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Berith Olam- Studies in the Davidic Covenant Traditions

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BERITH OLAM: STUDIES IN THE DAVIDIC

COVENANT TRADITIONS

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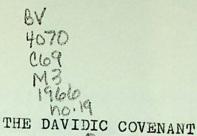Master of Sacred Theology

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SHORT TITLE: THE DAVIDIC COVENANT

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANET	J. Pritchard, ed., <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</u>.
BA	<u>The Biblical Archaeologist</u>
BASOR	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
BH^7	<u>Biblia Hebraica</u>. Seventh edition.
BZ	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u>
CBQ	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
EA	J. Knudtzon, <u>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln I-II</u>.
FSAC	W. F. Albright, <u>From the Stone Age to Christianity</u>. Second edition.
IDB	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u>
JBL	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
JNES	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u>
KJV	King James Version
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Massoretic Text
Noth, GS^2	M. Noth, <u>Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament</u>. Zweite, um einen Anhang erweitere Auflage.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SDB	<u>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</u>
TLZ	<u>Theologische Literaturzeitung</u>
TZ	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
von Rad, GS	G. von Rad, <u>Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament</u>.
VT	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>

ZAW   _Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft_

ZTK   _Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche_

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Transliteration of Hebrew

Consonants

א = ʾ		ז = z		מ = m		ק = q
ב = b		ח = ḥ		נ = n		ר = r
ג = g		ט = ṭ		ס = s		שׂ = ś
ד = d		י = y		ע = ʿ		שׁ = š
ה = h		כ = k		פ = p		ת = t
ו = w		ל = l		צ = ṣ		

Consonants with <u>dageš forte</u> are doubled. <u>Dageš lene</u> in
<u>begadkepat</u> letters is not indicated.

Vowels (shown with <u>beth</u>)

bâ = בָה	bā = בָ	ba = בַ	bă = בֳ
bâh = בָה	bō = בֹ	bo = בָ	bŏ = בֳ
bô = בוֹ	bū = בֻ	bu = בֻ	bᵉ = בְ
bû = בוּ	be = בֶ	be = בֶ	bᵉ = בְ
bê = בֵי	bĭ = בִ	beh = בֶה	
bè = בֶי		bi = בִ	
bî = בִי			

Transliteration of Greek

α = a		η = ē		ν = n		τ = t
β = b		θ = th		ξ = x		υ = u
γ = g		ι = i		ο = o		φ = ph
δ = d		κ = k		π = p		χ = ch
ε = e		λ = l		ρ = r		ψ = ps
ζ = z		μ = m		σ,ς = s		ω = ō

ᾳ = ậ	ῃ = ệ	ῳ = ōᵢ	ʽ = ʿ

Biblical citations are from the Revised Standard Version
and follow English numbering unless otherwise indicated.
"Yahweh" is used for all occurrences of the tetragrammaton
in Hebrew.

A NOTE ON THE CITATION OF ANCIENT TEXTS

When ancient texts are cited in the thesis, those words which are supplied for the necessary English, German or French meaning are enclosed in parentheses, thus (   ); words which are partially or wholly reconstructed, conjectured or supplied from a similar text are enclosed in brackets, thus [   ]. Three dots with no space between represent breaks in a text which cannot be supplied or conjectured, thus ... . Where proper names occur in the texts and in the body of the thesis in reference to historical personages, no constant spelling has been attempted; rather, such names are given according to the spelling of the author or source which is being quoted.

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

One of the most important contributions to the study of the Old Testament in recent years has come about by the comparison of the form and content of ancient Near Eastern treaties and the Old Testament traditions of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. As D. J. McCarthy has written:

> The evidence that Israel uses the treaty-form in some, at least, of its religious literature, and uses it to describe its special relationship with Yahweh, is irrefragable. There is not another literary form from among those of the ancient Near East which is more certainly evident in the O. T.[1]

The study of these relationships has been limited, by and large, to the Sinaitic covenant reported in Exodus and Deuteronomy and to the covenant ceremony under Joshua. There are, of course, many other covenants in the Old Testament. Besides the Sinaitic covenant, the most prominent are the covenant with the patriarchs and the covenant with the house of David, both of which have received only marginal attention in relation to the structure of the treaties.

The purpose of the present study is to explore one of these covenants, the Davidic covenant, in the light of recent analyses of the Near Eastern treaties. This portion

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[1]D. J. McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of Inquiry," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXVII (1965), 221.

of the study will be the material in Chapter II.

Our knowledge of the Davidic covenant comes chiefly from II Samuel 7. This particular chapter has always been the object of concentrated study as the acknowledged fountainhead of the Old Testament messianic hope. Older studies generally saw in the chapter a complex of varied traditions representing widely divergent themes from various periods of Israelite history. More recently the basic unity and integrity of the chapter have found many defenders. This unity has been recognized in view of the literary form of the chapter, which is developed along the lines of the Königsnovelle, or "kings-novelle," an established form of historical composition in Egyptian literature. Chapter III of the present study will test the application of the Königsnovelle form to II Samuel 7 and discuss some of the problems involved.

In Chapter IV we shall present our analysis of the textual history of II Samuel 7 and attempt to arrive at a date for the composition of the chapter in its present form, while proposing that the present form of the chapter makes use of some older material.

Chapter V will discuss the problem of the relationship between the covenant with the house of David and the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. In pursuing this question we shall give an overview of past attempts at relating the two covenants, and state the results of our own investigations.

Finally, Chapter VI will present some of the implications of our study for investigations of a larger scope within the Old Testament.

As the preceding paragraphs indicate, we are not discussing a single question, but several related questions dealing with the same bulk of materials. The thesis does not propose to be an extensive book report. While the bibliography attempts to be comprehensive, the nature of the investigation is that of a progress report, and the reader will note that the majority of citations will be of relatively recent date. This is particularly true of materials dealing with the concept of covenant, which have undergone fundamental changes since the appearance of the basic study of G. E. Mendenhall in the year 1954.[2]

It will be in place here to limit the scope of the study. Limitations are particularly important in the present study, since it deals with a complex of traditions which have many facets, all of which are basic to the understanding of the Old Testament. We are dealing with a critical period in Israelite history, the introduction of the monarchical form of government, and for Israel this involved of necessity a theological justification for that

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[2]G. E. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East (Pittsburgh: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955). Reprinted from The Biblical Archaeologist, XVII (1954), 24-46; 49-76.

particular form of government. And, as might be expected, this change was accompanied by varied reactions. Were the judgment of this political and theological crisis univocal, our task would be much simpler; but as it is, the contesting voices of approval and disapproval are echoed in the Old Testament, thus making a simple evaluation of both the history and the literature of the period a most difficult task. Our study does not propose to include a complete investigation of the composition of the Books of Samuel and Kings. It does not include a comprehensive treatment of Old Testament messianism or a systematic presentation of the concept of election, as each of these topics would call for a separate and necessarily lengthy treatment.

A word is also in order regarding general presuppositions. Any study relating to the monarchic period in Israelite history necessarily proceeds from a particular viewpoint of the institution of the monarchy in that state. While the present study does propose to make a contribution to our understanding of the monarchic institution in Israel, it is by no means a comprehensive study of the monarchy itself. The following statements will clarify our position. We do not accept the proposals of the "Myth and Ritual" school regarding the existence of "divine kingship" in Israel. This position, it will be recalled, developed from a posited "pattern" which was supposed to exist throughout

the Near East.[3] It is our conviction that the studies
of men like H. Frankfort,[4] M. Noth,[5] J. de Fraine[6] and
others[7] have effectively shown not only that such a
"pattern" cannot be demonstrated even among non-Israelite
peoples of the ancient Near East, but that the institution
of kingship in Israel was fundamentally different from
that of its neighbors. This difference had its origin in

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[3]This position is advocated by the Scandanavian school
primarily; as, e.g., I. Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship
in the Ancient Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells,
1943); G. Widengren, Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament
und im Judentum (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1955); and by
certain English scholars whose works have been published
in the volumes edited by S. H. Hooke; Myth and Ritual:
Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in Relation
to the Culture pattern of the Ancient East (London: Oxford
University Press, 1933); The Labyrinth: Further Studies in
the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World
(London: SPCK, 1935); Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays
on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near
East and in Israel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

[4]H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (Chicago: Uni-
versity of Chicago Press, 1948).

[5]M. Noth, "God, King, People in the Old Testament,"
translated by A. F. Carse. The Bultmann School of Biblical
Interpretation: New Directions?, Journal for Theology and
the Church (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), I, 30-48. The
article first appeared in German in Zeitschrift für Theologie
und Kirche, XLVII (1950), 157-191.

[6]J. de Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté
israélite. L'institution monarchique dans l'Ancien Testa-
ment et dans le textes mésopotamiens ("Analecta Biblica
III"; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1954).

[7]The work of R. Labat, Le caractère religieux de la
royauté-assyro-babylonienne ("Etudes d'Assryiologie II";
Paris: n. p., 1939) is not available to me. Also see

the peculiarities of Israelite religion which were by and
large solidified prior to the introduction of the institu-
tion of the monarchy.

The relationship between the Israelite monarchic
institution and the appearance of the theological
concept of the kingship of Yahweh is another issue upon
which there is a great diversity of opinion.[8] Any fresh
approach to this question must take cognizance of the fact
that if, as has been demonstrated, the early traditions of
the covenant of Yahweh and Israel display an acquaintance

K-H. Bernhardt, Das Problem der Altorientalischen Königs-
ideologie im Alten Testament ("Supplements to Vetus
Testamentum VIII"; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961). A mediating
position is taken by S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans-
lated by G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954).

[8]The standard reference here is the work of A. Alt,
"Gedanken über das Königtum Jahves," Kleine Schriften zur
Geschichte des Volkes Israel, I (München: C. H. Beck'sche
Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953), 345-357, who proposed that
the idea of the kingship of Yahweh developed between the
conquest and the monarchy. In fundamental agreement with
Alt are O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe als König," Zeitschrift für
die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLVI (1928), 81-105;
O. Eissfeldt, "El and Yahweh," Journal of Semitic Studies,
I (1956), 37; H-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im
Alten Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), p. 93;
H-J. Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel (Zweite Auflage;
München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1962), pp. 237-239; also the
more comprehensive work of W. Schmitt, Königtum Gottes in
Ugarit und Israel ("Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alt-
testamentliche Wissenschaft LXXX"; Berlin: A. Töpelmann,
1961). Cf. also J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory
and Praxis," Vetus Testamentum, II (1952), 193-220; J.
Gray, "The Hebrew Conception of the Kingship of God: Its
Origin and Development," Vetus Testamentum, VI (1956),
268-285; J. Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets
and Psalms," Vetus Testamentum, XI (1961), 1-29.

with the ancient Near Eastern suzerainty treaty, this
in itself provides a basis for the idea of God as suzerain,
that is, as king.[9] It is no longer necessary to assert
that there is no referent for the development of the
idea of the kingship of God in Israel prior to the entry
into the Kulturland. While Yahweh's kingship is predicated
most frequently as a pre-eminence over other gods, the idea
of Yahweh as king over Israel appears to be an older con-
cept, as Numbers 23:21; Exodus 15:18; Deuteronomy 33:5;
Judges 8:23 and I Samuel 8:7 would indicate. It is, of
course, to be expected that the concept was broadened,
developed and influenced by contacts with Canaanite
political and religious ideologies, and the development
of Israel's own monarchic ideology. Yet we do not believe
that any convincing proof has been forthcoming which would
link the fundamental ideals of Israelite kingship or the
concept of the kingship of Yahweh with the pre-Israelite
cultus of Jerusalem, about which we know very little,
despite much speculation.[10] Nonetheless, we must expect

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[9]De Fraine, pp. 131-133 predicates kingship to Yahweh
at the time of the exodus, not by express designation, but
by virtue of the kingly functions of leading in war, giving
justice and government.

[10]Cf., e.g., H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehustan,"
Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIII (1939), 113-141;
H. H. Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok," Festschrift Alfred
Bertholet (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), pp. 461-472;
G. W. Ahlström, "Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau,"
Vetus Testamentum, XI (1961), 113-127; G. W. Ahlström,

some degree of borrowed ideas in Israel, which expressed
the wish to have a king "like all the nations" (I Samuel
8:5), and, as C. R. North remarked, "The doctrine of
divine kingship may have been much more prominent while
the monarchy was in existence than the orthodox schools
have allowed us to know."[11]

The thesis will proceed by considering the relevant
Old Testament texts. Illustrative material from other
ancient Near Eastern sources will also be considered.
Whereas coincidence does not necessarily imply relation-
ship, each case must be judged on its own for its bearing
on the Old Testament material.

Certain limitations to the study should be pointed
out in advance. The writer has had some difficulty in
procuring materials. In the case of the treaties, it has
been necessary to rely on secondary studies. Akkadian,
Egyptian and Hittite materials have been used in trans-
lation, primarily into German. We do not believe this

Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion, translated
by E. J. Sharpe ("Horae Soederblomianae V"; Lund: C. W. K.
Gleerup, 1963); A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story
of the Ark in Samuel," Journal of Biblical Literature,
LXVII (1948), 37-53; J. R. Porter, "The Interpretation of
2 Samuel VI and Psalm CXXXII," Journal of Theological
Studies, New Series, V (1954), 161-173.

[11]C. R. North, "The Religious Aspect of Hebrew King-
ship," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,
L (1932), 31. Contrast the statement of A. H. J. Grunneweg,
"Sinaibund und Davidsbund," Vetus Testamentum, X (1960),
338, "Die Idee eines Bundes Jahwes mit dem Davididen ist
die israelitische Form des sakralen Königtums."

seriously prejudices any of the conclusions drawn, but
there always remains the possibility that examination of
the documents in their original languages might force
some modifications on the study. Care has been taken
to cite sources and indicate the scholars upon whom we
rely in these matters. Other limitations will appear
to the reader due to the writer's limited linguistic
and philological ability.

CHAPTER II

THE DAVIDIC COVENANT AND THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TREATIES

The Dynastic Interest of the Treaties

Recent studies have demonstrated that the Israelite
traditions of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel are
similar in their formal elements to the political treaties
by which international diplomacy was regulated in the
ancient Near East, particularly the treaties of the Hittite
empire. To a lesser degree, but not without significant
impace, there also exist conceptual similarities between
the treaties and the covenants of Israel. The investiga-
tions of these materials have dealt for the most part with
the Sinaitic covenant as reported in Exodus 20, the cove-
nant ceremony at Shechem in Joshua 24, and the book of
Deuteronomy. A separate treatment has been given to one
element of the treaty form, the curse, and the relevant
Old Testament material.[1]

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[1]The basic sources are: G. E. Mendenhall, Law and
Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East (Pittsburgh:
The Biblical Colloquium, 1955); J. Muilenburg, "The Form
and Structure of the Covenantal Formulation," Vetus Test-
amentum, IX (1959), 347-365; G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant,"
The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by G. A.
Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), I, 714-723;
K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular ("Wissenschaftliche Mono-
graphien zum Alten und Neuen Testament. IV."; Neukirchen:
Neukirchener Verlag, 1964); D. J. McCarthy, Treaty and

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As even the most casual glance will disclose, the
treaties are characterized by a marked dynastic interest,
that is, an interest in stabilizing and maintaining inter-
national relations by the regulation, on the part of the
suzerain, of the succession to the throne in vassal king-
doms conditioned by the fidelity of the vassal to his
suzerain. This dynastic interest is precisely the con-
tent of the Old Testament traditions of the covenant
between Yahweh and David and draws the attention of the
investigator of the Davidic covenant to the treaties.

In the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Mattiwaza we
read:

> If you, Mattiwaza, the prince, and (you) the sons
> of the Hurri country do not fulfill the words of
> this treaty, may the gods, the lords of the oath
> . . . overturn your throne . . . may they exter-
> minate from the earth your name and your seed.
> . . . .
> If (on the other hand) you, Mattiwaza, the prince,
> and (you) the Hurrians, fulfill this treaty and
> (this) oath . . . . May you, Mattiwaza, your sons
> and your son's sons (descended) from the daughter

Covenant, A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents
and in the Old Testament ("Analecta Biblica XXI"; Rome:
Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963); D. R. Hillers,
Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets ("Biblica et
Orientalia XVI"; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute,
1964); G. Schmitt, Der Landtag von Sichem ("Arbeiten zur
Theologie I, xv": Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1964); H.
Huffmon, "The Exodus, Sinai and the Credo," Catholic
Biblical Quarterly, XXVII (1965), 101-113; D. J. McCarthy,
"Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of
Inquiry," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXVII (1965), 217-
240; F. Nötscher, "Bundesformular und 'Amtsschimmel,'"
Biblische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge, IX (1965), 181-214.

of the Great King of the Hatti land, and (you),
the Hurrians, exercise kingship forever. May the
throne of your father persist, may the Mittanni
country persist.[2]

The treaty of Bar-ga'ayah of KTK and Mati'el of Arpad

(Sefire Steles) reads:

But if you obey and [ful]fil this treaty . . .
[I cannot raise a hand] against thee, nor can my
son raise a hand against [thy] son, nor my de-
scendants against [thy] descendants.[3]

In the treaty between Mursilis II and Duppi-Tessub of

Amurru, Mursilis details the relations that existed be-

tween his father and the grandfather of Duppi-Tessub,

Aziras, then between himself and Aziras and Du-Tessub,

the son of Aziras, who implored Mursilis, "When I die,

accept my son Duppi-Tessub as your vassal." Mursilis

then tells Duppi-Tessub:

So honor the oath (of loyalty) to the king and the
king's kin! And I, the king, will be loyal toward
you, Duppi-Tessub. When you take a wife, and when
you beget an heir, he shall be king in the Amurru
land likewise. And just as I shall be loyal to
you, even so shall I be loyal toward your son.[4]

As George Mendenhall puts it:

The vassal could rule as he saw fit, and the only
concern of the Hittite king was, naturally enough,

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[2]Translation by A. Goetze, Ancient Near Eastern Texts
Relating to the Old Testament, edited by J. Pritchard
(Second edition, revised and enlarged; Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1955), p. 206. This work is hereafter
cited as ANET.

[3]Translation by McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p. 191.

[4]Translation by Goetze, ANET, p. 204.

in the succession to the throne of an heir who would
remain faithful. The right to determine succession
was not considered an automatic privilege or right
of the vassal, but was a specific privilege granted
by the Hittite king.[5]

We should note at the outset that the Davidic
covenant is a covenant between a man and a god. We have
no extra-biblical evidence of a covenant of precisely
this type.[6] This in itself does not invalidate the in-
vestigation, but is to be attributed in all probability
to the peculiarity of the Israelite tradition, which could
seldom, if ever, adopt foreign material wholesale, but
rather adapted it in terms suitable to Yahwism. Whereas
this adaptation usually took the form of eliminating the
polytheistic divine element, as in the case of the lists
of gods witnessing the treaties, at this point it would
mean giving to Yahweh the position which the treaties
ascribe to the suzerain. In any case, no formal diver-
gence results from the substitution.

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[5]G. E. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, pp. 33-34. Cf.
O. R. Gurney, The Hittites (Bungay, Suffolk: Penguin
Books, 1954), pp. 75-77; McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant,
p. 33.

[6]There may be one exception to this statement. A
text from Lagash, translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, Die
sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (Leipzig:
n. p., 1907), Cylinder B 12. 12, cited by McCarthy, Treaty
and Covenant, p. 17, reads, "Urukagina made this covenant
with Ningirsu." McCarthy takes it to refer not to a cove-
nant, which would be difficult to understand in the context
(i.e., a social edict) and understands it to refer to the
divine concurrence with the edict of the king. Nötscher,
p. 186, also considers the presence of a covenant here as
"durchaus unsicher und unwahrscheinlich."

The Davidic Covenant and the Treaty Form

Is there a similarity in form between the vassal treaties and the Davidic covenant? The chief difficulty in answering this question is stated by Mendenhall:

> we have no narrative which states how this oath of Yahweh [to David] was formally established . . . and it is completely unclear how this covenant was promulgated.[7]

In short, the difficulty stems from the fact that the Old Testament does not contain a text as such of a covenant between Yahweh and David, and "zum Vertrag gehört untrennbar die Urkunde des Vertrages."[8]

The absence of an actual covenant document, in itself, does not preclude the investigation of the treaty-covenant relationship. It is, in fact, questionable whether there exist any actual "covenant texts" in the Old Testament, even in Exodus 19-24; 34; Joshua 24; Deuteronomy 4; 5-11; or I Samuel 12. Nötscher remarks that these are "reports" of the making of covenants, in which the texts themselves are only hinted at.[9] There is difference of opinion on

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[7]G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), I, 718. This work is hereafter cited as IDB.

[8]Baltzer, p. 36. Cf. Joshua 24:25-26; Nehemiah 10:1 (English 9:38).

[9]Nötscher, p. 194.

this point: some contend, for example, that the Deca-
logue is the text of the Sinaitic Covenant,[10] while
others disagree.[11] Nonetheless, the study of the treaties
and their form has proved most helpful in the understand-
ing of the pertinent Old Testament texts. We may legit-
imately expect then, even when we lack an explicit text
of the Davidic covenant, that a comparison of the assem-
bled traditions of that covenant with the treaties may
prove fruitful.

The formal elements of the vassal treaty (Hittite)
of the second millenium may be detailed as follows:

1. The Titulature

2. The Historical Prologue

3. The Stipulations

4. The Document Clause

5. The Witnesses or God List

6. Curses and Blessings

Identical terminology is not in general use. There is
also some difference of opinion regarding formal analysis.

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[10]Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, p. 5.

[11]McCarthy, who does not find even the covenant form
in the Decalogue traditions, believes that the Old Testament
traditions report covenant-making and covenant-renewing
ceremonies according to a ritual sequence which has paral-
lels in the Hittite treaty form. McCarthy, Treaty and
Covenant, pp. 168-174,and McCarthy, "Present State,"
Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXVII (1965), 225. Hereafter
this periodical will be referred to as CBQ.

The sixfold division given above stems from the analysis
of Victor Korošec.[12] K. Baltzer distinguishes another
element, the Grundsatzerklärung, preceding the detailed
stipulations.[13] It does not seem necessary, however, to
treat this element, where it occurs, as distinct from the
stipulations. McCarthy goes so far as to consider the
historical prologue as a nonessential element of the
treaty form, since treaties of the first millenium (non-
Hittite) do not include this feature.[14] He also questions
whether the tablet clause is important enough to be called
an essential feature of the treaty form.[15] McCarthy's
contention is that all ancient Near Eastern treaties bear
a general scheme, admitting of variation, and not rigidly

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[12]Victor Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge: Ein
Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung ("Leipziger rechts-
wissenschaftliche Studien LX"; Leipzig: Weicher, 1931),
pp. 12-14. There are two main types of treaties, the
vassal treaties imposed by the suzerain on his vassals,
and the parity treaties, agreements between personages of
equal status and power. Both types are formally the same.
Our concern will be, for the most part, with the vassal
treaties.

[13]Baltzer, p. 20. Grundsatzerklärung does not
translate well. McCarthy's "declaration of principle"
is decidedly stiff; "general clause" might prove somewhat
better.

[14]McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p. 31. See also
Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, p. 30, and W. Moran in
Biblica, XLIII (1962), 104-105.

[15]McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, p. 29.

imposed. Other scholars maintain that the scheme was rigid, and the variations found in treaties of the first millenium indicate a different scheme and a breakdown of the classic form. Hence they consider the tablet clause, and especially the historical prologue, as essential elements of the second millenium treaties, and conclude that affinity to the classic form is a valid argument for assigning Old Testament materials, within limits, to a particular age.[16]

The Titulature

The titulature introduces the personage of the king as suzerain and initiator of the treaty. So, for example, the treaty of Mursilis II and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru begins:

> These are the words of the Sun Mursilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, the son of Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant.[17]

II Samuel 7:8, which reports the divine promise to David which must be considered the basic content of the

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[16]Moran, Biblica, XLIII (1962), 100-106, and Moran, Biblica, XLI (1960), 297-299. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, p. 30. W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Second edition; Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), p. 16. Hereafter this work is cited as FSAC.

[17]Translation by Goetze, ANET, p. 203. "The Sun" is a regular designation for the Hittite king.

bᵉrît with David (II Samuel 23:5), begins kōh ʾāmar
yhwh ṣᵉbāʾôt. Aside from the covenant context, the
formula would quite naturally be attributed to prophetic
Botenstil, as the complete formula reads:

> Now therefore thus you shall say to my servant David,
> "Thus says Yahweh of Hosts" (II Samuel 7:8a).[18]

Other considerations also come into play, however. In the
covenant ceremony of Joshua 24, Joshua begins his address
kōh ʾāmar yhwh ʾĕlōhê yīśrāʾêl. Baltzer suggests that in
this instance one should look to the treaty form for the
phraseology. Some of the treaties begin "These are the
words of X," but a great number of them begin "Thus
(Akkadian um-ma) (speaks) the Sun, X, the great king."[19]

The title yhwh ṣᵉbāʾôt, within the Israelite tradi-
tions, is as impressive as the prolific honorifics of
the Hittite suzerain.[20]

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[18]On the Botenstil, cf. J. F. Ross, "The Prophet as
Yahweh's Messenger," Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays
in honor of James Muilenburg, edited by B. W. Anderson
and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962),
pp. 99-101, and the literature cited there.

[19]Baltzer, p. 29, n. 3. A check of E. F. Weidner,
Politische Dokumente: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer
Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazkoi ("Boghazkoi-Studien
VIII-IX"; Leipzig: n. p., 1923) discloses that six of the
nine treaties given there begin "um-ma (speaks) X."
Baltzar's reference to "at least one instance" is therefore
strange.

[20]On the significance of this title in the context
of II Samuel 7, cf. infra, p. 107.

The Historical Prologue

Again in II Samuel 7 we find material which can
aptly be termed an historical prologue to the Davidic
covenant:

> Thus says Yahweh of Hosts, I took you from the
> pasture, from following the sheep, that you
> should be prince over my people Israel; and I
> have been with you wherever you went, and have
> cut off all your enemies from before you, and I
> made for you a great name, like the name of the
> great ones of the earth. And I appointed a place
> for my people Israel, and I planted them, and
> they dwelt in their own place, and they shall be
> disturbed no more; and violent men shall afflict
> them no more, as formerly, from the time that I
> appointed judges over my people Israel; and I
> gave you rest from all your enemies (II Samuel
> 7:8b-11a).[21]

Thus, in the historical prologue, we are given the
details of the past relations of the two parties of the

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[21]The question of whether the verbs in vv. 9-11 are
to be taken as perfecta consecutiva or perfects with
waw-copulative has been debated for some time. To take
them as perfecta copulativa is not only a grammatical
possibility, but agrees with the context of the chapter
(cf. v. 1). As we take these verses in the sense of an
historical prologue to the Davidic covenant, the decision
gains decisive favor. For a complete discussion and
historical survey of the question, cf. O. Loretz, "The
Perfectum Copulativum in II Samuel 7:9-11," CBQ, XXIII
(1961), 294-296, and L. Rost, Die Uberlieferung von der
Thronnachfolge Davids ("Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom
Alten und Neuen Testament, Band III, Heft vi"; Stuttgart:
W. Kohlhammer, 1926), p. 59. Cf. also R. Meyer, "Auf-
fallender Erzählungsstil in einem augeblichen Auszug aus
der 'Chronik der Könige von Juda,'" Festschrift F.
Baumgärtel (Erlangen: Universitätsbund Verlag, 1959),
pp. 114-123, and most recently M. Dahood, Psalms I (1-50)
("Anchor Bible XVI"; Garden City: Doubleday & Company,
1966), p. xxxix.

covenant, David and Yahweh, and, as often in the vassal
treaty, this history consists of the gracious acts of a
sovereign for the weaker party, stated in "I--Thou"
terminology.[22]

The Stipulations

It is common parlance to distinguish the Davidic
covenant, and with it the Noachite and Abramic covenants,
as "promissory" and "unconditional." The practice of
interchanging these two terms is unfortunate, for that
which is promissory need by no means be unconditional.
Against the idea of an unconditional covenant, McCarthy
writes:

> This is unrealistic. All covenants, all contracts,
> have their conditions. They must be defined some-
> how or other. These definitions are their conditions
> or stipulations which may often be assumed, things
> which are simply well known in a culture and need
> not be stated explicitly.[23]

Is the promise to David really without any conditions?

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[22]For the "I--Thou" language as characteristic of
the historical prologue of the treaties, cf. Mendenhall,
Law and Covenant, p. 33; W. Moran, "De Foederis Mosaici
Traditione," Verbum Domini, XL (1962), 7-8. Exceptions
are noted by Baltzer, p. 29, n. 4. The suzerain is
sometimes referred to in the third person.

[23]McCarthy, "Present State," CBQ, XXVII (1965),
p. 218. Later in the same article, p. 236, he seems to
contradict this statement. Cf. also H. H. Rowley, The
Biblical Doctrine of Election (London: Lutterworth Press,
1950), pp. 98-100.

Certainly fidelity to Yahweh is implied, if not given
explicit mention. We further suggest that the peculiar
nature of the "promissory covenant" is that it is not
given with the purpose of establishing fidelity, but
given in the context of fidelity.[24]

> I will establish the throne of his (the descendant
> of David) kingdom forever. I will be a father to
> him and he will be a son to Me, whom I will chasten
> with ordinary rods and common scourges, when he
> commits iniquity, but from whom I will not with-
> draw My loyalty as I withdrew it from the one whom
> I removed from before Me. Your house will be stead-
> fast before Me, your throne established forever
> (II Samuel 7:13b-16).[25]

> If his children forsake My instruction, do not
> comport themselves according to My ordinances, if
> they violate My laws, do not keep My commandments,
> then I will punish their transgression with the
> rod and their sin with scourges, but I will not
> withdraw My loyalty from him or be false to My
> faithfulness; I will not violate My covenant or
> alter the promise of My lips. Once for all I
> have sworn by My holiness; I will never disown
> David. (Psalm 89:31-36).[26]

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[24]The covenant may follow a distinctive act of loyalty
or obedience. Cf. Genesis 9 (Noah); Genesis 15:1 (Abram);
Numbers 25:10-13 (Aaronic Priesthood); II Samuel 7. In
the latter case, the deed is David's zeal for the ark, as
Psalm 132 also witnesses. Cf. D. N. Freedman, "Divine
Commitment and Human Obligation. The Covenant Theme,"
Interpretation, XVIII (1964), 425. For the covenant as
a reward in David's own words, cf. II Samuel 22:23.

[25]II Samuel 7:13b-16 after M. Tsevat, "Studies in
the Book of Samuel III: The Steadfast House: What was
David Promised in II Samuel 7:11b-16," Hebrew Union College
Annual, XXXIV (1963), 73.

[26]For the rendering of Psalm 89:31-36, ibid., p. 74.

Mendenhall claims that it is impossible to render

the Davidic covenant bilateral by appealing to the

> traditions (mostly, if not entirely, Deuteronomic)
> which emphasize the king's obligation to obey the
> Mosaic law, for there is never any reference to a
> king's oath until possibly Josiah.[27]

In regard to this statement, we must first note that the

question should remain one of conditionality in terms of

the Davidic covenant. It is surely unreasonable to suppose

that the king of Israel should not be obligated to the

Sinaitic covenant. The examination should proceed by way

of establishing, in each case where conditionalities are

mentioned, whether they refer to the Sinaitic Covenant or

to the David covenant.

The fact of the matter is that there are no clear

passages dealing explicitly with the Davidic covenant

(with the exception of Chronicles 17) which are **not** con-

ditional. II Samuel 7:13b-16 is judged a gloss by M. Tsevat

precisely on the grounds that it is unconditional.[28] But

surely the words "whom I will chasten with ordinary rods

and common scourges when he commits iniquity" are con-

ditional. The passage may be of secondary nature in the

chapter as we have it, but it has never been labeled

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[27]Mendenhall, "Covenant," IDB, I, 718.

[28]Tsevat, p. 73 *et passim*.

Deuteronomic.[29] Psalm 89 is directly dependent on the
II Samuel passage, and is also conditional, but it is
most probably influenced by Deuteronomic thought, as the
vocabulary of vv. 31-36 demonstrates.[30] Psalm 132 is
clearly conditional in its reference to the Davidic
covenant.

> The Lord swore to David a sure oath, from which
> He will not turn back: "One of the sons of your
> body I will set on your throne. If your sons
> keep my covenant and my testimonies which I
> shall teach them, their sons also for ever
> shall sit upon your throne (Psalm 132:11-12).

The Psalm is a free poetic treatment of the material in
II Samuel 6 and 7, and bears all the marks of being quite
old, possibly from Solomonic times.[31]

The conjunction of a promise of dynastic perpetuity
and conditionality is evidenced also in the Hittite
treaties. In the treaty between Tudhaliyas IV and

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[29]The redactional history of the text will be dis-
cussed separately. Cf. pp. 82-98.

[30]See, however, the qualifications of this judgment
by J. Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background
of Psalm LXXXIX," Vetus Testamentum, XI (1961), 332.
Hereafter this periodical will be referred to as VT.

[31]So A. Weiser, The Psalms, translated by H. Hartwell
from the German Die Psalmen ("Das Alte Testament Deutsch
XIV-XV"; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959)
(Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 779.
H-J. Kraus, Psalmen II ("Biblischer Kommentar, Altes
Testament XV, ii"; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960),
p. 886, does not attempt an exact dating. Tsevat, p. 78,
writes, "an old, probably very old psalm."

Ulmi-Teshub of Dattasa, we read:

> As for thee, Ulmi-Teshub, (I have affirmed thy possession of Dattasa.)
>
> After thee thy son and thy grandson shall hold it, and no one shall take it from them. (But) if one of thy line sins (against Hatti), the king of Hatti will have him tried, and if he is condemned he will be sent to the king of Hatti, where, if he merits it, he will be executed.
>
> Let no one take away Ulmi-Teshub's inheritance and country from his line to give to another line. Let it remain the possession of Ulmi-Teshub and his line.[32]

The similarity of this passage to II Samuel 7 and its parallels is striking.

In many of the other treaties, regardless of the specific stipulations, it is a general fidelity to the suzerain which is understood as basic to the maintenance of the vassal relationship.[33] A more specific example is cited by G. Schmitt:

> Götze teilt in MVAG ein hethitisches Königsdekret mit (p. 41ff.) in dem Hattusilis III. der Familie eines Groszen für alle Zeiten die Gnade des Königshauses zusagt und ihre Stellung bestätigt. Zuvor wird der Angeredete aufgefordert, den König zu "schützen" (oder: treu zu sein)--das Grundgebot der Verträge und Treueide.[34]

It is not without cause, then, that some scholars have been led to speak of the "intrinsic suppositions

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[32]Translation by McCarthy, _Treaty_ _and_ _Covenant_, p. 183.

[33]See the texts quoted _supra_, p. 2.

[34]G. Schmitt, p. 67, n. 22. The text itself is not available to me.

of a covenant."[35] We might suggest that it is the peculiar
nature of the "promissory" covenant that it is given in the
context of fidelity, and that individual "stipulations"
do not play a large role: continued fidelity is the implied
or explicit condition.

The fidelity of David to Yahweh is not stated ex-
plicitly in II Samuel 7, but is supplied to us by the con-
text. It lies precisely in this, that David has displayed
great zeal for the ark of Yahweh, particularly in the act
of bringing it to Jerusalem, and the desire, consequently
denied him, to build a house for the ark. Indeed, so basic
is the connection between the ark and the Davidic covenant
that the compiler of II Samuel has displaced the episode
of II Samuel 6 from its associated traditions (I Samuel
4-7:1) in order to join it with II Samuel 7 in the present
context. That this conclusion is valid is substantiated by
the joining of the traditions so tightly in Psalm 132.[36]
For this point in our study it is enough to note that the
"promissory" nature of the Davidic covenant does not
remove it from the general category of conditionality,
nor from the formal structure of the vassal-treaty as we

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[35]Tsevat, p. 77. Cf. the citation from McCarthy,
supra, p. 20

[36]Cf. E. Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden,"
Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LVIII (1961), 148.
Hereafter this periodical will be referred to as ZTK.

know it from ancient Near Eastern sources.

The promise of the Davidic covenant is the con-
tinuance of the dynasty of David: "it shall never lack
a man to sit on the throne" (II Samuel 7:16; Psalm 89:36;
Psalm 132:12; I Kings 2:4; 8:25; Jeremiah 33:17). The
basic statement of the promise is found in the words of
II Samuel 7:11b, "Moreover Yahweh declares to you (wᵉhiggîd
lᵉkā yhwh) that Yahweh will make you a house."

The abrupt change from first person to third person
narrative has evoked much comment. The change has been
used in attempts to isolate this passage as the "kernel"
of the chapter.[37] It has also stimulated many suggested
emendations. The text of I Chronicles 17:10 reads waʾaggîd,
but the LXX, which usually supports Chronicles against
Samuel, in this case agrees with Samuel against Chronicles,
reading in II Samuel kaì apaggeleî soi kúrios.[38]

The treaties evidence the same switch in persons

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[37]So, e.g., Kutsch, p. 141, "Eher wird dieser Vers-
teil den Kern darstellen, um den herum der übrige Text
componiert wurde. Dasz er nicht in die Form der Jahwe-
rede umgesetzt, sondern in der vorliegenden Gestalt
aufgenommen wurde, kann sich nur daraus erklären, dasz
der Verfasser des Kapitels ihn in dieser Form festgeprägt
vorfand."

[38]The LXX of Chronicles has kaì auzêsô se, which
indicates a Hebrew reading waʾăgaddelkā, which is very
understandable as a corruption of the text by running
two words together. S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew
Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel (Second
edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 275, suggests
ûmagîd.

from direct address to the third person. Baltzer notes
this and remarks that

> Er [change of person] kann daher nicht ohne
> Einschränkung zu einer literarkritischen Unter-
> scheidung verschiedener Schichten . . . heran-
> gezogen werden.[39]

We may then retain the reading w^ehiggîd. Further,
it should be noted that the textual sequence is reminiscent
of the change in the covenant texts from historical pro-
logue to stipulations, often marked by w^eʿattâ, as, for
example, in Joshua 24:14; Exodus 19:5; and I Samuel 12:13.[40]

The Document Clause

The treaty document is essential to the treaty.
Korošec writes:

> Der allgemeinen Auffassung des alten Orients ent-
> spricht es, dasz für den Vertragsabschlusz die
> schriftliche Ausfertigung wesentlich ist. Die
> Vertragsurkunde ist nicht blosz ein Beweismittel
> für den etwa durch Übereinstimmung beider Parteien
> zustande gekommenen Vertrag, sondern der Vertrag
> ensteht erst durch die Errichtung der Urkunde.[41]

II Samuel 7 and its parallels make no explicit
reference to a written document of the covenant between
Yahweh and David. It is our contention, however, that

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[39]Baltzer, p. 49, in reference to Exodus 34. Cf.
also W. Moran in Biblica, XLIV (1962), 103.

[40]Baltzer, pp. 30-31, 37.

[41]Korošec, p. 15, as cited by Baltzer, p. 26.

there is sufficient evidence scattered about in the Old

Testament to warrant the conclusion that such a written

document did exist.[42]

In II Kings 11 we have a report of the coronation of

Joash by the priest Jehoiada:

> Then he (Jehoiada) brought out the king's son (Joash)
> and put the crown on him, and he gave him the test-
> imony; and they proclaimed him king, and anointed
> him; and they clapped their hands, and said, "Long
> live the king!" (II Kings 11:12)

The Massoretic text reads here wayyittĕn ʿālāyw ʾet-

hannezĕr weʾet-hāʿēdût. It is customary to emend the

passage to read hasseʿādôt after II Samuel 1:10.[43] The

emendation is not at all necessary, since the text is

intelligible as it stands, as we shall proceed to show.

W. F. Albright has made the statement that the word

ʿēdût reflects an older ʿādôt, with the meaning of

"covenant," and replaces berît in the Priestly material

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[42]It is the document clause as a formal element of
the treaties which has forced a re-evaluation of the Old
Testament traditions which speak of the deposit of the
tables of the (Sinaitic) covenant in the ark. This can
no longer be simply dismissed as a theological construct.
The ark cannot be dismissed from the Sinai traditions.
A discussion is beyond our purpose here, however. Cf.
W. Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinai-
traditionen (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961), pp. 66-69;
N. Lohfink, "Die Bundesurkunde des Königs Josias,"
Biblica, XLIV (1963), 467, and Deuteronomy 31:25.

[43]See the apparatus to this verse in R. Kittel and
P. Kahle, editors, Biblia Hebraica (Seventh edition;
Stuttgart: Privilegierte Würtembergische Bibelanstalt,
1951), and the commentaries. This work is hereafter cited
as BH7. II Samuel 1:10 reads weeṣʿādâh, but is to be
corrected to wehasseʿādâh.

of the Pentateuch.[44] Now berît does occur in the Priestly
materials.[45] A comparison of the use of the two terms
shows a definite consistency in usage: berît is applied
to the Noachite and Abramic covenants (Genesis 9 and 17),
promissory in nature, and 'edût is used of the Sinaitic
covenant, the conditional covenant.[46]

A relationship has been noted between Hebrew 'edût
and the Akkadian adê, which means "treaty stipulations,"
and "treaty"; treaty implying "words spoken under oath."[47]

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[44] W. F. Albright, FSAC, p. 16. The long awaited
discussion of this material will appear in monograph form
by W. F. Albright and D. R. Hillers in the near future.
Much of the material in this section has been influenced
by preliminary notes and drafts which were kindly supplied
to the writer by Dr. Hillers.

[45] Genesis 9 and Genesis 17 passim. Exodus 2:24;
6:4,5; Numbers 18:19; 25:13.

[46] Exodus 16:34; 25:22; 30:6,26,36; 31:7; 31:18; 38:27;
39:25; 40:3,5,21; Numbers 1:50,53; 4:5; 7:89; 9:15; 10:11;
17:19 (English 17:4), 22 (English 7), 23 (English 8), 25
(English 10); 18:2; 25:16,21; 40:20. The references to
the Sinaitic covenant are always in connection with the
ark and the tent/tabernacle. Since Exodus 25:16 refers
to the placing of the 'edût into the ark, and this, on
the strength of Exodus 31:18, is the "two tables of the
'edût," i.e., the written stipulations of the covenant,
the customary translation "tables of testimony," "ark of
testimony" and "tent of testimony" (so RSV) is extremely
unfortunate. 'edût is "covenant!"
This check of the Priestly sources was suggested to
the writer by Prof. C. Graesser, referring to a paper
read by Dr. Hillers at the annual meeting of the Society
of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, December 1965, in
Nashville.

[47] See J. A. Thompson, "Expansions of the 'd Root,"
Journal of Semitic Studies, X (1965), 235-240, and

D. J. Wiseman defines adê as "treaty-terms," or "solemn
charges ratified on oath in the presence of divine wit-
nesses and imposed by Esarhaddon on the persons named."[48]
I. J. Gelb notes that all evidence so far available would
limit the use of adê to "loyalty-oaths" imposed by a
sovereign on those of unequal standing.[49]

The biblical usage suggests that Hebrew ʿēdût, as
Akkadian adê, refers to (written) covenant stipulations.
We note that ʿēdût is often set in parallelism to berît.

> If your sons keep my covenant (berîtî)
> and my stipulations (ʿēdōtî) which I shall teach
> them (Psalm 132:12).

> All the paths of Yahweh are steadfast love and
> faithfulness, for those who keep his covenant
> (berîtô) and his stipulations (ʿēdōtāyw)
> (Psalm 25:10).

As nēzer and ʿēdût are parallel in II Kings 11:12, so in
Psalm 89 nēzer is parallel to berît.

The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the
University of Chicago, edited by I. J. Gelb and others
(Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964), I, i, 131-134.
Further, D. J. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon
(London: Harrison and Sons, 1958), pp. 3, 8 and 81, n.1;
I. J. Gelb in Bibliotheca Orientalis, XIX (1962), 161-162;
Mendenhall, "Covenant," IDB, I, 716; Tsevat, p. 81, n. 49.
The Aramaic equivalent ʿdy occurs in the Sefire Steles,
which are a suzerainty treaty with stipulations. Cf.
McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp. 54, 97; J. Fitzmeyer,
"The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II," Journal
of the American Oriental Society, LXXXI (1961), 186-187.

[48]Wiseman, p.3.

[49]Gelb in Bibliotheca Orientalis, XIX (1962), 161.

Thou hast renounced the covenant with thy servant;
Thou hast defiled his crown in the dust (Psalm 89:40;
English 89:39).

That the ʿēdût in the instance of II Kings 11:12 is
a written document is suggested by the fact that it is
given to the king.[50]

Von Rad has compared the Egyptian coronation cere-
mony with the biblical evidence.[51] He understands the
transaction involving the ʿēdût to be the establishment
of the royal "protocol," which, by analogy with Egyptian
practice, would include the divine legitimation of the
king, the declaration of the royal names, the divine call
and adoption by the god.[52]

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[50] wayyittēn governs both objects, the crown and the
ʿēdût, but the ʿālāyw need not govern the ʿēdût too strongly.
Z. Falk, "Forms of Testimony," VT, XI (1961), 88-89, on
the suggestion of ʿālāyw, thinks of the ʿēdût as "a pas-
sage representing the (Davidic) covenant contained in a
small amulet and tied to the arm." Likewise A. R. Johnson,
"The Hebrew Conception of Kingship," Myth, Ritual, and
Kingship, edited by S. H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1958), p. 210. Cf. K-H. Bernhardt, Das Problem des Alt-
orientalischen Königsideologie ("Supplements to Vetus
Testamentum VIII"; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 251, n. 2.

[51] G. von Rad, "Das Judäische Königsritial," Gesammelte
Studien zum Alten Testament (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag,
1958), pp. 205-213. Hereafter this volume is cited as
von Rad, GS. Cf. also von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I
(New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp. 41-41.

[52] von Rad, "Das Judäische Königsritual," GS, p. 208.
Note also his statement, Old Testament Theology, I, 41,
"of course, for the Hebrew way of thinking, the royal
protocol could only be a covenant made by Yahweh with the
king."

This calls for some comment, especially in view of
the fact that von Rad's statements are referred to by so
many without further comment. The Egyptian term in ques-
tion is nḫb.t. There is no indication in the texts that
it should be translated any differently than the usual
"titulary."[53] The customary fivefold titulary did involve
a legitimation of the king by identifying him with certain
deities, but the term "protocol" is confusing in this
connection.[54] The names were written and ceremoniously
handed over to the king. Thus there is a parallel to the
actions of the coronation ceremony, but certainly no in-
formation is given which would elucidate the meaning of
ʿēdût as such.

ʿēdût also occurs in close association with ḥōq,[55]
and ḥōq is used as a parallel term for berît.[56] The

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[53]So, e.g., A. Erman and H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der
Aegyptischen Sprache (Zweite Auflage; Berlin: Akademie-
Verlag, 1955), II, 308, and H. Brunner, Abriss der Mittel-
ägyptischen Grammatik (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlags-
anstalt, 1961), pp. 42-43.

[54]On the Egyptian royal titulary, cf. J. A. Wilson,
The Culture of Ancient Egypt (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 102-103; H. Frankfort, Kingship
and the Gods (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948),
pp. 46-48; Brunner, pp. 42-43; S. Morenz, "Ägyptische und
davidische Königstitulature," Zeitschrift für Ägyptische
Sprache und Altertumskunde, LXXIX (1954), 73-74.

[55]I Chronicles 29:19; II Chronicles 34:31; II Kings
23:3; Deuteronomy 4:45; 6:20. (ʿēdōt is simply a variant
for ʿēdût; both forms are plurals of the root ʿād/ʿōd.

[56]II Kings 17:15; Isaiah 24:5; Psalm 50:16; 105:10;
I Chronicles 16:17.

association of these passages leads to the conclusion
that ḥōq refers basically to demands, not promises.[57]
This is particularly illuminating in the case of the
Davidic covenant, since the content of Yahweh's ḥōq in
Psalm 2:7 is the covenant with David. Further, the
phrase "today I have begotten you" leads one to associate
the Psalm with the coronation ritual.[58] The decree (ḥōq)
of Psalm 2:7 should be seen to include not only verse 7,
but all of verses 7-11.[59] Verses 9-11, which present
the enemies of the king as enemies of Yahweh, are strongly
reminiscent of the "clauses of mutual protection" in the
treaties.[60] Finally, we may cite Psalm 81:5-6 (English
4-5):

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[57]This argument is developed by G. H. Jones, "The
Decree of Yahweh (Ps II 7)," VT, XV (1965), 336-344, and
especially p. 341.

[58]Kraus, I, 11-22.

[59]So Jones, p. 339. He writes, "in declaring the
decree of Yahweh, the king on his enthronement was ac-
cepting the covenant of Yahweh which had as its visible
sign the decree which he was declaring," ibid., p. 338.

[60]On the protection clauses, cf. F. C. Fensham,
"Clauses of Protection in Hittite Vassal-Treaties and
the Old Testament," VT, XIII (1963), 133-143; F. C. Fensham,
"Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and
Kudurru-Inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and
Isaiah," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,
LXXV (1963), 155-175; F. C. Fensham, "Psalm 21--A Covenant
Song?" Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,
LXXVII (1965), 193-202, and especially p. 195. This
periodical is hereafter cited as ZAW. Compare Exodus
23:22; Psalm 21:8-12.

For it is a statute (ḥōq) for Israel,
An ordinance (mišpāt) of the God of Jacob,
He made it a decree (ʿēdût) in Joseph.

All three terms refer to the "obligation" to praise Yahweh (verses 1-4).

There is a problem in determining in each case where covenant is mentioned precisely which covenant is the one referred to by ʿēdût. In II Kings 11:12 the ʿēdût is probably not the Mosaic covenant, since this is entailed in a special covenant renewal ceremony after the coronation (II Kings 11:17), along with a new oath of allegiance to the Davidides (verse 17b: "and between the king and the people") following the break in the dynastic succession by the queen Athaliah. Hence it is reasonable to assume that the ʿēdût of verse 12 is the covenant agreement between the king and Yahweh.[61]

In Psalm 132 there is not a hint of anything Mosaic. Verses 11-12 contain a single citation, utilizing two terms for the same covenant: bᵉrît and ʿēdôt. The only reason to adduce this verse as subjecting the king to the Mosaic covenant is the prior understanding of the Davidic covenant as unconditional in every way, which, as we have seen, is simply not supported by the texts.

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[61]The exact course of events in II Kings 11 is problematical. For a discussion, cf. G. Fohrer, "Der Vertrag zwischen König und Volk in Israel," ZAW, LXXI (1959), 1-22, and especially p. 13.

The Witnesses or God List

The fifth element of the treaty form, the god list, is at home only in a polytheistic milieu and would not be expected in Israelite literature. It is Yahweh himself who guarantees his covenants. The function of the gods as covenant witnesses is to actuate the curses and blessings which follow in the treaty form. Along with the divine names, the treaties often list as witnesses "the mountains, the rivers, the spring, the great Sea, heaven and earth, the winds and the clouds."[62] The elements are here to be considered as personified and deified. The function of natural elements as covenant witnesses has been preserved in the Old Testament, in the prophetic literature. Whether we are to consider the Israelite usage as a personification of natural elements, or merely a literary adaptation of an element of the treaties, or actually a remnant of an adoption from polytheistic circles, is not certain, and has evoked much comment. What does stand established, however, is that such a usage demonstrates an acquaintance, and a living acquaintance at that, with the treaty form and terminology.[63]

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[62]From the treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru, ANET, p. 205. Cf. Deuteronomy 32:1; Isaiah 1:2; Micah 6:2; Jeremiah 2:4-13; Psalm 50:4; Job 20:27; Deuteronomy 4:26; 30:19; 31:28.

[63]For the discussion, cf. Hillers, p. 4; W. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," Biblica, XLIII (1962),

In II Samuel 7 we have no mention of a covenant
witness. Psalm 89 is quite striking in this connection,
however.

> I will not remove from him my steadfast love,
>   or be false to my faithfulness.
> I will not violate my covenant,
>   or alter the word that went forth from my lips,
> Once for all I have sworn by my holiness;
>   I will not lie to David.
> His line shall endure forever,
>   his throne as long as the sun before me.
> Like the moon it shall be established for ever;
>   it shall stand firm,
>   and the witness in the skies is sure
>   (Psalm 89:34-38; English 33-37).[64]

The association of sun and moon with the guarantees of

the Davidic covenant appears also in Psalm 72.

> May he (the Davidic king) live while the sun endures,
>   and as long as the moon, throughout all genera-
>   tions! (Psalm 72:5)[65]

317-319; Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, p. 66; H. Huffmon,
"The Covenant Lawsuit and the Prophets," Journal of
Biblical Literature, LXXVIII (1958), 286-295; G. E. Wright,
"The Lawsuit of God," Israel's Prophetic Heritage, edited
by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper &
Brothers, 1962), pp. 43-48; L. Fisher, "Abraham and His
Priest King," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXI (1962),
267; R. Gemser, "The Rib-or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew
Mentality," Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East
("Supplements to Vetus Testamentum III"; Leiden: E. J.
Brill, 1955), p. 130; F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Council of
Yahweh in Second Isaiah," Journal of Near Eastern Studies,
XII (1953), 277, n. 3.

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[64]Read with MT weʿēd haššaḥaq neʾĕmān. RSV reads
"it shall stand firm while the skies endure" (beʾōd
haššaḥaq). Conjectured readings are as numerous as the
commentaries. Kraus, II, 613 suggests "solange es Wolken
gibt," which makes no more sense than Weiser, p. 589,
"(his throne) a faithful witness in the skies," which
follows KJV.

[65]After LXX with RSV.

A similar usage occurs in Jeremiah 33:19-21a.

> Thus says Yahweh: If you can break my covenant
> with the day and my covenant with the night, so
> that the day and night will not come at their
> appointed time, then also my covenant with David
> my servant may be broken.

We suggest that an understanding of the sun and moon, the "witness in the skies," as guarantors and witnesses of the Davidic covenant is justified by the texts cited above. Such an understanding goes beyond a free association of the endurance of sun and moon by virtue of Yahweh's covenant with nature (Genesis 8-9) and the endurance of the dynasty. The element of comparison is present, to be sure, particularly in the case of the passage from Jeremiah. But on the strength of the evidence from the treaties, we would go beyond the comparison to regarding the heavenly bodies as covenant witnesses.

It should be noted also that the sun and moon are particularly apt witnesses for an "eternal covenant" (berît 'ôlām). The term 'ôlām receives its definition by the apt parallelism of Psalm 72:5, "generation after generation (dôr dôrîm), and should not be burdened with non-Hebraic ideas of eternity and infinitude.[66]

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[66]See the discussion of E. Jenni, "Das Wort olam im Alten Testament," ZAW, LXV (1953), 5-10. It is instructive to note that other covenants in the Old Testament which are both "promissory" and eternal ('ad 'ôlām) are subsequently revoked by Yahweh. Cf. Numbers 18:19 (Aaron) and Numbers 25:12-13. The material in I Samuel 2:27-36 and I Kings 2:26-35 indicates that the period designated by 'ad 'ôlām has come to an end, and this is determined by the infidelity of the people involved.

Curses and Blessings

There are at least two instances in which the fortunes of the Davidic dynasty seem to be treated as the actuation of covenant curses.[67] The studies of D. Hillers have demonstrated that Israelite literature makes use of specific curses from the ancient Near Eastern treaty literature.[68] The instances adduced below are especially interesting in that they are peculiarly apt to a treaty-covenant of a dynastic nature, such as the Davidic covenant.

The first passage in question is Psalm 89:45. Verses 38-45 of the Psalm treat the misfortunes of the Davidic dynasty. The particular disaster envisioned is quite impossible to isolate, but should probably be dated in pre-exilic times.[69] Verse 45 is very obviously corrupt as we have it. The Massoretic text reads "You have removed his (ritual) purity (hišbattā miṭhārô), and cast his throne to the ground." The text should probably read šābartā maṭēh hôdô, "you have broken his royal sceptre (literally: the staff of his splendor/majesty),[70] or

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[67]This is further evidence of the implicit condition-ality of the Davidic covenant: covenant curse certainly implies covenant stipulation!

[68]Hillers, pp. 84-89.

[69]Kraus, II, 617.

[70]So BH7 note.

ḫišbattā maṭēh mîyādô, "you have removed the sceptre
from his hand."[71]

One of the treaty-curses treated by Hillers is
"Breaking the sceptre."[72] It may be found in the treaty
of Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria and Marduk-zakir-shum I of
Babylon: "May X . . . of the gods, break his sceptre
(staff)." The same curse is found in the Code of
Hammurabi: "May the mighty Anum, the father of the gods,
. . . break his sceptre."[73]

The Ugaritic literature reproduces the same paral-
lelism of throne and sceptre:

> Will he not overturn your royal throne,
> Will he not break your judicial sceptre?[74]

Almost identical with the latter is the phrase from the
Ahiram Inscription:

> May his judicial sceptre be snatched away.
> May his royal throne be overturned.[75]

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[71]So RSV.

[72]Hillers, p. 61.

[73]Ibid. For bibliography of the treaty, cf. ibid.,
p. 8. The translation from the Code of Hammurabi is that
of T. J. Meek, ANET, p. 179.

[74]Hillers, p. 61 and J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan
("Supplements to Vetus Testamentum V"; Leiden: E. J. Brill,
1957), p. 62. For the text, cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic
Manual ("Analecta Orientalia XXXV"; Rome: Pontifical
Biblical Institute, 1955), 129:17-18; 49:VI:28-29. Both
instances refer to the dominion granted various gods by
their "father" El.

[75]Hillers, p. 61.

Other biblical parallels to the "breaking the sceptre" curse occur in Isaiah 14:5, referring to Babylon; Jeremiah 48:17, referring to Moab; Isaiah 9:3 (English 9:4), in general reference to "the oppressor;" Isaiah 14:29 and Zechariah 10:11.

The presence of the "covenant-curse" in Psalm 89:45 may be adduced as additional support for the argument that the Davidic covenant was viewed in terms of the treaty-covenant tradition, and further, strengthen the contention that the Davidic covenant was conditional.

Also relevant for discussion under the curses and blessings is the covenant-lawsuit (rîb) of Nathan against David in II Samuel 12:1-15.[76] The section may be analyzed as follows:

verse 1a: Introduction:
                        "Yahweh sent Nathan to David."

verses 1b-6:   Nathan's parable.[77]

verse 7a: General indictment:
                        "Thou art the man."

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[76]In addition to the literature cited supra, p. 33, n. 64, see J. Harvey, "Le 'rib-Pattern,' requisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," Biblica, XLIII (1962), 172-196, and C. Westermann, Grundformen Prophet-ischer Rede (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), pp. 98-115, "Prophetische Gerichtswort an Einzelne." Harvey does not utilize the section from II Samuel 12 in his full development, but notes it as belonging to the rîb-Gattung.

[77]This is an element peculiar to II Samuel 12 and not a standard formal element of the rîb. Westerman, p. 100, styles verses 1-6 as "Botenauftrag . . . umgesetzt in Erzählung."

verses 7b-8:   Historical reflections on past
                benevolence of Yahweh to David.

verse 9:   Specific indictment:
                Interrogatory commencing with
                we ʿattâ.

verses 10-12:   Sentence in Botenstil.

verses 13-15:   Confession of David and mitigation
                of sentence.

The formal structure of Nathan's rîb bears a resemblance

to that of Yarim-Lin of Aleppo against Yashub-Yachad of Dir:

1. Address

2. Indictment

3. Interrogatory

4. Historical reflections and indictments

5. Condemnation and threats[78]

It is further to be noted that the element of the

rîb which consists of "historical reflections" is related

to the "historical prologue" of the treaty-covenant form.[79]

II Samuel 12:7b-8 thus relates incidents which precede the

dynastic promise recorded in II Samuel 7:11b:

> Thus says Yahweh the God of Israel, "I anointed
> you king over Israel, and I delivered you out of
> the hand of Saul; and I gave you your master's
> house, and your master's wives into your bosom,
> and gave you the house of Israel and of Judah;
> and if this were too little, I would add to you
> as much more" (II Samuel 12:7b-8).

The threat or curse of verse 11 of II Samuel 12 is

not just a general threat, but is a curse known in the

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[78]Harvey, pp. 183-184.

[79]Cf. Deuteronomy 32:7-14; Jeremiah 2:4-7.

vassal treaties and is appropriate to the dynastic cove-
nant: the "Ravishing of wives."[80]

> Behold, I shall raise up evil out of your own
> family; and I will take your wives before your
> eyes, and give them to another and he will lie
> with your wives publicly, in broad daylight
> (II Samuel 12:11).[81]

This curse occurs in the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon,
lines 428-429:

> May Venus, the brightest of the stars, make your
> spouses lie in the lap of your enemy before your
> eyes.[82]

The instance of II Samuel 12 goes beyond the rule
of lex talionis, for possession of the royal harem was
a claim to the throne. David's son Absalom did exactly
that: II Samuel 16:21-22.[83] Hence the utilization of
the curse in II Samuel 12 may be added to the evidence
of Psalm 89:45 that the king was thought to stand in an
oath-sanctioned covenant relationship to Yahweh, and
this relationship was conceptualized in the familiar
ancient Near Eastern form of the vassal treaty.

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[80]Hillers, p. 63.

[81]Ibid. for the translation. For additional biblical
parallels, cf. Jeremiah 8:10 and Job 31:10.

[82]Ibid. Cf. Wiseman, pp. 61-62.

[83]Cf. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and In-
stitutions, translated by J. McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill,
1961), p. 116, and M. Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical
Legitimacy in Ugarit and Israel," Journal of Semitic
Studies, III (1958), 237-243. Further literature is given
by de Vaux, pp. 527-528.

As in the treaties the chief "blessing" is actually
the freedom from the curse, so in the Davidic covenant
the blessing is the promise itself, that is, the con-
tinuance of the dynasty, along with the general prosperity,
long life and happiness which are attendant upon Yahweh's
good will (Psalm 132:11-18; II Samuel 7:16, 29).

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The Davidic Covenant and the Treaties:
Conceptual Similarities

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Our study thus far has shown formal similarities
between the ancient Near Eastern treaty and the Davidic
covenant. We now turn to investigate conceptual similari-
ties between vassal-kingship and the Davidic royal
institution. Here we draw on a wider circle of material
than in the foregoing section, and include the Amarna
correspondence and various royal inscriptions of Syria
and Phoenicia.

Divine Designation

Kings in the ancient Near East referred to themselves
as divinely designated rulers. A Hittite text reads:

> The land belongs to the Storm-god, heaven and earth
> with the people belong to the Storm-god. And he
> made the LABARNA, the king, his deputy, and gave
> him the whole land of Hattusa. The LABARNA shall
> govern the whole land.[84]

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[84]Cited by H. G. Güterbock, "Authority and Law in
the Hittite Kingdom," in J. A. Wilson and Others, Authority

The divine designation of kings in Mesopotamia
reaches back to the earliest times and continues through-
out its history.[85] In Egyptian thought the king was not
only divinely designated, but himself divine.[86]

If we look to Israel's more immediate neighbors,
we find that a similar situation holds true. Zakir of
Hamat and Lu'ath says of himself:

> I am Zakir, king of Hamat and Lu'ath. A humble
> man am I. Be'elshamayn [helped me] and stood
> by me. Be'elshamayn made me king over Hatarikka.[87]

Yehawmilk of Byblos claims:

> I am Yehawmilk, king of Byblos . . . whom the
> mistress, the Lady of Byblos, made king over
> Byblos.[88]

Barrakab of Y'dy-Sam'al, in an inscription we shall refer
to more than once, has the dual appointment of his god
and his earthly suzerain:

> I am Barrakab, the son of Panamu, king of Sam'al,
> servant of Tiglath-pileser, the lord of the (four)
> quarters of the earth.

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and Law in the Ancient Orient ("Supplement to Journal of
the American Oriental Society XVII"; Baltimore: American
Oriental Society, 1954), p. 16. On the title Labarna/
Tabarna, cf. Gurney, pp. 64-65. Another text similar
to the one quoted here may be found in ANET, p. 357.

[85]Cf. Frankfort, pp. 224-240.

[86]Ibid., pp. 15-37.

[87]ANET, p. 501.

[88]ANET, p. 502.

Because of the righteousness of my father and my
own righteousness, I was seated by my Lord Rakabel
and my Lord Tiglath-pileser upon the throne of my
father.[89]

The monarchs Kilamuwa and Panammu II trace their

thrones to the favors of many gods, yet it is Rakab-el

who is the "lord of the dynasty" (b'l byt).[90] Evidently

some special relationship obtained between the kings

and Rakab-el. A similar situation may have existed in

Damascus, as witnessed by the numerous monarchs bearing

the name Bar-Hadad. The nature and function of such

"dynastic" gods requires a separate investigation, however.

The evidence from Ugarit is not certain in this

respect, but there is some indication that kings were

considered to have divine appointment.[91]

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[89]ANET, p. 501.

[90]Cf. H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und
Aramaische Inschriften (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz,
1964), I, Nr. 24 (Kilamuwa); Nr. 214 (Panammuwa I);
Nr. 215 (Panammuwa II), and the commentary, ibid., II,
34, 230-232. And English translation of the Kilamuwa
inscription may be found in ANET, pp. 500-501.

[91]The uncertainty is due to the figure of KRT, who
was most probably an historical personage, but differences
of opinion still exist on the question. Cf. H. L. Ginsberg,
The Legend of King Keret ("Bulletin of the American
Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies Nos.
2-3"; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research,
1946), p. 26, ll. 20-24 and p. 23, ll. 25-29; A. F. Rainey,
"The Kingdom of Ugarit," The Biblical Archaeologist,
XXVIII (1965), p. 107. J. Swetnam, "Some Observations on
the Background of Sadiq in Jer. 23:5a," Biblica, XLVI
(1965), p. 30, suggests that the whole purpose of the
KRT legend may be the legitimacy of the throne of Ugarit.

The divine appointment of David and the Davidic dynasty thus have their counterparts in the ancient Near East. The case of Barrakab is especially interesting because he links his hold to the throne on: (a) divine appointment, and (b) faithfulness to his suzerain Tiglath-pileser. For the kings of Judah, both of these functions belonged to Yahweh.

The King as Servant: The King as Vassal

The Old Testament presents David as the chosen one of Yahweh (II Samuel 6:2; I Kings 8:16/II Chronicles 6:5; I Kings 11:34; Psalm 78:70) and also applies to him the title "servant" (ʿebed) of Yahweh.[92] As de Vaux observes, "Cet usage est réservé à David, le modèle des rois et le type du Messie attendu."[93]

Can the term "servant" be in some sense a terminus technicus? We add the qualifier "in some sense" because the word has many applications; but not so in the realm

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[92]II Samuel 3:18; 7:5,8; I Kings 11:13,32,34,36,38; 14:8; II Kings 19:34; 20:6. As used by David himself: I Samuel 23:10,11; 24:39; II Samuel 7:19-29. In the words of Solomon referring to David: I Kings 3:6; 8:24-26. Cf. also Psalm 78:70; 89:4,21; 132:10; 144:10; Jeremiah 23:21, 22,26; Ezekiel 34:23-24; 37:24.

[93]R. de Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël, vassal de Yahvé," Studi e Testi, CCXXXI (1964), 121. He notes also that the use of the term by Solomon in II Kings 3:7-9; 8:26-30, 52,59 is not in the same sense as that referring to David, but is merely an expression of submission.

of kingship. De Vaux writes:

> Dans la suite de l'histoire monarchique, le même
> rédacteur deutéronomiste évite cette épithète parce
> que, dans son jugement, tous les rois d'Israël et
> presque tous les rois de Juda ont été infidèles au
> service de Yahvé et que même certains d'entre eux
> ont "serve" des dieux étrangers.[94]

The term "servant" is prominent in the suzerain-
vassal relationship. Akizzu of Katna writes to Amen-
ophis III:

> And now [Aitugan]a has sent to me and said,
> "Come then with me to the K[in]g of Ha[t]ti!"
> But I [sai]d, "Over my [dead] body! [I will]
> not (go) to the K[ing] of Ha[tti.] I am [ser]vant
> of [t]he K[ing my] Lor[d, the] K[ing of E]gypt.
> (be-li-ia . . . [ar]du).[95]

The same vassal writes again:

> O [my] Lord, I am your servant in this place.
> I seek the way of my Lord. I have not departed
> from my Lord. Since (the time of) my father,
> who belonged among your servants, this land has
> been your land(s)--Katna your city--(and) I the
> property of my Lord.[96]

The same "servant--lord" terminology is used by

Abdiḥepa of Jerusalem.[97] Further, Abdiḥepa acknowledges

that he is a vassal of the Pharaoh and owes him his throne.

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[94]*Ibid.*

[95]Translation by the writer after the German of
J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig: J. C.
Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915), I, Nr. 53, ll. 11-15.
Hereafter this work will be cited as *EA*.

[96]*EA*, Nr. 55, ll. 4-9.

[97]*EA*, Nr. 285 and Nr. 286.

Behold, my mother and my father did not establish
me in this place: the mighty hand of the King has
led me here into the house of my father.[98]

The Amarna correspondence further indicates that the
great kings who had relations with the Pharaoh, but were
not vassals, did not address him as "my lord" (be-li-ia),
but as "brother;" hence the use of the term "lord" and
"servant" by the vassals is not to be attributed to a
case of Hofstil.[99]

The evidence from Amarna can be expanded by other
material from the ancient Near East.[100] In the treaty
between Mursilis II and Niqmepa of Ugarit, the historical
prologue reads:

> Thus says the Sun, Mursilis, /Great King,7 king
> of Hatti. As for thee, Niqmepa, /I brought thee
> back to thy country7 and made thee sit on the
> throne of thy father. The country to which /I
> brought thee back7 and thou, Niqmepa, along with
> thy country, you are my servants.[101]

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[98] EA, Nr. 285, ll. 9-13. Cf. Nrs. 287, 52, 54, 55.

[99] The king of Alasia calls the Pharoah "brother,"
and refers to his country as "my land," EA, Nrs. 33-39.
Apparently he was not an Egyptian vassal; cf. EA, I, 16.
In the letters of Suppiluliuma of Hatti and Tušratta of
Mitanni the Pharaoh is not greeted as "lord" either. Cf.
EA, Nrs. 41, 27 and de Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël," Studi e
Testi, CCXXXI (1964), 123. He refers to J. Lindhagen,
The Servant Motif in the Old Testament (Uppsala: n. p.,
1950), not available to me.

[100] The Mesopotamian evidence is not from treaties,
but letters written to the king by oath-bound officials.
Cf. Frankfort, pp. 253-255.

[101] Translation by McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, pp.
181-182. Other examples are given by de Vaux, "Le roi
d'Israël," Studi e Testi, CCXXXI (1964), 123-124.

In the treaty of Suppiluliuma and Tette, the vassal
states: "Diener des Königs des Landes Hatti bin ich doch
(ardutum ša šar . . .)."[102]

Barrakab of Sam'al calls himself the "servant"
(ʿbd) of Tiglath-pileser, whom he addresses as "lord"
(mari).[103] The same holds true of his father, Panammuwa
II.[104]

The same terminological precision holds true in
Old Testament usage. The Gibeonites, who had entered a
treaty relationship with the Israelites (Joshua 9:15),
later call on them for help by saying, "Do not relax your
hand from your servants" (Joshua 10:6).[105]

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[102]Weidner, Nr. 3, I, 7-8. Cf. Nr. 11, a fragment,
which reads, line 4: "[   ]mir [zu]m Dienertum habe ich
dich gemacht."

[103]For the text, cf. Donner and Röllig, I, Nr. 216.
An English translation may be found in ANET, p. 501,
quoted supra, pp. 44-45.

[104]Donner and Röllig, I, Nr. 215, line 12.

[105]On this treaty and its relationship to ancient
Near Eastern treaty traditions, cf. F. C. Fensham, "The
Treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites," The Biblical
Archaeologist, XXVII (1964), 96-100. Fensham writes,
p. 97, "The strong probability exists here that the term
(servant) refers to vassalage." On the term "peace" as
a treaty term, cf. ibid., pp. 97-98 and D. Hillers, "A
Note on Some Treaty Terminology in the Old Testament,"
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,
CLXXVI (1964), 46-47. For other biblical examples of
the same terminology, cf. II Samuel 8:2,6,14; 10:19.

In Psalm 143, a "Psalm of David," that is, a royal
psalm, the king makes a covenant appeal for protection,
and concludes, "for I am thy servant."

> In thy covenant faithfulness cut off my enemies
> and destroy all my adversaries, for I am thy
> servant (Psalm 143:12).

We would suggest that this appeal is not based on devo-
tional exuberance, but on the king's status as vassal of
Yahweh referring to a clause of "mutual protection."[106]
De Vaux writes in summary, "Le alliance est l'expression
de l'élection divine et elle met le roi en état de
serviteur; c'est l'équivalent d'un traité de vassalité."[107]

The role of the term servant also supports our
contention that the Davidic covenant is conditional. A
servant is one who renders loyal and obedient service,
not one who holds an unconditional guarantee of the throne
regardless of his actions.

The King as Anointed: The King as Vassal

The Old Testament likewise refers to the king as the
"anointed of Yahweh." This too can be understood in terms
of a vassal relationship.[108]

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[106]Cf. supra, p. 33.

[107]De Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël," Studi e Testi, CCXXXI
(1964), 124.

[108]The discussion here follows ibid., pp. 129-133.
A glance at the concordance will disclose that the term

There is no indication of the anointing of the king in Egypt. The one text which mentions "oil" in relation to the coronation is a letter from the king of Alašia which seems rather to attest Cypriot usage, and not the Egyptian custom.[109] Anointing does play a role, however, in the investiture of an Egyptian vassal. Addunirari, king of Nuḫašše, writes to the Pharaoh:

> Behold, when Manaḫbira (Thutmoses III), king of Egypt, thy grandfather, made Taku, my grandfather, king in Nuḫašše, and put oil upon his head, he himself declared then: The one whom the king of Egypt has established as king and has put oil upon his ducal head . . . [110]

"anointed" (māšîaḥ) in the Old Testament is reserved for the kings of Israel and Judah, with the exception of four instances in Leviticus referring to priests and Isaiah 45:1 referring to Cyrus. For the anointing of the Hittite kings, cf. E. Cothenet, "Onction," Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, edited by L. Pirot, A. Robert and H. Cazelles (Paris--Vi: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1960), VI, 711-712. This work is hereafter cited as SDB. Cf. also E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient ("Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft LXXXVII"; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963), pp. 36-39, "Königssalbung im Hethiterreich," and ANET, p. 355; also de Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël," Studi e Testi, CCXXXI (1964), 130-131. For Mésopotamia, cf. Cothenet, pp. 702-705, who writes, p. 704, "le rituel d'intronisation en Mésopotamie n'en etait pas moins chargé de signification religieuse . . . de son accession au trône, ne recevait point une onction spéciale."

[109]EA, Nr. 34, ll. 47-53 "... and I have sent a ⌜ ⌝, (which) is full of good oil, to be poured on your ⌜hea⌝d, now that you are seated on the throne of your kingdom." Cf. EA, II, 1078-1079 and E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt, pp. 41-52.

[110]EA, Nr. 51, ll. 4-9. Addunirari also refers to himself as "thy servant" (ar-du-ka-ma).

It is known that Egyptian royal officials were cere-
moniously anointed.[111] The anointing of Egyptian vassal
kings is probably derived from this practice.[112] Cothenet
writes, "l'huile venant du roi Horus transmettait à l'oint
la force qu'il était appelè par le roi à exercer en son
nom et comme son représentant."[113] Apparently, the
anointing of vassals was not repeated for every vassal,
but only received by the first member of the dynasty.

> Die Salbung als Beauftragung zum (von Ägypten
> abhängigen) König wurde also bei dem jeweiligen
> Sohn und Erben des Königs nicht mehr wiederholt,
> blieb aber samt der damit verbundenen Verflicht-
> ung aber auch der gleichzeitig gewährten Sicher-
> heitsgarantie auch für die Nachkommen auf dem
> Thron gültig.[114]

There is therefore ample grounds for understanding
the anointing of kings in Israel and Judah as an act
whereby they receive the authority to rule. And it should

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[111] Cf. E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt, p. 34,
"Salbung hoher Beamter in Ägypten."

[112] Cothenet, p. 709.

[113] Ibid. Cf. also de Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël," Studi
e Testi, CCXXXI (1964), 132.

[114] Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt, p. 35. Cf. EA,
Nr. 286, ll. 9-13; Nr. 287, ll. 25-28; Nr. 288, ll. 13-15,
and Nr. 51, cited supra, p. 51. Although anointing is
not explicitly mentioned in connection with each king of
Judah, it is mentioned with sufficient frequency to enable
us to conclude that it was a regular feature of the
accession and that all kings were anointed. Cf. Cothenet,
p. 717.

be observed that although the subject of the anointing

is sometimes the men of Judah/Israel (II Samuel 2:4,7;

5:3; I Chronicles 11:3; II Samuel 19:10; II Kings 23:30

and elsewhere), the king never becomes thereby "the

anointed one of Judah," or the like, but the "anointed

of Yahweh."[115]

The anointed king, the servant of Yahweh, who sits

on the throne of Yahweh (I Kings 22:19), rules as Yahweh's

vassal.[116]

> I have found David, my servant;
> with my holy oil I have anointed him
> (Psalm 89:20).

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[115]Saul: I Samuel 24:7,11; 26:9,11,16,23; II Samuel
1:14,16. David: I Samuel 16:6; II Samuel 19:22; 23:1.
Solomon: II Chronicles 6:42; Psalm 132:10. A Davidide:
I Samuel 2:10,35; II Samuel 22:51; Psalm 18:51; Habakkuk
3:13; Psalm 2:2; 20:7; 28:8; 84:10; 89:39,52; 132:10,17.

[116]De Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël," Studi e Testi, CCXXXI
(1964), 132, writes "Puisque le choix divin, la qualité
de 'serviteur' et le traité qui le lie définissent déjà
le roi d'Israël comme le vassal de Yahvé, on sera disposé
à admettre que l'onction qui le fait roi est le rite qui
l'établit dans cette vassalité, comme pour les vassaux du
Pharaon."

CHAPTER III

II SAMUEL 7 AND THE KÖNIGSNOVELLE

In Chapter II we have shown that there is ample evi-
dence to indicate that the Davidic covenant was conceived
of in terms of the general pattern of vassal treaties
known from the ancient Near East. Our analysis, however,
drew upon biblical materials not all of which are contem-
porary. The basic biblical texts relating the Davidic
covenant, namely II Samuel 7/I Chronicles 17, Psalm 89 and
Psalm 132, do not follow the vassal treaty in their literary
formulation. Form-critical analysis has demonstrated,
however, that II Samuel 7 is a literary unit and is con-
structed along the formal lines of the Königsnovelle known
from Egyptian sources.

Since literary form is not merely a nicety, but the
very essence of communication, the awareness of the form
of II Samuel 7 will contribute greatly to our understand-
ing of that chapter. Further, since form and content are
inextricably bound to one another, formal analysis also
is critical to ascertaining the content of the message
couched in a particular form. We shall proceed, then,
to analyze the elements of the Egyptian Königsnovelle,
discuss the form of II Samuel 7 and review some particular
problems that have been raised in the understanding of
this chapter.

The Egyptian <u>Königsnovelle</u>[1]

The <u>Königsnovelle</u> is a frequently utilized form of historical composition from the times of the Middle Kingdom on into much later times. As the name implies, the king plays a central role in the "king's-novelle."

S. Herrmann writes:

> Aber nicht das allein ist das Charakteristische der Königsnovelle, dasz die Person des Königs im Mittelpunkt steht, auch soll über sie nicht im Sinne der Biographie berichtet werden. Das Besondere der Königsnovelle liegt vielmehr in ihrem ätiologischen Charakter. Sie will Taten, Ereignisse und Institutionen auf den König zurückführen, sie will ihn als ihren Urheber und Initiator verstehen lehren, indem sie möglichst ausführlich den König vor versammeltem Hofe seine neuen Beschlüsse mitteilen läszt. Beides hängt auf das engste miteinander zusammen: der König und die durch ihn veranlaszte und in fernere Zeiten weiterwirkende geschichtliche Entscheidung oder Institution. Dieses am Objektiven haftende Interesse rechtfertigt für diese Literaturgattung den Namen "Königsnovelle." Es handelt sich "durchgängig um ein überragendes, durch die Zeiten wirkendes Ereignis, und stets ist es der König, nicht so sehr als Einzelpersönlichkeit, sondern als typische Figur, die dabei im Mittelpunkt steht."[2]

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[1] The term <u>Königsnovelle</u> stems from the analysis of the Egyptian materials made by Alfred Hermann, <u>Die ägyptische Königsnovelle</u> ("Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien X"; Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1938), unavailable to me. The analysis here follows Siegfried Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," <u>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Gesellschafts-und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe</u>, III (1953-54), 51-62. Cf. also the brief treatment of E. Otto in <u>Handbuch der Orientalistik</u>, edited by B. Spuler (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), I, ii, 140-148.

[2] S. Herrmann, p. 51. The enclosed citation is from A. Hermann, p. 11.

The Königsnovelle is characterized by the following constitutive elements:

1. The king appears before his assembled court.

2. The king announces his plan of action.

3. The court expresses its approval of the plan and praises the sagacity of the king.

4. The plan is put into operation.[3]

Various other elements may be added to this Grundschema: the will of the gods may be revealed to the king by means of a dream; the king, in addressing his court, may speak of his divine election, the deeds of his youth, and the legitimation of his throne; the king may conclude his discourse with a prayer and sacrifices to the gods.

A good example of the Königsnovelle is the "Berlin Leather Scroll" reporting the founding of a temple by Sesostris I, the second king of the XIIth Dynasty (ca. 1971-1928 B. C.).

> The king appeared in the double crown, and it came to pass that One sat down in the ... hall, and that One asked counsel of his followers, the chamberlains of the palace and the magistrates, in the place of seclusion. One commanded, while they harkened. One asked counsel, and caused them to reveal their opinion: "Behold, my majesty intendeth a work, and bethinketh him of some good thing for the time to come, that I may erect a monument and set up an abiding memorial tablet for Harakhti. He hath formed me in order to do for him what should be done. He hath made me the herdsman of this land, for he knew that I would maintain it in order for him.
>
> (Further reflections on his call and eternal election.)

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[3]S. Herrmann, pp. 51-52.

I build mine house in (his) vicinity. Thus my
beauty will be remembered in his house; my name
will be the benben-stone, and my memorial the
lake. It is to gain eternity, if one doeth for
him that which is good, and no king dieth that
is mentioned because of his possessions ... .
A name that standeth thereupon is ... mentioned
and perisheth not in eternity. What I do is
what will be, and what I seek is what is excel-
lent ... .

And the chamberlains of the king spake and answered
before their god: "Commanding Utterance (?) is in
thy mouth, and Discernment is behind thee. O
sovereign, thy designs come to pass. O King, who
hast appeared as uniter of the Two Lands, in order
to ... in thy temple![4]

One thing that must be noted in the Königsnovelle is

that, on occasion, the king's court expresses disapproval

of the king's plan; the king then persists and his decision

is set off as worthy of double honor and bravery, being

carried out against opposition. An example of this device

is provided by the "Carnarvon-Tablet" recounting the ex-

ploits of King Kamose (XVIIth Dynasty) against the Hyksos:

His majesty spake thus in his palace to the council
of the great men that was with him: "I should like
to know to what purpose serveth my strength. ... My
desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite the Asiatics.

The great men of his council spake thus: ... encourag-
ing him not to ... . They were displeasing in the
heart of his majesty: "Your counsel is wrong and I
will fight with the Asiatics."[5]

[4]A. Erman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians,
translated by A. M. Blackman (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.,
1927), pp. 50-51. Cf. J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of
Egypt (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962), I, Nrs.
501-506.

[5]Erman, pp. 52-53. Other examples are referred to by
S. Herrmann, p. 52, n. 2.

Regardless of the literary schematic variations of
the Königsnovelle, in each case the content of the in-
scriptions can be narrowed down to a particular edict,
decision, campaign, building project, expedition, or the
like, which owes its initiative and success to the king's
decision. It is these various particulars which are
truly historical in character and form the "historical
kernel" of the Königsnovelle. S. Herrmann brings this
out when he says:

> Historisch ernst zu nehmen ist dabei der Inhalt,
> den das Schema aufgenommen hat, sind die Beschlüsse
> und Absichten, die der König mitteilt. Denn sie
> beziehen sich auf geschichtliche Fakten, und die
> Königsnovelle hat darin ihren historischen Kern,
> dasz diese Fakten in unmittelbarer Verbindung mit
> dem willen des Königs gestanden haben müssen.[6]

Parallels to the Königsnovelle in II Samuel 7

II Samuel 7 may be outlined as follows:

1. David at ease in his palace (verse 1).

2. The announcement of the plan to construct a
   temple is made to Nathan (verse 2).

3. Reaction to the plan of the king.

   a. Nathan's expression of approval (verse 3).

   b. A vision from Yahweh to Nathan discarding
      David's plan (verses 4-7).

4. The alternate plan of Yahweh.

   a. The dynastic promise given to David
      (verses 8-12).

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[6]S. Herrmann, pp. 51-52.

       b. A notice that one of David's sons will
            build the temple (verse 13a).

       c. The assurance of the throne and the formula
            of "divine adoption" (verses 13b-16).

5. A prayer of thanksgiving (verses 18-29).

Each particular element of II Samuel 7 has its parallel
in the Königsnovelle form. So, for example, the opening
of the Prophecy of Nefer-Rohu:

> Now it happened that the majesty of the King of
> Upper and Lower Egypt: Snefru, the triumphant,
> was the beneficent king in this entire land. On
> one of these days it happened that the official
> council of the Residence City entered into the
> Great House--life, prosperity, health!--to offer
> greeting. Then they went out, that they might
> offer greetings (elsewhere), according to their
> daily procedure. Then his majesty--life, prosperity,
> health!--said to the seal-bearer who was at his
> side: "Go and bring me (back) the official council
> of the Residence City.[7]

Similarly, another inscription begins:

> Year 9, occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,
> the king's appearance with the etef-crown, upon
> the great throne of electrum, in the midst of the
> splendors of his palace. The grandees, the com-
> panions of the court, came to hear; a command was
> brought, a royal edict to his dignitaries, the
> divine fathers, the companions of the king, the
> grandees.[8]

In both cases, as in II Samuel 7:1, the leisure of the king
in his palace is nothing more than a formal element for
opening the Königsnovelle.

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[7]Translation by J. A. Wilson, _Ancient Near Eastern_
Texts Relating to the Old Testament, edited by J. Pritchard
(Second edition, revised and enlarged; Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1955), p. 444. This work is hereafter
cited as _ANET_.

[8]Breasted, II, Nr. 292.

Regarding the second element, the conversation with
the court, there is a noticeable difference in II Samuel
from the Egyptian materials we have cited so far, in that
only one person, the prophet Nathan, constitutes the
"court" of David. But, aside from the number of persons
involved, the formal element is the consultations them-
selves. That it is Nathan alone who discusses the matter
with the king

> wird im übrigen aus den konkreten Verhältnissen
> des werdenden davidischen Staatswesens und Hof-
> königtums erklärt werden müssen, wo mit einer fest
> abgegrenzten und repräsentativ verfügbaren Beamten-
> schaft überhaupt noch nicht gerechnet werden darf,
> wo vielmehr die Königliche Regierungstätigkeit in
> der neugewonnenen Metropole sich auf einen aus-
> erwählten Kreis zuverlässiger Gefolgsleute stützen
> muszte.[9]

The initial reply of Nathan is favorable:

> And Nathan said to the king, "Go, do all that is
> in your heart; for Yahweh is with you"
> (II Samuel 7:3).

So also the court of Neferhotep, on hearing of the king's

desires, replies:

> That which thy ka hath (commanded) is that which
> happens, O sovereign and lord. Let thy majesty
> proceed to the libraries, and let thy majesty see
> every hieroglyph.[10]

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[9]S. Herrmann, p. 58.

[10]Breasted, I, Nr. 757. Neferhotep belongs to the
Second Intermediate period, Dynasties XIII-XVII, a period
of political instability for which exact dates are
difficult to determine.

The princes of Ramses II, hearing of his plan, react
as follows:

> (Then these princes) praised their lord, smelling
> the ground, throwing themselves upon their bellies
> in the presence, exulting to the height of heaven.[11]

We have already noted an example of negative advice
by the court of the king, which corresponds to Nathan's
vision and his consequent reporting of the negative
decision of Yahweh to his sovereign.[12]

The so-called "formula of adoption" which is found in
the dynastic promise is highly reminiscent of Egyptian king
ideology. On Israelite soil it bears quite a different
meaning, however. In Egypt, "thou art my son" was taken
in the absolute physical sense; not so in Israel. It was
not only the king, but the people Israel who was Yahweh's
"son." This sonship belonged to Israel by virtue of the
Exodus and the covenant at Sinai.[13] The use of the term
sonship in relation to the people Israel is primarily a
metaphorical description of the relationship between

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[11]From the Kubban Stela, Breasted, III, Nr. 291.
Sometimes extensive eulogies of the king are added at this
point: cf. ibid., Nrs. 265, 270.

[12]Cf. supra, p. 57, and further, infra, p. 68.

[13]Exodus 4:22; Deuteronomy 14:1-2. Cf. also Deuteronomy
1:31; 8:5; 32:6,18,19; Hosea 2:1 (English 1:10); 11:1;
Isaiah 1:2; 30:1; Jeremiah 3:19; 31:9,20; Psalm 73:15;
103:13,14; Isaiah 43:6-7; 63:16; 64:7; Malachi 1:6; 2:10.

God and people, the metaphorical terms of comparison being father and son. In these terms the father exercises wisdom in training the son, who is, as a youth, lacking in godly wisdom (Deuteronomy 32:6) and helpless (Exodus 4:21-22.) In reference to the king the adoptive element is more prominent, but the metaphorical use of sonship remains strong. Thus, in II Samuel 7, the father-son relationship is expressly pedogogical and disciplinary:

> I will be a father to him and he will be a son to
> Me, whom I will chasten with ordinary rods and
> common scourges, when he commits iniquity
> (II Samuel 7:14).[14]

This relationship between the king and Yahweh is not mythological, that is, it is not a timeless, eternal sonship based on a primeval election of the king. Rather, this sonship obtains by virtue of the prophetically mediated divine decree in the midst of historical circumstances (II Samuel 7:8; Psalm 2:7).[15] For purposes of formal analysis, however, it is to be noted that reflections

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[14]For the translation, cf. supra, p. 21. For fuller discussion of the adoption formula, cf. C. R. North, "The Religious Aspect of Hebrew Kingship," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, L (1932), 26; J. L. McKenzie, "The Divine Sonship of Men in the Old Testament," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, VII (1945), 326-329; R. Press, "Yahweh und sein Gesalbter," Theologische Zeitschrift, XIII (1957), 329; H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LXI (1964), p. 25, writes, "Der König ist ein Sohn Gottes, insofern Gott ihn nicht einfach hinwegtilgt, sondern ihn auf väterliche Weise züchtigt."

[15]This point is stressed by H-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), pp. 69-70, 93.

on divine election are a part of the __Königsnovelle__. So
Thut-Mose III, in speaking of his erection of a temple
for Amon at Karnak, says:

> (The god Amon)--he is my father, and I am his son.
> He commanded to me that I should be upon his throne,
> while I was (still) a nestling. He begot me from
> the (very) middle of ⌐his⌐ heart ⌐and chose me for
> the kingship ... . There is no lie⌐ there is no
> equivocation therein--when my majesty was (only)
> a puppy, when I was (only a newly) weaned child who
> was in his temple, before my installation as pro-
> phet had taken place.
> . . . .
> I am his son, the beloved of his majesty. What I
> shall do is what his ka may desire. I bring forward
> this land to the place where he is. I cause that
> ⌐his temple⌐ encompass ... effecting for him the
> construction of enduring monuments in Karnak. I
> repay his good with (good) greater than it, by
> making him greater than the (other) gods. The
> recompense for him who carries out benefactions
> is a repayment to him of even greater benefactions.
> I have built his house with the work of eternity,
> ... my father, who made me divine.[16]

The __Königsnovelle__, especially when it is concerned
with the erection of a temple, may end with a prayer of
the king. So Seti I (XIXth Dynasty), having constructed
the temple at Redesiyeh, concludes his inscription:

> Now, after the stronghold was completed, adorned and
> its paintings executed, his majesty came to worship
> his fathers, all (the gods). He said: "Praise to
> you, O great gods! who furnished heaven and earth
> according to their mind. May ye favor me forever,
> may ye establish my name eternally. As I have been
> profitable, as I have been useful to you, as I have
> been watchful for the things which ye desire, may ye
> speak to those who are still to come, whether kings,
> or princes or people, that they establish for me my
> work in the place, on behalf of my beautiful house

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[16]__ANET__, pp. 446-447.

in Abydos, made by the oracle of the god, the exist-
ent one, that they may not subvert his plan. Say ye,
that it was done by your oracle, for that ye are the
lords. I have spent my life and my might for you,
to attain my acceptability from you. Grant that my
monuments may endure for me, and my name abide upon
them."17

Points of Dispute

Since the appearance of Siegfried Herrmann's important
article,[18] the literature concerning II Samuel 7 has taken
cognizance of the Königsnovelle, but in varying degrees of
appreciation for its bearing on the biblical material. We
must now consider some of the objections raised and con-
clusions drawn.

E. Kutsch maintains that, since it is the rejection
of David's plan to build the temple which is the essence
of II Samuel 7, any patterning after the Königsnovelle is
out of the question. He argues that it is essential to
the Königsnovelle that the plan of the king be carried
out, even if this is done against opposition from the
court.[19] This conclusion can only follow from a particular
text-critical standpoint, namely, that II Samuel 7:13 is a

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[17]Breasted, III, Nr. 174.

[18]Cf. supra, p. 55, n. 1.

[19]E. Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden,"
Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LVIII (1961), 152:
"Damit weicht 2. Sam 7 in dem entscheidenden Punkt von
dem inhaltlichen Schema des Königsnovelle ab." Hereafter
this periodical will be cited as ZTK.

gloss, for verse 13 clearly states that the temple will
be built, not by David, but by "your offspring after you,
who shall come forth from your body" (verse 12a); "He
shall build a house for my name" (verse 13a). Kutsch
does indeed consider the verse a gloss, as do a great
number of scholars. This consensus, as Artur Weiser
perceptively discloses, is not so much the result of in-
dependent critical labors as simply a reiteration of a
dictum of Wellhausen.[20] The only thing in the verse
which can be labeled Deuteronomic is the phrase "for my
name" (lišmî), which, in all probability, replaces an
original "for me" (lî).[21] Hence the argument now becomes
inverted: it is true that the enactment of the temple-
building project is an integral element of the Königs-
novelle, and it is an equally integral part of II Samuel 7.
Artur Weiser comments:

> Hat man aber einmal erkannt, dasz die Königsnovelle
> das gattungsgeschichtliche Vorbild für II Sam 7
> gewesen ist, dann läszt sich schwerlich die Kon-
> sequenz umgehen, dasz die Ausführung des Tempelbaus,
> die als integrierender Bestandteil zur Königsnovelle

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[20]A. Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise unter David,"
Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, LXXVII
(1965), 155 and n. 8.

[21]LXX has a conflate reading: autos oikodomēsei moi
oikon tōi onomati mou. I Chronicles 17:12 reads lî. Cf.
H. van den Bussche, "Le texte de la Prophetie de Natan
sur la Dynastie Davidique," Ephemerides Theologicae
Louvanienses, XXIV (1948), 382.

gehört, irgendwie auch in dem Gesichtskreis von
II Sam 7 ihren ursprünglichen Platz gehabt haben
musz. Tatsächlich findet sich auch in 7:12b. 13
ein solcher Hinweis auf die Ausführung des Tempelbaus
durch einen Davidssohn, mit dem kein anderer als
Salomo gemeint sein kann. Ohne 7:13 würde nicht
nur formgeschichtlich notwendiges Grundelement
fehlen, sondern die Verwendung der Gattung der
Königsnovelle ihres ganzen Sinnes beraubt sein.[22]

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[22]Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," Zeitschrift für die
Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, LXXVII (1965), 155-156.
Hereafter this work is cited as ZAW. Any analysis of
II Samuel 7 must take account of the important work of
L. Rose, Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids
("Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament,
III Folge, Heft vi"; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1926).
Rost does not consider the chapter a unity, but a composite
of varied strands: cf. his summary statement, p. 74. He
starts with the prayer of verses 18-29, less certain
Deuteronomic additions, as the oldest portion of the
chapter, then works back and validates the rest of the
chapter as it is or is not reflected in the prayer.
According to Rost, p. 56, since the matter of the temple
is not mentioned in the prayer, it must be a secondary
element in the chapter. Martin Noth, Überlieferungs-
geschichtliche Studien I. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden
Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament (Zweite Auflage;
Tübingen: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1957), p. 64, expressed
essential agreement with the views of Rost. Later, in
his article "David und Israel in 2. Samuel 7," Gesammelte
Studien zum Alten Testament (Zweite, um einen Anhang
erweitere Auflage; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960),
pp. 334-345, he disavows this concurrence, and writes,
p. 336: "Seinen sehr scharfsinnigen Ausführungen haben
sich andere angeschlossen. Und doch befriedigt sein Er-
gebnis nicht recht. Er arbeitet mit sehr feinen stilist-
ischen Unterscheidungen, die deswegen nicht ganz überzeugen,
weil die Basis für Stiluntersuchungen--es handelt sich
jeweils um Einheiten sehr geringen Umfangs--allzu schmal
ist. Seine literarkritische Analyse führt zur Heraus-
arbeitung einzelner getrennter Abschnitte, die jedoch in
der Luft hängen bleiben, weil sie sich nicht recht in
etwas gröszere literarische Zusammenhänge einreihen lassen;
und hinter seinen stil-und literarkritischen Erwägungen
steht als Voraussetzung der Eindruck der inhaltlichen
Uneinheitlichkeit des Ganzen. Ob dieser Eindruck zu-
treffend ist, das musz erneut untersucht werden." Noth,
in the same article, acknowledges the unity of the chapter,
yet considers verse 13a as a gloss (pp. 335-336). Other

Another point of contention in II Samuel 7 which
receives a helping hand from formal analysis as Königs-
novelle is the stance of the prophet Nathan.[23] In order
to determine Nathan's position we must note that II Samuel
7:3 does not supply any definitive information. Nathan's
remark, "Go, do all that is in your heart; for Yahweh is
with you," is Hofstil, that is, the customary way one
responds to the king.[24] Furthermore, it is a customary
element of the Königsnovelle.

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arguments have been advanced against the originality of
verse 13. A. Caquot, "La Prophetie de Nathan et ses Echos
Lyriques," Bonn Congress Volume ("Supplements to Vetus
Testamentum IX"; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 213, claims
that zarʿākā in verse 12 is used in a plural sense, while
the hûʾ of verse 13 means only one. S. R. Driver, Notes
on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of
Samuel (Second edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913),
p. 276, does not feel it necessary to draw this conclusion,
and notes that other passages invariably retain clear
reference to the entire dynasty (I Kings 2:4; Psalm 89:
31-38; 132:12). Since the chapter most probably assumed
its form along the lines of the Königsnovelle in Solomonic
times, it is a moot point whether or not there is a dis-
crepancy between the plural and singular of verses 12 and
13. At any rate, the dynasty cannot be embodied in more
than one regent at a time! Verse 13 still does not fall
out of the context of the chapter.

[23]Precisely because so little definite information
regarding Nathan is given us in the biblical record, the
reconstructed pictures of the prophet differ so greatly,
from reactionary-nomadic-Yahwist all the way to a sym-
pathizer of Jebusite factions. Cf. Kutsch, "Die Dynastie
von Gottes Gnaden," ZTK, LVIII (1961), 138 and n. 1;
Gese, p. 19; Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," ZAW, LXXVII
(1965), 158; G. W. Ahlström, "Der Prophet Nathan und die
Tempelbau," Vetus Testamentum, XI (1961), 120-122; R. E.
Clements, God and Temple (Philadelphia: Fortress Press,
1965), pp. 56-60.

[24]Compare II Samuel 19:27.

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Even more important is the fact that the rejection

of the plan for building the temple does not represent

Nathan's opinion. The confrontation in II Samuel 7 is

not between Nathan and David, but between David and

Yahweh.[25] Nathan is Yahweh's messenger and delivers

Yahweh's word:[26] wayhî deḇar-yhwh ʾel-nāṯān lēʾmōr lēk

weʾāmarta ʾel-abdî ʾel-dāwid kōh ʾāmar-yhwh. Noth comments:

> Die Aussage Nathans in V.3 bedeutet im Sinne des
> Erzählers kaum eine Entscheidung in der Tempelbau-
> frage, sondern ist eine dem König gegenüber übliche
> Höflichkeitsformel, der dann erst die vom "Propheten"
> vielleicht gesuchte und jedenfalls empfangene
> göttliche Entscheidung folgt.[27]

If, then, our analysis obviates a change of decision

on the part of Nathan, it also gives a positive result.

It would be out of the question in the Königsnovelle for

the plan of the king to be rejected and not carried out.

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[25]It is critical to the understanding of the chapter
to recognize that the independent opinion of the prophet
does not play a role. M. Cothenet, "Natân," Dictionnaire
de la Bible, Supplément, edited by L. Pirot, A. Robert and
H. Cazelles (Paris--Vi: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1960),
VI, 301, does not take sufficient account of the fact that
Nathan as prophet gives no opinion on the matter until he
has received Yahweh's word. Cothenet writes, "on n'édifiait
point un sanctuaire sans l'expresse indication de la
divinité . . . . Natân répond favorablement: ce n'est
basse flatterie, mais confiance à priori en la valeur des
initiatives royal: kî yhwh ʾimmāk."

[26]On the prophet as messenger, cf. supra, p. 18, n. 18.

[27]Noth, "David und Israel," Gesammelte Studien zum
Alten Testament, p. 343. This volume is hereafter cited
as GS2. Cf. Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden,"
ZTK, LVIII (1961), 138, n. 1.

Yet David's plan is rejected, at least provisionally:

another will build the temple. Appeal must be made,

ultimately, not to literary canons, but to historical

realities. Artur Weiser writes:

> Entscheidend aber scheint mir der forgeschichtliche
> Gesichtspunkt, dasz die Zustimmung zu dem Bau-
> vorhaben des Königs ein notwendiges Grundelement der
> Königsnovelle ist und als solches auch in II Sam 7
> sein unvermindertes Eigengewicht hat. Daran ändert
> sich nichts, wenn die Ausführung des gutgeheiszenen
> Plans in dem folgenden Gotteswort dem David vor-
> enthalten wird (7:4-7). Damit ist zunächst einfach
> dem historischen Sachverhalt Rechnung getragen,
> dasz David den Tempelbau zwar geplant, aber nicht
> ausgeführt hat.[28]

With this conclusion the biblical witness is in full accord.

It will not do simply to sweep the question aside, as does,

for instance, Mowinckel.[29]

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[28]Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," ZAW, LXXVII (1965),
157-158.

[29]Mowinckel regards the dynastic promise as originating
in the cult, where it was ritually addressed to the king at
the occasion of the New Year Festival. II Samuel 7 he re-
gards as a prose-historicization of an oracle preserved
more originally in Psalms 89 and 132; but even at that,
the dynastic oracle has been interpolated into II Samuel 7.
Without the interpolation, the chapter is a cult aetiology
composed to provide an answer to the question, "Why did
Solomon, and not David, build the temple." As such, it has
no historical value whatever: "The answer is inane, as
theological answers often are." This legend is, however,
a unit, and does not admit of any literary criticism.
Exegetes who regard the Psalm material as poetic reflections
of the account of II Samuel 7 are "ignorant as to the
connexion between so many of the literary forms and genres
and the cultic life." S. Mowinckel, "Israelite Historio-
graphy," Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, II
(1963), 10-11. Cf. also his Psalmenstudien (Amsterdam:
Verlag P. Schyspers, 1961), II, 111-118; III, 32-35, and
S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, translated by G. W. Anderson
(New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), pp. 100-101. His article

I Kings 5:17 (English 5:3) and I Chronicles 22:8;
28:3 give slightly variant reasons why David was prevented
from building the temple.[30] These texts do not show a lack
of acquaintance with the fact that an oracle of Yahweh
rejected David as a temple builder, but represent various
speculations as to the reason why David was rejected by the
oracle, since the oracle itself does not attribute anything
to David which would account for the rejection. But on the
point that David wished to build and planned to build there
is unanimous agreement.[31]

"Natanforjettelsen in II Samuel Kap 7," Svensk Exegetisk
Arsbok, XII (1947), 220-229 is not available to me. Such
an historically nihilistic approach is not acceptable.
While it may be freely granted that the dynastic oracle
was preserved in the cult, i.e., has a cultic Sitz im
Leben, what conceivable non-historical origin for it can
be adduced? Granted that Psalm 132 represents some sort
of cult processional liturgy, what is the origin of such
a procession if not the account of II Samuel 6? The pro-
cess goes the other way: history shapes the cult, not the
cult history. Origin and Sitz im Leben must be distin-
guished. Cf. Kraus, Die Konigsherrschaft Gottes, p. 39,
and G. E. Wright, "Cult and History," Interpretation,
XVI (1962), 13-14, 17-18.

[30]That David "had shed blood" (I Chronicles 22:8;
28:3) could quite plausibly be taken as a theological
interpretation of the historical fact that he was a
warrior (I Kings 5:17). In general, exegetes have not
taken sufficient account of the fact that the ancient
Israelite did not see in II Samuel 7 a categorical re-
jection of the temple!

[31]The most elaborate statements are those of the
Chronicler (I Chronicles 21-29), but the same is indicated
in Psalm 132:2-5. There was a time when it was customary
to discount the Chronicler's description of David's plans
altogether. That there is hyperbole involved need not
discredit the whole, however. Cf. W. F. Albright,
Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Fourth edition;

So while the Königsnovelle is admirably suited to recount the origin of the Jerusalem temple, it is also a form of historical composition. II Samuel 7, then, adapts this literary form to the peculiar historical situation obtaining in Israel, namely, that two kings are involved in the construction of the temple rather than one, which was the more usual occurrence.

If, then, there is no categorical rejection of the temple in II Samuel 7, what is the question at issue? Various answers have been proposed. The most common is to contrast verses 5b and 11: YOU shall not build a house for ME, but I will build a house for YOU. There are difficulties in accepting this, however, as Martin Noth has pointed out.[32] Verse 5 accents "you" (hā'attâh), but verse 11 does not use a personal pronoun. Verse 5 uses a different verb (bnh) than verse 11 ('śh). The contrast appears to be then the following: shall you build a HOUSE (temple) for me? I will build a HOUSE (dynasty) for you.[33]

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), pp. 119-129. And, one might add, from all that we know of David's personality, nothing short of a divine oracle would dissuade him from his plans!

[32]Noth, "David und Israel," GS[2], p. 335.

[33]This holds true even if the same verb (bnh) is read in both instances, as I Chronicles 17:4,10. LXX of Samuel and Chronicles reads oikodomēsei(s) in the four instances. Cf. van den Bussche, "Le Texte de la Prophétie de Natan sur la Dynastie Davidique," Ephemerides Theologicae Louvanienses, XXIV (1948), 362. He feels that the redactor of Samuel has changed the original bnh in verse 11 to 'śh: "Le rédacteur de Sam. s'est heurté au

Thus Yahweh's initiative is stressed throughout the
account: I took you (verse 8) . . . I have been with
you (verse 9) . . . I have cut off (verse 9) . . . I
have made you a great name (verse 9) . . . I have ap-
pointed (verse 10), and planted (verse 10) . . . and I
have given (verse 11) . . . and I will build a house
(dynasty) for you.[34] M. Noth writes:

> Die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung ist die, dasz damit
> David, auch wenn er König ist, als menschliches
> Wesen angesprochen wird. Die Veranlassung zu einem
> solchen Hausbau könnte nur Gott selbst geben, wenn
> er wollte.[35]

We believe that there are two main theological concerns
expressed here. The first regards king ideology and the
relation of the king to the cult. The building of temples
in the ancient Near East was a work reserved for kings and

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sens littéral du verbe qui ne convient pas à la fondation
d'une dynastie; il a cherché un mot à signification plus
générale et par suite plus exact: ici encore se révèle le
tempérament méticuleux du rédacteur de Sam." One could
argue, of course, that the Chronicler has changed ʿśh to
bnh to bring verse 10 into harmony with verse 4. Verse
11b-12a of II Samuel 7 have suffered otherwise in trans-
mission. For kî-bayit yaʿáśeh-leká yhwh ⁚ kî, read ûbayit
yaʿáśeh lák ⁚ wᵉháyáh with LXX, or, with I Chronicles
17:11 ûbayit yaʿáśeh-leká yhwh ⁚ wᵉháyáh. Cf. Driver,
p. 275. BH7 suggests ûbayit ᵓeʿéśeh lák ⁚ wᵉháyáh. The
reading of Chronicles is the most probable, since it would
account for wᵉháyáh dropping out by haplography, if verse
11 ended with yhwh.

[34]On the verb tenses, cf. supra, pp. 18-19.

[35]Noth, "David und Israel," GS², p. 336.

gods.[36]   More important are the consequences which follow

upon such an undertaking of the king. Neferhotep, after

building a temple for his god, delivers the following

speech:

> Be ye vigilant for the temple, look to the monuments
> which I have made. I put the eternal plan before me,
> I sought that which was useful for the future by
> putting this example in your hearts, which is about
> to occur in this place, which the god made, because
> of my desire to establish my monuments in his temple,
> to perpetuate my contracts in his house. His majesty
> loves that which I have done for him, he rejoices over
> that which I have decreed to do, (for) triumph (has
> been given) to him. I am his son, his protector, he
> giveth to me the inheritance of the earth. I am the
> king, great in strength, excellent in commandment.
> He shall not live who is hostile to me; he shall not
> breathe the air who revolts against me; his name shall
> not be among the living; his ka shall be seized before
> the officials; he shall be cast out for this god,
> (together with) him who shall disregard the command
> of my majesty and those who shall not do according
> to this command of my majesty, who shall not exalt
> me to this august god, who shall not honor that which
> I have done concerning his offerings (who shall not)
> give to me praise at every feast of this temple, of
> the entire (lay priesthood) of the sanctuary of this
> temple, and every office of Abydos. Behold, my
> majesty has made these monuments, for my father,
> Osiris, First of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos,
> because I so much loved him, more than all gods;
> that he might give to me a reward for this (which I
> have done) ... consisting of millions of years.[37]

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[36]See the discussions in H. Frankfort, Kingship and
the Gods (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948),
pp. 266-274, and A. Kapelrud, "Temple Building, A Task
for Gods and Kings," Orientalia, New Series, XXXII (1963),
56-62. The typical occasion for such undertakings was
following a great victory. Cf. "The Akkadian Creation
Epic," ANET, p. 69, and the Ugaritic "Texts of Baal,"
ANET, pp. 129-135. Compare Exodus 15:17.

[37]Breasted, I, Nr. 765.

The god Amon-Re speaks to Thut-Mose III:

> Thou hast erected my dwelling place as the work of
> eternity, made longer and wider than that which had
> been done before . . . . Thy monuments are greater
> than (those of) any king who has been. I commanded
> thee to make them, and I am satisfied with them. I
> have established thee upon the throne of Horus for
> millions of years, that thou mightest lead the living
> for eternity.[38]

The same conception of temple building as a great service
for the gods which is rewarded with divine gifts and, at
times, with divinity is found in Mesopotamian literature.
Gudea of Lagash says: "I have built the temple for my king
(Ningirsu), may (long) life be my reward." And we hear
that Ningirsu "placed the sceptre in his hand unto distant
days; he raised Gudea, the shepherd of Ningirsu, to heaven
with a beautiful diadem on his head."[39] Azitawadda of
Adana makes the claim:

> I have built this city . . . and having given it
> the name of Azitawaddiya, I have established
> Ba'l-Krntrys in it . . . . May Ba'l-Krntrys bless
> Azitawadda with life, peace, and mighty power over
> every king, so that Ba'l-Krntrys and all the gods
> of the city may give Azitawadda length of days, a
> great number of years, good authority, and mighty
> power over every king.[40]

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[38]ANET, p. 375. For other examples from Egyptian
literature, cf. supra, pp. 63-64.

[39]Gudea Statue B, VI:14-18 and VII:14-17 cited by
Kapelrud, p. 58.

[40]ANET, p. 500.

In II Samuel 7, on the contrary, the dynastic promise is not to be a reward for David's service to Yahweh in building a temple. Yahweh's grace is given in his own initiative and not earned by cultic acts. As H. Gese writes, "nicht ist die Dynastiezusage ein Lohn des frommen Davidwerkes, der Zionsgründung, sondern Jahwe spricht aus freiem Entschlusz von sich aus die Verheiszungen David zu."[41] The tempel is to be built at a time and by one whom Yahweh choses, namely, one of David's sons. Again Yahweh's initiative is stressed in that it is he who builds the "house," that is, brings Solomon to the throne, and Solomon builds the temple.[42]

The second concern of the chapter is cult-theology. Again, there are difficulties involved. As the text reads, Yahweh claims not only that David will not build him a temple, but that the reason for this rejection is that Yahweh does not want a temple.

> Would you build me a house to dwell in? I have not dwelt in a house since the day I brought up the people of Israel from Egypt to this day, but I have been moving about in tent and tabernacle.[43] In all places where I have moved with all the people of Israel, did I speak a word with any of

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[41] Gese, p. 24.

[42] Ibid., p. 25.

[43] be'ōhel ûbemiškān. The parallel in I Chronicles 17:5 is corrupt. Cf. BH7.

the judges[44] of Israel, whom I commanded to shep-
herd my people, saying, "Why have you not built
me a house of cedar?" (II Samuel 7:5b-7)

It will not do simply to conclude that normative Yahwistic

traditions of the time were, as such, opposed to any shrine

of more stable character than a tent, and that II Samuel 7

exhibits the final and inevitable triumph of royal in-

itiative over theological ideals.[45] Were this the case,

we would expect a better redaction of the text. But, as

we have seen, both verses 5-7 and verse 13 belong to the

chapter.[46] Formal analysis shows a favorable view of the

temple to be essential to the chapter. The only conclusion

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[44] Make the usual correction of šōptê for šibtê, with
Chronicles. Cf. BH7.

[45] Many have argued that the shrine at Shiloh was a
temple rather than a tent structure. In I Samuel 1:7 it
is called bayit and in I Samuel 1:9 hêkāl; the first term
implying basically a structure of stone, clay, or brick,
and the latter a building of more than one room: a palace.
Cf. also Jeremiah 7:12-14; 26:9. But we also find tradi-
tions of the tabernacle at Shiloh (Joshua 18:1; 19:51;
I Samuel 2:22; Psalm 78:60). Which is really the case?
It is most probable that, as M. Haran has suggested, the
terminology of I Samuel in regard to the shrine at Shiloh
represents an anachronistic usage, reflecting the state
of affairs of the monarchic period, and that the sanctuary
at Shiloh was, in fact, a tent-sanctuary. Cf. M. Haran,
"Shiloh and Jerusalem," Journal of Biblical Literature,
LXXXI (1961), 22. See also H-J. Kraus, Gottesdienst in
Israel (Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage; München:
Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1962), p. 206, and Clements, God
and Temple, pp. 58-60. Clements believes that the shrine
at Shiloh was a temple, but did not evoke any hostility
since it was not linked to the kingship. That the chapter
represents fundamental opposition to a temple of any sorts
is championed by M. Simon, "La prophétie de Nathan et la
Temple," Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses,
XXXII (1952), 41-58.

[46] Supra, pp. 64-65, 71-72.

must be the one similar to that already expressed,[47]
namely, "I don't want you to build me a temple because
I have no special need of a house to dwell in." It is
not a meritorious service for Yahweh that one should
construct a "house" for him, as though this would improve
his situation over that of moving about in a tent. Artur
Weiser writes similarly:

> Genau besehen wendet sich jedoch das Wort des Nathan
> gar nicht grundsätzlich gegen den Gedanken des Tempel-
> baus überhaupt, sondern gegen eine bestimmte mit dem
> Temple verknüpfte Gottesauffassung, die mit einer
> aus der Geschichte des Jahwekultes zurückgeweisen
> wird.[48]

By regressing somewhat and examining the text once more, this
view is confirmed by the careful use of terminology in the
chapter. In verse 2 of II Samuel 7 David tells Nathan,
"See now, I dwell in a house of cedar (b^{e}bêt 'ărāzîm) but
the ark of God dwells in a tent (b^{e}tôk hay^{e}rî'âh)." The
contrast is heightened by the fact that neither 'ôhel nor
miškan is used, but b^{e}tôk hay^{e}rî'âh, "under a cover of
curtains." Far from this being degrading to Yahweh, he
never felt compelled to ask the past leaders of his people
to build him a "house of cedar" (bêt 'ărāzîm) that he
might dwell in it or inhabit it (yšb) Neither does he
need David to build him a house to dwell in (lešibtî).

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[47]Supra, pp. 71-72.

[48]Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," ZAW, LXXVII (1965),
158-159.

We are thus introduced to a particular cult-theological
question, aptly captured in the German phrase Wohnheilig-
tum oder Erscheinungsheiligtum.[49] The opposition is not
against a temple as such, but a particular type of temple
ideology: as for a temple, that shall be built by one of
David's sons.

We cannot attribute to the pagan world of the ancient
Near East the conception that the deity was locally con-
fined to the limits of the temple. However, it was de-
sirable that communion with the deity be engaged at specific
places where, by various indications, it was believed that
the deity had in the past manifested his presence. Such
places were, accordingly, "holy places," which were then
in many instances adorned with shrines of varied architec-
tural sophistication. And, as has already been mentioned,
in the Ugaritic myths we discern that for reasons of pres-
tige a god without a temple was quite unthinkable, at
least as the regular order of things.[50]

In all of the biblical literature, no instance can
be found of an idea that Yahweh is bound to any specific
place. W. Eichrodt writes, "at all periods, it is ac-
cepted as a matter of course that God's dwelling-place is

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[49]Ibid., p. 159.

[50]On the entire question see the excellent article of
G. E. Wright, "The Temple in Palestine-Syria," The Biblical
Archaeologist Reader [I] (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor
Books, 1961), pp. 169-184 and especially 169-173.

in Heaven."[51] It is not anachronistic to pose a theo-
logical tension between ideas of transcendence and
imminence in the tenth century.

Now it is most instructive to note that the account
of the dedication of the temple in I Kings 8 devotes no
small amount of space to the cult-theological problem of
the manner of Yahweh's presence related to the temple. In
fact, one might hazard the opinion that if the two chapters
in question (II Samuel 7 and I Kings 8) do not come from
the same hand, at least the author of I Kings 8 had II
Samuel 7 well in mind.[52]

The opening words of Solomon in I Kings 8 are an
old poetic fragment:

Yahweh has established the sun in the heavens,
But has said that he would dwell in thick darkness.

I have built a royal house for thee,
An established place for thy throne for ever
(I Kings 8:12-12).[53]

The LXX adds that this is taken from "The Book of the
Song," (en bibliōi ōidēs), which may be a corruption of
"The Book of Jashar," (sēper ha-šīr for sēper ha-yašār),

W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, trans-
lated from the German by J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: The
Westminster Press, 1961), I, 104.

Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," ZAW, LXXVII (1965),
161.

After the reconstruction by J. Gray, I & II Kings
(Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p. 196.
MT contains only a truncated form of the fragment.

and, in any case, reflects a written tradition from the
earliest monarchical times.[54] From parallels in the
Psalms (Psalm 18:10-12; 97:2) it is clear that Yahweh's
dwelling in darkness is a reference to his celestial
abode and storm-theophanies.[55]

In verse 27 of I Kings 8 we have this statement:

But will God indeed dwell on the earth?
Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot
    contain thee;
How much less this house which I have built?

Gray considers the verse suspect as a late theologizing
interpolation.[56] But verse 27 also can be fitted into
the context: Solomon's "argument" is that, although the
heavens themselves cannot contain Yahweh, Yahweh should
heed prayers offered at the cult-site of the temple.
This is clearly the force of verses 29-30, 33-34, 39,
and throughout the chapter. Indeed, this particular
argument is so integral to the chapter that to remove it
is to leave practically nothing.

Weiser remarks that the form of the rhetorical ques-
tion in I Kings 8:27 indicates the existence of the precise
cult-theological problem as is met with also in II Samuel 7,

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[54]Ibid. O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Intro-
duction, translated by P. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row,
1965), p. 133, prefers to retain "Book of Songs." On the
character of both collections, cf. ibid., pp. 132-134.

[55]Cf. Exodus 19:18,20.

[56]Gray, p. 205, notes that the waw-consecutive form
opening v. 28 follows naturally upon the yĕʾāmēn in v. 26;
but this alone is not enough to dislodge the following verse.

namely, <u>Wohnheiligtum</u> oder <u>Erscheinungsheiligtum</u>.[57]

We may conclude then by summarizing. David desires
to build a house of cedar for Yahweh. Yahweh rejects the
plan through a visionary communication to his prophet
Nathan. This rejection exhibits two theological concerns:
(a) the temple should not be viewed as a meritorious
service rendered Yahweh by David; (b) popular religious
belief should not regard Yahweh as limited to this "house."[58]
Yahweh also discloses that his initiative remains para-
mount in Israel's history and he will be now the builder
of a house for David. At a later time one of David's sons
will build a house for Yahweh, when Yahweh so decides.

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[57]Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise," <u>ZAW</u>, LXXVII (1965),
162.

[58]J. Schreiner, <u>Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz</u>
("Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament VII"; München:
Kösel-Verlag, 1963), pp. 90-92, attempts to make a critical
distinction between the use of <u>yšb</u> for Yahweh's dwelling
in heaven and <u>škn</u> for his tenting on earth. He applies
this distinction to both II Samuel 7 and I Kings 8. The
same view is expressed by W. Hertzberg, <u>I & II Samuel</u>,
translated by J. S. Bowden from the German <u>Die Samuel-
bücher</u> (Second revised edition; "Das Alte Testament
Deutsch X"; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960)
(Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 284-285.
See, however, the critical remarks of Clements, <u>God and
Temple</u>, p. 58, and F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Priestly
Tabernacle," <u>The Biblical Archaeologist Reader</u> I , pp.
224-227. The sharp distinction between the use of the
two verbs belongs to the Priestly materials. In earlier
periods, the distinction does not seem to have been made,
as the use of <u>škn</u> in connection with Israel in II Samuel
7:10 witnesses.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF II SAMUEL 7

In Chapter III we have demonstrated that II Samuel
7, in its present form, is a unity. The purpose of this
chapter of the thesis is to probe the question whether
the author of the chapter in its present form made use
of older written or unwritten traditions and if the
material has undergone subsequent revision. To this end
we shall first survey the larger context of the books of
Samuel and then look more closely at II Samuel 7.

The Place of II Samuel 7 in the Deuteronomic History

Martin Noth, in his important work Überlieferungs-
geschichtliche Studien of 1943,[1] delimited a great
historical work in the Old Testament which he termed the
Deuteronomic History. This work encompasses the books of
Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, I & II Samuel and I & II Kings.
The name Deuteronomic is chosen because the principles
which appear as paramount in this work are derived from

[1]M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I.
Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten
Testament ("Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesell-
schaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, XVIII, ii";
Halle: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1943). The present study
utilizes the second edition published by M. Niemeyer
Verlag, Tübingen, 1957.

the religious ideals of the Book of Deuteronomy. This

work, asserts Noth, was not merely one of redacting another

work:

> Dtr war nicht nur "Redaktor," sondern der Autor
> eines Geschichtswerkes, das die überkommenen,
> überaus verschiedenartigen Überlieferungsstoffe
> zusammenfasste und nach einem durchdachten Plane
> aneinanderreihte. Dabei liess Dtr im allgemeinen
> einfach die ihm als literarische Unterlagen zur
> Verfügung stehenden Quelle zu Worte kommen und
> verknüpfte nur die einzelnen Stücke durch einen
> verbindenden Text.[2]

For the literature which draws our particular at-

tention, the books of Samuel and Kings, it is important

to note that Noth relied basically on the analysis of

L. Rost.[3] What Rost proposed, and what has been ac-

cepted by almost all Old Testament scholars, is that the

books of Samuel and Kings were made up of independent

literary units, complete in themselves, strung, for the

most part, end to end. These units are, roughly, the

following:

1. The History of the Ark (I Samuel 4-6; II Samuel
    6 [7]).

2. The History of the Rise of Saul (I Samuel 9-10,
    11,13,14,16).

3. The History of the Rise of David (I Samuel 16:14-
    II Samuel 2:5).

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[2]Ibid., p. 11.

[3]L. Rost, Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge
Davids ("Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen
Testament. III Folge, Heft vi"; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer,
1926). Cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien,
p. 54.

4. The Court (or Succession) History of David
   (II Samuel 9-20; I Kings 1-2).

5. The Monarchic Histories of Israel and Judah
   (I Kings 3-II Kings).

In addition to these basic units, there are some smaller,

independent units which may be isolated, such as I Samuel

2 (Song of Hannah); II Samuel 1 and 3 (David's Funeral

Dirges); II Samuel 21:1-14 (The Episode of the Gibeonites);

II Samuel 21:15-22 (David's Heroes); II Samuel 22 (=Psalm

18); II Samuel 23:1-7 (Last Words of David); II Samuel

23:8-39 (David's Heroes); II Samuel 24 (The Episode of

the Plague).[4]

These units have been brought together to form a

continuous historical work, and, in the process, certain

pieces of connecting material have been inserted. Noth

believes that the major transitions have been accomplished

by introductory formulas or speeches of varying length,

such as I Samuel 12, covering the change from the period

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[4]For a more detailed review, cf. the standard intro-
ductions, especially those of Anderson, Bentzen, Eissfeldt
and Weiser. W. F. Albright comments, "After plodding
through many efforts to analyze the cources of the Samuel
tradition I have given up literary analysis; we simply
do not possess the necessary data for such analysis . . . .
In the absence of a fixed Hebrew text it is simply im-
possible to analyze the literary composition of Samuel
with any hope of success. We can rely on the relative
antiquity of most Samuel traditions and can treat them
as true reflections of different early Israelite attitudes
toward Samuel." W. F. Albright, Samuel and the Beginnings
of the Prophetic Movement (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College
Press, 1961), p. 10.

of the Judges to the monarchy; the "formula for Saul"

(I Samuel 13:1); Eshbaal (II Samuel 2:1a,11); David

(II Samuel 5:4,5).[5]

It hardly needs to be pointed out that II Samuel 7

plays a central role in the historical work.[6] It ties

together two great complexes: the History of the Ark

and the Succession History of David, and thus, by position

as well as content, links the monarchic period to the old

sacral traditions of the amphictyony. Noth believes that

the Deuteronomic historian already found II Samuel 7

joined to II Samuel 6 in his Vorlage.[7] Now, as the

History of the Ark is commonly judged to be an old com-

position, completed in the earliest monarchical period,

that is, under David or Solomon,[8] it remains to be seen

whether we can ascertain the probable age of the material

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[5]Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, p. 63.
He also writes, page 5, "Dazu gehört vor allem dies, dass
Dtr an allen mit einer kürzeren oder längeren Rede auf-
treten lässt, die rückblickend und vorwärtsschauend den
Gang der Dinge zu deuten versucht und die praktischen
Konsequenzen für das Handeln der Menschen daraus zieht."

[6]"The promise, therefore, provides the literary frame-
work for the account of the events which followed upon it.
It is at once the climax of the narrative which precedes it
and the program for what follows, i.e., central." D. J.
McCarthy, "II Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deutero-
nomic History," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXIV
(1965), 134.

[7]Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, p. 64.

[8]Rost, p. 47. Cf. G. von Rad, "Der Anfang der Ge-
schichtsschreibung im alten Israel," Gesammelte Studien

in II Samuel 7 and determine its particular history and the age to which it is to be assigned.

The Oldest Elements of II Samuel 7

The Prayer of David

We may begin our analysis with the prayer of David in II Samuel 7:18-29.[9] This section is admitted to be very old, and there is no good reason to deny it to David, if indeed not as _ipsissima verba_, at least in substance. In verse 18 we are told that David "went in and sat before Yahweh," which ostensibly refers to the shrine of the ark.[10] The core of the prayer is found in verses (25,26) 27, which state that a revelation has been made to David regarding

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zum Alten Testament (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1958), pp. 159-160, 172-173.

[9]Verse 19 is corrupt, and, as Driver comments, "No satisfactory emendation of the passage has been proposed." S. R. Driver, _Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel_ (Second edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 277. Two suggestions merit mention. The first is that of J. Brewer, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zum Alten Testament," _Festschrift Bertholet_ (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), p. 75, who notes the reading of Chronicles keṭôr hā'ādām and emends to keṭôrat 'ādām, translating "und du willst mich ansehen (und behandeln) nach Menschenweise," which would reflect II Samuel 7:14. H. Cazelles in _Vetus Testamentum_, VIII (1958), 332, refers to the Akkadian phrase terît niše as "oracle qui fixe le destin des hommes," and derives tôrôt from yrh, "to cast (lots)," which has the virtue of making sense of the reading of MT without emendation. For other suggested readings, cf. BH[7].

[10]Cf. I Samuel 1:12,19,26; 2:18.

the establishment of the dynasty.[11] The same is expressed in II Samuel 23:5, in the "Last Words of David," which are also of acknowledged antiquity.[12] Verses (22) 23-24 are generally regarded as Deuteronomic.

Rost believes that the prayer exhibits a typus for prayer which was developed already in early monarchic times and is exhibited also in Genesis 32, I Kings 3 and 8, and I Chronicles 29. The schema consists of: (a) Anrufung; (b) Demutmotiv; (c) Bitte; (d) Berufung auf eine als Zitat angeführte Gottesoffenbarung. A glance at these passages will confirm the analysis. The section verses 23-24 tends to shift the content of the prayer from the fortunes of the Davidic dynasty to the fortunes of the

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[11]Contrary to the opinion often voiced, verse 27 does not necessarily indicate that a direct revelation to David is meant which would contradict the mediation of Nathan mentioned earlier in the chapter.

[12]This selection is still awaiting treatment in the light of what is now known of ancient Hebrew orthography and poetic structures. The two existing treatments are a bit dated. Cf. O. Proksch, "Die Letzten Worte Davids," Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolph Kittel (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pp. 112-125; S. Mowinckel, "Die letzten Worte Davids. II Sam 23,1-7," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLV (1927), 30-58. Proksch, p. 124, regards this section as Davidic in origin. We may note the occurrence of the divine epithet ṣûr(II Samuel 23:3) which occurs also in II Samuel 22/Psalm 18 (passim), and which is also archaic. II Samuel 22/Psalm 18 is dated to the tenth century by F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22=Psalm 18," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXII (1952), 20. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII," Vetus Testamentum, IX (1959), 345 and n.4. The Song of Moses, where the term also occurs (verses 4,15,30,37), is dated by Albright before the reign of Saul.

people, and Rost considers them exilic. He writes:

> Dieser Einschub gibt dem ganzen Gebet einen anderen
> Sinn. Nicht mehr um den Fortbestand der Dynastie
> handelt es sich, sondern mehr noch um das Weiter-
> bestehen des Volkes. Durch die Einfügung der Verse
> unmittelbar vor der Bitte um Bekräftigung des Wortes
> Jahves über David und sein Haus wird diese Auffas-
> sung nahegelegt. Dann aber ist es wahrscheinlich,
> dasz diese Zusätze doch nicht vordeuteronomisch sind,
> sondern aus einer Zeit stammen, in der die Zukunft
> des Volkes in Dunkel gehüllt war und man Kraft aus
> den groszen Erinnerungen der Vergangenheit schöpfen
> muszte, um nicht irre zu werden an Gott und am
> eigenen Volk. So kommen wir in die Zeit des Exils
> und haben in diesen Versen, in der Art ihrer Ein-
> fügung und Umbiegung des ursprünglichen Sinnes,
> ein Dokument für die Frömmigkeit jener dunklen Zeit
> der babylonischen Gefangenschaft vor uns.[13]

One might well contest the decision that all of this material

is Deuteronomic. Every mention of the people Israel is not

superfluous to the original oracle. Over whom was David

king, if not over Israel? Over whom had he been nāgîd, if

not over Israel?[14] Verses 26-27a, which form the very core

of the prayer according to Rost, relate the dynastic pro-

mise to Israel also:[15]

> and thy name will be magnified for ever, saying,
> "Yahweh of Hosts is God over Israel," and the
> house of thy servant David will be established
> before thee, For thou, O Yahweh of Hosts, the
> God of Israel, hast made this revelation to
> thy servant" (II Samuel 7:26-27a).

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[13]Rost, pp. 53-54.

[14]Cf. infra, pp. 90-92.

[15]Infra, p. 105. Cf. M. Noth, "David und Israel in
2 Sam 7," Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament (Zweite,
um einen Anhang erweitere Auflage; München: Chr. Kaiser
Verlag, 1960), pp. 337-338; H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und
die Zionserwählung," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
LXI (1964), pp. 23-24.

E. Kutsch writes of verses 22-24:

> Aber sie zeigen so wenig deuteronomistisches Ge-
> präge, dasz nicht die ganzen Verse 22-24 als
> deuteronomistisch anzusehen sind, sondern mind-
> estens die genannten Sätze, [therefore thou art
> great, O Lord Yahweh, for there is none like
> thee . . . what other nation on earth is like
> thy people Israel] aber wohl auch noch weitere
> Teile zum ursprünglichen Bestand des Davids-
> gebetes zu rechnen sind. So zeigt sich, dasz
> Nathanweissagung und Davidgebet sowohl sachlich
> als auch literarisch zusammengehören.[16]

The situation, then, is that the prayer, admittedly of
a very old provenance, presupposes certain elements in
the foregoing part of the chapter; namely, the bulk of
verses 8-17. Verses 8-10 (11a) are reflected in verses
23-24,26. Verses 11b-12, 13b-16 are reflected in verses
18-21,25,27-29. It is often overlooked that verse 18b,
"Who am I, O Lord Yahweh, and what is my house, that thou
hast brought me thus far?" must be a reference to verses
8-9, thus making it highly improbable that 8-9 are a
later expansion of 1-7,11b.

The Use of the Term nāgîd

There is another consideration which makes us affirm
the antiquity of verse 8 (-9). This is the use of the
title nāgîd. This particular title has received a good

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[16]Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden: Problem
der Nathanweissagung in 2 Sam 7," Zeitschrift für Theologie
und Kirche, LVIII (1961), 145. This periodical is hereafter
cited as ZTK. Cf. Noth, "David und Israel," Gesammelte
Studien zum Alten Testament, pp. 337-338. This volume is
hereafter cited as GS².

deal of attention in almost every work dealing with the

period in question. W. F. Albright has written:

> A number of scholars have recently seen that the
> use of the term nagid must somehow fit in with the
> transition from charismatic leadership to monarchy,
> but preconceived ideas and fanciful etymologies of
> the word nagid have invariably spoiled their efforts.

> Actually we can trace the Aramaic words negîdā and
> nāgōdā, "leader, commander," back through several
> dialects to the word ngd in the Sefireh treaties
> of the mid-eighth century B. C.[17]

Recently a comprehensive study of the biblical usage has

appeared by W. Richter.[18] For our purposes here we shall

only summarize the results of this very convincing study.

There is in the Old Testament a discernible evolution in

the use of the term nāgîd. It is by no means an alternative

designation for melek. The term refers to an office which

has its roots in the amphictyonic organization and signifies

the charismatic leader of the tribes in battle. The person

who is referred to as the nāgîd is one who has been cere-

moniously designated. Later, under the monarchy, this

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[17]Albright, Samuel and the Beginnings, pp. 15-16.
Cf. W. F. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to
Ezra (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), p. 48. On the
Sefireh treaties, cf. J. A. Fitzmeyer, "The Aramaic
Suzerainty Treaty from Sefire in the Museum of Beirut,"
Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XX (1958), 448, 459. For an
example of the "fanciful etymology" see J. J. Glück, "Nagid-
Shepherd," Vetus Testamentum, XIII (1963), 144-150, and
the critique of W. Richter, "Die nagid-Formel," Biblische
Zeitschrift, Neue Folge, IX (1965), 72-73 and n. 7.

[18]Richter, pp. 71-84. The study includes exhaustive
bibliography of earlier treatments. Cf. also Gese, pp.
12-13 and n. 7.

usage was dropped, and the nāgîd is recognized as having

been so designated by Yahweh by virtue of his military

exploits in the function of "saving" Yahweh's people

Israel.[19] This development explains why, although we

have frequent reports that David is recognized as nāgîd

in Israel, there is no mention of his formal designation

or installation into such an office.[20] In connection

with Saul the verb mšḥ is part of the formula of designa-

tion; all later occurrences utilize ṣwh, hyh, ntn or lqḥ.

The differentiation between these two groups of verbs

falls right at the point between Saul and David.[21]

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[19]Richter, pp. 81-82. I Samuel 9:16 shows that the
term is an alternate designation for the "judge" or
"savior" of the book of Judges. See also H-J. Kraus,
Gottesdienst in Israel (Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete
Auflage; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1962), p. 220.

[20]Cf. I Samuel 13:14; 25:30; II Samuel 5:2; 6:21; 7:8.
In the case of Saul, the designation is connected with
anointing by the prophet Samuel (I Samuel 9:16; 10:1). Of
this Richter comments: "Seit wann die Salbung zum Schema
gehört, läszt sich nicht erkennen. Jedenfalls zeigt es
insofern die Umwälzung der Zeit an, als das Schema über
die nagid-Formel zum Königtum führen kann. Dieses ver-
zichtet jedoch auf das Berufungsschema und kann nun die
isolierte nagid-Formel nach Umänderung in die neue Kon-
stellation einordnen. Dann legt sich auch von hier aus
nahe, der Tradition von der Salbung Sauls durch Samuel
zum nagid über Israel als Sitz der Vorstellung zu ver-
trauen. Neben der aufgedeckten religiösen Komponente ist
mindestens bei David der Zusammenhang des Titels mit den
(heiligen) Kriegen nicht verloren gegangen, da die Führung
Israels zum Krieg für die Ältesten Israels das Kriterium
für das nagid-Sein Davids das (2 Sm 5,2), worauf auch
Nathan rekurriert (2 Sm 7,9)." Richter, p. 82. Cf. p. 76.

[21]Richter, p. 75 and the chart on p. 73. Cf. Noth,
"David und Israel," GS[2], p. 339.

That II Samuel 5:2,3 mentions the acknowledgment
of David as nāgîd but does not mention any installation
into that office, nor an anointing, but does report the
anointing to the kingship (verse 3), demonstrates that
the practice of anointing the nāgîd was replaced by the
anointing of the king. Richter carries this conclusion
further:

> Ausgerechnet bei der Überführung der Lade, die in
> Silo, also im Norden, ein Mittelpunkt war, betont
> David sein nagid-Sein, nicht das Königtum. Wenn
> der nagid-Titel von Saul über die Ältesten der
> Israeliten zu David wanderte, dann ist er sicher
> bei den Nordstämmen von Bedeutung gewesen, was 2
> Sm 6,21 bestätigt . . . . 3 Kg 14,6; 16,2 be-
> stätigen, dasz der nagid-Titel bei der Reichs-
> trennung wieder ins Nordreich wanderte, nunmehr
> auch mit dem Königtum verbunden.[22]

In contrast to this usage are those in connection with
the southern tribes. I Kings 1:35 reports that David on
his own authority appoints Solomon as nāgîd over Israel
and over Judah, which in this instance can only mean
"crown prince/king designate," and no longer has any
amphictyonic ties. Consequent usage shows that the
specific force of the word is lost.[23]

It is thereby justifiable to conclude that the precise
usage of the term nāgîd in its various historically con-
ditioned meanings in Samuel and Kings, but not in later

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[22]Richter, p. 76.

[23]Proverbs 28:16; Daniel 9:25; Nehemiah 11:11
(leaders, commanders, officials); and throughout Chronicles,
with the exception of II Chronicles 11:22 (heir-apparent).

compositions where the term lost all specific reference,
demonstrates that these passages are not intrusive in
their contexts but belong to the original historical
compositions dating from the early monarchic period:
"The History of the Rise of Saul," "The History of the
Rise of David," and "The Succession History of David,"
which includes II Samuel 7:8.[24]

We may conclude the discussion of this term by
quoting the summary statement of Richter:

> Als Ergebnis darf festgehalten werden: Deutlich zu
> erkennen ist die Bedeutung des nagid-Titels in der
> vorköniglichen Zeit der Nordstämme (Zunächst in
> Ephraim und Benjamin wegen Samuel und Saul) als
> ein an Jahwe gebundenes und für die Rettung Israels
> mittels Propheten gesetztes Amt. Die doppelte Wend-
> ung der nagid-Formel läszt eine geschichtliche
> Entwicklung erschlieszen, deren Wende der Beginn
> der David-Ära ist. Die vor-davidische Salbungs-
> formel hat ihren Sitz in dem Ritus der Berufung,
> deren Mittler ein Prophet und deren Ziel die Er-
> rettung aus Feindnot war. Auf David, der in Hebron
> schon zum König über Juda gesalbt war, findet dieser
> Ritus keine Anwendung mehr. Wohl übernimmt er den
> wichtigen nordisraelitischen Titel nagid, er bindet
> ihn aber sofort an das Königtum; der verbindende
> Ritus wird die Salbung sein. Die begriffliche
> Distinktion von Königtum führt zur Ausbildung der
> salbungsfreien nagid-Formel. Zur Sicherung der
> Reichseinheit bei der Thronfolge usurpiert David
> die religiöse Formel für sein politisches Wollen,
> indem er Salomo zum nagid einsetzt zugleich aber den
> Titel auf das Groszreich umprägen will.[25]

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[24]The nāgîd-passages cannot be attributed to the
Deuteronomic editor. On the contrary, passages like
I Samuel 25:30 and II Samuel 5:2 "spricht für Tendenz
des Verfassers der 'Geschichte von Davids Aufsteig,'"
and II Samuel 7:8 is used in the same manner as 5:2.
Cf. Richter, p. 74, n. 9.

[25]Ibid., p. 83.

The Reference to the Temple

The one element of II Samuel 7 which is not reflected in the prayer of verses 18-29 is the matter of the temple. In addition to verse 13, the temple figures in verses 1-3, and also in verses 5-7, but not in 8-12; 14-16. It is therefore with good reason that verse 11b, "Moreover, Yahweh declares to you that Yahweh will make you a house," which finds its echo in verse 27, "For thou, O Yahweh of Hosts, the God of Israel, hast made this revelation to thy servant, saying, 'I will build you a house,'" has been viewed as the "kernel" of the chapter as well as of the complete dynastic oracle (verses 7-12; 14-16). This verse (11b) may well represent a dynastic promise given to David which in its original circumstances was independent of the plan to build the temple.[26]

The Joining of the Elements

The dynastic oracle and the plan for the construction of the temple are linked, not necessarily chronologically, but literarily, by the introduction (verses 1-3), the pun on the word bayit (verses 5b and 11b) and verse 13: the very verses which give the chapter the character of the Königsnovelle. This leads us to the conclusion that it

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[26]Rost, pp. 56-61; Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden," ZTK, LVIII (1961), 148-149.

was the structuring of the material along the formal

lines of the Königsnovelle that brought together the two

themes of dynasty and temple. S. Herrmann writes:

> Denn Tempelbau und Königstheologie sind die Haupt-
> themen der ägyptischen Königsnovelle. Ihr Neben-
> einander ist weder überraschend noch befremdend,
> sondern auf dem Hintergrund eines gröszeren gattungs-
> geschichtlichen Zusammenhanges erklärbar und ver-
> ständlich.[27]

That the connection of the two themes of temple and

dynasty is secondary, and accomplished for literary

purposes, is evidenced also by the independent use made

of the two themes, as the occasion may demand. In Psalm

132 the connection is preserved, but in Psalm 89 only the

dynastic oracle is mentioned.

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[27]Cf. supra, pp. 58-67. For the quotation, S.
Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und Israel,"
Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität
Leipzig. Gesellschafts-und Sprachwissenschaftliche
Reihe, III (1953-54), 58. Cf. also Herrmann, p. 59, n. 1,
where he writes: "Beide Stücke, Verse 1 bis 7 und Verse
8 bis 16, sind trotzdem nicht als selbständig zu betrachten,
sondern sind zusammengehalten durch die Merkmale der
Königsnovelle und den jeweils dominierenden Begriff bayit.
Die Frage bleibt offen, ob dieses Wort bayit die ur-
sprüngliche Einheit des Kapitels dokumentiert oder
nachträglich zufälliges Bindeglied zwischen Tempelbau-
problem und Dynastiegedanken wurde. Denn es trägt in
2. Sam. 7 den Charakter eines Wortspiels und da das
Ägyptische in hohem Grade das Wortspiel liebt, wäre
wenigstens daran zu erinnern, dasz zu ägyptisch pr.
'Haus,' das zwar nicht stammverwandte, aber im Konsonanten-
bestand gleiche Wort pr.t 'Nachkommenschaft' in den
Zusammenhang von Tempelbau und Dynastiegründung, wie er
2. Sam. 7 vorliegt, passen würde. Ein Beleg für dieses
Wortspiel in ägyptischen Texten ist mir freilich nicht
zur Hand. Es bleibt aber auch recht fraglich, ob ein
solches Wortspiel mit Bewusztsein in das Hebräische
hinübergenommen worden wäre. Trotzdem steht fest, dasz
von dem Wort bayit her 2. Sam. 7 eine innere Geschlossen-
heit trotz vieler anderen textlicher Schwierigkeiten
innewohnt."

Psalm 132 must have its <u>Sitz im Leben</u> at the temple
of Jerusalem and serve as the liturgy for the celebration
of the founding of the sanctuary for the ark by David.
The Psalm includes the dynastic oracle, as it is cele-
brating David as the founder of the sanctuary, and his
transfer of the ark to Jerusalem is seen as the expression
of Yahweh's election of Zion (verses 13-18).[28]

Psalm 89, on the other hand, treats of the dynastic
promise, but makes no mention of the temple,[29] since it
is concerned only with the fortunes of the dynasty.[30]

Summary

We may reconstruct as follows: II Samuel 7
attained its present form during the reign of Solomon
with the literary form of the <u>Königsnovelle</u> serving as

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[28]On this Psalm see especially the treatments of
Kraus, <u>Psalmen I-II</u> ("Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Test-
ament. XV, i-ii"; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960),
II, 876-888, and A. Weiser, <u>The Psalms</u>, translated by H.
Hartwell from the German <u>Die Psalmen</u> ("Das Alte Testament
Deutsch. XIV-XV." Fifth revised edition; Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) (Philadelphia: The West-
minster Press, 1962), pp. 778-782.

[29]J. Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Back-
ground of Psalm LXXXIX," <u>Vetus Testamentum</u>, XI (1961),
328-329, feels that an ark procession is implied in
verses 6-9.

[30]Cf. also Kraus, <u>Psalmen</u>, II, 614-626, especially
p. 617; Weiser, <u>The Psalms</u>, p. 591, and W. Moran in
<u>Biblica</u>, XLII (1961), 237-239; J. L. McKenzie, "The
Dynastic Oracle: II Samuel 7," <u>Theological Studies</u>, VIII
(1947), 196-198.

the pattern. In this work the author made use of
traditions of a promise to David by the prophet Nathan
which were in all probability independent of the plans
for the construction of the temple.[31] This tradition
is encompassed in verses 8-11 and 18-29. Verses 12-16
serve as the link to the next bulk of material, the
Succession History of David, and the reports of the con-
struction of the temple in I Kings 3-8. The purpose of
the chapter as we have it is not so much to express
the fortunes of David as to establish the legitimacy
of Solomon.[32]

As post-Solomonic, that is, Deuteronomic, elements
in II Samuel 7 only the following can be identified: the
substitution of "my name" for "me" in verse 13, and verse
23.[33]

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[31]It cannot be determined with certainty whether or
not this tradition was in written form. Several consider-
ations lead us to assert that it was; namely, the syn-
tactical isolation of verse 11b (cf. supra, pp. 26-27),
and the literary function which the dynastic oracle serves
as the conclusion to the "History of the Ark," which gives
every indication of being completed under David. Later
uses of the oracle (Psalms 89 and 132) bear sufficient
verbal affinity to the words of II Samuel 7 to suggest
a firm written tradition of the oracle. Cf. N. M. Sarna,
"Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," Biblical
and Other Studies, edited by A. Altmann ("Brandeis Univer-
sity Studies and Texts. I."; Cambridge: Harvard University
Press, 1963), pp. 29-46.

[32]As indeed Solomon utilized the tradition. Cf.
I Kings 2:4; 8:20; 8:25; 9:5.

[33]A similar historical progression is given by
Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden," ZTK, LVIII

(1961), 150-151. Apparently the results here are the same as those given by L. B. Gorhulho, "A Profecia de Natan en 2 Sam 7, 1-17," Revista de Cultura Biblica, VI (1962), 59-70, which is not available to me. According to a note in the Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete, Gorhulho distinguishes three redactional layers, the first being the prophecy of Nathan itself, then a redaction from the time of Solomon and a later Deuteronomic redaction at the time of Josiah.

CHAPTER V

THE DAVIDIC COVENANT AND THE SINAITIC COVENANT

Various Theories of Relation

The study of the covenantal traditions of the Old
Testament frequently results in expressions of the in-
congruity between the Sinaitic and the Davidic covenants.
To be sure, the differences of the two are usually over-
stressed; that is, the problem is exaggerated so that the
solution may be the more striking. Thus the conditional
or law covenant of Sinai is set against the promissory,
nonconditional covenant with David. But as we have seen,
the Davidic covenant is in no way a "blank check," the
fulfillment of which is completely independent of the
fidelity of the Davidides. Yet the question of the re-
lation between the two covenants is a legitimate one,
particularly since the future expectations of all Israel
are attached to both.[1] We shall first survey the various
attempts to relate the two covenants, and then detail the
results of our own study for the question. The theories

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[1]For the Sinaitic covenant, the phrase "You shall be
my people and I will be your God," captures this expectation.
For expressions which tie the hopes of the people to the
Davidic covenant, cf. II Samuel 7:10; Micah 5:1 (English
5:2); Isaiah 55:1-5. Cf. infra, pp. 105-107.

of relation can be considered under the following headings:
the geographical theory, the nomadic-sedentary theory, and
the subordination or integration theory.

The Geographical Theory

The geographical theory on the relationship of the
Sinaitic and Davidic covenants takes its starting point
from the obvious fact that the establishment of the Davidic
dynasty was never recognized in the north, that is, in
Israel, but was at home only among the southern tribes.
The north, on the other hand, is the real home of the
Sinaitic traditions, which were virtually unknown in
southern circles until a relatively late period of Judahite
history, according to this theory. In support of this
view is the probability of the northern origins of Deut-
eronomy, or, more precisely, of Deuteronomic thought.
Any attempt to relate the two covenants would then be
placed after the southward trek of the Sinaitic traditions
underlying Deuteronomy which occurred either shortly before
or during the reign of Josiah (640-609 B. C.).[2]

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[2]Cf. L. Rost, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund," _Theologische
Literaturzeitung_, LXXII (1947), 129-134; G. E. Mendenhall,
Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East
(Pittsburgh: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955), p. 46; D. J.
McCarthy, "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present
State of the Inquiry," _Catholic Biblical Quarterly_, XXVII
(1965), 230; G. von Rad, _Studies in Deuteronomy_ ("Studies
in Biblical Theology IX"; London: SCM Press, 1953), pp. 60-
69.

The Nomadic-Sedentary Theory

The nomadic-sedentary theory also sees a tension
between the Sinaitic and Davidic covenants, but not in
terms of geography. Rather, this theory asserts a per-
ennial tension throughout Israelite history between the
inheritance of the wilderness period, and even before,
of the semi-nomadic life of the forefathers, and the
life and institutions of the Kulturland.[3] The covenant
of Sinai, accordingly, belongs to the wilderness period
and is offset and replaced to a large extent by the
Davidic covenant, which is a peculiar development of the
absorption by the Israelites of the agricultural, seden-
tary culture of Canaan.

The posed polarity of nomadic and sedentary life is
a concept which at times becomes quite fanciful. V. Maag
even speaks of a kinetisch-vektorischer Element of the
wandering Israelites' religion as set against a statisches
element of the religion of the national period and of

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[3]This viewpoint is championed by M. Simon, "La
Prophétie de Nathan et la Temple," Revue d'Histoire et de
Philosophie Religieuses, XXXII (1952), 41-58; V. Maag,
"Malkut Yhwh," Oxford Congress Volume ("Supplements to
Vetus Testamentum VII"; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp.
126-153; A. H. J. Grunneweg, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund,"
Vetus Testamentum, X (1960), 335-341; and, to some extent,
M. Noth, "Jerusalem und die Israelitische Tradition,"
Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament (Zweite, um einen
Anhang erweitere Auflage; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag,
1960), pp. 172-187.

national states.[4] It will hardly do, however, to char-
acterize the religion of settled peoples as "static,"
particularly the religion of the peoples of Canaan, as
the Ras Shamra texts evidence very clearly. The same
author's characterization of nomadic life and religion is
equally questionable. Indeed, there is a great deal of
confusion as to what constitutes the nomadic way of life,
and more precisely, to what extent it is legitimate to
call the pre-conquest Israelites "nomads." W. F. Albright
has demonstrated that we cannot project backward the picture
of nomadic life as we may see it practiced today, nor can
we assume that the semi-nomadic life of the pre-conquest
period precludes familiarity with sedentary life, civic
and cultural institutions.[5] There is nothing in nomadic
ways as such which would be opposed to a dynastic institu-
tion: tribal structures can be every bit as rigid as
class structures.[6]

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[4]Maag, pp. 137-139.

[5]W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of
Israel (Fourth edition; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press,
1956), pp. 95-102; W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew: A
New Archaeological Interpretation," Bulletin of the Amer-
ican Schools of Oriental Research, CLXIII (1961), 36-54;
W. F. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra
(New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), p. 8.

[6]Cf. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institu-
tions (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), pp. 1-9 and especially
pp. 4-6.

Roland de Vaux writes of the oft cited nostalgia of the prophets for the desert days:

> nomadism itself is not the ideal; rather, it is that purity of religious life and that faithfulness to the Covenant, which was associated in Israel's mind with its former life in the desert.[7]

A small variation of the nomadic-sedentary theory is the posing of an opposition between amphictyony and state.[8]

The Subordination or Integration Theory

The first two theories we have mentioned actually set the Sinaitic and Davidic covenants against each other. The subordination theory goes beyond this and makes a real attempt to achieve a relationship between the two covenants. This relationship is stated in two forms. The first form may be called "supersedence," and is very close to the geographical theory mentioned before. According to the idea of supersedence, the Sinaitic covenant, which was the common heritage of the Israelites, was neglected and suppressed by the pretentions of the Davidic dynasty, legitimized through the Davidic covenant. The traditions of Sinai lived on, however, chiefly in the northern kingdom, but also in the areas of the south remote from the court and cult of Jerusalem. At the time of Josiah, "Moses was

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[7]_Ibid._, p. 14.

[8]Cf., particularly, Grunneweg, p. 340.

rediscovered," by means of the lawbook found in the temple.
Subsequently, through the influence of Deuteronomic circles,
the Jerusalem cult and court were purged of their "divine
kingship" pretensions and oriented within the compass of
Mosaic law, and, as a consequence, many of the Davidic
covenant traditions were rewritten in view of Deuteronomic
and Sinaitic ideology.[9] The second form of the subordina-
tion theory differs from the first only in that it does
not assert any serious depreciation of the Sinaitic cove-
nant in Judah, but merely sets the two covenants alongside
each other throughout the history of the monarchical period
and sees the Davidic covenant as a means of integrating the
institution of kingship within the covenant people Israel.[10]

The Contributions of Our Study to the Problem

We proceed to detail the results of our study for
the investigation of the problem of relating the Sinaitic
covenant and the Davidic covenant.

There was no division of the sacral and the civil in
Israel. The Davidic covenant cannot be viewed as affecting
only the political constitution of Israel as a people, with

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[9]Cf. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant, pp. 46-49; R. E.
Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult tradition," -
Vetus Testamentum, XV (1965), 300-312.

[10]This is basically the position of H-J. Kraus,
Gottesdienst in Israel (Zweite Auflage; München: Chr.
Kaiser Verlag, 1962), pp. 222-234.

no religious orientation. And, though it is addressed to

the royal office, it affects all the people of the realm.

> And I have appointed a place for my people Israel,
> and have planted them, that they may dwell in
> their own place, and be disturbed no more; and
> violent men shall afflict them no more, as formerly
> (II Samuel 7:10).

> And thy name will be magnified for ever, saying,
> "Yahweh of Hosts is God over Israel," and the
> house of thy servant will be established before
> thee. For thou, Yahweh of Hosts, the God of
> Israel, hast made this revelation to thy servant,
> saying, "I will build you a house" (II Samuel 7:
> 26-27a).

A prime example of the way in which the fortunes of

the dynasty and the monarch include all the people would

be the petitions of Psalm 72 that through the divine gifts

to the reigning king the entire land and people would

enjoy great blessings.[11]

Although we are in no position to investigate the

motives of David's actions, we can ascertain his efforts

and their ostensible goals. II Samuel 6-7 portrays David

as deliberately linking his kingship to the sacral con-

federation, the amphictyony, of the twelve tribes. Now,

David's kingship was threefold: he was king of the southern

group of tribes, Judah (II Samuel 2:4); and, by a separate

treaty, he was king over the northern tribes, Israel

(II Samuel 5:1-5); he was also the king of the city of

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[11]On the import of this Psalm cf. A. R. Johnson,
Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (Cardiff: University of
Wales Press, 1955), pp. 3-5, 127.

Jerusalem (II Samuel 5:9). In II Samuel 7, however, we
have the legitimation of the dynasty over "Israel" in the
sense of the sacral confederation of tribes. The phrase
"my people Israel" occurs frequently in the chapter
(verses 7,8,10,11,23,24,25,27). Further, the role of the
ark in this chapter and the preceding one supports the
same interpretation because the ark is the sacred symbol
of the amphictyony, and inextricably bound to the Sinai
traditions.[12]

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[12]The literature concerning the ark is immense, and
a complete discussion is beyond our purpose here. Evi-
dently, the traditions regarding the ark underwent various
adaptations. Both the Deuteronomic and the Priestly
traditions associate it with Sinai, and as a container
of the tablets of the covenant (Exodus 25:16,21; 40:20;
Deuteronomy 9:9,15). During the period of the conquest
the ark is presented as the portable war palladium of the
tribes (Numbers 10; Joshua 3-6; I Samuel 4-6; II Samuel 6).
The view of the ark as the throne of the invisible presence
of Yahweh, and the epithet yhwh $s^{e}b\bar{a}'\hat{o}t$ $y\bar{o}\check{s}\bar{e}b$ $hakk^{e}rub\hat{i}m$
(II Samuel 4:4; 6:2; II Kings 19:15) seems to be associated
first with the sanctuary at Shiloh. Cf. W. F. Albright's
remarks in Journal of Biblical Literature, LXVII (1948),
377-381, and the discussion of R. E. Clements, God and
Temple (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 28-39.
The attempts to confine the history of the ark to the
Kulturland are not convincing. Cf., in general, H-J.
Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, pp. 149-152 and the litera-
ture cited there. On the "History of the Ark" as a piece
of literature, L. Rost, Die Überlieferung von der Thron-
nachfolge Davids ("Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten
und Neuen Testament III Folge, Heft vi"; Stuttgart: W.
Kohlhammer, 1926), pp. 4-47, and further, G. von Rad,
"Zelt und Lade," Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament
(München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1958), pp. 109-129; L. Rost,
"Die Wohnstätte des Zeugnisses," Festschrift F. Baumgärtel
("Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A, Band X"; Erlangen: Uni-
versitäts Verlag, 1959), pp. 158-165; G. H. Davies, "Ark
of the Covenant," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the
Bible, edited by G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press,
1962), I, 222-226; R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp. 297-
302; and, most recent but by no means most satisfactory,

By bringing the ark to Jerusalem, David is establishing himself as the champion of Israel's cult, and establishing his private city as both the political and religious center of Israelite tribal life. Martin Noth writes:

> Durch die Überführung der Lade aber in seine Königs-stadt und durch deren Aufstellung im Heiligtum der Stadt, über das er als Stadtkönig Herr war, hat er sich in die Kultischen Traditionen Israels, so weit es sich um die von der Lade zu vollziehenden Kult-handlungen handelte, eingeschaltet.[13]

Thus, from the outset, the Davidic covenant is linked to the Sinaitic traditions, and by the Davidic covenant

> thy name will be magnified for ever, saying, "Yahweh of Hosts is God over Israel," and the house of thy servant David will be established before thee (II Samuel 7:26).

In this passage we have Israel spoken of as "all Israel," the covenant people of Yahweh, and the "covenant name" of God, yhwh sᵉbā'ôt 'elōhîm 'āl-yiśrā'ēl.[14]

J. Maier, Das Altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum ("Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft XCIII"; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1965).

[13]M. Noth, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition," Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament (Zweite, um einen Anhang erweitere Auflage; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), p. 175. Noth's judgment that this action is nothing but politischer Klugheit, an opinion echoed by so many, is quite unwarranted. David is presented to us as having genuine pious concerns. In fact, if politischer Klugheit were called for, would not the best course of action be to leave the ark alone, since it had practically passed out of the picture in its ca. fifty year exile in Philistine hands?

[14]Cf. B. W. Anderson, "God, names of," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, II, 413 and Joshua 8:30; A. Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise unter David," Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft, LXXVII (1965), 163-164.

It has further been pointed out that certain litur-
gical compositions, which are most probably to be associated
with the Jerusalem cult, make mention of Sinaitic tradi-
tions.[15]

> O God, when thou did go forth before thy people,
>   when thou didst march through the wilderness,
> The earth quaked, the heavens poured down rain
>   at the presence of God;
> Yon Sinai quaked at the presence of God,
>   the God of Israel (Psalm 68:7-8).

> Why look you with envy, O many-peaked mountain,
>   at the mount which God desired for his abode,
> Yea, where Yahweh will dwell for ever? (Psalm 68:16).

To Psalm 68 may be added the Song of Miriam (Exodus 15:1-18)
and Psalm 78, which trace Israel's history from the Exodus
to the goal of the election of David and Mt. Zion.[16]

Clements writes:

> Our conclusion, therefore, is that the Southern
> (Judahite) tradition of Yahwism, which focused on
> the election of Jerusalem and the Davidic house,

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[15]R. E. Clements, _Prophecy and Covenant_ ("Studies in
Biblical Theology XLIII"; London: SCM Press, 1965), pp.
63-64. Cf. W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew
Lyric Poems (Psalm 68)," _Hebrew Union College Annual_,
XXIII (1950-51), 1-39. In this article, page 10, Albright
dates the Psalm to the Solomonic period or a little earlier.

[16]Exodus 15:13-18; Psalm 78:56-77. For the date of
these materials, cf. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The
Song of Miriam," _Journal of Near Eastern Studies_, XIV
(1955), 237-250, especially p. 240, where the tenth century
is given as _terminus ad quem_. On Psalm 78, cf. A. Weiser,
The Psalms, translated by H. Hartwell from the German _Die
Psalmen_ ("Das Alte Testament Deutsch XIV-XV"; Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) (Philadelphia: The Westminster
Press, 1962), p. 540, n. 1. It probably belongs to the
time of the united monarchy. Cf. also Clements, _Prophecy
and Covenant_, p. 64, n. 4.

interpreted this as a legitimate development and
goal of the covenant made between Israel and Yahweh
on Mount Sinai. The ideas and hopes which were
associated with Yahweh's promises to David had as
their indispensable presupposition the covenant
of Sinai. Whilst it is clear, therefore, that the
religious tradition of Judah contained ideas re-
lating to Jerusalem and the Davidic house which
were rejected in the Northern Kingdom, we may claim
that it was neither ignorant of, nor indifferent
to, the earlier covenant tradition of Israel, which
reached back to the days of Moses. The Judean pro-
phets Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who all show a
familiarity with both main currents of the Israelite
election traditions, were giving expression to basic
features of the religious faith of Judah, as it had
been since the age of David. Whilst the Deuteronomic
reform of 621 BC undoubtedly gave a greater emphasis
to the Sinai tradition, and introduced considerable
modifications and reinterpretations into the cult-
tradition of Jerusalem and its royal house, this was
facilitated by the fact that the memory of the
Sinaitic covenant was already in the background of
the religion of Judah.[17]

There is also some indication that the king functioned
as covenant mediator, although the evidence is not enough
to make a final decision on the question.[18] The clearest
instance is that of II Kings 23, where we are told of the
covenant renewal ceremony initiated by Josiah consequent
to the finding of the book of the law in the temple.

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[17]Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, p. 65.

[18]It is customary to cite on this matter G. Widengren,
"King and Covenant," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, II (1957),
1-32, but his treatment is methodologically so chaotic as
hardly to recommend itself. One can hardly jump from
Sinai to Qumran and back again in the same breath to adduce
"evidence" for a period lying somewhere in between. His
conclusions are, however, quite similar to the views ex-
pressed here.

> And the king stood by the pillar and made a cove-
> nant before Yahweh, to walk after Yahweh and to
> keep his commandments and his stipulations and
> his statutes, with all his heart and with all his
> soul, to perform the words of this covenant that
> were written in this book; and all the people
> joined in the covenant (II Kings 23:3).

The actions of Josiah, of course, can always be dismissed
as the exception to the rule. But II Kings 11:17 also
speaks of a covenant renewal in connection with the king.

> And Jehoiada made a covenant between Yahweh and
> the king and the people, that they should be
> Yahweh's people (II Kings 11:17a).

The role of Jehoiada in the ceremony in place of the king
may be explained by the youthful age of the king.[19] Were
this not the case, we would have one party making a cove-
nant between three others, which, to this writer's knowledge,
would be quite a novelty.[20]

At critical points in Israel's history, the covenant
ceremony and the covenant mediator appear. These times
are associated with a change of leadership. The line can
be traced as follows: Moses (Exodus 19:9; 20:18-26; 34:10;

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[19]Joash was seven years of age at the time, according
to II Kings 12:1 (English 11:21).

[20]For the role of mediator in covenant ceremonies, cf.
M. Noth, "Das Alttestamentliche Bundeschliessen im Lichte
eines Mari-Textes," Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament,
pp. 142-154, and H. W. Wolff, "Jahwe als Bundesvermittler,"
Vetus Testamentum, VI (1956), 316-320. Cf. also I Samuel
12 and the remarks of McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, A
Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the
Old Testament ("Analecta Biblica XXI"; Rome: Pontifical
Biblical Institute, 1963), pp. 141-144.

Deuteronomy 5:24), Joshua (Joshua 8:30-35; 23:2; 24:15-16),
Samuel (I Samuel 12:1-2,19-25), Joash/Jehoiada (II Kings
11:17), Josiah (II Kings 23:3).[21] It has been suggested
that Jeremiah speaks of the ideal king of the future as
one who acts in the role of covenant mediator.

> Their prince shall be one of themselves,
> their ruler shall come forth from their midst;
> I will make him draw near, and he shall approach me,
> for who would dare of himself to approach me?
> says Yahweh,
> And you shall be my people and I will be your God.
> (Jeremiah 30:21-22).

Kraus takes the term "to draw near" as referring to the
action of the covenant mediator.[22] By itself, the argu-
ment is not too weighty, but it does fit in with the other
indications of the king acting in the role of covenant
mediator.

We do not suggest that each king of Judah engaged
in the function of covenant mediator. The actions of
Josiah are presented as something of a _novum_ in the
regular course of things. But it may be of great sig-
nificance that it is just those kings who receive the
favorable judgment of the Deuteronomic historian and of

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[21]Cf. K. Baltzer, _Das Bundesformular_ ("Wissenschaft-
liche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament IV";
Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), p. 75, and
McCarthy, _Treaty and Covenant_, pp. 165-166.

[22]In Jeremiah 30:21 qrb; in Exodus 24:2 ngš. Cf.
Kraus, _Gottesdienst in Israel_, p. 233.

the Chronicler who are the ones connected with covenant

renewal ceremonies. In addition to Joash and Josiah, we

have favorable judgments of Asa, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah.

Of Asa we are told in I Kings 15:11, "And Asa did

what was right in the eyes of Yahweh, as David his father

had done." The Chronicler expands this information:

> And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and those
> from Ephraim, Manassah, and Simeon who were so-
> journing with them . . . and they entered into
> a covenant to seek Yahweh, the God of their fathers,
> with all their heart and with all their soul . . .
> they took oath to Yahweh (II Chronicles 15:9a,12,14a).

Jehoshaphat receives approval with some qualifications,

but is not connected with any covenant ceremony in the

biblical record. Again it is the Chronicler who tells us

of the words of Hezekiah, "Now it is in my heart to make

a covenant with Yahweh, the God of Israel" (II Chronicles

29:10).

In the ceremony of the dedication of the temple under

Solomon, there is no explicit mention of a covenant renewal,

but the Sinaitic covenant does receive mention:

> And there I have provided a place for the ark, in
> which is the covenant of Yahweh, which he made for
> our fathers, when he brought them out of the land
> of Egypt (I Kings 8:21).

> Yahweh our God be with us, as he was with our fathers;
> may he not leave us or forsake us; that he may incline
> our hearts to him, to walk in all his ways, and to
> keep his commandments, his statutes, and his ordin-
> ances, which he commanded our fathers. Let these
> words of mine, wherewith I have made supplication
> before Yahweh be near to Yahweh our God day and
> night, and may he maintain the cause of his servant,
> and the cause of his people Israel, as each day
> requires; that all the peoples of the earth may know

that Yahweh is God; there is no other. Let your
heart therefore be wholly true to Yahweh our God,
walking in his statutes and keeping his commandments,
as at this day (I Kings 8:57-61).

It is not entirely unreasonable to see here some reference
to a covenant ceremony, but the evidence does not allow
one to go beyond a possibility.

Kraus explains the situation this way:

Im Staatskult Jerusalems stand seit der Zeit Salomos
der Davidsbund im Vordergrund. Alle Regenten ver-
suchten, auf der Grundlage der im Gottesdienst
aktualisierten Nathanverheissung, doch ohne Rekurs
auf die amphiktyonischen Traditionen, ihr Regiment
zu führen. Durch dieses usurpierte Erwählungsrecht
wurde das Gott-Volk-Verhältniss mehr und mehr zer-
stört. Heidnische Götter und Kulte fanden Eingang
in Jerusalem. Nur selten hat sich auf dem Zion der
Sinaibund als Grundlage des Davidsbundes durchgesetzt.
Die Kultusreformen aber zeigen eine Erneuerung des
Sinaibundes an. Erst Josia hat in einer umfassenden
Restauration die Sinai-Überlieferungen in den Bereich
des davidischen Staatskultes aufgenommen. Eines aber
ist nicht zu bezweifeln: Dasz mit der Lade auch die
Sinai-Tradition nach Jerusalem kam und die kultische
Institution der Bundeserneuerung als eine Aufgabe
dem in der amphiktyonischen Sakralordnung verwurzel-
ten Königtum der Davididen vorsetzte.[23]

The picture that emerges is this: the Sinaitic cove-
nant and the Davidic covenant were not at odds with each
other, nor geographically distributed. The Davidic cove-
nant, in its ideological beginning and its eschatological
goal, was integrated into the Sinaitic covenant, for the
Davidide was entrusted with the office of mediating the
covenant between Yahweh and his chosen people. By many
monarchs this office was neglected, but not by all. That

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[23]Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, p. 234.

the covenant mediator himself stood in a special covenant
relationship to Yahweh represents a separate development.
That this mediator was king is a specific historical
adaptation of Israelite religion to the political situation
of the time, but did not abrogate the former traditions
of the people. It is through the Davidic line that
Yahweh's grace in Israel will be put into operation.[24]

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[24]Cf. McCarthy, "II Samuel 7 and the Structure of
the Deuteronomic History," Journal of Biblical Literature,
LXXXIV (1965), 136. A. H. J. Grunneweg, "Sinaibund und
Davidsbund," Vetus Testamentum, X (1960), 340, writes:
"Die Davidsbundtradition kollidiert somit nicht mit der
älteren Überlieferung vom Sinaibund, sie versucht viel-
mehr ein historisch Neues dem alten Überlieferungsbestand
des Stämmesverbandes einzufügen und einen latenten Riss
in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte zu schliessen."

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

We may ask ourselves, finally, what does our study
contribute to the understanding of the institution of
kingship in ancient Israel? We have seen that the king
was viewed as standing in relationship to Yahweh as
vassal to suzerain (Chapter II). Not only the king, but
also the people themselves were embraced in the covenant
relationship. This double relationship did not set one
party against the other, but integrated them: the king
was charged with maintaining the relationship between
his people and their God by functioning as mediator in
the covenant renewal ceremony (Chapter V). The institu-
tion of the monarchy, received with mixed emotions at
first, and resisted by many of the prophets because of
its excesses, nevertheless was never rejected completely,
but was recognized as a necessary adaptation to changed
historical circumstances. Strangely enough, disillusion-
ment with the empirical monarch did not lead to complete
pessimism regarding the institution, but to a hope for
the future which gradually took on eschatological pro-
portions. But perhaps this is not so strange after all,
for Israel's political and religious ideals were always
characterized by pessimism regarding men and institutions,

but also by an indomitable optimism regarding Yahweh.[1]
It was Yahweh's word of election and promise which legiti-
mized the monarchic institution and linked the fortunes
of the people to what Yahweh would do for them through
the institution of the Davidic dynasty.[2] The strangest
element of all was that the "eschatological" fulfillment
worked by Yahweh far exceeded the highest hopes of Israel,
and was worked before their eyes on the historical plane!

We would like to pose here an important conclusion
which emerges from our study and, we believe, requires
subsequent closer investigation and fuller treatment.
This conclusion affects our understanding of a great
portion of the Old Testament: the Deuteronomic History,
and, more specifically, the judgment passed by the writer
on the various kings of Israel and Judah. No extensive
documentation is required for the assertion that it has
been common practice to chide the Deuteronomistic historian
for not writing "objective history," whatever that elusive
term may mean, and for being overly judgmental of the kings.
To present this common opinion, we reproduce here a section

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[1]This distinction is reflected in the Old Testament
in the constant differentiation between the dynasty and
individual kings. Cf. C. R. North, "The Religious Aspect
of Hebrew Kingship," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche
Wissenschaft, L (1932), 36.

[2]Cf. C. Westermann, "The Way of the Promise through
the Old Testament," The Old Testament and Christian Faith,
edited by B. W. Anderson (New York: Harper & Row, 1963),
pp. 215-216.

from the important work of Gerhard von Rad, Studies in
Deuteronomy:

> We know that through Deuteronomy the question of
> the pure Jahweh cult in Jerusalem, as against all
> the Canaanite cults of the high places, became
> articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae. It is by
> this criterion, which had become absolutely obliga-
> tory for his own time, that the Deuteronomist now
> measures the past; and it is well known that, in
> the light of it, all the sovereigns of the kingdom
> of Israel are judged negatively, because they "all
> walked in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat."
> Of the sovereigns of the kingdom of Judah, however,
> five receive qualified approval, and two (Hezekiah
> and Josiah) actually unrestricted approval. To
> the secular historian such a method of judgement
> will appear unjust and crude. As a matter of fact,
> the Deuteronomist makes absolutely no claim to
> appraise the kings at a given moment in relation
> to the particular historical situation confronting
> them. The judgement passed on the kings is not
> arrived at on the basis of a balanced reckoning of
> a number of pros and cons, by means of an average,
> as it were, of their achievements and their sins
> of omission. It is in keeping with this work's
> peculiar theological claim, which is that it pre-
> sumes to know the final judgement of God, that so
> much more is said about the kings in the sense of
> "either--or" than in the sense of "and--and." It
> follows that the Deuteronomist is not concerned
> with the various good and evil actions, but with
> the one fundamental decision on which he was con-
> vinced judgement and salvation finally depended.
> In this respect the Deuteronomistic histories defin-
> itely allow the kings the moment of a free decision
> for or against Yahweh, while the so-called classical
> histories in Israel had portrayed men really more
> as the passive objects of God's designs in history.
> . . . .
> The demand for centralised worship is certainly not
> the only one which the Deuteronomist, following
> Deuteronomy, makes of the kings; he asks if the
> kings trusted Jahweh (bāṭaḥ 2 Kings 18:5), he asks
> if they were "perfect" with Jahweh (šālēm ʿim yhwh
> I Kings 11.4; 15.3,14). Of course it is predomin-
> antly cultic sins which he mentions. He is very
> often content with the awkwardly redundant statement
> that a king had not followed the "ordinances,
> commandments and statutes of Jahweh." A very
> decided flagging of descriptive power is noticeable

here. What the Deuteronomist means is obviously
that the king in question and his period had not
been able to satisfy the whole of the divine
demand for obedience. It is therefore the question
concerning complete obedience that the Deuteronomist
puts to the kings.[3]

In addition to this "absolutist" judgment of the kings,

there is another element to be noted: their performance

is always compared to that of David. Von Rad continues:

> This leads us at once to ask how the picture of
> David is built up in particular. The actual his-
> tory of David is noticeably free from Deuteronomistic
> additions. This is astonishing in view of the
> constant mention of David in the course of the
> history that follows as the prototype of a king
> who was well-pleasing to Jahweh. The reasons for
> it are, however, probably only literary: David
> was treated in a document which was of such range
> and so well constructed that in face of it the
> Deuteronomist had to refrain from his usual tech-
> nique of inserting theological glosses and comments
> in brackets.
> . . . .
> The picture has only one conceivable meaning: it is
> David, and not, as was often said, Solomon, who is
> the prototype of the perfectly obedient anointed,
> and therefore the model for all succeeding kings in
> Jerusalem. But what kind of a David is this, who
> walked before Jahweh b^etām-lēbāb ûb^eyōser, whose
> heart is perfect with Jahweh, and who did only (raq)
> what was well-pleasing to Jahweh? Unquestionably
> it is not the David of the succession stories, that
> essentially contradictory personality, tenacious,
> persevering and vigorous in public life, but danger-
> ously weak in his own household, a man who was many
> a time ensnared in guilt, yet in the end graciously
> led by Jahweh through every entanglement. This
> quite human picture has now had a completely inde-
> pendent cycle of conceptions superimposed upon it,
> namely, that of the ideal, theocratic David, ex-
> emplary in obedience.[4]

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[3]G. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy ("Studies in
Biblical Theology IX"; London: SCM Press, 1953), pp. 75-77.

[4]Ibid., pp. 86, 88-89.

In our study we have seen that David, as the other kings of the Davidic line, were "vassals" of Yahweh. In this position they were responsible for maintaining the treaty-covenant relationship by continued fidelity to Yahweh. This implied cultic purity and the avoidance of relationships with "other gods." We would suggest that the judgments of the Deuteronomist are not at all arbitrary but well-founded in historical fact. They are as factual as the tangible covenant document bestowed on the king at his coronation. These judgments cannot simply be labeled an abstract theologumena read back into history from a later age. Yet, because they are historically grounded, are they not all the more theological? As John Bright points out,

> In the ancient orient, political subservience
> normally involved recognition of the overlord's
> gods--not, of course, in place of native religions,
> but alongside of them.[5]

This means that the frequent prophetic denunciation and warning of monarchs who sought foreign alliances is not religious fanaticism which ignores the "facts of life," but a call to covenant fidelity. The kings of Judah had a suzerain in Yahweh, and breaking the royal covenant was a sin, not only in the high standards of the prophet,

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[5]J. Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 259.

but publicly recognized in international law![6]

Political alliance with foreign powers meant entering an oath-bound treaty relationship sanctioned by foreign deities. This was in direct violation of the king's personal covenant with Yahweh.

Whatever information we may have about David's weaknesses and intrigues, we are given no indication at all to alter the judgment that he followed Yahweh "with all his heart" (hālak 'aḥăray bekāl-lebābô: I Kings 14:8).[7]

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[6]In the treaty between Mursillis II and Talmisharruma, given by E. F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi ("Boghazkoi-Studien VIII-IX"; Leipzig: n. p., 1923), pp. 82-83, we find, line 19, "Der König des Landes Ḥalap beging die Sünd/e des/ Königs des Landes Ḥan/ig/albat, aber gegen Hattus/il/ den König des Landes/ Ḥatti, versünd- igte er sich /besonders/." The context indicates revolt against Hittite sovereignty, i.e., breach of covenant. A similar passage from the Kupanta-KAL treaty is cited by G. Schmitt, Der Landtag von Sichem ("Arbeiten zur Theo- logie I, xv"; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1964), p. 60, "Weisst du, Kupanta-KAL, nicht (dasz), wenn in Hattusas jemand irgendein Vergehen von Aufruhr begeht und (wenn), wessen Vater sündigt, der Sohn nicht zugleich (?) auch sündig (ist), man ihm (trotzdem) das Haus seines Vaters wegnimmt? . . . Und weil jetzt dein Vater Mashuliuwas gesündigt hat, obwohl du keineswegs sündig warst, dir das Haus deines Vaters und dein Land wegnehmen (und) es irgend- einem anderen geben können? . . . Nun aber habe ich die Sonne, dir, Kupanta-KAL nichts zu leide getan und habe dich nicht verstossen und habe dir nicht das Haus deines Vaters, ja nicht einmal dein Land weggenommen, und habe das Haus deines Vaters gerade dir zurück gegeben und habe im Lande gerade dich in die Herrschaft eingesetzt und habe dir das Land Mira und das Land Kuwalija gegeben."

[7]The relevant passages are collected by von Rad, pp. 86-88. W. Moran has noted that the phrase is reminiscent of the Akkadian terminology ina kul libbi; ina gammurti

We can therefore submit that the Deuteronomic
history work bases itself on a thoroughgoing covenant
ideology and theology which is not a pious fabrication,
but an intensification of concepts which have a long
history both within Israel and among her Near Eastern
neighbors.[8]

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libbi, both common in the treaties. Cf. W. Moran, "The
Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in
Deuteronomy," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXV (1963),
83, n. 35.

[8]It is interesting to note that D. J. McCarthy,
Treaty and Covenant, A Study in Form in the Ancient
Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament ("Analecta
Biblica XXI"; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963),
p. 174, concludes, "The covenant form develops and reaches
its flowering in Dt /Deuteronomy/ ."

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