegetes—with slight but not insignificant variations on two occasions, as the conclusion of the six-fold ring structure described by Flanagan and thus as a link with the material of the "Succession Narrative", and then again as a divider[181] between the "Succession Narrative" and the "Appendix":

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181 Among others seeing a rôle in the structure for the lists of ministers is **Stoebe** 1994, 25ff; certainly he recognizes their character as bringing to a conclusion the units 2 Sam.1-8 and 2 Sam.9-20, and the marking-out of a threefold structure for the second book of Samuel. Also **J.W. Flanagan**, "Court History or Succession Document? A Study of 2 Samuel 9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2", *JBL* 91 (1992) 172-191, sees in them a literary function, which indicates a literary unity.

2 Sam.8.15-18 List of David's ministers

2 Sam.20.23-26 List of David's ministers

The existence of these three double lists makes Brueggemann's suggestion about the correlation of the units seem a profitable one, and leads one to look for possible connections between them.

As well as by their formal use all three personal registers are linked in a twofold form through their clear connection with David. They deal with people surrounding him, who receive their significance through their close connection with the king. All three double lists also have in common the fact that they are dealing with groups of people who could only appear following the rise and strengthening of the monarchy[182].

In the emerging monarchical order of society these groups of people represent a kind of new nobility[183]. With the list of sons there is set forth the new royal family. It achieved what was *eo ipso* impossible in a relatively egalitarian tribal society, introducing a sociopolitical innovation with a previously unthought-of rank of nobility[184]. The way in which expression was to be given to this status remained for a long time a matter of dispute[185]. The

182 Cf. **Baruch Halpern**, "The Uneasy Compromise: Israel between League and Monarchy", *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, ed. B. Halpern & J.D. Levenson, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1981, 59-96.

183 Cf. **Albrecht Alt**, "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda", *KS* III, Munich: Beck 1953. According to **Herbert Donner**, *Studien zur Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsreform der Reiche Israel und Juda*, dissertation, Leipzig 1956; idem, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel", *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 229-245, the officialdom forms the initial factor in a social development, the effects of which is denounced by eighth century prophecy. Cf. **Rainer Neu**, *Von der Anarchie zum Staat: Entwicklungsgeschichte Israels vom Nomadentum zur Monarchie im Spiegel der Ethnosoziologie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner 1992.

184 Cf. **James D. Martin**, "Israel as a Tribal Society", *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives*, ed. R.E. Clements, Cambridge: CUP 1989, 95-117.

185 **J.W. Flanagan**, "Chiefs in Israel", *JSOT* 20 (1981) 47-73, saw in the mention of mothers in the Hebron list a reference to the pre-monarchic social order: "The dropping of mothers' names [in the Jerusalem list, HK] indicates that David was a chief at Hebron where the order within his ramage, ranked according to mothers because of polygamous marriages, had to be maintained for determining statuses and succession rights; but once the bureaucracy of a monarchy in Jerusalem made primogeniture less relevant for succession, the mothers' names were no longer remembered" (65).

uncertainty connected with this is reflected in the narrative texts[186].

The soldiers in the list were the veterans of the earliest days, who had laid around David the military foundation for the great new realm, and very probably shared in the enjoyment of special privileges. According to 1 Sam.17.25 the rewards for outstanding military feats could include among other things monetary gifts and exemption from taxes[187] for the family. The efficiency of the new civic professional militia led to downgrading of the people's army, and the demilitarization of the population of the land which thus began means a simultaneous reduction in political power[188].

In a similar way it must be expected that the ministers of the king, who were involved on behalf of their respective departments in the centralized government activity of the great new realm, enjoyed magnificent privileges alongside the king[189]. These had already been expressly made by Saul for his group of "great ones" into an effective argument for the unconditional exercise of power. 1 Sam.22.7 mentions donations of lucrative property such as fields and vineyards, and military ranks[190]. That David could behave in a similar way is

186 Cf. i.a. 1 Sam.10.27 the refusal of contributions; 18.18 David's hesitation at including himself; 2 Sam.13.18 the reference to customs of dress; 13.28 celebrations, and the behaviour of Absalom 15.1f. Cf. also Rehoboam's uncertainty about his rôle in 1 Kgs 12 and Ahab's in 1 Kgs 21; also 1 Kgs 4.11,15.

187 On tax regulations cf. **Udo Rüterswörden** 1981, 183ff. The right to claim the tithe and other contributions was clearly defined (cf. 1 Sam.8.11-17; 10.25; 2 Sam.5.3). According to 2 Sam.9.9f the king appears to have been regarded as owner of the whole land, and therefore to have entered into the succession of Yahweh in his right to the tithe. The presents of 1 Sam.10.27 appear to represent the newly-defined right of the king rather than voluntary generosity.

188 Cf. **Max Weber**, "Das Antike Judentum", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* III, Tübingen 1920, 32.

189 Cf. **Tryggve N.D. Mettinger**, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy*, Lund: Gleerup 1971;—**Frank Crüsemann**, "Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum: die antiköniglichen Texte des AT und der Kampf um den frühen israelitischen Staat", *WMANT* 49, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1978;—**U. Rüterswörden**, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit: eine Studie zu 'sr' und vergleichbaren Begriffen*, theological dissertation, Bochum 1981 [= *BWANT* 117, Stuttgart 1985];—**J. Alberto Soggin**, "Compulsory Labor under David and Solomon", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982.

190 Their proximity to the king becomes clear from, among other things, Absalom's rebellion in 2 Sam.15.14ff; cf. **U. Rüterswörden** 1981, 36f, 177.

made clear by the enfeoffment of Ziba with what belonged to Mephibosheth in 2 Sam.16.4[191].

Thus all three lists present groups of people who must be regarded as the principal beneficiaries of the new order of society. Whereas the old structure of tribal order was organized in family lines with the eldest as heads of the family, the period of the monarchy under David presents itself in addition with a structured and ordered new ruling nobility, which is in a position to bestow a new and high measure of social prestige independently of the social order in the categories of the tribal association. The most outstanding innovations in the social order manifest themselves in the three above-mentioned double lists thus: (a) as the appearance of a royal family with all its arrogation of power, its intrigues and its scandals; (b) as the establishment of an ever more efficiently functioning centralized system of administrative and government officials, and (c) as a new type of professional military structure, which could also be deployed internally as an instrument of might to further the interests of the ruling power (2 Sam.24.4).

This conspicuous characteristic of the three lists of individuals precludes their appearance in the context of the book of Samuel in each case as double lists from being regarded as accidental. They rather lend themselves to being recognized as an expression of the innovations connected with the upheaval in society, and therefore with regard to their content belonging in the closest possible sense to the events recounted in the narrative sections. Thus the double list of the soldiers in the Appendix belongs as a unit with the two others, of the sons and ministers. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that they should also be read and interpreted in this context. In this way a further level in the dovetailing of the Appendix with other texts in the Samuel corpus would be rendered probable.

191 The property of a rebel was clearly forfeited to the king, who might pass it on to those he favoured; **Moshe Garsiel** 1985, 71 comments critically on this: David's conduct is in his view negative (1 Sam.8) and unjustified (2 Sam.19.25ff). But cf. **Frank Charles Fensham**, "A Few Aspects of Legal Practices in Samuel in Comparison with Legal Material from the Ancient Near East", *Studies in the Book of Samuel*, ed. A.H.v. Zyl, Pretoria 1960, 18-35.

2.1.2.2 The Structuring Function of the Double Lists

The observation that the list in the Appendix appears as a ring in a chiastic structure, and that also the two lists of the sons and officials in the chiastic unit 2 Sam.5-8 are to be recognized as a pair having a binary structural relationship, allows the assumption that in each case their appearance in double form may be regarded as serving a structuring function. In the field of literary observations the fact that repetitions are recognized as a literary setting which elucidates the structure has been variously described[192].

If the registers of the sons of David in 2 Sam.3.1-5 and 2 Sam.5.13-16 are considered in the light of this question, a picture emerges which is on the whole conclusive. In between the two lists there are four narrative texts. The first begins in 2 Sam.3.6 with a further reference to the struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David, going on to reveal how this struggle was brought to an end through a disagreement between Saul's son Ishbosheth and Abner, the powerful commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Following consultation with the elders, and in accordance with their long-cherished desire, a covenant[193] is to be entered into with David which endows him with sovereignty over the whole of Israel. The subject of the second section 2 Sam.3.22-39 is the murder of Abner, in which the innocence of David is expressly stated, as he gives lively expression to his mourning by means of a lament which he has himself composed. The third narrative section describes the murder of Ishbosheth by

192 **Robert Alter** 1981, 88-113 "The Techniques of Repetition" speaks of an " 'Oriental' sense of the intrinsic pleasingness of repetition in the underlying æsthetic of the Bible"; **M. Sternberg**, 1985, 365-440 "The Structure of Repetition: Strategies of Informational Redundancy"; **Kim Ian Parker**, "Repetition as a Structuring Device in 1 Kings 1-11", *JSOT* 42 (1988) 19-27; **Yehuda T. Radday**, "Chiasmus in Hebrew Biblical Literature", *Chiasmus in Antiquity*, ed. John W. Welch, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1981, 50-117: "As to repetitions, they are the very essence and necessary material of a chiastic design, and may therefore have been intentionally inserted at their befitting places by the author or editor"; and various others.

193 On the binding entry into a covenant, which was concluded in *šalôm* with a celebratory feast, cf. **Robert P. Gordon** "Covenant and Apology", *PIBA* 13 (1990) 24-34. Also the words of David's curse in 2 Sam.3.28bf are regarded by him as "in narrative terms the reflex of the covenant or pact of verses 12-21" (31). Cf. **Ernst Kutsch**, "Wie David König wurde: Beobachtungen zu 2 Sam.2.4a und 5.3", *Textgemäß: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des AT*, FS E. Würthwein, ed. A.H.G. Gunneweg & O. Kaiser, Göttingen 1979, 75-93; **Dennis J. McCarthy**, "Compact and Kingship: Stimuli for Hebrew Covenant Thinking", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* [Papers of the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo 5-7 Dec. 1979], ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982, 75-92.

two men from Beeroth in Benjamin/Gibeon, who think they are acting in anticipation of the wishes of David, but whom he ignominiously executes for their crime as rebels. Then in the fourth section we hear of the carrying-out of the plan described in the first. The elders from the whole of Israel make a covenant with David in Hebron and anoint him as king. There follow summary accounts of the years of David's reign in Hebron and Jerusalem, important events during David's rule such as the conquest of Jerusalem, the removal to there of the seat of government, and concerning the royal building activities in co-operation with Hiram, king of Tyre. The cycle is completed by the reference to the "establishment of the kingdom of David by Yahweh" for the sake of his people Israel .

These four narrative sections can now be seen also to be related in terms of their content, in that on the one hand they are seen to be a chronological sequence of events, and on the other hand can at the same time be recognized by their content as a ring structure. The outer pair consists of the two lists of sons. The intermediate ring has as its theme the circumstances of David's coronation as in accordance with the will both of Abner and the elders of all the tribes of Israel. In this it is significant that it is not described as having been initiated by David, and that this intention had already been established before the two most important representatives of the remnant of Saul's kingdom had been killed. Their fate is described in the central section. The apologetic tendency whereby David is absolved from any guilt by association[194] also takes on a broad scope here with the description of David's innocence.

A	3.1-5	List —Sons of David born in Hebron
B	3.6-21	David king of Israel, covenant with Abner/elders
C	3.22-39	Death of Abner, Funeral with Honours
C^1	4.1-12	Death of Ishbosheth, Funeral with Honours
B^1	5.1-12	David king of Israel, covenant with elders
A^1	5.13-16	List —Sons of David born in Jerusalem

194 On this cf. **R.P. Gordon** 1990, 27: "The apologetic force of the section, moreover, is enhanced to the extent that we recognize the making of a covenant or pact between David and Abner not long before the latter's death."

Thus the duplication of the lists of the sons of David is seen to have structuring significance. This may now also be assumed to be the case with the two registers of officials. The texts enclosed between them form the bulk of the so-called Succession Narrative. If these are also understood as indications of a structural form, here too this results in a thoroughly conclusive picture of a structure orientated to the conventions of chiasmus.

The first register in 2 Sam.8.15-18 is followed by the section dealing with David's friendly treatment of Saul's grandson and Jonathan's son Mephibosheth and his son Mica. The introductory question about the survivors of the royal family of the previous dynasty (2 Sam.9.1) implies that they may have a claim upon the kingdom. The fact that David's attitude is emphatically described as *ḥesed*[195] similarly indicates that a possible starting-point for an attempted coup might be seen here. As the last surviving descendants of Saul both these men could easily become the focal point for opposition movements, particularly from the tribe of Benjamin[196]. David's course of action is to be seen as one of simultaneously sparing and controlling. This double aspect does not only stem from the logic of the usefulness of this action to David in terms of internal politics, but it is also expressed in the binary comparison of this extract with the one about the attempted coup of the Benjaminite Sheba[197] in ch.20, which is described immediately prior to the second register of officials.

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195 In 9.1,3,7 the word *ḥesed* is emphasized by repetition.

196 Cf. e.g. the episode concerning Mephibosheth in 2 Sam.16.3f and 19.25-31. The close connection, observed by many, between the opening question "Is there still anyone left of the house of Saul?" and the execution of seven Saulites in 2 Sam.21.1-9 and Shimei's curse in 2 Sam.16.7-8 against David on account of his blood-guilt for the house of Saul implicitly envisages this option for the last legitimate claimants to the throne from Saul's family.—Cf. also the rebellion against Athaliah in 2 Kgs 11 with the help of the royal child, Joash; cf. **Joyce G. Baldwin**, *1 & 2 Samuel*, Leicester: IVP 1988, 226: "David honours a possible rival."

197 **G. Keys** 1988 separates ch.9 as a section which is independent in itself, despite the dovetailing of the action with the SN through the persons of Mephibosheth and Ziba (16.1-4; 19.18,25-31). The same does not apply to ch.20; however she clearly notes thematic variations from the preceding: "Chapter 20 however does present some difficulty..." (178). In support of ch.20 as an independent literary unit: the completely new introduction of Sheba as a Benjaminite; strife between Judah and Israel as at times after the death of Saul (ch.2f). Thus in terms of content this text provides a peg for the last claimant to the throne from Saul's family (ch9), who according to 16.3 regarded himself as future king. Now this rôle is to be taken up by Sheba. **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS I, sees Sheba's rebellion and Absalom's rebellion as two separate literary complexes. Cf. also discussion by **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 437f.

The section 2 Sam.10-19 which is bordered by 2 Sam.9 and 20 similarly appears to have a dual[198] aspect. It begins with a section on the overthrow of the Ammonites, which in turn binds together the framework of the Uriah/Bathsheba/Nathan connection (2 Sam.10-12)[199]. Starting with the next chapter (2 Sam.13) there follow the stories of Absalom[200], which with their description of rape, fratricide, banishment, rebellion and civil war present a sequence of narrative which is linked chronologically and in terms of plot.

If we take the lists of ministers as structural indicators[201] the following picture emerges:

A	8.15-18	List —David's ministers
B	9.1-13	*ḥesed* towards Saul's son Mephibosheth
C	10.1-12.31	Ammonite wars, Bathsheba/Uriah/Nathan
C^1	13.1-19.44	Absalom's rebellion, Tamar, Amnon, Ahithophel
B^1	20.1-22	Revolt of Sheba the Benjaminite
A^1	20.23-26	List —David's ministers

198 Thus i.a. with **L. Rose** 1926; **C. Conroy** 1978; **P.K. McCarter** 1984.

199 Again with an internal chiastic arrangement:

10.1-19	A	Start and progress of the Ammonite battles	
11.1-27	B	Adultery and murder	—Death of Uriah
		Birth of the son of Bathsheba/David	
12.1-25	B^1	Nathan's declaration of sentence/David's repentance	—Death of the son
		Birth of Solomon	
12.26-31	A^1	End of the Ammonite battles	

200 By precedence being given to his name in 13.1 what Amnon does to his sister Tamar is unmistakeably identified as affecting Absalom. The story of Amnon is told on account of its significance for the conduct of Absalom. Both parts, chh.10-12 and 13-19, are to be seen in terms of guilt and punishment, cause and effect as being linked together in their present form by the words of Nathan in 12.9-12. For the unity of chh.10-12 cf. **R.C. Bailey** 1990, and for that of 13-20 **C. Conroy** 1978. Another view is taken by **J.P. Fokkelman** NAPS I, 1981 and **G. Keys** 1988, who regard 10-12, 13-14 and 15-20 as being of equal value.

201 **J.W. Flanagan** 1972, 181 has in each case seen the lists as marking the extent of a chiastic structure in a different way. By excluding 11.2-12.25 he sees with the centre-point in David's prayer in 16.23 a report on "how David maintained the powers of office and continued to be the legitimate king of Israel and Judah."

In this structure the story of Mephibosheth has a binary relationship to Sheba's revolt[202]. Sheba, who as a member of the tribe of Benjamin "stood closest" to the former king[203], leads a revolt against the house of David and against Judah. The likelihood of an actual rebellion based on an appeal to a member of Saul's family is substantiated by Sheba's revolt, as it is by David's behaviour in the face of this danger, which is described as *ḥeseḏ*.

In this structure, too, the two central sections concerning Bathsheba/Uriah/Nathan with adultery and murder are seen to be in binary comparison with Absalom's revolt, which begins with rape and fratricide. Just as Nahash's dishonouring of David's messengers gave rise to the Ammonite war, which in turn provided an ethical comment on his own behaviour towards Bathsheba[204], so the start of Absalom's revolt is marked by the dishonouring of David's daughter Tamar, and later of his ten *pilagᵉšîm*[205]. Thus the manifold relationship of these sections one to another which we have observed is formally emphasized by this structure.

Brueggemann's suggested parallel between the structure of the "Appendix" and that of the section 2 Sam.5-8 is now seen in the light of a reading of the double lists of the groups making up the new nobility of the monarchical community to be accurate and even more complex. The six sections in 2 Sam.5-8 lead in the outermost ring through duplication up to a further level of six pairs of texts each related to one another in rings, and thus form with

202 A connection between 2 Sam.9 and the following chapters was in the end rejected by **G. Keys** 1988; she did indeed discuss it, but did not recognize the possible constructional function of the double lists. For a thorough literary-critical analysis of the texts see **François Langlamet**, "David et la Maison de Saül: Les Episodes 'Benjaminites' de 2 Sam.9; 16.1-14; 19.17-31; 1 Rois 2.36-46", *RB* 86 (1979) 194-213, 385-436, 481-513; *RB* 87 (1980) 161-210; *RB* 88 (1981) 321-332.

203 Cf. in the previous section the theme of David's closeness to the tribe of Judah, 19.13, 41ff.

204 **G. Keys** 1988, 173: the insult by the Ammonites and the punishment of their morally reprehensible behaviour form the framework for David's guilt and his reprehensible behaviour: "it provides an initial statement and illustration of the theme which will be followed through the entire narrative."—but cf. **Gary Stansell**, "Honor and shame in the David Narratives", *Was ist der Mensch...? Beiträge zur Anthropologie des AT*, FS H.W. Wolff, ed. F. Crüsemann et al., Munich: Kaiser 1992, 94-114: in the defilements in Samuel he sees the social elements as being stronger than the theological.

205 The correspondence is made still stronger if Ahithophel, whose advice to Absalom to take pre-emptive action resulted in the defilement of David's women, is to be regarded as Bathsheba's grandfather (11.3 Eliam as her father, 23.34,39 Ahithophel as the father of Eliam); thus previously **J. Wellhausen** ³1899, 257; also **R. C. Bailey**, 1990).

great simplicity an extremely complex and artistic organization of the materials. Whereas the formation described by Flanagan centred on the chapters 2 Sam.6 and 7, this view of the emphatic prominence of these chapters in particular is further heightened by the supplementary observations concerning the function of the outermost ring. In the structural form of 2 Sam.3-20 taken as a whole the confirmation of the dynasty for the house of David, paired with the taking-up of residence in Jerusalem by Yahweh, thus form the central point of the whole section marked out by literary means.

3.1–5	List	—Sons of David born in Hebron
3.6–21	David king of Israel, covenant with Abner/elders	
3.22–39	Death of Abner	—Funeral with Honours
4.1–12	Death of Ishbosheth	—Funeral with Honours
5.1–12	David king of Israel, covenant with elders	
5.13–16	List	—Sons of David born in Jerusalem
5.17–25	Victories	—over the Philistines
6.1–23	Ark of YHWH–Ṣ^{e}b̲a'ôṯ in Jerusalem	
7.1–29	Promise of the dynasty for David	
8.1–14	Victories	—over all the neighbouring nations
8.15–18	List	—David's ministers
9.1–13	*ḥesed̲* towards Saul's son Mephibosheth	
10.1–12,31	Ammonite wars	—Bathsheba/Uriah/Nathan
13.1–19.44	Rebellion	—Tamar/Amnon/Absalom, Recommissioning as king
20.1–22	Revolt of Sheba the Benjaminite	
20.23–26	List	—David's ministers

The comparison with the "Appendix" is thus no longer based solely upon the central chapters 5.13–8.18, but there is also a formal connection through the duplication of the lists of people with the whole unit structured in this way. Therefore all the immediately preceding text of the concluding chapters is to be considered as the context for its interpretation.

2.1.2.3 The three chiastic centres and the Appendix

In this expanded structure those texts which occupy the central position in each of the flanking ring systems are seen to be noteworthy. Both times the murder of important persons plays a dominant rôle. All four cited crimes are part of the story of David's rule and have their part in its public depiction.

In the first centre the subject is the murder of the last powerful person of Saul's dynasty. Abner, as general of the army in the time of Saul (1 Sam.15.51), is to be regarded as the most significant person next to the king. His murder is shown to be an act of blood vengeance in accordance with the code of conduct of the tribal community (2 Sam.2.22) which he himself accepts[206]. David is absolved from blame for it[207]. He honours Abner with a lament, one of six songs which find their place in the Samuel corpus[208]. The guilt for his death is laid solely on Joab. That David does not call the commander of his army to account for this has more to do with the latter's too strong position[209]. With Abner's death Ishbosheth's power is broken, and it is the prerequisite but not the immediate cause of the murder of Saul's son. This stems from his own region, through people from Beeroth, a Gibeonite town in Benjamin. Although in the end this might be of benefit to David, it is nonetheless condemned by him and punished as a crime. The first centre thus concentrates on the two murders of leading persons of the previous régime in connection with David's assumption of power. Its subject is the final loss of official power by Saul's family and the death of his son on the throne.

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206 **P.K. McCarter**'s Commentary (1986, 125): "Joab slew Abner only to satisfy a private grievance"; this overlooks the components of the community obligation to fulfil a blood feud as the necessary establishment of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^{e}dāqâ*. Cf. **Samuel E. Loewenstamm**, "The Laws of Adultery and Murder in Biblical and Mesopotamian Law", idem, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literature*, AOAT 204, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bereken/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner 1980, 146-153. The avenger of blood is the *gō'el* (1 Kgs 16.11).

207 Cf. especially **R.P. Gordon**, "Covenant and Apology", *PIBA* 13 (1990) 24-34.

208 Cf. 2.3.2.2.

209 Cf. **Arnold M. Goldberg** 1967, 253: Here David shields Joab, in the parallel text 2 Sam.11 Joab shields David. Both events thus are connected in their meaning: "So aber blieb er Zeit seines Lebens ebenso schwach, wie er sich hier dünkt, und in der Macht Joabs, und Joab wurde ihm zum Verhängnis" (cf. 1 Sam.15.24; 1 Kgs 2.5-6,28-34).

Both units in the third centre describe crimes during David's reign. Uriah's murder and indirectly the death of Amnon and Absalom are blamed on David's own exercise of his office. Here, too, both parts of the inner ring stand in a causal relationship. With David's misuse of his power[210] in the assassination of Uriah to cover up his adultery the subsequent chain of rape, fratricide[211] and rebellion is accounted for by way of background. The deliberate liquidation of one of his great men results in the loss of *šālôm* in his own family. David is not exonerated, but attains forgiveness through repentance. The rebellion against David comes, like that against Ishbosheth, from his closest environment. Joab carries out the murder of Abner, as well as Uriah, Absalom and Amasa. Except in the case of Uriah's murder no involvement by David is acknowledged, all the other deeds being Joab's own responsibility. David's reaction to the behaviour of the sons of Zeruiah, angry but doing nothing, is maintained throughout.

It is stimulating to compare these two structural centres flanking chapters 6 and 7, which reflect on the one side on the murders of members of Saul's dynasty and the start of David's path, and on the other on David's guilt and the civil war during his reign, with the two flanking stories of the Appendix. These, too, are about further members of Saul's family who are killed in accordance with the laws of blood vengeance, and about David's own blame which has grown in proportion to his exercise of great power. The killing of the seven sons of Saul in accordance with the laws of blood vengeance thus corresponds with the murder of Abner in accordance with the laws of blood vengeance and of the last son of Saul on the throne:

210 **H.J.Stoebe**, "David und Uria: Überlegungen zur Überlieferung von 2 Sam 11", *Bib* 67 (1986) 388-396: "Wir stoßen hier bei dem Befehl Davids, weiter zu machen (V. 25) auf eine beklemmend modern anmutende Beurteilung eines Krieges und seiner Opfer nach dem Gesichtspunkt von Einsatz und Ziel, und sicher ist auch eine Empörung darüber zu merken, daß Menschen als Figuren in einem Spiel eingesetzt werden können, und Verluste die Spesen des Erfolges sind" (393).

211 Here, too, a central rôle is played by a familiar code of honour of the tribal community. Cf. also **William H. Propp**, "Kinship in 2 Samuel 13", *CBQ* 55 (1993) 39-53).

2 Sam.3.22-4.12	2 Sam.21.1-14
Death of Abner and Ishbosheth (3.37; 4.7)	*Death* of the *seven sons of Saul* (21.8f)
Mephibosheth (4.4)	Mephibosheth (21.7)
Law of *blood vengeance* (3.30)	Law of *blood vengeance* (21.1,5)
Gibeonites from Beeroth kill Ishbosheth (4.2f)	*Gibeonites* demand death of the Saulites (21.2)
Honouring of the dead by David (3.31ff)	*Honouring of the dead* by David (21.12f)
David *innocent* (3.28f; 4.12)	David *innocent* (21.3ff)
[*Rizpah* plays a part (3.7f)]	*Rizpah* involved (21.10)
Bᵉrîṯ broken (3.21,28f)	*Bᵉrîṯ* broken (21.3)
Place: Hebron/Mahanaim (3.22; 4.1)	Place: Gibeon (21.6)

If this comparison can be seen as suggestive, the same applies to the texts 2 Sam.24 and 2 Sam.10-19. The census in 2 Sam.24 as an expression of the demonstration of despotic power thus stands alongside the misuse of royal power in the command to bring the wife of his elite fighting soldier into the palace[212], and the consequent order to murder Uriah[213]. In both contexts the great power which has been acquired plays a rôle in the background. In the census, following the successful victories, the new boundaries of the now imperial kingdom are paced out and its new size measured. The framing in the case of Uriah's murder

212 Cf the terminology of passivity on the part of Bathsheba, who initiates no activity. Her consistent description as "wife of Uriah" rather than by her own name defines her as the object rather than the subject of the plot; cf. **Moshe Garsiel**, "The Story of David and Bathsheba: A Different Approach", *CBQ* 55 (1993) 253ff.

213 In the context of the approaching final victory David appears as imperial ruler. While the soldiers deal with the "remaining business" of the siege of Ammon, he helps himself to the wife of one of his fighting *gibbōrîm*, and issues the order to kill him. Such an abuse of royal power is not permitted to an Israelite king. **Klaus Seybold**, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*, Göttingen: V&R 1972, 50ff ascribes 2 Sam.12 to the form-tradition of the *rîb* of breach of covenant: "In der Begegnung zwischen Nathan und David spielt sich ein Prozeß ab", in which it "um rücksichtlose Ausnutzung der *Gewalt* des Stärkeren, die mit *hamas* bezeichnete Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung der sozial Schwachen, Besitz- und Rechtlosen, die im Bundesbuch Ex 22,20ff als ein todeswürdiges, im sog. sichemitischen Dekalog Dt 27.19 als ein fluchwürdiges Verbrechen gilt."

by the Ammonite war[214] is accentuated by the parallel setting with the census. The conquest of the whole region has already been accomplished as far as the capture of Ammon[215]. After the victories over the Arameans the subjugation of the nations has been *de facto* accomplished. The tremendous growth in David's power thereby achieved and his despotic behaviour towards Bathsheba and Uriah are thus brought into the one context. Consequently imperial power and the abuse of power form the central theme in both texts. In each case it is a prophet who declares to David God's disapproval[216]. By Gad David is given three possible punishments of Yahweh from which to choose: famine, fleeing before an adversary, or pestilence (2 Sam.24.13). With the naming of these three punishments allusion is made to the binarily connected text 2 Sam.21.1ff, and on the other hand also to Absalom's rebellion[217]. The text about the census may be understood as being in parallel with the section 2 Sam.10-19 in terms not only of structure and form, but also of content.

214 Cf. **H.J. Stoebe**, "David und der Ammoniterkrieg", idem, *Geschichte, Schicksal, Schuld und Glaube*, BBB 72, Frankfurt: Athenäum 1989, 134-144 [= *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 236-246].

215 In many studies of the Succession Narrative this has seldom been evaluated. But cf. **R.C. Bailey** 1990; **M. Garsiel**, "The Story of David and Bathsheba: A Different Approach", *CBQ* 55 (1993) 244-262.

216 **T. Veijola** 1975, 117: "In der Hervorhebung der Schuld Davids ist 2 Sam.24 in seiner jetzigen Form aufs engste mit der dramatischen Begegnung zwischen Nathan und David (2 Sam.12,1-14) verbunden"; Veijola also points out the words *"the sword shall never depart from your house"* (2 Sam.12.10) and *"Let thy hand, I pray thee, be against me and against my father's house"* (2 Sam.24.17)—a connection which Veijola ascribes to the DtrP redaction, followed by **W. Dietrich** 1987, 36ff.

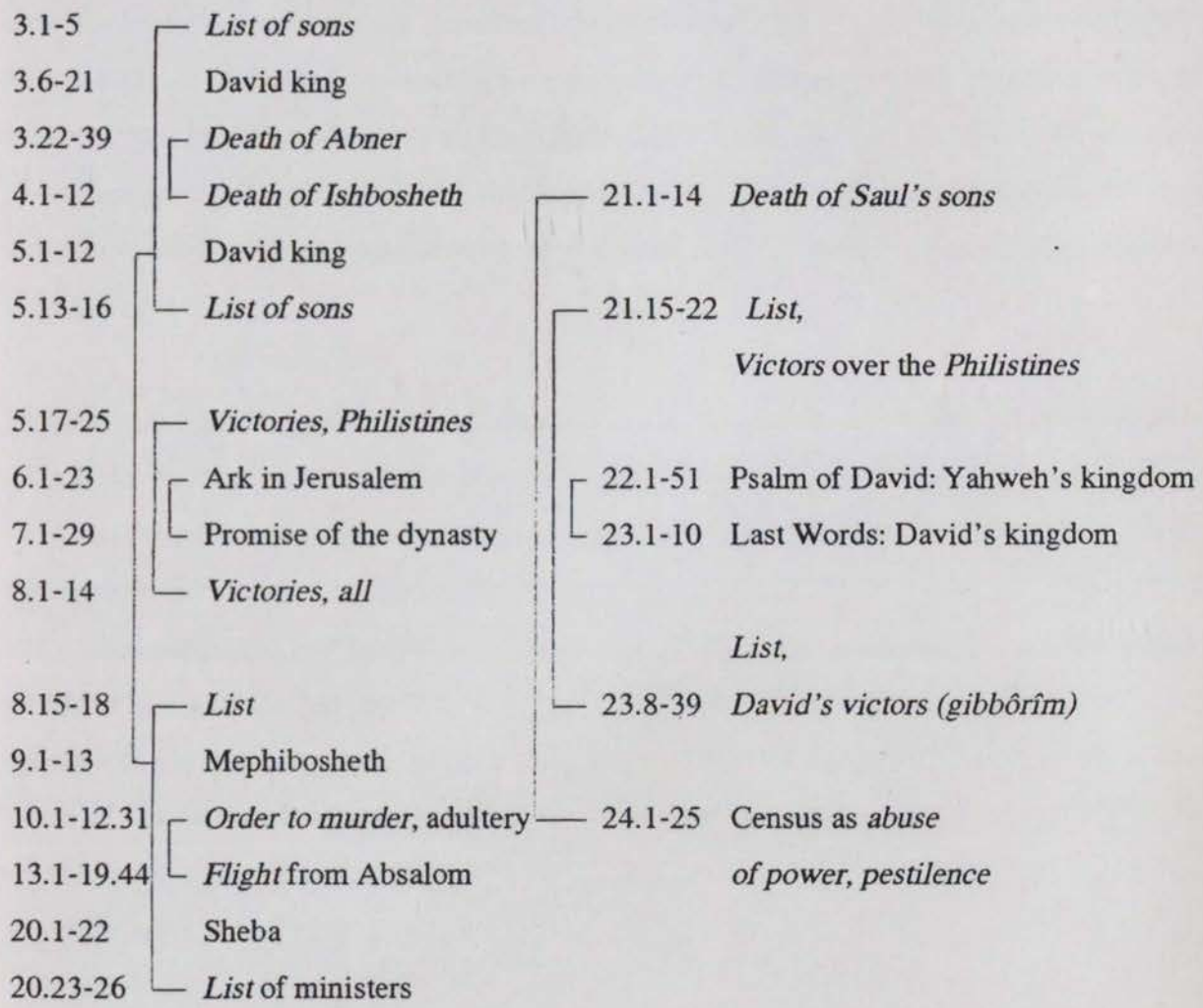
217 Thus also starting from Absalom's rebellion **G. Keys** 1988, 179f: "Although it is the final alternative which comes about in ch.24, we should be impressed by the fact that the first and second choices describe the events of 2 Sam.21.1-14 and 2 Sam.15-20". And: "Thus it is possible to view the second alternative as a direct reference to Absalom's revolt" (180).

2 Sam.10-19	2 Sam.24
Sin: murder of Uriah and adultery (11)	*Sin:* census (24)
Great power as context of the action (10.19; 12.26ff)	*Great power* as context of the action (24.5-9)
Implementation: *Joab* (11.16ff; 18.11ff)	Implementation: *Joab* (24.9)
Prophet Nathan, *judgment & mercy* (12.7ff,13f)	*Prophet* Gad, *judgment & mercy* (24.11ff; 24.18)
Confession of guilt, forgiveness (12.13)	*Confession of guilt*, forgiveness (24.10,17)
Yahweh as Judge (12.22; 16.11f)	Yahweh as Judge (24.14)
Result: revolt and flight (12.11; 15-19; cf. 24.13)	*Result:* pestilence (24.13,15)
David and his *house* affected (12.11; 15.16ff)	Prayer: *David* and his *house* spared (24.17)
kōl yiśrā'ēl from "Dan to Beersheba" (17.11; 18.7)	*kōl yiśrā'ēl* from "Dan to Beersheba" (24.2,15)
Place: *Jerusalem* (11.1ff; 15.14ff)	Place: *Jerusalem* (24.16)

The correspondence of some parallel elements shows that the texts can be interpreted as referring to one another. Therefore it turns out that not only the lists of people in the Appendix are to be read in comparison with the other double lists, but also the narrative texts of the Appendix may be recognized as the centres of those sections, as structured by the lists.

Thus by comparing the Samuel Conclusion with 2 Sam.5-8 on the basis of their form a broader correlation has emerged, which encompasses chh.3-20. Alongside the structural parallels in the construction of the registers of people a surprising correspondence in terms of content is revealed[218]:

218 Cf. also **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 225: "It can hardly be denied from the tradition-historical point of view that 21:15-22 + 23:8-39 were originally transmitted with 2 Sam.5:17-25, a passage which shows material and stylistic affinities with those units." "These two *additamenta* in 2 Sam.21-24 thus prove to depend, editorially, upon the Bathsheba episode in 2 Sam.10-12" (226).



In the light of these findings both the psalms move to the centre of the Appendix in parallel to the two chapters 2 Sam.6 & 7. It does not seem out of the ordinary that narrative and poetic texts may be read throughout as intentionally related to one another. Meir Sternberg considers change of genre even within repetitive correspondences as a characteristic of biblical narratives: "Unlike most works, old and new, the Bible does not always maintain generic homogeneity in repetition... the sequence may collocate a 'prosaic' and a 'poetic' member, as with Sisera's defeat and Deborah's song of victory"[219]. If one reads 2 Sam.22 in conjunction with the erection of the ark sanctuary in Jerusalem one notices that the psalm,

219 **M. Sternberg** 1985, 385. Examples of generic change in repetition: Ex.14 & 15; Jdg.4 & 5; Jotham's fable and Abimelech's massacre, Nathan's story of the poor man's sheep and David's behaviour. He also mentions specifically the correspondence between Hannah's psalm and David's song of thanksgiving (246f; 439f) as reflecting the narrative parts.

after the introduction of the ark describes Yahweh's epiphany[220] as he brings help to David. The coming of Yahweh described in the psalm of thanksgiving to bring salvation from all enemies "on the wings of the wind, the wings of the cherub" (2 Sam.22.11)and the erection of the ark sanctuary of "Yahweh Sabaoth, who is enthroned above the cherubim"[221] with *šelāmîm*-offerings, singing and dancing appear to have a relationship to one another which is not only structural.

In the same way the poetical text 2 Sam.23.1-7, in the centre of which is sung forth the eternal covenant of God with the house of David to reign in the justice and prosperity of God, has its corresponding narrative text in Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam.7. Even without taking account of the parallelism due to their structure, a connection between these two chapters is suggested also by reason of their content[222]. Yahweh's coming to the assistance of David in 2 Sam.22.7 stems from his *hêḵāl*, and concludes in 22.51 with Yahweh's favour towards the Davidic dynasty, just as in 2 Sam.6/7 the dwelling-place of Yahweh and the house of David are related to one another. That both the Psalms in the Samuel Conclusion are placed in analogy to the chapters 2 Sam.6 and 7 is additionally emphasized by the fact that they are flanked respectively by announcements of victory and the lists of victorious warriors.

The correspondences and parallelisms thus resulting from structural considerations also present a conclusive picture from the point of view of content. The "Appendix" in its three rings may be regarded as clearly corresponding to the preceding chapters also on the basis of the texts which are brought into the central position.

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220 2 Sam.22.5-20

221 Cf. **Bernd Janowski**, "Keruben und Zion: Thesen zur Entstehung der Zionstradition", *Ernten, was man sät*, FS K. Koch, ed. D.R. Daniels et al., Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1991, 231-264, who assumes a symbiosis of Jebusite-Canaanite and Yahwistic-nomadic traditions on the basis of religio-historical parallels. A different view is taken by **Ben C. Ollenburger**, *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult*, JSOT.S 41, Sheffield: JSOT 1987, who emphasizes that both the name Sabaoth and the cherubim are connected with Shiloh, and that both are expressions for the kingdom of Yahweh (37ff).

222 **Rolf Rendtorff**, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung*, Neukirchen: Neukirchener ^{2}1985, 184 sees 2 Sam.7 as a bridge between the flanking poetical texts 1 Sam.2.1-10 and 2 Sam.22/23.1-7.

The findings made thus far reveal an intentional structuring according to chiastic principles of arrangement not only of the concluding chapters, but also of larger parts of the Samuel material. Therefore before making further investigation into the significance of this macrostructure some basic considerations of the function and characteristics of chiastic structures appear to be called for.

2.2 Chiasmus and *Aspektive*

2.2.1 The Significance of Chiastic Macrostructures

Chiastic forms in simple sentences of poetry or elevated prose have frequently been noted[223]. It is, furthermore, clear that the principles of chiasmus have been applied in the structuring of larger literary complexes in ancient texts. The significance of chiasmus in wider contexts such as this goes beyond that of a merely æsthetic stylistic device.

In the introduction to *Chiasmus in Antiquity*[224] the editor, John Welch, stresses that the widespread use of chiasmus in antiquity[225] is to be seen as an indicator of varying conceptions of the discursive ideal. In the case of modern authors a linear style is expected, "following a line of syllogistic or dialectic reasoning, or developing a continous flow of ideas" (12). A circular train of thought and repetitions are avoided as much as possible. In the contexts of antiquity, however, repetition and redundancy represented the rule rather than

223 **Johannes Bengel**, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, Tübingen 1742 (coined the term "Chiasmus"); **John Jebb**, *Sacred Literature*, London 1820; **Thomas Boys**, *Tactica Sacra*, London 1824; **John Farbes**, *Symmetrical Structure of Scripture*, Edinburgh 1854; **Nils Lund**, *Chiasmus in the New Testament*, Chapel Hill 1942.

224 **J.W. Welch**, ed., *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1981.

225 Cf. i.a. the essays in **J.W. Welch** 1981: **Robert F. Smith**, "Chiasm in Sumero-Akkadian", 17-35; **J.W. Welch**, "Chiasmus in Ugaritic", 36-49, und "Chiasmus in Ancient Greek and Latin Literature", 250-268; **Bezalel Porten**, "Structure and Chiasm in Aramaic Contracts and Letters", 169-182; **Yehuda T. Radday**, "Chiasmus in Hebrew Biblical Literature", 50-117.

the exception. Parallelism and repetition sought to give a higher intensity[226] to what was said. Through its function as a mnemonic aid[227] chiasmus represented "the traditional, higher form of teaching": "Memorable writing was also of special significance to the ancient world, where for many people literature was transmitted orally" (12). The development and broad distribution, in terms of both space and time, of this ancient art-form was thus to be understood as not a matter of chance, but rather in the light of its connection with the principles of oral transmission.

Consequently in antiquity the chiastic form provides a practical convention for arranging material according to its theme, whether short sentences or more extensive passages. Especially in the case of more complex chiastic forms it is right for these to be regarded as fundamental to the structure, and intentional. Freedmann[228] concludes, therefore, that when "inversion and balance on the one hand, and climactic centrality on the other" are to be seen, "these structures may add novel perspectives and unexpected dimensions to the texts in which they appear". By the use of this form a skilful author might direct "an emphatic focus on the center, to elevate the importance of a central concept or to dramatize a radical shift of events at the turning-point"[229]. At the same time in this way the other parts of the passage can "be used with equal effectiveness as a framework through which the author may compare, contrast, juxtapose, complement, or complete each of the flanking elements in the chiastic system. In addition, a marked degree of intensification can be introduced throughout the system both by building to a climax at the center as well as by strengthening each element individually upon its chiastic repetition" (10).

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226 **J.W. Welch** speaks of pedagogical and ethical intensification through the duplication of the statement.

227 Cf. **Eduard Nielsen**, *Oral Tradition: A Modern Problem in Old Testament Introduction*, London: SCM 1954. The use of chiastic forms is to be understood as the application of a convention, and the question about the degree of awareness of the form is therefore not really relevant, but in any case the principles which characterize chiasmus remain relevant; cf. **Norbert Lofink**, "Jona ging zur Stadt hinaus (Jon.4.5)", *BZNF* 5 (1961) 199-201. In the case of larger areas we should generally take as our starting-point a conscious use of the form, within the framework of existing conventions: thus **Angelico Di Marco** 1979, 65ff.

228 **David N. Freedmann**, "Preface" to **J.W. Welch** 1981.

229 **J.W. Welch** 1981, 10.

Thus the recognition of chiastic structures has far-reaching implications for the analysis and interpretation of the texts in question. "Chiastic structure...is more than an artificial or artistic device... It is rather, and most remarkably so, a key to meaning. Not paying sufficient attention to it may result in failure to grasp the true theme"[230]. In Welch's view, in the case of extensive passages the structural form becomes a part of the message being proclaimed: "When chiasmus achieves the level of ordering thoughts and words throughout an entire pericope, or of a sustained unfolding of an artistic verbal expression, the character or form itself merges with the message and meaning of the passage" (11). It is for biblical texts in particular, which are often constructed according to chiastic principles[231], that this understanding is of crucial significance. J.P. Fokkelman writes[232]: "Structuring is an operation which creates frameworks for the appearance of new meanings or for the correct assignment of meaning. To recognize a sentence, a speech, a sequence, or a scene as a series AB...N ‖ A^1B^1...N^1 or ABC × $C^1B^1A^1$ opens a new perspective on to that level and the layers beneath it, and it always yields a number of new discoveries."

2.2.2 Chiasmus and Aspectival Perception

When John W. Welch asks the question, "how such arrangements could have escaped serious notice for several thousands of years" (14), and seeks to explain this by pointing to the general fragility of cultural achievements, which could easily be completely lost to sight within a generation, we may surely put forward additional reasons[233]. In my view an illuminating comment about the difference in the use of discursive forms in antiquity, where in contrast to the modern use they find a chiastic expression, is found in Emma

230 **Y. Radday**, 1981, 51.

231 **Y. Radday**, 1981, 51: "In short, chiasm was *de rigueur* in Biblical times." **A. Di Marco** 1979, 45: "Die...*Universalität* dieses Phänomens in der Bibel muß einfach beeindrucken."

232 **J.P. Fokkelman** NAPS II, 1986, 10.

233 Cf. **Gerhard Pfeiffer**, "Über den Unterschied zwischen Schriftstellern des 20. Jahrhunderts nach und des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus: Zur Entstehung des Amosbuches", *VT* 41 (1991) 123-127.

Brunner-Traut's expositions of aspectival perception[234] entitled *Frühformen des Erkennens.* Insofar as they appear to be helpful for the understanding of the Samuel material, and in particular also of the logic behind the construction of the "Appendix", a summary sketch of them may be given.

The characteristic thought of this book is that of "aspectival" perception[235]. Starting from the example of Egypt[236], but claiming a general validity for it[237], Emma Brunner-Traut outlines a fundamental distinction between the traditional western concept of reality[238] and that of the ancients, constrasting the latter as "aspectival" *[aspektivisch]* with the modern[239] "perspectival" *[perspektivisch]* concept. By "aspectival"[240] she understands a cumulative

234 **Emma Brunner-Traut**, *Frühformen des Erkennens: am Beispiel Ägyptens.* Darmstadt: WBG ^{2}1992.

235 Cf. **E. Brunner-Traut** "Aspektivische Kunst", *Antaios* 6 (1964) 309-330; eadem, "Aspektive", *LÄ* I, 1973, 474, 488; eadem, "Die Aspektive. Nachwort" in **Heinrich Schäfer**, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, ed. E. Brunner-Traut, Wiesbaden 1963, 395-428 = **Heinrich Schäfer**, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, tr. J. Baines, Oxford ^{3}1986.

236 **Jan Assmann**, "Ein Gespräch im Goldhaus über Kunst", *Gegengabe*, FS E. Brunner-Traut, Tübingen: Attempo 1992, 43-60, writes about *Aspektive*: "Das Buch *Frühformen des Erkennens*...zieht die Summe aus jahrzehntelangen Forschungen" (59). "Die kognitiven bzw. kognitionstheoretischen Tiefenschichten des Bildens und Formens schließlich bilden das Forschungsgebiet von Emma Brunner-Traut, deren Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Kunstanthropologie die bei weitem avancierteste und ausgearbeitetste Position darstellen" (59).

237 Valid i.a. for all pre-classical cultures, as well as i.a. for the art of children and the feeble-minded, as well as e.g. that of modern expressionism. **J. Assmann** 1992 distinguishes between style, form and *Aspektive*: "Während sich der Begriff 'Stil' auf die Epochen- (Regionen-, Künstler-) spezifischen Züge eines Werkes bezieht und der Begriff 'Form' auf das spezifisch Ägyptische, erfaßt der Begriff 'Aspektive' wesentlich allgemeinere, ja geradezu universale 'Frühformen des Erkennens', die die ägyptische mit aller vorgriechischen Kunst sowie mit dem Bildschaffen von Kindern und geistig Behinderten gemein hat" (58).

238 **E. Brunner-Traut** uses the term "*Apperzeption*" (apperception), defined as "die Einbringung neuer Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen in den Empfindungs- und Kenntniszusammenhang, das seelische, erkennende und willensmäßige Verhalten neu auftretender Bewußtseinsinhalte, die urteilende Auslese und Ordnung eines Gegebenen" (5).

239 The concept "modern" is used here in an imprecise way, and is intended to describe the thought characteristic of the European Enlightenment.

240 Coined for the first time in "Die Aspektive. Nachwort" in **H. Schäfer**, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, ed. **E. Brunner-Traut**, Wiesbaden 1963, 395-428.—"Aspekte, zumal in der Mehrzahl gebraucht, sind nur einzelne Anblicke, in denen sich die Sache jeweils von einem bestimmten Gesichtspunkt aus darstellt... Im Aspekt liegt ein Ordnungsprinzip... Im Aspekt ist immer enthalten, daß er einer unter anderen...ist. Es liegt in ihm ein Moment der Ergänzungsbedürftigkeit. Er verweist auf diese anderen Aspekte... Jeder ist einseitig. In jedem treten bestimmte Dinge schärfer hervor als in anderen... Keiner erhebt Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit" (5).

apprehension of manifestations. It is characterized by a gradual comprehension, a succession of perceptions in contrast to an overall view. Aspectival perception brings the manifestations only into a bilateral relationship. In it an overview is given of a subject in which its individual parts are grasped and combined into a cumulative structure of these same individual parts.

The aspectival way of seeing is the opposite to the perspectival, which for Emma Brunner-Traut can be seen in the Greek view of the body, and then received a new impulse in the Renaissance and achieved a dominant position in our culture in the 19th century. Examined perspectivally, all the parts are structurally related to one another. If one part is moved, this affects all the others. The parts are perceived in a visual overview as a unified organism, not as a cumulative succession. "Die Perspektive bedeutet das ganzheitliche Erfassen eines Gegenstandes im Raum, ist letzlich dreidimensional angelegt... Die Aspektive zwingt zur additiven bzw. parataktischen Anordnung von räumlich oder zeitlich geordneten Phänomenen auf einer Fläche oder in einer Zeitebene, ist also mehr oder weniger zweidimensional orientiert"[241].

In the aspectival convention, for example in the area of art, the individual aspects of a subject can be portrayed in succession without any consideration of the visual perception: e.g. a basket with its contents on top of it or the front of a shrine with its rear placed on top of or beneath it. In contrast a perspectival portrayal is limited to what the eye can actually see: the fruit in the basket cannot be painted, or at the most it can only be hinted at, and it is not possible to show the rear of a shrine at the same time as its front. Over and above that the aspectival approach has many ways in which it can express both visible and invisible features. The scope for portrayal is not limited by the ego-centric visual surface-representation, but is able at the same time also to express the essence and quality of the subject. This means that it remains more strongly attached to the typical than to the

241 Thus **W.F. Reinecke**, "Gedanken zur Herkunft der altägyptischen Mathematik", *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 86 (1991) 248-256, esp. 249.

concrete[242]. This is also borne out by the way in which adults are always drawn by children as bigger than themselves, even though the visual-spatial perspective requires otherwise. It would be a misconception to view this as a false portrayal. Such an aspectival view can show a greater congruity with actuality, because in this way objects and people are depicted in a way which is more in accordance with their being than would be possible with a mere spatial-perspectival portrayal of their visible surface. The fruit in the basket which hovers over the top of the basket, the rear of the shrine which is shown next to its front, or the parents on the mountain who are bigger than the children in the foreground, are therefore not to be regarded as erroneous or inferior portrayals just because they are not subject to the conventions of perspectival apperception. According to the logic of such forms of representation a fruit-basket whose contents are invisible, or parents who look tiny on the mountain, would be regarded as a reduction and falsification of reality, and therefore as an inadequate portrayal[243].

According to Emma Brunner-Traut this difference between aspectival and perspectival apperception does not only involve a different conception of art, but she sees it as demonstrating a general change in cognitive-psychical perception itself[244]. Starting from observations in the field of art, she demonstrates aspectival characteristic forms as a general pattern of perception[245], taking examples from the realms of medicine[246], government,

242 Well-known examples are the Egyptian style of portraiture, e.g. of Pharaoh, or the iconography of Byzantine art. Moving away from the type brings the specific into expression.

243 **W.F. Reinecke** 1991, 248: "Es kann keine Rede davon sein, daß Vertreter von Kulturen mit aspektivischer Betrachtungsweise—und das unterstreicht Brunner-Traut—oder einzelne Individuen nicht in der Lage wären, logisch zu denken."

244 **E. Brunner-Traut** 1992, 12: "Meine Behauptung ist aber die, daß sich die *kognitiv-psychische* Wahrnehmung, die zur Gewinnung des Gegenstandes führt, die Apperzeption, generell gewandelt hat."

245 The Onomastica of Egypt and Babylon provide illustrative material for all areas of *"Listenwissenschaft"*, cf. **A. Alt**, "Die Weisheit Salomos", *TLZ* 76 (1951) 139-144 [= *KS* II. Munich: Beck ^{4}1978, 91-99]

246 Given as an example is the surprising lack of a term to describe the human body. In Egyptian it can only be expressed by a partially incomplete enumeration of its different parts. **E. Brunner-Traut** suspects that what lies behind this is not inability, but a sense of the loss of essential aspects if one thinks it possible to cover the human body with just one single expression. This renunciation of a precise perspective represents a feeling for impropriety. In order to portray reality in a way that is essentially congruent no simple expression is adequate, and at least two expressions must be put together in a state of affinity and tension.

jurisprudence[247], understanding of history, religion[248], mathematics[249], writing and literature.

For the portrayal of history it is appropriate to the perspectival apperception to portray it in linear and interwoven relationships, whereas an aspectival view places more value on the typical, and places alongside each other in cumulative and dual form those aspects which are important to the context. In this way there emerges a total picture which is a collage of aspects, but unable to be confined in an all-embracing conclusion or formula[250]. This is where the clear boundaries of this type of apperception lie.

At this point it seems that our consideration of the application of chiastic forms of expression in antiquity fits into the picture of aspectival apperception which has been shown. Essential comparable features may also be discovered in the use of ring structures with their binary tension both within the individual rings and between the inner and outer parts of the individual structures. Also the frequently unconnected juxtaposition of statements which from a linear-chronological viewpoint cause irritation because of their illogicality can in certain circumstances be understood differently seen from an aspectival viewpoint. If Emma Brunner-Traut's observations concerning a general change in cognitive-psychical perception

247 This would include the casuistry which referred to cases forming a precedent in order to elucidate a general principle of law without this ever being formulated.

248 Cf. the Hamburg Dissertation of **Herbert Spiess**, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes—Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, Diss: Hamburg 1991. Spiess made the concept of *Aspektive* the basis of his study: "Thot stellt sich dar als ein Komplex von Aspekten, die sich sogar z.T. gegenseitig ausschließen... Perspektive bedeutet die Zusammenschau der Teile...als einen einheitlichen Organismus... In Bezug auf die Apperzeption einer Gottheit hieße das, die Gottheit in ihrer Ganzheit zu erfassen. Damit aber wäre die Gottheit ihrer Göttlichkeit entkleidet" (170).

249 **W.F. Reinecke** 1991 shows that the Egyptians discovered the use of the rules of Pythagoras and of π to calculate areas through adding together the area of grids of squares, without ever applying a formula to it: "So ließen sich aus der Mathematik noch manche Beispiele für eine triviale Lösung komplizierter Probleme geben, die alle gemeinsam haben, daß man nämlich alles soweit wie möglich in begreifbare Teile zerlegt,... also nach dem Prinzip der Aspektive handelte" (256).

250 The only exception to be seen, according to **E. Brunner-Traut** 1992, 108ff,194ff, is in the Israelite historical works. Monotheism and a comprehensive view of history seem clearly to be connected. That this is not to be understood as exclusive, cf. **Bertil Albrektson**, *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*, Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet 1967. Cf. also **H. Spiess** 1991, who makes absolute the recognition of *Aspektive*, in my view unjustifiably, and counters Jan Assmann's distinction between implicit and explicit theology, rejecting the latter as crypto-monotheism: "Der aspektivischen Denkweise kann nur ein Polytheismus adäquat sein."

since the days of antiquity are valid, we might find here possible justification for the astonishment[251] expressed by Welch that such basically simple structural principles as chiasmus could for so long largely escape the notice of scholars[252]. This should be taken into account in evaluating chiastic macrostructures[253].

In this study we shall endeavour to make fruitful for the interpretation of the text of Samuel the insights gained from the consideration of aspectival perception. The muddled character which the Samuel Conclusion in particular is felt to display, in relation to both chronology and genre, might thus, in conjunction with its binarily constructed chiastic structure, be regarded as being due to a different apperception. It is also from this viewpoint that the attempt at a fresh evaluation of the passage may appropriately be made.

2.2.3 Aspectival Perception and Chronology

The comparison of the concluding chapters of Samuel with the similarly chiastically structured section in 2 Sam.5-8 has led to the broader understanding that in the canonical form it is not only these two groups of texts but also, marked out in each case by the duplication of the lists of people in the outermost ring, the complete text of 2 Sam.3-24 which is to be read as subject to this principle of arrangement. If these ring-structures with their binary correspondences have determined the arrangement of the texts, then this may be the reason for the fact that on a linear-perspectival reading there are often chronological

251 **J.W. Welch** 1981, 14.

252 **Y.T. Radday** 1981, 50: "But scholarly attitudes are changing...", but despite this scepticism is often encountered, as "most readers, laboring until this day under that notion that a story should be related in a straightforward fashion, find it odd that 'doublets', nonconsistencies, pro- and parachronisms should serve any deliberate literary purpose."

253 **Y.T. Radday** 1981, 77: "Most modern commentators are unwilling to accept the idea of a grand design in Samuel. Some incidents are reported twice or three times, and there are differences in viewpoint and style, especially in I Samuel. The term 'style', however, is regrettably used in biblical criticism in a rather loose way... As to repetitions, they are the very essence and necessary material of a chiastic design, and may therefore have been intentionally inserted at their befitting places by the author or editor. Let us then disregard 'stylistic' nuances and examine the book for the alignment of its narrative material".

tensions to be noted[254]. Reference was made at the outset to the difficulties of recognizing some sort of chronological[255] coherence in the texts of the "Appendix". Moreover these are found not only there, but also in other parts of the book.

As James Flanagan wanted to recognize a chronological sequence in the passage discussed by him, so this may also be reviewed in the light of the foregoing considerations. The centre-section analysed by him in 2 Sam.6-7 is flanked by the description of David's great victories achieved with the help of Yahweh, which were the basis of the empire's glory. These victories are placed opposite one another in two groups, first a section on the overcoming of those neighbours by whom they have felt most pressured, the Philistines, and then the second with the victories over all the neighbouring nations who eventually face military defeat. The overcoming of the Philistines at the beginning is certainly a chronological precondition of the transfer of the ark from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem. The emphasis on a "further" (*'ôḏ*) assembly of the chosen men of Israel (6.1) to celebrate the *šᵉlāmîm* on the occasion of the procession of the ark of Yahweh-Sabaoth suggests, however, thoughts of an end to the general fighting and a certain distance in time from the final call to arms of the chosen men, including the battles described in ch.8. This is even more strongly asssumed in the emphasis given to the liberation from all the enemies round about as the act of Yahweh in 7.1. This introduction already anticipates the outcome of the victories which are not described until later, in the second ring. The opening sentences of both the central chapters, concerning Yahweh's taking-up of residence in Jerusalem and the promise of an everlasting dynasty, thus have as their starting-point the already accomplished end of all fighting, even though this is not described until later.

254 Cf. **David A. Glatt**, *Chronological Displacement in Biblical and Related Literature*, SBL.DS 139. Atlanta/GA: Scholars 1993.

255 Cf. i.a. **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS III,12, who examines the Appendix from a chronological viewpoint and concludes that "in II Sam. 21-24 is a curious mixture of very early and very late material".—What is meant by chronology in what follows is the sequence of events in the literary portrayal. The connection with historical matters is a different question, which is not being considered here: on that cf. i.a. **J.W. Flanagan**, *David's Social Drama: A Hologram of Israel's Early Iron Age*, JSOT.S 73. Sheffield/Columbia: JSOT/Almont 1988; **P.K. McCarter**, "The Historical David", *Interpretation* 40 (1986) 117-129; **Eugene R. Merrill**, "The 'Accession Year' and Davidic Chronology", *JANES* 19 (1989) 101-112; **Israel Finkelstein**, "The Emergence of the Monarchy in Israel: The Environment and Socio-Economic Aspects", *JSOT* 44 (1989) 43-74; **David F. Payne**, *Kingdoms of the Lord: A History of the Hebrew Kingdoms from Saul to the Fall of Jerusalem*, Exeter: Paternoster 1981.

It is more reasonable to understand the immediate flanking of the central chapters 2 Sam.6 and 7 by announcements of victory over all enemies on either side of the centre from aspectival viewpoints than to view it through the spectacles of chronological-linear sequences of events. The individual rings in the chiastic unit might each stand on its own and would be read from the outer to the inner. The reference to the *'aḥ*ª*rê-kēn* in 8.1 would then connect not with ch.7, but with the section 5.17-25. The double victory over the Philistines referred to there would here be followed without a break[256] by the news of their final overthrow, followed by further victories over the eastern and northern neighbours. An exclusively linear-chronological approach would take the binary references of the chiasmus as little into account as it would the explicit opening sentences of the sections in the centre, which both convey a state of general *šālôm* and anticipate the completion of the great military enterprises.

Also the recording of the names of all David's sons already in the first double list points to an arrangement of the text primarily according to criteria of content and theme, and only subsequently also according to chronological criteria[257]. It is inconceivable not to read them from the viewpoint of the end of David's entire reign in Jerusalem. The same applies to the summary of the years of the reign in 2 Sam.5,5 with 7 years and 6 months for Hebron and 33 years for Jerusalem. Also the concise evaluation of the final establishment of David's rule over Israel by Yahweh in 5.12 must be regarded as a summarizing report looking back over the whole of David's reign from its end, or at least the successful overcoming of the subsequently recorded dangers from the Philistine attack, the predominance of the Ammonite coalition, and the rebellion of Absalom. Possibly it at least anticipates the satisfactory installation of a successor to the throne.

256 In a similar fashion the opening sentence in 2 Sam.24.1 also relates to its counterpart in the chiastic contrast, not to the immediately following context; cf. also i.a. **A. Alt**, "Zu 2 Sam. 8.1", *ZAW* 54 (1936) 149-152, who does however speak of the later insertion of 2 Sam. 6 & 7, and not of a coherent chiastic structure.

257 Cf. **M. Sternberg** 1985, 41: Bible stories are "regulated by a set of three principles: ideological, historiographic and aesthetic. How they co-operate is a tricky question..., but that they do operate is beyond question".

Thus in the structure of the section 2 Sam.3.1-5.16 the anointing of David as king over all Israel, which is flanked by the two lists of the sons of David, is spoken of already from the viewpoint of the completed reign of David. What is described afterwards is the carrying out of events according to criteria which are not subject to the logic of the linear writing of history, but which reveal the theological-thematic intentions of the writer by means of their selection and structural arrangement.

Emma Brunner-Traut has established it as characteristic of an aspectival understanding of history that each period of rule is perceived as a unity in itself. There is no general reflection on greater periods of time[258]. The reign of a ruler is moreover not recounted throughout, but "allein die markanten Ereignisse, genauer: die positiv markanten Ereignisse in den Annalen"[259] are emphasized.

That this, interestingly enough with the exception of the last half-sentence, can also be regarded as applicable to the structure of the David narrative, has been shown by Eugene Merrill in a study independently of Emma Brunner-Traut[260]. In it Merrill's starting-point is the conventions of the Assyrian royal annals, in which it can be frequently observed that outstanding achievements of a whole reign are seen as already complete in the initial year of the reign. He understands as agreeing with such conventions the unconnectedly listed events in 2 Sam.5 of the anointing of David to be king, the conquest of Jerusalem and the transfer there of the seat of government from Hebron, the palace building operations with the help of Hiram of Tyre, and the summary report of the establishment and increase of the Davidic kingdom by Yahweh for the sake of his people Israel (5.12)[261]. Merrill suggests that

258 When **E. Brunner-Traut** 1992, 108ff,194f regards the Israelite historical works as an exception, she is thinking of the perspectives spanning great periods of time and the summary assessments of the rule of the kings described in the books of Kings. The incidence of an aspectival way of thinking in the text is not challenged by this.

259 **E. Brunner-Traut** 1992, 101.

260 **Eugene R. Merrill**, "The 'Accession Year' and Davidic Chronology", *JANES* 19 (1989), 101-112.

261 **E.R. Merrill** reconstructs a chronological sequence which postpones to a later period of the Davidic reign the partnership with Hiram which is reported at its beginning.

these statements should not be understood as having been fulfilled chronologically at the beginning of the reign. Instead of that it makes more sense in his view to regard the aforementioned achievements, in accordance with contemporary conventions, as a bringing together by the author at this point of those high points of the whole reign[262] which seem to him to be essential. A seizure of Jerusalem[263] can actually only take place after the victories over the Philistines[264], and in particular it makes more sense in his view for the building operations in co-operation with Hiram of Tyre to be placed chronologically after the great conquests rather than before the battles with the Philistines[265]. A simple linear-chronological approach to the texts must be given up in the light of our knowledge of contemporary conventions[266] as not appropriate to the character of the texts.

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262 Cf. **Albrecht Alt**, "Jerusalems Aufstieg", *KS* III. Munich: Beck ²1968, 243-257 [= *ZDMG* 79 (1925) 1-19].

263 Cf. **Manfred Oeming**, "Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch David in deuteronomistischer und chronistischer Darstellung (II Sam 5,6-9 und I Chr 11,4-8)", *ZAW* 106 (1994) 404-420; **G.W. Ahlström**, "Was David a Jebusite Subject?", *ZAW* 92 (1980) 285-287 maintains that Bethlehem at the time of Saul was a town dependent on Jerusalem, and therefore David was a Jebusite citizen. This is seen as the reason for his familiarity with the city and its speedy conquest. Cf. **Jan Heller**, "David und die Krüppel", idem, *An der Quelle des Lebens: Aufsätze zum Alten Testament*, Frankfurt: P. Lang 1988, 25-31 (= Communio Viatorum 8 (1965) 251-257).

264 In 2 Sam.5.17 David goes up to battle from the *m^{e}ṣûḏâ*, not from the stronghold of Zion (5.7); cf. **K.-D. Schunck**, "Davids 'Schlupfwinkel' in Juda", ibid, *Altes Testament und Heiliges Land: Gesammelte Studien zum AT und zur biblischen Landeskunde I*, Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang 1989, 183-186. It is only afterwards that the Philistines are driven out of Gibeon again (5.25); cf. also **Peter Welten**, "Lade—Tempel—Jerusalem: Zur Theologie der Chronikbücher", *Textgemäß: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments*, FS Ernst Würthwein, ed. A.H.J. Gunneweg & O. Kaiser. Göttingen 1979, 169-183; **Siegfried Herrmann**, *Geschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit*, Berlin: EVA ³1985 [=1973], 198 understands the Philistine wars as their attempt, following David's coronation in Hebron, to conquer Jerusalem, in order to drive a wedge into the area of David's rule. Only after that was the city taken into David's possession.

265 Cf. **Shamei Gelander**, *David and his God: Religious Ideas as Reflected in Biblical Historiography and Literature*, JBS 5. Jerusalem: Simor 1991. Gelander also does not take the chronological order as his starting-point. He speaks of a reduction of the events to a few key scenes in 2 Sam.5: "The writer's aim is to show what the Lord did to help David by direct intervention, making it look like a miracle... It is possible that what we have here is merely a reference to an action that has been described in detail somewhere else, or was so well known that the writer found it unnecessary to describe it in full once again" (130).

266 **H.J. Tertel** 1994: On the chronology of the Assyrian royal annals: "A thematic rather than a chronological order can also be observed as a result of redactorial intervention... The order of narration is according to importance" (95, 135, 276n).

2.2.4 Interim Evaluation

Our observation of a general chiastically structured formation for the Appendix and other parts of 2 Sam. has prompted an investigation into the understanding of the type of perception which gives effect to such forms. In this way under the heading of "aspectival" perception insights have been found which may plausibly have a decisive influence on the interpretation.

Firstly such a general structuring must be recognized as intentional. The dominant criteria in this process clearly do not fit into the conventions of linear-chronological history-writing of western tradition, but are subject rather to the constraints governing aspectival perception, in which the predominant cumulative style of portrayal, which bilaterally combines and contrasts multi-faceted aspects, is expressed among other ways in the chiastic organization of the texts. In the interpretation of a chiastic system the individual parts are to be seen on the one hand in their relationship to their respective counterparts within the binary structure, and on the other hand in the tension between centre and periphery. This double orientation leads to the possibility of statements being made about the tendency which is inherent in the texts.

It would surely be wrong to want to see in the texts' lack of linear-chronological organization a fault in the authors or editors. Our considerations up to this point have opened up other possible ways of understanding the chronological tensions in the texts, according to which it is not a lack of attention which influenced what was written, but a perception and way of expressing what appears to be essential which are different from those expected today. Even if linear-perspectival chronology did not determine the selection of the texts, this does not mean that the intentionally chronological statements in the texts should be generally disregarded. They are rather to be taken seriously as the framework for a chronological reconstruction according to the different circumstances of an aspectival interpretation[267].

267 Thus also **M. Sternberg** 1985, 30-35; cf. **F.C. Fensham**, "Literary Observations on Historical Narratives in Sections of Judges", *Storia e Tradizioni di Israele*, FS J.A. Soggin, ed. D. Garrone & F. Israel. Brescia: Paideia 1991, 77-87.

Certainly such a reconstruction would not have to be automatically subjugated to the linear sequence of the texts. This opens up possibilities for a review and maybe a fresh evaluation of the so frequently observed chronological tensions in the Samuel texts.

2.3 Further Remarks concerning Structuring

Brueggemann's proposal for a structural comparison between the texts of the "Appendix" and the similarly constructed passage in 2 Sam.5-8 gives grounds for observations about structure which go beyond that proposal. The structure which is revealed also follows the elementary principles of chiasmus in the macrostructure. It is reasonable to suggest that other parts of Samuel may be structured in the same way. An extensive analysis would, however, go beyond the brief of the subject of this dissertation. Therefore only certain aspects of the conclusions reached up to this point will be addressed, i.e. those which arise from the references to the Samuel Conclusion.

2.3.1 David and his Prophets

2.3.1.1 The Words of Gad and Nathan

In the last chapter of Samuel the prophet[268] Gad features as the one who declares to David his punishment in the name of Yahweh. In the observations under the heading 2.2.1.3 this appearance of Gad in connection with David's exceeding of his authority was recognized to be in parallel with that of the Prophet Nathan in 2 Sam.12. Both of them, in these texts which are clearly related to each other in terms of both content and structural arrangement, pronounce judgment upon David.

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268 A difference of terminology between *ḥōzeh* und *nāḇî'* does not appear to apply to Samuel in its final form, cf. 1 Sam.9.9; in 1 Sam. 22.5 Gad is called *nāḇî'*, in 2 Sam. 24,11 *nāḇî'*, David's *ḥōzeh*, i.e. Gad is not to be regarded differently from Nathan, who is only called *nāḇî'*, cf. **Peter Southwell**, *Prophecy*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1982, 21f.

Now it is striking that both Nathan and Gad each appear twice in relation to David. As a result of Gad's prophetic word in 1 Sam.22.5 David had kept his place in Judah, at the low point of his flight before Saul when it seemed that his parents could only be kept safe by leaving the country. Relatives and those in distress had gathered round him. That the lives of David's relatives were in real danger is made clear from the account which immediately follows of the murder of the entire priestly clan in Nob. This explains his action in bringing his parents to safety in Moab, beyond the reach of Saul's power[269]. In this context of extreme danger, with David's family no longer able to find a home and safety in their own country, the rôle of the prophet Gad is to give an instruction. Where they are at the point of emigrating, he gives positive confirmation in the name of Yahweh to the gathering of the displaced and distressed around David, and in particular to their remaining in the country[270]. It is through the word of the prophet that they are stopped from leaving the land and directed to their place in Judah. If the assembling of his own army was regarded as necessary for the mounting by David of a rebellion, then this prophetic word[271] fulfilled the function of bestowing divine legitimacy upon it, and thus marks the embryonic beginning of David's independent exercise of power[272]. His remaining in the country despite persecution by Saul indicates that this is destined by God.

Nathan's second appearance in addition to his rôle as prophet of judgment in the Bathsheba/Uriah context is in connection with the promise of 2 Sam.7 and its far-reaching pledge of salvation for David and his dynasty[273]. Thus each prophet appears in the Samuel

269 **C.F. David Erdmann** 1873, 264: "Denn Saul konnte in denselben nur Theilnehmer an der von ihm als unzweifelhaft angenommenen Verschwörung Davids gegen sich erblicken."

270 Cf. 1 Sam. 26.19; 2 Sam.20.19; 21.3, where the land is understood to be theologically designated as "the heritage of Yahweh".

271 **Robert R. Wilson**, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia: Fortress 1984 [=1980] points out that "in 1 Sam.22:5 he gives political advice but does not deliver oracles." But this observation does not detract from the great significance of this directive by the prophet.

272 A significant date in David's rise to power, cf. **P.K. McCarter**, "The Historical David", *Interpretation* 40 (1986) 121f: "David became an *'apirû* chief". Cf. also **G.E. Mendenhall** 1973, 135f; **J.W. Flanagan**, "Chiefs in Israel", *JSOT* 20 (1981) 47-73.

273 The theories of **G.W. Ahlström** in "Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau", *VT* 11 (1961) 113-127 that Nathan came from Jebusite circles which wanted to prevent the building of a Yahwistic temple (120) will not be considered here.

corpus once with a message of salvation[274] and once with a prophecy of judgment.

Gad's appearance in 2 Sam.24 has value, among other things, as an indicator that this story is to be placed chronologically at the commencement of David's reign. This also makes sense on other grounds[275]. However, the mention of it here at the end is hardly accidental, but rather has been deliberately placed there. The sequence of prophetic words in the life of David, which is not governed by chronological considerations—Gad / Nathan / Nathan / Gad —is, remarkably, also revealed to be chiastic. Thus Nathan is moved into the centre, so that the greater importance is ascribed to his word of salvation and his declaration of judgment:

1 Sam.22.5	Gad	Word of salvation	Land of Judah
2 Sam.7	Nathan	Word of salvation	House of David
2 Sam.12	Nathan	Word of judgment	House of David
2 Sam.24	Gad	Word of judgment	Land "Dan to Beersheba"

This series of four prophetic encounters for David is seen to have a two-fold arrangement. According to this there were in David's life two prophets who proclaimed God's words to him. Both prophets agree to a large extent both in their positive and their negative word. They confirm that Yahweh is with David and his house. Gad has his rôle at the decisive point of turning from the centrifugal movement of fleeing over the border of the country to the determination to remain in the country despite persecution by the government, and thus at the point of the commencement of David's assumption of independent power. And Nathan encounters David at the zenith of his power after the completion of the building of his palace and in connection with the request for a dwelling-place for Yahweh in Jerusalem. Both his

274 For the understanding of Gad's prophecy in 1 Sam.22.5 with its command to remain in the land (the heritage of Yahweh) as an implicit message of salvation, cf. the analogous function of the command in Gn.26.2f: "Do not go down to Egypt; dwell in the land of which I shall tell you. Sojourn in this land, and I will be with you, and will bless you; for to you and to your descendants I will give all these lands, and I will fulfil the oath which I swore to Abraham your father."

275 E.g. the lack of a proper place of sacrifice in Jerusalem and the rôle of Araunah. Subsequent to the transfer of the ark this must seem improbable.

statements concentrate on David and his house, but the words of Gad focusmore strongly upon David's relationship to his people and land[276].

Both prophets declared salvation to David, but also did not shrink from proclaiming judgment in the name of Yahweh on the ruler when he abused the power which had been granted to him. In both cases the sentence appears not to be absolute. In each case it is carried out, but then moderated following David's confession of sin as he turns afresh to Jahweh[277]. Thus as prophets of judgment they are demonstrated to be credible prophets of Yahweh[278]. Of the four prophetic statements the three which are checkable were demonstrably fulfilled. The three-fold authentication of their words may then also be taken into account by the reader in assessing the validity of the fourth word in 2 Sam.7 with reference to the future. This is also formally emphasized by the placing of Nathan in the centre of the quadriform ring-structure of the four occurrences of direct prophetic speech. By the appearance of two prophetic witnesses, each of which has two statements respectively of salvation and judgment, their mutual credibility is supported in a way which almost has the air of legal proof[279]. Thus seen as a unified prophetic word, all four statements can be regarded as contributing to the reliability of the one promise concerning the dynasty which remains open and future. Of necessity this includes Gad's word in 2 Sam.24.

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276 In 2 Sam.24.17 a contrast is drawn between the people and David's house. The punishment affects the land from "Dan to Beersheba" but not Jerusalem, i.e. David's house is not included (24.15f). Cf. the double reference to "your land" in 24.13.

277 It is not convincing to try to separate the word of judgment from the word of grace on source-critical grounds, cf. e.g. **K. Seybold** 1972, 25, who in the case of 2 Sam.24.11ff and 24.18f speaks of two different sayings of Gad.

278 Cf. i.a. **B.S. Childs** 1985, 133ff with reference to Dt.18.22 and Jer.28.8f.

279 The setting-up of a religious contrast between the two prophets (Jebusite/nomadic-Yahwistic) is not convincing, cf. **Herbert Haag**, "Gad und Nathan", *Archäologie und Altes Testament*, Berichtsband [Berlin?] 1970, 135-143. On the Jebusite hypothesis cf. i.a. **Konrad Rupprecht**, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem: Gründung Salomos oder jebusitisches Erbe?* BZAW 144, Berlin 1976; **Ilse von Loewenclau**, "Der Prophet Nathan im Zwielicht von theologischer Deutung und Historie", *Werden und Wirken des AT*, FS C. Westermann, ed. R. Albertz and others, Göttingen: V&R 1980, 202-215; **Saul Olyan**, "Zadok's Origins and the tribal politics of David", *JBL* 101 (1982) 177-193; **Gwilym H. Jones**, *The Nathan Narratives*, JSOT.S 80, Sheffield: SAP 1990.

It is further worthy of note that both prophetic words of judgment relate in each case to forms of illegitimate exercise of power, and by confession of sin and repentance on the part of David are significantly mitigated and result in forgiveness. In contrast to the rejection which Saul had to undergo, in the case of David no withdrawal of the words of salvation is involved. On the contrary, through the existence of the words of judgment with their already painfully experienced consequences, the validity and reliability of the declaration of salvation for the Davidic dynasty is at the same time emphasized beyond all doubt.

2.3.1.2 The Activity of Samuel on behalf of David

As well as Gad and Nathan, mention is also made in the David narratives of the prophet Samuel, though only on two occasions (1 Sam.16.13; 19.18-24). It seems remarkable that in contrast to Gad and Nathan, there is not a single word to David recorded from the mouth of Samuel. Although the narrative texts appear to assume such a prophetic word (1 Sam.24.5; 25.30), and the reporting of direct speech plays a prominent rôle in every part of Samuel, there is no example of such from Samuel to David. It is only through the instruction of Yahweh to Samuel (1 Sam.16.1) that the reader knows that a king is to be anointed. That they had much to say to each other is expressly indicated in 19.18, yet the reader is not informed of the content of their conversation.

The prophet Samuel appears in the texts only in his activity to the benefit of David, anointing him and providing him with protection as he flees before Saul. David's parting from Saul, which might also appear in the public eye to be the improper dereliction by a subject of his duty (cf. 1 Sam.25.10), is thus vouched by prophetic support to be not unlawful[280]. The conversation with Samuel and his siding with David support with the highest authority David's behaviour in fleeing as not being a crime against Saul.

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280 Cf. the three-fold solidarity experienced by David: in the *royal palace* on the part of Jonathan and Michal, through the *prophet* Samuel and the *priest* Ahimelech. For the active assistance of the latter cf. **Pamela Tamarkin Reis**, "Collusion at Nob: A New Reading of 1 Samuel 21-22", *JSOT* 61 (1994) 59-73.

Both encounters with Samuel are accompanied not by words, but rather by the manifestation of the Spirit's workings (16.13ff; 19.20,23f). The first leads David to Saul's court and to his success there. The second brings him protection from Saul and his attacks. Thus with these two pieces of evidence Samuel too, whose credibility as a prophet of Yahweh in the context of the books of Samuel is unquestionable to the reader[281], is a third prophetic witness for the legitimacy of David's behaviour in his flight before Saul and for his progress towards becoming ruler in Israel.

This striking and significantly structured incidence of prophetic encounters in the David narratives makes it even more probable that the "Samuel Appendix" looks back not only with the lists of people and the narrative texts about the transgressions of the kings to 2 Sam.3-20, but also with the mention of the prophet Gad to the broader sphere of the Samuel corpus. With the linking of the six occurrences of prophetic encounters in each case in a double form at least the David narratives as a whole are encompassed. The "Appendix" may clearly be seen as formulated in connection with these. The reference to Gad in 2 Sam.24 is seen to be a necessary element in the structure of the book as a whole, in relation to both its apologia and its argument, and is not to be separated from it.

2.3.2. Songs of Victory and Mourning

In the centre of the ring-structure of the Appendix there are two songs, entitled "David's song to Yahweh on his deliverance from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul" and "The Last Words of David". The appearance of poetic texts in narrative contexts is striking. Whereas earlier exegesis, oriented towards the earliest stages of literary development, often did not interpret poetic texts marked out by change of genre within their

281 Through the comment that "Yahweh let none of his words to him fall to the ground" (1 Sam.3.19) he is already at the outset designated a Yahweh-prophet in the sense of Dt.18.22, cf. **David F. Payne**, *Deuteronomy*, Edinburgh 1985, 109ff; **R. Rendtorff**, "Die Geburt des Retters: Beobachtungen zur Jugendgeschichte Samuels im Rahmen der literarischen Komposition [1Sam 1-3]", *Storia e tradizioni di Israele: FS J.A. Soggin*, ed. Daniele Garrone & Felice Israel. Brescia: Paideia 1991, 212.

immediate context, but as a rule each in their assumed pre-canonical setting, more recent studies tend to ascribe a greater value to their thematic and rhetorical functions in the context in which they have been placed[282]. Peter D. Miscall[283] prefers to regard the poetic parts along with their individual meaning as "integral parts of the overall narrative." Robert Polzin[284] bemoans the fact that in the exegesis of Hannah's psalm it has often not been recognized "with what care these poems are placed within their literary context."

2.3.2.1 Psalms in Narrative Contexts

The literary function of the change of genre through the placing of psalms in a prose context has been made the subject of a separate study by James W. Watts[285]. He comes to the conclusion that "the psalms in narrative contexts...were positioned with careful attention not only to links with the immediate context but also the particular thematic development of each book as a whole" (185). Psalms serve as a "literary device...to achieve compositional [narrative] goals" (186). This is achieved in the first place through their positioning, often at the end of a passage, and secondly through the statements contained in them. The repeatedly observed resort to psalms in the biblical books to bring a passage to a conclusion is seen as a pointer to their function. Watts sums up "that hymnic poetry in this position invites readers to join in the celebration, an effect which is especially strong in the victory songs" (187). This change from being a recipient of a literary offering to being an active participant sharing in the fulfilment of the hymn may be only theoretically possible for modern readers without knowledge of the musical aspect of the songs; but for ancient reading practices, whereby the texts would normally be recited aloud or *sotto voce*, such an effect must be regarded as well-nigh unavoidable.

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282 Cf. e.g. **Henning Graf Reventlow**, *Gebet im Alten Testament*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1986; also **P.R. Ackroyd** 1974.

283 **P. Miscall** 1986, xii.

284 **R. Polzin** 1989, 30.

285 **James W. Watts**, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOT.S 139. Sheffield: JSOT 1992. The psalms studied are those in Ex.15, Dt.32, Jdg.5, 1 Sam.2, 2 Sam.22, Is.38, Jonah 2, Dn.2 and 1 Chr.16.

Such a rhetorical function of the change of genre[286] is in his view also to be accepted as valid for the psalms in 1 Sam.2 and 2 Sam.22. David's psalm of thanksgiving represents the conclusion of the book not only because it is placed at the end, but also because it takes up again the themes of the psalms from the beginning of the book: "The song near the beginning sets the mood and primes the readers/hearers not only for the following stories, but also for the more extensive celebration of Yahweh's faithfulness to David at the end" (189). Watts summarizes his basic conclusions thus: "One convention of ancient Hebrew narrative genres is the inclusion of a distinguishable group of texts, consisting of psalms and a few other poems, in narrative contexts of the Hebrew Bible, which through their positions and thematic commentaries contribute to narrative development. They rarely affect plot, but instead structure large blocks of material thematically, deepen the theocentric orientation of books and internal characterizations of individuals, and actualize the narratives by eliciting reader participation in the songs."

2.3.2.2 The Songs in the Samuel Corpus

(1) The three pairs

In the context of Samuel it is now striking, and in the light of previous observations worthy of note, that songs appear not only in the concluding chapters and at the beginning, but also interspersed among the texts. In total there are six songs[287] distributed throughout the Samuel corpus, and again it is most interesting to list them according to their occurrence:

286 Change of genre is also evident in the stories embedded in narrative sections: 2 Sam.12.1-4; 14.5ff, cf. 20.17ff.

287 **James L. Kugel**, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History*, New Haven: Yale 1981 considers that the distinction between "poetry" and "prose" is too much determined by western conventions. Here the question is that of songs, and Samuel's curse of the Amalekite king Agag in 1 Sam.15.33 and David's emotional lament over Absalom in 2 Sam.19.1 may perhaps equally be regarded as poetic, even though they do not involve public singing. The lament over Absalom could perhaps be included, but the text specifically emphasizes the private nature of David's weeping as standing in contrast to the mood of the public, so that the reader can only be involved in a limited way. If 2 Sam.19.1 is to be included as a seventh "song", then this text would also be placed in a position emphasized by its structure, the number of songs of lament would be three, the same as the songs of victory, and the last words of David would be linked not only by their content to the songs of victory, but also, as a death-bed statement, to the laments.

1 Sam.2.1-10	Song of victory	Hannah's prayer
1 Sam.18.7	Song of victory	Women sing the praises of Saul/David
2 Sam.1.19-27	Song of lament	David on the death of Saul/Jonathan
2 Sam.3.33-34	Song of lament	David on the death of Abner
2 Sam.22.1-51	Song of victory	David
2 Sam.23.1-7	Last words	David

In this series of sung poetry in Samuel the six songs present themselves in three pairs. In the case of the first two, what they have in common is that they are songs of victory which are sung by women[288]. In the second pair it is the two elegies of David with reference to the death of the Saulites and the one who has for many years been commander of their army, Abner. The last two songs form the centre in the chiastic structure of the "Appendix". As far as form is concerned, it is immediately obvious that each pair consists of a longer and a shorter song, a characteristic which Fokkelman also noticed in the structure of the Appendix[289].

The fact that singing by women is often mentioned in connection with the victorious return of the men from military action fits in with the feeling of relief experienced by women when their husbands and sons have returned alive from the battlefield. The spoils of war added to the joy and happiness. Breaking out into songs of victory, therefore, is seen to be the way in

288 The second song (1 Sam.18.7) is in terms of size admittedly very short, but nevertheless stands out very significantly because of the effect it has on Saul and his actions, and on the Philistines (cf. the repeated reference in 21.12; 29.5); **P. Miscall** 1986, 31 speaks of "types of duplication which belong to [the] category of 'recurrent structure'..." "In recurrent structure, comparison is called for because what is in question is the same material in different versions, these versions occurring within the same narrative framework and usually at no great distance from one another on the text continuum... Just as a coin is both a single unit and a composite of two separate forms, so the narrative units in this mode resemble one another and cleave together, and at the same time differ from and exert a reciprocal effect upon one another; and both units together form two sides of the same story" (32).

289 **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS III, 12f, cf. note above.

which the women in particular express themselves[290]. This characteristic applies also to the two songs here which are sung by women.

(2) Songs of Victory sung by Women

Hannah's song begins with triumphant rejoicing over release from her enemies. She praises Yahweh as the Creator who creates for himself a king out of the dust of the earth and sets him on the throne among the great ones of the world as his anointed. The threat of danger from the enemies is turned away, and Yahweh has come to her aid, therefore her "heart exults", her "strength is exalted", and her singing "mouth is opened wide". Yahweh is unique, and there is no other god besides him. Such aid he has given through his king and his anointed.

It is David and Saul who then appear in the following narrative texts as the anointed ones. They are sung about by name in the second song. The overthrow of enemies has been achieved both through Saul and through David. The women sing the praises of the victory of both men, in such a way that the liberation brought by David is considered to be significantly superior to that of Saul[291]. The movement which takes place there from Saul to David as the one actually responsible for the "wide opening of the mouth against the enemy" (1 Sam.2.1) has a significant influence on the plot by its effect upon Saul, and cannot be eradicated from it.

290 Cf. Ex.15.20 Miriam; Jdg.5.1 Deborah; 1 Sam.15.33; 2 Sam.1.20.

291 To see in the increase from 1000 to 10,000 a simple parallelism which places Saul and David alongside one another as equal victors (thus **Lawrence A. Sinclair**, "David". *TRE* VIII. 1981, 378-384) does not do justice to the function of the song in the context of the action. Unlike many other songs in narrative contexts, this particular emphasis in the women's singing plays a direct rôle in the structure of the narrative (1 Sam.18.7; 21.11f; 29.5). **R. Alter**, "The Characteristics of Ancient Hebrew Poetry", *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, Cambridge MA: HUP 1987, 611-624 calls it "an amusing illustration of scholarly misconception".

If both songs are considered together, Yahweh's help against the enemies which is prophetically[292] anticipated in Hannah's song can be understood as being fulfilled in Saul and David. This is what the women's singing is about. Hannah's song announces the salvation, and the women rejoice at the help which has already been received. In this Saul retreats significantly into the shadows compared with David, through whom a far greater liberation shines forth.

(3) David's Songs of Lament

David's two songs of lament occasioned by Israel's defeat and the deaths of Saul, Jonathan and Abner form the second pair of songs. If Hannah has sung of the *gibbōrîm* whose *bow* is broken, then David's lament over the fallen *gibbōrîm* (2 Sam.1.19,25,27), described as a song of the bow, takes up the key words and thus provides a link between the two songs. Jonathan's broken bow had played a rôle in the covenant between them (1 Sam.20.21f, 36f). The mention of this bow is at the same time also a reminder of Jonathan's covenant of friendship with David. The key word connections with Hannah's song certainly mark out Saul and Jonathan's end as an act of Yahweh, who "exalts and brings low, kills and brings to life", even though his name is not mentioned in this song, probably intentionally for reasons of piety[293].

If the function of songs in narrative contexts elaborated by Watts is correct, whereby they are directed to the readers/hearers and by means of the change of genre involve them directly in the lament, then these laments are to be understood as a conspicuous honouring by David of the representatives of Saul's dynasty. Saul as king and Jonathan as the heir-apparent together with their relative Abner as commander-in-chief of the armed forces constitute the power-base of the first kingdom. David pays them respect, even though they persecuted

292 Cf. 2.3.2.2 (5) below.

293 Thus **W. Holladay**, "Form and Word-play in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan", *VT* 20 (1970) 153-189, esp. 186. Cf. **Masao Sekine**, "Lyric Literature in the Davidic-Solomonic Period in the Light of the History of Israelite Literature", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida. Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982.

him. In this way the honour done to them is not only reported, but also increased in a rhetorically effective way by means of David's lament which the reader can "join in performing". This fits into the already observed tendency of the texts to absolve David from any guilt at the ending of Saul's dynasty[294]. Thus the songs fulfil a central function in these texts as a whole.

(4) The Psalms of the Samuel Conclusion

The two songs at the conclusion of Samuel cannot be regarded as mere appendages, either, but should rather be considered in relationship to the other poetic sections. The close dovetailing by key words[295] of the texts 2 Sam.22 and 1 Sam.2.1-10, which makes them seem to be thematically related[296], has been variously observed and described. Both psalms praise Yahweh in the language of theophany, singing the praises of his liberation from enemies and reaching their high point in the praise of Yahweh's faithfulness towards his anointed, the king[297]. In Hannah's psalm the king remains anonymous, and in the song of the

294 Cf. **P.K. McCarter**, "The Apology of David". *JBL* 99 (1980) 489-504; idem 1984, 120ff,129. On the *cui bono* principle David stands under suspicion of involvement, even if only by passive expectation. Also **T. Ishida** 1977, 63; **Artur Weiser** 1966, 327; **J.C. Vanderkam** 1980, 521ff; **Keith W. Whitelam**, "The Defence of David", *JSOT* 29 (1984) 61-87; a different view is taken by **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 25,27, who regards such an interpretation as too shallow and superficial, preferring to see understanding for the tragedy of Saul's family expressed here, and that here "eine Ahnung für das Unausweichliche, Schicksalhafte durchscheint".

295 Cf. i.a. **B.S. Childs** 1979, 272,274; **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 366; **R. Polzin** 1989, 31-39; **J.W. Watts** 1992, 23.

296 **Y.T. Radday** 1971, 29: "There is hardly one single word in 1 Sam.2.1-10 which is not repeated at least once in 2 Sam.22... I shall try to prove that in every single respect it is an expansion of and counterpart to Hannah's prayer"; or **R. Polzin** 1989, 31: "In fact, the song of Hannah could easily serve as an abbreviated version of 2 Samuel 22, so that when the reader...comes upon David's hymn at the end of 2 Samuel, it will be no accident to hear within it echoes of that shorter hymn with which the story of Israel's move to kingship is inaugurated." "The Song of Hannah is filled with the words of 2 Samuel 22. Take also the matters of triumphant tone, of similar themes, and so forth." Despite many differences between the texts, "it would not be off the mark to characterize the Song of Hannah as a proleptic summary of David's final hymn, nicely duplicating its triumphant tone" (33).

297 The mention of the king in each case in the last verse is a decisive factor for the context in Samuel. For the expectation in 1 Sam.2.10 **J.T. Willis**, "The Song of Hannah and Psalm 113", *CBQ* 34 (1973) 139-154 assumes a connection with the anointing of Abimelech in Jdg.9.15 & 8.22f: "The Song of Victory in 1 Sam 2.1-10 comes from a pro-monarchical circle of the premonarchical period, who felt that Yahweh's kingship was not jeopardized by an earthly king" (149).

women the expectation of fulfilment is already turning away from Saul to David, and is directly spelled out by the mention of his name[298]. In this way the expectation of Yahweh's help against the enemies through an anointed one and king which is built up at the beginning of the book is eventually expressed as being fulfilled in David and his dynasty (2 Sam.22.51). Yahweh's statements apply to him and his house for ever.

This reference to David's dynasty links 2 Sam.22 directly with the song in 2 Sam.23.1-7. Its title as "the last words of David" points to a death-bed situation[299]. In this way the end of David's life is recorded, but without his death being announced in so many words. David's farewell, too, does not concentrate on the impending end or on the past, but looks as it were from the death-bed in imagination towards the future and the status which David's house will have in an eternal covenant with Yahweh. Although David's death is implicitly anticipated by the expression "last words", what appears at this point instead of a possible dirge is a prophetic statement directed towards a future full of hope[300]. Thus at David's death-bed there is not, as in the case of Saul, Jonathan and Abner, a song of lament for the dead, but rather a confident expectancy. It marks not an end but a beginning.

Nonetheless the introductory expression "last words" is in the situational context of the subsequent death a link with the two dirges at the beginning of 2 Samuel. There is, however, a sharp contrast to be drawn between the despairing grief there, in which the name of Yahweh is not even mentioned, and the abundant words of Yahweh falling from David's mouth in the face of death, and the confident hope he has for his house.

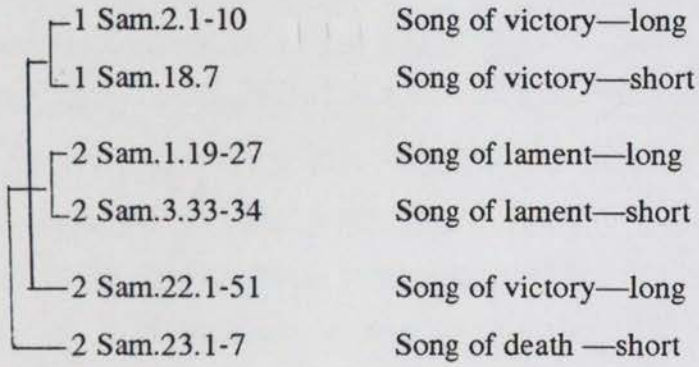
Consequently it is true also for the six songs in the Samuel corpus that they can be regarded as related to one another. Their location in the texts seems to have been carefully chosen. The three pairs, each consisting of one short and one long text, are shown to be connected to

298 Cf. **R.P. Gordon** 1986, 309.

299 The similarity between 2 Sam.22, 23.1-7 and Dt.32, 33 has often been remarked on. For death-bed songs cf. also Gn.49 i.a.

300 Cf. 3.3.2 below.

one another by form and content. The first song of the final pair is a song of victory, and thus connected with the first pair. As death-bed prophecy the last words of David correspond with the dirges of the second pair. This internal dovetailing in the placing of the poetic texts throughout the whole of Samuel makes it likely that it is not accidental.



(5) Hannah's Song and 2 Sam.23.1-7 as a Prophetic Inclusion

A further observation may be derived from the character of the final poetic text as prophecy in comparison with the first song in 2 Sam.2.1-10. If the last words of David are acknowledged on the grounds of their formal structure to be a prophetic statement, then this may also be assumed in the case of Hannah's psalm[301]. Its content and its rhetoric as a multi-faceted preview of the story which follows have often been noted[302]. She is speaking

301 **R. Polzin** 1989 analyses three levels in the psalm: a) Hannah's joy as a mother at the end of her childlessness, b) a view of the forthcoming birth of the kingdom, and c) a "melancholy tone" from a deuteronomistic perspective. The obvious irrelevance of the second level to Hannah's own situation, however, represents the main statement of the psalm. "Hannah's poem, at the level of her own discourse, is a prophetic song looking forward to the same victory [like Ps.22, HK]". "In this way the voice of a triumphant king merges with that of an exultant mother. Such an understanding helps to explain why, in their respective contexts, the emotive and ideological accents of Hannah's song and David's psalm are so similar".

302 E.g. **P.K. McCarter** 1980a, 76: "On a subtler but no less important level, moreover, these verses with their meditation upon the exaltation of the meek find the heart of the Samuel stories with singular directness. We are about to hear of the elevation of Samuel, of Saul, of David—indeed even of Israel herself—from humble circumstances to power and distinction. The Song of Hannah sounds a clear keynote for what follows"; **Y.T. Radday**, "Chiasm in Samuel", *Linguistica Biblica* 9/10 (1971) 21-31: "The poem contains the main idea and hints at the principal events of the whole book... The overture to an opera is not anachronistic in anticipating the entire set of the main musical themes to occur in the following acts" (29). Cf. **H.J. Stoebe** 1973, 106; **Lyle M. Eslinger**, *Kingship of God in Crises*, Sheffield: Almond 1985, 99ff.

directly before Yahweh in the sanctuary at Shiloh[303]. She is depicted as a woman in whom the Spirit of Yahweh has worked a miracle, in presenting her with a son after many years of barrenness. It is no wonder, therefore, that her poetic prayer[304] praises Yahweh as Creator[305], but not only looking back to the overcoming of her own barrenness, but also looking forward to a forthcoming prince[306] of the people. Yahweh, who founded the earth upon pillars (*mᵉṣuqîm*), raises a poor man from the dust (*'āpār*) in order to set him[307] upon the throne[308]. This prayer does not reflect in an individualistic way the personally experienced miracle, but here the mother of the prophet, on the occasion of her son's dedication to Yahweh, herself speaks prophetically of the pattern of this boy's life. She speaks of Yahweh's help, analogous to what she has herself experienced, in the gift of an anointed ruler through whom liberation from the oppression of the enemies will be granted.

303 Actually *ba-yhwh*—'in Yahweh'; **Silvia Becker-Spörl** 1992, 108f concludes from this an identification of Yahweh and the one praying, i.e. the words of the one who prays are simultaneously Yahweh's words.

304 Cf. the theory of **Sigmund Mowinckel**, *Psalmenstudien* III, Amsterdam: Schippers 1966 [1922 edition], that poetry is entirely at home in the realm of the prophetic: "Der Nabi ist immer zugleich Dichter; seine Orakel haben in alter Zeit rhythmisch-metrische Form... Den alten Siegeshymnus in Ri. 5 hat man der Prophetin Deborah zugeschrieben; nur ein prophetisch Begabter hätte—so dachte man—ein solches Lied dichten können." "Wie der Prophet durch Musik in den Zustand der Inspiration versetzt wird [1 Sam.10.5f,10ff; 2 Kgs 3.15, HK] so auch der Dichter (Ps.49.2-5); sein Ohr wird empfänglich, so daß er die geheime von der Gottheit stammende Weisheit...empfangen und der Menschheit mitteilen kann" (*Psalmenstudien* III, 26).

305 The birth story signals a change of era. As the birth despite barrenness provides the occasion for the singing about Yahweh as Creator, so in the analogous rendering on the coming of the kingdom in Israel this is also depicted as a *creatio*; cf. **W. Brueggemann**, "1 Samuel 1: A Sense of Beginning", *ZAW* 102 (1990) 33-48.

306 Cf. the literary comparison of Hannah's *desire for a child* in 1 Sam.1 with Israel's *desire for a king* in 1 Sam.8 by **R. Polzin** 1989, 18ff entitled "Hannah and her Son: A Parable": "No other specific requests are made to the Lord in these chapters, so that there is a solid basis in the text for suggesting that the story of Hannah's request for a son is intended to introduce, foreshadow, and ideologically comment upon the story of Israel's request for a king" (25); and: "In other words, the story in chapter 1 about how and why God agreed to give Hannah a son, Samuel, is an artistic prefiguring of the larger story in 1 Samuel about how and why God agreed to give Israel a king. It is in the light of these and other thematic, emotive, and ideological connections within the larger story line that the etymology spoken by Hannah [1.20,28 HK] makes artistic sense; the story of Samuel's birth is the story of Saul's birth as king of Israel. Saul's destiny, like his name, explains Samuel's" (26).

307 Literally plural: the poor and needy (single) are raised up, to make them (plural) inherit the seat of honour.

308 The reminders of the formation of Adam from the dust—*'āpār*—of the earth in Gn.2.7 underline the character of the new era for which the psalm prepares us, in which one will be raised up (*rûm*, also as the setting in 2.1,10) from the *'āpār* on to the *kissē' kābôd*.

Read as a prophetic utterance[309], the fruitlessness of the search[310] for meaningful references to Hannah's own experience as a woman becomes understandable.

Even without her being directly described as a prophetess[311], this understanding of the place given to the psalm in the immediate narrative context is to be borne in mind, as it is also consistent with its frequently-noted function as a theological introduction, and with its significance, in conjunction with the psalms at the end, in providing a framework for the whole book. Here is a woman, in whose body a miracle of Yahweh has taken place, on the occasion of her surrendering her son for service in the sanctuary, speaking in poetic form in the presence of Yahweh of his future help to the people. As a prophetic utterance this prayer fits so amazingly appropriately both into the immediate narrative context, and also as a multi-faceted thematic introduction into the whole of Samuel. At the same time according to this arrangement this psalm is the first poetic text, in parallel with the last poetic text, which is also formally recognizable as a prophetic utterance and sings of the fulfilment of Hannah's generally phrased words in the everlasting covenant of David's dynasty.

Thus the poetic innermost ring of the "Appendix" is shown to be significant in many respects for the structural arrangement of Samuel. Not only are the frequently mentioned correspondences between 2 Sam.22 and 1 Sam.2.1-10 confirmed, but also 2 Sam.23.1-7 as a song of death forms the structural counterpart to the dirge of 2 Sam.1.19-27. At the same time this text, by its character as prophecy, forms a second bracket in the Appendix with 1 Sam.2.1-10.

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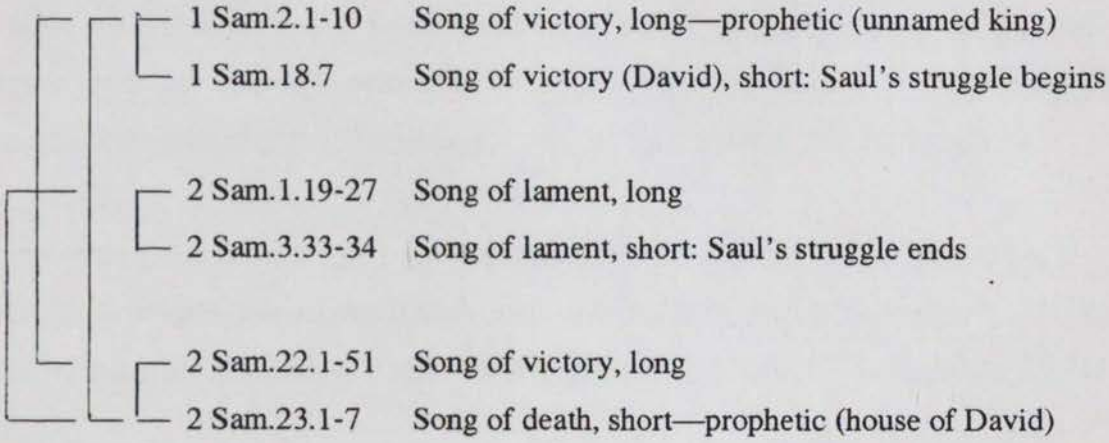
309 Even the Targum of Jonathan supplies in 2.1 after *titpallēl* "in a spirit of prophecy", indeed understanding the prayer as a preview of the history of Israel from David to Haman. According to Jewish tradition she is one of the seven prophetesses of the Hebrew Bible: Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah, Esther, cf. **R. Gradwohl**, *Bibelauslegung aus jüdischen Quellen* II, Stuttgart: Calwer 1987, 87.

310 Cf the attempts to solve the tension between 2.5 and 2.21 &c. or the question of what moved the editor or author to place such words in the mouth of a simple woman.

311 In her rôle as poetess she is already described as "inspiriert redend" (**S. Mowinckel** *PS* III, 26f).



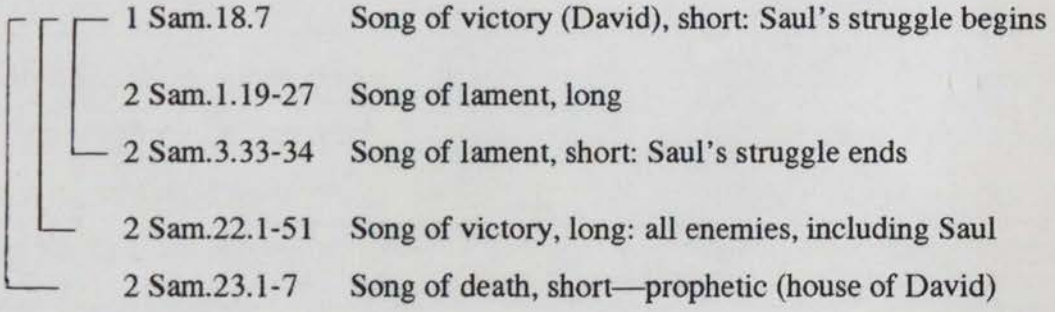
(6) The Singing of the Women as Duplicated Beginning

If one casts a glance at the two remaining short songs in 1 Sam.18.7 and 2 Sam.3.33-34, it is evident that they flank the period of enmity between Saul and David, and thus also function as beginning and ending markers. With the singing of the women the first ever victorious appearance of David is marked by a song in his honour, and thus stands at a not uninteresting stage in the development of the book's plot. At the same time this singing is the occasion and starting-point of Saul's fear and terror of David. Thus it also marks the beginning of the long-drawn-out struggle between the house of David and the house of Saul (2 Sam.3.1,6), which does not reach its conclusion until the song of lament over Abner[312]. Both short songs are thus seen to mark the boundaries of the stories of the struggle between Saul and David. It begins with a song which exalts David over Saul, and ends with the song of lament with respect to the death of Saul's commander-in-chief, Abner.

A further observation links the women's singing with David's song of victory in 2 Sam.22, in that the beginning and ending of David's victories are thereby effectively emphasized by the presence of two songs in a narrative context. If David's "maiden victory" over Goliath was celebrated by the singing of the women, then in David's psalm of thanksgiving the victorious overthrow of all the enemies is combined with the explicit comment that the clashes with Saul are also considered to be included. Thus Saul and David are mentioned by name in

both these songs: in the first David is exalted as greater than Saul, and in the last Saul is numbered with the enemies overcome by David. The introduction to 2 Sam.22.1 thus encompasses the period of time between the first and last singing of David's victory.

It is interesting that both songs follow immediately on after the successful overthrow of giants. The women sing about David, who has defeated Goliath, and David's psalm of thanksgiving comes immediately after the report of the slaying of another four Philistine giants.



Thus the singing of the women in 1 Sam.18.7 marks a beginning. Taken together with David's psalm it forms a frame around David's victorious activity, in which in each case the immediate cause is seen to be the overthrow of Philistine giants. At the same time this short song, taken together with the short lament over Abner, forms a bracket around the period of struggle between Saul and David, which reaches its final conclusion with the death of Abner. If the reference in 23.1e can also be understood as meaning that in it David is being celebrated as the object of the singing[313], then in the "last words" as well a reference back to the women's singing of victory[314] can be acknowledged.

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312 Cf. **Arnold M. Goldberg** 1967, 253, who places here the turning-point in David's career.

313 Even if in place of the vocalization *z^{e}mîrôṯ*, songs, the rendering *zimroṯ* as a title for God, "Protector, Defence" is to be preferred, the ambiguous meaning "songs" in the sense of a sound-picture is present, and David is then addressed both as the beloved of his Protector-God, and at the same time as the one whose praises his people delight to sing in their songs; cf. 3.2.2.1.

314 Cf. also 2 Sam.1.20.

2.3.2.3 Summary

If our look at the lists of persons proved them to have a structuring function in the composition of 2 Sam.3-24, and this analysis was reinforced by the parallel alignment in terms of content of the thus emerging structural centres with the outermost ring of the "Appendix", then the arrangement of the prophetic encounters and the placing of the poetic texts have revealed a framework encompassing the entire Samuel corpus and flanking the narrative parts on different levels. This now appears not as something which has been violently imposed upon the texts, but as interactively enmeshed into the structure of the passages.

The psalm in 2 Sam.22 is shown to be not only closely interlinked with Hannah's psalm and thus providing a setting for the whole Samuel corpus, but also, in conjunction with the women's singing of David's and Saul's victories, to provide the frame for David's path of victory from his "maiden victory" over Goliath to the final defeat of all his enemies. Both songs refer to David by name. The women's singing also, in conjunction with the lament over Abner, provides the frame for the period of struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David. Despite this double function as a frame this singing is not something external to the plot, but is organically bound up in the narrative events. Finally the psalm 2 Sam.23.1-7, as a death-bed song, is seen to be on the one hand corresponding with the song of lament over the end of Saul and Jonathan, and at the same time bound up in the prophetic arrangement with the psalm of Hannah[315].

Moreover, these findings concerning the incidence of prophetic encounters and the use of songs which are related to one another on many levels support an integral unity of the so-called "Appendix" with the remainder of the Samuel corpus. They also articulate the unlikelihood of the poetic and narrative sections' having been combined by means of processes of redaction taking place over stages of time. It becomes much more probable that the collection and arrangement of the narrative parts are to be seen as contemporaneous

315 If Hannah's psalm was occasioned by a miraculous birth, then in the comparison with the death-bed prophecy a further note of contrast is given in the polarity of birth and death.

with the poetic framework. This is instructive, because the poetic texts, on the basis of change of genre, played what amounted to a key rôle in the diachronic analysis of stages of redaction. At the same time it emerges that the assessment of the concluding chapters of Samuel as a curious muddle cannot be justified.

2.3.3 Victories and Defeats

An observation which takes us further comes from the arrangement of the successfully waged wars in the chiastic structure of the texts. The centre of the passage 2 Sam.5-8 was flanked by reports of victories, and the two-fold defeat of the Philistines in 5.17-25 stands in parallel to the multiple victories against all the enemies in 8.1-14. Here the accent clearly lies on the extensive group of conquered nations, including the defeat of the Philistines[316], whereby the greater interest belongs to the imperial conquests of the Aramean regions as far as the Euphrates.

If the defeat of the Philistines was the prerequisite for the transfer of the ark[317] to Jerusalem, then the victories in 2 Sam.8 serve to furnish the new sanctuary of Yahweh in Jerusalem with wealth[318]. Together with the military successes over five nations, it is surely not by chance

316 Cf. **Manfred Görg**, "Die Handschellen der Philister (2 Sam.8.1)", *Ägypten und Altes Testament*, FS H. Brunner, ed. Manfred Görg, Wiesbaden 1983, 327-341, who does not make a conquest his starting-point: "David hatte den Philistern die Mittel und Möglichkeiten aus der Hand genommen, Israel wie einem gezähmten und gezäumten Pferde ihren Willen aufzuzwingen. Er hatte ihre militärische Übermacht gebrochen... Darüber hinaus aber konnte er keinen Macht- oder Territorialgewinn für sich verbuchen. 2 Sam.8.1 jedenfalls gibt auch nicht andeutungsweise zu erkennen, daß David etwa das Kernland der Philister oder ihre Souveränität angetastet hätte" (332-3). "Was David in diesem Fall letztlich auf Distanz hielt, war kaum der Respekt vor der vergleichsweise kleinen Föderation der Philisterstädte, sondern die Rücksicht auf Ägypten, das selbst unter dem schwachen Regiment der 21. Dynastie eine nicht zu unterschätzende Großmacht blieb" (333). Similarly **H.J. Stoebe** 1989b (Ammonite war), 239f.

317 The explicit reference to *ʿallîm* in 2 Sam. 5.21 refers to the fate of the ark in 1 Sam.4.11ff and takes up again the thread of 1 Sam.7.1

318 Cf. **G.W. Ahlström**, "The Travels of the Ark: A Religio-Political Composition", *JNES* 43 (1984) 141-149: "It is likely that the intention of the ark narrative was to indicate Yahweh's existing realm, as well as to lay claim to new parts of the land of Canaan which became part of the new Davidic empire" (145).

that the booty dedicated to Yahweh comes from seven defeated nations[319]. If the number seven is given significance as indicating the totality of the nations, then this list of victories also plainly contributes to the centre, the taking up of residence by Yahweh in Jerusalem and the establishment of a lasting dynasty.

The military justification for the battles which are here briefly mentioned is identified in 2 Sam.10 as the conflict with the Ammonites and their forming of a coalition (10.6ff,16ff). In this way the main battles against the Arameans, if not all the military operations in the east and north of Israel from Edom as far as Aram, appear to stand within an inner correspondence and be contained within the Ammonite clashes. The subject is the conquest of Ammon and her allies. The Ammonite conflicts thus stand at the beginning and the end of the complex eastern military campaign and thus incorporate the battles with the other nations. Understood in this way, the two principal fronts in David's wars feature in the two lists of victories (2 Sam.5 & 8) with wars in the west and south against the Philistines, and in the east and north against the Ammonites. But this only becomes clear when we read 2 Sam.8 in conjunction with 2 Sam.10: 2 Sam.8 taken on its own does not pick out as a central theme the link between the eastern battles, but instead the large number of conquered nations; it is not unity which is emphasized, but the quantity of the victories and the profit gained from them[320].

319 2 Sam.8 lists five defeated nations (Philistines 8.1; Moabites 8.2; Hadadezer of Zobah 8.3f; Arameans of Damascus 8.5f; Edomites 8.13f) and seven nations which provide tribute for the sanctuary (Hadadezer of Zobah, Toi of Hamath, Edom, Moab, Ammonites, Philistines, Amalekites 8.7-12). The order deviates from that of the military victories (2 Sam.8.1-6,13-14) and follows a geographical pattern: north, east, west, south. Cf. perhaps the Assyrian royal title "Ruler of the four winds" in the sense of ruler of the universe (*šar kiššati* = king of the 50, 10, 7, or 5). Cf. **Liverani** 1981, *Titles of Sanherib*.—Not counting the duplications, in 2 Sam.8 there are twelve nations defeated and named as giving tribute to the sanctuary. The double mention of individual names could be the result of the symbolism of numbers. On the number five as symbol of Philistine power cf. 3.1.1.1.

320 Thus also **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 30 on the Aramean clashes: "Allerdings werden sie hier [ch.10, HK] in engem Zusammenhang mit den Ammoniterkämpfen Davids genannt, was der historischen Wirklichkeit und der politischen Zielsetzung Davids entsprochen haben dürfte"; cf. also **Stoebe** 1986.

2.3.3.1 Renewal of the Kingdom at Gilgal—1 Sam.11.14-12.25

There is also a comparison of the Ammonite and Philistine battles during Saul's reign in 1 Sam.11-14. Saul's victorious action in support of Jabesh against the Ammonites was the point of departure for the celebration of the renewal of the kingdom at Gilgal. Linked with it[321] is Samuel's speech which follows in ch.12. This is followed by two reports of war against the Philistines, which appear to be linked together[322] in one unit by statistical details[323]. Brief mention is then made of further victories of Saul over Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and the Aramean kings of Zobah[324].

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321 On the questioning of this link by **Veijola** 1975, 84 cf. i.a. **L.M. Eslinger** 1985, 383f.

322 Whether the flanking of the Ammonite victory in 11.1-11 by the reference to "sons", the *bᵉnê bᵉlîyya'al* (10.27, 11.12f) can be regarded as an ironic parallel form to David's lists of sons appears more doubtful.

323 These stories of defeat in the clashes with the Philistines appear to belong together as they are flanked by statistical details:

13.1-2	A		Statistics
13.3-7a	B	a	Cause of battle: Jonathan's act: Philistine guard in Geba
13.7b-14		b	Saul's sacrifice (unlawful) Samuel's declaration against Saul
13.15-23		c	Loss of victory against the Philistines
14.1-23	B^1	a^1	Cause of battle: Jonathan's act: Philistine guard in Michmash/Geba
14.24-35		b^1	Saul's curse affects Jonathan Saul's building of an altar (unlawful slaughtering)
14.36-46		c^1	Loss of victory against the Philistines
14.47-52	A^1		Statistics—further victories, sons, officials

For the parallelism of the statistical details with the framing function of the lists of persons with David cf. **U. Rüterswörden** 1981, 168: "Für die Zeit Sauls ist eine Notiz belegt, die ihrem Charakter nach den Beamtenlisten an die Seite zu stellen ist, in ihren Angaben jedoch solche Verschiedenheiten zeigt, daß sie der Aufmerksamkeit der Exegeten entgangen ist: 1 Sam.14.49-51. Hier werden die Söhne, Töchter, die Frau Sauls und einer seiner Beamten...aufgeführt." "Doch soll der gleichsam familiäre Ton, der hier angeschlagen wird, nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß hier für die Zeit Sauls das selbe (*sic*!) konstatiert werden soll, was die Beamtenlisten für Davids und Salomos Zeit zeigen."

324 I.e. even in Saul's time victories over the Aramean kings are mentioned. On the similarity of 1 Sam.14.47 and 2 Sam.8.12 cf. **R.C. Bailey**, *David in Love and War: The Pursuit of Power in 2 Sam.10-12*, JSOT.S 75, Sheffield 1990; **V.P. Long** 1989, 130 emphasizes the absence of any reference to Yahweh in comparison with the list in 2 Sam.8.6.

The sacrifice offered there, to which the people fit for military service were summoned together by Saul at Gilgal, is described as a "renewal of the kingdom". It takes the form of a public event. If the period of transition from Saul to David was marked to a great extent by the need for legitimization and authorization, the same can be assumed for the kingdom of Saul as a transition from a tribally organized society to a more clearly-defined monarchy. The religious significance of Gilgal as principal sanctuary along with Bethel and Mizpah is emphasized in the context of the book by Samuel's annual sacrificial circuit (1 Sam.7.16). Whereas Mizpah and Bethel were located in the middle of the mountainous region and thus could be seen by the Philistines[326], Gilgal appears as the place which is less subject to foreign power, and suitable for the gathering of men fit for military service to a celebration of victory connected with a significant religious sacrificial offering[327].

After his inauguration in Mizpah Saul's authority as king had been immensely strengthened by the victory over the Ammonites, in line with the tradition of the charismatic era of the judges. This is now sacrally reinforced as a "renewal of the kingdom" on the cultic level by means of the specific *šelāmîm* offering. If the legitimizing rôle of the *šelāmîm* described by Flanagan[328] can be accepted as correct, then this rôle is to be taken as probable for this text (11.14-15) as well, despite its shortness[329]. This scene too, in which following the achievement of victory the kingdom of Saul is religiously established by means of a sacral act, is followed like the *šelāmîm* offering in 2 Sam.6 by an important prophetic utterance (1 Sam.12), in connection with which divine approval is given by means of a manifestation

325 Cf. also **R. Rendtorff**, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im AT*, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1967, 124: "Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß die Verbindung von *'ola* und *schelmamim* die großen öffentlichen Opfer kennzeichnet. Dabei handlet es sich um die regelmäßigen Festopfer als auch um besondere Anlässe wie Altarbau und Tempeleinweihung." The rôle of the inauguration is not commented on by Rendtorff.

326 Cf. the references to the military control of the land by the Philistines in 1 Sam.10.5; 13.3.23; 14.1,5; 2 Sam.23.14; 1 Sam.13.12.

327 1 Sam.13.4,7ff; 15.12; Cf. the Gilgal traditions in Jos.4.20; 5.9; 6.11,14ff; 10.1ff; 14.6.

328 Cf. **J.W. Flanagan**, "Social Transformation and Ritual in 2 Samuel 6", 1983.

329 The terseness of the text can be linked to a bias towards the deprecation of Saul's kingdom.

(12.17-18)[330]. The correspondence between the legitimizing rôle of the renewal of Saul's kingdom and the *šᵉlāmîm* on the occasion of the erection of the ark sanctuary in Jerusalem in David's time seems to be proved.

2.3.3.2 Ammonites and Philistines—1 Sam.10.17-15.35

In a similar way to 2 Sam.6 and 7 the two events here, as already indicated, are also brought together and flanked by reports about wars. The preceding text announces the victorious liberation of Gilead from the Ammonite threat. The following passage deals with the other wars of Saul, concentrating on his inability to break the supremacy of the Philistines over Israel. In this, too, the parallelism with 2 Sam.5-8 seems to be extensive:

2 Sam.5.17-25	Two Philistine victories
2 Sam.6	Setting-up of the ark, *šᵉlāmîm* offering
2 Sam.7	Prophetic utterance
2 Sam.8	Extensive victories (Ammonites)

1 Sam.11.1-13	Ammonite victory (eastern Jordan)
1 Sam.11.14-15	Renewal of the kingdom, *šᵉlāmîm* offering
1 Sam.12.1-25	Prophetic utterance
1 Sam.13.1-14.52	Two Philistine defeats

330 Cf. **J. Robert Vannoy**, *Covenant Renewal at Gilgal: A Study of 1 Sam 11:14-12:25*, Cherry Hill, NJ: Mack 1975. Vannoy argues in favour of a clear unity in 11.14-12.25: "I Samuel 12 in our view provides the basis for understanding I Samuel 11.14-15 as a brief synopsis of the Gilgal assembly prefaced to the narrative of I Samuel 12, which we take to be a more detailed description of the same assembly" (3). This renewal of the kingdom served on the one hand to restore the relationship of the people to Yahweh, and on the other hand "it provided for the possibility of establishing human kingship in Israel in a manner which demonstrated that the continued suzerainty of Yahweh was in no way to be diminished in the new era of the monarchy." The festival is to be understood "as an invitation to Israel to renew her allegiance to Yahweh on the occasion of the inauguration of the human kingship" (259); similarly **Carl Friedrich Keil**, *Die Bücher Samuel*, Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke ²1875— **H.D. Hoffmann** 1980, 293-299 sees here the location for the otherwise unplaced reform of worship of 1 Sam.28.3b,9 in a sort of parallel to 1 Sam.7.3. It concerns Yahweh's kingdom as well as Saul's.—**McCarter** 1980a, 220f finds elements of the covenant form: "Introduction" (1 Sam.12.7), "Historical Retrospect" (12.8-12), "Transition to the Present" (12.13), "Conditions" (12.20b-21), "Blessing and Curse" (12.14f,24f).

Thus if the Ammonite victory and Saul's twofold setback against the Philistines constitute a ring, then in the next outer ring there would be the official appointment of Saul by means of the drawing of a lot before the elders in Mizpah, and his final rejection also before them in Gilgal in connection with the Amalekite war, two texts which are also to be seen as related by the polarity of appointment and rejection. In a further ring around these texts are to be found the two anointings of Saul and David respectively, which point to one result. David is anointed in order to replace Saul.

Thus in these texts 1 Sam.9-16 a similar chiastic structuring and unity[331] of form and content has been shown to that in 2 Sam.5-8. In the centre of both units there stands in each case the sacral offering to provide cultic legitimation of the king, combined with a prophetic utterance. These centres are flanked by reports of wars with the Ammonites and Philistines, but whereas in the case of David it was exclusively and extensively victories which were announced, here in the case of Saul the initial announcement of victory is contrasted with the build-up of defeats against the Philistines. This ring of war announcements is in the case of Saul framed by the accounts of his appointment and rejection, and in a further ring there stand in contrast to each other the two royal anointings of Saul and David by Samuel at the behest of Yahweh.

331 **H.J. Stoebe** 1973, 64: "Die Scheidung zwischen königsfreundlicher und -feindlicher Quelle ist wohl allgemein aufgegeben"; **Bruce C. Birch**, *The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of 1 Samuel 7-15*, SBL.DS 27, Missoula: Scholars 1976, 5f: "Although some form of a two source theory has been the usual approach, scholars have reached no consensus on the contents or character of these sources... Early work in 1 Samuel was hindered by the assumption that documentary analysis which seemed so successful in Pentateuchal studies was the key to 1 Samuel as well". For a reading of the texts as a unity, although for different reasons, cf. **L.M. Eslinger** 1985, 37ff,425: "Individual points of interpretation may be debated, modified, or rejected, but the fact that these chapters can be read as a unity is indisputable"; idem, "Viewpoints and Points of View in 1 Sam.8-12", *JSOT* 26 (1983) 61-76: "The narrator of 1 Samuel 8-12 appears to maintain a steadfast neutrality towards the subject of monarchy. Only the characters are given to extreme expressions of favour towards the idea or rejection of it. The narrator...looks back on these events with a balanced view—pro- and anti-monarchic sentiments are seen in perspective as oppositions that result in a new synthesis—provided, it seems, by the intervention of an indeterminate number of years between the narrated events and the time of the narrator" (68). Cf. also **V. Philips Long**, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul: A Case of Literary and Theological Coherence*, SBL-Diss. Series 118, Atlanta GA: Scholars 1989; **Matitiahu Tsevat**, "The Biblical Account of the Foundation of the Monarchy in Israel", *The Meaning of the Book of Job and other Biblical Stories: Essays on the Literature and Religion of the Hebrew Bible*, Dallas TX: Institute of Jewish Studies 1980, 77-99 i.a.

9.1-10.16	Anointing of Saul
10.17-27	Appointment of Saul as king by lot (Mizpah)
11.1-13	Ammonite battle: victory
11.14-15	*Šᵉlāmîm*—inauguration of the kingdom
12.1-25	Prophetic utterance
13.1-14.52	Philistine battles: defeats. Other victories
15.1-35	Rejection of Saul, Amalekite battle
16.1-13	Anointing of David

Thus in this section there is shown not only a correspondence in respect of the function of the *šᵉlāmîm*-offering, but also the arrangement of these texts is seen to be of a similarly chiastically-structured formation as in the passage 2 Sam.5-8 which we have studied, and in the Samuel Conclusion[332]. A detailed correspondence of these three texts suggests itself.

The outer frame was formed by the accounts of the anointing of Saul and David. Since the concept of the anointed one already played a central rôle in the psalms which frame the book[333], clearly a certain weight is to be placed on these two accounts of anointing, which are described in great detail. The anointing provides the divine legitimation of the kingdom in Israel. As the most important earthly authority, it cannot be a merely secular entity[334]. Whereas in the distant mythical past kingship was seen as being appointed by gods, this is fulfilled in Israel in historical time. Through the anointing there is effected the sacral equipping and legitimization of the king.

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332 **V.P. Long** 1989, 190ff asks about "The Problem of the Gap between 10:5-8 and 13:3ff", whether to suggest that the texts are structured according to the principles of chiasmus might introduce additional connections between them.

333 1 Sam.2.10; 2 Sam.22.51; 23.1. The term *mᵉšîaḥ* appears in the books of the DtrG only in Samuel: 1 Sam.2.35; 12.3; 24.7,11; 26.9,11,16,23; 2 Sam.1.21.

334 **Wolfram v. Soden**, "Sakrales Königtum", ³*RGG* III, Tübingen: Mohr ³1959, 1712-1714: "Überall, wo die Religion für alle Lebensbereiche bestimmend ist, kann auch das Königtum als die wichtigste irdische Ordnungsmacht keine nur säkulare Größe sein. Es gilt als von Göttern eingesetzt und muß ihnen daher auch im Kult dienen. Besonderer Segen ist ihm verheißen; sein Versagen aber zieht den Fluch auf das ganze Land" (1712).

2.3.3.3 Anointing, Coronation and *šᵉlāmîm*

A comparison of the rise of Saul with the texts about David in 2 Sam.5-8 reveals a striking parallel of three phases in the installation of both kings[335]. First, at Yahweh's initiative the anointing is carried out in secret by the prophet Samuel (1 Sam.9; 1 Sam.16). In this sacral action, which in each case is combined with the offering of a sacrifice, a cosmic-transcendent appointment emanating from Yahweh is cultically depicted. Although in each case a small group is involved in the offering[336], the anointing itself is concerned with the earlier secret sacral designation of the future king by Yahweh himself[337], carried out by the prophet.

A second phase involves the elders of the people in giving public expression by acclamation to the (not recognized by them as binding) sacrally created situation (1 Sam.10.17-27; 2 Sam.5.1-3). In this it is in the case of Saul the appointment by means of the lot (ordeal) which plays a decisive rôle, and in the case of David the agreement of the body of elders. In both cases there is brought about at this point a covenantal agreement between king and elders[338], and at the same time as this is achieved, the proclamation as king takes place.

After the installation as king there follows in each case by way of a third event a significant inaugurative *šᵉlāmîm*-offering subsequent to the confirmation through military successes. In

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335 For the rejection of doublets cf. **V.P. Long** 1989, 183ff: "Multiple Accessions or stages in a Process?" Similarly **Diana Vikander Edelman**, "Saul's Rescue of Jabesh-Gilead (1 Sam.11.1-11)", *ZAW* 96 (1984) 195-209, who speaks of "the three-part process of designation, battle, and confirmation" whereby the battle in 11.1-11 represents the probationary phase, followed by "the final coronation stage of the kingship process [=11.14-15]" (198).

336 In the case of Saul according to 1 Sam.9.22 a group of thirty invited people, in the case of David the members of his family at Bethlehem, 1 Sam.16.13; the theory of **Serge Frolov & Vladimir Orel**, "Notes on 1 Samuel: a Nameless City", *BN* 74 (1994) 15-23, that Saul's anointing also took place in Bethlehem, seems to be too speculative.

337 Both texts elaborately emphasize rhetorically the passive rôle of the prophet in the appointment: 9.15-17; 16.6-12.

338 In Saul's case a book (*sēpēr*) is drawn up as a legal document (*mišpaṭ hamᵉlukâh*) (1 Sam.10.25), in David's case a *bᵉrîṯ* is involved (2 Sam.5.3). Cf. 2 Sam.3.12f,21. **R.P. Gordon**, "Covenant and Apology", *PIBA* 13 (1990) 24-34.

Saul's case this is designated as a renewal of the kingdom, and in David's it takes place in connection with the erection and consecration of the ark sanctuary in Jerusalem (1 Sam.11.14-15; 2 Sam.6). Whereas with Saul it is a matter of the institution of the kingdom itself and its relationship to the kingdom of Yahweh[339], with David it is the taking-up of lasting residence by Yahweh in Jerusalem which stands in the foreground, coupled with the lasting faithfulness of Yahweh to his king, David.

Whereas the first, cultic, phase had an almost clandestine character, the participation of the public in the second and third phases assumes an increasing rôle in the case both of Saul and of David. At the coronation of the king the elders, as representatives of the civil leadership[340], appear to speak the decisive word (1 Sam.8.4ff; 2 Sam.5.3). As the purpose of the coronation the covenantal requirements concerning rights and duties in the relationship between king and people are spelled out, the elders appearing to be the group responsible for the binding institution of these. Then in connection with the *šᵉlāmîm* the whole nation is involved, being represented not by the doubtless smaller number of elders, but by the large number of "younger men", i.e. the military levy organized in each case according to tribes and families (1 Sam.11.11ff; 2 Sam.6.1f,19). It is apparently a matter much less of doublets[341], as was sometimes previously assumed[342], than of different levels in the social structure, from the representation of the people in the person of the prophet as the sole messenger of the Godhead, through the representation of the tribes in the group of elders, to the acclamation by the whole nation through the assembly of men fit for military service.

339 Based on the close connection with ch.12, cf. **J.R. Vannoy** 1975.

340 **Hayim Tadmor**, "Traditional Institutions and the Monarchy: Social and Political Tensions in the Time of David and Solomon", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982, 239-257; **Hanoch Reviv**, *The Elders in Ancient Israel: A Study of a Biblical Institution*, Jerusalem: Magnes 1991: English translation of Hebrew text of 1983.

341 Doublets constituted a major starting-point for source-critical analyses. From the point of view of literary studies they are to be regarded more as having a linking function, described by **R. Alter** 1981, 47-62 as "Type-Scenes". The reader/hearer is expecting the familiar, and the variation or deviation from convention generates tension. Cf. **M. Garsiel** 1985, 30ff.

342 According to **A. Cooper** 1983, 68 1 Sam. 1-12 is a "*locus classicus* of source criticism", cit. **V.P. Long** 1993, 166. Cf. i.a. **F. Langlamet**, "Les Récits de l'institution de la Royauté (1 Sam.7-12)", *RB* 77 (1970) 161-200.

This representation of the tribes by the military class[343] is in accordance with the fact that in the structural flanking of the two inauguration-*šᵉlāmîm* by means of reports about the events of war the destiny of the celebrating community is still most intimately connected with its success in battle. The waging of war is regarded as an important duty of kingship, alongside that of *šᵉpôṭ* (1 Sam.8.5-20). If this observation is correct, then here also there would be a clue to the flanking of the psalms in the finale to Samuel by lists of warriors[344]. The correspondence of the centres[345] which have resulted from the structuring up to this point would thus be able to be formally[346] extended to 1 Sam.11.14f,12:

1 Sam.10-14	2 Sam.5-8	2 Sam.21-24
Victory (Ammonites)	Victories (Philistines)	Conquerors (over Philistines)
Renewal of kingdom/*šᵉlāmîm*	Ark/*šᵉlāmîm*	Thanksgiving/Manifestation of Yahweh
Samuel's speech	Nathan's promise	David's words, prophetic
Defeats (Philistines)	Victories (Ammonites, all)	Conquerors (all)

2.3.3.4 The Ebenezer Wars—1 Sam.4-7

In the case both of the David texts in 2 Sam.5-8 and the Saul texts in 1 Sam.10-14 reports of war have been shown to be of structural significance. This may also be assumed to be true

343 Cf. 1 Chr.28.1ff; 29.20ff. Cf. also **Norbert Lohfink**, "Opfer und Säkularisierung im Deuteronomium", *Studien zu Opfer und Kult im Alten Testament*, ed. Adrian Schenker, Tübingen: Mohr 1992, 15-43, especially 38: Lohfink sees in the *qāhāl* the Yahweh assembly at the sacrificial banquet, which he assumes to be connected with or even identical to the "army camp" of Israel. In the banquet, in the festival "die symbolische Realisierung der Einheit Israels" takes place. All have an equal right to be present at the banquet before Yahweh, without social distinctions.—The unity of the nation thus experienced in the sacrificial activity at the place chosen by Yahweh is expressed in the *šᵉlāmîm* also in the king whom they all have in common.

344 **J. Wellhausen** ³1899, 261: "Die Lieder Kap. 22 und 23,1-7 sind an möglichst unpassender Stelle eingeschaltet".

345 Cf. 2.1.2.3 chart.

346 The observation of a formal correspondence will suffice here; however, there is probably also a correspondence in terms of content, as the framing by wars/warriors seems to indicate.

of the two incidences of war in 1 Sam.4 and 7[347]. Here the amazing victory of Samuel's time as judge is set against the two-fold defeat of Israel from the time of Eli[348].

It seems conspicuous in terms of form that in the case of all three occurrences the conflicts with the Philistines are described in pairs: in the case of Eli in 1 Sam.4.2f and 4.10ff as defeats, similarly in the case of Saul in 13.2ff and 14.1ff, and not as victories until we reach David in 2 Sam.5.18ff and 5.22ff. Looked at in the light of the conventions of juridical burden of proof, it is possible that the double attestation in each case of defeats or victories may have a significance in terms of correspondence and example. In addition to this formal correspondence which connects the texts together, the analogy of the capture of the ark on the part of the Philistines in 1 Sam.4.11 with the capture of the images of the Philistine gods by David in 2 Sam.5.21 gives support to the view that these texts may be understood as related to one another.

Between the two incidences of war at Ebenezer in 1 Sam.4 and 7 the "abduction of Yahweh" into the land of the Philistines[349] is reported. This, however, turns out to be in reality the

347 Thus also **M. Garsiel** 1985, 41ff; cf. the argument in **R. Polzin** 1989, 59f: "It seems clear that ch.4 is more tightly linked to the Samuel material than many scholars believe. When we add to these close connections with ch.7 [of ch.4, HK] the clear profile of ch.4 as fulfillment of the prophecies in chh.2 and 3 in all their dimensions, the case for unity is even stronger. The voice that all along has been contrasting the fall of Eli with the rise of Samuel continues to be heard in ch.4. Samuel, as the direct successor to Eli in terms of prophetic, judicial, and priestly leadership over Israel, is central to ch.4, notwithstanding the absence of any reference to the figure Samuel throughout the chapter" (60).—On the texts about the ark: "These connections concerning the poetic composition of chh.4 and 7 are especially relevant when one puzzles over the genetic composition of these chapters and the supposed redaction of the ark material (chh.4-6) within the Samuel story of chh.1-3 and 7ff. If ch.4 contains examples of what I have termed 'concealed reported speech' along with other signs of deliberate artistic construction, then present theories about the redactional relationship of the ark stories and the Samuel-complex of traditions will need to be re-evaluated" (59).

348 **M. Garsiel** 1985, 41f lists many correspondences. **Nadav Na'aman**, "The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and its Historical Significance", *CBQ* 54 (1992) 638-658: "The commonly held view that the story in 4:1b-18 is old and historical whereas the story in 7:5-12 is late and legendary is, in my opinion, untenable; the two episodes are part of a unified composition and are inseparable" (654f).

349 The giving of the name "Ichabod" in 4.21-22 speaks of an abandonment of the land by Yahweh in the light of the loss of the ark. This does not convey theologically the identity of Godhead and ark, but nonetheless the impression of a close correspondence between them. Cf. **Jörg Jeremias**, "Lade und Zion: Zur Entsteheung der Zionstradition", in *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht 1987, 167-182: he identifies as the main feature of the ark for the period of the Judges which is drawing to its close that "Die Lade verbürgt wie kein anderer Kultgegenstand die Gegenwart Jahwes" (172).

necessary preparation for the new beginning, the first action of which takes place there with Yahweh's destruction of the power of the god Dagon in his own temple. The casting down of his statue, and especially the breaking off of the head and both arms, must be regarded as a powerful defeat of the chief god of the Philistines[350]. After Dagon has been destroyed in this way Yahweh can instigate the return to his own land. In this his awe-inspiring holiness and power are emphasized by the spread of plague among the Philistines and of death among the irreverent Israelites (6.19f).

To the acts brought about by Yahweh himself on the plane of religious symbolism[351] (ark, image of Dagon) there must be added the analogous happenings in the cosmic-transcendental dimension on the divine plane. The repercussions of these are then understood in the light of the events in the earthly realm described in the course of the book involving the king appointed by Yahweh[352]. With the defeat of his religious symbol the god of the Philistines is also defeated, and consequently the Philistines also become conquerable in battle. If these three planes of understanding for the Samuel stories can be accepted as valid, then in the stories of the ark we should be dealing with Yahweh's victory over the Philistines described in terms of religious symbolism. Along with the return of Yahweh to his land[353] accompanied by manifestations of divine power[354] there would be already anticipated in

350 Cf. **Wolfgang Zwickel**, "Dagons abgeschlagener Kopf (1 Samuel V 3-4)", *VT* 44 (1994) 239-249. The broken-off head and broken-off right hand both speak of a complete conquest. This is fulfilled by David in 2 Sam.5 with his capture of the symbols of the Philistine gods.

351 On the tension between concepts of the presence of the Godhead in terms of religious symbolism and cosmic transcendence, cf. also **Jan Assmann**, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer ²1991.

352 Cf. **J. Assmann** 1991, 25-100 on the cultic and cosmic dimension of the nearness of God. The commitment to cultic, cosmic and earthly realization which is ascribed to the Egyptian imagination can surely be applied to analogous ideas in connection with the ark.

353 On the Exodus symbolism of being a stranger, overcoming gods (Ex 12,12), plagues, and dramatic return in 2 Sam.4-6 cf. **David Daube**, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible*, Westport, CN: Greenwood 1963. Cf. the Exodus expressions on the lips of the Philistines themselves: 1 Sam.4.8, "Woe to us! Who can deliver us from the power of these mighty gods? These are the gods who smote the Egyptians with every sort of plague in the wilderness", and 6,6, "Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? After Yahweh had made sport of them, did not they let the people go, and they departed?" Cf. **P. Miscall** 1985, 44ff: "The analogy between Samuel and Moses" and 51ff: "The analogy between the Ark's wandering and the Exodus".

354 In the compulsory removal of the milch cows from their calves and the slaughter in 6.19f. The parallel with the death of Uzzah in 2 Sam.6.7ff underscores the parallelism.

these ark stories the future conquest of the Philistines by David and Yahweh's everlasting dwelling-place in his city of Jerusalem (2 Sam.5-6). The connection of these texts with 2 Sam.5-6 consists clearly not only in the formal connections, but also in their theological significance.

Just as in each case the secretly-executed royal anointings portray a cosmic-transcendent reality by virtue of being clandestine, cultic activities on Yahweh's initiative (1 Sam.9.15f; 16.1.11f), which find their earthly realization in the future understanding of the people involved (1 Sam.10.24; 2 Sam.5.3), the nocturnal defeat of the chief god of the Philistines by Yahweh seems to be the prerequisite and basis for the future victory of Israel over the Philistines[355]. This is achieved initially through Samuel (1 Sam.7.10) and Jonathan (14.6ff), and finally and completely through David. His maiden victory over the Philistine giant is analogous to the defeat of Dagon: his triumph over Yahweh is short-lived, first he falls, and then his head is cut off with his own weapon (17.45ff). After that David strikes the Philistines completely until they are utterly defeated (2 Sam.5.20,25; 8.1)[356]. In the same way that the symbolic defeat of the Philistine gods makes possible the return of the ark to Yahweh's land, later the defeat of the Philistines becomes the preparation for Yahweh's taking up his lasting residence in Jerusalem and for Yahweh's rule through his chosen king.

The ring of the Ebenezer wars surrounds the centre formed by the religious-symbolic defeat of the power of the Philistines and Yahweh's subsequent return to his land[357]. In combination

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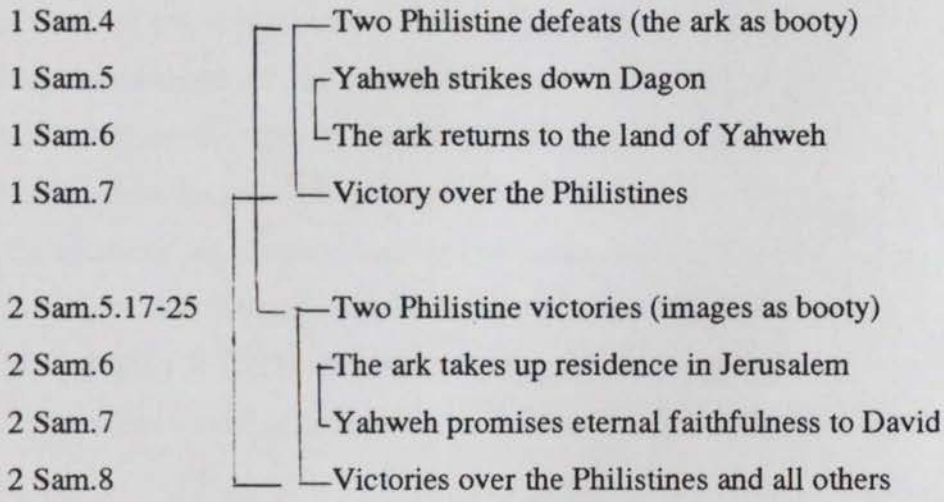
355 The reference to Ebenezer in 4.1 can thus be understood as indicating that in what follows Yahweh, far from losing control, introduces in the background his all-embracing aid, in the face of both religious decline and political oppression. The Philistines' panic-stricken fear of these "gods" who smote the Egyptians with plagues (4.8) is shown to be justified.

356 There are no further references to other battles against the Philistines.

357 Rost's suggestion of an ark narrative which in literary terms is independent cannot be confirmed here; cf. also **Karel van der Toorn & Cees Houtman**, "David and the Ark", *JBL* 113 (1994) 209-231, who argue for an integrated reading for different reasons: "Both 1 Sam.4-6 and 2 Sam.6 are connected to other parts of 1 and 2 Samuel. To claim that they were originally independent would necessitate the excision of important elements that could not be understood without knowledge of the larger context" (224). "The ark-narrative, so it must be concluded, was not conceived as an independent document, but as a literary strand in the books of Samuel. It presupposes, from its inception, its present literary framework" (225). Cf. **Anthony F. Campbell**, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam.4-6; 2 Sam.6): A Form-Critical and Tradition-Historical Study*, SBL-DS 16. Missoula: Scholars 1975, and in criticism of

with the formal correspondences this text can thus be regarded as being already related in the structure of Samuel with the fulfilment under David, accompanied by the reports of complete victories, of Yahweh's final taking up of his dwelling-place in Jerusalem.



2.3.3.5 Assessment

With this fourth textual connection there is shown to be a vertical series of units in a parallel structure with 2 Sam.21-24, in 2 Sam.5-8 (3-20) and also in 1 Sam.9-16 and 1 Sam.4-7. In all four chiastic text-groups wars/warriors take on a structuring function. The military successes/defeats in each case occupy a flanking position around the events described in the centres.

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this **J.T. Willis**, "Samuel Versus Eli: 1 Sam.1-7", *TZ* 35 (1979) 201-212, who maintains, disagreeing with **Patrick D. Miller & J.J.M. Roberts** [*The Hand of the Lord: A Reassessment of the 'Ark Narrative'*, 1977] that: "The links between 4:1b-7,1 and 7:2-17 are too numerous to be attributed to a redactor" (211), and "Thus, the Israelites are defeated by the Philistines because of the sins of the sons of Eli, and because Eli did not (2:25,29; 3:13), and the people could not (2:16) check this. Accordingly, even though the ark is a central concern in this material, it can be misleading to refer to it as 'The Ark Narrative' " (212).
On the unity of 1 Sam. 4-7 cf. also **Klaas A.D Smelik**, "The Ark-Narrative Reconsidered", *New Avenues in the Study of OT*, ed. A. Woude, 1989, 128-144; idem, "Hidden Messages in the Ark Narrative: An Analysis of 1 Sam.4-6 and 2 Sam.6"; idem, *Converting the Past: Studies in Ancient Israelite and Moabite Historiography*, OTS 28, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1992, 35-58; **Frank Anthony Spina**, "A Prophet's 'Pregnant Pause': Samuel's Silence in the Ark Narrative (1 Sam.4.1-7.2)", *HBT* 12 (1990) 59-73; **Yeh shua Gitay**, "Reflections on the Poetics of the Samuel Narrative: The Question of the Ark Narrative", *CBQ* 54 (1992) 221-230.

The conquest of the Philistines plays a principal rôle in these texts. The religious-symbolic decapitation of the Philistine deity sets the initial seal on victory and thus indicates the centrality of the Philistine conflict in the book's narratives. Eli, Samuel, Saul and David all struggle to be liberated from these enemies. What amounts almost to a juridical double attestation of the respective outcomes of the Philistine conflicts[358] makes incontrovertible the associated assessments of the people involved. The calling of Saul by Yahweh was expressly based on the duty to free the people from the hand of the Philistines, because "Yahweh has seen the affliction of his people and their cry has come to him" (1 Sam.9.16)[359]. After the anointing his attention was directed to the exceptional provocation of the Philistine garrison at Gibeah (1 Sam.10.5), with the invitation to let himself be involved in an activity there (1 Sam.10.7)[360]. The fact that it is the very débâcle at Gibeah (1 Sam.13.2; 14.4) which is the start of Saul's rejection cannot be regarded as accidental[361].

The taut bow of religious-symbolic deprivation of power and its realization in the defeat of the Philistines in battle is aimed from the outset at David. That it was he who finally defeated the Philistines becomes clear in the ring (2 Sam.5-8), in which this opponent appears on both sides, by way of introduction in 2 Sam.5.17-25 and in 8.1 by way of conclusion and summary. David gives concrete expression to Yahweh's victory as conqueror of the Philistines. The conquest of the Ammonites in the east is acknowledged as liberation from

358 Eli: 2 defeats, Saul: 2 defeats, David: 2 victories. Samuel: 1 victory, i.e. the second, decisive, conquest is missing.

359 The atmosphere of an event parallel to the Exodus: Ex.2.24f; 3.7,9.

360 Cf. **Philips Long**, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul*, Atlanta: Scholars 1989, 51ff, "On the relationship between 1 Sam.10.7-8 and the Gilgal-Episode of 1 Sa.13": the close relationship between the texts brought out by Long supports the theory that the overthrow of the Philistines is to be regarded as the duty implied by the anointing. On the identification of Gibeah with Geba cf. **J. Maxwell Miller**, "Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin", *VT* 25 (1975) 145-166; similarly **Patrick M. Arnold**, *Gibeah: The Search for a Biblical City*, JSOT.S 79, Sheffield 1990.

361 Cf. **R.P. Gordon**, "Who made the Kingmakers? Reflections on Samuel and the Institution of the Monarchy", *Faith, Tradition and History: Old Testament Historiography in its Eastern Context*, ed. A.R. Millard i.a., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1994, 255-269; **Nadav Na'aman**, "The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and its Historical Significance", *CBQ* 54 (1992) 638-658, considers the Philistine occupation of the land to be the result, not the cause, of the move towards centralization in Saul's kingdom following the Ammonite victory. This is, however, hardly the opinion of the books of Samuel, cf. **Klaus-Dietrich Schunck**, "König Saul—Etappen seines Weges zum Aufbau eines israelitischen Staates", *BZ* 36NF/2 (1992) 195-206, who on the basis of 1 Sam.4 places the control of the land by the Philistines long before Saul.

oppression, and alongside it the other victories in furtherance of the growth of the empire have almost the character of a rich bonus.

The successful conquest of the Philistines is in each case accompanied in the texts by evidence of firm trust in Yahweh's sovereign power to act. In 1 Sam.7 victory is won in conjunction with a turning to Yahweh and away from idols on the part of the people (7.3-6), combined with the intercession of the priest/prophet Samuel. Jonathan's victorious exploit is made possible by an explicit acknowledgment of his dependence on Yahweh's support (14.6). When David overcomes the Philstine giant it is stated in connection with it that he wins the victory not in Saul's armour and clothing, but as one who fights "in the name of Yahweh Sabaoth", whom the Philistine has derided (1 Sam.17.45-47). On the occasion of the final conquest the texts concentrate carefully on portraying how all through David waits step by step upon Yahweh's commands, and then simply carries them out (2 Sam.5.19,23f). Thus there is a four-fold testimony to the fact that victory over the Philistines and the attitude of dependence upon Yahweh run in parallel.

The texts which are framed by the incidences of warfare, 1 Sam.5/6 as well as 1 Sam.11.14f/12, each in the centre of its unit, are seen to be related to 2 Sam.6/7. David's *šᵉlāmîm*, Yahweh's taking up of residence in Jerusalem and the promise of lasting existence for David's dynasty also constitute the connection to which the central texts of the ring-structure in the Samuel Conclusion (2 Sam.22/23.1-7) provide a hymnic reference back.

Thus the chiastically structured unit 2 Sam.5-8 has been shown to have a central function in two ways: as a horizontal structuring which encompasses 2 Sam.3-20[362], and at the same time in identifying a vertical structure[363] consisting of four parallel units, *viz.* 1.4-7; 1.9-16; 2.5-8; 2.21-29. The first and last represent the initial plan and the finale, while the two central units focus on Saul and David in relationship to their failures and successes. In the four chiastically arranged texts which have been discerned, both the central texts and also the

362 Cf. diagram to 2.1.2.3, p.66

363 Cf. diagrams to 2.3.3.2, pp.110,112 and 2.3.3.3, p.115.

flanking accounts of warfare are related to one another both in form and in content. It seems reasonable to interpret them in comparison and in contrast with one another.

2.3.4 Further Proposals on Structuring

The enquiry up to this point into the relevance of the closing chapters of Samuel as the finale of the book, with its six sections and divided according to the chiastically structured three rings, as the finale of Samuel, has proved to be the key to the understanding of the Samuel corpus as a whole, by means of the relationship of structural reference-points. This passage has been shown to be structured in parallel with 2 Sam.3-20, and furthermore to be related to the whole extent of Samuel. It is not only the incorporation of songs, but also the mention of David's prophetic encounters and the repeated reference to wars/warriors in the second ring of the chiastic units, which show these chapters at the end of Samuel to be the deliberately constructed finale of the book. Thus they prove to be interrelated with the whole Samuel corpus.

In the light of this discovery, that the so-called "Appendix" appears to be structurally aligned with the whole book, it seems that an investigation, albeit limited in its scope, into possible further references in the other chapters is both necessary and justified[364]. On the basis of the observations made up to this point, we shall venture a tentative proposal concerning structuring[365]. As with the comparison of 2 Sam.21-24 and 2 Sam.5-8 following on from the earlier studies of Flanagan and Brueggemann, repetitions will be regarded as structural reference-points. A detailed treatment of the whole book would, however, go beyond the

364 The brevity of the treatment means that some questions must remain open. Despite the inevitable risk of making the divisions too imprecise, we shall seek to define a macrostructure analogous to that of the conclusions reached thus far. It should therefore be understood as a contribution to the discussion, which is still in need of checking by means of further detailed study. Cf. **W.L. Humphrey**, "The Tragedy of King Saul: A Study of the Structure of 1 Samuel 9-31", *JSOT* 6 (1978) 18-27; **Peter D. Miscall**, "1 Samuel 16-22", *The Working of OT-Narrative*, ed. D.J. McCarthy, Chico 1983, 47-138.

365 It is acknowledged that the observation of chiastic structures must involve a certain degree of subjective evaluation. On the other hand, it is also true that a chiastic structure cannot be identified without fixed reference-points in the text which are obvious to all. This provides a means of checking.

scope of our subject. The context of this investigation is limited to an enquiry into the rôle as concluding chapters to the Samuel corpus of 2 Sam.21-24[366].

2.3.4.1 The Structure of 1 Sam.9-31

For the chapters 1 Sam.9-16 a ring-structure was revealed[367], in which the texts dealing with the anointing of Saul and David were located around a unit of six chiastically arranged texts. It is this characteristic arrangement of the text which we shall take as the starting-point for our further reflections.

(1) Saul's "Disanointing"—1 Sam.19.18-24

In the anointing of Saul in 1 Sam.9–10.16 three signs, together with his encounter with a group of prophets, played a confirmatory rôle, in which Saul himself appeared to belong to this group. Very similar signs are evident in the passage 1 Sam.19.18-24, in which David is given protection against Saul by Samuel[368]. As the only text in the whole book featuring the three main characters of Samuel acting together, although without speaking together[369], it merits particular attention. Although the parallel with 1 Sam.10.5-6,10-12 is so close that earlier exegetes were inclined to speak in terms of doublets[370], the outcome for Saul is in fact the exact reverse. Whereas in ch.10 he was equipped through the prophetic spirit with the

366 On a larger scale other possible contexts, such as the books of the DtrG or the unit from Genesis to Kings, or DtrG and ChrG, might be developed.

367 Cf. under 2.3.3.2.

368 **R. Alter** 1981, 89ff refers to the literary status of the repetition of the formula "Is Saul also among the prophets?"; **David Jobling**, "Jonathan: a Structural Study of 1 Samuel", *The Sense of Biblical Narrative*, JSOT.S 7, Sheffield: JSOT 1978, 10 speaks of a "satirical recapitulation".

369 Although a detailed discussion between David and Samuel is mentioned, the reader is not made party to it.

370 E.g.. **H.P. Smith** 1899, xxv: "This [1 Sam.19.18-24], it should be noticed, is a duplicate account of what we have in 10.10-12, and as that belongs to Sl [Saul-source], this is naturally attributed to Sm [Samuel-source]".

qualification for leadership, here he is now divested of it. Whereas the first meeting with the group of prophets was understood as a sign of the gift of the Spirit, the second with the scene in which he removes his clothes becomes a sign of the cancellation of the royal commission[371]. Whereas the anointing as a secret calling by Yahweh preceded the enthronement, on this occasion the "working of the Spirit" points to the future loss of kingly office.

Saul's lying naked on the ground on this occasion points not only back to his being spiritually equipped for his office, but simultaneously forward to his future death. Saul's falling to the ground at the announcement of his imminent death in 1 Sam.28.20 is impressively foreshadowed. The chapter dealing with Saul's death (1 Sam.31) draws an introductory picture, elaborated in the account which follows, of the slaughtered bodies lying on Mount Gilboa. Then the plundering of Saul and his sons is specifically mentioned, and Saul's clothes are presented as trophies of victory in the temples of the Philistine cities to their gods (31.8f).

(2) David's Early Career—1 Sam.16-23

In connection with the parallelism of this section with the anointing texts[372] a consideration of the texts lying between David's anointing and Saul's "experience of the Spirit"[373] again reveals a chiastic structure. An "evil spirit from Yahweh" took possession of Saul following the anointing of David[374]. This both provided the reason for David's entry into the royal

371 Cf. **Paul A. Kruger**, "The Symbolic Significance of the *HEM (KANAF)* in 1 Samuel 15.27", *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, FS Walter T. Claassen, JSOT.S 48, Sheffield: JSOT 1988, 105-116. Clothing understood as insignia of office is also evident in 1 Sam.18.4 and 24.6. Just as the anointing by Samuel had the coronation as its sequel, so Saul's Spirit-led removal of his clothing before Samuel (!), his falling and lying naked all day and night, can be regarded as a symbolic anticipation of his death (1 Sam.31.8,12).

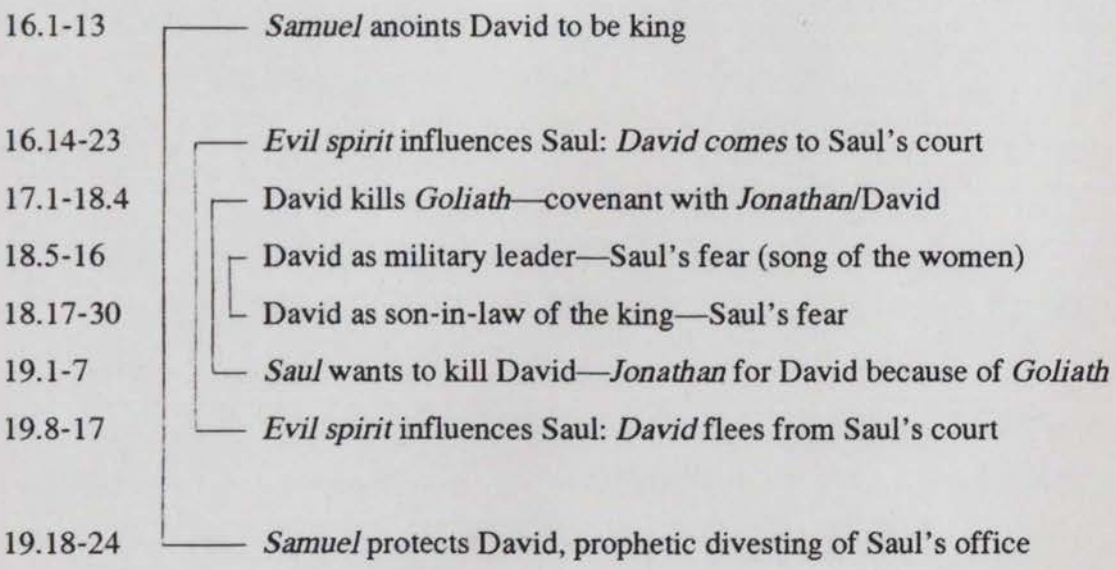
372 Also according to **H.D. Preuss** 1993, 360 1 Sam.16.1-13 is related to 19.18-24 as well as to 9.1-10,16.

373 These two texts also have in common the fact that they include David's two encounters with the prophet Samuel.

374 The reference to the evil spirit frames the first section, 16.14,23, and introduces the second: 19.9.

court in 16.14-23 and became the cause of his flight in 19.8-17. On both occasions a rôle is played by David's ability to play the harp[375]. The flight takes place because David is in danger of death at the hand of Saul. From then on the evil spirit dominates his actions, even against David's effective harp-playing.

The victory over Goliath had brought liberty to Israel. It forms the basis for Jonathan's covenant with David. The parallel between Jonathan and David had already been brought to expression through the confidence of both in Yahweh's readiness to come to their aid in 1 Sam.14.6 and 17.45ff. The victory over Goliath provides Jonathan with an argument to pacify Saul, whose increasing fear of David is based, in the centre of 1 Sam.16-19, on David's extraordinary successes.



If the passage so far, involving the three texts, has been shown to be readable throughout in terms of a ring-structure similar to that of the "Appendix"[376], then this possibility needs to be checked also in the case of the passages which follow. The next six units include on two

375 Cf. **J.T. Willis**, "The Function of Comprehensive Anticipatory Redactional Joints in I Samuel 16-18", *ZAW* 85 (1973) 294-314, who rejects source-critical division and supports a synchronic reading.

376 **W. Brueggemann**, "Narrative Coherence and Theological Intentionality in 1 Samuel 18", *CBQ* 55 (1993) 225-243 emphasizes other internal connections based on his making 1 Sam.18 the boundary of the unit.

occasions the mention of the covenant between Jonathan and David with regard to the king's intention to kill him. Jonathan as crown prince and Michal as the king's daughter testify by their devotion and support[377] that David is not to blame for Saul's mortal enmity towards him. The reader knows, moreover, that Saul's fear for his throne because he sees David as his rival is indeed not unjustified. His great bravery and his success are the direct consequence of his endowment with the Spirit at his anointing by Samuel. Saul's uncontrolled fear, for which David bears no direct responsibility, signifies that he understands the connections[378]. His struggle against David appears in any case to be a lost cause, because it involves him rebelling against the predestination of Yahweh himself[379].

Along with Saul's mortal enmity and Jonathan's covenant with David, there are two passages where the fate of the priests of Nob are described. These associated narratives are interrupted by two further texts portraying David, when in his flight he is on the point of crossing the border and leaving the land altogether. Thus the following structure might be recognized:

20.1-21.1	┌──	Saul's mortal enmity, *covenant Jonathan*-David
21.2-10	┌─	*Ahimelech of Nob* helps David—loaves, Doeg, Goliath's sword
21.11-16	┌─	David with the *Philistines*
22.1-5	└─	David's parents to *Moab* / Adullam—prophet Gad: turning-point
22.6-23	─	*Ahimelech/priests of Nob* killed—favour, Doeg, Goliath's sword
23.1-28	└──	Saul's mortal enmity[380], *covenant Jonathan*-David

377 Michal's love is mentioned twice, 18.20 with Saul's approval, 18.28f with his disapproval. Four times Jonathan's faithfulness to his covenant with David is spoken of. On the first occasion he presents David with his clothing (symbolism of office), and on the last occasion he subjects himself to David as king:

17.1-18.4	Occasion: Philistine victory (Goliath)	Saul's reaction friendly
19.1-7	Occasion: Saul's enmity	Saul's reaction friendly
20.1-21.1	Occasion: Saul's enmity	Saul's reaction hostile
23.14-28	Occasion: Philistine victory (Keilah)	Saul's reaction hostile

David's loyalty towards Jonathan receives a double mention: 2 Sam.9.7 and 21.7.

378 One wonders whether it is possible to regard this premonition of Saul's in connection with his status as anointed one and his endowment by the prophetic spirit (10.6,11; 19.23) as a form of intuitive "sight".

379 Thus a narrative implementation of 1 Sam.2.9b,10a.

380 Although the text binds various episodes together, it has a unified structure:

David's flight before Saul could be regarded as the subject of this unit. The fate of the Yahweh-priesthood of Nob illustrates Saul's brutal behaviour towards enemies, even those belonging to his own people[381], and thus also the justification for David's flight. At the same time this action confirms the necessity for the removal of tyranny, which transcends the fears of 1 Sam.8[382].

With his leaving of the land to go to the Philistines and Moab the centre point is occupied by David's standing at the cross-roads on his flight. David mistakenly seeks aid and sanctuary with the Philistine Achish of Gath. David's loneliness in his affliction and the danger in which he finds himself contrast sharply with the quotation of the song of the women after the victory over Goliath. With regard to a perhaps mockingly intended reference[383] to David being "king of the land", the text comments that David took this word to heart. At this low point the first prophetic utterance[384] of Gad plays a very significant rôle, marking the turning-point for David's remaining in the land, and thus by a word of God introducing the embryonic prelude to David's "sovereignty" by means of the assembling of his own army. It is from these first beginnings with his reception of those who were poor, in debt, and outlawed from society that there rises up the fighting force[385] by which Yahweh will bestow freedom from their enemies in his land upon the whole nation.

A	23.1	News of Philistine invasion
B	23.2-5	David rescues Keilah from the Philistines
C	23.6-13	Keilah's treachery
B^1	23.14-18	Covenant Jonathan and David: David is to be king
C^1	23.19-26	Treachery of the people of Maon
A^1	23.27-28	News of Philistine invasion

381 Cf. **P.T. Reis**, "Collusion at Nob: A New Reading of 1 Samuel 21-22", *JSOT* 61 (1994) 59-73.

382 Cf. **M. Garsiel** 1985, 70f.

383 Cf. **W. Brueggemann** 1990a, 156: "Achish no doubt knows the Israelite gossip. He knows what the women sing..., and presumably he knows how the comparison enrages Saul. He knows enough to make a proper anticipatory identification of David."

384 Cf. 2.3.1.1 above; Gad's advice to remain in Judah corresponds to the later observation in 27.6, in that even during his time with the Philistine king Achish David was ruling over a city which belonged to Judah.

385 Cf. 3.2.2.1

(3) Appeal to Yahweh as Judge—1 Sam.24

The text which immediately follows (1 Sam.24) includes one of the five dialogues between Saul and David[386], the first one after David's flight. As with 1 Sam.19 Saul's clothing again plays a rôle, in that David appropriates a piece of his coat[387]. The dominant feature in the structure of the chapter is the two dialogues[388] between the "men of David" and "David" and between "David" and "Saul". In this way David is placed at the centre of the text. His loyalty towards Saul and consequently to his people provides a double test. David's behaviour stands in marked contrast both to the attitude of his fellow-combatants and to the obvious expectation of Saul. His friends' interpretation of the situation as Yahweh's providence is recognized by David as the temptation to sinful action that it is, and strenuously rejected. Despite being persecuted by Saul without a cause and being given the possibility of fighting with his own force, David refuses to take the opportunity which seems favourable to friend and foe alike. David constantly sees himself as under obligation to Saul as king of the nation[389].

David's reference to Yahweh as the Judge between Saul and him must rank as the central statement of the chapter (24.13). Given the opportunity for quick murder, he addresses his

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I:	17.32-39	Go, and Yahweh be with you (clothing as symbolism of office).
II:	17.57-18.1	Whose *son* are you, *my* young man?
III:	18.17-21	In two years you can be *my son-in-law*.
IV:	24.9-23	(Corner of garment) *My son* David, I know that you will become king.
V:	26.17-25	Blessed be you, *my son* David!

387 Cf. **P.A. Kruger** 1988. Clothing can be understood, specially in the case of office-holders, as symbolizing the person himself. David had previously accepted the clothes of Jonathan (heir to the throne) (1 Sam.18.4), and not those of Saul (17.38ff,45ff).

388 The structure of 1 Sam.24 places David in the centre:

24.1	A	Reference to *mᵉṣāḏôt*		
24.5	B	Dialogue:	a	Men of David
24.7			b	David
24.9,10ff	B^1	Dialogue:	b^1	David
24.17,18ff			a^1	Saul
24.23	A^1	Reference to *mᵉṣāḏôt*		

389 The fact that in this matter David shows himself to be righteous is made clear by the parallel behaviour of the Amalekite in 2 Sam.1, cf. **R.W. Klein**, *1 Samuel*, WBC 10. Milton Keynes/UK: Word 1986 [= Taco, TX: Word 1983], 240.

appeal to Yahweh's arbitration. The decision between Saul and David is delegated by the latter to Yahweh. It is Yahweh's judicial decision which will make clear who is in the right[390]. This attitude of entrusting the outcome of what happens to Yahweh is theologically significant. Saul's astonished question, "If a man finds his enemy, will he let him go away safe?" (v20) demonstrates David's uprightness in words spoken by his persecutor, who thus already appears as the first witness in the legal conflict to be decided by Yahweh[391]. It is this behaviour of David's in accordance with *ṣ^{e}dāqâh* which qualifies him to be Saul's successor as king[392].

The fact that it is here a matter of a legitimate succession to the throne is also shown clearly by the modes of address as *'abî* (24.12) and in response *b^{e}nî* (24.17). The father-son relationship also corresponds to Saul's request that his house should not be destroyed[393]. Therefore in this text David is in a manner of speaking entrusted with the "administration of Saul's estate"[394], a duty which falls to the legitimate heir to the head of the family. Addressed as "my son", David vows that after Saul's death he will not hold his entire family liable for his crimes[395].

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390 1 Sam.24.13. Cf. **Sa-Moon Kang**, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East*, Berlin: de Gruyter 1989, 194f: "So the victory results from the judgement of YHWH". Kang also refers to 1 Sam.25.39; 2 Sam.18.19b,31b; Jdg.11.25bff. On 2 Sam.10,12: "Here...YHWH does not appear as a judge, but it is implied that the war was within the matters of YHWH's decision... For whether it was good or not is judged from the side of YHWH."

391 Cf. the tearing-off of the corner of the garment 24.6f with 15.27 and Saul's statement 24.18 with 15.28.

392 The introductory *w^{e}'attâh* in 24.21 establishes a causal connection which is emphatically underscored by the *hinnēh* which follows.

393 A favour which Saul himself did not grant to the Yahweh-priesthood of Nob (22.16), and which he obviously did not intend affording to the parental house of his son-in-law David (20.31; 22.1,6ff). The fear of the extermination of his descendants plays a major rôle here.

394 Cf. **Robert B. Lawton**, "Saul, Jonathan and the 'Son of Jesse'", *JSOT* 58 (1993) 35-46, who gives a psychologically sensitive sketch of the complicated triangular relationship. Also: **J. David Pleins**, "Son-Slayers and Their Sons", *CBQ* 54 (1992), 29-38.

395 In the texts the final fate of Saul's family is traced back to Yahweh himself, and David accords the dead man the last honour by burying him in the family tomb (cf. 3.1.1.2 below).

(4) David's Flight and Saul's End—1 Sam.25-31

In the six following units the structure appears to be governed by the double mention of the report of Samuel's death. Under the title "David's Rise and Saul's Demise" R.P. Gordon[396] has worked out a parallel structure as follows, which fits organically into the conclusions reached up to now:

A	25.1-44	Samuel's death. David & Abigail. Feeding & prophecy
B	26.1-25	David spares Saul
C	27.1-28.2	David with Achish/Gath, fights against Amalekites & other nations
A^1	28.3-25	Samuel's death. Saul & medium. Prophecy & feeding
B^1	29.1-11	David is innocent, fight against Saul refused
C^1	30.1-31	David with Achish/Gath, fights against Amalekites

After David in 1 Sam.24 has appealed to Yahweh as arbitrating Judge, the action proceeds rapidly towards its goal[397]. David does not take the law into his own hands and attack either Nabal (1 Sam.25) or, despite a further opportunity, Saul (1 Sam.26). The outcome of events is clearly seen to be the act of Yahweh. Once again David's innocence is attested (1 Sam.29.3,6.9), this time from the lips of the Philistine Achish[398]. With the introductory

396 **R.P. Gordon**, "David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24-26", *TynB* 31 (1980) 37-64.

397 Similarly **H.J. Stoebe** 1973, 61: "Wiederum stellen Kap 24 und 26 im Grunde die gleiche Situation dar, Kap 24 retardierend, Kap 26 so, daß es die Geschichte weitertreibt, weniger seinem Inhalt als dem Gefälle nach, in dem es steht."

398 Cf. **W. Brueggemann**, "Narrative Intentionality in 1 Samuel 29", *JSOT* 43 (1989) 21-35: Achish's threefold testimony to David's innocence stands in contrast to 27.10. The reader knows this, but Achish does not: "If the first Israelite listeners are trusting members of the tribe who uncritically adore David and delight to tell of his escapades, then we may imagine that the complexity of this narrative of guilt and innocence is intended to present David at the brink of betrayal who draws back just in time" (29). On the humour lying behind the David narratives cf. also **M. Garsiel**, "Wit, Words, and a Woman: 1 Samuel 25", *On Humor and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Y.T. Radday & A. Brenner, JSOT.S 92, Sheffield: Almond 1990, 161-168; cf. **R.P. Gordon**, "Simplicity of the Highest Cunning: Narrative Art in the Old Testament", *SBET* 6, who remarks similarly on 1 Sam.16.2: "Is it possible, then, that...we should be looking the verse up under 'irony' rather than 'ethics'? That in this case the fool is being answered according to his folly, in a manner which recalls the 'deceiver deceived' motif that appears elsewhere in the Old Testament? Perhaps we can occasionally be too solemn in our discussion of Old Testament problem texts" (80).

double mention of Samuel's death, which is recognized as being structural, not only is his appearance as a ghost at the house of the woman of Endor made possible, but the dark atmosphere of death is ushered in, which steers speedily towards Saul's end in 1 Sam.31.

At the same time, through the repetition of the news of Samuel's death and the involvement of *kōl yiśrā'ēl* in his burial (1 Sam.25.1; 28.3), the end of an era is signified. In this way, also, increased attention is directed to the end of his judicial office, which according to 1 Sam.7.15 was given to him for the duration of his life. With him the era of "Jerubbaal, Barak and Jephthah" (cf. 1 Sam.12.11) comes to an end[399]. The deaths of Saul and Samuel appear to be closely linked together in the literary sequence[400]. Thus David's rôle is not only as heir to Saul, but also as successor to the last of the judges. Saul's royal power was subject to the continuity of Samuel's office as judge (1 Sam.12.23), and it is not until David that the age of the judges is seen to be over. This end of an age receives a double mention.

With the death of the last of the judges the question of the succession is raised. Both anointed men receive through women information concerning their future destiny. Saul is informed of his fall through Samuel's ghost, and David is given a prophecy through Abigail (1 Sam.25.28-30), the contents of which already anticipate essential elements of Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam.7. As Saul's star sets, David's rises. Through marriage[401] he gains a family involvement in one of the well-to-do branches of the family of Caleb, and his first city-kingdom as vassal of Achish of Gath in the city of Ziklag, which thus becomes Jewish.

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399 That the period of the judges is not to be seen as having collapsed in the light of the victory of 1 Sam.7 is also officially established by the confirmation by *kōl yiśrā'ēl* before two witnesses of the blameless nature of Samuel's exercise of his office (1 Sam.12.1-5).

400 Cf. Samuel's statement 1 Sam. 28.19: "Tomorrow you and your sons shall be with me". The close relationship between Samuel and Saul may already be indicated in 1 Sam.1.27f with the play on words with the verb *šā'al*. It is also possible that here lies the reason for the fact that to Samuel, as Saul's prophet, no word of direct speech addressed to David is ascribed (cf. 2.3.1.2).

401 Cf. **Jon D. Levenson**, "1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History", *CBQ* 40 (1978) 11-28 and **J.D. Levenson & B. Halpern**, "The Political Import of David's Marriages", *JBL* 99 (1980) 507-518.

The repeated mention of David's battle against the Amalekites is contrasted with Saul's rejection[402] in 1 Sam.15.

It is striking that no ring-structure is to be found in this set of six passages, but instead there is a parallel, climactic arrangement. Whereas ring-structure conveys an effect which lies within the structure itself, here it is rather a clearly purposeful direction which is expressed in the use of parallelism.

(5) Summary of treatment of 1 Sam.9-31

In summary, therefore, it appears that the Saul texts have a coherent structure[403] of five principal texts, interspersed with four intermediate units each consisting of six texts. In these the reign of Saul is described from his anointing by Samuel through to his death.

402 **H.J. Stoebe** 1973, 64: key-word *šālāl*: 30.16,19,20,22,26 as a clear reference to Saul: 14.30,32; 15.19,21.

403 Cf. **R. Rendtorff**, "Beobachtungen zur altisraelitischen Geschichtsschreibung anhand der Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids", *Probleme Biblischer Theologie*, FS G.v. Rad, Munich 1971, 428-439, who outlines the cumulative character of this unity when it is accepted thus: "Als selbstständige Einzelerzählungen sind sie zu kurz, und zudem setzen sie in fast allen Fällen die Kenntnis von früher Erzähltem voraus... Wenn das zutrifft, dann gewinnen wir mit diesen Texten einen weiteren Einblick in die Arbeitsweise der Geschichtsschreiber der frühen Königszeit. Wir haben bereits die Vermutung ausgesprochen, daß der Verfasser der Endgestalt der Aufstiegsgeschichte nicht nur das Gesamtwerk planend, ordnend und deutend gestaltet hat, sondern daß auch die kurzen Mitteilungen von ihm stammen. Das gleiche könnte dann auch von den übrigen Texten dieser Art gelten. Auf der anderen Seite zeigte sich, daß die letzten Abschnitte der Aufstiegsgeschichte in ihrer Darstellungsweise der Thronfolgegeschichte sehr eng verwandt sind" (439).

9.1-10.16	Samuel anoints Saul
10.17-27	Appointment of Saul as king by lot (Mizpah)
11.1-13	Ammonite battle, victorious
11.14-15	*Šᵉlamîm*—inauguration of the kingdom
12.1-25	Samuel's prophetic utterance concerning the kingdom
13.1-14.52	Philistine battles, unsuccessful. Other nations, victorious
15.1-35	Rejection of Saul, Amalekite battle
16.1-13	Samuel anoints David
16.14-23	*Evil spirit* influences Saul: David *comes* to Saul's court
17.1-18.4	David kills Goliath—covenant with Jonathan/David
18.5-16	David: military leader—Saul's *fear*, *song* of the women
18.17-30	David: son-in-law of the king—Saul's *fear*
19.1-7	Saul wants to kill David—Jonathan defends David (Goliath)
19.8-17	*Evil spirit* influences Saul: David *leaves* Saul's court
19.18-24	Samuel protects David against Saul—anointing in reverse
20.1-21.1	Saul's enmity, covenant Jonathan-David
21.2-10	Ahimelech helps David—loaves, Doeg, Goliath's sword
21.11-16	David with the Philistines
22.1-5	David's parents to Moab—prophet Gad: turning-point
22.6-23	Ahimelech is killed—favours, Doeg, Goliath's sword
23.1-28	Saul's enmity, covenant Jonathan-David
24.1-23	Dialogue Saul/David, father/son: David as heir to the throne
25.1-44	Samuel's death. David & Abigail. Feeding & prophecy
26.1-25	David spares Saul
27.1-28.2	David with Achish/Gath, fights against Amalekites & other nations
28.3-25	Samuel's death. Saul & medium. Prophecy & feeding
29.1-11	David is prevented from fighting against Saul
30.1-31	David with Achish/Gath, fights against Amalekites
31.1-31	Death of Saul and his sons

In this structural arrangement the composition involving five principal texts seems significant in itself:

I.	1 Sam.9.1-10.16	Anointing of *Saul* by *Samuel* (at Yahweh's behest)
II.	1 Sam.16.1-13	*David's* anointing by *Samuel* (at Yahweh's behest)
III.	1 Sam.19.18-24	*David* and *Samuel* against *Saul* (prophetic spirit)
IV.	1 Sam.24	*David* calls upon *Yahweh* to arbitrate
V.	1 Sam.31	End of *Saul*

The central position is occupied by the only text in which the three main characters of the books of Samuel are involved together. No dialogue takes place between them, but instead there are manifestations of the Spirit of God. This text is clearly related by parallel events and choice of words on the one hand to the text describing the anointing of Saul, and simultaneously on the other hand, by the prophetically inspired anticipation of the removal of his power, to his death. If Saul's "prophetic enthusiasm" on the occasion of his anointing was a sign of his charismatic qualification for the kingly office, then here, without any mention of direct activity on the part of Samuel, yet tacitly stemming from him, Saul's removal from kingly office is depicted as being brought about by the same prophetic spirit. At the same time his future destiny of death is symbolically anticipated in the working of the Spirit. That this text in particular is located at the centre of the five-part structure can, therefore, be seen to have significance of grounds of content as well. Thus the beginning, central and concluding texts are seen to be related, and with their descriptions of Saul's anointing, desecration as he lies naked, and death, depict key scenes of his destiny[404].

404 It should be noted that the arrangement of the texts makes it clear that they are not drawn up thus on account of Saul, but are recounted entirely from the viewpoint of the coming kingdom of David. For different reasons **W. Dietrich** 1987, 93 also argues for the start of "Davids Aufstiegsgeschichte" in 1 Sam.9. Dietrich sees the texts not as being related to one another chiastically, but as diachronic layers, in which he combines 9.1-10.16 and 13f and separates them from 10.17ff and 11.1ff (referring back to Samuel), and in this way arrives at a commencement of the *Aufstiegsgeschichte* in 1 Sam.9. Cf. also **Robert R. Wilson** 1988, 71: "About Saul himself, the historians have nothing to say that is good. Out of a reign that lasted either twelve or twenty-two years, they choose to concentrate on three events that illustrate Saul's violation of the Deuteronomic laws regulating kingship."

The three innermost texts are about David. They describe David's anointing by Samuel, Samuel's taking of David's part against Saul, and David's reference to Yahweh as Judge, combined with Saul's acknowledgment of David as future king and nomination of David as heir to the throne. The central text also proves to be influential for David in that it records the verdict of the anointing prophet in favour of the anointed David and against the anointed Saul. In conjunction with a prophetic manifestation of the Spirit Saul is divested of the insignia of his office, and his final death is symbolically anticipated. This Spirit-inspired action can be understood as the prophetic setting for a cosmic-transcendental reality[405], the accomplishing of which is described in chapter 31 with the plundering of Saul's corpse. As the last act of Samuel during his life-time, it assumes the binding character of a last will and testament. Following the double reference to the death of Samuel, even the word of the ghost can no longer alter this fixed destiny. David is protected by Samuel as the anointed one in place of Saul, whose future destiny of death is prophetically portrayed.

I.	1 Sam.9.1-10.16	Anointing of *Saul* by *Samuel* (at Yahweh's behest)
II.	1 Sam.16.1-13	*David's* anointing by *Samuel* (at Yahweh's behest)
III.	1 Sam.19.18-24	*David* and *Samuel* against *Saul* (prophetic spirit)
IV.	1 Sam.24	*David* calls upon *Yahweh* to arbitrate
V.	1 Sam.31	End of *Saul*

It also seems worthwhile to take a look at the centres which are formed in this structure. If the central significance of the first centre (1 Sam.11.14f/12.1-25) was seen in the *šᵉlāmîm*-offerings and prophetic utterance in comparison with 2 Sam.6.7, the second centre (1 Sam.18.5-16/18.17-30) stresses the initial rise of David, his charismatic gift of military leadership, and his double (and therefore indubitably merited) acceptance into the royal family as Saul's son-in-law. David's legitimate membership of the *bêṯ hammeleḵ* is thus placed in the central position. The placing of one of the victory songs[406] into the narrative

405 Cf. 2.3.3.4, p.116.

406 Cf. 2.3.2.1 (6); **A.F. Kirkpatrick**, *The First Book of Samuel*, Cambridge: CUP 1889, 185 understands it as the refrain of a folk-song which from then on is much loved, i.e. with a present and lasting meaning. The reference to the instruments enhances the impression of something special.

texts at this point makes sense, and gives emphasis to what follows. This song is not only the accompaniment of the beginning of David's rise, but it is at the same time the starting-point for Saul's enmity, which leads to David's flight at the end of the section.

In the third centre (1 Sam.21.11-16/22.1-5) with David's stay in Gath and his parents' emigration to Moab the dominant note is one of distress. Driven out of the land by Saul's persecution, the point of decision at the frontier is for David simultaneously the turning-point towards the setting up of his house as an independent power. Quoting Israel's song about David's greatness in comparison with Saul, the Philistines here describe David as the "king of the land". The irony of the situation could not be more sharply drawn. David as the fleeing king, staying with his people's deadly enemies, feigns madness in order to survive. At the same time he is reminded from the lips of the heathen of his future rôle as king, of which he has already been notified by Samuel's anointing of him[407]. The fact that one of the four carefully placed prophetic utterances is to be found in this centre emphasizes the significance of this text.

The relationship between the first and the last groups of six shows the Amalekite wars also to have a framing function. Saul, who did not carry out the ban against them, is on that account told of his final rejection (1 Sam.15). The fact that David conquered the Amalekites and totally annihilated them is emphasized by being recorded twice (27.8ff/30.17). The cause of Saul's collapse is on the one hand his impotence in the face of the Philistines, on the other his half-hearted behaviour towards the Amalekites. Both nations are involved in his demise: he is killed in battle with the Philistines, and an Amalekite boasts of having plundered him. Saul's attitude to the Amalekites and that of David in the first and last sections are thus seen to be in a relationship of contrast to each other.

407 Cf. **W. Brueggemann** 1990a, 156: "One can explain Achish's comment as historical anachronism, but the more likely and powerful explanation is that the narrative builds toward a great crescendo of voices, all asserting, one at a time, what even Saul must finally accept."

2.3.4.2 Proposal for the Structuring of 1 Sam.1-8

Recurrence of the chiastic form in other parts of the book has led us to the recognition of the Ebenezer wars in 1 Sam.4 and 7 as being also a ring, framing Yahweh's powerful battle against the principal god of the Philistines and his return to his land. Following on from that, there has emerged a structure which commences with Saul's anointing and in five large steps describes his reign through to his death. As far as the introductory chapter was concerned, our attention had already been drawn, when we were looking at the psalm of Hannah, to the reference to the installation of the kingdom. The woman's wish for a child was interpreted, in line with Polzin's observations, as analogous to Israel's wish for a king. Just as Hannah longed for a son, Israel desired that Yahweh would give her a king. The book about kingless Israel which desires to have a king begins with the description of a childless woman who desires to have a son[408]. In the same way that Elkanah defended himself, saying: "Am I not more to you than ten sons?", Samuel defended himself against the wish of the people, but was then otherwise instructed by Yahweh[409]. In the text the reason for the request is given as the conduct of Samuel's sons in their office, who are described as of similar character to the sons of Eli[410]. Therefore the people may not expect from them any release from their distress.

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408 Cf. **P. Miscall** 1985, 35; **R. Polzin** 1989, 18ff also refers to the key concepts of *kissē'* and *hēḵāl* in 1 Sam.1: Eli "is presented to us as a royal figure as well as a priest" (23). This initial encounter "has royal overtones that look forward in a number of interlocking ways to the central matter of kingship which forms the subject matter of the entire history". Cf. **Frank A. Spina**, "Eli's Seat: The Transition from Priest to Prophet in 1 Samuel 1-4", *JSOT* 62 (1994) 67-75, who unlike Polzin understands Eli's sitting on the throne as unlawful, and thus confirms the "royal atmosphere" of these verses. Cf. **F. Stolz** 1981, 20: "Der ganze Komplex [1 Sam.1-3] ist wahrscheinlich als Einleitung zur Gesamtheit der Samuelgeschichten in ihrer deuteronomistischen Endgestalt komponiert."

409 Cf. **Martin Buber**, "Das Volksbegehren", *Werke* II, ed. idem, Munich: Kösel 1964, 727-742.

410 Cf. **John T. Willis**, "Samuel versus Eli: 1 Sam.1-7", *ThZ* 35 (1979) 201-212 rejecting literary-critical fragmentation of the text: "Consistency—thou art a jewel! There is as much 'connection' between Samuel and Eli and his sons via the contrast principle in 2:11-4:1a as there is between the prophecy of the man of God in 2:27-36 and the fulfilment in the death of the sons of Eli in 4:10-11" (205); **P. Miscall** 1985, 37: "The contrast established through the comparison of the parents, Elkanah and Hannah as against Eli, is continued more forcibly in the depiction of the children."

If these observations[411] up to this point are taken into account, the following possible structure[412] for 1 Sam.1-8 becomes probable:

1.1-2.11	Hannah's desire for a child, psalm: promise of an anointed one/a king	
2.12-26	Eli's sons' exercise of office, Yahweh will kill them	– curse
2.27-36	Prophecy of man of God: rejection of the house of Eli	– judgment
3.1-18	Prophecy of Samuel: rejection of the house of Eli	– judgment
3.19-21	Beginning of exercise of office by Samuel, Eli's foster-son	– blessing
4.1-22	Philistine-Ebenezer: Eli's judicial office. Ichabod	– curse
5.1-12	Ark in a foreign land. Demo. of Yahweh's power: Dagon, plague	– victory
6.1-7.1	Ark in Israel. Demo. of Yahweh's power: cattle, dead men	– victory
7.2-17	Philistine-Ebenezer: Samuel's judicial office. Building of altar	– blessing
8.1-22	Israel's desire for a king	

In this structure there are found two centres. The second records, with the events concerning the ark, the sovereignty and superiority of Yahweh. The first emphasizes by means of a two-fold prophetic testimony that the events which follow are Yahweh's acts of judgment[413]. If the one text is recognized as looking forward to the victorious overthrow of

411 On the textual unity of 1 Sam.1-4 cf. **M. Tsevat**, "Abzählungen in 1 Samuel 1-4". FS R. Rendtorff, ed. E. Blum i.a., Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1990, 207-214.

412 As well as by **R. Polzin**, the unity of 1 Sam.1-8 is assumed also by **Kenneth L. Chafin**, *1, 2 Samuel*, Communicator's Commentary 8, Dallas, TX: Word Books 1989; **Albertus H. van Zyl**, *I Samuel: Deel 1* [chh.1-15]. *De prediking van het Oude Testament*, Nijkerk: Collenbach 1988; **R. Rendtorff** 1991, 205-216. Cf. also the formal correspondence of 1.1 and 9.1, in each case with the very private scenario of a family, which is identified by its father through the naming of four generations. In each case the new beginning starts in the bosom of the family. On the contrasting relationship between 1 Sam.7 and 1 Sam.8 cf. **Robert P. Gordon**, *1 & 2 Samuel: A Commentary*, Exeter: Paternoster 1986, 30f,105f.

413 This is emphasized by **L.M. Eslinger** 1985, 57: "Israel was defeated by Yahweh at Ebenezer, not by the Philistine god Dagon... To make things worse, Yahweh caps his victorious return to his people by striking them for looking 'at' or 'in'...the ark".

the Philistines, then the ability and readiness of Yahweh to execute judgment on the priestly dynasty of Eli, to which testimony is borne right at the beginning of the book, could be understood as a clear warning to those who are called in the future, whether priests or kings[414], that Yahweh reserves to himself the possibility of rejecting them.

Thus the two centres in the opening section, with their prophetic word of judgment and the defeat of the Philistine deity, appear right at the outset to be related in declaring two continuous themes, which may be characterized in deuteronomic terms as blessing and curse. The work of salvation appears to be entirely founded upon Yahweh himself alone, independently of any human or moral consideration[415].

Simultaneously with the two centres a parallel sequence may be discerned, which appears to give expression to a movement which is directed differently from that of the ring-structure. On the one hand it directs the attention to the end of the house of Eli (1 Sam.4), and in parallel to that the continuity of Yahweh's blessing in Samuel (1 Sam.7)[416]. On the other hand the depiction of the character of Eli's sons already points towards the similar sons of Samuel, and thus to the desire of the people, occasioned by the way in which those sons carry out their office, to achieve a lasting solution by having their own king[417].

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414 Cf. **M. Tsevat**, "The Death of the Sons of Eli", *The Meaning of the Book of Job and other Biblical Stories: Essays on the Literature and Religion of the Hebrew Bible* Dallas TX: Institute of Jewish Studies 1980, 149-153.

415 Cf. the relevant observations of deuteronomic traits in the expositions of **J. Gordon McConville**, *Grace in the End: A Study in Deuteronomic Theology*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1993.

416 Only at the end of his life does Samuel depart. The end of his life receives a double mention, in a structurally parallel arrangement, and culminates in the end of Saul. This reference either indicates that the activity of the judges is to be understood as continuing in parallel with Saul's kingship, or else that Saul's kingship is regarded as having no reality at all, and consequently for the author of the book it is Samuel whom David succeeds. The suggestion of **Peter Mommer**, *Samuel: Geschichte und Überlieferung*, WMANT 65, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1991, that there never existed any positive connection between Samuel and Saul, and the idea of competition between the traditional office of judge and the new style of military leadership was only introduced by tradition, cannot be really convincing: it is dependent on his source-critical analysis.

417 The frequently observed connection between chh.8 and 12 is also taken into account in this structure: as the goal of the climactic arrangement of 1 Sam.1-8 and as the centre of the chiastic arrangement around 1 Sam.11.14f/12 they appear to be structurally prominent. The texts are in any case no longer read as a linear unit chh.8-12, but as the goal of 1-8 and the central material of 9-16 (**Childs** 1979, 277 disagrees).

The introduction to the book (1 Sam.1-8) thus already in its framework picks out as its central theme the question of the kingship in Israel, and in the two centres the victorious liberation from Philistine rule and the readiness of Yahweh to act in judgment with his people. The victory stands alone in connection with the renunciation of idols and turning to Yahweh, while the defeat is seen to be bound up with irreverent dealing with holy things and with perversion of the course of justice on the social level.

2.3.4.3 Proposal for the structuring of 2 Sam.1-2

Thus following on from our consideration of the Davidic material in 2 Sam.3-20, the texts concerning Samuel and Saul in 1 Sam.1-8 and 9-31 have been shown to refer to the David texts, being written from similar viewpoints and being partly analogous. It now remains to take a look at 2 Sam.1-2. This section appears to be constructed of four units. It begins with a time-reference "After the death of Saul", and thus marks the beginning of a new epoch. Its subject is David[418]. He is brought the news of Israel's defeat on Gilboa and the death of Saul and Jonathan. There follows a lament for the dead in David's camp, and the Amalekite messenger[419] who boasts of having killed Saul with his own hands is executed by David for having done so.

Unlike Hannah's psalm, which is included into the narrative context by the connecting link of 1 Sam.2.11, the lament for the dead in 2 Sam.1.17 begins as a new unit. It is presented as a *qînâh* which David has ordered to be used in Judah, as it were as "state mourning" in his kingdom. Thus his kingship is already anticipated at this point, and is subsequently to be

418 **Terence Kleven** 1989, "Rhetoric and Narrative Depiction in 2 Sam.1.1-16", *PEGL* 9 (1989) 59-73 analyses as the rhetorical tendency of the passage David's rôle at its centre point and his respectful attitude to Saul.—**Bill T. Arnold**, "The Amalekite's Report of Saul's Death: Political Intrigue or Incompatible Sources?", *JETS* 32 (1989) 289-98, argues that its function is introductory and it is linked with what follows. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 23 describes the division at 1 Sam.31/2 Sam.1 as showing great literary skill. Saul's death in 1 Sam.31 forms "deutlich einen Abschluß, während 2 Sam.1 die Meldung des Boten auf eine mit dem Tode Sauls noch nicht notwendig gegebene Entwicklung in der Zukunft weist."

419 In Saul's death it was ironic that those involved were those very enemies of Israel, the Philistines and Amalekites, which Saul either could not or would not defeat (1 Sam.14.47,52; 15.9ff).

reported in 2.1-11. A chronological structure of the text would lead one to expect a different sequence, and consequently one might assume that different principles of arrangement explain the precedence given to the psalm of lamentation.

The news of Ishbosheth's crowning by Abner at Mahanaim[420] (2.8-11) is embedded in the section which deals with David's kingship over Judah, not placed alongside it as of equal importance, but subordinated to it. The fourth section is found in 2.12-32, which describes an episode which is representative of the war between the house of Saul and the house of David following the death of Saul. The pointlessness of this battle[421] is made clear by Abner's question, "Shall the sword devour for ever?" David himself does not appear in this section. The lamentation over those "of the people of Yahweh" who have fallen by the sword links the two outer texts, while the two inner ones appear to be related to one another through the reference to David's kingship in Judah and the lamentation over the death of Saul by David and Judah and the citizens of Jabesh.

These four sections "after the death of Saul" are marked by those who have fallen in the battle against the Philistines and in the civil war. David's prime activity as king over Judah is his call for lamentation over the dead and his honouring of those who honour Saul and Jonathan.

1.1-16 — News of Saul's death—lamentation over Saul, Jonathan and the fallen
1.17-27 — David decrees "state mourning" in Judah—David's lament
2.1-11 — David, king/ Judah, honours Jabesh's faithfulness; Ishbosheth king/ Israel
2.12-32 — War dead, the sword devours—lamentation over Asahel and the fallen

420 Cf. **K.-D. Schunck**, "Erwägungen zur Geschichte und Bedeutung von Mahanaim", idem, *Altes Testament und Heiliges Land: Gesammelte Studien zum AT und zur biblischen Landeskunde* I, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang 1989, 49-55 [=*ZDMG* 113 (1963) 34-40]; Schunck assumes that Gibeah of Saul or Gibeon was reoccupied by the Philistines after the defeat at Gilboa, and was not liberated until the victories of David (2 Kgs 5.25), and it was for this reason that Abner's choice fell on Mahanaim.

421 Cf. **K.-D. Schunck**, "König Saul—Etappen seines Weges zum Aufbau eines israelitischen Staates", *BZ* 36NF/2 (1992) 195-206. Schunck assumes that the battle for Gibeon was to gain control of Saul's former central sanctuary or "capital", which had clearly again fallen under Philistine rule after the defeat at Gilboa (206).

2.3.5 The Macrostructure of Samuel

From our observations of the structure and content of the Samuel Conclusion there has emerged a recognizably unified structure for the Samuel corpus[422], in which the closing chapters are included as an integral component[423]. The theme of how Israel received its Davidic kingship is then unfolded in five main sections. The first section (1 Sam.1-8) can be understood as a plan, setting out in aspectival fashion the people's desire to have a king to liberate them from their enemies, specially the Philistines. Even before the request of the elders is expressed, it has been presented by means of the prophetically understood song of Hannah as the intention of Yahweh to give them a king.

The religious symbolism of the decapitation of the Philistine god Dagon in his own temple is not only to be seen as imagery, but it also provides the precondition, to be understood analogically on the cosmic-transcendental plane, for the success of the king who is to come. The defeat of the Philistines on the plane of deity has already taken place with this cultic portrayal, before the desire of the people has even been expressed. The later fulfilment in the removal of the power of the Philistines[424] by David has thus already been anticipated. When the king who is asked for is considered in ch.8 to be a competitor to Yahweh, a conflict is portrayed, and the struggle to settle it becomes the subject of the ensuing narrative.

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422 **Hendrik J. Koorevaar**, "Die Makrostruktur des Buches Samuel und ihre Theologischen Implikationen", in a paper given at the SBL International Conference 7.-10.8.1994 at Louvain, concludes that there is an independent six-part structure, seeing it as oriented not (as that proposed here) on structural forms indicated by literary content, but on formal criteria such as statistics and the periods of office of Samuel, Saul and David:

1 Sam.1.1–2.11	Introduction
1 Sam.2.12–7.17	From the peak of Eli's career to that of Samuel's
1 Sam.8–14	From the peak of Samuel's career to that of Saul's
1 Sam.15–2 Sam.8	From the peak of Saul's career to that of David's
2 Sam.9–20	From the peak of David's career to his restoration
2 Sam.21–24	Conclusion

423 Cf. also **J. Rosenberg** 1987, 138: "Scholars have generally viewed 2 Samuel 21 -24 as a late addition, with no integral role in the form and message of the book. Such a view misreads Samuel. The change from elaborated narrative to folkloric, archival, and poetic fragment accords with shifts in discourse common to most biblical literature, and here it ties together the themes of the Samuel books in a particularly effective way. Far from being late additions, they may be the archaic traditionary remnants from which the narrative was spun in the first place."

424 Especially in the defeat of apparently "superhuman" giants in 1 Sam.17 and 2 Sam.21.15ff, which frame the life of David—see under 3.2.1.

In the second section (1 Sam.9-31) the rise and long-drawn-out decline of Saul is described in five stages, from his anointing to his death. If Saul's beginning with the renewal of the kingdom in Gilgal (1 Sam.11.14-12.25) bore testimony to the abiding sovereignty of Yahweh among his people, despite the appointing of a king, with a theophanic manifestation[425], then Yahweh's pre-eminence is also expressed in the rejection of one king and the fresh calling of another. The portrayal of the first king directs the attention not so much to Saul himself, as already to his successor, David[426]. Here, too, the initiative lies exclusively on the part of Yahweh. Before humans act, God has already prepared the results[427]. David's coming to the royal court, his military success and his social elevation as the son-in-law of the king are portrayed as being ordained and accompanied by Yahweh. Saul's struggle against David must fail, because it is directed against what Yahweh has decided. His dishonourable end as a naked and headless corpse, hung up and exposed before the women and children of the Philistines, sets the seal on his rejection and his powerlessness against Yahweh, the real Sovereign of the people.

The third main section (2 Sam.1-2) under the slogan "After the death of Saul" marks the phase of the double rule of Ishbosheth and David, with the emphasis falling on David's kingship in Judah. With this perspective of the king's insignia having already been transferred to David (2 Sam.1.10; 2.4), this section can also be understood as the beginning of David's royal rule. The comparison between David and Ishbosheth recurs in the narrative frame of the concluding section, 2 Sam.21-24. The placing here of one of the longer songs reinforces the interpretation of this unit as having a framing function.

425 Also the fact that Samuel continues "in office" emphasizes that the rule of Yahweh was in no way replaced by that of a king.

426 Among the many details cf. the vial (*pāḵ*) used in Saul's anointing, which as an earthenware vessel did not have the religious purity of the horn (*qeren*) used in David's anointing. Cf the significance of *qeren* in 1 Sam.2.1-10 as the frame for Hannah's psalm and in 2 Sam.22.3 as spoken of Yahweh.

427 Cf. 1 Sam.9.15: Yahweh had announced the coming of Saul before he himself had even thought of it (9.6ff); also 16.1ff,12. Cf. **F. Deist**, "Coincidence as a Motif of Divine Intervention in 1 Samuel 9", *OTE* 6 (1993) 7-18.

David's rule over the whole of Israel is described in the fourth section (2 Sam.3-20). In this, chapters 6 and 7 are emphatically placed into the centre by means of a duplicated ring-structure. While the five-part section dealing with Saul in 1 Sam.9-31 is portrayed as a climactic sequence inexorably leading on to Saul's death, the Davidic material appears, due to a double chiasmus on two levels, to be self-contained and balanced on the message of the centre with its promise of an abiding Davidic dynasty (2 Sam.7) bound up with the taking up by Yahweh of residence in Jerusalem (2 Sam.6). David's kingdom endures as the kingdom of Yahweh's grace.

The centrally placed chapters 6 and 7 are flanked by reports of the victorious conquest of the hostile nations. The fulfilment of the complete defeat of the Philistines, awaited since the first main section, is thus brought about. Around these two reports of victory there are grouped two chiastically structured units, which are in turn framed by lists of people with the names of the royal princes and ministers. These are both groups in which the new era of monarchy is set forth.

As the fifth and last main section there follows the similarly chiastically structured Samuel Conclusion (2 Sam.21-24) with psalms, further people and stories setting forth the monarchy and its successes, which thematically have a "mirror-image" relationship to the texts about David in the fourth section and take up critical side-effects of the Davidic rule. With the chiastic structuring, the poetic sections and the entry of the prophet Gad, in this concluding section threads from the beginning of the book are finally brought together. With the psalm of Hannah at the beginning, the two psalms of the concluding section form an envelope for the whole book, with David's lament over Saul and Jonathan and his words on his deathbed providing the bridge to the central section[428].

428 Divided up differently, 2 Sam.1-2 as David's kingship over Judah and 21-24 could be taken as a further outermost ring around 2 Sam.6/7, and this would give five chiastically structured units dealing with David.

A.	Plan	1 Sam.1-8	Desire for a king—starting position (psalm)
B.	*King SAUL*	1 Sam.9-31	Beginning and failure, Five steps
A^1	Transition	2 Sam.1-2	Saul's death: two kings (psalm)
B^1	*King DAVID*	2 Sam.3-20	David's rule, abiding Three centres
A^2	Finale	2 Sam.21-24	Yahweh for David, not Saul (psalms)

These observations of the structure of the Samuel corpus result in a wealth of features which place the concluding chapters in relationship to and in parallel with other texts of Samuel, from which its intention may be determined[429], This we shall seek to do in the next chapter.

429 Cf. **Shimon Bar-Efrat**, "Some Observations on the Analyses of Structure in Biblical Narrative", *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in OT Literary Criticism*, ed. Paul R. House, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1992, 186-205 [= *VT* 30 (1980) 154-173]: "Since structure is an indispensable aspect of narrative it goes without saying that its investigation will provide us with a fuller and richer understanding of the narratives... Structural arguments can be and in fact have been used to prove the unity of a given narrative or to determine the boundaries of a literary unit. Moreover, structure has rhetorical and expressive value: it is one of the factors governing the effect of the work on the reader and in addition it serves to express or accentuate meaning" (204).

3. INTERPRETATION AND THEOLOGICAL ALIGNMENT OF THE SAMUEL CONCLUSION

The history of the interpretation of the Samuel Conclusion (2 Sam.21-24) has produced a situation in which these texts have been predominantly approached with a large degree of misunderstanding. Although they may have been dealt with as individual narratives, they have seldom been examined in the light of their function in the immediate context and wider relationship of the book. The early literary-critical assessment of the Conclusion as a curious appendix and an insertion into the biography of David, destroying its coherence, has been reinforced by Noth's theory of a deuteronomistic work of history and Rost's of a Succession Narrative to such a degree that it has survived, despite some expression of disquiet, right up to those recent publications which exhibit a literary orientation[430].

The possibility of a new approach arose in connection with the application to exegesis of questions posed by literary studies. With this encouragement to undertake the interpretation of the texts from the viewpoint of their final form rather from that of preliminary stages[431], which had first to be hypothetically reconstructed, a special importance was attached to the introductory and concluding texts. Both those methods of exegesis oriented to literary studies and the "canonical approach" agree in taking this synchronic approach.

Thus there was posed a new question, that of the relevance of the peculiar chiastic structure of the Samuel Conclusion, with its elements which are so disparate in terms of genre and chronology, for the book which it concludes. Building upon the observations of Walter

430 Cf. above under 1.1. i.a. **J.P. Fokkelman, D. Damrosch, M. Sternberg.**

431 The need for alternative approaches is seen also in the fact that there are so many diachronic hypotheses which can only with difficulty lay claim to an objective character. Remember how **H.D. Preuss**, resulting from his survey of DtrG research, bemoans the situation with its multiplicity of theories exemplified in different schools and models: "Jeder Alttestamentler bastelt nicht nur seine eigene Pentateuchtheorie, sondern bald (?) auch sein Bild des DtrG. Die methodischen Reflexionen betr. Schichten, Vorlagen usw. bleiben—soweit sie überhaupt genauer auf gegenteilige Meinungen positiv kritisch und weiterführend eingehen—systemimmanent" (**H.D. Preuss** quoting **K. Koch**, *VT* 37. [1987] 448). **H.D. Preuss** 1993, 245: "Der (wohl leider zutreffende) Hinweis [ist] aufgenommen, daß literarkritische Arbeiten nicht oder nur innerhalb von 'Schulen' konsensfähig sind".

Brueggemann and James Flanagan, it is that striking formal arrangement of the ring-structure which has provided the key to its understanding. In this the observations concerning the comparison with the chiastic unit 2 Sam.5-8 proved to be true for the interpretation of the structure of the book as a whole. In the first place chiasmus, as the definitive organizational form on a two-fold level around 2 Sam.5-8, was seen to have a decisive function in the context of 2 Sam.3-20. Furthermore this construction proved to be a thematic mirror-image of that of the "Appendix". Once this was recognized it became possible to assume that similar principles of structuring to those which were valid for the chiasmus of the Appendix and 2 Sam.5-8 might also apply to other parts of the book, and to go on to investigate these.

The starting-point for these further investigations was those texts around 1 Sam.11.15-12.25[432] which proved to be parallels in terms of both form and content to 2 Sam.5-8. Both passages lent themselves to being understood as corresponding with 2 Sam.6/7, on the basis both of thematic points of contact and parallels and of similarity of form. Further proposals for a macrostructuring of the book were linked to these observations.

A five-part structure for the Samuel corpus as a whole became evident, which is from its outset and in its entirety to be regarded as reflecting the viewpoint of the Davidic kingdom. The first part sets out the thematic plan of the book and focuses on the matter of the setting-up of the kingdom in Israel. Together with the final section, which is to be regarded as a retrospective overall evaluation, it forms a frame around the whole book. The two main parts of the book bring together texts dealing with the reigns respectively of Saul and David. They are separated by a section, shorter in length, dealing with the transition of power, which moreover provides, in David's reign in Judah and the lament over Saul., emphases which are fundamental to the structure of the whole. The arrangement of the texts in the first main section from the period of Saul's reign was shown to be moving towards a climax in the death of Saul, while the texts about David in the second main section were focused, in accordance with the principles of chiasmus, on a centre in 2 Sam.6-7.

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432 Here **J.W. Flanagan**'s suggestion concerning Saul's *šᵉlamîm* was also significant.

Chiasmus was recognized as a convention of ancient literature according to which not only smaller poetic units, but also narratives and larger literary complexes are structured. The chiastic principle of cumulative understanding and binary comparison was seen to tie in with observations which have been made of the difference between the perception of reality of modern man and that of ancient oriental man. In contrast to the linear-logical, perspectival apperception, which has asserted itself as the leading paradigm in western culture since the Renaissance and Enlightenment, there stands the aggregating, aspectival perception of reality in antiquity. This can be seen to be expressed, among other ways, in the representation of thoughts in chiastic forms.

Just as in the aspectival approach a definition or an all-embracing final formula is avoided, so also in chiastic structures the statement is held in tension, both in a binary confrontation within the rings and also in the inner-outer polarity. This results in a constant feed-back between the statement planes within the chiasmus. While the force of the statement within the rings may remain balanced, it is shown through the tension between periphery and centre not to remain undetermined in the end[433]. Nonetheless this statement at the centre of the chiastic structuring is not to be understood in terms of a static, mono-tendential declaration, but rather as standing in relationship, and therefore having more life. The statement is couched in an "on the one hand...on the other hand", a "both...and". In this it does not, however, seem to be dissolved in relativity[434], but the intention of the text is shown to have

433 Cf. also **A. Di Marco** 1979: "Die chiastische Struktur dient dazu, einigen Ideen Relief zu geben; entweder denen an den äußeren Rändern oder denen im Zentrum oder beiden; gewöhnlich ist der Mittelpunkt der wichtigste" (53). "Der Chiasmus ist keine einfache künstlerische Verschönerung, sondern ein Schlüssel zur Bedeutung, weil die Partien sich gegenseitig erhellen, zueinander komplementär sind" (55). "Der Chiasmus hilft, den Sinn der abhängigen Partien zu verstehen, selbst wenn eine logische Verbindung zwischen ihnen fehlt" (55). "Die Beziehung der chiastischen Partien untereinander ist dem Gesicht im Spiegel vergleichbar: Der zweite Teil bildet eine gewisse Reaktion auf den ersten" (53). "Der Chiasmus hat dynamischen Charakter... Er erreicht, daß eine Ausdrucksform bewegter, weniger statisch wird und eleganter erscheint, oder besser noch, mehr Ausdrucksform erlangt. Er ist also ein Stilmittel, das der Monotonie entgegenwirkt, die der Parallelismus mit sich bringen könnte, indem er Lebendigkeit und Plastizität hinzufügt" (54).

434 To post-modern approaches to exegesis, which understand the meaning of a text as being of necessity dependent on the recipient, or resulting from the interaction of the recipient with the text, it may be objected that the order of a statement can of itself indicate its intention; cf. **Shimon Bar-Efrat**, *Narrative Art in the Bible*, JSOT.S 70. Sheffield: Almond 1989, 10: "The subject-matter, themes and values of the narrative cannot exist separately from the techniques. It is through the techniques that the meaning of the facts of the narrative is determined. Techniques and forms can emphasize or minimize narrative materials, bring a topic into foreground or push it into background."

an outcome made more certain by the central position given to it as it is attested by events which determine its significance, but without these events themselves being forgotten.

Possible approaches to the interpretation of the six units of the Samuel Conclusion from this viewpoint will be developed in this chapter. In this way understanding of the texts will also be gained from the connection inferred with their structural parallels in the Samuel corpus. In this the texts will be approached not in linear sequence, but in rings in accordance with the logic of their chiastic form.

3.1 The Narrative Framework 2 Sam.21.1-14 and 24

"Again the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Israel": with these words the two stories in the narrative framework of the Samuel Conclusion are linked together. The occasion of Yahweh's wrath against Israel was connected with the blameworthiness of the current king. His guilt affects not only his own fate, but the nation represented by the king must also suffer. The nation pays the penalty for the trespasses of its kings—with the distress of a three-year period of famine and with those who die from an epidemic. Over both kings stands Yahweh, who sets bounds to their action, who puts the king to the test and places him under an obligation to uphold what is right and lawful.

3.1.1 Saul in the Samuel Finale

The narrative framework of the concluding chapters provides in summary form a final comparison of Saul and David. What strikes one first is the fact that the two kings should once again be compared with each other in this concluding section at all. Saul's death had been reported and David's rule established long since, and it would surely have been enough for the finale to give a résumé of David. It is not only through the inclusion of the psalms, but also through a final comparison of David and Saul, the two men anointed by Samuel who

together constituted the main content of the book[435], that these texts are shown to be connected to the whole book.

3.1.1.1 Saul in the Three Rings

Both stories of the narrative outer ring take place during the reign of David. Just as in the arrangement of the book, with its two main parts, Saul and David were compared with each other—the one failed at the decisive point, while the other progressed from victory to victory —so this theme recurs once again here in the Samuel Finale. Saul's guilt on the one hand and David's on the other are placed in opposition one to the other. The seriousness of David's guilt is not subordinated to the greatness of Saul's guilt[436]. And for his transgression David might have exceeded the degree of Saul's punishment[437]. The guilt of both was expiated, Saul's through full execution of the punishment, and in the case of David through confession of sin and offering of sacrifice.

If we look at the Samuel Conclusion in its three rings, the name of Saul recurs not only in the account of the famine, but also in the introduction to the psalm in 2 Sam.22: "And David spoke the words of this song on the day when Yahweh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." Saul determines neither the theme nor the content of the psalm, but with this introduction his appearance is not forgotten. Even in the atmosphere of great thankfulness and extensive praise of Yahweh by David there is still an echo of the fears of death which he underwent during his persecution. Saul stands alongside the enemies conquered by David, and at the same time he is distinguished from them. Before the psalm of thanksgiving which theologically summarizes the work of David's life rings out, a glance is directed for the last time at Saul.

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435 Cf. also **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, who sees a parallel in the three divisions he finds in 2 Samuel (chh.1-8; 9-20; 21-24) in that all three begin with a section about Saul's family (2 Sam.1; 9; 21).

436 The equality of punishment is indicated by David's famine of 7 (MT) or 3 (LXX, Chr.) years. Thus the figure 3 or 7 should be seen rather as symbolic; cf. **E. Brunner-Traut** ^{2}1992, 146.

437 The decisive difference lies here in Yahweh's decision in favour of David, and specifically not in an ethical evaluation.

In the intermediate ring Saul's name is not directly mentioned. However, the reference to four slain Philistine giants appears striking. One of them bears the name Goliath, thus unmistakeably referring to David's fight against Goliath[438]. The list of these slain giants is a reminder that it was not possible for Saul to overcome even one of them. Saul was introduced as the biggest man of the nation[439], who "from his shoulders upward" was taller than all the men of Israel. As the "giant of Israel" he showed himself to be powerless in the face of the giant of the Philistines[440]. David killed not just one, but five[441]. The rejoicing of the women at David's victory over Goliath had planted the roots of hatred in Saul, and from then on their ways diverged. The enumeration of four additional slain Philistine giants in the Samuel Finale thus brings a reminder of Saul's failure, even though he is not mentioned by name. If it was the specific duty of the king to bring to fulfilment Yahweh's victory over the Philistines[442], then this enumeration of the slain Philistine giants is for Saul a final devastating testimony. His inability to fulfil his calling is brought for a final time before the eyes of the reader, devoid of any doubt at all, through the four-fold repetition of David's first success.

With this observation Saul is therefore present in all three rings of the Samuel Conclusion. The first unit of each of the three pairs of the chiasmus is clearly characterized by the thought of Saul[443]. In the first ring attention is drawn to the man's suffering on account of his guilt, and in the intermediate one to his failure to carry out the duty committed to him. In the centre the allusion is to his unfounded hatred and enmity against David, and thus against the decision of Yahweh. Thus in the Samuel Finale the three main accusations against Saul

438 Cf. also the similar armour and the origin from Gath (1 Sam.17.4ff). For discussion of the identity of Elhanan and Goliath see the commentaries.

439 As the first information given about Saul in 1 Sam.9.2 after the naming of his family; as mark of his suitability as aspiring king in 10.23 at his nomination.

440 Cf. **R.P. Gordon**, "David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24-26", *TynB* 31 (1980) 37-64 on the typology of Saul in Nabal.

441 According to 2 Sam.21.22 the four victories of his men were understood as being simultaneously David's victories. Cf. below.

442 Cf. 2.3.3.4 above.

443 The binarily opposed text is therefore also to be examined as to its relevance to the portrayal of Saul.

displayed in the texts are taken up once again. The comparison between Saul and David thus not only determines the two main divisions of the book, but is also reflected in the theme which brings the concluding and summarizing note to the book in the six sections of the Conclusion[444]. The things which are stated in the texts about Saul entirely justify his rejection as king and the commissioning of another king, David.

3.1.1.2 Hunger, Death of Offspring, and the Repose of Spirits of the Dead

The focus on Saul in the finale opens with the depiction of a famine[445]. The suffering of the land (21.14) lasted for three years, and took place during the time of David. The king seeks the word of Yahweh[446] concerning it, and receives an answer: the famine is a legacy, a consequence of Saul's guilt in respect of the Gibeonites.

Being hungry and being filled, eating and drinking play a frequently recurring rôle in Samuel[447]. Even in the opening narrative, being unable to eat corresponds to distress and the help of Yahweh to being filled[448]. Yahweh's help, the praises of which are sung by Hannah,

444 All the other OT books have nothing to say about Saul, apart from the parallel, considerably briefer, reference in Chronicles.

445 Cf. **John A. Martin**, "Studies in 1 and 2 Samuel: The Structure of 1 and 2 Samuel", *BS* 14 (1984) 28-42. "Blessing and fertility...came from God in direct proportion to the obedience which the people and ultimately the king...evidenced before God. A study of Samuel's structure indicates that the 'fertility' motif in response to obedience is the key concept in understanding the book" (30).

446 Often referred to in Samuel; Saul: 1 Sam.9.6ff; 10.7,20,22; 14.36ff.—David: 22.9f; 23.2,4,6,9-12; 30.6ff; 2 Sam.2.1; 5.19,23; 21.1. In contrast to David cf. 1 Sam.28.6,15: "When Saul inquired of Yahweh, Yahweh did not answer him, either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets."

447 References to *meals* and *festivals*: 1 Sam.1.4f,8,18; 9.12f; 11.15; 14.27,32ff; 15.9; 16.2; 20.6,24,29,34; 21.7; 25.8ff; 30.16;—2 Sam.6.19; 9.7; 12.3f,16,20; 13.8,27; 16.1f; 17.28f; 19.36. / Detailed descriptions of *food*: 1 Sam.1.24: three-year-old bull, flour, wine;—16.20: bread, kid, skin of wine;—17.17f: parched grain, loaves, cheese;—25.11,18: bread, water, meat—bread, skins of wine, sheep, parched grain, cakes of raisins and figs;—30.11: bread, water, cake of figs, cakes of raisins;—2 Sam.6.19: cake of bread, meat, cake of raisins;—13.8 Tamar's cakes for her sick brother;—16.1: loaves, cakes of raisins, fruits, skin of wine;—17.28: wheat, barley, meal, parched grain, beans, lentils, honey, butter, cow's cheese, ewe's cheese. / Inability to eat and *fasts*: 1 Sam. 1.7; 14.24ff; 20.34; 28.20ff; 30.12; 31.13; 2 Sam.1.12; 12.16ff. / *Times of harvest*: 1 Sam.6.13 wheat harvest; 12.17 wheat harvest; 23.1 cereal harvest; 28.1 sheep-shearing; 2 Sam.13.24 sheep-shearing; 21.9f cereal harvest; 23.13 cereal harvest.

448 1 Sam.1.5,7f,9,18.

includes his intervention on behalf of the weak against the proud: "Those who were full have hired themselves out for bread, but those who were hungry have ceased to hunger." This thought recurs in what is said against the house of Eli[449], and then in the case of Saul and David. Whereas initially Saul was richly endowed with food and possessions[450], his destiny is then reversed. In the face of his impending death he can no longer eat, his grandson Mephibosheth is fed by David, and because of his sin the nation has to suffer hunger[451].

David from Bethlehem (house of bread), on the other hand, starts his journey as a deliverer of provisions[452] (1 Sam.16.20; 7.17f), does not eat with those at Saul's table (20.24f,34), and instead is fed in his distress by the priest Abimelech with sacred bread (21.7). David himself takes under his wing those who are in distress (22.2), receives generously from Abigail for himself and his people (25.18), and is in a position to give away from his surplus (30.26ff)[453]. Even when he is fleeing from Absalom a list is given of extensive supplies of provisions which are placed at his disposal (2 Sam.16.1f; 17.28f). Food represents the blessing which Yahweh is in a position to bestow, while hunger indicates his anger[454].

Saul's legacy from his reign was a starving people, and it is in this way that his retrospect begins in the Samuel Conclusion. If the time "after the death of Saul" was marked by mourning for those who had "fallen by the sword", here the consequences of his reign are elaborated by the reference to the time of hunger and thirst which resulted from his mistaken policies. It was not a rule which stood out as being owned and blessed by Yahweh.

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449 cf. 1 Sam.2.14ff,36: His rejection includes having to beg for bread.

450 In 1 Sam.9.23f he is honoured with rich food; cf. 10.27; 22.7.

451 1 Sam.28.20ff; 2 Sam.9; 21.1.

452 Cf. **D.T. Tsumura**, "*ḥ*^{a}*môr lehem* (1 Sam.xvi.20)", *VT* 42 (1992) 412-414 reads it as a quantity: an "ass's load of bread".

453 1 Sam.30.26-31 gives a list of David's beneficiaries.

454 On the significance of food as an expression of blessing and abundance cf. also **J.G. McConville**, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy*, JSOT.S 33, Sheffield 1984, 81,83.

If the theme of hunger had already been touched upon in Hannah's psalm, so too had that of childlessness: "The barren has borne seven, but she who has many children is forlorn." In the first of the three double lists which mark the new era of Davidic rule[455] the names of David's sons are recorded, divided according to their places of birth at Hebron and Jerusalem. The impressive count of David's progeny[456] stands in contrast to the death of Saul's sons and grandsons. Commencing with his cursing of Jonathan (1 Sam.14.28,44; 20.30,33f), Saul gradually loses his children. Three sons lose their lives with him on Gilboa. The fourth, Ishbosheth, is forsaken by Abner and murdered by his officers. His grandson Mephibosheth accidentally falls and remains physically handicapped. Michal's barrenness is emphasized in 2 Sam.6.23. Finally all Saul's remaining grandsons, apart from Mephibosheth who is lame, die in accordance with the rule of blood vengeance[457].

This final account of Saul's family once again concentrates on its fateful end, its tragedy and inability to find peace in death. Just as the beheaded corpse of Saul and the dead bodies of his three fallen sons had been hanged up in the open air on the city wall of Bethshan, so now it was the case with seven more of his sons. The shameful demise of Saul and his sons who were hanged, ten in all, sets the final seal on Yahweh's verdict on Saul's kingdom. The sinister atmosphere of night on the visit to the necromancer at Endor conveys an impression of the appearances that accompany it: through her fear when she recognizes the king, which imparts a high degree of inner authenticity to the whole scene; the way in which she describes the ghostly apparition of the prophet; the way in which Saul bows down before the spirit of the dead with his face to the earth and falls down; and finally Samuel's gloomy words: "Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?" and his whisper: "Tomorrow you

455 Cf. under 2.1.2.1.

456 In 2 Sam.3.2-5 *six* of his own sons are recorded as being born in Hebron, and in 2 Sam.5.14-16 and 11.27 *twelve* in Jerusalem; the count of twelve is reminiscent of the patriarchal blessing of children, with eleven living and one having to die.

457 The sons of Saul mentioned in the book also total *twelve* (1 Sam.14.49; 31.3; 2 Sam.2.8; 4.4; 21.8); all die, and only one is allowed a surviving progeny. It is clear that the symbolism of numbers also plays a rôle in the accounts of David's and Saul's progeny in Samuel (not so in 1 Chr.8.33ff; 9.35ff; 14.3ff). This symbolism of numbers reached by adding up the references requires the inclusion of the so-called "Appendix".

and your sons shall be with me." The dishonourable nature of his death by hanging[458] and the hopeless, despairing mourning of the survivors is not enough. The sinister fate of unburied spirits of the dead[459], whose corpses are torn apart by the carrion-eating animals of the field and the birds, enhances still further the sense of inconsolability. While the peace of Samuel's spirit had already been disturbed by the medium, the way of death which is referred to gives absolutely no guarantee of any possibility of rest to the spirit of the dead. The brief reference to Rizpah's[460] activities amidst the hanged corpses of her sons for many days and nights[461] adds a further shocking testimony[462] to this tragedy[463].

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458 **Georg Hentschel**, "Die Hinrichtung der Nachkommen Sauls (2 Sam.21.1-14)", *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie*, FS K.-D. Schunck, ed. H.M. Niemann, Frankfurt: P. Lang 1994, 93-116 maintains that it is not a hanging, but a dismemberment in a religious context as in Gn.15.10-18 or Jer.34.18 (97). This would not lessen the effect.

459 **Akio Tsukimoto**, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (*kispim*) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT 216. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercher/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1985: "Daß der Totengeist [*etemmutu(m)*] wegen der Zerstörung des Grabes keine kultische Verpflegung bekommen kann, war für die Mesopotamier seit jeher eine große Beschämung. Es bedeutet gleichzeitig auch für die Nachkommenschaft eine furchtbare Bedrohung, denn die nicht betreuten Totengeister verursachen den Lebenden Unheil. Deshalb hat z.B. Marduk-apla-iddina, als er von Sanherib angegriffen wurde, die Knochen seiner Väter aus den Gräbern gesammelt und ist nur mit diesen Knochen vor Sanherib geflohen" (115).

460 Cf. **Karen Engelken**, *Frauen im AT: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und sozialrechtliche Studie zur Stellung der Frau im AT*, BWANT 7/10, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1990: The description of Rizpah as Saul's *pilegeš* in 2 Sam.21.11 appears significant. According to 2 Sam.12.8 she was not Saul's only concubine, but it is only her sons and those of Merab who were executed (whereas the immediate son of Jonathan was spared). Abner's previous wish to wed her shows clearly her rôle. David's "prompte Reaktion auf ihr demonstratives Verhalten zeigt jedenfalls, daß Rizpa eine einflußreiche Frau war" (84). Dissenting from the majority of expositors, **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 454 reads 2 Sam.21.8 of Michal (with MT) rather than Merab (with LXX^L), cf. his "David und Mikal: Überlegungen zur Jugendgeschichte Davids", idem, *Geschichte, Schicksal, Schuld und Glaube*, BBB 72, Frankfurt: Athenäum 1989, 91-110 [= first edition 1956]; similarly **J.J. Glück**, "Merab or Michal", *ZAW* 77 (1965) 72-81.

461 Irrespective of how long one thinks the period to be, whether from April until October or until an earlier, abnormal rainfall, cf. **R.P. Gordon** 1986, 301.

462 Cf. **Uriel Simon**, "Minor Characters in Biblical Narrative", *JSOT* 46 (1990) 11-19: "In view of biblical narrative's quest for theological understatement and its eschewing of ethical value judgements, it is the minor characters who often provide the key to the message of the story" (18).

463 **Silvia Schroer**, *Die Samuelbücher*, Stuttgart: Kath. Bibelwerk 1992, 190 considers that in this there should be seen "ein Memento für eine bemerkenswerte israelitische Frau" in the face of "der kalt berechnenden Grausamkeit patriarchaler Politik".

Hannah's words about the "broken bow of the *gibbōrîm*", about the "full, who beg for bread" and about "those who are rich in children, who pine away" are borne out in the example of Saul and his family. It is Yahweh's action which seals the fate of this family. He also has power over the realm of the dead: "Yahweh kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up." The hard path followed by Saul (*Šā'ûl*) and his progeny into the realm of the dead (*šᵉ'ôl*) thus appears as the expression of Yahweh's sovereign dealing with those whom he has rejected.

3.1.1.3 Tribal Rights Override Royal Rights

Saul's guilt relates to the breach of a *bᵉrîṯ* with the Gibeonites. In this—the reasons are not spelled out—he had transgressed against the rules of the tribal community[464]. He is not allowed to do this, even as king. When he did not carry out the ban against the nation of the Amalekites, which was due according to the same legal requirements, he was rejected as king. His violation of the covenant with the Gibeonites now costs him the lives of seven sons.

Through the arrangement of the books of Samuel the liberation from Philistine oppression is shown to be of central significance for the very coming into being of the kingdom. Saul failed in this duty, in that he was unable to conquer them. Instead of this the distress continues, and at the end of Saul's reign there are numerous further slain to be mourned[465].

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464 For what lay behind the deed which is here assumed: cf. **A. Malamat**, "Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel", *VT* 5 (1955) 1-12; **Joseph Blenkinsopp**, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel*, SOTSMS 2, Cambridge 1972; idem, "Did Saul make Gibeon his Capital?", *VT* 24 (1974) 1-7; **M.A. Patrick**, *Gibeah: The Search for a Biblical City*, JSOT.S 79, Sheffield 1990; **H. Cazelles**, "David's Monarchy and the Gibeonite Claim: II Sam.XXI, 1-14", *PEQ* 87 (1955) 165-175; **Jan Dus**, "Gibeon—eine Kultstätte des ShMSh und die Stadt des Benjaminitischen Schicksals", *VT* 10 (1960) 353-374; **F.C. Fensham**, "The Treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites", *BA* 27 (1964) 96-100; **K.-D. Schunck**, *Benjamin*, BZAW 86. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 1963; idem, "König Saul—Etappen seines Weges zum Aufbau eines israelitischen Staates", *BZ* 36NF/2 (1992) 195-206; **Stanley D. Walters**, "Saul of Gibeon", *JSOT* 52 (1991) 61-76; **Stephen Yonick**, *Rejection of Saul as King in Israel, According to 1 Sam.15: Stylistic Study in Theology*, Jerusalem 1970.

465 Cf. 1 Sam.23.1,27; 28.1,19; 31.1; 2 Sam.1.12.

Saul himself and three of his sons fall to the Philistines, and Israel is vanquished. Saul's inability to fulfil his principal duty gives grounds to look for someone else, and yet it cannot be directly regarded as his fault. Even if others like Samuel and Jonathan and then David who trusted in Yahweh were thoroughly in a position to drive back the Philistines, the reference to the imbalance of armour in 1 Sam.13.19 points in the direction of understanding for Saul[466].

However, the thing for which the blame is entirely ascribed to Saul is his violation of the traditional tribal rights[467]. These include the ancient traditonal requirements of holy war concerning the carrying out of a ban against the Amalekites[468]. It is in this context that his rejection[469] takes place. Here in the Samuel Conclusion there is added a further, equally serious violation of rights on the part of Saul, his disregard of ancient covenant obligations with respect to the Gibeonites. Saul's guilt with regard to traditional tribal rights is thus verified in the concluding section with a second example[470]. The tragedy of his

466 Even though, on the other hand, in the context of the failure to deal with the Philistines in 1 Sam.13.9-14 and 14.32-35 it is true that two examples of deficiencies in the carrying out of worship are specifically mentioned.

467 Cf. **R. Neu** 1992, 288: "Unter David geht die politische Organisationsform der Anarchie und Autonomie unwiderruflich verloren—nicht jedoch das Gleichheitsbewußtsein. Die Orientierung an Gleichheitsnormen läßt sich außer an den Aufständen an einer zentralen Einrichtung gesellschaftlichen Lebens beobachten, in der sie noch lange Zeit ungebrochen lebendig blieb: im *Rechtswesen*. Die Abkoppelung der Rechtssprechung vom Verwandtschaftssystem und ihre Vereinnahmung durch die Zentralinstanz erfordert deshalb nicht nur eine staatliche Gerichtsbarkeit, sondern die Herausbildung einer gänzlich neuen Rechtsauffassung... Schon aus diesem Grunde ist davon auszugehen, daß die Orientierung an Gleichheitsnormen in diesem Bereich gesellschaftlichen Lebens am nachhaltigsten wirksam bleibt."

468 The taking of vengeance, especially blood vengeance, points to the duty of carrying out the legal requirements based on family relationships. If the ban as a form of collective vengeance is to be regarded as a mandatory judicial act, its omission violates the collective sense of justice; cf. **R. Neu** 1992, 291.

469 Cf. i.a. **S. Yonick**, *Rejection of Saul as King in Israel, According to 1 Sam.15: Stylistic Study in Theology*, Jerusalem 1970; **Fritz Stolz**, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege*, Zürich: TVZ 1972, 136 on 1 Sam.15: "Es ist deutlich, daß der Text in seiner vorliegenden Gestalt die schließliche Niederlage Sauls theologisch zu deuten sucht"; **M. Sternberg**, "The Bible's Art of Persuasion: Ideology, Rhetoric, and Poetics in Saul's Fall", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 54 (1983) 45-82, reproduced in: Paul R. House, d., *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in OT Literary Criticism*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1992, 234-271.

470 On the principle of two-fold testimony cf. Num.35.30; Dt.17.6; Is.8.2.

house[471] and the violation of the ordinances of the tribal community, the keeping of which is watched over by Yahweh[472], are portrayed as corresponding to each other.

In the form of punishment for Saul's transgression the concepts of justice of the tribal community are also brought to bear. The requisite fulfilment of the atoning blood vengeance in order to restore *ṣ^edāqâh* was clearly not possible for the Gibeonites themselves, as a dependent people within Israel. It is only David as king who can guarantee the exercise with impunity of this right[473]. Whereas Saul blatantly broke the traditional ordinances, David appears as the one who is prepared to ensure their application. Thus he plays the rôle of the king under whom *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^edāqâh* are accomplished in accordance with traditional concepts of justice and the will of Yahweh himself, contrary to the demands of a new right of the king. It does not belong to the king's rights to abolish unilaterally ancient covenant obligations, and they are to be upheld, even with respect to the Gibeonites, who are clearly described as Amorite people[474]. These ordinances thus appear to be superior even to the king. Saul broke them, whereas David acts within their parameters.

The fact that, on the other hand, the application of the domestic policy of removing possible claimants to the throne from Saul's family could not but be laid at David's door, is not a theme which is dealt with in the text. Alongside the overriding justification of the action in terms of expiating Yahweh's wrath against Saul's covenant-breaking, there is at the same

471 On the interpretation of Saul's destiny as classical tragedy cf. **J. Cheryl Exum & J. William Whedbee**, "Isaac, Samson and Saul: Reflections on the Comic and Tragic Visions", *Sem* 32 (1984) 5-40.

472 According to **V.P. Long** 1989, 237 there lies behind it, at a deeper theological level, the idea that "the more basic wrong is his disobedience to the word of Yahweh through the prophet", and thus the lack of a "clear demonstration of Saul's willingness to accept a circumscribed royal authority—to rule—in other words—as a vassal of Yahweh" (239).

473 According to **Samuel E. Loewenstamm**, "The Laws of Adultery and Murder in Biblical and Mesopotamian Law", idem *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literature*, AOAT 204. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercken / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1980, 146-153. The matter of the appropriateness of the degree of punishment with regard to prevailing concepts of justice can only be a matter of speculation, as can that of the degree of actual guilt. Blood vengeance was the duty of the *gō'ēl*.

474 Cf. **A.H. van Zyl**, "Israel and the Indigenous Population of Canaan according to the Books of Samuel", *Studies in the Book of Samuel*, ed. idem, Pretoria 1960, 67-80.

time a reminder of David's own covenant loyalty towards Jonathan[475]. With the mention of the sparing of Mephibosheth there is a reminder of the *ḥesed* shown towards him[476].

As well as this, David is concerned that there should be an appropriate burial of all those who have been killed in the family tomb. The fact that in doing this Saul's descendants were given the title of the *mûqā'îm* (hanged) focuses the attention on the dishonourable nature of their death[477]. In contrast to this their dignified burial by David stands out as an extraordinarily magnanimous gesture[478]. It can only be ascribed to David's charity that the sons of Saul in their death should be able to rest in their family tomb at all, something to which those who had been hanged had no claim.

With Saul's reign thus finally summed up as a sinful one which dragged him and his family to their deaths, David appears in contrast as an upright king who is prepared at Yahweh's behest to uphold the law, even with regard to Amorites. At the same time David remains, again in contrast to Saul, bound to the covenant obligations entered into by him with respect to Jonathan, and shows himself, measured against the opportunities for the despotic exercise of power, remarkably magnanimous to the family of Saul.

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475 The tension with David's oath to Saul not to exterminate his family (1 Sam.24.22f) should not be overlooked. The threefold mention of Jonathan's covenant with David (1 Sam.18.3; 20.8-17.41; 23.16-18) corresponds to the threefold reference to David's kindness towards Mephibosheth (2 Sam.9.3; 19.29f; 21.7).

476 It is interesting here that in the literary context this story is to be regarded as already known, whereas in the historical the reverse order makes more sense (2 Sam.9.1a).

477 With the *citizens of Jabesh* in 2 Sam.21.12 there rings out for the last time a further sub-theme of the book: their liberation was recounted in 1 Sam.11 as the only successful act of Saul, and this was the reason for their loyalty to the family of Saul in 1 Sam.31.11ff. This earned the respect of David in 2 Sam.2.4-7, and here for the last time it is again appreciated. The mention of Jabesh thus stands at the beginning and end of the rule of both Saul and David.—**Wolfgang Zwickel**, "1 Sam.31,12f und der Quadratbau auf dem Flughafengelände von Amman", *ZAW* 105 (1993) 165-174 argues on the basis of archæological discoveries of cremation at moderate temperatures that only the limbs were buried, which would make possible an easy reburial. David appears as the one in charge of the affairs of Saul's family.

478 Cf. **J.P. Fokkelman** *NAPS* III, 1990, 292: David, "inspired by the impressive mother, switches to an *imitatio* of the Jabeshites and at the same time gives back the seven their honour and repose. By doing this he achieves what Rizpah wanted to do but could not. David completes her pious work and that is an amazing and atoning form of conjunctiveness".

3.1.2 David's Census 2 Sam.24

3.1.2.1 David's Sin

In the second text of the outer ring Saul no longer plays a direct rôle. David's imperium already stands at the zenith of its power. The geographical borders of the national census far exceed the narrow situation of Saul's time, and include all the Canaanite cities, which are now counted in with Israel and Judah[479].

The essential parallels with 2 Sam.21 relate to Yahweh's anger and his change of attitude, the blame attaching to the king and the consequences of this for the nation. It is a matter of debate what is to be regarded as wrong with David's census. The text itself indicates neither the purpose of the measure nor its blameworthiness[480]. The assessment of military strength or the search for opportunities for taxation or recruiting for the royal labour service must be regarded as reasons for holding a national census. If a census of the people in order to register their military strength was a possible part of the tradition of Israel, then at the beginning of the monarchy the two other factors might certainly also have played a rôle. The opposition to David which had been widely attested in the nation with the rebellions of Absalom and Sheba might perhaps also have found its justification in the burdens brought about by David's building works in Jerusalem and in the fortification of the land[481].

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479 On the analysis of the geographical list cf. **Yohanan Aharoni**, *Das Land der Bibel: Eine historische Geographie*, Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener 1984 (= *The Land of the Bible*, ^{2}1979), 303-306. **T.N.D. Mettinger** 1971, 133 sees in the annexation of the formerly Canaanite regions the justification for the census. Cf. **Thomas Willi**, "Die alttestamentliche Prägung des Begriffs *'erez israel*' ", *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie*, FS K.-D. Schunck, ed. Hermann Michael Niemann, Frankfurt: P. Lang 1994, 387-397, who stresses in the case of Samuel "daß es beim 'Land Israel' primär um von israelitischen Geschlechtern und Familien bewohnte Gebiete, nicht um ein durch Grenzen festgelegtes Territorium geht" (389).

480 The measure itself receives a threefold condemnation: by Joab, David's conscience, and the prophet Gad.

481 Thus **Frank Crüsemann**, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum: die antiköniglichen Texte des AT und der Kampf um den frühen israelitischen Staat*, WMANT 49, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1978. **F. Crüsemann** points out the instances of opposition to David reported in the texts, which he sees as having their foundation on the one hand in the bloody seizure of power, including the extermination of the Saulites which is blamed on David (1 Sam.17.27; 27.11; 19.17; 2 Sam.16.7; 21; cf. 1 Chr.22.8), and on the other hand in the realm of social politics with taxation by the monarchy and forced labour for the

The differences[482] which can be established between the two structuring lists of ministers might contain a clue to such changes brought about by domestic politics. It is notable that the second list, which follows Sheba's revolt and precedes the concluding chapters, mentions the appointment of an organizer of state forced labour. In the arrangement, the king's name only appears in connection with a priest last on the list[483], and the cabinet is led from the military side with Joab at the head. It is no longer a matter of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^{e}dāqâh* as summing up the duty of those who rule. If the administration is to be seen as a portrayal of the state, then there might be indicated here the changed climate of domestic politics following the rebellions. The power of the military, which asserts itself in the carrying out of the murders of Absalom and Amasa against the clearly expressed will of the king, and the

central state's building projects. In the case of Absalom the whole of Israel turns against David, and under Sheba a division between Judah and Israel becomes evident, presumably on account of the privileges accruing to that tribe for family reasons (in respect of taxation and the obligation to forced labour). The census as reported thus appears as a possible contributory factor in the broad support given by the people to Absalom's rebellion, and would in that case precede it chronologically; **K.W. Whitelam**, "Israelite Kingship: The Royal Ideology and its Opponents", *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, anthropological and political Perspectives*, Cambridge: CUP 1989, 119-139 names as the source of opposition to the kingdom on the one hand those "who had the most to lose from the structural transformations", and on the other hand and distinct from them forces within the new nobility: "These struggles for power, which draw upon popular unrest for their support, are not attempts to reform or replace kingship with some other form of socio-political organisation, but attempts to usurp royal power" (121).

482 As well as the significant differences in the order (cf. under 3.2.2.3), in the second list (20.23-26) there is no reference to David's rule in terms of *ṣ^{e}dāqâh* and *mišpāṭ*. Instead of an artistic chiastic structure like that in 8.15-18 there is only a simple listing, perhaps in order of rank in a centralized public body. The two military leaders are given the first place, followed by a new "ministry" for forced labour. It is only after that that the civil administration is mentioned, and finally the priests.

483 Cf. **Carl Edwin Armerding**, "Were David's Sons Really Priests?", *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation*, FS M.C. Tenney, ed. G.F. Hawthorne, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1975, 75-86. Armerding sees the priestly function of David's sons in the tradition of a family priestly office, which in addition to that described in Jdg.17.5-10 could be exercised at family sacrifices such as that mentioned in 1 Sam.20.29. The reference to a Davidic priestly office according to the order of Melchizedek (Ps.110.4) independent of the Aaronic ark-priesthood is seen as a further indication of an autonomous priestly function for David's sons, which is bound up with the tradition of the pre-Israelite city-kings of Jerusalem. This familial priestly duty is seen as having been exercised later in the case of the house of David by the priest Ira instead of by his sons. Here Armerding sees a parallel with Jdg.17.5,10.—A different view is taken by **Gordon J. Wenham**, "Were David's Sons Priests?", *ZAW* 87 (1975) 79-82, who rather suspects that behind the reference there lies a secular representative function; thus earlier **W.W. Grafen Baudissin**, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, Leipzig: Hirzel 1889, 191.—For **Saul Olyan**, "Zadok's Origins and the tribal politics of David", *JBL* 101 (1982) 177-193, this list represents the period following Abṣalom's rebellion: "Through Abiathar, the interests of northern Mushites were represented; southern Aaronid interests were personified in Zadok and finally in Ira, the interests of the Kenite priesthood in Caleb and possibly north Judah were represented" (193).

imposition of the requirements for state building projects, might have been regarded as an outrageous innovation of the age of monarchy, and contributed to a considerable deterioration in the climate of domestic politics. If this suggestion is valid, then in David's census there is shown with unmistakeable clarity the negative aspect of kingship, which Samuel had already warned the people about[484].

Although such suggestions are plausible, the text indicates a different direction of thought, in that it lays stress on David's guilt in the sight of Yahweh. It is a matter not of the people's reluctance, but of Yahweh's anger. The giving of the final sum of the men "who drew the sword" (2 Sam.24.9) indicates the context of military battle strength. Against the background of Israelite traditions of the sacral war, the numbering of the armed forces of Israel in a time of peace will have been understood as a sinful deed[485]. Other examples make it clear that in time of war such numbering would be accepted as the normal practice[486].

On the basis of parallels in Mari, Ugarit and ancient Rome Moshe Weinfeld[487] points out that in connection with a census of the army there take place parallel rites of purification. "The reason for the apotropaic rites which accompany the census is that by counting the people

484 Cf. 1 Sam.8.11ff; 9.20; 12.3. **T.N.D. Mettinger** 1971, 132f emphasizes that the institution of forced labour dates from the time of David, although apart from 2 Sam.12.31 the texts give no clue to what form it took; he assumes, therefore, that it referred to the defeated Canaanite population.

485 Cf. **G.v. Rad**, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1951, 37ff.; **Manfred Weippert**, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu G.v. Rads Konzept des 'heiligen Krieges im alten Israel'", *Babylonien und Israel: Historische, Religiöse und Sprachliche Beziehungen*, ed. H.-P. Müller, Darmstadt: WBG 1991, 259-300 [= *ZAW* 84 (1972) 460-493]; **Millard C. Lind**, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*, Scottdale, PE: Herald 1980; cf. **V.P. Long** 1989, 109f "Excursus on 'holy war'"; **R. Rendtorff**, "Nach vierzig Jahren: Vier Jahrzehnte selbsterlebte alttestamentliche Wissenschaft in Heidelberg und anderswo", *Kanon und Theologie*, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1991, 29-39 describes Von Rad's self-mocking evaluation of the concept of the holy war (because of the link with Noth's *Amphiktyonie* hypothesis), when Klaus Koch enthusiatically developed the idea: "Genügt es nicht, wenn einer spinnt?" (37).

486 Cf. 1 Sam.11.8 (300,000 from Israel, 30,000 from Judah) and 15.4 (200,000 from Israel, 10,000 from Judah); 1 Sam.14.17 and 2 Sam.2.30 show clearly that it was the accepted practice to give exact numbers of those involved in battles; cf. Ex.30.11f.

487 **Moshe Weinfeld**, "The Census in Mari, in Ancient Israel and in Ancient Rome", *Storia e Tradizioni di Israele*, FS J.A. Soggin, ed. Daniele Garrone & Felice Israel, Brescia: Paideia 1991, 293-298; cf. **K. Luke**, "Light from Mari on David's Census [2 Sam.21.1-14; 24]", *Indian Journal of Theology* 32 (1983) 70-89.

before war, the counted are—as it were—exposed to death in the campaign; the sacrifices come to prevent it" (298). Ex.30.11ff also refers to such a practice. There this purpose is served by an offering of money placed at the disposal of the sanctuary, which is clearly instead of a sacrifice of atonement. "It seems that David was negligent with observance of the old cultic practice of census and the author wants to show that he was punished for this" (297). The special purification requirements for conscripted soldiers are also mentioned by McCarter: "A soldier was consecrated before battle (Jos.3.5), the battle camp was kept ritually clean (Dt.23.10-15) etc. Once enrolled in a census, therefore, an Israelite was subject to military rules of purity. Any infraction could lead to disastrous results."[488] This interpretation also fits in with the final absolution by means of a sacrifice.

That what lies behind 2 Sam.24 is the fact that the cultic rules for the carrying out of a census had not been observed is also the conclusion reached by Adrian Schenker[489]. Thus David's guilt is measured in terms not of the reaction of the people who are being counted, but of his behaviour in relationship to Yahweh's right of ownership of his people[490], when Yahweh had not commissioned him to carry out the census. What is in question is the superiority of Yahweh's kingship over that of David. If this interpretation of the nature of David's sin is accepted as valid, then the questioning of the institution of kingship which is found in 1 Sam.8 and 12 is taken up for a last time here in the Samuel Conclusion. According to this it is not permitted to the king, who rules by the will and approbation of Yahweh, to act autonomously with regard to the people who are Yahweh's possession. Even as king he remains subject to the one who is the real Sovereign, Yahweh. He is not king alongside, in opposition to or in the place of Yahweh, he can only be king under Yahweh.

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488 **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 517; cf. also 1 Sam.21.5; 2 Sam.11.11 Uriah's behaviour. Also Saul's oaths in 1 Sam.14.28 and 11.7 must be seen as an additional intensification of the normal requirements.

489 **Adrian Schenker**, *Der Mächtige im Schmelzofen des Mitleids: Eine Interpretation von 2 Sam 24*, Göttingen 1982, 18 Anm 26. **A. Schenker** feels that the guilt lies in the non-payment of the ransom, behind which the providence of Yahweh is then to be seen as of abiding expiatory significance in the donation of the altar which follows.

490 The concept of Yahweh's *heritage* (1 Sam.26.19; 2 Sam.20.19; 21.3) defines the land theologically, and gives expression to the close relationship of Yahweh to his people.

3.1.2.2 Yahweh's People: Quantity or Quality

It appears significant for the structure of Samuel that right at the beginning the plague was inflicted as Yahweh's punishment upon the Philistines. The context of 1 Sam.4-7 itself had illustrated the fact that Yahweh was not dependent on large numbers, as Moshe Garsiel comments[491]: "The meaning of the narrative block as a whole is therefore fairly clear—the God of Israel is the supreme ruler. When the people's leaders become corrupt, their leadership fails and Israel is discomfited in war; even the Ark's presence in the camp cannot prevent the terrible overthrow. God, however, does not need an army or leaders in order to smite the Philistines and their gods, but can do so alone and compel them to return the Ark."

The fact that the quantity of soldiers in the army and Yahweh's ability to give victory do not correspond to each other is subsequently picked out as a theme on many occasions in Samuel[492]. While Saul allowed himself to be intimidated as the number of his warriors decreased, Jonathan trusted in Yahweh, to whom it was not difficult to save "by many or by few". With this attitude two Israelites overcome twenty Philistines (1 Sam.14.6,14), and the shepherd-boy David goes out against the heavily armoured Goliath armed only with a shepherd's sling. The reference to Yahweh's ability to work by means of pestilences, which marks out the beginning and the ending of the books of Samuel, emphasizes this characteristic of the people of Yahweh not being dependent upon military quantity. "Not by might shall a man prevail... Yahweh...will give strength to his king", Hannah had already sung at the beginning of the book.

491 **Moshe Garsiel** 1985, 54.

492 For the fact that numbers in Yahweh's war are not decisive, cf. 1 Sam.4.7; 14.14ff; 17.45ff; Jdg.7.7-12,22f.

It was trusting in numbers instead of in Yahweh which cost Saul the kingdom (1 Sam.13.11-14). Here David stands in the same danger. Thus in his guilt he stands level with Saul, and not only through the comparison with 2 Sam.21. The angel of death works destruction in the land from "Dan to Beersheba"[493]. Nothing can resist him. For his sin Saul lost seven sons, and on account of David's guilt seventy thousand die[494].

There is no reason not to understand the three punishments which were set forth for David to choose from as being equal[495]. It is rather that the trio of hunger, plague and pursuit/war represent the possible ways in which God was able to act[496]. All three classic punishments are documented in Samuel as action taken by Yahweh against the king, with one example of each: the two punishments of hunger and plague in the Samuel Conclusion, and that of pursuit previously in the story of Absalom. Yahweh's sovereignty is also to be respected by the Israelite king, otherwise Yahweh shows himself as capable and willing to intervene. In so doing Yahweh does not come out against kingship as such, but reserves to himself the possibility of bringing to an end abuse of power and a kingship which is autonomous.

3.1.2.3 The Altar in Jerusalem

The chapter opened in a striking way by noting that it was Yahweh himself who incited David's census. Just as in 1 Sam.26.19 the possibility was expressed from the lips of David that Yahweh can tempt someone to do what is evil, here this is directly portrayed as being done. David's sinful behaviour is not excused by this, but for the reader he appears to be somewhat exonerated personally, as not just the one who commits sin, but also the one who

493 Cf. the correspondence between 24.2 (the boundaries of the census) and 24.15 (the area of the plague). The same area was covered by Samuel's activity as judge (1 Sam.3.20) and Absalom's following (2 Sam.17.11).

494 Thus recalling the relationship between 1000 and 10,000 (1 Sam.18.7; 21.12; 29.5).

495 To assess the relative values of the punishments appears arbitrary: e.g. **G.v. Rad** 1987, 330 saw in the plague the severest punishment, which had been selflessly chosen, **A. Schenker** 1982, saw it as the one which was the least severe for David himself, sparing him at the cost of the people. Cf. the text-critical variants in the degree of punishment (3 or 7 years of drought, etc.).

496 Cf. Lv.26.23-26; Dt.32.23-25.

is tempted to sin. No reason is given for this reference to Yahweh's anger against Israel as the occasion of his inciting David to evil[497]. The fact that Yahweh was justified in doing this may be assumed. The responsibility for the consequent distress in the land as a result of the plague thus lies not only upon David, but at the same time upon this occasion taken by Yahweh, not directly stated but implicitly to be assumed, to execute his wrath against Israel.

All the initiatives in the section originate from Yahweh himself. Yahweh prompts David in his action (2 Sam.24.1), he commissions the prophet Gad (24.11), he sends the angel of death (24.15) and initiates the building of the altar (24.19). The surprising turn in events, too, is ordained by God even before David has prayed for it (24.16). It is the sight of Jerusalem which leads Yahweh to intervene. While David's request for the plague angel to strike him and his house instead of the people[498] is influenced by his sympathy with his people[499], there is no mention of this in respect of Yahweh's pre-emptive intervention. What moves Yahweh to stay his hand is not compassion for the people suffering from the pestilence, but the view of the city of Jerusalem. The whole land from "Dan to Beersheba" was not able to produce such a reaction. Only when the angel of death reaches the border of the city of Jerusalem does Yahweh himself determine that the epidemic should end. At the place where the angel of death was denied entry to Jerusalem Yahweh ordains, as imparted through the prophet Gad, the erection of an altar in order to avert further punishment. David's rôle in this remains a clearly passive one. Yahweh, having demonstrated by means of the pestilence his power and his readiness to execute judgment upon Israel, also himself establishes the city of Jerusalem, and within it the place for the offering which is intended to turn away his wrath.

497 For the reasons suggested in the course of the history of exposition (the behaviour of the people at the rebellion of Absalom and Sheba, or the continuing wrath on account of Saul's blood-guilt) cf. **A. Schenker** 1982, 50ff. The theory of **Shamei Gelander**, *David and his God: Religious Ideas as Reflected in Biblical Historiography and Literature*, JBS 5, Jerusalem: Simor 1991, according to which David has here civilized a characteristically unpredictable desert god, is hardly convincing, cf. the recension of **Eva Osswald**, *ThLZ* 118 (1993) 505-506, who acknowledges that he has certainly read too much into the texts.

498 By the use of the metaphor "sheep" they are understood to be the flock for which David knows himself to be responsible as their "shepherd". Thus the motif of "David the shepherd" from the beginning (1 Sam.16.11,19; 17.15,28,34-37) recurs here in a figurative sense at the end (2 Sam.24.17).

499 Taken up by **A. Schenker** 1982 in the title, *Der Mächtige im Schmelzofen des Mitleids*, and regarded as the central motif of the text.

The detailed description of the negotiations for the purchase of the threshing-floor provides documentary evidence of the legality of the purchase of the land. The acquisition is from a Jebusite, which means that until that time the piece of ground did not belong to the inalienable heritage of Yahweh[500]. The name of the previous owner is given as Araunah[501], which is a non-Israelite name[502]. The negotiations for ownership take place according to the custom of the country and are of unquestionable legality. David exerts no compulsion, on the contrary the original owner blesses the new occupier after completion of the negotiations for purchase. The purchase price which has been paid is confirmed[503]. This carefully documented legality of the transaction[504], together with the supernatural designation of the location as a holy place, at which Yahweh graciously turned away the punishment[505], and the prophetic instruction, show David's building of the altar in Jerusalem to be the essential feature of the chapter. The city of Jerusalem and, within the city, the place of the altar, are here portrayed as chosen by Yahweh himself. This takes place in marked contrast to what befell the people from "Dan to Beersheba", who had given Yahweh cause for his anger.

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500 Cf. **Robert P. Gordon** 1988, 296 on the concept of the heritage in 2 Sam.20.19: "Israel as a whole is viewed as God's heritage in 1 Samuel 26.19 and 2 Samuel 21.3. This may be the sense in 14.16, and possibly here. To destroy Abel, then, would be to impair the integrity of the community of Israel."

501 There remains too little evidence to conclude on the basis of the reference in 24.23a "Araunah gave *hammelek lammelek*" that Araunah had been the last king of Jerusalem; the text may have been corrupted.

502 To be regarded as Hurite or Hittite, cf. **R.P. Gordon** 1988, 512.

503 If the similarity to Abraham's purchase of land from the Hittites in Gn.23 extends not only to the phases of the negotiation (offer of free use, refusal, negotiations for purchase, payment with the making of a contract), but also applies to the theological significance, then just as in the case of Abraham the acquisition of the land symbolized the future possession of the promised land, so here the acquisition of the threshing-floor for an altar to Yahweh might already anticipate the future significance of Jerusalem as the city of God.

504 Cf. **Fritz Stolz**, *Tempel und Zelt*, WMANT 47, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1977, 18: "Samuel hatte in...Rama einen Altar errichtet..., von Saul wird ein Altarbau in 1. Sam 14,35 mitgeteilt. David steht also mit seinem Altarbau in Jerusalem in einer langen Reihe von Vorgängern. Die starke Betonung des rechtmäßigen Erwerbs des Dreschplatzes durch David schließt die Annahme aus, daß der Ort dieses Altares bereits eine jebusitische Kultstätte gewesen sei."

505 That 2 Sam.7.10 speaks of a *māqôm* for the people of Israel, where they can live free of fear, can also be understood on the basis of Dt.12.5: "We may understand the noun *maqom* as a place where a deity 'arises', i.e., where he manifests himself. It refers to a shrine or other place of epiphany often elsewhere in the Bible" (**P.K. McCarter** 1984, 203). A different view is taken by **D.F. Murray**, "*MQWM* and the Future of Israel in 2 Samuel VII 10", *VT* 40 (1990) 289-320.

Araunah's wish for blessing upon David in 24.23 corresponds to David's own wish in 21.3 to be blessed by the Gibeonites. In both texts non-Israelites are involved. The founding of the altar in Jerusalem encourages the assumption of a corresponding attempt by Saul to establish a central Israelite sanctuary in Gibeon on account of the blood-guilt of 21.1[506]. If this assumption is valid, then in both texts along with the wrath of Yahweh, the guilt of the king, the blessing on the part of non-Israelites, and the people in distress, there would also be an important point of contrast in the matter of the place of the sanctuary. The altar in Jerusalem would then correspond to the sanctuary in Gibeon[507]. It was there that the fate of Saul's family was decided through their execrable death by hanging at the hands of the Gibeonites. The founding of the altar[508] in Jerusalem by David is put down to the initiative of Yahweh himself, and through the atoning sacrifice makes possible the survival of David's dynasty. It is Jerusalem, and not the mountain of God in Gibeon, which is the place ordained by Yahweh for the king to draw near to him.

Although the people are afflicted by the pestilence from "Dan to Beersheba", it is only the sight of this city of Jerusalem which moves Yahweh to abate his anger and turn again in mercy to the whole people. The foundation of this altar in Jerusalem is thus to be understood as giving cultic form to the will of Yahweh to show mercy[509]. The census

506 Cf. **Joseph Blenkinsopp**, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel*, SOTSMS 2, Cambridge 1972; idem, "Did Saul make Gibeon his Capital?", *VT* 24 (1974) 1-7; **K.-D. Schunck**, *Benjamin*, BZAW 86, Berlin/New York: W.D. Gruyter 1963; idem, "König Saul—Etappen seines Weges zum Aufbau eines israelitischen Staates", *BZ* 36NF/2 (1992) 195-206. **J. Wellhausen**, *Composition* ^{3}1899 had already pointed out the parallels between the holy cities.

507 On Gibeon cf. 1 Kgs 3.4 the attribute *habāmāh hag^{e}dôlāh*; cf. **K.-D. Schunck**, "König Saul—Etappen seines Weges zum Aufbau eines israelitischen Staates", *BZ* 36NF/2 (1992) 195-206: "So führen 1Chr 21,29 wie auch 2Chr 1,3 übereinstimmend aus, daß sich im großen Höhenheiligtum von Gibeon die Wohnung Jahwes, womit das heilige Zelt aus der Wüstenzeit gemeint ist, befand, und die alte, durchaus glaubwürdige Überlieferung von 1Chr 16,39 ergänzt das noch durch die Mitteilung, daß der später an der Lade in Jerusalem amtierende Priester Zadok in der Anfangszeit Davids Priester am Höhenheiligtum von Gibeon war. Diese Verbindung Zadoks mit den beiden Heiligtümern von Gibeon und Jerusalem ist sehr aufschlußreich: Offenbar sollte die Versetzung Zadoks von Gibeon nach Jerusalem...die Übertragung des Ranges als Zentralheiligtum vom großen Heiligtum in Gibeon an das Heiligtum der Lade in Jerusalem manifestieren" (204).

508 The establishment of the altar is to be distinguished from the building of the temple or the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem.

509 Cf. **A. Schenker** 1982.

portrays the king as committing sin. Taken together with Uriah's murder and the adultery with his wife, we have here too a two-fold testimony to David's grave transgressions. Both contexts of guilt agree in showing that David does not excel as king through any supernatural quality. His kingship does not impart any divinity to him. He needs atonement for his transgression. The choice of Jerusalem by Yahweh himself emphasizes, moreover, his readiness to forgive, by means of an altar at the place which he himself has designated.

Thus in the finale of Samuel Jerusalem is implicitly portrayed as the city which Yahweh has chosen. This consists on the one hand in its binary comparison in the ring-structure as the alternative to Gibeon, and on the other hand looking at the structure of the whole book in its replacing of Shiloh as the place of origin for Yahweh's decisive acts. The conquest of Jerusalem and the building of palaces there under overall foreign control was mentioned as the first indication of Davidic rule over all Israel[510]. After that, in the chiastic centre of the thematic main part of the book Jerusalem appeared as the place where the ark of the Shiloh tradition found its setting. Yahweh's liberty to act independently is emphasized in David's being forbidden to build a temple, combined at the same time with the promise that the dynasty would continue. In 2 Sam.24, too, it is Yahweh's sovereign decision to establish the altar of atonement in Jerusalem and to recognize that place[511]. The high cultic significance of Jerusalem is thus doubly authenticated, by the altar as Yahweh's initiative and by the presence of the ark as bearer of the most important traditions of the people[512].

The revocation by prophetic utterance of the continuance of the covenant with the Shiloh priesthood (1 Sam.2.27ff) assumed that a new vocation was to be expected. With the choice of the new place of sacrifice and David's building of the altar the conditions for this are

510 As a literary sequence, it is not to be confused with an historical-chronological one, cf. 2.2.3.

511 Cf. **David F. Payne**, *I & II Samuel*, Philadelphia: Westminster 1982, 276: "The books of Samuel leave the reader, then, with a picture of peace after storm (looking back) and of God's continuing presence (looking to the future), symbolized in the place of his choosing. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this..."

512 **J. Rosenberg** 1987, 139 wants to see in the name Araunah an allusion to the ark: "The Ark of the Covenant is not mentioned, but the name Araunah echoes the word *'ārôn* ('ark'), and 2 Samuel thus ends where 1 Samuel began: with a stable and functioning shrine, albeit a troubled and haunted one."

fulfilled. The rejection and destruction of Shiloh in the introductory section of the book and the choosing of Jerusalem in the concluding section thus form a further enclosure tying the final chapters in with the remainder of the book. After the destruction of Shiloh sacrifices were offered at various places, and both Samuel and Saul built new altars. These places of sacrifice do not appear to be regarded in a negative way, however it is clear that the one in Jerusalem, which has been designated by the choice of Yahweh himself, stands out positively and is regarded as superior to the others.

3.2 The Lists of *gibbōrîm*

It has already been established that the lists in the Samuel finale are not to be regarded as a clumsy insertion of book-keeping data. Their meaning is revealed on the one hand through the juxtaposition with the other two double lists, those of the sons and ministers of David[513]. In this way these lists of the worthy veterans from the time of the great liberation battles are also seen as an expression of the new era of the monarchy. The social changes have given rise to a new upper class in the community which includes, along with the members of the royal family and the influential officialdom[514] of the emerging central state, also figures from the professional soldiery.

At the same time it was shown that in the structure which was worked out the war reports were in each case grouped as a ring around central texts[515]. In particular, David's inauguration-*šᵉlāmîm* were framed by two reports of victories over the Philistines[516] followed by extensive victories. The structural parallels between these triumphs and the warrior texts

513 Reference should be made to the parallel summary note concerning Saul in 1 Sam.14.47-52 with its two lists: one consisting of conquered nations, the other of his sons and daughters, wife (wives) and general (minister).

514 **Timothy M. Willis**, "Yaweh's Elders (Isa.24.23): Senior Officials of the Divine Court", *ZAW* 103 (1991) 375-385, considers with reference to 2 Sam.12.16f and Gn.24.2 that the expression "elder" refers to "senior servants/officials", i.e. these reflect the previous function of the elders.

515 Cf. under 2.3.3.

516 If the Philistine battles were in each case placed conspicuously in the form of a double report, then the mention of four slain Philistines here in the finale is seen to be a double doubling.

in the Samuel Conclusion were recognized[517]. This defines these lists also as victors' rolls of honour which are on both sides of the central unit in 2 Sam.22/23.1-7 and are to be referred to it. If in the centre praise is given to Yahweh, who has given David the victory and honoured David with his dynasty, then in the lists clear recognition is given to the names of whose without whom the victories would not have been achieved.

3.2.1 The Giantkillers—2 Sam.21.15-22

The first text strings concisely together four events from the Philistine battles. What the four episodes have in common, apart from their similar formal structure, is that in each case the defeated individual opponent is of extraordinary stature and belongs to the *y^elidê hārāpâ*. With its introductory *'ôd* the list is understood to be an intentional continuation of the previously reported Philistine battles. The similarity between these short episodes and the considerably more detailed description of David's victory over Goliath is extensive[518], so that the total number of conquered Philistine giants adds up to five. This comes as a surprise, and appears to be intentional. The main hostile power was organized as a group of five Philistine cities, with five princes. They had threatened Israel, and paid tribute to the superiority of Yahweh in the form of presents of gold in sets of five, with the five mice and the five tumours representing the five cities (1 Sam.6.4).

When David went out against Goliath the text expressly mentions that David deliberately selected five stones in order to bring about Goliath's downfall (1 Sam.17.40). However, only one of these was used, and no mention is made of the other four. In the immediate context of 1 Sam.17 alone the reference to the number makes no sense, and it is only in connection with the five which is symbolic of the totality of Philililistine power that meaning could be ascribed to it. Thus the mention of four further slain Philistine giants together with

517 Cf. under 2.1.2.3.

518 It is not only that the same name turns up, but there is correspondence also in the distinctive characteristics of the armour.

the Goliath[519] of 1 Sam.17 gives a series of five victories over these abnormally intimidating beings[520]. If the giant-conquerors in the finale can be put together with David's maiden victory to form a further group of five which represent the Philistines, then these form a further enclosure around the career of David. The conquest of Goliath and the cutting off of his head as David's initial victory, and the overcoming of the four giants as the concluding report in the finale, go together to portray the total overthrow of the all-powerful enemy with his five kings.

At the same time it is also linked in with Yahweh's initial overcoming of the five Philistine cities. Whereas in the first part of the book Yahweh's superiority was attested by means of five mice and five tumours, here in conclusion it is now evidenced by five slain giants. In this connection it is appropriate to observe that although the victories were ascribed to David (21.22), he himself appears as tired, dependent upon help, indeed in life-threatening danger. He himself is not to go out to battle any more[521], lest "the lamp of Israel" should be quenched. David's helplessness seems a remarkable feature in a king whose praise is to be

519 On the discussion, already initiated by the Chronicler (1 Chr.20.5), of the problem of the mention of a second Goliath among the giants in 2 Sam.21.19, cf. **A.M. Honeyman**, "The Evidence for Regnal Names Among the Hebrews". *JBL* 67 (1948) 13-25; **Adalbert Hoffmann**, *David: Namensdeutung und Wesensdeutung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1973, 168ff. Despite all the problems (cf. **James Barr**, *Fundamentalism*, London 1977, 281f), the structure worked out thus far makes it scarcely likely that the two-fold reference to a Goliath can be traced back to redactional inadequacy, and it would not have been regarded as a problem (cf. **H.W. Hertzberg** ^{4}1968, 319: "Der Verfasser von Sam. hat sich dadurch, wie man sieht, nicht gestört gefühlt und die Notiz gewiß nicht deshalb gebracht, um die Davidgeschichte zu korrigieren!"). For identical names for important characters see also, among others: *Jonathan* (1 Sam.13.2 son of Saul; 2 Sam.15.27 son of Abiathar; 23.32f [LXX] son of Shammah); *Ahinoam* (1 Sam.14.50 wife of Saul; 25.43 wife of David); *Abigail* (1 Sam.25.3 wife of Nabal and David; 2 Sam.17.25 mother of Amasa); *Mephibosheth* (2 Sam.9.6 son of Jonathan; 2 Sam.21.8 son of Rizpah/Saul); *Tamar* (2 Sam.13.1 daughter of David; 2 Sam.14.27 daughter of Absalom); *Nathan* (2 Sam.12.1 prophet; 23.36 father of Igal of Zobah); *Ittai* (2 Sam.15.19 Philistine leader; 23.29 son of Ribai of Gibeah in Benjamin).

520 If, as seems likely, the naming of the giants also involves mythical connotations such as their portrayal as demigods, the significance of these victories is considerably increased. They can only have been brought about by Yahweh himself, and thus have the function of the irrefutable authentication of David by Yahweh himself. Cf. **Rüdiger Bartelmus**, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt: eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Gen 6,1-4 und verwandten Texten im Alten Testament und der altorientalischen Literatur*, Zürich: TVZ 1979; Cf. **H.J. Stoebe**, "Gedanken zur Heldensage in den Samuelbüchern", *Geschichte, Schicksal, Schuld und Glaube*, BBB 72. Frankfurt: Athenäum 1989, 123-133 [= FS Rost, BZAW 105, Berlin: WdG 1967, 208-218].

521 Similar remarks: 2 Sam.18.3; 11.1; 23.18.

celebrated. Stoebe[522] sees in this a feature which is generally characteristic of the David narrative, that of passivity and receptivity on the part of David. It is not only with regard to Saul that David makes no efforts of his own for his kingship; it is also particularly on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion that David's reactions are strikingly inactive. Without fighting back at all he leaves his city of Jerusalem. David seems incomprehensibly helpless[523] as he mourns for Absalom. Stoebe sees this portrayal of David's helplessness as expressing the fact that it is Yahweh alone who keeps and confirms him in the face of all dissent and resistance. Here, too, David's victories are qualified as not stemming from his personal bravery and strength in battle, but as victories which have been granted to him. The reference to David's helplessness is even more convincingly plain in the light of the fact that Yahweh is on his side, and David is the king whom Yahweh desires[524].

The description of David as *nēr yiśrā'ēl*, which might be quenched (*kbh*), seems remarkable[525]. It recalls the word of the Lord to Samuel in the sanctuary at Shiloh, before the *nēr 'elōhîm* had gone out (*kbh*) (1 Sam.3.1)[526]. If a connection between the two events can be presumed, it might consist in closeness to the ark or to Yahweh, who in the psalm (2 Sam. 22.29) is addressed as the light. In this way expression would be given to the idea that the presence and help of Yahweh could be seen to be established in the person of David[527].

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522 **H.J. Stoebe**, 1994, 34f, 42f.

523 **H.J. Stoebe**, 1994, 466 "Die unbestimmte Aussage läuft auf die Erwähnung der Schwäche Davids, jenes sonderbaren Zuges hinaus, der ebensowenig mit dem Bild eines charismatischen Führers wie dem eines Königs und Helden zu vereinen ist, der an der Spitze der Seinen zu Felde zieht und sie zu Sieg und Erfolg führt".

524 **H.J. Stoebe**, 1994, 43: "Es wäre zu fragen, ob in der Häufung und der Anordnung dieser Stellen menschlicher Hilflosigkeit nicht das Weiterwirken, zugleich die Vertiefung eines Motifs der Richtergeschichten zu sehen ist, wonach jeweils der kleinste und unqualifizierteste die Gottestaten tut"; he refers to Jdg.6.15; 11.3ff; 1 Sam.9.21ff; 16.11; 17.12ff.

525 On the lamp as metaphor for the Davidic dynasty cf. **R.P. Gordon**, 1988, 303. **Richard D. Nelson** 1981, 108 distinguishes between *nēr*—lamp and *nîr* (with *yôḏ*; 1 Kgs.11.36; 15.4; 2 Kgs.8.19) and derives the latter from "*nyr*—yoke" with the meaning of control, or Akkadian *nirum*—royal prerogative.

526 Here the reference is probably to the night illumination, with which as in Ex.27.20f the time before the morning is defined; cf. **P.K. McCarter** 1980a, 98.

527 Cf. **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 226: "The tradition of the battle with the 'giants', when David, 'the lamp of Israel', went in danger of his life, provides a transition to the psalm in ch. 22:2-51, in which David thanks 'my lamp', v.29, for saving him from 'the breakers of death...the cords of Sheol...the snares of death.'"

Taken together with the reference to David's tiredness[528], this would be a further indication showing that the real fighter was Yahweh himself, whose name as Yahweh Sabaoth[529] on the first occasion when he is mentioned in Samuel has already identified him as the power which ultimately overcomes the enemies.

3.2.2 David's Men—2 Sam.23.8-39

3.2.2.1 Conscripted Army of the Tribes and Professional Soldiers

The way in which the setting-up of the monarchy simultaneously with the professionalization of the military brought about tremendous sociological change[530] has already been described by Max Weber[531]. Weber speaks of the rise of a "Ritterstand", as a result of which there came about a gradual demilitarization, and connected with it a removal of power from those who traditionally fought battles, the shepherds and farmers from the population of the country[532]. While Saul had already gathered such men around him[533], who formed the

528 **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 466 notes here also a contrast with Saul in 1 Sam.26, who had no-one to protect him while he slept.

529 1 Sam.1.3 Yahweh Sabaoth is not only the first name ascribed to God in the books of Samuel, but the first mention of this name in the canonical structure of the biblical books as a whole. The divine epithet is not known in Genesis to Judges. On the meaning of the name cf. **M. Tsevat**, "Yhwh Seba'ot", *The Meaning of the Book of Job and other Biblical Stories: Essays on the Literature and Religion of the Hebrew Bible*, Dallas TX: Institute of Jewish Studies 1980, 119-129; Tsevat understands "*Ṣᵉḇa'ôṯ*" as metaphorical: "Yahweh [is] the Army", like "Yahweh [is] the Rock" etc. The fact that Samuel begins with this divine name provides the right mood for the coming wars, which are to be waged and won in his name (cf. 17.45; 2 Sam.6.2); a different view is taken by **J.P. Ross**, "Jahwe Seba'ot in Samuel and Psalms", *VT* 17 (1967) 76-92, for whom the peaceful atmosphere of 1 Sam.1 does not support associations of war, and who sees in the name (only) an expression for Yahweh's kingship.

530 Cf. **T.R. Hobbs**, "An Experiment in Militarism", *Ascribe to the Lord*, FS P.C. Craigie, JSOT.S 67, Sheffield: JSOT 1988, 457-480: "The arrival of monarchy resulted in a centralization of power and the consequent shift in the distribution of resources of material and manpower... In contrast to the tribes during the period of the Judges..., the monarchy, first under David, embarked on an aggressive foreign policy of conquest of the neighbouring countries. To achieve this aim successfully, it needed a strong army, and the necessary bureaucratic support for this army" (466).

531 **Max Weber**, "Das antike Judentum"; idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* III, Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck 1920 (=^{3}1963), 1-400.

532 **M. Weber** 1920, 26,36; cf. **U. Rüterswörden** 1981, 12. The mercenaries provide the rapid-response core unit, and the military levy provides the reserve units when necessary.

533 Cf. earlier in Jdg.11.2 the collecting of a troop round Jephthah.

beginnings of a regular army (1 Sam.14.52), it was nevertheless the levy which provided the mainstay in all the battles[534]. In the case of David there is already to be seen a differentiation in the military structure. As well as the 600-strong troop of the "men of David"[535] from the time spent in Adullam and Ziklag, the bodyguard of the "Cherethites and Pelethites" is named in connection with the monarchy in Jerusalem as an important battle-strong task force[536], and in addition in the context of the Absalom uprising there appears a mercenary unit which has been engaged shortly before under the Philistine commander Ittai[537]. Both David's services rendered to Achish of Gath and Ittai's to David thus recall the *'apiru* mercenary leaders from the Amarna period[538], who offered their services to the ruling kings in return for payment.

The victories of the time of David are described as first and foremost achieved by the "men of David". Belligerent actions of David against Saul during the time when he was fleeing from him are not reported, but those are named whose aim was to liberate the land from its enemies, the Philistines (1 Sam.23.1ff), the wilderness nomads (25.15), the Geshurites, Girzites and Amalekites (27.8; 30.17). The civil war conflicts with Abner (2 Sam.2.13ff), the subsequent conquest of Jerusalem (5.6) and the defeat of the Philistines (2 Sam.5.21,25) took place in each case under the ægis of the men of David. The superior strength of this experienced band of soldiers over the conscripts from the tribes is again made clear in the rebellions of Absalom and Sheba (2 Sam.15.15,18ff). With them David liberated Israel and Judah from their enemies (19.10).

534 Cf. **Albrecht Alt**, "Die Staatsbildung der Israeliten in Palästina", *KS* II, Munich: Beck ^{4}1978 [= 1953], 1-65; reprinted from the *Reformationsprogramm der Universität Leipzig* 1930. Alt speaks of Saul's military monarchy; cf. **A.V. Selms** "The Armed Forces of Israel under Saul and David", *Studies in the Book of Samuel*, ed. A.H. van Zyl, Pretoria 1960, 55-66.

535 1 Sam.22.2; 25.13; 27.2; 30.10; 2 Sam.15.18.

536 Cf. the reference to them in the lists of ministers 2 Sam.8.18; 20.23; cf. **L.M. Muntingh**, "The Cherethites and Pelethites", *Studies in the Book of Samuel*, ed. A.H. van Zyl, Pretoria 1960, 43-53.

537 2 Sam.15.19ff; 18.2 Ittai functions alongside Joab and Abishai as commander of a third of the troop.

538 **P.K. McCarter**, "The Historical David", *Interpretation* 40 (1986) 121f: "David became an *'apiru* chief". Cf. also **G.E. Mendenhall** 1973, 135f; **J. Flanagan**, "Chiefs in Israel", *JSOT* 20 (1981) 47-73.

The *gibbōrîm* who here in the Samuel Conclusion are identified by name in the groups of the "three" and the "thirty" under the leadership of Joab's brother, Abishai, were previously mentioned as a military unit only in the battle against Sheba[539], and even there not under this name. This is surprising, and perhaps they belonged to the officer corps[540] of the "men of David", or as individual warriors among them formed an elite group which could be variously deployed[541]. It is quite certain that the list represents the names of such warriors, who from David's earliest days were close to him[542], and whose benefits from David's rise to power would be difficult to over-estimate.

David's victories were mainly won by the professional mercenary forces. In contrast to this, his relationship with the levy of the tribes seems to have been ruptured. In most of the encounters which are described following his flight before Saul David had been the object of the hostility of the people's military representatives: under Saul (1 Sam.23.8; 24.3; 26.2), under Abner (2 Sam.2.17), and in the uprisings of Absalom (17.11) and Sheba (20.2). The fact that the conscripted army of Israel was raised under the leadership of David is only mentioned at all on two occasions, the first in connection with the Ammonite and Aramean wars (2 Sam.10.7,9,17; 11.1,11; 12.28ff), and the other when the ark of the covenant is brought into his city of Jerusalem (2 Sam.6.1,15.19)[543]. Thus the relationship between David and the tribes and *vice-versa* is seen to be somewhat tense, and this is also reflected in the literary structure of the book in the sequence of their encounters following David's flight from Saul:

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539 In 2 Sam.20.7 the "men of Joab", the "Cherethites and Pelethites" and the "*gibbōrîm*" are distinct military groupings.

540 Thus **B.A. Mastin** 1979 und **Nadav Na'aman** 1988, at present these can be no more than conjectures.

541 Thus **Donald G. Schley** 1990, whose starting-point is small three-man fighting groups of elite soldiers. **N. Na'aman** 1988, 74: "The *gibborim* were apparently both a royal bodyguard and the spearhead of the army in time of war (2 Sam.10.7; 11.11,16f)".

542 23.13 mentions the cave of Adullam, "centre of David's period as an outlaw", **Peter R. Ackroyd**, *The Second Book of Samuel*, Cambridge: CUP 1977, 224.

543 It is specifically stated that David "again" gathered them, i.e. the literary and chronological order do not coincide; cf. 2.2.3.

Under Saul	hostile
Under Abner	hostile
Transfer of the ark	friendly
Ammonite/Aramean battles	friendly
Under Absalom/Amasa	hostile
Under Sheba	hostile

Although in quantitative terms the reference to the hostility of the tribes towards David predominates, the placing of the note of positive support in the centre (2 Sam.6) forms a counterpoint which tips the balance from antipathy in favour of a sharing of mutual interests. Despite this, David's attitude towards the conscripted army of Israel appears remarkably ambivalent. The reason for this will lie in the sociological changes involved in the rise of the kingdom[544]. These innovations are portrayed as being attested by Yahweh, in contrast to the situation obtaining before the advent of the monarchy. The three double lists (those of the sons, the officials, and the soldiers), which have a structuring function in the composition of the narratives of the period of David's reign, were interpreted above as giving expression to the new noble class of the era of monarchy. It was through them that God imparted greatness to his people. The changes which came with the Davidic monarchy are presented as being attested by Yahweh. Yahweh is on the side of the new order of society, and not on the side of the people opposing it.

544 Cf. **B. Halpern**, "The Uneasy Compromise: Israel between League and Monarchy", *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, FS F.M. Cross, ed. B. Halpern & Jon D. Levenson, Winona Lake 1981, 59-96: "Despite David's eminent moderation, the tribes grew restive under his control. Absalom's revolt indicates first that David had not seriously impaired the traditional tribal structures, and second, that his policies created widespread discontent..." (91). "David's force consisted of the professional army... possibly augmented with the aid from Gilead and Ammon (2 Sam.17.27-29). The war is thus a battle of the tribal system against the central government... At issue was the ongoing expansion of David's government; the tribes, while, as they thought, they still had the strength, felt compelled to resort to force in order to dismantle it" (92). Cf. **Rainer Neu**, *Von der Anarchie zum Staat: Entwicklungsgeschichte Israels vom Nomadentum zur Monarchie im Spiegel der Ethnosoziologie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1992.

3.2.2.2 The Heroes

In the binary supplement to the list of the giant-killers Abishai, Sibbecai, Elhanan and Jonathan, mention by name is made of further *gibbōrîm* of David who had distinguished themselves by extraordinary feats in the battles. Here, too, the episodes mentioned are principally those which took place during the period of the Philistine battles. The inclusion of Asahel and Uriah forms the *terminus ad quem* of the list[545].

A contrast is drawn between the four fearsome giants of the Philistines and David's many *gibbōrîm*. Five are honoured by name on account of outstanding deeds that they have performed. First mention is made of three top single-handed fighters who had achieved outstanding feats. On two occasions it is specifically remarked that in connection with their action great salvation was wrought by Yahweh for his people (23.10,12). Thus the deeds of each of them stand alongside those of Samson or the other heroes of the book of Judges[546]. Their superhuman achievement is traced back to Yahweh, who by means of it brought salvation to his people.

After the names of the three most outstanding *gibbōrîm* there follows an episode involving three warriors who remain anonymous. In response to the wish expressed by David at the beginning of harvest, reflecting his somewhat nostalgic daydream, for water from his home

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545 For discussion of the list cf. **Karl Elliger**, "Die dreißig Helden Davids", *PJB* 31 (1935) 29-75 [= idem, *KSAT*, Munich 1966, 72-118]; **Benjamin Mazar**, "The Military Elite of King David", *VT* 13 (1963) 313-320;—Regarded not as part of the Thirty, but as officers: **B.A. Mastin**, "Was the *shalish* the third Man in the Chariot?", *VT* 30 (1979) 125-154; **N. Na'aman**, "The List of David's Officers (*shalishim*) [2 Sam.23.7-39]", *VT* 38 (1988) 71-79; **D.G. Schley**, "The *Shalishim*: Officers or Special Three-Man Squads?", *VT* 40 (1990) 321-326; **Pekka Särkiö**, "'The Third Man'—David's Heroes in 2 Sam.23.8-39", *SJOT* 7 (1993) 108-124.

546 Cf. **Sam Dragga**, "In the Shadow of the Judges: The Failure of Saul", *JSOT* 38 (1987) 39-46. In 1 Sam.12.8-13 Saul is compared with the previous judges, with Gideon (Saul's success in 1 Sam.13 on account of the small number, cf. Jdg.7.12, Saul had 600 men, Gideon only 300), Jephthah (Jephthah kept his vow, Saul did not not, cf. Jdg.11.39 and 1 Sam.14.45) and Barak (fought until Sisera was killed, Saul let Agag live, cf. Jdg.4.7; 5.28f; 1 Sam.15.3,9,33). "Though Saul's failure is a religious failure of obedience, it is equally a political failure to satisfy heightened expectations, a failure to eclipse charismatic predecessors, a failure to escape the shadow of the judges" (44). Like Samson, David's *gibbōrîm* stand alone against the Philistines, Abishai against 300, Josheb-bashebeth against 800, and bear out Jonathan's statement: "Nothing can hinder Yahweh from saving by many or by few" (1 Sam.14.6b).

town of Bethlehem which is now occupied by the Philistines, they take it upon themselves to get him some, in so doing putting their lives in danger. David, shocked by this, pours it out before Yahweh as a drink-offering as the "blood of men". This demonstrates not ingratitude, but a commitment in the face of his men's devotion for his part not recklessly to put their lives at risk, and to pass on their costly gift to Yahweh. The three men remain anonymous, and they are just portrayed as belonging to the *gibbōrîm*. In this way the episode exemplifies the relationship between David and his heroes in general. It typifies the attitude of them all, and in particular those concerning whom no further individual feats are listed. It directs a spotlight on all their devotion, heroic courage and readiness to fight, and on David's concern[547] for the life and actions of his trusty followers.

As well as the three already mentioned, following on from the description of the self-sacrificing and comradely attitude exemplified by this group of *gibbōrîm* there is a fuller portrayal of two more individuals, Abishai and Benaiah, both of whom hold important military posts. Benaiah's three deeds show him to be a versatile warrior: he struck down the two *'ariy'ēl* of the Moabites, he killed a lion in the most confined space and at a cold time of year, as well as overcoming an Egyptian giant[548] with a club, going on to snatch his spear from him and finally running him through with it. Benaiah's agility and boldness recall David's own deeds, when he killed a lion and a bear, and then overcame Goliath with a shepherd's sling before beheading him with his own sword. David appoints Benaiah as commander of his bodyguard[549].

547 Cf. **W. Brueggemann**, "The Trusted Creature", *CBQ* 31 (1969) 484-498: "He understands intuitively (and that is his greatness) that such a costly commodity is appropriately used only for a sacramental act, i.e., an act which affirms the solidarity of his company". "He rejected the opportunity to set himself over his men. He resisted the temptation to pull rank. His own need or yearning is no cause to forget his humanness with his fellow men". (491)

548 The number of giants mentioned in the concluding section thus also adds up to five (four Philistine and one Egyptian).

549 Also known as the Cherethites and Pelethites, cf. 2 Sam.28.18; 20.23; 23.23. Thus he assumes a rôle previously fulfilled by David in relation to Saul, 1 Sam.22.14. The theory of **Alexander Zeron**, "Der Platz Benajahus in der Heldenliste Davids (2 Sam.23,20-23)" *ZAW* 90 (1978) 20-27, according to which the section about Benaiah has replaced the mention of Joab in the list, must remain speculative.

Abishai, whose heroism had already been shown in 2 Sam.21.17, is honoured here on account of a further outstanding individual achievement. He acts as commander of the group of thirty *gibbōrîm*[550], who are subsequently listed by name.

Both the list of giant-killers and these names and feats of the *gibbōrîm* imply that David was one of them[551]. His outstanding deeds are on a par with those of his men. It is through them, as well, that Yahweh has come greatly to the aid of his people, and they, too, have slain the giant Philistine challengers and dispatched wild animals. David does not appear as an isolated hero, because alongside him stand the giant-killers, the three great *gibbōrîm*, the troop of the thirty *gibbōrîm*, and the officers Benaiah and Abishai.

3.2.2.3 The Lists in the Samuel Finale

As in the opening psalm of Samuel Hannah sang of the reversal brought about by Yahweh, for whom it is "not talk of glory, but deeds" which counts, who "breaks the bow of the mighty", but "girds the feeble with strength", so these names of the men around David in the finale are living proof of this. David's troop of heroes had come together from the disadvantaged of the land: "And every one who was in distress, and every one who was in debt, and every one who was discontented, gathered to him; and he became captain over them" (1 Sam.22.2). That points to people who were mainly in economic distress, and who preferred life as fugitives without any rights to being in slavery because of their debts[552]. It was with them that David, the fugitive officer and former leader of Saul's bodyguard, had

550 The figure "thirty" can be taken as describing the individual warriors seen as a group, and as early as the sacrificial feast at Saul's anointing in 1 Sam.9.22 a group of thirty people was included among those invited; cf. also Jdg.10.4; 14.11. David's thirty heroes, cf. Absalom's and Adonijah's fifty companions (2 Sam.15.1; 1 Kgs 1.5; Cant.3.7), were marked out as outstanding warriors by their individual feats (cf. **P. Särkiö**), and are distinguished from the bodyguard. It is unlikely that the Thirty were co-drivers of chariots, but rather (as suggested by **K. Elliger, B. Mazar, R.P. Gordon** i.a.) the term describes a guard consisting of elite warriors tried and tested in battle; thus "the Thirty" is to be understood as the description of a group rather than necessarily a specific number.

551 Cf. 2 Sam.17.10.

552 Cf. **R. Neu** 1992, 281: "Die Existenz solcher Männer ist ein Hinweis auf den Beginn einer sozialen Differenzierung der israelitischen Gesellschaft."

achieved his successes in Ziklag, Hebron and Jerusalem[553]. As those who were outcasts from society, they were united by a common fate and a common struggle. Their intimate personal relationship with David from the earliest times gives them their place, along with the lists of sons and ministers, as those who were at David's side in the difficult times, sharing danger in the battles associated with him and his kingdom.

The finale of Samuel accords lasting honour to David's tried and tested warriors by placing their names and deeds on either side of the centre in which the praise of Yahweh's aid is sung and the Davidic kingdom is confirmed. Their names are recorded as those through whom Yahweh, in conjunction with David, has granted his people decisive liberation from the Philistine yoke[554]. Their activity, initially a rebellious form of action hostile to the state and opposed by Saul and all Israel, had been attested from the outset by the prophet Gad. It was through them that Yahweh had liberated Israel and Judah from that most oppressive of hostile powers, the Philistines. The recording of their names may thus also be seen as marking the fulfilment of the prophecy of Gad, the very prophet from whom in the next chapter the final word in the book of Samuel will come.

It seems significant for the theological structure of the concluding chapters that the parading of the feats of David's *gibbōrîm*, whose deeds in liberating the people are in the list placed on a par with Yahweh's victories through the judges, thereby implicitly devalues the significance of the conscripted army of the tribes. It is these heroes of David who have waged Yahweh's war, and no longer the levy from the tribes. David, the one chosen and anointed by Yahweh, had had to flee with his men from his own people. The opposition of the tribes under Saul, Abner, Absalom and Sheba towards the house of David is not directly

553 To conclude on the basis of the reference to "Naharai of Beeroth" (23.37) that the nucleus of David's first army was also formed of refugees from the measures taken by Saul against the Gibeonites (21.1,5) (cf. **A. Malamat** 1955, 11) must remain merely speculative.

554 **W. Brueggemann** 1990a, 347 sees a slighting of David in his not being mentioned in the list. This only applies if no account is taken of the framing function of the lists with the psalms which extol the Davidic kingdom in the centre. Nonetheless the naming of the men is unusual: "There is a powerful democratic tendency in this list. In the highest royal theology, everything must be assigned to the king. In state ideology, there are no named or known agents except the king. (This is evident in the Assyrian records, in which the great king is the only named warrior.)" (348).

spelled out here in the Samuel Finale, but the parading of David's faithful followers in the middle ring of the "Appendix" and the suffering of the people under their kings in the outermost ring might have been intentionally placed in contrast[555]. Just as in 2 Sam.21.1ff the people as a whole had to suffer under Saul's sin, so in 2 Sam.24.1 the ultimate cause of the pestilence is specifically stated to be Yahweh's anger against his people. Following the extolling of the numerical strength of the conscripted army, it is against this that the killing is directed. It is Yahweh's anger which has in the last instance given rise to it. That the anger affects all the tribes from "Dan to Beersheba" with the exception of Jerusalem, the city of David, portrays a contrast between David and the conscripted army of Israel, just as the exaltation of the men of David in the second ring is contrasted with the suffering of the people in the third ring of the concluding chapters.

This interpretation is emphasized by the rôle of Gad, whose first prophetic word had given support to the beginnings of this mercenary army of David. The company of hopeless unfortunates who have gathered around David owes its legitimation to a direct prophetic statement. Gad's second prophecy announces the pestilence to the conscripted army of Israel[556], based not only on David's sin, but also on Yahweh's fierce anger against Israel (24.1). The distinction made between Israel from "Dan to Beersheba" and Jerusalem in 2 Sam.24 on the one hand, and the contrast between the conscripted army of Israel and the *gibbōrîm* of David in the chiastic structure on the other, place David and his undertakings somewhat in opposition to the people. In this Yahweh is without doubt on the side of

555 Cf. **R. Neu** 1992, 287 on the sociological function: "Die Etablierung einer Zentralinstanz infolge der Bildung von Erzwingungsstäben wird in der israelitischen Bevölkerung kaum mit Sympathie rechnen dürfen. Die Familien...verstehen sich nach wie vor als autonome Personen-, Wirtschafts-, Rechts- und Kultgemeinschaften, deren Interaktionen der unmittelbare Ausdruck von Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen sind. Diese autonome Organisationsform muß mit jeder Zentralinstanz über kurz oder lang in Konflikt geraten, da deren Ansprüche nur über eine Einschränkung der Rechte der traditionellen Verwandtschaftsgruppen durchzusetzen sind."

556 In rabbinic exposition Yahweh is never angry without reason. That the pestilence is to be seen in connection with Israel's opposition to David, in particular during the uprisings under Absalom and Sheba ben Bichri, is thought to be probable by Jephet Ben Eli (84) and Abravanel (86), according to **A. Schenker** 1982, 50f,77—an interpretation which is remarkably close to that put forward here.

David[557], while the people appear to be distinguished from David and thus at the same time distanced from Yahweh himself[558].

Not to be overlooked is the tension between David's behaviour in the cave of Adullam (23.13ff) and the reference to Uriah (23.39), whose name represents the other, blameworthy, side of David's character. This hint at a balancing of the picture with the reference through the mention of Uriah to David's guilt does not, however, cancel out the positive aspect, but discourages any heroic over-idealizing of the king. The greatness of the men around David and their extraordinary loyalty towards him is doubly attested in the finale (21.17; 23.13ff; cf. 18.2ff). David's failure is not concealed, it qualifies—without negating—the positive evaluation of his character as a whole. At the same time the prominent reference to Uriah in the conclusion leads on to the second evidence of David's guilt in the subsequent story of the census.

3.3 The Songs in the Centre of the Samuel Finale

The six songs of the books of Samuel[559] were seen to be related to each other. The interruption of the progress of the narrative by the poetic texts in each case gave a particular emphasis. To disengage them from the context as texts which do not belong there[560] is to fail to recognize their internal dovetailing with the context and their significance for the interpretation of the narrative context[561]. The two poetic pieces in 2 Sam.22 and 23.1-7 which are placed by the ring-structure into the centre of the concluding chapters appear to be of prime importance in determining both the theological tendency of the chiastically

557 Cf. also the interpretation of the conquest of the superhuman giants in conjunction with the stress on David's helplessness, see 3.2.1 above.

558 Cf. also the opposition of the people to Yahweh in 1 Sam.8.7; 10.19; 12.19, which is here continued in the form of opposition to the Yahweh-attested rule of David.

559 Cf. 2.3.2.

560 Thus for 2 Sam.22 i.a.: **K. Budde** 1902, **D.W. Caspari** 1926, **W. McKane** 1963, who for this reason refuse even to expound them in the context of Samuel.

561 Cf. especially **B.S. Childs** 1979, **J.W. Watts** 1992.

structured unit of the concluding chapters and also the intention of the literary structure of the whole book.

Both texts have as their central theme the relationship of the Davidic kingdom to Yahweh, or the attitude of Yahweh towards the Davidic dynasty. Thus they take up by way of conclusion the principal topic of the book[562]. In our working out of the structure this stood out like a scarlet thread running through the structure, always at the centre of the argumentation: a) having to choose between the alternatives of Yahweh and an earthly king, which emerged as inevitable at the conclusion of the introductory section in the tension between 1 Sam.1.1-2.10 and 1 Sam.8; b) the question concerning the correct form of the kingdom, which receives a new beginning in 1 Sam.11.14-12.25 with a theophanic manifestation; c) the special relationship between the kingdom of Yahweh and the kingdom of David in the central texts 2 Sam.6-7; and d) Yahweh's aid for David and his dynasty, which here in the closing section is brought into the centre in poetic form.

Both the texts 2 Sam.22.1 and 23.1 begin by directing the reader to see them as the words of David himself[563]. In a rhetorically effective way the reader is thus invited to be an independent witness in order to form a final opinion of this king's understanding of himself. The words of the king are couched in the form of a prayer of thanksgiving, or a prophetic utterance upon his death-bed. In the directness of his speech addressed to Yahweh the rhetorical tendency of the structuring form is seen to be governed by theological objectives. Yahweh's help which he has received in the victory over the enemies (22.1) is in its liturgical fulfilment returned to him as thanksgiving.

562 The significance of 2 Sam.22 as having a framing rôle opposite Hannah's psalm has been variously noted, see 2.3.2.2 (4) above.

563 Cf. **C.J. Goslinga** 1968, 24: "In 22:1-51 en 23,1-7 geeft de auteur aan David zelf het woord voor een terugblik naar het verleden en een profetie a.g. de toekomst. Ook deze pericopen zijn juist aan het slot van het boek uitnemend op haar plaats."

3.3.1 David's Psalm of Thanksgiving 2 Sam.22

3.3.1.1 David, Yahweh's Chosen One

David's psalm of thanksgiving, which also appears in the Psalter, has been the subject of much study[564]. In the framework of the literary structure of Samuel it has the rôle, along with the "Last Words" in 2 Sam.23.1-7, of a song of praise and thanksgiving to Yahweh in retrospect to David's reign[565]. The structural context which has been worked out indicates this line of interpretation[566], which is also assumed in the title: the song is addressed to Yahweh, the one who speaks is David[567]. The occasion is the deliverance of David "from

564 As well as the commentaries on the books of Samuel and the Psalter (Ps.18) cf. i.a. **Frank Moore Cross & David Noel Freedman**, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18", *JBL* 72 (1953) 15-34; **Georg Schmuttermayr**, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22: Studien zu einem Doppeltext*, Munich: Kösel 1971; **Nic. H. Ridderbos**, *Die Psalmen: Stilistische Verfahren und Aufbau, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ps 1-41*, BZAW 117, Berlin: de Gruyter 1972; **Patrick D. Miller**, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Cambridge MA: Harvard 1973; **John H. Eaton**, *Kingship and the Psalms*, London: SCM 1976; **J.Kenneth Kuntz**, "Psalm 18: A Rhetorical-Critical Analysis", *JSOT* 26 (1983) 3-31; **Robert Bruce Chisholm**, *An Exegetical and Theological Study of Psalm 18/2 Samuel 22* [Diss Dallas 1983], Ann Arbor MI: UMI 1986; **Frank-Lothar Hossfeld**, "Der Wandel des Beters in Ps 18", *FS H. Groß*, SBB 13, Stuttgart ²1987, 171-190; **Jean-Luc Vesco**, "Le Psaume 18, Lecture Davidique", **RB** 94 (1987) 5-62; **James W. Watts**, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOT.S 139, Sheffield: JSOT 1992, 99-117; **Donald K. Berry**, *The Psalms and their Readers: Interpretative Strategies for Psalm 18*, JSOT.S 153, Sheffield: JSOT 1993.

565 Cf. **J.-L. Vesco** 1987 in his introduction: "Quelle que soit la préhistoire du Psaume 18, nous sommes maintenant invités à le lire dans le contexte suggéré à la fois par le titre qui lui a été attribué et par la place qu'occupe le poème dans le 2e livre de Samuel... Le psaume et les récits de 1 et 2 Samuel doivent mutuellement s'expliquer" (5).

566 Other possible contexts for interpretation, e.g. before its inclusion in Samuel or within the liturgical use in the cycle of yearly festivals, are not considered here.

567 The psalm is given an early date by most exegetes, cf. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 477: the "geltend gemachten Kriterien, Aramaismen und deuteronomistischer Sprachgebrauch [for a date shortly before, during or after the exile], sind allerdings nicht eigentlich beweiskräftig". For Davidic authorship cf. i.a. **A. Weiser** 1959, 117; **William Foxwell Albright** 1956, 141ff; **Nic. H. Ridderbos** 1972, 164; **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 22ff; **O. Eissfeldt** ³1964, 610 on the Psalms of David: "In dem einen oder anderen Falle, etwa bei Ps 18, erscheint die Möglichkeit, daß es sich um eine wirklich auf David zurückgehende Dichtung handelt, nicht ganz ausgeschlossen"; **R.P. Gordon** 1988, 304: "Its antiquity and even the possibility of its Davidic authorship are matters which command wide sympathy, as was noted with the faintest hint of tongue-in-check by C.S. Lewis: 'I think certain scholars allow that Psalm 18... might be by David himself'" (**C.S. Lewis**, *Reflections on the Psalms*, London/Glasgow 1958, 10); **J. Ridderbos** 1955, 145: "De aangehaalde plaats vs 44 wijst o.i. speciaal op koning David. Voor Josia past de uitdrukking 'hoofd der natiën' zeker niet; behalve David zou hiervoor alleen Salomo in aanmerking komen, maar op deze is weer niet van toepassing wat er in heel de Psalm wordt gezegd van de in de krijg ondervonden Goddelijke hulp".

the hand" of all his enemies. This includes at the end of Samuel not only Saul but also his enemies on the domestic front[568]. That the help testified to is described in the introduction as the "day of Yahweh's deliverance" points to the thematic context of the Holy War[569]: in his own time Yahweh appears on "his day" and obtains deliverance for his people from all their enemies.

The structure of the psalm appears to have two parts. The first part concentrates on Yahweh's action in sending deliverance, and the second part sings the praise of Yahweh's aid in bringing victory over the enemies[570]. Thus both parts have a different objective, but are not in opposition to each other, rather building on each other and representing the two main aspects of Yahweh's help in connection with enemies, for which the psalm renders thanks[571]. The lyrical description of Yahweh as "rock" and "shield" marks both the beginning of the first and the move to the second part, and the two-fold invocation as "rock" leads on to the concluding statement of praise[572]:

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568 2 Sam.22.42,44 appear also to include worshippers of Yahweh. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 482: "Es [the *mērîḇê 'ammî* of v44] weist in die Richtung von V 42 und stellt einen aus seinem Volk heraus angefochtenen König dar".

569 Cf. **G.v. Rad**, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Jahwe", *JSS* 4 (1959) 97-108: "The material for this imagery which surrounds the concept of the Day of Yahweh is of old-Israelite origin. It derives from the tradition of the holy wars of Yahweh in which Yahweh appeared personally to annihilate his enemies" (103f); **H.D. Preuss**, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung*, 1968, 170-179 refers the Day of Yahweh to the Exodus (173,179); **J. Jeremias**, *Theophanie*, WMANT 10, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1965, 97-100 emphasizes the connection between the Day of Yahweh and the manifestation of God.

570 Seen by many as evidence of its composite character: i.e. **E. Baumann**, "Struktur-Untersuchungen im Psalter I", *ZAW* 61 (1945/48) 131-136; **Georg Fohrer** 1986, 217; **A.A. Anderson** 1989, 262. **F.-L. Hossfeld** 1993, 121: "Am Anfang steht das Sieges- und Danklied eines Königs V 2.33-50. Noch in spätvorexilischer Zeit ist es durch den ausgebauten Rettungsbericht V 3-20...ausgestaltet worden. In spätexilischer Zeit hat eine dtr Redaktion in V 1.21-25.51 das Danklied davidisiert und zugleich in 2 Sam 22 eingestellt. Schließlich erfolgte durch V 26-32 die Kollektivierung des Individualgebets ganz im Sinne der nachexilischen Armentheologie..."—A different view is taken by **H.-J. Kraus** ^{3}1966, 140: "Die...Argumente [for dividing it, HK] sind aber nicht stichhaltig. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß in einem Danklied...die geschehene Errettung in zwei Erzählphasen geschildert wird (cf. Ps 30; 102). Zudem ist fraglich, ob man 21ff als spezifisch 'deuteronomistisch' erklären darf". The psalm is also read as a unit by i.a.: **A. Weiser** 1959, 126; **H.W. Hertzberg** ^{4}1968, 323; **Nic. H. Ridderbos** 1972, 163-164; **P.C. Craigie** 1983, 172; **F. Stolz** 1981, 287; **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 22ff; **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 477.

571 **Nic. H. Ridderbos** 1972, 163-164 reads them as a chronological sequence, with the first part on deliverance speaking of the time of the flight before Saul, the second on victory speaking of David's kingdom (165).

572 2 Sam.22.2,31f,47. Cf. the keyword link by *ṣûr* with 1 Sam.2.2 and 2 Sam.23.3.

	22.1		Heading: thanksgiving for deliverance from enemies	
I	22.2-3	a	Introductory praise	
	22.4-31	b	Rescue from deadly peril/enemies	(protection)
II	22.32-46	b^1	Overcoming of enemies	(victory)
	22.47-51	a^1	Concluding stanza	

The psalm begins by praising Yahweh (22.2-3), describing him in vivid images as the place of protection and refuge. The fact that the metaphors used can all understood as having a military connotation ties in with the theme of the psalm, the substance of which is summarized in the next verse (22.4): that David was given help against his enemies when he placed his trust in Yahweh.

The section 22.5-20 describes the distress of the supplicant as deadly peril, and the coming of Yahweh in the lively motifs of the theophany in chiastic form[573]:

22.5-7	A	floods, realm and cords of death, cries, confinement, YHWH's answer
22.8	B	earth shakes, firmament of heaven trembles
22.9	C	smoke, fire, flames
22.10	D	Yahweh opens heaven, comes, darkness under his feet
22.11a	E	Yahweh rides on the cherub
22.11b	E^1	upon the wings of the wind
22.12	D^1	darkness is his canopy, black clouds
22.13-15	C^1	fire, voice of thunder of *'Elyôn*, arrows/lightning of Yahweh
22.16	B^1	seabed uncovered by the breath of Yahweh
22.17-20	A^1	Yahweh drew me out of the waters, broad place, rescued from enemies

573 Cf. also **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 47f; **Nic. H. Ridderbos** 1972, 170.

The depiction of the theophany follows the concepts of ancient oriental conventions[574]. The forces which threaten the supplicant with death are breakers (*miš^ebᵉrê*), torrents (*naḥalê*) (v5) and sea-floods (*mayim rabbîm*) (v17). The theme is the victory of Yahweh over the power of the water of the sea[575], the bed of which is uncovered (v16). The God who is armed with the weapons of thunder and lightning comes in a rush upon cherub and wind, hidden in dark clouds, to bring aid[576]. As in Hannah's psalm Yahweh was described as the creator who founded the world upon pillars (*mᵉṣuqîm*) and lifts a person up from the dust (*'āpār*) in order to place him upon the throne, so now with expressions coming from the same thematic environment Yahweh is spoken of as the divine warrior against the encompassing floods of death. Described in similar terms, the power of Yahweh over the Sea of Reeds at the Exodus[577] and at the conquest of Canaan, taken together with the texts about the manifestation of Yahweh at Sinai, form the theological parallel to the experience of help

574 Cf. **F.M. Cross**, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, MA: HUP 1973.

575 Cf. **F.M. Cross** 1973, 112ff "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth"; **J. Day**, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, Cambridge: CUP 1985; **Moshe Weinfeld**, "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East", *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, ed. Hayim Tadmor & Moshe Weinfeld, Leiden: Brill 1984, 121-147.

576 Cf. **F.M. Cross** 1973, 91ff "The Divine Warrior" and 147ff "Yahweh and Ba'l". Conceptual parallels with Ugaritic and other ancient oriental texts (Akkadian, Egyptian) can be demonstrated for almost every part of the psalm, cf. **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 329 who regards the taking up of the images of Canaanite mythology as polemical: "As in other texts, a direct polemic against Baal is apparent." "Many of the accomplishments and attributes of Baal were transfered to Yahweh to demonstrate the latter's superiority and kingship. Yahweh, not Baal, had defeated his enemies and was reigning as eternal king from the mountain of his inheritance (Ex 15). Yahweh had revealed himself as a victorious warrior at Sinai, asserting his kingship and demonstrating his control of the elements of the storm. Yahweh was the true 'rider of the clouds' (Dt.33.26; Jdg.5.4; Ps.68.5,34), who employed the storm as a weapon against his enemies (1 Sam.2.10; 7.10) and brought his people military success and agricultural prosperity (Dt.33.27-29). His control of the storm and its elements was proof of his kingship (1 Sam.12; Ps.29)" (330f). Cf. **Millard C. Lind**, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*, Scottdale, PE: Herald 1980.

577 **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 61 sees marks of a structural parallel between Ex.15.1-18 and 2 Sam.22:

Ex.	15.1-2	Opening Praise	2 Sam.	22.2-3
	15.3-10.12	Deliverance		22.4-20
	–.–			(22.21-30)
	15.11	Praise/Incomparability		22.31-32
	15.13-17	Conquest		22.33-46
	15.18	Praise		22.47-51

described here[578]. His help for David is thus placed in parallel to Yahweh's *magnalia* in the early days of Israel, and particularly the Exodus.

Through the chiastic structure the threatening waves of death described in mythical-metaphorical terms are shown in the binarily corresponding text to be powerful enemies, from whose life-threatening grasp (22.6) the supplicant is snatched. The earlier narrowness of the abyss (*šᵉ'ôl*) is contrasted with the new broad place (22.20) into which Yahweh leads David. The epiphany described here in the psalm corresponds to the narrative texts, when in 1 Sam.7.10 Yahweh brings about by means of thunder a fear of God which paralyzes the fighting strength of the Philistines, or in 1 Sam.12.8 reveals himself with a voice of thunder to his people as the real provider of rain. In 2 Sam.5.24 Yahweh smites the army of the Philistines to the sound of rustling in the balsam trees, and in 2 Sam.18.8 involves the forest[579] on David's side[580] in the battle against Absalom's rebellion.

The fact that Yahweh came to his aid is ascribed by the royal supplicant to his blamelessness (22.21-25)[581]. In this he speaks (22.22f) of the *darḵê* of Yahweh, of the *mišpāṭîm* and *ḥuqqōṭ* which he had kept. The reference is to Yahweh's statutes, to which the king has submitted. He had unquestioningly and gladly accepted that the just will of Yahweh was superior even to the king. He had not been unfaithful to Yahweh, his sovereign. Just as in the narrative texts Yahweh as king of his people had reserved to himself alone the right to

578 **J.-L. Vesco** 1987, 36f refers "drawing out of the water" (22.17) to the only parallel use of *mašâh* (Hiph'il) for the ætiology of Moses' name in Ex.2.10: "Il est difficile de ne pas lire dans le verset du psaume une allusion à Ex 2,10 faite dans le dessein de mettre en parallèle les figures Moïse et David". **Vesco** considers an intentional parallel with Moses to be possible on the basis of the similarity of the poetic pieces in 2 Sam.22/23.1-7 and Dt.32/33. "Comme Moïse il [David] a été, lui aussi, tiré des eaux par Dieu. L'experience des deux grandes figures des l'histoire d'Israël a bien été la même" (36).

579 **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 404 finds in the *forest joining in the fight* in 2 Sam.18.8 an analogy with the accounts of sacral wars, "in denen Jahwe für das Bestehen seines Volks mit nichtmenschlichen Mitteln eintritt..."

580 Cf. **Sa-Moon Kang** 1989.

581 Corresponding to ancient oriental customs in prayers offered by rulers, cf. **R.B. Chisholm** 1986, 211ff.

appoint and depose the occupant of the throne[582], so this king does not appear as sovereign on his own account. The right of the king (1 Sam.8.11; 10.25) could not remove the right of Yahweh over his people. He, together with the people, is subject to the right of Yahweh[583].

It seems reasonable to understand the relationship of the grateful king to Yahweh in terms of the model of ancient oriental vassal-kings. Yahweh remains sovereign in his people, and comes to the aid of the earthly king, who as his appointed governor is aware of the tasks assigned to him, while recognizing the rule of Yahweh. The *mišpāṭîm* (rights) and *ḥuqqōṭ* (duties) in such a relationship are laid down in a *bᵉrîṯ*[584]. With the reference to his meticulous keeping of its conditions, David testifies to the fact that he has not violated the covenant relationship to Yahweh[585]. That Yahweh for his part would not break it is what is acknowledged in the following verses, 22.26-31. In the deliverance from the threat of death at the hand of the enemies which is described in the framework of the theophany, Yahweh for his part has shown himself to be a powerful and trustworthy (*ḥeseḏ, tāmîm*) covenant God.

Before the transition in 22.31-32 reference has already been made to possibilities which involve Yahweh coming to the aid of David. His fighting longside David means that in a

582 Cf. 1 Sam.9.15; 15.10f; 16.1,6-12. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 417ff refers to the removal of David's power through the choice by all the people of Absalom to be king, to which he himself submits (2 Sam.16.12). The restoration of David after the uprising could not be taken for granted: it was brought about by Yahweh.

583 Cf. 1 Sam.12.14b,25—on the covenantal character of this text with its manifestation of God through thunder cf. **P.K. McCarter** 1980a, 220; **J.R. Vannoy** 1975.

584 Even if the term is not used here, the keeping of agreed conditions presupposes such an arrangement in any case, cf. in the narrative section 1 Sam.12.14f,25.

585 Cf. **A. Weiser** 1959, 129: "Denn daß die Treue zu den Bundesordnungen und die dafür gebrauchten Wendungen (*hoq* und *mishpat*) ausschließlich deuteronomistische Eigenheiten sein sollen, ist ein Postulat literarkritischer Methode, das den geschichtlichen Tatsachen nicht gerecht wird. Gebote und Weisungen Gottes gehören von Anfang an zu den konstitutiven Elementen des Jahwebundes und sind in dessen Kulttradition lange vor der Zeit des Deuteronomiums verankert gewesen... Auf diese ethisch-sakrale Seite der Bundesordnungen beziehen sich die Aussagen V. 20ff." In his view David refers to it because "seine ganze Existenz auf der Gewißheit seiner Gottverbundenheit auf der Basis der Bundestradition beruht und an seinem Schicksal sich erneut bestätigt, daß er in diesem wechselseitigen Bundesverhältnis zu Gott steht" (130). On the challenge and counter-challenge to covenant theology cf. i.a. **K.A. Kitchen**, "The Fall and Rise of Covenant, Law and Treaty", *TynB* 40 (1989) 118-135.

supernatural way walls can be leaped over and troops crushed. In the following section (2.33-37) Yahweh begins by arming the king with the strength of youth, and then himself becomes the instructor of his protégé in battle and archery[586], and hands him the shield as a protective weapon[587]. Thus trained and armed by Yahweh[588], the king was able to put the enemies to flight and completely destroy them (22.38-40). Yahweh protected him even against the uprisings in his own people (22.42,44). Foreign nations must acknowledge him and serve him (22.41-46).

Yahweh's faithfulness to David has made him great, so that he has become the *rō'š gôyîm*. This is why homage[589] is due to Yahweh for all the victories (22.47-51). David in his powerlessness (22.5ff) would have succumbed without his aid. Yahweh has not only delivered him from distress, but also enabled him to become the conqueror of nations. Therefore he wishes to proclaim the power of Yahweh before their ears, and all glory for victory is ascribed to Yahweh. The honour and acknowledgment which they accord to David are thanks to him alone. That this great salvation does not only extend without limit or end to the anointed David, but also applies to those from his house who succeed to the throne, is the quintessential conclusion of the psalm. The one who delivered David out of the hand of all his enemies remains bound in *ḥeseḏ* to him and his successors *'aḏ-'ôlām*.

586 In 1 Sam.5.8 Yahweh stretched out his hand "like a bow" (*qešeṯ*) against the Philistines of Ashdod, thus demonstrating his skill in this technique. Cf. **U. Rüterswörden**, "Der Bogen in Gen 9: Militärhistorische und traditionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu einem biblischen Symbol", *UF* 20 (1988) 247-263. See also the significance of the bow in Hannah's psalm 1 Sam.2.4 and David's lament over Saul and Jonathan 2 Sam.1.18,22.

587 That Yahweh is himself this *māgēn* and therefore the *yiš'ā* had just been stated in 22.31, and fits in with the metaphors of the opening praise (22.2-3).

588 According to **J.H. Eaton** 1976, 138 "the most vivid example", "where the king appears as a marvellously skilled and potent warrior, fighting on foot with wonderful agility, a deadly archer, routing and pursuing his foes single-handed; clearly the passage testifies to God who has 'lit his lamp', dressed him in might, guided his feet, trained his hands, shielded and upheld him."

589 With *ḥay-yahweh* cf. the acclamation of the king 1 Sam.10.24: *y'ḥî hammeleḵ*.

3.3.1.2 Yahweh, Protector of the Monarchy

The relationship of David to Yahweh is described in 2 Sam.22 as that of a vassal-king who, having been rescued from danger and accorded the highest honours, praises his rescuer with great thankfulness[590]. Yahweh has confirmed him, and with him his dynasty, before all the conquered nations, and also in the face of his domestic enemies. David is the king who, as Yahweh's anointed, has received his confirmation. Yahweh wages his Holy War on David's side in order to deliver his people.

The reference to Yahweh's total autonomy has an important rôle with respect to the sociological changes accompanying the introduction of the monarchy. Our study of the lists of individuals[591] as a framing structural marker in the composition of the texts relating to David's rule has already given cause to regard as a key theme the social changes involved in monarchical centralization. With the royal court, the administrative machinery and the professional army there had arisen a new social elite, which had to be paid for by the king by means of state revenues at the expense of the people[592]. While the new central state had to rely for the support of its standing army and administration on increasing taxation of the people[593] and recruitment to labour and military service[594], the old Holy War of Yahweh was not dependent for its outcome on strategic military resources[595]. The attitude of complete

590 **J.H. Eaton** 1976, 116: "The psalm expresses the confirmation of the king as Yahweh's vicegerent and so was probably connected with the enthronement or renewal rites."

591 Lists of sons of the king, ministers, army officers, cf. 2.1.2.1.

592 Cf. **T.R. Hobbs**, "An Experiment in Militarism", *Ascribe to the Lord*, FS P.C. Craigie, JSOT.S 67, Sheffield: JSOT 1988, 457-480: "The institution of the monarchy in Israel and Judah created an elite centred in Jerusalem... The monarchy is a elite centralized bureaucracy with powers of control never known before in Israel and Judah". "A major function of this institution was to wage war. This was the reason for its inception, and a result of its policy". "This had widespread social, economic and political implications for the nations, and is well reflected in the record." "As a cultural and societal centre, the monarchy controlled much of the literature about the monarchy, both narrative presentations, and hymnic expressions" (478).

593 E.g. 1 Kgs 4.7ff; 5.2.

594 Cf. 1 Sam.8.11ff; 1 Kgs 5.27f.

595 Cf. **T.R. Hobbs** 1988, 479: "There is a strong note in the prophetic proclamation on the nation's absolute reliance upon Yaweh in matters political and military. The origins of this position are early, seen already in Moses's action at the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14). Such a position is the antithesis of the militarization of Israel and Judah under the kings, and stated as such".

dependence by the king upon Yahweh which is described in the psalm reflects on the other hand the same traditions, in which for Yahweh it was "not difficult to help by many or by few". The power and support of Yahweh was sufficient to deal with all the enemies round about.

The portrait given in the psalm, of the king who wins victories as he is protected and armed by Yahweh, is in keeping with this ideal[596]. Thus it is placed in contrast to a monarchy which believes it can build up security for itself by means of military skill and force of arms[597]. It was this sort of policy[598] which led to the division of the kingdom under Rehoboam[599]. The striking accumulation of figures of speech used in addressing Yahweh in the introductory praise (22.2f) emphatically describes him as the unconquerable protector who guarantees absolute security to the one who shelters in him. The experience of David being here sung about is a testimony to this unchangeable readiness of Yahweh to help. This ideal of a king who, entirely in line with the tradition of wars of Yahweh, relies not on his army or his strength but on Yahweh alone, is seen as personified by David.

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596 Cf. **W. Brueggemann**, *In Man we Trust: The Neglected Side of Biblical Faith*, Richmond: Knox 1972 on David's attitude in 2 Sam.15.25f and 16.11f: "In both cases David acts the part of a bold man, but knows that some things are not given to his hands. This is more than shrewdness. It is a mature faith which lets him function without needing to function where he cannot. Great freedom and responsibility are combined with the ability to leave other matters completely in the hands of Yahweh. Both David and Yahweh have things to do, but they are not the same things. Thus 'fear of Yahweh' sets one free both to act and to trust" (419).

597 Cf. **W. Brueggemann** 1972a, 67ff "Solomon's Israel under Alienation": "The new way was secularization gone crazy..." (69); Whereas David understood responsibility, "Solomon understood none of these dimensions... His giving of justice is the setting of scores (1 Kgs 3.16-28), not healing of life (2 Sam.14.8-11). His military preparations seem related to no cause but simply a weary task of self-enhancement and survival. His building of the temple is a gigantic bureaucratic undertaking quite in contrast to the openness of David's investment of himself in the ritual of his people (2 Sam.6). His giving of proverbial wisdom is reported as though the main thing is the statistic (1 Kgs 4.32). Here is a man and a mood without any human quality... Things are a bore! They are to be handled—horses and Egypt, chariots and Kue—gold and Ophir—Sheba and spices—but only handled (1 Kgs 9.27f; 10.28). The regime had created a mood in which men only handled things... They did not bring them into any contact with their own lives" (69).

598 E.g. 1 Kgs 5.6,8; 9.15,17-23; 10.25; 12.4.

599 This was also characteristic of Saul, whose successes and failures, in contrast to those of Samuel, Jonathan or David, are portrayed as dependent upon numbers and military skill: 1 Sam.7.8; 13.7ff; 14.6b; 17.45. Cf. 3.1.2.2.

3.3.1.3 The Davidic Kingly Ideal

The deliverance and victory over enemies which are sung about in the psalm are not described in concrete historical terms[600]. The defeated nations are not specifically named[601], and neither is the theophany definitely identified with any particular place or event[602]. This gives to both the deliverance from mortal danger and the conquest of hostile forces something of an exemplary character, having universal validity. It can be related to all the disasters and triumphs which occur in the foregoing narrative texts, and appear to be summed up in these two basic experiences of deliverance and victory.

The involvement of the reader, prompted by the change of genre to that of poetry, in the immediate sharing in thanksgiving[603] thus makes David's experience which is described here appear to be one which is timeless and repeatable, and which in particular maps out the way to help and victory for the successors to the throne of David who are mentioned in the closing stanza. The abiding covenant faithfulness (*ḥesed*) of Yahweh is assured to them. The glorious victories which David obtained through Yahweh despite being in hopeless danger of death can and will therefore, if they similarly remain faithful, also be experienced by those who succeed him in his dynasty. According to the ideal portrayed in the experience of David's reign, the potentialities of Yahweh are to be included among the facts of political realism. This conclusion follows from the emphasis placed upon David's attitude in the narrative texts as well, and also from the theological alignment of the psalm of thanksgiving in the centre of the concluding section of the book.

600 **J.-L. Vesco** 1987 in a "Lecture Davidique" seeks to assign individual expressions to particular periods, such as e.g. the leaping over the wall (22.30b) with the conquest of Jerusalem (2 Sam.5.6ff). Cf. **Nic. H. Ridderbos** 1972, 164f: 22.4-20 reflects David's experiences with Saul, and 22.33-46 David's victorious wars in 2 Sam.8.

601 Differently from the texts which are often studied as being in parallel, Ex.15.4 or Jdg.5.19f; cf. 2 Sam.1.20f.

602 Not even with Jerusalem, the city of David. In the light of the establishment of the altar in 2 Sam.24 linked with the appearance of an angel (pestilence, angel of death = Exodus motif) and the parallel correspondence between the altar at Gibeon (21.6; cf. 1 Kgs 3.4 *habāmāh hag^{e}ḏôlâh*) and Araunah's threshing floor before Jerusalem (24.16) this might at the most be assumed to form an implicit parallel to the manifestation of God at Sinai.

603 Cf. **James W. Watts**, *Psalms and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOT.S 139. Sheffield: JSOT 1992; cf. 2.3.2.1. above.

If in the course of theological discussion of the books of Samuel the search for an anti-monarchy and pro-monarchy bias in the texts has often led to the identification of source-critical strata, it appears that here with the picture that emerges of the monarchy evaluated in terms of the tradition of the Holy War the conflict is removed. A monarchy like David's, which remains dependent upon Yahweh, despite all its innovations in society does not stand in conflict with the convictions of conservative Yahwists. The image of monarchy as an institution without or even in opposition to Yahweh disappears in the light of this critique. The form of monarchy which is here exemplified in David combines the positive aspects of the old era with those of the new. David is the one who receives, not the one who takes[604]. Help in danger, victory over enemies, certainty of a future full of hope for his house—everything is granted him by Yahweh as a gift.

3.3.2 David's "Last Words"—2 Sam.23.1-7

Like the other songs in Samuel the "Last Words of David" are also often interpreted as a separate text on its own or in a context outside of the book[605]. In the light of our observations

604 Cf. **D.M. Gunn**, "David and the Gift of the Kingdom", *Semeia* 3 (1975) 14-45. Idem, "In Security: The David of Biblical Narrative", *Signs and Wonders: Biblical Texts in Literary Focus*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum, SBL-Semeia-Studies, Missoula: Scholars 1989, 139: "The pivotal story of David grasping is, I believe, that of David, Bathsheba, and Uriah (2 Sam.11-12), framed by the war against the Ammonites (ch.10) and the taking of Rabbah (12:26-31). The rape of Tamar that follows (ch.13), together with the murder of Amnon and the seizing of the kingdom by Absalom (chs.13-20), all replay, ironically and perversely, key elements of this central episode, a turning point in the larger story".

605 In addition to the commentaries cf. i.a. **O. Procksch**, "Die letzten Worte Davids", *Alttestamentliche Studien*, FS R. Kittel, BWAT 12, Leipzig 1913, 112-125; **S. Mowinckel**, "Die letzten Worte Davids II Sam 23,1-7", *ZAW* 45 (1927) 30-58; **H. Neil Richardson**, "The Last Words of David, some Notes on II Sam 23.1-7", *JBL* 90 (1971) 257-266; **F.M. Cross** 1973, 234-237; **T.N.D. Mettinger**, "The Last Words of David: A Study of Structure and Meaning in II Sam 23.1-7", *SEA* 41/2 (1976/77) 147-156; **Gerald T. Sheppard**, "The Last Words of David (2 Sam 23:1-7)", *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientalizing of the OT*, BZAW 151, Berlin: de Gruyter 1980, 144-158; **Raymond J. Tournay**, "Les 'Dernières paroles de David': II Sam xxiii, 1-7", *RB* 88 (1981) 481-504; **G. Del Olma Lete**, "David's Farewell Oracle (XXIII 1-7): A Literary Analysis", *VT* 34 (1984) 417-437; **Gary A. Rendsburg**, "The Northern Origin of 'The Last Words of David' (2 Sam.23.1-7)", *Bib* 69 (1988) 113-121; idem, "Additional Notes on 'The Last Words of David' (2 Sam.23.1-7)", *Bib* 70 (1989) 403-408; **A.A. Anderson** 1989, 267; **J.P. Fokkelman** 1990, 13 assumes a primary context without the remainder of the book. **R.A. Carlson** 1964, 247 emphasizes the parallel features of 2 Sam.22/23/1-7 and Dt.32/33—while he concedes for the latter "a certain compositional contribution" he declines to do so for the Samuel texts; for him 23.1-7 definitely represent messianic theology (256).

thus far, however, this text, together with David's psalm of thanksgiving[606], forms the centre in the chiastic structure of the closing chapters of the book, and also stands, together with the other poetic pieces[607], deliberately embedded in the narrative context of the whole book. With this text we are not only faced with the last of the six songs which are distributed throughout Samuel, but in the heading[608] the reader is also encouraged to read it as David's legacy, and thus as the weighty final utterance of the main character of the narrative sections[609]. This location within the books of Samuel is therefore taken to be the context in which it is to be interpreted[610].

3.3.2.1 The Structure of the "Last Words"

The structure of the "Last Words of David" is portrayed in the heading as having five stanzas[611]:

606 Whereas 2 Sam.22 has been accepted into the Psalter as Psalm 18 (MT and LXX), this does not apply to 2 Sam.23.1-7. The text appears, however, "as a seperate composition in 11QPs between the 'Hymn to the Creator' and Psalm cxl", cf. **Frederick F. Bruce**, "The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation", *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Deel 17, ed. A.S. Van der Woude, Leiden: Brill 1972, 37-52.

607 Cf. 2.3.2.2.

608 **J.P. Fokkelman** 1990, 355 understands the heading as the completion of the process of redaction: "This utterance is the last to be included in the books of Samuel". **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 489 sees it rather as being closely linked with the song, but: "Keinesfalls ist sie nachträglich aus dem Inhalt heraus interpretiert worden, wie es sonst bei den Psalmenüberschriften wohl der Fall ist".

609 On the dating, there are many variations from authentic Davidic or early monarchic (i.a. **O. Procksch** 1913; **A. Alt** 1930, 76; **O. Eissfeldt** ^{3}1964, 376; **H.N. Richardson** 1971; **F.M. Cross** 1975 [= 1950]; **D.N. Freedman** 1980; **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 486; **A.A. Anderson** 1989, 267f) to late post-exilic (i.a. **S. Mowinckel** 1927; **J. Tournay** 1981).—**F.M. Cross** 1973, 234: "Another passage of early date is the poetic 'Last Word of David'. Archaic elements suggest a tenth century date"; "The 'Last Words of David' may belong thus with the archaic conception of the Davidic covenant found in Psalm 132" (237).

610 **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 487: "Diese 'letzten Worte Davids' gehören sicher zu den Perikopen, die am schwersten auszulegen sind. Das liegt nicht allein und nicht zuerst an der verwickelten Struktur des Textes und seinem (vermeintlich?) schlechten Erhaltungszustand. Textliche Schwierigkeiten kennzeichnen wohl die Probleme, die durch den Inhalt gegeben sind".

611 Thus with **G. Del Olmo Lete** 1984, 424; similarly **J.P. Fokkelman** 1990, 355ff, who however takes 23.5a as belonging to the third stanza.—**O. Procksch** 1913 found six stanzas, and **S. Mowinckel** 1927 seven, but only after making considerable emendations to the text (cf. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 487). **H.N. Richardson** 1971, 259f postulates two main divsions, each of which is subdivided (I: The Divine Charge 1: The Setting 23.2-3ab / 2. The Content 23.3cd-4; II: The Reply of David 1. His Dynasty and Covenant 23.5 / 2. His Enemies 23.6) together with an introduction (23.1) and conclusion (23.6-7), but on grounds of symmetry assumes there is something missing following 23.6. **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 483 finds four sections: I: 23.1; II: 23.2-4; III: 23.5ab; IV: 23.5c-7.

23.1 Now these are the last words of David:

I The oracle of David, the son of Jesse,
the oracle of the man whom the Highest raises on high[612],
the anointed of the "God of Jacob",
the beloved of the "Strength of Israel"/songs of Israel[613].

23.2 II "Yahweh's Spirit" speaks in me[614],
his word is upon my tongue.
23.3 The "God of Israel" has spoken,
the "Rock of Israel" has said to me:

III When one rules justly over men,
ruling in the fear of God,
23.4 he dawns on them like the morning light,
the rising of the sun,
a morning without darkness,
(when) through the brightness, through the rain
the green (springs up) from the earth.

612 With **D. Barthelemy** 1980, 35 *'āl* placed afterwards as an adverb in parallel to Num.24.3,15. For the play on words in the simultaneous reading of postpositioned *'āl* as a description of God reminiscent of *'elyôm* cf. earlier **A. Klostermann** 1887, 246 (cf. Hos.7.16; 11.7; Dt.28.1,11; 26.19), **Köhler-Baumgartner** III, 780 i.a.

613 Instead of *z^{e}mîrôṯ*—songs the vocalization *zimroṯ* gives a description of God: **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 476: "Stronghold", **Del Olmo Lete** 1984, 416: "Protector, Defence". The meaning "songs" is to be assumed in addition as a play upon words. David would be the one who is sung about (cf. 1 Sam.18.7; 21.12; 29.5; cf. 2 Sam.1.17f,20,24. A link between David and songs would also be present by indirect association, cf. i.a. **R.T. France**, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids, MI 1982. There is no need to decide in favour of the one interpretation and against the other, cf. **Menachem Perry & Meir Sternberg**, "Der König ironisch betrachtet: Die Erzähltechniken in der biblischen Erzählung von David und Bathseba und zwei Exkurse zur Theorie des Erzählens", *HBWJ* 1 (1985) 98-103 = German synopsis of Hebrew *Hasifrut* 1 (1968) 263-292.

614 *bî* is translated by **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 484 as "zu mir"; **P.K. McCarter** 1984 as "through me".

23.5 IV Just the same is my house with God,
for an eternal covenant is made with me,
ordered in all things and secure,
For all my help, all my requests
—just the same[615] he lets them spring up.

23.6 V But godless[616] men (are) all like thorns that are thrown away[617];
which cannot be taken in the hand.
23.7 Anyone who grasps/touches them,
is equipped with iron and the shaft of a spear,
and they are utterly consumed with fire...[618]

With the opening description of David as the "son of Jesse" attention is drawn within the context of the books of Samuel to his previous humble social background[619]. The book began in 1 Sam.1.1 with the reference to Elkanah, the future father of Samuel, setting out his place of origin, his tribal allegiance, and his genealogy to four generations. Similarly in 1 Sam.9.1 Saul was introduced by first naming his father with his tribal allegiance and his family tree to the fourth generation. It is surely striking that in the whole of Samuel the main character, David, does indeed have a father whose name is Jesse, but there is no corresponding emphasis on his family or tribal roots[620]: David is not here identified in terms of any family tradition.

615 *kî-lō'* emphatically with **F. Stolz** 1981, 293 i.a.

616 Contrast to *ṣaddîq* 23.3c.

617 Contrast to *huqam 'āl* 23.1c.

618 *bašebeṯ* here with **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 487; **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 479; **A.A. Anderson** 1989, 266 leaves untranslated as possible transference from the following verse.

619 Cf. **R.B. Lawton**, "Saul, Jonathan and the 'Son of Jesse'", *JSOT* 58 (1993) 35-46; **D.J. Pleins**, "Son-Slayers and Their Sons", *CBQ* 54 (1992) 29-38.

620 On the pre-eminent social significance of the system of family relationships in acephalous communities cf. **Rainer Neu**, *Von der Anarchie zum Staat: Entwicklungsgeschichte Israels vom Nomadentum zur Monarchie im Spiegel der Ethnosoziologie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1992, 252: "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen bestimmen...die Rechte und Pflichten des einzelnen und seine gesellschaftlichen Lebensäußerungen. Sie strukturieren alle Bereiche gesellschaftlicher Organisation", they function "als Produktionsverhältnisse, als politische Beziehungen und als ideologisches Schema".

Furthermore, David appears almost to have been regarded as not really belonging to his family[621]. Saul's question about David's father in 1 Sam.17.5 does not necessarily mean that he did not know him personally, but may be an inquiry concerning the tribal roots of his family, and hence his social status. This is something which is not recorded anywhere in Samuel. David first finds recognition on the basis not of his own family, but of his connection with that of Saul[622]. The complex triangular relationship in the father-son connection between David and Saul and between David and Jesse is in the course of Samuel superseded by David's own authority. Here in the last words David is given by Yahweh a legitimacy of his own, which has no need of the family connection with Saul[623]. It is the "son of Jesse" without pedigree, not the son-in-law of Saul, whom Yahweh so highly exalted.

Whereas elsewhere in the book the first mention of the main character is accompanied by the four-fold paternal line, it is not until now at the conclusion of his life that David is introduced with a four-fold title: "David ben-Jesse, raised on high by the Highest, the anointed of the God of Jacob, the beloved of the Strength of Israel". David's identity stems not from his background, but from what God has accomplished and will accomplish in him[624]. While Hannah spoke at the outset of the great reversal brought about by Yahweh, who "makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts", and "raises up the poor from the dust, and lifts the needy from the ash heap" (1 Sam.2.7f), her words find a parallel here in David's

621 **Joel Rosenberg**, "1 and 2 Samuel", *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter & F. Kermode, Cambridge MA: HUP 1987, 130f: "His father views the lad either indifferently or overprotectively: David is presented to Samuel only as an afterthought..."

622 **Robert B. Lawton** 1993, 42: "Saul repeatedly refers to David as 'son of Jesse'." "'Son of Jesse' suggests, in Saul's tortuous heart, bitterness that David is another's son and not his own." Cf. the father-son dialogue in 1 Sam.24, and the brotherly relationship to Jonathan. David found recognition as Saul's son-in-law, not through his father, Jesse (1 Sam.17.25; 18.17f,22f,26f; 22.14; 2 Sam.3.13f).

623 Cf. also **James W. Flanagan**, "Succession and Genealogy in the Davidic Dynasty", *The Quest for the Kingdom of God*, FS G.E. Mendenhall, ed. H.B. Huffmon et al., Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982, 35-55. Through his marriage David was able for the first time also to have a valid claim of inheritance to Saul's throne. 2 Sam.6 sees this claim rescinded in favour of legitimation on his own account. (Cf. 2.1.1.3).

624 Cf. **Johannes H. Schmid**, *Biblische Theologie in der Sicht heutiger Alttestamentler*, Giessen: TVG-Brunnen 1986, 112: "Man darf sagen, daß Segnen und Retten im Alten Testament immer in der Weise beisammen sind, daß das eine ohne das andere ganz undenkbar wäre. Es ist unmöglich, daß Gott retten würde, ohne zu segnen oder umgekehrt."

entitlement from Yahweh, which illustrates in concentrated form the validity of her statement.

David is the one who has been raised up to the throne by Israel's God, the one "to whom the sons of foreigners render homage" (2 Sam.22.45). As Jacob in Gn.49 and Moses in Dt.33 at the end of their lives looked to the future of the tribes of Israel[625], so David as the exalted, anointed and beloved one is, by a divine word, granted an insight into the future of his house. He is himself the recipient of Spirit-imparted speech.

After the double introduction (stanzas 1 and 2) there follows in stanzas 3 to 5 the content of the divine utterance. In this the wellbeing of the righteous (*ṣaddîq*) ruler (stanza 3) stands in contrast to the fate of the godless (*bᵉliya'al*) in stanza 5. Whereas the one is like the sun which entices the plants to grow, the other is like thorns which are burnt up. In the very centre of the text the fourth stanza contains the statements concerning the house of David. Images from the world of nature and plants[626] link together all three stanzas[627].

3.3.2.2 David, a Prophet

It is not a matter of course to find the rôles of king and prophet combined in one person. However, the *nᵉ'um* placed emphatically at the beginning, followed immediately by the repetition in the parallelism, leaves no doubt that in this text David is speaking as a prophet. While in the psalm of thanksgiving in 2 Sam.22 he was witness to a theophany and recipient of Yahweh's extensive help, in 2 Sam.23.1-7 he becomes the speaker of the word of God.

625 The similarities are noted in almost all the commentaries, and in particular also the parallels in the duplication of song and last words between Dt.32/33 and 2 Sam.22/23.1-7.

626 In 23.4 the blossoming forth from the earth (*dešeʾ mēʾāreṣ*), 23.5 the springing up of salvation (*ṣamaḥ*), 23.6 the rejected thorns (*qûṣ*).

627 The ring structure differentiated by speakers suggested by **Del Olmo Lete** 1984, 424 is unconvincing:

	Editor:	Heading
A	Writer:	Stanza 1
B	Prophet:	Stanza 2
X	God:	Stanza 3
B	Prophet:	Stanza 4
A	Writer:	Stanza 5

Just as the anonymous man of God in 1 Sam.2.30 puts forth his word of judgment to the priest Eli with a two-fold *n^e'um YHWH*, so too David speaks here as a prophet[628]. While the first *n^e'um* of Jahweh concerned the rejection of Eli's dynasty, here the import of the second and last *n^e'um* of Yahweh is the choosing of David's dynasty[629].

Unusual as it seems at first sight, closer observation shows this to be not unexpected in the books of Samuel. For the judges Eli[630] and Samuel too, as well as for Saul, their quasi-prophetic rôle had been expressed. The tradition of the judges is aware of the inner link between spirit and governing[631]. Their tradition of the unity of leadership of the people with the reception of divine instruction was extended in 1 Sam.12.11 to Samuel himself[632], in whom the office of judge is combined with that of prophet and priest.

There is no division between the leadership of the people of Yahweh and the rôle of the prophet; indeed the connection between the two is a prerequisite of the theocratic form of

628 The similarities of form with the third and fourth statements of Balaam in Nu.24.3,15f are far-reaching: the opening expression *n^e'um*, the introduction with the supplementary names giving authority to the speaker. Cf. Prov.30.1. **H.W. Hertzberg** ^{4}1968, 330 sees these as signs of a characteristic form; cf. **Dieter Vetter**, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung: Ausdrucksabsichten und sprachliche Verwirklichungen in den Bileamsprüchen von Num 23 und 24*, Stuttgart: Calwer 1974, 73f: "Die auffällige Übereinstimmung belegt die Formprägung der hier wie dort gebrauchten sprachlichen Äußerungen und gewährleistet das hohe Alter der zwar zur gleichen Gattung wie die Sprüche in Num 23-24 zu rechnenden, literarisch aber von ihnen unabhängigen 'letzten Worte Davids'." The specific form of the prophetic utterance differentiates this text from the late evaluation of all David's psalms as prophetic in a general sense, cf. **John Barton**, *Oracles of God*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1986, 37, 40.

629 **D. Vetter** 1974, 73: "Wobei freilich die Beobachtung bemerkenswert ist, daß der Sprecher von II Sam 23,1ff sein Wissen nicht mehr wie der Seher Bileam aus der Schauung herleitet. In dem so eingeführten folgenden Spruchteil wird kein Gotteswort zitiert, sondern die vom Sprecher auf auditive Weise erlangte Kenntnis wiedergegeben. Von Gott ist in der dritten Person die Rede, wie auch in den Sprüchen von Num 23-24 als typisch für den Seherspruch erkannt wurde... Auch das haben die 'letzten Worte Davids' mit den Bileam-Sprüchen gemeinsam: Der Gegenstand ihrer Wiedergabe ist ein Segenszustand".

630 The priest Eli is introduced as someone who announces definitely the granting of a prayer (1 Sam.1.17), he acts as priest and judge, and also shows himself to be not ignorant of the ways in which God speaks (1 Sam.3.7f).

631 It is not only Moses and Joshua who were the recipients of immediate divine directives; in addition the judges Othniel (Jdg.3.10), Deborah (Jdg.4.4), Gideon (Jdg.6.25,34), Jephthah (Jdg.11.29) and Samson (Jdg.14.19) act under the inspiration of the Spirit of God or in obedience to words directly received from God.

632 Thus with MT; LXX has *šimšôn*. If this reading is preferred, the era of the judges still lasts until the installation of the monarchy, i.e. until Samuel.

government. If in the pre-monarchic era the ruler was in each case understood to have been called and given authority by the word and Spirit of God, then the king, too, could not have a merely earthly legitimation in the people of Yahweh[633].

On the occasion of Saul's anointing, in connection with the Spirit coming upon him there is handed down the expression, "Is even Saul among the prophets?"[634]. This lends a quasi-prophetic character to the anointing of the king, albeit in the form of a question. With the working of the Spirit at the beginning of the Ammonite battle in 1 Sam.11.6 Saul stands in the tradition of the judges. Under the power of this same prophetic spirit Saul is led in 1 Sam.19 to take off his clothes, thereby symbolically prefiguring the death which is his future destiny. Whereas here in the case of Saul amazement that he should be among the prophets is expressed for a second time, the account shows that David is now on the side of Samuel and the group of prophets.

David, too, as the anointed one (1 Sam.16.13), was portrayed as endowed with the Spirit of God. As proof of this, in the arrangement of the narrative a special gift in the realm of music is first remarked upon as qualifying him, prior to the exercise of military leadership. As a harpist whose music is capable of overcoming the evil spirit which attacks Saul, David stood on his own in direct parallel to the prophetic group of players of harps, flutes, timpani and zithers, at whose music Saul was seen to be enraptured and was transformed by the Spirit of Yahweh[635].

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633 **Wolfram v. Soden**, "Sakrales Königtum", ³*RGG* III. Tübingen: Mohr ³1959, 1712-1714: "Überall, wo die Religion für alle Lebensbereiche bestimmend ist, kann auch das Königtum als die wichtigste irdische Ordnungsmacht keine nur säkulare Größe sein."

634 Reflecting the translation of **V.P. Long** 1989, 208, fn.54

635 **S. Mowinckel** *PsSt* III. 1922, 25-29 described the composition of psalms as an expression of the rôle of the *nᵉbî'*.—*PsSt* VI. 1923, 48ff: "Wie nun die soeben angeführten Stellen aus der Chronik zeigen, sind es eben die Sänger, die zugleich als Propheten bezeichnet werden. Das beruht auf einem sehr alten Zusammenhang beider Berufe... Die Prophetinnen Mirjam und Debora sind auch Sängerinnen und Dichterinnen (Ex 15,20; Ri 5,1); wie der Prophet 'mit geschlossenen Augen' (Num 23,3), die in Wirklichkeit die einzig 'offenen' (Num 24,4) sind, ferne Dinge schaut und mit seinen geöffneten Ohren geheime göttliche Stimmen hört (1Sa 9,15; Jes 22,14), so hört der Dichter den Hymnus des Himmels, der 'ohne Rede und ohne Worte und (für menschliche Ohren) nicht hörbar' ist (Ps 19,2-5); wie der Prophet durch Musik inspiriert wird (1Sa 10,5f.10ff; 2Kg 3,15), so auch der Dichter (Ps 49,2-5)".

David is not described in so many words as a prophet, but nevertheless the connection between endowment by the Spirit and divine qualification for kingly duties is present in the case of both the kings of the books of Samuel. In David's case his musically effective harp-playing gives him a closeness and a spiritual relationship to the instrument-playing prophets, at whose head Saul had placed himself (1 Sam.19.2). That David is portrayed here, on the boundary between life and death, as speaking with prophetic insight, is thus in line with his portrayal up to now in the narrative sections[636].

As a prophet David stands, here in the "Last Words", again in stark contrast to Saul. Before his death Saul was denied any access to God's word (1 Sam.28.6)[637], the ways in which God might speak through dreams, Urim and Thummim and prophets being specifically mentioned. Finally, in a last vain attempt to receive a word of God, he turns to the necromancer. David, on the other hand, has no difficulty in obtaining words from God. After Samuel (1 Sam.19.18) and the priest Ahimlech (1 Sam.22.15) he is accompanied by Eli's descendant Abiathar (1 Sam.23.6ff; 30.7). Whereas it is clear that Saul did not always regard it as important to consult Yahweh (1 Sam.14.18f,36f), David invariably consulted him before decisions were made (1 Sam.23.12,4,10-12; 30.8; 2 Sam.2.1; 5.19,23). At turning points the prophets Gad and Nathan stood at his side. At the end of his life the words of God are poured out even from the lips of David himself: the *rûaḥ* of Yahweh speaks in him (*bî*), the "Rock of Israel" speaks to him (*lî*). The greatness of the contrast with Saul could hardly have been expressed theologically more clearly.

636 Thus the endowment by the Spirit with a musical/prophetic gift forms a further "envelope" around the stories of David. The fact that it is also ascribed to Saul, albeit only in the form of a question, shows it to be not unexpected for a *m^{e}šîaḥ*.

637 Cf. **Kenneth M. Craig**, "Rhetorical Aspects of Questions Answered with Silence in 1 Sa.14.37 and 28.6", *CBQ* 56 (1994) 221-239: "The multiple effects of the picture of a king unable to get answers combine to support the theme of decline, and the near duplication of images signals a distinct rhetorical strategy" (239). **V.P. Long** 1989, 123 on 1 Sam.14.37: "There is an implication of judgement in the divine silence; and we are reminded of Samuel's warning to the people in 1 Sam.8 that, as a result of their sinful request for a king, 'Yahweh will not answer you in that day' 8:18."

Whereas the epoch at the beginning of Samuel was characterized as one in which "the word of Yahweh was rare" and "there was no frequent vision" (1 Sam.3.1), by the end of David's reign the picture has totally changed. Yahweh began by revealing himself to his people Israel through Samuel (1 Sam.3.21) at Shiloh. Even after the loss of the ark Yahweh continues to speak, neither does he cease to do so with the death of Samuel[638]. Although Saul was excluded from hearing the voice of Yahweh, in David it was present. Thus it is David, not Saul, who is the anointed one attested by Yahweh.

3.3.2.3 Fresh Green Growth and Burning Thorns

The principal duties of the king as summarized in Samuel include, as well as taking the lead in battle, administration of justice[639] among the people (1 Sam.8.5,20)[640]. An inner righteousness is the basic element for the people's *šālôm*. As in other ancient oriental nations[641], also in Israel it was the king who was expected to ensure and maintain this. A correspondence between the Israelite ideal of a king and that of the neighbouring nations is seen by K.W. Whitelam[642] as consisting in the following points:

638 According to **F. Langlamet**, "Les Divisions Massorétiques du Livre de Samuel: À Propos de la Publication du Codex du Caire", *RB* 91 (1984) 481-519 the Masoretic division into *p*^{e}*tûḥōṯ* and *s*^{e}*tûmōṯ* appears to be based on sentences of verbal speech, and thus to want to interpret the book as a whole as a theological address. They form "un réseau serré...de divisions matériellement ou formellement 'théologiques', telles d'ailleurs qu'on pouvait les attendre dans le Livre III des 'Premiers Prophètes'" (519).

639 Cf. **John H. Eaton** 1976, 137ff,141ff, who has worked these out to be the two first duties of the kingly ideal in the Psalter.

640 Even though *šapaṭ* can be translated "govern", the administration of justice is still included in it, cf. **Keith W. Whitelam**, *The Just King: Monarchical Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel*, JSOT.S 12, Sheffield 1979, 51-59.

641 The ideal of the just king is to be found throughout the Orient, cf. **K.W. Whitelam** 1979, 18ff. Cf. i.a. the introduction to the Codex Hammurapis: "Als der erhabene Gott..., der Herr des Himmels und der Erden,... Marduk, dem Erstling Ia's, dem göttlichen Herrn des Rechts..., damals haben (mich) Hammurabi, den erhabenen Fürsten, den Gottesfürchtigen, um Recht im Lande finden zu lassen, den Schlechten und Bösen zu vernichten, auf dass der Mächtige den Schwachen nicht bedrücke, dass ich wie Shamash den Schwarzhäuptigen aufgehe, das Land erleuchte..." (**J. Kohler & F.E. Peiser**, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Vol. I, Leipzig: Pfeiffer 1904, 4). Cf. also **John Pairman Brown**, "From Divine Kingship to Dispersal of Power in the Mediterranean City-State", *ZAW* 105 (1993) 62-86.

642 Cf. K.W. Whitelam 1979, 37.

"1. The acceptance that justice formed part of the underlying world harmony which was realized at the time of creation. 2. It was the king's primary duty to guarantee the true administration of justice throughout the land. 3. By so doing, this governed not only right social relationship, as expressed in the king's concern for the underprivileged, but also guaranteed prosperity and fertility for the nation as a whole." The rôle of the king consists "in the protection of society as warrior, the guarantor of justice as judge and the right ordering of worship as priest... which covers all aspects of the well-being of society"[643].

Thus in the centre of the closing chapters the main theme is that of the two chief duties of kingship. While the psalm in 2 Sam.22 describes the king as a military commander waging the wars of Yahweh, in 2 Sam.23.1-7, with its accent upon justice, the focus is placed on the second central responsibility of government. It concerns the ensuring of right and justice within the ruler's sphere of power. It is not spelt out in detail how, in individual cases, weak and endangered people are to be protected against the attack of the more powerful. However, the tendency in the placing in parallel of just leadership and fear of God might point to the protection of the underprivileged and weak having a predominant rôle[644]. The fact that Yahweh gives particular attention to the poor among the people was expressed plainly in 2 Sam.22.28 as an essential feature of his justice[645]. Fear of God and justice are understood as related and mutually dependent: it is only the one who fears God who can be a just ruler, and it is impossible for someone who is not prepared to fear God to be a just ruler[646]. The king does not impose the law by his own authority. It is only while he follows God that he can expect God's blessing upon his reign.

643 **K.W. Whitelam**, "Israelite Kingship: The Royal Ideology and its Opponents", *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives*, Cambridge: CUP 1989, 119-139.

644 This is the tendency shown in all the Israelite collections of laws, in the requirements of the prophets and the case-examples to be found in Samuel (2 Sam.12.1ff; 14.5ff).

645 The help to the disadvantaged *'am 'ānî* corresponds to the description of the men with David in 1 Sam.22.2. It is to these very people that special honour is accorded in the middle ring of the Samuel Conclusion.

646 **J.P. Fokkelman** 1990, 359 on 23.3cd: "This enables us to read colon A [23.c] plus colon B [23.3d] as subject plus predicate, but the other way round no less... I prefer...: 'he who governs the people righteously, governs in awe of God'... One might translate it jussively as: he who wishes to be a ruler of integrity must ever proceed in the fear of God. And equally: he who wishes to govern with integrity can succeed in this only if... etc".

Such a rule is described as being like a sunrise[647]. Just as in the early morning following rain the green growth springs up, so the land flourishes under a ruler who fears God. Life and fruits spring inexorably forth from the earth. Just as the rising sun entices the plants to flourish and blossom, so the just ruler entices forth *šālôm* in his land. The opposite to this is represented by the *bᵉliya'al*. Any ruler who acts independently of God is likened to the thorns which are burnt up in the fire. He will be grasped with iron and spear and swept away[648].

3.3.2.4 David's *ṣᵉdāqâ*: as a Person and as a King

The theme of justice which is central to the "Last Words" also had an important function in David's song of thanksgiving in the core position between the two main sections (2 Sam.22.21-29). The help afforded by Yahweh in deliverance from the threat of death and in defeating the hostile nations was seen to be linked to David's righteousness (22.21): "Yahweh rewarded (*gāmal*) me according to my righteousness." Thus *ṣᵉdāqâ* forms the grounds for the double experience of Yahweh's saving activity. Ingo Baldermann[649] describes justice as "Treue zu einem bestehenden Gemeinschaftsverständnis": it consists "in der Beständigkeit der Zuwendung und zwar von beiden Seiten, in der Treue, und, wo ein Mensch in Not gerät, auch in der helfenden Barmherzigkeit." In the help which he affords, Yahweh puts into practice his justice, which includes a corresponding attitude on the part of David.

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647 On the extensive use of the sun motif to describe the good ruler in Egypt and Babylon, cf. **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 484.

648 Cf. **K.W. Whitelam**, "Israelite Kingship", 1989, 132: "The interrelationship between justice, order, fertility and prosperity is found throughout the royal psalms and other material within the Hebrew Bible... If the king fails to provide justice,... then the social, political and ecological structure is thrown open to the ever-present powers of chaos."

649 **Ingo Baldermann**, *Einführung in die Bibel*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ⁴1993 [=1988], 62: "Gott als der Bundespartner Israels bewährt seine Gerechtigkeit darin, daß er diesem bedrohten, schutzbedürftigen Volk gerecht wird, und er wird ihm gerecht, indem er ihm hilft, schützend seine Hand über sein Volk hält und es in den Bedrohungen bewahrt".

In the structure of Samuel David's justice is, moreover, not attested in his own words alone. In 1 Sam.24, which has been shown to be a main text[650] by means of the structure which we have worked out, Saul had already appeared as principal witness to plead David's justice in similar words to those of 2 Sam.22.21: "You are more righteous than I; for you have repaid (*gāmal*) me good, whereas I have repaid (*gāmal*) you evil" (1 Sam.24.18). Saul's confirmation of David's superior righteousness came here after David had called upon Yahweh to be the arbitrator between the two of them. Saul had already been told by Samuel that one better than he would inherit his throne on the occasion of his rejection (1 Sam.15.28). This one would be chosen by Yahweh as a man "after his own heart" (1 Sam.13.14). David's comment about his righteousness in 2 Sam.22.21,25 can, therefore, refer to the judgment of Yahweh. By deciding in his favour, Yahweh has regarded him as more righteous than Saul. The fact that Yahweh himself judges what is righteous or unjust was pointed out to Saul by David a second time in 1 Sam.26.23: "Yahweh rewards every man for his righteousness and his faithfulness". In the course of their conflicts Yahweh made his judicial decision in the abandonment of Saul and the elevation of David.

The same is true of the challenge to David's claim to the throne during Absalom's rebellion. When the majority of the people side with Absalom against David, and David is cursed[651] by Shimei with the claim that it is Yahweh who has placed his kingdom into the hand of Absalom (2 Sam.16.7f), David leaves it to the jurisdiction of Yahweh himself (in a similar way as in the relationship with Saul) to pronounce judgment[652]. The later re-installation of

650 See 2.1.4.1 (3) above.

651 Cf. **Walter Brueggemann**, "On Coping with Curse: A Study of 2 Sam.16.5-14", *CBQ* 36 (1974) 175-192.

652 Cf. **W. Brueggemann**, "On trust and Freedom", *Int* 26 (1972) 3-19: "The two statements [2 Sam.15.25f; 16.9, HK] are an affirmation of complete confidence in Yahweh when the speaker, in a moment of danger, rejects all other means of rescue and puts himself completely at the disposal of Yahweh without any assurance of how he will act" (15). "In both of his great affirmations, David expects good from Yahweh (15.26; 16.12). He does not expect this in a dramatic intrusive way, but in the normal unfolding of destiny-laden events" (19).

David as king must in this context equally be regarded as the decision of Yahweh[653]. In this way David's *ṣ^edāqâ* can be seen to be recognized by Yahweh and defended by him against its challengers. Thus anyone who questions David's *ṣ^edāqâ* stands condemned by Yahweh.

If the events recounted in the narrative sections of Samuel are in accordance with David's personal *ṣ^edāqâ* which is attested in 2 Sam.22.21ff, in 23.3f just rule is also a mark of his kingship. This, too, is in accordance with the texts which precede it. In the introduction to the list of ministers in 2 Sam.8.15-18 it is observed that David reigns (*yimlōk*) over *kōl yiśrā'ēl* as a "creator" (*'ōśeh*) of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^edāqâ*. This just rule of David is emphasized by the striking chiastic form of the list[654]. In the centre of the ring structure the office of the priests features as the most important adjunct to government in the people of Yahweh. This is framed by the duties of the civil administration. Only in the next ring does the military establishment follow. The whole list is held together with the duties of David as king, and that of his sons, which is also a priestly one:

653 Cf. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 404 , who sees in the *mitkämpfenden Wald* of 2 Sam.18.8 an analogy with the reports of sacral wars, "in denen Jahwe für das Bestehen seines Volks mit nichtmenschlichen Mitteln eintritt... So kämpft hier Jahwe gegen Absalom und schlägt ihn. Das ist ein objektives Verwerfungsurteil über Absalom..., es wird unübersehbar, wer den Willen Jahwes verwirklichen soll" —Absalom, who "von einer Astgabel ergriffen...zwar noch lebendig, aber von Jahwe aufgegeben war... Tatsächlich war das Urteil von Jahwe gesprochen, und Joab brauchte ihn nicht zu töten."

654 The structure in 8.15-18 follows an elaborate plan, which is not recognized in **U. Rüterswörden** 1981, 108; **T.N.D. Mettinger** 1971, 8f, who like **Begrich** (*ZAW* 1940, 6f) assumes errors in copying from adjacent columns, and **T. Veijola** 1975, 125: "Der unsystematischen Liste 2Sa 8:*16-18 gegenüber erscheinen die Ämter in 2Sa 20:*23-26 in einer logischen Reihenfolge, wobei Militär, Zivilverwaltung und Kult als geschlossene Gruppen auftreten". A different view is taken by **R.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS III, 1990, 262f, although he does consider the reference to the sons of David to be an intrusion.

A	8,15	**king**	**David**	rule in ***ṣ^{e}dāqâ***
B	16	army	Joab	military
C		chancellor *mazkîr*	Jehoshaphat	civil administration
D	17	*priest*	Zadok	sanctuary
D^{1}		*priest*	Abiathar	sanctuary
C^{1}		secretary *sôpēr*	Seraiah	civil administration
B^{1}	18	bodyguard (Cherethites & Pelethites)	Benaiah	military
A^{1}		**priesthood**	**David's sons**	rule in ***ḥesed***

This diagram of the organization of David's administration reflects the dialectic of justice and fear of God required in 2 Sam.23.3cd. In centre stage stand those offices which are concerned with the relationship of the people to Yahweh, followed at a lower level by the state's civil bureaucracy and armed forces. The just rule over Israel set up and maintained by David is a theocentric one, and this is also expressed in the gradation of order in his list of ministers, and puts into effect the ideal which is described in the "Last Words".

The fact that the second list in 2 Sam.20.23-26 represents a significant variation from this realized theology must not be overlooked[655]. There is no comparable elaborate ring structure. In its place there is a linear arrangement with the military at the peak, followed by the new ministry for forced labour, which precedes the civil administration. Then last of all the function of the priests is mentioned. There is no more talk of *ṣ^{e}dāqâ* and *mišpāṭ*. No further mention is made of David's governmental activity as king, with his name only being mentioned as an attribute to the priestly activity of Ira:

655 References in commentaries, e.g. **K. Gutbrod** ^{4}1975, 234, to repetition do not entirely fit the bill.

B	20,23	army	Joab
B^1		bodyguard	Benaiah
	24	forced labour	Adoram
C		chancellor	Jehoshaphat
C^1	25	secretary	Sheva
D		*priest*	Zadok
D^1		*priest*	Abiathar
A^1	26	David's priest	Ira

Both lists of ministers reflect a system of government. Only for the first is justice a requirement, and in that one David as king stands at the peak, and the central position in the middle is taken by the priesthood. The second list expresses a different social order. Immediately prior to this in the literary composition of the texts reference was made to the internal uprisings under Absalom and Sheba. On both occasions Joab, who heads this list, had disregarded the express instruction of the king[656]. The rule stems from the army commander, while no mention is made of the kingly office, which was entrusted with the carrying out of justice[657]. The theocentricity is lost, and in its place the duty of the priests as mediators with Yahweh is subordinated to the other powers of the state[658]. It may well be assumed that the second list is to be understood not as a reflection of good rule in justice and the fear of God, but as an expression of the form of government resulting from rebellion and civil war. Only the first list corresponds with the ideal of the last words of David.

656 Expressly mentioned in the texts: 2 Sam.18.5-11,15; 19.14f & 20.9f.

657 There is no more mention of a priestly function for the sons of David; instead of this we hear for the first time of one Ira as priest of David, separated from the two priests Zadok and Abiathar who have already been mentioned in the first list.

658 Is there expressed in this order the form of government which is characterized in 2 Sam.23.6f as *bᵉliya'al*?

3.3.2.5 Yahweh's *b^erît* with David

The prophetic utterance, couched in wisdom terms[659], in 2 Sam.23.5 applies pointedly to the house of David. The blessed state of balance between fear of God and justice which has been described has been realized in David and his house. Similarly to the ways in which Jacob[660] in Gn.49 and Moses[661] in Dt.33 in their last words pronounce a blessing on the tribes of Israel, David speaks of the future path of his house. Here it is not, as in these other cases, a matter of a blessing in the strict sense, but he looks towards a healthy future, which, as a revealed future, depicts what is real, and thus is a promise[662]. God has made his covenant[663] with the house of David, which is the guarantee of the future blessing. This everlasting

659 Cf. **P.K. McCarter** 1984, 485: "Wisdom motifs are timeless"; cf. **R.N. Whybray**, "Wisdom Literature in the Reign of David and Solomon", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. T. Ishida, Tokyo: Ymakawa-Shuppansha 1982, 13-26.

660 Cf. the total of twelve sons born to David in Jerusalem (2 Sam.5.14-16 with 11.27) (the list in 1 Chr.3. 1-9 mentions 13 names for Jerusalem, in addition to further sons of David), which places David in parallel with the founding father of the nation. The fact that the internal troubles stem from the sons who were born in Hebron (Ammon, Absalom, later Adonijah), while the Davidic rule which is blessed is bound up with Solomon, who is one of the twelve in the list of Jerusalem sons, may, but need not, be accidental.

661 Cf. **G.T. Sheppard** 1980, 155: "The formal description of David as one who succeeded according to righteousness recalls both the summarizing description of Moses as 'the man of God' (Dt 33:1, structurally parallel to 2 Sam 23:1!) and the idealization of Moses at the end of Deuteronomy as the prophet *par excellence* (Dt 34:10-12). By implication, what Moses was to the prophets in Israel, David was to her kings".

662 Cf. **H.J. Stoebe** 1994, 490.

663 On the significance of covenant theology cf. i.a. **J. Muilenburg**, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", *VT* 9 (1959) 347ff; **K. Seybold**, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*, Göttingen: V&R 1972; **Gordon Wenham**, "Grace and Law in the Old Testament", *Law, Morality and the Bible: A Symposium*, ed. B.N. Kaye & Gordon Wenham, Leicester: IVP 1978, 3-52; **D.J. McCarthy**, "Compact and Kingship: Stimuli for Hebrew Covenant Thinking", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982, 75-92; **K.A. Kitchen**, "The Fall and Rise of Covenant, Law and Treaty", *TynB 40* (1989) 118-135.

covenant fulfils Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam.7[664]. There the prophecy was linked to the play on words *house* of Yahweh, *house* of David[665]. Even though the expression *bᵉrît* is not used there, the mutuality in the reciprocal house-building, the reference to Yahweh's previous dealings with David, and the promises of abiding faithfulness *'aḏ-'ôlām* indicate the substance of a covenant relationship. Yahweh's rule in the nations is united by treaty with the reign of David.

Thus the just rule in 23.3ff is linked on one side theocentrically to the fear of God, and on the other it is bound up through the *bᵉrît* with the Davidic dynasty. Anyone who wishes to be counted as a just ruler must belong to the house of David. This represents the appointment of Yahweh himself, who has exalted David in such a fashion as to confirm him as king of his people. As frequently in the Psalter, the harmony of just, Yahweh-centred rule and Davidic kingship is in view here: "The Davidic king is considered to serve within the sphere of God's own kingship. God remains the active king of all, not least of the community centred at Jerusalem; Davidic rule is his instrument"[666]. Anyone who disputes this with David or

664 **G.T. Sheppard** 1980, 149: "Whether or not the statement in v.5 was dependent originally on 2 Sam 7, the new redactional setting in the literature makes an identification with the earlier passage unavoidable." "Only in 23:1-7 does one find the same conceptuality and language as that occuring in 2 Sam 7 (cf. 2 Sam 23:5 with 7:16). Hence, the combination of David's hymn and last words seems to recall the earlier narrative and to identify the fulfillment of Nathan's oracle with the events of David's kingship and the future of his dynasty."—On 2 Sam.7 and the promise to David cf. i.a. **Siegfried Herrmann**, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel", *Gesammelte Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Munich: Chr Kaiser 1986, 120-144. [= *Wiss. Ztsch. d. Universität Leipzig* 3 (1953-4) 51-62]; **E.S. Mulder**, "The Prophecy of Nathan in II Sam 7", *Studies in the Book of Samuel*, ed. A.H.v. Zyl, Pretoria 1960, 36-42; **Ernst Kutsch**, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden: Probleme der Nathanweissagung in 2Sa 7", *ZThK* 58 (1961) 137-153; **Hartmut Gese**, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung", *ZTK* 61 (1964) 10-26; **D.J. McCarthy**, "II Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History", *JBL* 84 (1965) 131-138, followed by **F.M. Cross** 1973, 249ff; **A. Weiser**, "Die Tempelbaukrise unter David", *ZAW* 77 (1965) 153-168; **Roland de Vaux**, *Les Livres de Samuel* ²1961; idem, "Jérusalem et les prophètes", *RB* 73 (1966) 481-509; **Eckhard v. Nordheim**, "König und Tempel: Der Hintergrund des Tempelbauverbotes in 2 Samuel vii", *VT* 27 (1977) 434-453; **Jon D. Levenson**, "The Davidic Covenant and its Modern Interpreters", *CBQ* 41 (1979) 205-219; **M. Tsevat**, "The Steadfast House", *The Meaning of the Book of Job and other Biblical Stories: Essays on the Literature and Religion of the Hebrew Bible*, Dallas TX: Institute of Jewish Studies 1980, 101-117; **Chaim Gevaryahu**, "The Promise of Eternal Kingship to David", *Beth Mikra* 37 (1991/92) 1-23 (Hebrew); **Georg Hentschel**, *Gott, König und Tempel: Beobachtungen zu 2Sa 7,1-17*, Leipzig: Benno 1992; **Victor (Avigdor) Hurowitz**, *I have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings*, JSOT.S 115, Sheffield: JSOT 1992; **B. Renauld**, "La Prophéthie de Natan: Théologies en conflict", *RB* 101 (1994) 5-61.

665 Cf. **Heinz Kruse**, "David's Covenant", *VT* 35 (1985) 139-164.

666 Cf. **John H. Eaton** 1976, 135.

his descendants who belong to his house thereby harms the *šālôm* of the nation which comes from God, and is like the sons of *bᵉliya'al*. The opponents of David become the enemies of Yahweh. Like Eli's sons[667] at the beginning of the book, they will perish and bring fiery disaster upon the land.

With the promise of Yahweh that he has made his covenant with the house of David, this last song answers the question, left open in Hannah's psalm, of the identity of the anointed one and king whom Yahweh would provide. If Hannah's song prompted thoughts of a kind of new creation, then this new thing is to be found in the royal house of David. This theme links together the three framing psalms at the beginning and ending of Samuel. In the structure of the books of Samuel which was worked out, the chapter with Nathan's prophecy was placed conspicuously into the centre. Therefore Nathan's prophecy concerning Yahweh's faithfulness to the Davidic dynasty must be seen as determining the structure of the book. The theme of the last words of David and the theme which is articulated in the structure of the book run in parallel. Thus the parallel of the chiastic centre of the concluding chapters 2 Sam.21-24 with that of the second main section 2 Sam.3-20 is shown in this case as well[668].

With the emphasis on the divine election of the house of David the requirement for legitimation of Davidic rule is satisfied. As Flanagan worked out that this aspiration to achieve legitimation was the governing theme for the structure and function of 2 Sam.5-8, so the same may also be said of the central statement of the concluding chapters. Just as the religious legitimation of kingly rule plays a significant rôle in many societies[669], so also in

667 Observe their description as sons of *bᵉliya'al* in 1 Sam.2.12 and the declaration of judgment upon them, also introduced with a double *nᵉ'um*, in 2.30. *bᵉnê bᵉliya'al* are those who reject the rule of the one chosen and anointed by Yahweh also in 1 Sam.10.27. Cf. **M. Tsevat**, "The Death of the Sons of Eli", *JBR* 32 (1964), 355-358.

668 Cf. 2.1.2.3. and 2.3.5.

669 Cf. **K.W. Whitelam**, "Israelite Kingship: The Royal Ideology and its Opponents", *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives*, Cambridge: CUP 1989, 119-139: "It is a commonplace of anthropology that the establishment of monarchic power in early agrarian states was based upon religious legitimation of the role of the king" (128); "A central feature of the royal world-view was that the cosmos was divinely ordered and that monarchic government and society were the mundane counterparts of this heavenly ideal" (129).

Israel the king could only be recognized when authorized and confirmed by Yahweh. The texts in Samuel concerning the rise and rule of David, brought to the fore through the units placed into the centre of the structure, have as their aim the theological legitimation of the rule of David's line[670], which despite its failings is founded upon Yahweh's appointment, confirmation and faithfulness.

3.4 "Deconstruction?"—The Theology of the Concluding Chapters

3.4.1 "Deconstruction?"

Walter Brueggemann suggested that the texts of the concluding chapters should be understood as the "deconstruction" of an elaborate royal ideology which was to be found in the other texts[671]. He comes to this interpretation as a result of his mistrust of the immediately apparent tendency of the meaning of these texts, which leads him to impose upon them an intention which is opposed to their wording. He comments on 2 Sam.21.1-14:

> "The suspicion thus permits the possibility that in fact David killed Saul's family, but provided a rationale by blaming Saul, for which there is no public evidence.—This suspicious reading of the narrative is not necessary exegetically, but it is possible" (386). "Read more innocently,...David is presented as a dutiful king, scrupulous about religious obligation, with ready access to God, one who deals gently with Saul and Saul's body... Thus we may read suspiciously, ironically, or innocently. Shrewdly the narrative does not dictate our reading" (387).

This approach of Brueggemann's can, however, hardly be credited as what was meant by the authors of the text, or those who were responsible for the order of the chapters. The

670 Cf. **K.W. Whitelam**, "The Defence of David", *JSOT* 29 (1984) 61-87, who emphasizes this as a characteristic feature of 1 Sam.9 to 2 Kgs 2.

671 Cf. **W. Brueggemann**, "2 Samuel 21-24: An Appendix of Deconstruction?", *CBQ* 50 (1988) 383-397: "Thus I propose to consider the six elements of 2 Samuel 21-24 to see to what extent they function to deconstruct and to combat the well-established royal ideology" (385).

concentration on David and his justice which is evident in the chiastic structure, and the harmony of the concluding chapters, point to such an assessment being more governed by modern literary considerations than in accordance with the tendency of the meaning of the texts[672]. It is much more likely that the final comparison between David and Saul in the concluding part of the book is entirely understandable as the very thing which confirms Yahweh's verdict in favour of David. Even though David is not in this way depicted as whiter than white, he remains, despite his errors which are described, the king who is chosen and favoured by Yahweh.

Differing from Brueggemann, B.S. Childs[673] spoke not of "deconstruction", but of a theological summary: "Actually these chapters offer a very definite theological perspective by which the canonical process construed the entire book of Samuel, and especially David's role." This assessment is confirmed in the approach of the present writer. David is regarded by the concluding chapters as the king who has been given by Yahweh in place of Saul. He is the ruler who has been raised and established upon the throne by God, whereas Saul in contrast is the one who failed in his duty, and whose house finally fell as a result of his transgression. The dissension between Yahweh and his people which arose in 1 Sam.8.7 and 1 Sam.12.12 was from Yahweh's side permanently dealt with in David and his dynasty. He is the saviour and ruler given to the people, who wages Israel's wars and provides for justice in the land.

3.4.2 Yahweh's Will is Davidic Rule

If on the basis of this examination we approach the sections of the so-called "Appendix" in a new way, regarding them as coherent and looking at them in conjunction with the question of

672 A reading of the text which entirely ignores the author's intention cannot be convincing, cf. **E.D. Hirsch**, The Aims of Interpretation, London 1976. A critical approach is also taken by **W. Dietrich & Th. Nauman**, *Die Samuelbücher, EdF 287, Darmstadt: WBG 1995, 159f.*

673 ***B.S. Childs** 1985, 118; he describes as the purpose the perspective of "God who exalts the poor and debases the proud in his rule of righteousness".*

their theological significance, there are further aspects which emerge. The often noted lack of uniformity of genre and the disjointedness of the content of the individual sections would not then be established, but instead the individual texts produce a total unified picture which is entirely appropriate to the conclusion of the book[674]. The structure of the three rings concentrates on David as king. It is the Davidic kingdom which has been chosen and established by Yahweh. Both the poetic texts in the centre of the Samuel Conclusion point to Yahweh's faithfulness to and connection with the house of David (22.51; 23.5). Anyone who disputes David's claim to power by so doing also becomes the opponent of Yahweh (22.43), and is to be regarded as a *bᵉliya'al* (23.6), who will be destroyed like dry thorns. This was the fate of Saul (22.1), who did not draw the right conclusions from Yahweh's rejection of him as king, and consequently gradually destroyed his household. But this applies also to any who, like him, rejects the royal house of David which stands in covenant with Yahweh (23.7), failing to recognize that Yahweh's good hand is upon David.

The orientation of the concluding chapters as the final contrast of David's rule with that of Saul also has as its objective the definitive proof of the legitimacy of the Davidic dynasty. Just as large sections of the book could be understood from the perspective of a pro-Davidic apologetic, this is also true of the structure of the concluding chapters. However, to regard them simply as pro-Davidic propaganda scarcely does justice to the tension within the unit. The relationships are portrayed as more complex. The experience of both Saul and David is subordinated to the will of Yahweh concerning both kings. Yahweh chooses and rejects, he "brings low and exalts"[675]. The assumption of a simple black-and-white propaganda on

674 Similarly **J. William Whedbee**, "On Divine and Human Bonds: The Tragedy of the House of David", *Canon, Theology and OT Interpretation*, FS B.S. Childs, ed. G.M. Tucker, D.L. Peterson & R.R. Wilson, Philadelphia: Fortress 1988, 147-165, on 2 Sam.21-24: "In summary, most of the modes of legitimation initially represented in 2 Samuel 5-8 receive decisive reaffirmation here at the end of David's career. Hence these chapters function powerfully to bring to a climax central themes at work in David's reign and to set the stage for the Solomonic succession". (163)

675 A characteristic feature of the whole book, cf. i.a. 1 Sam.1.6, it was Yahweh who had closed Hannah's womb; 2.25, Yahweh wished to kill Eli's sons; 3.19, it is Yahweh's words which are fulfilled in the events; 16.14, an evil spirit from Yahweh torments Saul; 18.14, David is victorious, because Yahweh is with him; 2 Sam.11.27, what David did displeased Yahweh; 17.14, Yahweh ordained that Ahithophel's counsel was defeated; 23.10,12, Yahweh wrought great salvation; 23.1, Yahweh's anger was kindled against Israel—cf. **Alfons Schulz**, *Erzählkunst in den Samuelbüchern*, Biblische Zeitfragen 11/6.7, Münster: Aschendorff 1923.

political grounds takes no account of the texts' strong interest in the all-embracing pre-eminence of Yahweh which applies also to what happens with regard to the Davidic dynasty. Yahweh's precedence over the action of the king befits his word, which he richly gives by means of the lot or by prophets. The power to point the way ahead befits the word of Yahweh. The pro-Davidic alignment consists in the expressed conviction that Yahweh has established David, despite his failure which is not hushed up. The faithfulness of Yahweh to David is based upon his divine will[676], and endures even through David's obvious transgressions[677]. It appears as reliable, but not necessarily incapable of wearing thin. Just as the house of Eli and the house of Saul collapsed because Yahweh did not allow wrong to go unpunished, so also David's dynasty can only expect to survive as it remains in covenant faithfulness to Yahweh.

Thus David's rule is seen as one which rests upon Yahweh's will and is exercised by his grace. The military commander and actual ruler of his people remains Yahweh himself. He deposes priests and kings and chooses others to replace them. The earthly king of Israel has his power to strike thanks to the comprehensive help and power of Yahweh. Just as already in 1 Sam.5-6 Yahweh showed himself to be powerful in enforcing his will among the Philistines, it was also he who was able to grant victory to his people without any need of a king (1 Sam.7). The desire of the people for a king, "that our king may govern us and go out before us and fight our battles" (1 Sam.8.20) was granted by Yahweh. But this king, too, cannot bring salvation without Yahweh. It is only as someone who trusts entirely in Yahweh and is established by Yahweh that he can afford any help to his people. The two-fold duty of the king as ruler in righteousness and military commander cannot be undertaken

676 Cf. **D.M. Gunn**, "In Security: The David of Biblical Narrative", *Signs and Wonders: Biblical Texts in Literary Focus*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum. SBL-Semeia-Studies, Missoula: Scholars 1989, 133-151: "The people ask Samuel for a king. Samuel consults Yhwh, who says, 'Listen to their voice (obey them!), and make them a king' (1 Sam 8:22), whereupon the prophet anoints Saul, declaring Yhwh's commission (10:1). Then, however, comes the sacrifice at Gilgal (Ch. 13) and another declaration to Saul: 'But now your kingdom shall not continue: Yhwh has sought out a man after his own heart'. (v 14)" (137).

677 Cf. **J.H. Schmid** 1986, 162, who follows Zimmerli in emphasizing the freedom of Yahweh's choice: "'Wählen', von Jahwe gesagt, ist ein Ausdruck der freien Souveränität des Herrn, der keinem Erwählten seine Wahl schuldig ist... Als der Freie ist Jahwe der unbedingt Geschichtsüberlegene, und als solcher begegnet er auch in der geschichtlichen Tat des Exodus... Gott ist dem Menschen nicht einfach verfügbar, wie die Umwelt Israels vielfach meinte, indem sie Gott in ihre Ritualformen einfangen wollte".

by him independently. The king can only lead his people to victory under Yahweh, never in opposition to Yahweh or in place of him. This relationship, so characteristic of the pre-monarchical era, remains the same with the institution of the monarchy. Yahweh fights for his people, and the king, like the judges, carries out his actions and executes the victory which he has obtained.

At the same time in the centre of the concluding chapters David is portrayed in his "Last Words" as endowed with a prophetic gift. Whereas in the case of Saul this was commented on in the form of a question (1 Sam.10.12;19.24), David himself speaks prophetically through the Spirit of Yahweh (2 Sam.23.2). In addition David functions in 2 Sam.24.25 as the royal priest who presents the sin-offering for the people[678]. His burnt offering and *šelāmîm*-offering are accepted by Yahweh. David's priestly action gives expression to the renewal of Yahweh's favour towards Israel.

The fact that in the concluding chapters David exercises the functions of king, priest and prophet can hardly be described as "deconstruction". Even though he does not appear before the people in the magnificent vestments of a priest, but rather in a humble and bowed attitude, this in itself shows him to be recognized and attested by Yahweh[679]. The titles "priest" and "prophet" are not mentioned. David is called neither *nābî'* nor *kōhēn*, and the

678 In the ceremonies with offering and blessing on the occasion of the removal of the ark to Jerusalem David also fulfils the rôle of high priest, wearing the *'ēpôḏ bāḏ*, carrying out the sacrificial rites and blessing the people (2 Sam.6.18). Saul, too, is referred to in 1 Sam.14.35 as building an altar, thus fulfilling a sacerdotal function. Cf also the dedication of the temple with the appropriate offerings being made by the king in 1 Kgs 8.5,14ff,62ff. Cf. **C.E. Armerding**, "Were David's Sons Really Priests?", *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation*, FS M.C. Tenney, ed. G.F. Hawthorne. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1975, 75-86. **D.J. McCarthy** 1982, 82 also sees David's rôle in 2 Sam.21.1-14 as a priestly one: "With its blood guilt, curse, and expiation it is the very stuff of religion, the numinous at work and the problem of dealing with it... Israel as a people is involved in the religious guilt of a violated oath, and the king presides, turns to the oracle, receives an answer, and acts to turn away the curse".

679 Just as Samuel's priestly service in 1 Sam.2.18 is indicated by his wearing of an *'ēpôḏ bāḏ*, so also David's wearing of the *'ēpôḏ bāḏ* in 2 Sam.6.14 is described as a priestly function; cf. **Philip Davies**, "Jerusalem", *Creating the OT: The Emergence of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Stephen Bigger, Oxford: Blackwell 1989, 169-183: "After David, the garment entirely disappears from the Bible. But it has served as a sort of marker to indicate continuity between Shiloh and Jerusalem, reinforcing the legitimacy of David's bringing of the old Israelite religious symbol to his new (and previously non-Israelite) city" (173).

three-fold title does not occur. And yet at the conclusion of Samuel he fulfils these duties, which thus identify him as the successor to Samuel, who served the people as judge, priest and prophet. The change of era which was introduced with the birth narrative of 1 Sam.1 is completed at the end of the book with the reference to David, the king, priest and prophet. Yahweh-*Ṣᵉbaʾôṯ*, who at the beginning was with Samuel in Shiloh, has bound himself in covenant with the house of David of Jerusalem. In the context of the concluding chapters a *bᵉrîṯ* is binding. If even Israel's breach of its covenant with Gibeon was rebuked by Yahweh (2 Sam.21.2,7), Yahweh for his part will certainly not break his eternal and enduring covenant with the house of David (23.5). This is what gives strength to David's dynasty.

3.4.3 King by the Grace of Yahweh

If the king of Israel cannot wage war without Yahweh, his domestic duty as judge can equally only be carried out in the fear of God. *Ṣᵉdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* are requirements for the king. He can only act within their parameters, and he is not permitted to disregard existing law. When the covenant of Yahweh with the Davidic kingdom is described as "ordered in all things and secure" (23.5), this order includes the fact the king cannot himself disregard existing law, and the parameters of the monarchy are prescribed to him by Yahweh. The outermost ring of the so-called "Appendix" excludes any misunderstanding about absolute rule for the Israelite king, and it is not permitted to the king of Israel to break existing law, even with respect to the Amorite Gibeonites. Whereas e.g. in the Ancient Egyptian Empire the will of the ruler might be seen as identical with the *ma'at*[680], that is not the case with the image of the king as described here. Unlike absolute rulers, the king of Israel does not

680 Cf. **Jan Assmann**, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, Munich: Beck ²1995, 55: "Man sagt und tut die Ma'at, weil der König sie liebt—das heißt nichts anderes als: *Die Ma'at ist der Wille des Königs* [J. Assmann's italics]... Herrscher und Gott, Kultur und Natur, Gesellschaft und Kosmos, Gerechtigkeit und Weltordnung sind in diesem Weltbild in der Tat ein und dasselbe." **Herbert Niehr**, "Die Samuelbücher", *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. Erich Zenger i.a., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1995, 157: "Die Basis für auch kritische Bewertungen bildet eine Darstellung, die keinen Ursprung des Königtums im Himmel postuliert, sondern auf die Akzeptanz durch das Volk großen Wert legt. Israel hebt sich durch das Fehlen eines metaphysischen Gottkönigtums von seiner Umwelt ab."

himself formulate law, but he is subject to the legal authority of Yahweh[681]. It is his duty to ensure the carrying out of Yahweh's law (fear of God), and he can himself be called to account thereby[682]. The fact that Yahweh himself perceives this to be the king's duty is verified by the texts[683]. In a wider sense there may be discerned in such a relationship between ruler and law the first signs of a concept of separation of powers[684], and even if this does not appear to have gained institutional status[685], it is nonetheless present in the continuing right of the prophet, from the start of the Israelite monarchy, to criticize the king[686].

681 The special relationship of the king to Yahweh, which is expressed in anointing, does not involve any identification with him or deification, as asserted by **S. Mowinckel** *Psalmenstudien* I-II, Amsterdam: Schippers 1961 [1921-1924 edition]: "Dies Göttliche haftet ihm seit dem Kultakt der Salbung als ein Charakter indelebilis (*sic*) an. Er ist göttlich... Das geschichtliche Israel spricht nicht mehr davon, daß Gott in ihm ist—das wäre unjahwistisch; sondern der Vertreter Jahwä's, sein Geist, ist durch die Salbung in den König hineingegangen (1 Sam 16,13). Dadurch ist er heilig, unantastbar (tabu) geworden; es ist gefährlich Hand an ihn zu legen (1 Sam 24,7; 31,4; 2 Sam 1,14). Ohne einen solchen Mittler zwischen Gott und Volk kann das Volk nicht leben... Der König ist heilig, er ist übermächtig. Das heißt, er ist göttlich; denn Heiligkeit und Macht sind die eigentlichen Eigenschaften; wer sie hat, der ist eben mehr als ein Mensch. Die Königsvergötterung ist keine Torheit, keine höfische Schmeichelei, sondern lebendige Religion" (302). According to **D.J. McCarthy** "Compact and Kingship: Stimuli for Hebrew Covenant Thinking", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982, 80f the anointed king is "barely *primus inter pares*" (81).

682 **W. Brueggemann**, "On Trust and Freedom", *Int* 26 (1972) 3-19 makes a similar comment concerning the three references (2 Sam.11.27; 12.24; 17.14) to the action of Yahweh lying behind 2 Sam.9-20: "Now the analyses of these three references suggests the conclusion that the kerygma of the narrative is that Yahweh is there as guarantor of order and maintainer of boundaries. David and the other actors in this narrative have enormous power and freedom to act, but they are not free to act as though Yahweh were not there" (13).

683 The methods used here by Yahweh to maintain the law include famine, persecution, pestilence &c.

684 **Y.T. Radday** 1981, 83: "What is the ideal course of action for an Israelite king? Is he a law unto himself? Are there two kinds of morality— one standard for him and another for ordinary mortals?". "It has been said that the Book of Samuel is the Jewish *Politeia*. While there is much truth in this saying, it may be better described as a Jewish *anti-Macchiavelli*" (84).

685 When **R. Neu** 1992, 303 assumes that it is not until the late period of the monarchy that the king has a significant rôle in the administration of justice, this refers to the establishment of new institutions of justice, and it can scarcely be disputed that the king also exercised judicial functions.

686 In the books of Samuel one might see Samuel with regard to Saul, and the prophets Gad and Nathan with regard to David, as "institutions" which were responsible for carrying out the requirements of Yahweh's law with respect to the ruler.

The king can only exist when he is prepared to align himself with the existing law. This is directly expressed in the poetic centre (23.3), and shown clearly by means of example in the narrative framework. The sin of the king is prosecuted by Yahweh. The attempt to take it upon himself to evade the requirements of Yahweh's law must therefore fail. The fact that here alongside the rejected Saul David, who was chosen in his place, is mentioned on the same level, makes clear the absolute pre-eminence of Yahweh's laws. Not even a David or a successor on his throne can disregard them without being punished.

With this admonition the concluding chapters hark back to a theme from the beginning of the book. The judgment on the house of Eli (1 Sam.1-4) was carried out because of the sinful behaviour of his offspring, despite a longstanding priestly connection. The principle which was applied there—"Those who honour me I will honour, and those who despise me shall be lightly esteemed" (1 Sam.2.30b)—is also not irrelevant to the choosing of the house of David. The fate of the families both of Eli and of Saul shows, rather, that the placing of the last section (2 Sam.24), which deals with David's sin, along with all the positive confirmation of his reign which precedes it is not to be regarded as accidental. It acts rather as an unmistakeable warning that what had been given and obtained should not be thoughtlessly put at risk. The greatness and might of the Davidic empire and the wide extent of its borders must not give occasion for self-deception[687]. The power of the monarchy to deliver from threats from abroad and to bring about just order at home remains dependent upon the faithfulness of the God of the covenant. That Yahweh is prepared to maintain this faithfulness is manifested by his statements and his covenant with the house of David. But not even a David can reign against the will of Yahweh. He is not permitted to do so.

687 **W. Brueggemann**, "1 Samuel 1: A Sense of Beginning", *ZAW* 102 (1990) 33-48 sees as performing a framing function for the book not only Hannah's psalm and the poetic pieces in 2 Sam.22/23.1-7, but also the birth narrative of 1 Sam.1 and the census of 2 Sam.24: "I suggest a close and intentional correspondence between the first narrative of 1 Samuel 1 and the final narrative of 2 Samuel 24. In that latter narrative, we watch a transformation of David which corresponds, albeit in reverse order, to the transformation of Hannah in chapter 1" (44). "In the end, David is left with little royal power and no royal arrogance. This narrative surely has 'a sense of an ending'" (45). "In 1 Sam 1.5-6, it is twice stated 'The Lord had closed her womb' (*rhm*). In 2 Sam 24.14, David, 'his mercy (*rhm*) is great'. The use of the same root, *rhm*, in these two contexts is remarkable, especially when it is recognized that the word is used nowhere else in the Samuel literature... That...meaning is something like 'womb-like mother love'" (45).

Thus content of the narrative frame, dealing with the sin of the kings, is shown to be in agreement with the poetic centre, and this is equally true of the two texts which are in the form of lists. The great victories won by David were obtained by the power of Yahweh. It is not the king who holds the central position, but his men, and behind them Yahweh, who bestowed his salvation through them[688]. The theocentric alignment is stressed through the opening remark about the weakness of David (21.15; cf. 23.15, David's thirsting). Yahweh, who had been introduced at the beginning of Samuel as Yahweh-*Ṣᵉbaʾôṯ* (1 Sam.1.3) has given victory to his people in the way he did in the time of the judges, by enabling the men of David to perform outstanding exploits[689]. Thus for the new order of monarchy it is still Yahweh himself who is the real commander-in-chief of his people.

3.4.4 The People as Losers?

In the concluding chapters it is obvious that the people play a subordinate rôle in comparison with the kingship of David. In the Last Words of David they are not mentioned, and in David's psalm of thanksgiving the theme is Yahweh's help to the king, not to the people. The enemies are David's enemies, not Israel's[690]. It talks about Yahweh coming to the aid of David against the uprising in his own people (22.44). The wars of deliverance from the enemies in the second ring are waged by David's men. It is they, who had been previously deprived of their rights and banished from Israelite society, who are counted worthy of special honour and appreciation.

688 **V.P. Long**, "First and Second Samuel", *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Leland Ryken & Tremper Longman III, Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan 1993, 165-181: "Framing this central core focusing on David's *divine* benefactor are two lists of Davidic champions, the *human* agents of David's success" (170).

689 Cf. **B.S. Childs** 1985, 120. He criticizes the theory of a "widespread ideology of divine kingship": "In my opinion this interpretation is very unlikely. It cannot be reconciled with the dominant prose tradition of the Old Testament, which regarded the king as an earthly, fragile human being, and which remained suspicious of the institution as being originally foreign to the faith of Israel".

690 Cf. **D.M. Gunn** 1989, 135: "Who built the house of David? His song on the day of deliverance (2 Sam 22) is a song of 'I' and 'Thou', with no hint of 'we'. A touch disingenuous, perhaps, suggests ch. 23, for no 'I' is an island. Whereupon, as if to reinforce the point, the narrator speaks of the mighty men, first Abishai who, we recall, saved a weary David from a giant 21:15-17".

The rôle of the people of Israel themselves in the concluding chapters is passive rather than active. They are portrayed as victims of the sin of their kings, not as grateful beneficiaries of deliverance from enemies or of a blessed rule in righteousness. Since the texts assume the complete effectiveness of Yahweh which lies behind the events taking place, it is reasonable to suppose that in this assessment, too, there may be understood a reference to Yahweh's providence.

King David
exalted by Yahweh
22.1-51/23.1-7

Men of David	Men of David
victorious through Yahweh	victorious through Yahweh
21.15-22	23.8-39

Land/people	Land/people
suffering under Yahweh's anger	suffering under Yahweh's anger
on account of Saul's sin	on account of David's sin
21.1-14	24.1-25

The choice of David and the honouring of the men of David is thus contrasted with the experience of the people, without the reason for this distancing between Yahweh and his people being explicitly stated. If the chapter is to be understood as the intentional conclusion of the book, then it may be that it reflects the tension which has existed since 1 Sam.8.7; 12.12. The relationship of Yahweh to his people was portrayed as thoroughly ambivalent. The son whom Hannah had asked of Yahweh had led to her singing about Yahweh's help: the coming king whose praise she sings is the one who receives strength (*'ōz*), while it is emphasized that Yahweh rules the ends of the earth.

The desire of the people for a king in 1 Sam.8 stands in stark contrast to the experience described in 1 Sam.7[691], which they placed on record by erecting a monument: "Hitherto Yahweh has helped us". Martin Buber[692] paraphrases Yahweh's response to Samuel's consternation in 1 Sam.8.7b: "Sie fordern nicht, daß dir, der du ja kein Melekh bist, sondern mir, ihrem Melekh, ein Nachfolger bestellt werde... 'Nicht dich': Ich bin es, den sie absetzen; von *mir* heischen sie, daß ich ein Menschlein küre, mich durch es in der Herrschaft dieses Volkes ersetzen zu lassen" (733f). Buber goes on to ask: "Was kann es für den Erzähler...bedeuten, daß diesem 'Mich haben sie verworfen' ein 'Höre auf ihre Stimme' vorangeht und nachfolgt?"[693], and sees in this, despite the insult, a fresh chance for the people already opened up by Yahweh.

The note of discord between Yahweh and his people which began in 1 Sam.8 did not disappear until the renewal of the covenant in 1 Sam.12, and even then it was not forgotten. Philips Long sees it repeated in his assessment of the reasons for Saul's rejection[694]. He asks about the "why" of Saul's failure, and gives an answer: "But if Saul is not suited to the task and is thus destined to fail, why is kingship thrust upon him? It is our contention that everything in the narrative points to the people, and not to Yahweh and Samuel (*pace* Gunn), as those *ultimately* responsible for the situation." Yahweh's response to Saul's failure consists in his choosing of a *nāgîḏ* "'of his own choosing' (13:14)—a king 'for myself'

691 Cf. also **Hans Jochen Boecker**, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches*, Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1969, 97: the battle described in 1 Sam.7 "soll noch einmal beispielhaft zeigen, wie Israel, als es sich vertrauensvoll an Jahwe hielt, mit seinen Feinden fertig wurde. Israel bedarf keines Königs, um sich seiner Feinde zu erwehren... Der Kampf Samuels mit den Philistern ist nicht militärischer, sondern theologischer Natur. Darum hat er nicht historische, sondern programmatische Bedeutung".

692 **Martin Buber**, "Das Volksbegehren", *Werke* II, ed. idem, Munich: Kösel 1964, 727-742.

693 **M. Buber** 1964, 735 considers that there is neither an "anthropomorphe Umschreibung für die Zulassung des Bösen in der Welt durch Gott", which implies, in his view, that formation (Erziehung) useless, "man müsse dem Volk seinen Willen lassen, wenn auch das nichts tauge", nor the alternative, that God was unable to prevent disaster: "Das wäre eine Krise des Glaubens, wenn der Mensch die Macht besäße, auch gegen den Gotteswillen seinen Willen durchzusetzen." Instead he sees in it a sort of test: where "dieser Gott, der die Weltgeschichte geschehen heißt,...Gewährung reicht" to the liberated human creature, "verwandelt er die Substanz des von ihr Gewünschten in der Erfüllung, so daß diese zu neuer Probe gereicht,—zu einer gegen die letzte, nicht bestandene, erhöhten."

694 **V.P. Long** 1989, 240.

(16:1), as opposed to a king 'for them' (8:22)." Long quotes Hos.13.11: "I gave you a king in my anger, and took him away in my wrath", commenting: "The implication of this verse...is that even the original concession [to the people's request of a king] was an act of divine wrath" (240).

If here in the structure of the concluding chapters there may similarly be observed an alienation between Yahweh and his people, and in 2 Sam.24.1 there is specific mention of Yahweh's fierce anger against Israel, this is consistent with the previous assessment. The rejection of Yahweh as king, as it is described in 1 Sam.8, corresponds to the rejection of Yahweh's anointed under Absalom and Sheba. Anyone who revolts against David, the king according to the will of Yahweh, thereby rebels against Yahweh himself. The texts which immediately precede the concluding chapters, describing the rebellions in 2 Sam.15ff; 20, and the hesitant restoration of David as king, give reason to assume that the pejorative view of the people which has been observed is to be understood in this light. The people's rôle is that of those who have been punished—on the one hand by the sin of the kings whom they had themselves asked for, and on the other hand also by Yahweh, who has reason to be angry with his people[695].

3.4.5 Jerusalem, the Place of Yahweh's Grace

The fact that the texts finish with the accent placed upon Jerusalem imparts a special importance to that city. It is Jerusalem, in contrast to the land "from Dan to Beersheba", which experiences the special protective care of Yahweh. As early as 2 Sam.5.6ff the conquest and expansion of this city were regarded as outstanding events, picked out as a principal headline to the account of the many years of David's reign[696]. As the city of David and former city of the Jebusites it is distinguished from the territory of the tribes of Israel.

695 However, the idea that a war of Yahweh might be fought against Israel, directing the "Day of the Lord" against Israel, is not present, cf. i.a. **J.G. McConville** 1993b, 141.

696 It was hardly the first act to take place: cf. above.

The fact that the ark, which guarantees the presence of Yahweh *Ṣᵉbaʾôṯ* in the midst of his people, could be brought here without causing suffering as it did to the Philistine cities (1 Sam.5f), confirms that Yahweh's presence is intended to bring blessing to Jerusalem. The building of the altar as commanded by Yahweh, and the marking of the place by the appearance of the angel, give a uniquely exalted importance to the sanctuary at Jerusalem in comparison with the many places of sacrifice to Yahweh located in the land from "Dan to Beersheba".

At the same time, however, the legitimacy of Jerusalem as a place for offering sacrifices to Yahweh appears in these texts to be as yet unconfirmed. It is not celebrated in psalms, appearing rather to be by no means certain, and still in need of confirmation. This confirmation is given—as for the Davidic dynasty itself—by Yahweh's command to build an altar. A new altar is to be erected for the sacrifice to atone for the people's and the king's sin. The status of the sanctuary at Gibeon and other places of sacrifice is not thereby called into question, but at the same time the altar in Jerusalem is compared to them as a new holy place[697], at which Yahweh comes to the aid of his people.

Whereas Saul's fate was bound up with Gibeon, and that place is associated with the ignominious deaths of the sons of his family, Jerusalem is linked to the *šālôm* of David and his family. The door of this city, which was introduced in Samuel as the city of David, is opened in the final chapter. A highly developed theology of Zion cannot be discerned in the text; it is rather that the emphasis placed upon it shows the gracious care of Yahweh for his people, a care which, despite Yahweh's anger against his people and the sin of the king, is prepared to turn aside the punishment.

697 Cf. **J.J.M. Roberts**, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha 1982: "Whatever the precise date at which these texts were written, there is no reason to doubt the original linkage of the choice of David and the choice of Jerusalem... [Reference to parallels in the divine choice of Hamurapi as king and of his city, Babylon]. But if the two were originally linked, the tradition of Yahweh's election of Jerusalem cannot postdate David's reign, because the tradition of Yahweh's election of David certainly comes from his own time" (105).

4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Conventions in Examining the Text

The approach to the concluding chapters of Samuel which has been undertaken in this study originated in a dissatisfaction with the frequently observed pejorative description of them as an alien late addition which disturbs the context. A survey of the history of exegesis showed that this assessment dated from the beginnings of the historical-critical study of the Old Testament, in which a formative rôle was played by the firm preconceptions held, rooted in the romanticism of the time, as to the form of a biography, in which a report of the subject's death was an essential part. The incorporation of the first two chapters of Kings with the reference to David's death left the section 2 Sam.21-24 as an unwelcome headless body of a text. The subsequent schools of source-critical exploration, the definition since Rost of an independent literary "Succession Narrative", and the various hypotheses of a work of deuteronomistic history formulated since Noth, have not called this classification into question, but have instead taken it over and integrated it into each successive new theory which was formulated. As far as the assessment of the concluding chapters of Samuel was concerned, no significant progress was made. It was only with the more recent application to biblical exegesis of questions posed by literary studies, and with the "Canonical Approach" in connection with the studies of Brevard S. Childs, that there was created a climate of study in which, by looking at the final form of the book, a greater importance and a fresh attention could be accorded to the literary function of opening and closing chapters. It was from this perspective that it seemed reasonable to undertake a fresh examination, reviewing the function of 2 Sam.21-24 as the conclusion of the book.

This fresh area of examination then opened up an astonishing view of the books of Samuel as a whole. Starting from the observations of J.W. Flanagan and W. Brueggemann the chiastic structure of the concluding chapters, already for some time observed, but seldom interpreted, proved to be the key to the understanding of the structural arrangement of other parts of

Samuel. This in turn prompted examination of the concept of order which lies behind chiasmus, according to which the linear-chronological structure of the text (which western tradition almost takes for granted) is confused by the arrangement of units of text in rings around centres, in a way which was clearly also often employed in other ancient oriental text formations. Following on from these observations the possibility arose of looking at the arrangement of further groups of texts on the basis of other structural principles than the linear. Since the concluding chapters and 2 Sam.3-20 proved to be organized in chiasmic form, further comparisons of correspondences, parallels and similarities led to the suggestion for the entire book to be structured in a way which seeks to take into account the observations made in this field.

The arrangement of the texts according to principal texts around which other texts are grouped in ring form is also reminiscent of the conventions of ancient oriental murals, exemplified particularly in many Assyrian and Egyptian portrayals. Around central scenes there are grouped others, which are aligned to the main scene. If this similarity of the machinery of arrangement is not accidental, then in the case of the construction of the texts it might be assumed that the writers possessed a well-developed awareness of the extent of the text and the area available to them for writing, such as is foreign to the modern production of texts. This is moreover not surprising, when one recalls the unwieldiness (stone, clay) or restriction and expense (papyrus, leather) of ancient writing materials compared to the unlimited availability of paper in modern times.

Through the structural location of the texts resulting from the chiastic structure the individual sections were shown to be woven into an elaborate relationship with each other. This leads to the assumption made here, that such a structure is not to be regarded as accidental, but was completed more or less intentionally in line with ancient oriental conventions. From this it follows that the context is seen in each case not only in the adjacent text (1), but to be regarded as equally significant are (2) the relationship within the ring structure to the binarily corresponding continuation and (3) the tension between periphery and centre. These three

distinct levels of context are not alternatives, but in each case complementary[698] to each other, even though in any particular instance they may be of entirely different levels of importance[699]. Moreover the thus structurally interlaced relationship of the individual texts encourages interpretation on more than one level, and in each case allows an interrelationship between the content of the different texts.

The decision to take seriously this "aspectival" approach to interpretation was prompted by the attempt to understand and to do justice to the structural forms of chiasmus. Having been liberated from an obligation to read the texts according to a strictly linear-chronological sequence, one can then interpret them as being related to one another in an "aspectival" fashion. Relationships can be established between texts which are not immediately adjacent to each other, but nonetheless linked through literary allusions, e.g. key-word interconnections or repetitions. The occasional impression of "breaks in content" between adjacent texts, which stems from the expectations of linear-chronological logic in the structure of the text, may also be explained by the differently operating logic of chiastic textual arrangement.

There is no need to make separate mention of the fact that this interpretation does not claim that other approaches may not be necessary or justified. However this way of looking at the text might be introduced as a contribution to discussion which complements previous perspectives, and perhaps provides a corrective at some points.

698 The recognition of the structure in rings in the concluding chapters also brings to view the binarily connected parts, as for instance expressed in the hierarchy of people—men of David—king.

699 **J. Blenkinsopp** 1972 stresses the sequence of 2 Sam.5f: Kiriath-jearim was Gibeonite territory under Philistine rule, and the ark could not be collected from there (2 Sam.6) until the Philistines had been defeated (2 Sam.5.17-25). However Jerusalem had only been conquered (2 Sam.5.6-9) after the defeat of the Philistines, although this is reported beforehand.

4.2 The Significance of Setting the Perimeters of the Unit

The approach to Samuel which involves starting with its concluding chapters and reading it from back to front opened up a unique perspective. It was possible to find a similar perspective adopted only in very few studies, because as a rule the concluding chapters were excluded from consideration on source-critical grounds as not belonging literarily to Samuel. This means of necessity that the more unusual viewpoint adopted here recognizes a different profile for the book from that which would be produced by an approach based on the much more frequently adopted forward perspective. One should therefore not be surprised if on occasions the organization of the text was presented in a different way from that of other studies of the books of Samuel.

A horizon of interpretation which has been defined before the commencement of the analysis of the text will of necessity exert a prejudicial influence on the results. For instance, for his model for interpretation of the text J.P. Fokkelman defines a hierarchical sequence of twelve levels, in terms of which he intends to analyse the texts[700]. The steps of the study start at the bottom of the ladder with the smallest unit, then advancing to the larger levels: "A powerful way of structuring is to divide up a text, an effort which should be carried out regularly from the sixth level onwards." This has to be done carefully, for "making the proper division has such great consequences because in this way we create frames of meaning"[701].

700 **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS II 1986, 4: "Levels of signification":

Prose:			*Poetry*:		
	1:	sounds		1:	sounds
	2:	syllables		2:	syllables
	3:	words		3:	words
	4:	phrases		4:	phrases
	5:	clauses		5:	half-verses/cola
	6:	sentences		6:	verses
	7:	sequences/speeches		7:	strophes
	8:	scene-parts		8:	stanzas
	9:	*scenes*		9:	*poems*
	10:	acts		10:	section/groups of songs
	11:	sections/cycles		11:	collection or book
	12:	book or composition			

701 **J.P.Fokkelman**, NAPS II 1986, 10f: "By his own active intervention the interpreter discovers lines and connections which were applied at one time but are now latent in the text. No report on the origin of a text, no guide book as to figures and conventions has survived, so that the text must act on its own with its readers—and this conversely means that we must act on our own in handling the text by structuring it ourselves" (11).

The definition of the perimeters of a unit as the framework for investigating its meaning surely does not only affect the lower level of the short narrative scene, but is also of predominant significance for the macrostructuring of the whole book. However, the existence of an interrelation is made clear by the fact, among other things, that in this Fokkelman does not proceed to his conclusion inductively from the smaller to the larger unit, but has already from the beginning of his study established a four-part structure for Samuel (I: 1 Sam.1-12; II: 1 Sam.13-31, 2 Sam.1; III: 2 Sam.2-8, 21-24; IV: 2 Sam.9-20, 1 Kgs 1-2). With this macrostructural "frame of meaning" which he has already assumed, although he strenuously questions the existence of a literarily independent Succession Narrative[702], the perimeters for the exegesis are drawn so as to incorporate 1 Kgs 1-2, in accordance with the group of texts which he has previously so defined[703]. With this commitment to the overriding framework of interpretation it is scarcely surprising that there is no fundamental change to the assessment of 2 Sam.21-24, which thus remains both before and after as an isolated group of texts, despite his original approach with an abundance of learned observations of literary detail[704], and Fokkelman shows a great lack of appreciation of the chiastic structure which is evident in the concluding chapters[705]. Thus in this case too the defining of the framework for the unit to be studied is shown to be the determining factor in

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702 **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS I 1981, see above 1.1.2.3.

703 **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS I 1981, 9: "I consider our text, II Sam 9-20 and I Kg 1-2, as another formidable example of the tenacious life and power of the scene. Like many others, I assume that this text was initially composed in written form and that it forms one integral piece of literature (*footnote*: Without being a closed one...it is a relative unit which has many connections with the preceding)...". As to the grounds for having the end in 2 Kgs 2: "there exists a fairly broad consensus".

704 **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS II 1981, 418 regards 2 Sam.9-20 and 1 Kgs 1-2 as a unified, but not independent, literary entity. NAPS III 1990, 10: "I would like to repeat it just once more, because I keep coming across the old erroneous description in specialist literature—that the so-called Succession Story (or History) does not exist."

705 Cf. 1.1 above; **J.P. Fokkelman**, NAPS III, 13: "The concentric nature of the six units remains one of outward appearances and their ring composition gives an unalterable impression of artificiality, even though the passages in A-A^1 and B-B^1 take each other into account". Fokkelman's hesitation to accept this conclusion shows his irritation at the fact that usually "arrangements like this increase richness of meaning and form the basis for a more precise interpretation".

deciding ways in which it may be expounded[706]. The incorporation of 1 Kgs 1-2 implicitly involves an altered "frame of meaning" for the interpretation of the whole.

The present study comes to the conclusion that the concluding chapters are intermeshed with the remainder of the book in an astonishing multilayered fashion. When one takes seriously the chiastic arrangement of the group of texts under consideration, the frequently portrayed picture of a disorganized muddle[707] cannot be maintained. Rather their function in terms of both form and content is seen to be in continuity and agreement with the preceding text. Throughout the book there are changes of genre between statistical lists, narrative and poetry. These changes are not capricious, but contribute to the structuring and emphasizing of important passages. In this the poetic texts in particular are organically bound up in the structure of the book as a whole. Both the lists of people in their duplicated form like the songs to be found in the chiastic centre, and also the reference to the prophet Gad in the final chapter, are seen to be an integral part of a methodical structuring which runs through the whole book.

Other investigations into the books of Samuel, the observations and conclusions of which were able to form the basis for considerable elaboration in the present work, take differently defined textual units as their starting-point. Many studies have merely followed, with variations, the literary precursors of the present books of Samuel as hypothetically postulated by L. Rost[708], such as for example the Ark Story, the Succession Narrative, etc., or even smaller units. The discussion about the tendency and significance of the units defined in this way is to a large degree prejudiced by the specification of their respective perimeters, which are not drawn in any unified way throughout.

706 Cf. **L.M. Eslinger** 1985, 43: "A basic convention of communication is to build interpretation on a completed communication. The meaning of a sentence can only be apprehended by taking all the words together. The same holds true for a paragraph, a chapter or an entire book. Any interpretation that disregards this rule is usually unacceptable to other members of the communicating community".

707 This is bound up with the expectation of linear-chronological structural principles, which are not to be found here.

708 In reaction to the source-critical fragmentation of the book.

This applies equally to the definition of a context within one of the current theories of a DtrG or *Enneateuch* [709]. The definition of the interpretive framework must thus be *a priori* assumed. The framework as a "frame of meaning" is not only the result, but at least to the same degree first the premise and starting-point of the interpretation[710]. The impression emerges of a circular argument, from which it appears impossible to escape however a frame is selected.

4.3 The Book of Samuel as an Independent Literary Unit

The question posed by the present study has been formulated in such a way as to concentrate the analysis of the concluding chapters on the text of Samuel as we have it today[711]. The interpretive framework which was thus envisaged has been shown to be thoroughly productive, resulting in the book in its present form being able to be read as an amazingly elaborately structured literary unit[712]. Samuel has a beginning and an ending which are

709 Cf. the meticulous distinguishing of interpretive horizons in **R. Polzin** 1989. **Peter Miscall**, *1 Samuel—A Literary Reading*, Bloomington: IUP 1986, ix: "1 Samuel is part of Genesis-Kings; it is analogous to a chapter of a book, except that our notions of 'chapter' and 'book' have limited application to the Bible." —"Finally, I speak of Genesis-Kings as a work, an entity with unity and coherence, but the unity and coherence are its own and are not necessarily that of Western literature. The structure and style of Genesis-Kings are such that 1 Samuel can be isolated without the disruption and loss that would usually occur if one attempted a similar reading of a single chapter in a modern realistic novel" (ix).

710 This is also true when 1 Sam.8-12 is defined as a unit of interpretation, cf. **V.P. Long** 1989, or 1 Sam.1-12 with **L.M. Eslinger** 1985. While 1 Sam.13.1 appeared to form the start of a new unit, the connection between the double defeats against the Philistines and the victory over the Ammonites in 1 Sam.11 disappeared from view.

711 **B.S. Childs** 1979, 77: "The final form of the text performs a crucial hermeneutical function in establishing the peculiar profile of a passage. Its shaping provides an order in highlighting certain elements and subordinating others, in drawing features to the foreground and pushing others into the background."

712 Thus also, for different reasons, **C.J. Goslinga** 1968, 24: "Op grond nu van hergeen in dit gedeelte...is betoogd en aangevoerd menen wij te mogen vaststellen, dat het boek (I en II) Samuël een eenheid vormt. Het geeft zó duidelijk blijk van beheerst te zijn door één centrale, leidende gedachte, dat alleen zeer sterke argumenten in staat zouden zijn deze eenheid te doen betwijfelen... de gestelde conclusie is reeds gewettigt door het feit, dat er va I 1:1 tot II 24:25 één bepaalde draad waarneembaar is, die alle onderdelen en pericopen samensnoert: de definitieve vestiging van het ware theokratische koningshap in Israël". And: "Hiermede is niet ontkend, dat het boek zeer uiteenlopende soorten literatuur bevat... Maart het merkwaardige is dat deze alle in Sm ann één ide, één thema, dienstbaar gemaakt zijn. Ze zijn planmatig verbonden op zulk een wijze dat ze in hunsamenhang een boek vormen met een eigen boodschap, een boek dat dan ook aanspraak maakt op een eigen plaats in de Canon..." (25).

clearly related to each other through the placing of poetic texts. The other songs within the book have a structuring significance. The book unfolds its theme of the installation of the monarchy in Israel, fraught with problems at many levels. In the first place the right of the people to choose a king for themselves is fundamentally questioned. The relationship between an earthly king and Yahweh's sovereignty is resolved by the prerogative of Yahweh to appoint, establish or indeed depose the candidate for the throne. It is in this way that the legitimacy of the rule of Saul or David is decided: it is not David, but Yahweh himself who brings about the end of Saul's kingdom. Finally by means of narrative examples (Absalom, Sheba) a comment is made on the right of people to depose the king whom Yahweh has given and to defy Yahweh's will concerning David's rule. The threads concerned in the problem posed by the monarchy are drawn together in the course of the book into an unambiguous solution in the Davidic kingdom as the one which accords with the will of Yahweh.

The description of 2 Sam.21-24 as an appendix can be regarded as misleading, if by it there is indicated a literary separation from the remainder of the book. The concluding chapters of Samuel cannot be cut off from the rest of the text corpus without doing serious damage to the characteristic structural form of the book. If these chapters were removed, the elaborate structural arrangement of the six songs would be seriously damaged. Their placing at central locations in the structure to form an enclosure at several points would no longer be recognizable. Similarly the impressive and theologically significant structure of the six-fold encounter between David and his prophets would be lost. The fact that David is attested as having two encounters each with Samuel, Gad and Nathan, and that the two last are again depicted chiastically with each having a word of punishment and a word of salvation, requires the inclusion of Gad's rôle in 2 Sam.24. The relationship of the double list of David's *gibbōrîm* to that of the king's sons and government officials as representatives of the new upper class of the era of monarchy would also disappear. The literary unity of the concluding chapters with the preceding book can therefore be regarded as an established result of this study. This leads to the conclusion that 2 Sam.21-24 are to be regarded as having come into existence together with the remainder of the book.

If thus the structural unity of the concluding chapters has been convincingly demonstrated, then similarly a look at the contents shows considerable agreement in the tendency of their statements. The final reference to the contrast between Saul and David in 2 Sam.21.1-14 and 2 Sam.24 reflects a principal theme of the book, and at the same time repeats the structure of the whole. If this observation of the unity of the book as a whole with the closing chapters is to be accepted, then the comparison of the first two kings, with an unambiguous rhetorical bias towards David, becomes in all probability a chief interest in determining the tendency in the writing of the whole book.

In addition the features of the individual main foci which have been observed in the concluding chapters complement the preceding statements in an organic way. No discrepancy could be seen which would suggest a distancing in terms of content and theology between 2 Sam.21-24 and the rest of the book. It is truer to say that the contents of the concluding chapters were shown to be in accord with the preceding texts, in that they complement each other to make up a coherent statement, the main emphasis of which is to be seen in the theological statement of Yahweh's primacy lying behind the radical social changes leading to the monarchy, and over and above the claims of a ruler on the throne. The rhetorical interest of the texts has as its goal the proving of Yahweh's pre-eminence, both as the source of help in military difficulties and as the legal authority, even in the matter of installing a king in the nation of Israel. The fact that the chosen king himself is shown to be entirely dependent upon Yahweh's favour is expressed in the Saul texts, including 2 Sam.21, as well as in the sections dealing with David's transgressions, two examples of which are given including 2 Sam.24. Thus the theological interest shows Yahweh to be the ruler with final authority over the people, who appoints and deposes kings as he himself decides[713].

713 Cf. e.g. in 1 Sam.16.1f & 16.11f where it is carefully shown that both Saul's rejection and David's anointing are not in any sense to be ascribed to the interest of the prophet Samuel who carries them out, or of Jesse, but to that of Yahweh alone.

Alongside that, moreover, the accent is placed with considerable emphasis on the deliverance and help which Yahweh is in a position to afford to the one who trusts in him. This help comes especially through the agency of Samuel (1 Sam.7), Jonathan (1 Sam.14), and throughout, that of David and his men. Yahweh's assistance, indeed precedence in the fighting of battles is demonstrated by many examples, and finally its praises are sung in the great psalm of thanksgiving, framed by examples of other extraordinary acts of heroism from recent times, through which Yahweh has brought salvation to his people. The unity of the theological statement of the concluding chapters with the remainder of the book appears evident.

Yahweh's activity in bringing help includes his choosing of the Davidic ruler. Just as the kings cannot defy what Yahweh has ordained, neither can the people. Therefore the book promotes Davidic rule as that which has been given by Yahweh. In the final event it cannot be withstood, because "the adversaries of Yahweh shall be broken to pieces" (1 Sam.2.10). Saul, Absalom and Sheba were destroyed by it. Those who disregard the laws of the king or of Yahweh are designated *bᵉnê bᵉliya'al*[714]. Yahweh comes to the aid of his people through the Davidic rule, and is gracious to his people through David's intercession and sacrifice.

714 Cf. i.a. 1 Sam.1.16; 2.12; 10.27; 2 Sam.23.6.

4.4 Historical Setting

In the light of this alignment the question arises of the possibility of an historical order for such a book. In various ways the Samuel material, with its concrete and detailed narratives, has been thought to have a close proximity to the events it describes. Thus the texts take on a "*kōl yiśrā'ēl* perspective", and the land is perceived to extend from "Dan to Beersheba"[715], even when Judah and Israel qualify as autonomous regions[716]. In the limited selection of events which are described from David's long years of activity, a large part is devoted to those events which must have appeared in a considerably more unfavourable light for David at the time[717]. This gives to the texts the impression of a pro-Davidic apologetic interest. The testimony to David's uprightness in all critical narratives also serves to legitimize his kingship.

The comparison between Saul and David raises questions of the legitimacy of David's rule in relation to Saul's claim to the throne. The subject of Saul does not merit a single further sentence in the following book, that of Kings, which focuses upon the division of the kingdom.

To say that the book was drafted and handed down as elevated literature intended to entertain[718] seems hardly convincing in view of the topic, that of the sociological and theological implications in the tradition of Israel of the radical changes which are portrayed. The perspective of Yahweh's comprehensive activity, which lies behind Hannah's barrenness and the choice of the Davidic monarchy as well as the rejection of Saul, bears witness to an attitude of reverence which subordinates political despotism to the word of

715 I.a. 1 Sam.2.14,22; 3.20f; 7.3,5; 8.4; 11.7,15; 12.1; 17.11; 25.1; 28.3; 2 Sam.5.5; 8.15; 15.10; 17.11; 19.12; 24.2,15.

716 Cf. 2 Sam.2.4,9f; 5.5; 19.42-44; 20.2.

717 Thus e.g. his opposition to Saul, the anointed king of Israel; a large proportion of the people supported Saul against David; David's action in partnership with Joab with regard to Uriah was a public one; he could be accused of or credited with being an accessory to the murder of Abner, Amasa, Ishbosheth and the seven sons of Saul, cf. Shimei's curse 2 Sam.16.5ff or the sympathies of the people as a whole lying with Absalom and against David, etc.

718 Thus **D.M. Gunn** 1978 of the *Succession Narrative*.

Yahweh through the prophets, without thereby calling into question the legitimacy of David's royal authority. This final reference back to Yahweh's direction of history, which lies behind the events right up to David's transgression in 2 Sam.24.1, promotes the acknowledgment of and confident submission to the action of Yahweh. For it is in this that there lies for Israel its real chance of being delivered from its enemies and experiencing *šālôm* to the full[719]. In this the will of Yahweh is Davidic rule in contrast to the rule of Saul. With this theological bias the book cannot be described as literature which is entertaining in the modern sense, even though there is no lack of excitement in the recounting of the individual episodes.

The response to the disputing of David's claim to rule on the basis of irregularities with regard to Saul leaves its mark on the structural composition of the book right through to the concluding chapters[720]. Starting from this, a leading theme which has such a formative influence on the structure can scarcely be ascribed with any probability to a time after the exile. The proof of David's innocence in Saul's downfall and the emphasis on the choosing of David by Yahweh himself as the king "after his own heart", even in spite of his known transgressions, similarly makes little historical sense if placed after the downfall of Samaria with the sole Davidic rule which follows it. The clear necessity of the apologetic tone indicates that a relatively early date of composition is more likely[721]. The social

719 When the name of Yahweh is first mentioned in 1 Sam.1.3 the appropriate form of approach to Yahweh-*Ṣᵉḇa'ôṯ* is portrayed as sacrificing with *šaṯaḥ*—bowing down before the *zaḇaḥ*; cf. 1 Sam.15.22 where obedience is preferred to sacrifice.

720 **H. Seebass**, *David, Saul und das Wesen des biblischen Glaubens*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1980 considers the interrelation between David and Saul to be a mark of age, i.e. an early date of composition. Cf. **R.P. Gordon**, "Who made the Kingmakers? Reflections on Samuel and the Institution of the Monarchy", *Faith, Tradition and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Eastern Context*, ed. A.R. Millard i.a., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1994, 255-269.

721 **T. Ishida**, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology*, BZAW 142, Berlin 1977 maintains that in principle rebellions against the kingship would only be expected when the monarchical society was introduced, and supports an early date for the anti-monarchical texts in Samuel: he even dates 1 Sam.9-10.16 during Saul's lifetime. For the Solomonic location of 1 Sam.16–2 Sam.7 cf. **A. Weiser**, "Die Legitimation des Königs David: Zur Eigenart und Enstehung der sogen. Geschichte von Davids Aufstieg", *VT* 16 (1966) 325-354, similarly **J.H. Grønbaek**, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (1 Sam 15 - 2 Sam 5): Tradition und Komposition*, Acta Theologica Danica 10, Copenhagen: Munksgaard 1971. For early dating of the texts of the Succession Narrative i.a. **L. Rost** 1926 (eye-witness report), **G.v. Rad** 1958 (Solomonic), **R.N. Whybray** 1968 (early Solomonic), and many others.

environment of the latter part of Solomon's reign, or before or fairly shortly after the division of the kingdom under Rehoboam, appears entirely plausible for it[722]. A definitive statement on the basis of internal evidence alone is in any case scarcely obtainable. The possibility of early composition appears however, in the light of the interest in the legitimacy of David in the face of the claims of Saul and of a questioning of the whole principle of kingship, to be the most likely[723].

We saw above (1.2.3.3) that there was a certain modern tendency to rediscover the structure and meaning of the individual books prior to and apart from their setting in DtrG. The works of L.R. Klein, C. Westermann and (on Samuel) G. Keys and J. Rosenberg promoted this point of view in various ways. The present study is in line with this tendency.

722 Cf. 1 Kgs 12.16 with Sheba's failed uprising in 2 Sam.20.1. According to **M. Noth** 1943 the chronology of the Deuteronomist begins with 1 Kgs 12. Earlier **J.G. Eichhorn** ^{2}1790 regarded the chapters about Solomon as different from the remainder of Kings. Most arguments for a connection between 1 Kgs 1-2 and the Samuel texts would think in terms of 1 Kgs 1-12 as an independent unit alongside 1–2 Sam., without calling into question the rôle of 2 Sam.21-24 as the conclusion of Samuel.

723 The taking up of the themes of Samuel in 1 Kgs 1ff might be explained, among other ways, on the basis of knowledge of Samuel, or of an extrapolation in the same context of the events seen from the viewpoint of the new era of Solomon.

4.5 Theological Objective

The central statements of the book are to be found, according to the structural framework which has been worked out, in 2 Sam.6/7 and 2 Sam.22/23.1-7. On the assumption that the central location involves a stress and emphasis, in this structural placing there can be recognized the intention of the one who is responsible for the structure of the book[724]. The choice of David and his dynasty by Yahweh is thus placed structurally in an emphasized position. At the same time the critical voices raised against the monarchy in general and Davidic rule in particular are not suppressed to the point where they can no longer be heard. They are acknowledged and taken seriously. The fact that in the last instance they do not remain influential stems from Yahweh's own providence. Moreover it seems that in the statement of the choice of David and his dynasty, once the argument for a unified structural framework for the books of Samuel has been accepted, the final intention of the author[725] can be recognized. Anyone who serves Yahweh as the God of Israel cannot be opposed to David as the king of Israel. In the opinion of the people David's contribution lies in the fact that he has "delivered [his people] from the hand of [their] enemies, and saved [them] from the hand of the Philistines" (2 Sam.19.10). David was able to do this only because Yahweh was with him. Recognition of Yahweh's covenant with David is what is promoted in Samuel. David's struggle with Saul, and his presumptuous behaviour during his reign, do not finally call into question the faithfulness of Yahweh. Yahweh has provided his people with a king who has defeated their enemies over a wide area. Yahweh's rule in Israel is exercised through David and his dynasty.

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724 Despite **Stephen Fowl**, "Texts don't have Ideologies", *Biblical Interpretation* 3 (1995) 15-34 i.a., who fundamentally disputes the possibility of defining the meaning of a text, because texts are ascribed to different times on various grounds. Even if texts are interpreted differently, not every understanding can be regarded as of equal value. Whatever meaning the books of Samuel might have in the lives of people of different sorts, the structure of the books observed here and the selection of the texts which have been handed down makes clear that there is a specific intention, which is not negated by the changing situation of the reader.

725 There is no basis for the assumption that the voice of the narrator is not that of the author.

APPENDIX _ The Macrostructure of Samuel

I. 1 Samuel 1 - 8 : Samuel's office as judge

1.1-2.11 — Desire for child/Hannah's song: Yahweh grants king

2.12-26 — Samuel and Eli's Sons: Yahweh will kill (Curse)
2.27-36 — *Prophetic word*: rejection of Eli's house (anointed one)
3.1-19 — *Prophetic word*: judgment on Eli's house
3.20-21 — Beginning of Samuel's office as adopted son of Eli (blessing)

4.1-22 — *Philistines*: 2 defeats/*Eben Ezer* - death of Eli's sons/statistics
5.1-12 — Ark among the Philistines: Yahweh overcomes Dagon
6.1-7.1 — Ark (part-)returned: Yahweh returns
7.2-17 — *Philistines*: 1 victory/*Eben Ezer* - Samuel judges/statistics

8.1-22 — Desire for king (by the people)

II. 1 Samuel 9 - 31: Saul's kingdom

9.1-10.16 — *Samuel* anoints *Saul* (Yahweh's initiative)

10.17-27 — Coronation of Saul by lot (Elders)
11.1-13 — *Ammonites*: 1 victory (blessing)
11.14-15 — Renewal of the kingdom, covenant renewal (people, army)
12.1-25 — *Samuel's* speech - duty of king
13.1-14.52 — *Philistines*: 2 defeats (curse). Statistics
15.1-55 — Rejection of Saul - Amalekites/death of Samuel mentioned

16.1-13 — *Samuel* anoints *David*

16.14-23 — *Evil Spirit* of Yahweh: David comes to Saul (harp)
17.1-18.4 — Philistine Goliath: right to king's daughter, covenant David & Jonathan
18.5-16 — David as military leader: Saul's fear (song of women)
18.17-30 — David as son-in-law: Saul's fear (love of Michal)
19.1-7 — Jonathan defends David because of Goliath
19.8-17 — *Evil Spirit*: David leaves Saul (victories)

19.18-24 — *Samuel* with *David* against *Saul*: Saul's 'counter-anointing'

20.1-21.1 — Saul's spear against his son (Jonathan): Covenant *David & Jonathan*
21.2-10 — *Ahimelech* pro David, *holy bread*: *Doeg*, Goliath's sword
21.11-16 — David with Achish, King of Philistines (nadir)
22.1-5 — David's parents to King of Moabites: Adullam - Proph. Gad (turning point)
22.6-23 — *Ahimelech*'s house murdered, *privileges*: *Doeg*, Goliath's sword
23.1-28 — Saul pursues his son-in-law (David): Covenant *David & Jonathan*

24.1-23 — *David* calls upon *Yahweh as judge* between him and *Saul*: Saul's testament

25.1-44 — *Death of Samuel*. David and Nabal's wife: food, prophecy
26.1-25 — David spares Saul (2nd witness)
27.1-28.2 — David with Achish in *Ziklag* against Geshurites, Girzites, *Amalekites*

28.3-25 — *Death of Samuel*: Saul and witch of Endor: prophecy, food
29.1-11 — David is kept from war against Saul (Goliath)
30.1-31 — David with Achish, *Ziklag* destroyed, against *Amalekites*

31 — *Death of Saul* by Philistines: Defeat

III. 2 Samuel 1 - 2: After the Death of Saul

1.1-16	News of death, lament for house of Israel - sword devours
1.17-27	*David* teaches *Judah* lament for dead: *gibborim*, Saul, Jonathan
2.1-11	*David* as king of *Judah*: honours Jabesh. Ishbosheth as king.
2.12-32	The fallen in war: Asahel, Judah 19, Israel 369 - sword devours

IV. 2 Samuel 3 - 20: David's Kingdom

3.1-5	David's sons, Hebron
3.6-21	Abner to *David: king of all Israel*
3.22-39	Death of Abner (Joab), David's lament
4.1-12	Death of Ishbosheth (people of Beeroth), David as judge
5.1-12	Elders to *David: king of all Israel*
5.13-16	David's sons, Jerusalem
5.17-25	Philistines (5 kings): 2 victories
6	Ark of Yahweh to Jerusalem, *shelamim*
7	Yahweh's confirmation for David's kingship (Prophet Nathan)
7.1-14	Five nations: all victories, 7 nations bring tribute
8.15-18	David's ministers
9.1-13	Mephibosheth's destiny
10.1-12.31	Ammonite-War: Bathsheba/Uria/Nathan
13.1-19.41	Civil War: Tamar/Amnon/Absalom/Ahithophel
19.42-20.22	Sheba's revolt: death of Amasa (Joab)
20.23-26	David's ministers

V. 2 Samuel 21 - 24: The Samuel Conclusion

21.1-14	King Saul's guilt: famine. People suffer (Gibeon)
21.15-22	*Heroes* of David: Giantkillers
22.1-51	David's song of Thanksgiving: King as military leader
23.1-7	David's last words: King as just ruler
23.8-39	*Heroes* of David: the Three, the Thirty
24.1-25	King David's sin: plague. People suffers (Jerusalem)

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ABBREVIATIONS

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament (Harrassowitz)
AB	Anchor Bible Commentaries
ABR	Australian Biblical Review, Uni Melbourne, Queens
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute (Svenksa Teologiska Institutet)
ATD	Altes Testament Deutsch
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeological Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums.
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des AT und des antiken Judentums
Bib	Biblica
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BLS	Bible and Literature Series. Sheffield: Almond Press
BM	Beth Mikra (Hebrew)
BS	Bibliotheca Sacra = BibSac (ed. Dallas)
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, ed. S. Herrmann/K.H. Rengstorf. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift NF
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterley
CBQ.MS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly - Monograph Series
CMHE	F.M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel, Cambridge MA: Harvard 1973
CovQ	Covenant Quarterly. Chicago 1941-
CSSRB	Council of Societies for the Study of Religion - Bulletin
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
ERT	Evangelical Review of Theology. Ed. World Evangelical Fellowship, Theological Commission (1976-)
EstBib	Estudios Biblicos, Madrid
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis
ETS	Erfurter Theologische Studien
EuroJTh	European Journal of Theology, from 1992
EQ	The Evangelical Quarterly: An International Review of Bible and Theology. Ed. F.F. Bruce, from 1990: Howard Marshall, Exeter: Paternoster
ExAuditu	An International Journal of Theological Interpretation of Scripture, ed. Fuller Theol. Sem. California
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GBL	Das Große Bibellexikon I - III, ed. Helmut Brukhardt i.a.
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology

HBWJ	Hebräische Beiträge zur Wissenschaft des Judentums deutsch angezeigt. ed. for Lessing-Akademie by Michael Graetz (Jerusalem) and Karlfried Gründer (Berlin). Berlin: Schneider 1985-
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnati OH USA
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick i.a., Nashville: Abington ^{12}1981 (^{1}1962)
IDB.S	IDB Supplement Volume ^{2}1981
IliffR	The Iliff Review. Denver Co: Iliff School of Theology
IndJTh	The Indian Journal of Theology
Int	Interpretation
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, ed. SBL
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JBQ	The Jewish Bible Quarterly (formerly: Dor le Dor) Jerusalem
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JETh	Jahrbuch für Evangelikale Theologie, Wuppertal: TVG-Brockhaus
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOT.BLS	JSOT - Bible and Literature Series
JSOT.S	JSOT Supplement Series
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
KS	Albrecht Alt, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel I-III. Munich: Beck ^{4}1978
KV	Korte Verklaring
LinBib	Linguistica Biblica, ed. E. Güttgemanns
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto.
MUS	Münchener Universitätsschriften
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
PEGLMBS	Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies, Georgetown College KY
PEQ	Palestinian Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia Græca, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 Bd, Paris 1857-66
PIBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 217 Bd, Paris 1878-90
RB	Revue Biblique
RefR	Reformed Review Holland Michigan: Western Theological Seminary 1955-
RPR	Religious Periodical Review (Scholars)
SA	Studia Anselmiana, ed. Rome Pontifical Institute
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Munich: Kösel
SBET	The Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology

SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBL.DS	SBL Dissertation Series
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of OT
ThB	Theologische Bücherei, Munich: Kaiser
ThB	Theologische Beiträge, Brockhaus Wuppertal
ThR	Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen: Mohr, ed. Jörg Baur/Lothar Perlitt
TVG	Theologische Verlagsgemeinschaft Brockhaus Verlag Wuppertal/Zurich and Brunnen-Verlag Giessen/Basel
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin, ed. Tyndale House, Cambridge
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift: Evangl. Theol. Fakultät Basel
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VoxEv	Vox Evangelica
VoxTh	Vox Theologica
V&R	Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary, Ed.: D.A. Hubbard, Glenn W. Barker, J.D.W. Watts, R.P. Martin
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum AT und NT, ed. G. Bornkamm/G.v. Rad. Neukirchen: Neukirchener
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen: Mohr

Coventry University